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SOME PHASES OF OUR MODERN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

SOME PHASES OF OUR MODERN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE

FACULTY OF THE

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

THROUGH PROF. CALDWELL IN CANDIDACY

FOR THE DEGREE

"MASTER OF ARTS"

BY

JAMES ASA WHITE

1914.

To

My Teacher and Friend

Rev. Prof. W. J. McGlothlin, Ph.D., D. D.

I N T R O D U C T O R Y N O T E .

The original intention of this dissertation was to have been a brief treatment of some phases of our modern industrial problem. Later, however, it was decided to offer suggestions for solutions to these various problems. This I have attempted to do in the form of appendices.

The greater emphasis will be given to the side of the laboring man in relation to his environment, his fellow-worker, and organized capital, rather than to organized industries as such.

It is very evident from the great unrest now apparent in the laboring world, that something is radically wrong with the present system of things. The constant strife between the laborers themselves, strikes, etc., are indicative of a dissatisfaction, which might at any time, lead to a very undesirable result, both for labor and capital.

The laborer is defined for our use, as the individual who is employed to do a certain task or tasks in the operation of machinery, plants for production of various materials - - manufacturing, mining, etc.

With this understanding, as to the purpose of this thesis, it is hoped that the subject may be so presented as to be both interesting and valuable.

J. A. W.

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SOME PHASES OF OUR MODERN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

Chapter I

Changes in Domestic Functions.

For not a few years there has been going on a significant transfer of functions from the home to other institutions. We will consider some of these changes briefly:

Educational. In early times, the home had this for one of its most important functions. Then, education was traditional, and the home could adequately perform the function. With the advance of society came increasing knowledge, and education became literary as well as traditional. The educational period was lengthened. Hence, it became necessary to develop an institution which should relieve the home of this function. The school arose. The foregoing causes have rendered the school in modern times a most important institution, and caused a wholesale transference from the home to the school.

The transference in secular education takes the child from the home into the school at an age which grows less and less, and thus with the early development of the child, parents have ceased to have an important part.

The transference of religious education is almost as equally pronounced. It devolves upon Sunday Schools, Societies for Children, etc., because the public schools

are not permitted to teach religion. Because of this fact, there is no adequate provision for religious education today in America.

Economic functions. In early times, the home was an economic institution, but one by one, its functions have been transferred to outside institutions. Spinning and weaving have been transferred to the factory; the making of clothing to the factory or the tailor; knitting to the mill; preparation of food to canning factories, etc.; washing to the laundryman; lighting, fuel, and fetching of water, to the various corporations. This process, of course, has gone farther in the city than in the country.

Results. Some of the results of this transference of functions may be noted. The structure of the domestic institution has been greatly simplified. This used to include many activities; used to include the family proper and retinue of servants. This has been one of the causes for the entrance of women into industrial occupations. In families where the income is inadequate, the wife feels impelled to work in the factory, also the daughter. In a large measure they simply follow the transferred occupations. In families with adequate income, the women are left with nothing to do. These unemployed women may become a social menace of the very worst type, or the very hope of social progress. The child who was formerly engaged in the home, is now employed in extra-domestic functions.

In the very rise or construction of the plant or industry to take care of the transferred domestic functions, labor is involved. Some one must do the work. The laborer who performs his duties in the various domestic functions finds immediately a larger field of activity for development. In this development, he is brought into contact with a fellow-laborer and thus, the problem of the laborer begins.

With the elimination of the educational and economical work of the home, it is becoming a more distinctively ethical institution; a relation of voluntary union and co-operation between two equal parties, having co-ordinate and reciprocal obligations and responsibilities. The relation between parent and child is also becoming more ethical. The power over the child less arbitrary and less absolute. The control of the child is based less on coercion and is based more upon feeling and intellect as these faculties are developed in the child. In this way, the family becomes a better ethical training school for the child, and other members of the family. As this change goes on, there is naturally and inevitably much disturbance, laxity, anarchy, much cause for anxiety and alarm, yet the transition is toward a better state of things.

Chapter II

The Home of the Laborer.

Prior to 1800, a very large part of the population lived in the country and villages, but now, it is quite different. Mr. Sears* says: "In 1800, ninety-seven out of every hundred awoke in country villages or farms to see the full-orbed sun arise from the eastern horizon. Now, forty out of every hundred wake up daily to hear the clatter of hoofs on the city pavement, and are peculiarly favored if they ever see 'orion slowly sinking to the west". So it is that the city today is the center of our civilization. Here some of the most characteristic forces and tendencies at work in society may be seen on a sufficient scale to be analyzed and measured.

One inevitable phase of city life, is the slum. It is so constant and characteristic a feature that it must be considered a necessary result of social forces as society is now constituted. It is usually situated in the center of the city, a fact which is at least suggestive, or it is apt to be near some huge industrial plant. It seems to bear some proportionate relation to the size of the city and its industrial development. Further description here is unnecessary. It is enough to say that in such a place, the greater number of the laboring class of the country make their homes. If not directly in the slum, large numbers reside contiguous to the slum. This

*The Redemption of the City, p. 228.

is due to various causes, but the greatest cause for the laboring man, is bad economic conditions. Here he finds low rents, and in-as-much as he receives low wages, necessity forces him to live in such a place. Bad housing conditions, often lead him to physical deterioration, loss of self-respect and modesty. Bad working conditions lower his health tones, and lead him to physical and moral deterioration. The wife and the children are exposed to bad conditions and degrading influences on the streets. As these conditions are studied at close range, one does not wonder why the children are caught in the whirl of vice and lost to a life of high purposes and ideals.

The very location of his home shuts off almost wholly the laborer from the best of the outside world, and presents daily to him the victims, who because of moral weaknesses, have gone down with the tide. Little hope is held out to him in his daily grind, as he struggles with the forces that be, for a living existence.

Perhaps, the worst phase of the housing problem is the tenement house. This building located usually in the slum section, is divided into rooms or series of rooms. Here congregate many families. They live, and move, and have their being, in these small dingy rooms. This segregated mass of humanity is composed very largely, and in most sections, of foreigners and negroes. Such a place, very seldom, if ever, touched by wholesome outside influences, becomes a hot-bed of immorality -- sins and vices of all descriptions.

Women and girls drift into these places, perhaps, because of financial depression. To meet their needs, boarders or roomers from the industrial plant near by, are kept. A concrete example will best explain. Near the great steel mills in Gary, Indiana, a mother and daughter were found living in two small rooms. In one of these rooms, used as a bed-room, it was found that twenty-four men slept in every twenty-four hours, in relays of eight hours each. There existed conditions of morals too black to mention. No doubt a thorough investigation of the tenement problem would reveal many such conditions. Such investigations, however, the real estate man and investor do not welcome, for this kind of property yields large incomes on money so invested.

While it is admitted that such situations are due very largely to bad economic conditions, yet, there are other explanations which might be offered as the cause.

The theologian might say that the cause is the depravity of human nature, but as a theological fact, human depravity is an universal fact.

It might be attributed to the transgression of the law of God by the free will. This is accepted, but does not explain. Why does transgression take this form and result in these social phenomena? The answer is found in social conditions.

The sociologist would tell us that the cause may be found in the strain of modern life. Some people are born physically and morally weaker than others, which fact

itself can be explained only by reference to antecedent social conditions. As the tension of life increases, these weaker ones prove unable to stand the strain, and give way, fall into the delinquent or dependent classes, and many of this number go to swell the population of the slum district.

Outside of the city with its slums and tenement section, there are conditions in mining camps which should be noted. When the United Mine Workers' organization was effected, back in 1890, and for a number of years thereafter, the miners' camps were groups of "company hovels" - in many places one-room clapboard or log houses.

Often, if not generally, the mining companies usurped the power of government in at least one respect. They issued script and metal tokens in lieu of money for wages. This went hand in glove with "the company store". This store, as the name indicates, was maintained by the company, and it was the only place at which the script and metal tokens issued in payment of wages, were redeemable. The companies were able to charge scandalous prices for everything. These stores were known as "the pluck-me stores". Thus the coal companies in reality, became feudal, the workers reduced actually to a condition of servitude by a system of keeping them in debt to the company store. The companies, also owning the hovels and cabins, any man who became "obnoxious", was evicted with his family; and home conditions generally were deplorable. Boys

were forced into the mines by economic pressure.

The great fight that the union set itself to, was for conditions such as, pay in money, honest weighing of coal, freedom to live and buy where the buyer desired, the elimination of children from the mines, all of which would contribute toward creating a healthy home life, and giving at least the oncoming generation "a place in God's sunshine" in which to develop into not only men capable of good, safe mining, but also into good citizens.

It is not saying too much to credit the United Mine Workers of America with having produced wonderful results in this respect. The mining towns may still have their defects but the change has been marvelous: The pluck-me store is gone, good wages are paid in real money, children are barred from the mines, the eight-hour day is established. Conditions have been created under which the American miners who want good, wholesome homes can have them.

With the arguments here presented, one might well conclude that, as the home is the great institution in society, the home of the laborer presents immediately one of the liveliest phases of the present-day industrial problem.

A P P E N D I X .

The housing conditions of the laborer, in the slum districts, are considered by some as inevitable and incurable, and thus accept them as something, the elimination of which, is not within the limits of practical social effort. The problem, however, may be attacked from three points of view.

First, religiously. The most effective way of approaching the solution from this viewpoint is through the medium of evangelization. This reaches the individuals. The rescue mission, such as the Hope Rescue Mission of Louisville, Ky., or The Jerry McAuley Cremorne Mission of New York, has proven its value in the salvation of many men and women. However, the slum as a social parasite, it has not, and probably cannot remove. Much more might be done, and there is great need of concentration of effort in this direction, by the Churches and religious organizations.

Second, socially. Social settlement work has been tried with excellent success. This work brings organized educational and moral agencies into these districts as permanent and positive forces, sometimes accompanied by evangelistic or religious effort, with splendid results.

One very effective agency in dealing with the social condition of the slum is the Salvation Army. This Army of men and women give their time to the redemption of the people socially and religiously. The annual Christmas dinner for the thousands of poor children coming from these sections has proven a great thing. The

great crowd of motley folk who yearly, in summer time, enjoy the boat ride on the river, or picnic in some quiet spot, is indeed a sight to behold.

The Wayfarer's Rest another Louisville institution is rendering a great social service. Transient laboring men, wanderers, and even tramps can here find a place to satisfy their hunger, at a small cost, which cost can be paid by doing some assigned work.

Reading rooms, club rooms, or game rooms and halls where wholesome amusements are furnished, will inevitably better social conditions. Such places, under the direction of men and women morally and socially upright, will afford opportunities for the personal touch, which generates a new enthusiasm, a new pride, a new self-respect in those with whom they work. A concrete illustration is the reading room for Hebrews maintained by some of the religious leaders of the city of Louisville, Ky.

All these agencies likewise do not eliminate the slum as a social fact.

Third. The only adequate treatment is to reach and remove the causes. This involves fundamental changes in social ideas and organization. The fundamental trouble is, economic activities of every kind are engaged in, primarily, as a means of getting gain, rather than a form of social service.

The government must be considered as the association of the whole people for the purpose of serving the interests of all. In a word, the question is, can men be made willing to serve the world, rather than themselves?

With such a conception of service from or by the government, law-makers will see to it that such legislation is enacted as will make it criminal for organizations, political or otherwise, to exploit the poor, and will make it possible for the man, even in the most menial position, to give expression to his own individual personality.

Under municipal regulation, the economic conditions of the home could be greatly improved. In the matter of rents, the laborer should be protected. The city ought to make some provision to care for laborers during times of sickness or unemployment. This might be done through savings and loan associations, thus doing away with the loan shark.

The middleman with his exorbitant prices could be done away with by public markets owned and operated by the city. Here the family of the laborer could find the home necessities and at a very low price, fresh from the hands of the farmer and the gardner.

Another movement for the shutting out of the middleman is the farmers' organizations established for the purpose of marketing co-operatively the products of the farm. The federation is based on three foundation stones. The first is the local association, corresponding to county government, in the political system. A number of these local associations form a district association, corresponding to the State government. Three district associations form the exchange corresponding to the Federal government in the political system. Through these agencies the home of the laborer can be supplied with the prod-

ucts of the farm at a low cost, thus to some extent solving his problem of the "high cost" of living.

The ideal will have been reached, and the problem solved, when men everywhere realize in their fellow-brother a person and not a mere thing.

Chapter III

Child Labor.

In-as-much as we ordinarily think of the child as being more closely related to the home than the man, attention will now be turned to child labor as another phase of our modern industrial problem. This might be considered as one of the worst phases of the problem -- that of putting the children to labor in the factories and on the streets. The cause of this has already been stated in the chapter on "Changes in Domestic Functions". The child is sent forth to help increase the income of the family, since what was previously made in the home now has to be purchased. Employers under the impression that child labor is cheap, are willing to employ them. The necessity or cupidity on the part of parents and the desire for cheap labor on the part of the employers are the causes.

The labor of the child in the old-time home was far less injurious to health and development than in the street and factory work, less confining, and less exposed to degrading influences.

The problem of the child laborer, of course, is no new thing. As far back as 1833, it was estimated that 56,000 children between the ages of nine and thirteen, were employed in factories of London, England.

It might be interesting first of all, to note the rise of the problem in the United States. It arose from much the same causes and followed much the same develop-

ment as in England. It presented certain important differences which Adams and Sumner* state as follows:

"First, there has practically never been in the United States the pauper apprentice problem; second, women and girls have never been employed in mines; third, the United States has profited to a certain extent from the experience of England with reference to the building and arrangement of factories; fourth, certain industries which in England have given employment to large numbers of children, have never flourished in this country, e. g. chimney sweeping and the manufacture of lace; fifth, the wages of women have always been higher in this country than in England, owing to the same causes that have made the wages of men higher; sixth, legislation has been enacted here at a comparatively early stage in the development of the system".

In some places in the United States, conditions were idyllic. At Lowell, Mass., the daughters of the farmers from round about were induced to enter the factories only by the special bate of good wages, city advantages, and intellectual life. Conditions in other states were entirely different, and it was not long before the tide of immigration had reduced many places to the status of English factory towns, and even lowered the standard of conservative Massachusetts. As a result, in that State, little children from eight to eleven years old were put to work and the hours ranged from eleven to fourteen a day.

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*Labor Problems, pp. 24-25.

By 1880 the United States Census Reports showed 1,118,356 children from ten to fifteen in gainful occupations. In 1900, 1,750,178 were gainfully employed, 24,459 of these being in the Southern States.

The magnitude of the evil. As yet, the information is incomplete, but enough has been gathered to show that it is very great. It is said on good authority "that one child in twenty, between the ages of ten and sixteen, lives and works under such conditions as deprive the child of elementary education, normal physical development, and expose them to vile associations", (Gardner).

"In an article on "Child Labor in The United States" recently published*, the following facts were given: "Over a million will not go to school this session because they are at work in some two hundred occupations. Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, says that statistics indicate that all the girls, and at least nine-tenths of the boys who leave school under sixteen years, enter low-wage industries and remain unskilled workers throughout their lives.

"Mr. Lovejoy estimates that about one-half of those now at work, under sixteen, in all occupations, are white American children, one or both of whose parents are native born. American families are as ready as foreign families to let children enter the factory before they are sixteen. The Connecticut State Commission, in a study of more than 11,000 women and girls, representing fourteen racial groups, found a larger percentage of Amer-

*Baptist World, Vol. XVII, No. 43, p. 17.

icans with American fathers among the workers under sixteen than among the older workers.

"The latest volume of the Federal Report on the condition of woman and child wage earners in the United States makes a similar showing. Of the twenty-eight racial groups into which the 93,000 workers are divided, only four races involving less than one-tenth of the total, had a larger percentage of workers under sixteen, than the native white Americans. Of all races studied in twenty-three industries in seventeen States, one in twelve was under sixteen years; of the American workers, in the same industries, and the same States, one in eleven was under sixteen".

The following quotation, as a concrete illustration, is interesting*: "At the hearing on the Massachusetts night messenger bill, statistics were presented showing that, out of 336 boys at the Lyman School, 110 were former street peddlers; 160 had been news boys; 73 boot blacks; and 56 messengers; some were thus engaged in two of these trades".

"The work of children in mills and factories is often most distressing. Conditions in glass factories, mines, canneries, silk mills, and the shrimp industry, and in the Southern cotton mills are all to be studied. Note the great numbers of children so employed. In Pennsylvania last year, 33,000; in Massachusetts, 13,000; in North Carolina, 10,000, and in other States large numbers".**

In one of the woolen mills of New Jersey, over 200

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*The New International Year Book 1911.

**Woman's Home Companion, Vol. XL, No. 11, p. 42, Nov. 1913.

children were found at work under the legal age. In Wheeling, W.Va., the glass house and other industries employ 3,000 children of school age.

Turning now to the City of Chicago. A recent investigation of 1,000 newsboys, ranging in age from five to twenty-one years of age, showed that out of this number, 127, or twelve per cent, were under ten years of age. Among the number were 42 Italians, 25 Americans, 24 Germans, 18 Irish, and 8 Jews. 106 had both parents living, and only 21 had lost either father or mother. Their aggregate earnings were \$41.40 per day, or an average of \$.32 per day, for which they worked three and one-half hours daily.

At the beginning of 1903, it was estimated that there were in the factories of the South, chiefly cotton factories, 20,000 child laborers, under the age of twelve.

In the South, there would be no child labor problem, were it not for the cotton mills, especially of North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi. Some one has said, the South acquired the habit of child labor from New England, which is, of course, reasonable from the standpoint of chronology. North Carolina is chosen as a typical State. In 1905 there were 15,000 under fourteen years of age in that State, and 60,000 in the South. It was stated that seventy-five per cent of the spinners in the North Carolina mills, were between the ages of twelve and fourteen. Only twenty-five per cent of the children of school age of factory towns or districts attended school, and sometimes as low as eight and ten per cent.

This wholesale entry of children into the industrial activities must have a cause or basis of support. Employers of child labor, have put forth various arguments in favor of this form of practical slavery. Let us look at some of them.

In the very organization and maintenance of the modern industrial system, it is impossible to do without the youthful laborer. This can but have back of it a selfish greed for gain. There are the thousands of spindles in the cotton factories. Some one must look after them, and at as low expense as possible. Thus, under our present legislation, the employer turns to the child as the cheap laborer. The child accepts. Over the doorway of many such establishments, these words may well be written -- "Let the child who enters here, leave hope behind".

Again they say, this labor is necessary to relieve the poverty of their families. This may be true, but there is room for doubt. If such legislation were in effect to prevent the child from going to work, some other provision could be made for the family. When we think of it as being a hard necessity, it becomes all the more galling. Criminal be the man, who would take advantage of such a situation to exploit the child to the end that he might swell his own coffers.

The above are the two main arguments, but a third has been advanced, which indeed to my mind, is the basest of all. The child, they claim, is what he is, and why

take him out of employment, and place him in school to get an education, for he will amount to nothing anyway - - a mere thing. Such conception, if carried to a final conclusion, would undermine society itself, and crush the fondest hopes and ambitions of the human race.

However great the problem of child labor is, it is being worked at vigorously. In 1911 more laws relating to child labor were passed by a greater number of States than in any preceding year: Of forty-one States holding legislative sessions in 1911, thirty enacted child labor laws, a total of fifty-nine such laws being passed.

As an illustration of the way in which the laboring classes are being benefitted, the following comparisons in the various geographical divisions are given by Ely*:

Percentage of wage earners who are children
under sixteen years of age, 1870-1900.

Geographical Divisions	1870	1880	1890	1900
New England States....	14.5	13.9	6.9	6.7
Middle States.....	22.0	21.2	12.6	12.0
Southern States.....	23.0	24.5	24.2	25.1
Western States.....	31.1	21.3	13.2	9.0
United States.....	17.0	16.2	10.7	13.3

It will be noticed that there is a marked decline in all sections except the Southern States.

Thus it is, that the vastness of the problem rolls

*Evolution of Industrial Society, p.115.

in upon us, with its heart-rending aspects, which might give one a good cause to wonder if "God is in His heaven and all's right with the world".

A P P E N D I X .

Before offering suggestions for remedies or solutions of the child labor problem, I will give what I believe to be, several fundamental reasons for abolition of child labor.

First, a biological reason. The future of the race depends upon the child. To grow into a well-rounded man, the child must have the opportunity for growing. To make a weakling of the child today, is to make a weakling of the man tomorrow. To undermine the health of children today, is to undermine the health of society tomorrow. Biologically, the placing of the child in the factory or mill can but mean the degrading ultimately of society itself, if in fact, it does not sound the death knell.

Second, the physical effects of precocity of child labor are, arrest of growth, puny, stunted stature, sunken cheeks and hollow eyes, and diseases of all kinds -- of the lungs, of the joints, of the spine -- for arrest of development does not mean mere arrest, but means malformation. No wonder so many fill pre-mature graves, but death might often seem to be a virtue to the diseased and dwarfed form, to whom life has become a misery.

Third. The mental effects of precocity of child labor are likewise the arrest of mental development. At the very time when the child should be in school, and developing his mind, he is set to work. Perhaps in this work there is but one thing to do. This, after a while, makes the child a mere automaton. He does not need to think to perform his task. Thus, the little mind that

might have grown to a capacity almost unlimited, is narrowed down to one little rut. In this little world, the child is doomed to live ever afterwards. Stimulations, etc., to higher activities may come later on, but alas, in most cases, too late for the little child to break away the shackles with which he was bound in the early days of toil.

The work in the factory is continuous, confining, monotonous, and often unsanitary. Such conditions absolutely suppress the play impulses of the child. It disconnects the activities of the child from its emotional impulses at the time when the emotional nature is normally in the ascendency, and the child is not sufficiently developed in mind to take an intelligent interest in the work which he is doing. "It reduces permanently the mental capacity of the individual reflecting itself afterwards in loss of ambition, of will power, power of concentration and of extended mental effort".

Fourth. The moral effects are of the same sort. The taking of the child out of the home at such an early age to work, results in the loosening of family ties. In some instances the child is almost, if not wholly, divorced from his home. There comes up within him a roving disposition. The street becomes his natural habitat. In the life in the street, he becomes familiar with all forms of sins and vices, and the haunts of vice. As one thinks of these moral effects, the great wonder of it all is, that more of them do not follow the common road to absolute

degradation and ruin.

Many things may be given by way of remedies for this great and far-reaching evil. Let us note some of them.

Perhaps the greatest single factor, with its many avenues of work, is the National Child Labor Committee. Any one can become an associate member of the Committee by paying \$2.00 per year. There is a sub-organization in every State. Its first great business is to gather information. There were no statistics worth while until the organization of this Committee. Now, information of various kinds is in reach of every one. The programme of the National Child Labor Committee to be carried out, to prevent race deterioration, and remove economic penalty on parentage, is as follows:

(1) That no child between fourteen and sixteen years of age shall be employed at night or for a longer period than eight hours a day, nor in an occupation known to be dangerous to life, health, or morals;

(2) That no such child shall be employed except upon satisfactory evidence that he has a normal physical development;

(3) That before employment he shall have been given an opportunity to lay at least the foundations of an American education;

(4) That children above fourteen and under twenty-one years of age shall be guaranteed by suitable laws against specific employment under circumstances that

would menace the welfare of society, the restrictions to be graded according to the degree of hazard involved.

The inevitable result of knowledge of conditions, is the agitation for better laws. The effect of this agitation may be seen in the amount of legislation on this subject in 1911. Thirty States enacted child labor laws. The following ten States re-enacted their entire child labor code with distinct improvements: Colorado, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. In California, Indiana, Oregon and South Carolina, considerable advancement was made. Nine States extended the fourteen-year minimum wage limit for new occupations. Five States for the first time prohibited all work during the school term; a number of States strengthened their compulsory school attendance laws.

The hours of labor were shortened in ten States, the eight-hour day for all children under sixteen being established in Colorado, Missouri and Wisconsin. This makes ten States, besides District of Columbia, which have an eight-hour day for all children under sixteen. Children under sixteen were excluded from all night work in six States, while California excluded all under eighteen after 10 P. M. Night work is now prohibited in thirty-one States.

In considering the financial condition of many families, it would seem a necessity for the children to assist in caring for the home. The question here arises: Is it not the duty of society to care for such, instead

of thrusting them into the whirl of our modern industrialism? Society as now constituted does not feel its obligation, and the child for some years will be forced to labor. It is to be hoped, however, that such legislation as outlined above will continue until conditions are relieved.

No child under the age of fifteen should be allowed, under the law, to work. This would make it possible for the child to complete his elementary education. But, just here, there is need of legislation. If the child is not allowed to work in the various forms of industry, he should be compelled by law to go to school. The officers of the law should see to it then that parents do not violate such law. Such law may be enacted by State or Federal legislation, but the point is, it should be made effective.

When the child, at the proper age limit, goes to work, there should be a stringent eight-hour law. No child should be permitted to work longer, and only six days out of the week. Such a law would allow time for healthful recreation and further study so necessary at this age. The most recent legislation in this direction has been enacted by the State of Pennsylvania.

In order not to endanger the life or health of the child, laws regarding hazardous occupations, and unsanitary working rooms, should be enacted. This statute should also provide adequate compensation for the service rendered in the various occupations, and for real inspections of factories, work shops, etc.

To reach such an ideal state of things, means that the consciences of the people generally must be aroused to the extent of the evil. In this, the press and the ministry may be no small factor. Another agency for the dissemination of knowledge is, the Child Welfare Exhibit as was held in Chicago, Ill., and only last year, in the city of Louisville, Ky.

Perhaps, it would be well to consider at this point, some obstacles to the child labor movement:

Public indifference. The child labor Committee has received encouragement from a few public spirited persons, from the labor organizations, and but little from the Churches. This can be remedied, as suggested above, by the press and the ministry.

Indifference and opposition on the part of employers and selfish parents. Under the present moral tendencies, it is to be hoped the employer may become conscious of his sin against society, and the parent be made to realize the folly of what may be truly called, his suicidal policy.

Although a great deal of legislation has been, and is being enacted at the present time, there is inadequate provision for enforcing the law. When our officials grasp the conception that they are the servants of society, to a large extent, this will be remedied.

Compulsory education has been suggested above. This is a necessary corollary of the movement. It is not a life of anarchy for the children that ought to be sought. To shut them out of the factory and not send them to the

school, is to turn them loose on the streets. Here the question arises as to our primary and secondary systems of education. Often-times, the child had rather go to the factory than to the school. This lack of desire on the part of the child can be partly overcome by the introduction of industrial and vocational training. If the child knew that when school days are ended he would be fitted to do some specific thing, the school would be much more attractive to him. If the child can be made to realize that through this training he can be the more useful and independent citizen there would be but little difficulty in keeping him in school. Such a system indicates clearly the task before our modern educators.

Turning for a moment to the political side. It is argued in this connection that if women are allowed equal suffrage, child labor conditions will be changed. In some places the voting of women is bringing things to pass in behalf of the temperance movement. As great a movement as the temperance movement should not be the all-absorbing one. The child should not be forgotten in the great effort for bettering social conditions. Wherever possible, let us hope that the women of our land will see to it that such real legislation be brought about until every child in the land shall have a chance to come into his own.

There appears on a billboard in the city of Louisville a slogan of a local labor union, which reads like this: "Belong to the union; send the children to school". There

can be no doubt but that if all labor unions become aroused to the situation, they too can do much toward the alleviation of the conditions of the laboring children.

As one takes a retrospective view of the evil, and of the effectiveness of the remedies applied, certainly there is room for encouragement. May the day soon come when every father and mother will voice the sentiment of the old darkey as he hears and thinks of his own children:

I heah de chillun readin'
'Bout de worl' a turnin' 'roun',
Till my head gits sorter dizzy
As I stan' upon de groun';
But let her keep a turnin'
If 'twill bring a better day,
When a man can make a livin'
While his chillun learn an' play.

Chapter IV

The Laborer.

Under our modern industrialism there has grown up a very well-defined class known as the laboring class. This class is composed in a definite sense of those wage earners who are engaged in handling the physical machinery which is so characteristic a feature of our civilization. The machinery is owned by others. Laboring men simply operate it. The class grows in numbers with the increasing use of machinery in all kinds of industry. It is important not only because it is so numerous and so rapidly increasing, but also because the conditions under which it lives are so problematical, and because these problems are fast becoming the chief problems of our present-day civilization.

The laboring man's intellectual development is greatly affected by the conditions of his labor. His labor is physical and deals only with material forms of reality. As industry becomes more and more extensive and machinery more intricate, labor is more and more subdivided, and each individual is limited to some particular process or phase of the process. He is not called upon to think and his intellectual faculties are dwarfed. He, to a large extent, becomes a mere machine and performs his service in a merely mechanical way.

While engaged at his task, the laborer, in many cases is socially isolated. In large factories, no one is allowed to approach him; he dwells while engaged in

labor in a social vacuum. Since one's development of the higher faculties is dependent largely upon the number and variety and character of social contacts, it will be readily seen that the laboring man's development is necessarily very limited.

The social isolation is invariably due to the attitude of the employer to his employee. Socially, the laborer is considered much lower in the scale of humanity than his employer. All the interest the employer manifests in the man at the machine is, that he accomplish the desired task. Here, it seems to me, is a good beginning for the estrangement between capital and the laborer. What an opportunity for help, good cheer, encouragement -- in a word, personal touch.

The laborer in the factory or shop is often in great peril of his life. To quote Mr. Stelzle* "Rarely a day goes by but what the clanging bell of the hospital ambulance is heard in the shop yard - a sound which means that another poor fellow is about to be carried away, perhaps never to return". This peril is often due to negligence, or lack of provision for guarding dangerous machines.

Laborers employed in mines occupy perhaps the most dangerous positions. Statistics taken from reports to the Miners' Convention, at Indianapolis, Ind., January 21st, 1914, are as follows:

Number killed around coal mines in the United States in fourteen years:

1900.....1,493	:	1907.....3,197
1901.....1,549	:	1908.....2,449
1902.....1,895	:	1909.....2,668
1903.....1,752	:	1910.....2,840
1904.....2,004	:	1911.....2,719
1905.....2,332	:	1912.....2,360
1906.....2,116	:	1913. (10 mo.)....2,292

*Letters from a Working Man p. 18.

But this does not near tell all the terrible story. There is the great army of the maimed -- some often crippled for life and in a much worse state than if they had been killed outright.

Mr. Mitchell showed the miners that while the life cost of the coal mined was one life for each 188,668 tons of coal brought to the surface -- a total of 1,492 lives, that the cost in maimed and badly injured men reached the total of 3,643. Many of them were worse than dead. He presented the same terrible alignment for 1902, when one life was spent for each 148,033 tons of coal mined, a total of 1,549 lives, and 3,456 men had been maimed, permanently crippled or seriously injured. In 1903 the life cost was one man for each 205,794 tons mined, while 4,363 men were injured, and in 1904 every 165,430 tons of coal that came out of the ground cost one human life, and 4,081 more men were caught and maimed, crippled or badly injured. For 1913 the life cost was one man for each 226,000 tons of coal.

This country is far behind the other countries of the world in mine care. The world mining statistics for 1910 indicate it forcefully. In this country, the percentage of life toll was 3.93 miners out of every 1,000 employed. In Japan it was 2.33; in Germany, 2.04 - or down practically to half our loss. In New South Wales it was only 1.19; in France, 1.08; in Great Britain 1.70, and in Austria and Belgium less than one man in a thousand, and in India, where life is so cheap, it was only 1.39 lives in 1,000.

The Twenty-third Annual Convention of United Mine Workers appointed a committee in the interest of promoting safety for mine workers. The figures reported are as follows:

	1912	1913
January.....	252	214
February.....	213	200
March.....	360	194
April.....	81	278
May.....	150	199
June.....	170	181
July.....	193	178
August.....	211	233
September.....	175	166
October.....	203	449
Totals.....	2,008	2,292

During April 1913, suspensions pending wage settlements in many of the leading coal producing States materially reduced the number of men working in the mines, and consequently the number of fatalities.

Another condition of the laborer might here be mentioned, which is, in these later days, a very important one. This has to do with the public life or expression of the man in the shop. A political campaign is on. The head of the corporation allies himself with a certain political faction. The men (his employees) are informed that on election day they must vote as he commands under penalty of loss of position. This is an evil which is more and more finding expression in what might be termed anarchism of the baser type.

His leisure is very brief. Taking into consideration the number of hours he has to labor, hours for eating, sleeping, and physical recuperation, he is left only from three to four hours in which he has any real opportunity to touch human life in those ways in which he can

be stimulated in the higher faculties of his nature.

The labor union meeting is his principal school. There the discussions are narrow in scope and refer mainly to the practical problems of his life. From these discussions, he gets his main intellectual stimulation. The educational value is of the greatest importance to him. Being quite well-read in the growing literature dealing with these practical problems, he has a keen intelligence within narrow limits.

He usually lives in the cities. For discussion on this point, the chapter on "The Home of the Laborer" may be referred to.

Under such conditions, his emotional life, cannot be varied nor highly refined. The development of the emotional life, is conditioned largely by the development of the intellectual life; and many of the stimuli which excite in a person of refinement and culture rich, delicate, and varied forms of feeling, are lost upon him. As one should naturally expect, therefore, his emotional life is demonstrative.

The conditions which give form to his intellectual and emotional life, must necessarily re-act upon his ethical life. In the primary virtues of kindness, truthfulness, loyalty, and courage, he is not lacking more than others of his fellowmen. But, there are important conditions that modify his moral life which need to be briefly noticed.

On account of the long continued tax upon his body,

and the lack of stimulation to his intellectual and emotional nature, he is easily made the victim of strong drink. Here is one point where the drink problem connects itself with our industrial system. At the same time that these industrial conditions are making the working man especially temptable, the directors of industry are requiring him to abstain in order to promote his efficiency.

The laboring man is, more than almost any one else, class conscious. This consciousness is very intense, and is a very important factor in his ethical life. It is growing, intensively, because the economic conditions of the time tend to develop it, and extensively, because the organization of all laborers is progressing.

As a member of the class, his efforts are bent upon securing a larger share of the products of industry. Such a demand is in the very focus of his class-consciousness. This effort to share in the products of industry is one of the most highly marked tendencies at the present time in labor circles.

Just a word may be said regarding the baneful influence upon the laborer, of conventionality, custom, fashion, social fads and fancies. Among the rich, he seems all these things in the extreme, and the effect upon the laborer is oftentimes very harmful. He aspires to imitate what he sees and hears. The rich, with their riches, are perhaps able to afford such luxuries, if luxuries they may be called. The laborer with his meagre salary cannot afford them, if he lives within his income.

But, he imitates, even on a salary yet unearned. The inevitable is bad financial conditions. The laboring man should look to the leaders of the community as men and women of higher ideals, perhaps, but he should somehow be taught not to go beyond rational imitation. He should not aspire to live beyond and outside his proper sphere in life.

Bound about by his material environment, concerned always in the struggle for material things -- food, clothing, etc., the laborer, in so far as he has developed a philosophy at all, is materialistic. He is almost wholly lost to higher conceptions of life. He knows only the present, and with this he is engaged. To quote Mr. Mitchell,* "The average wage earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage earner. He has given up hope of the kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist, and he asks that the reward for his work be given to him as a working man". Certainly the laborer should be rewarded for his toil, while engaged in his toil. Further, such conditions should be established as will allow the man to assert his own individuality. This must be the remedy for the vice of materialism into which laboring men as a class have fallen.

To a student of the modern industrial problem, these facts as presented, can but have a deep meaning and significance. The problem cannot be understood apart from the laborer, for he is indeed the source of the problem. Perhaps enough has been said, to get his problem definitely

before us. The greater emphasis will be given to a treatment of his many ills, by way of suggestions, which will enable the man of toil, even in his toil, to give expression to the highest and best that is in him.

A P P E N D I X .

In the very beginning of this discussion, it must be understood that we are dealing with a man -- a person, one who thinks, feels, acts. It must be realized that he has his needs which must be supplied, ills that must be cured, problems that must be solved, always, however, in such a way as will not degrade the person, but elevate him to the position he should hold as a man.

One great difficulty which at once arises is the fact of the vast differences in men. One might, by an extended study, solve the problems, etc. of one man. But, when another man approaches, he presents a wholly different problem. There also enters the problem of multitudinous various tasks to be performed. Some men can do one thing because of a special mental fitness. Some can do other things because of a special physical fitness. Thus, the problem of adjustment is by no means a small one. The ultimate solution to my mind, rests in the individual. By process of selection, elimination, perhaps the laborer can find himself in the task he can best perform.

At the outset it would be proper to mention the fact of the various recent inventions, while sometimes opposed by the laborer, are nevertheless a great advance in the solution of his problems. From the agricultural realm he derives and will derive great benefits. The new machinery introduced in tilling the land, bringing into cultivation vast areas so long unproductive, will mean ultimately the lowering of the cost of living which means that, partially at least, the economic problem of the laborer will be solved. With this fundamental

problem of his homelife under way of solution, he can work more effectively at the solution of his numerous other difficulties.

The task great as it is, can be solved only by the co-operation of all parties concerned. There was placed one day in a large shop a little box with a slot in the top of it, and above it this sign:

"We want suggestions for improving this plant. If you have an idea on this subject, write it briefly, sign your name and drop it into this box".

As a result, the firm established a series of long wash basins with innumerable faucets, so that the men could have clean, fresh water for washing at noon and at the close of the day.

This is exactly what I mean by co-operation. Both employer and employee acting together. This in no way destroys the power, if we may call it such, of the employer, but very greatly encourages and increases the efficiency of the employee. Other conditions could be treated at length, such as, relieving unsanitary situations, removal of bad machinery, guarding of dangerous machinery, removing social barriers, etc., but, enough on this point has been said to make clear what I have in mind.

Aside from actual factory or shop life, perhaps one of the greatest needs of the laborer is protection for himself and family during illness, shut-downs, lock-outs, strikes, etc. This need can be met by combined effort upon the part of the State, the employer and employee. For example, the insurance laws of England. The

insurance is, first, against loss of health and cure and prevention of sickness. Second, insurance against unemployment. With certain exceptions, every employed person, whether male or female, between sixteen and sixty-five, earning not more than 160 pounds a year, whether British subject or not, will be compulsorily insured. The State pays one-fourth, the employer one-fourth, the laborer one-half. A somewhat similar system has been launched in Germany. Unquestionably, such a law would be of great value to the laboring class.

Perhaps at this point, the question of legislation in respect to the laborer may have place. The laboring class, and as individuals, feel, and oftentimes rightly so, that the courts and the law are on the side of their natural oppressor. One of the arguments of the woman suffrage movement is, that better conditions will be brought about for the laborer. This may be true. Certainly there is need for a deeper study of the problem by the courts and law-makers, which can but ultimately lead to the enactment of legislation in behalf of the great army of toilers.

The home of the laborer has been discussed already, but additional suggestions at this time would not be out of place. There has been something accomplished along this line: Instead of the hovel or hut in the slum section of the city, the industry in which he is employed, could furnish him a home at a reasonable rate of rent, on a plot of ground purchased for the purpose, neat cottages could be erected and used as the homes of the men who work in the plant. This, however, has the

defect of making the laborer dependent. Better still, is the building and loan association through which the laborer can buy his own home almost at the rate of rent he has to pay.

The government could enable the laborer to own his home by lending him money at a low rate of interest. There are many deserving cases; many men and women who might be developed into desirable citizens. Should such a definite policy as this be undertaken by the government, it should ever have in view the development of the individual. No system should be advanced that would destroy the initiative of the individual.

Thus far, we have dealt with what might be termed the material side of the laborer. Let us consider now his social life.

The greatest evil resulting from the long hours of toil is, the lack of time for the personality of the laborer to express itself. From the standpoint of self-development, to my mind, this is the greatest argument in favor of an eight-hour-day schedule, enacted by law, and strictly adhered to by employers of labor.

Man is intensely a social being and, in this way his personality can often express itself. But, the laborer is confined to his shop or factory every day in the week. He cannot provide for himself to meet his social needs and recreation. Then, I say, it ought to be provided for him. Parks or playgrounds ought to be provided by city and State governments. In order that stimulation may come to the laborer, societies and corpo-

rations of various kinds should provide free lectures, free concerts, free art exhibits, moving pictures, and theatres of the right kind. Playhouses such as the Buckingham Theatre of Louisville, Ky., with all its vices and vulgarities, should be excluded by law. The moving picture under proper censorship might prove a great blessing to the man, with the cares of home and problems of the shop resting heavily upon him. The public libraries in some of the larger cities are rendering some service along the line of art exhibits. But, the big building up-town, is almost unknown to hundreds and perhaps thousands in the slums. A hall should be engaged and the art exhibit carried to them, instead of asking the almost numberless little children in rags to come to it. But not only should the hall be engaged, art should be taken right into the home of the laborer. It would be a splendid thing if an organization could be perfected for the purpose of furnishing copies of great paintings so that the laborer might own them for his own home at a very low cost. In short, every refining influence -- art, music, etc., -- should be thrown about the laborer so that even in his toil he may be a man of culture and refinement.

That the intellectual faculties of the laborer should be cared for, goes without question. Immediately, the whole question of vocational education looms up. This training includes all forms of specialized education, the controlling purposes of which are to fit for useful occupation.

Industrial education denotes the field of vocational education designed to meet the needs of the manual worker in the trades and in the industries, including the occupation of girls and women carried on in workshops.

Agricultural education is that form of vocational education which fits for the occupations connected with the tillage of the soil, the care of domestic animals, forestry, and other useful works on the farm.

Household arts education is that form of vocational education which fits for occupations connected with the household.

Vocational training has been introduced in many places. There is now being conducted in Louisville, Ky., a pre-vocational class at the Seventeenth and Madison Street school building with splendid success. The effort in this school is, "not merely to teach the child the trade, but to train its hands and intellect together, so that skill with the former may combine with a practical knowledge of adaptation to certain tasks. The child is thus enabled to accomplish work of a more advanced nature". Schools of this character exist in Cleveland, Ohio, Indianapolis, Indiana, and Chicago, Ill., etc. A similar system is found in Germany. As soon as the boy or girl finishes the elementary schools the German continuation system takes hold of him and prepares him for some particular trade or business.

In the city of Louisville, Ky., it is claimed that most of the children who have permits, go to work in distilleries or tobacco factories. The continuation school

as now conducted and as it grows, will fit these children to do something in life, both healthful and elevating.

Constructive advances have been made in Indiana, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Wisconsin, with perhaps Indiana leading the list with the best system of vocational education.

At the present time, the movement is in its infancy. It has not yet wholly passed the experimental stage. But one can hardly predict what another year will bring in this the great trainer and saver of the boys and girls of industry.

A recent movement which bids fair to be of great service to the laborer is, the University Extension Work. Many young men and women do not have the opportunity of going to the college or university. The extension movement brings the university to them. But not only to young men and young women does help come, but to the older laborers as well. When the day's work is done, a night school giving vocational training is open to him for better preparation in his chosen line of work or in some new line. Such training gives the laborer a higher appreciation of his art; by reason of the cultural value, he can better understand his employer and associates. In making him a trained workman, with an appreciation of his art, he is made the better citizen. This phase of work can be brought about by appropriations to State Universities, providing travelling instructors, etc. The University of Wisconsin has done excellent work. Indiana University is also doing some extension work.

Many ills of the laborer without doubt may be remedied by increasing his efficiency. This can be done first of all by a series of psychological experiments as to the skill and speed of the laborer; experiment to find in what field of labor the individual can attain the greatest success.

Mr. Walter Dill Scott* says: "That human efficiency is a variable quantity which increases and decreases according to law. By the application of known physical laws the telephone and telegraph have supplanted the messenger boy. By the laws of psychology applied to business (the same may be said of labor) equally astounding improvements are being and will be secured".

Mr. Scott states that human efficiency may be increased in the following ways:

Imitation: "We have come to see that imitation is the greatest factor in the education of the young and a continuous process with all of us. The part of wisdom, then, is to utilize this power from which we cannot escape, by setting up a perfect copy of imitation". (p.29, Increasing Human Efficiency).

Competition: "Our actual equals stimulate us less than those whom we recognize as the peers of our ideal selves - - of ourselves as we strive and intend to become. The man on the ladder just above me stirs me irresistably". (p.54 Increasing Human Efficiency).

"The most industrious and ambitious men are stimulated by competition; with the less industrious such a stimulation is often wonderworking in its effects". [p.73).

Loyalty: "The employer who secures the loyalty of

*Increasing Human Efficiency.

his men not only secures better service, but he enables his men to accomplish more with less effort and less exhaustion". (p.82 Increasing Human Efficiency).

Concentration: "The conversion of a difficult task into an interesting activity is the most fruitful method of securing concentration". "Employers are finding it to their interest to make concentration easy for their men by rendering their work interesting". (pp.124,125, Increasing Human Efficiency).

Wages: "Almost without exception the interest of workers centers in the wage. If they could retain their custom wage with less effort, they would do so. If the retention and increase depend on individual production, they will respond to the compulsion". (p.138). "Since the wage is the means ordinarily employed to awaken in workers the three instincts of self preservation, social distinction, and of hoarding, it is not strange that an industrial age should regard it as the chief means of increasing efficiency". (pp.140,141, In. Human. Effi.).

Pleasure: "A successful day is likely to be a restful one, an unsuccessful day an exhausting one. The man who is greatly interested in his work and who finds delight in overcoming the difficulties of his calling is not likely to become so tired as the man for whom the work is a burden". (p.167 Increas. Hum. Efficiency).

The Love of the Game: "For some men, buying and selling is as great a delight as felling a deer. For others the manufacture of goods is as great a joy as landing a trout. For such a man enthusiasm for his work is unflagging and industry unremitting", (p.189 In.Hum.Eff.).

Relaxation: "Relaxation of the body not only gives freedom to the intellect, but it is the necessary preliminary condition for the greatest physical exertion and for the most perfect execution of any series of skillful acts". (p.317, Increasing Human Efficiency).

The above quotations have so clearly set forth the ideas involved, ^{that} use has been made of them.

Under the head of increasing human efficiency may be discussed the movement for developing and improving the human race -- eugenics. The need of growing better children, under improved conditions, no one would under-rate. Indeed race development bids fair to be the remedy for the eradication of the ills of many and not alone the laboring man. The difficulty of the whole problem is, the environment under which the laborer and his family live - inefficient workmanship, bad management, etc., produce bad financial conditions. The inevitable result is a lower standard of morals, a lower standard of home life. However, eugenics as a movement is yet in its infancy. Its results can only be told by and through subsequent generations.

Protection has come to the laborer in the compensation laws passed by many States. The following quotation will bring the matter definitely before us: "The principle that the cost of industrial accidents must be charged to the industries causing them and not permitted to fall entirely upon the unfortunate workers who happen to be hurt, received its first real recognition in this country as the result of a report made by the New York Commission on Employers' Liability created by the Legislature of 1909

and followed by the adoption of compensation acts in that State. Since then, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, have enacted compensation laws, and more than five million men and women have come under their beneficent protection. The first of January next nearly two million more workers will be placed in this class by the compulsory acts of California and Ohio. The litigation between employer and employee arising out of personal injuries has practically ceased to exist in some of the States affected".

The eyes of many laboring men are now turned toward socialism as a solution for their many problems. Mr. Hillquit* says: "As a practical movement, socialism stands primarily for industrial readjustment. It seems to secure greater planfulness in the production of wealth and greater equity in its distribution."

"Concretely stated, the socialist program advocates a reorganization of the existing industrial system on the basis of collective or national ownership of the social tools. It demands that the control of the machinery of wealth-creation be taken from the individual capitalist and placed in the hands of the nation, to be organized and operated for the benefit of the whole people. The program implies radical changes in the existing industrial machinery, political structure, and social relations. The form of society which would result from such changes is

*Everybody's Magazine, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, p. 488.

usually designated in the literature on the subject as the Socialist State or the Socialist Ideal".

The socialist movement has made and is making great progress, but it remains yet to be demonstrated as to whether or not the movement will cure the ills, or satisfy the ideal for which it was launched.

A final suggestion will deal briefly with the morality of the laborer. It is a sad fact that among our laboring classes one finds in many instances, a low state of morality. The root of this, I think, can be very easily found in the conditions and situations under which the man labors. In a large measure, he is a product of his material environment, and not wholly responsible. Surrounded on all sides, every day, with causes and tendencies to low morality, the inevitable result is a low standard.

That a man's material environment vitally affects the moral life of the individual is being realized more and more. Cities are putting forth movements that will unquestionably make the laborer a better citizen. One of these great movements is the beautifying of the city. Instead of the dirty, unsanitary streets, there are beautiful streets with their shade trees. Public buildings are designed to be beautiful. Public parks are opened up and made attractive. To the man who deals almost every day of his life with oil and dust-covered machinery in a dingy factory, the city beautified makes a tremendous appeal to his aesthetic nature and is destined to wield a large influence in moulding the moral life of the laborers.

The once low standard will be replaced by one that is high. The base ideal will be supplanted by a noble one. Mastered by this new inspiration, the laborer will go out to be and do his very best. Some of the cities adopting such a method are, Washington, D. C., New York, Boston, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Chicago.

In many of our cities the public health movement is well under way. Legislation needs to be enacted whereby slum conditions, unsanitary work shops, would be done away with. The laborer's environment changed, he will have a better opportunity to assert his individual self. With more healthful surroundings, plenty of fresh air and sunshine, the laborer's morals will be higher. With this new sense of morality he will go forth to do a more noble work even in the most menial task. The State of Wisconsin has established a public health bureau. "The plan of operation is to provide the public of the State with the same authentic scientific information in such form as to be generally understood, which is provided for the farmers by the College of Agriculture. Disease prevention, hygiene, care of the sick, will all be taken up serially, the most important problem being presented first in popular bulletins. Intensely practical, the enterprise is to make the individual of the State better fitted to be a wage earner, to make him fitter to earn more in whatever line of work he may engage, to bring out the highest faculties of the individual by giving him as the first essential a strong constitution".

The ill of low moral conditions in addition to the

above suggestions, can be remedied to a large extent, by a definite teaching of morals in the schools. Here again the value of compulsory education is seen. With a law prohibiting the child to be placed in the factory, a law compelling him to attend school, and a definitely outlined system for teaching morals, a long stride forward will be made in the redemption of the laborer in the days just ahead.

Chapter V

The Unemployed.

One of the most serious phases of the modern industrial problem is, the problem of the unemployed. Here again, complete statistics are lacking. Only a few of the States which are most thoroughly industrialized have really made an attempt to keep proper statistics. A few significant facts will be presented. Massachusetts in 1885 showed 29.59 per cent of the industrial population had been unemployed at their principal occupation on an average of four and one-tenth months in the year. One-third of the working people were employed approximately one-third of their time.

In New York five to thirteen per cent of the trade unionists are out of employment in the busiest seasons of the year, and the time actually lost through irregular and unemployment varies from seventeen to thirty per cent.

In 1899 to 1901 the average trades unionist lost one out of every five or six days.

By way of comparison of the United States with other countries, the following percentages, taken from the statement of the British Board of Trade (Published 1911) are given, for the years 1903 to 1909 inclusive:

Average percentage of unemployed.	
Germany.....	2.2
France.....	9.2
United States.....	14.0
Belgium.....	3.1
Denmark.....	10.0
Great Britain [ten year average)....	4.8.

The fluctuations from year to year were found to be smallest in Germany and greatest in the United States.

These percentages are not exact but are sufficient to indicate the bigness of the problem, with the United States heading the list with the largest number unemployed.

This unemployment is due to bad weather, seasonal occupations (building operations, etc.), custom, commercial spirit, climatic conditions, industrial depressions, which seem to come periodically, change of fashion, fads, etc., introduction of new machinery, sickness and accidents, strikes and lock-outs, incapacity for sustained work, inability to pass from one kind of labor to another, drink and other indulgences, the moral pervert, semi-criminal and criminal, loafer and beggar.

What proportion of unemployment is due to inefficiency and economic maladjustment, is hard to determine. Adams and Sumner* claim that this is the chief cause.

This irregular employment produces some very bad effects in the laborer himself. The helpless hand-to-mouth sort of existence into which he drifts, is not conducive to thrift, weakens self-reliance, tends to form habits of idleness, unsteadiness and intemperance.

In the second generation, the children are likely to grow up without sufficient education and moral training and serve as recruits for the ranks of unskilled labor. They descend lower than their parents because of their moral and physical condition.

The worst phase of the problem of the unemployed is the tramp or wanderer. This is indeed a very large

*Labor Problems "Unemployment" p.160.

class. Just what is the primary cause of such delinquency is hard to say. It is claimed that many of the tramps are products of certain conditions. In this age of scramble for gain, position and fame, the man who comes to the top it is claimed, must climb over some one else. Thus, it is inevitable that some one must be crowded out. Because the person is crowded out from doing what he wants to do, there is open to him by way of necessity, a life of delinquency and dependency. This may be true in a measure, but one can hardly feel that all of this great army have been forced to such a life by being crowded out. It is very evident that many of them chose the life of the tramp because that is the thing they desired most to do. The enormity of this phase of the problem may be seen in some quotations from the address of Prof. William Bailey of the Chair of Economics at Yale University on "The American Tramp" before the Hope Church Brotherhood. Prof. Bailey claims there are four grades of tramps, ranging from the lowest, the "tomato can" variety to gypsies -- the tomato can tramp, the "dossers", everyday "hobo", and the gypsy. The gypsy is the highest grade of tramp. These four classes or grades combined cost the country \$200,000.00 every day in the year.

Prof. James Forbes, Secretary of the National Association for the prevention of mendicancy estimates the number of tramps in the United States at 350,000. Of these probably 75,000 belong to the aristocracy of the tramp world, that is, they are professional idlers roam-

ing about over the country, living by begging, petit larceny, and other more serious crimes. The vast majority of tramps he classified as "occasional vagrants". They work part of the time, but a great deal of the time, live by begging, especially in cities, and by deceiving mission workers and clergymen. A third class are the transient workers who labor in the wheat fields, on the lake steamers, or in northern lumber camps, according to season. Finally, there are the "mush fakers", or the superannuated tramps who make a pretense at some such trade as umbrella mending. The ranks of vagrants are depleted by a very high mortality, by alms houses, prisons and hospitals. They are recruited from the unemployed, and by boys enticed into the life by either professional tramps or boys who have had some experience in wandering. They are most numerous along the main lines of railroads, and have their favorite place of congregation at railroad centers and cities. They have become fairly well organized, with an ingenious system of conveying information, and a well-developed code of tramp ethics, as well as a tradition of how to succeed. The perfection of their organization is shown by the tramp conventions which have been held in recent years in various cities from Montreal to San Francisco.

Enough facts have been presented to make the problem of the unemployed stand out as one of the most vital and far-reaching of our modern times. Great effort is being put forth daily in the grappling with this mighty foe of civilization. Let us hope that accomplishments

along this line may far exceed our greatest expectations.

A P P E N D I X .

Attention will now be given to some suggestive remedies for this problem of unemployment. Let us note first of all, city, State, and National legislative tendencies.

A considerable number of States have enacted or amended laws designated to facilitate the finding of work by men seeking it. Indiana and Missouri established free public employment offices, and the laws of Massachusetts, Michigan and Montana, with reference to public employment offices, have been extended. Indiana has authorized the establishment of such an office under the direction of the State Bureau of Statistics in each city with 50,000 or more inhabitants. These offices are required to receive applications for all kinds of work, to keep a register of all applicants, to advertise for positions, and to make weekly and annual reports to the Bureau of Statistics. Massachusetts amended her law by directing the Superintendent of the employment offices to receive applications from alien immigrants seeking employment in agricultural labor and otherwise promote the distribution of immigrants to farming communities. Michigan increased the number of free bureaus from eight to ten. Missouri authorized the Commissioner of Labor to establish free bureaus in any city of 75,000 or more population. Montana amended its law by requiring first and second class cities to establish such offices, and permitted any other city to do so.

The State Bureau of Kentucky although only a little more than one year old, has done excellent work in bring-

ing the employer and job hunter together.

The following is an extract from an article in the Louisville Herald of January 18, 1914: "Bringing the job and the man together is more than half the solution of the labor problem, according to W. T. Buckingham, head of the Kentucky Employment Bureau.

"The Bureau is comparatively new - - a State experiment that is being worked out in the laboratory of the department of agriculture and labor. Its aim is to establish an adequate system of communication between employers and men out of work, so that the waste of energy in "job-hunting" may be eliminated.

"When the Bureau was opened in the Kentucky Title Building, a little more than a year ago, it had, to begin with, the experience of three other States, a set of file cards, and \$2,000.00. This last had not been appropriated for a labor bureau, but for the office of the clerk of immigration, whose work was so largely a matter of finding "jobs" for unemployed foreigners that Commissioner of Agriculture J. W. Newman converted the appropriation to the uses of a free, general employment bureau.

"It's a matter of practical business", said Mr. Newman, "to keep people busy. There is plenty of work to be done - - the thing is, to let the man who can do it, know. More energy is wasted in job-hunting or 'standing 'round' than in any way I know, and I believe it is time for the State to take a hand in helping men who want work to get it. I have never been able to understand why there

should not be some system in this matter of finding employment. The whole question is greatly simplified by establishing a point of communication between employer and laborer".

"The Kentucky Bureau has succeeded in making itself known as a 'point of communication'. In the short time that it has been open, more than 5,000 people, apparently 'down and out' have filed their applications, the greater number of whom have been promptly placed. All large employers of labor have likewise communicated with the Bureau and have arranged to fill vacancies through it.

"W. T. Buckingham appointed to take charge of the office, has visited the Bureaus of Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri, from which he has brought back much valuable material, including the card system. By this, all people seeking either employment or employees, file cards with the office, and so may be located when the proper person or position is found. The fact that the employment bureau adjoins the office of the State Labor Inspector, enables both to be more efficient".

In addition to State agencies, many private bureaus are in operation under State laws. Illinois has authorized a woman investigator of domestic agencies. Indiana requires private agencies to pay an annual license fee, educational, professional, religious, or benevolent institutions, being exempt in case no fee is charged. Kansas requires private agencies to obtain license from the

Director of the State free bureaus, the license fee being \$25.00 in cities of 20,000 or over, and \$10.00 in all other cities. A bond of \$500.00 is also required to guarantee the observance of the law. Every private agency must keep a register; it cannot charge more than \$1.00 for registration, unless wages exceed \$3.00 per day, when \$2.00 may be charged; the fee must be returned if no employment is secured within three days; false notices, promises and entries are forbidden. Maine raised the license fee from \$20.00 to \$25.00, and increased safeguards about the granting of license, requiring that a register be kept in english. Minnesota allowed private agencies to extend their dealings to female and clerical help, and classified license fees and bonds according to whether male or female help is provided. New Jersey transferred the granting of license from Mayor to General Council. Oregon passed a very extensive law regarding the license of shipping masters and the hiring of seamen. Pennsylvania safeguarded the granting of licenses by additional requirements, permitting an agency to retain a fee of \$.50 when an honest attempt is made for the applicant.

In 1909 the National Employment Exchange was organized in New York city under the direction of Jacob A. Schiff and the Russell Sage Foundation. This Exchange is divided into two departments. The mercantile and the manual. In the second annual report 1,331 persons had been placed, and the manual department had placed 1,398 men.

In Great Britain there is an extensive system of

labor exchanges, but these were condemned in 1911 by an overwhelming majority on the ground that same might be used by employers as recruiting stations during strikes and other differences. The most comprehensive remedy for the ills of the unemployed is, the compulsory insurance law. This has been treated heretofore and need only be mentioned here.

Germany has the most perfect system of labor exchanges of any country in the world. There are about 713 such exchanges in close co-operation by means of telephone and telegraph. In 1910 they registered 3,708,000 men and women. Employers offered 3,208,000 places, of which 1,534,000 were filled. As an evidence of the fact that such exchanges are meeting the needs, the transactions in the German system have doubled since 1904.

It is being advocated at the present time that the local labor union headquarters adopt the method of keeping a register accessible to every one. When one of their members is out of employment he goes to headquarters and reports this fact, registers his name, with address and kind of employment desired. If same can be secured for him, he is immediately notified. During the period of his unemployment, the laborer is required to report at stated intervals.

What has been said thus far, deals primarily with the man who wants to work. There is, however, that great body of men who do not care to work, and will not do so if they can possibly keep out of it -- the vagrant or tramp. He quite often lives very well, eating five meals

a day if he can get them. Prof. Bailey declared in a recent address, "never give a cent of food to a tramp unless he works for it, and you will soon eliminate him from American society". This is one very effective way of dealing with the problem, but does not settle it. The State should take the tramp in hand as a social menace or parasite. A form of inter-state law that would prevent him from roaming so far, and then a State law making it an offense punishable by fine or imprisonment or both to be a professional beggar. In the matter of imprisonment, however, it has been said that tramps discuss the jails of the country as a wealthy man would the health or summer resorts of the country. The tramp should be caught up by authorities, and if he is found, after careful medical examination, to be unable to provide for himself by means of some form of labor, then he should be cared for by the State. If able and unwilling to work, the law should see to it that he works, making him self-supporting, and thereby relieving the general public of this great and unnecessary burden. If the tramp because of lack of training, cannot perform some form of labor in an efficient way, he should be placed in a vocational training school, men and boys alike, and there equip himself for some form of definite service.

The fundamental remedy for such conditions then, is of course, rational organization having for its aim the control of those conditions, near and remote, which lead people into it and prevent their getting out. The most radical measures ~~are these which~~ are those which are

educational and protective in a very broad and searching sense of the words - - the humanization of the primary school system, industrial education, facilities for play, physical training and healthy amusement, good housing, the restriction by law of child labor and of all vicious and unwholesome conditions, and finally, the biological precaution of stopping the propagation of really degenerate types of men.

The blame for the evil is often laid at the doorway of society. Whether this be true or not organized society as such and individuals should deal with the problem in a sympathetic yet forceful manner striving always to lay hold of and to develop what good the unfortunate wanderer may possess.

Chapter VI

The Immigrant.

Knocking at the doors of the United States each year for admittance are very large numbers of men, women, and children, coming from every part of the globe. The purposes for which they come are many. Some are seeking a land of freedom from oppression; some for the purpose of making money, with the expectation of returning as soon as a small sum is accumulated; some to wander here and there, working only enough to supply themselves with food and clothing, which supply is often very limited.

We have seen the laborer of the United States in his home, and under what conditions he labors in the various organized industries of the land. This phase of the problem alone has given a great deal of concern, but with the entrance of this foreign population the problem daily grows more complex and hard of solution. The coming of the foreigner does not only endanger the welfare of our American laborer, it presents at once a serious situation in which all classes are vitally interested.

A full study of the immigration question involves an examination of every important phase of American economic, political, and social life. There is scarcely an ailment of our body politic says Mr. Hourwich that is not diagnosed - - in prose and in verse - - as the effect of unrestricted immigration. The immigrants are blamed for unemployment, female and child labor, the introduction of machinery, unsafe coal mines, lack of organization among wage-earners, congestion in great cities, industrial crises, inability to gain a controlling interest in stock

corporations, pauperism, crime, insanity, race suicide, gambling, the continental Sunday, parochial schools, atheism, political misrule. The latest count in this long list of indictments is the McNamara conspiracy, which a noted sociologist has somehow connected with unrestricted immigration. Robert Hunter claims that not only has "recent immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe" lowered the American standard of living, but it threatens to lower "the average stature of the American".

It must be conceded that in the past, immigration has played an important part in the economical development of the United States. In early times when it was really dangerous to come to the United States, the process of natural selection was the order of the day. Men of sturdy character came to develop the new and untouched resources. Now, it is quite different. The new immigrant is attracted by the glamor of the city and the natural selection process no longer holds.

In many instances, his morals are lowered; because of the cheap and often-times unsanitary way in which he lives, the foreigner can work for a much smaller wage, and thus in numerous places, succeeds the American laborer. That the coming of the immigrant means inevitably the lowering of wages of the native American seems clear to the writer. However, Mr. Hourwich* takes the opposite position. "If immigration tends to depress wages, this tendency must manifest itself in lower average earnings in States with a large immigration population rather than in States with a predominate native population. No such

*Immigration and Labor, p. 24.

tendency, however, is discernible from wage statistics. As a rule, annual earnings are higher in States with a higher percentage of foreign-born workers".

From the standpoint of citizenship, the immigrant is often quite an undesirable addition. Other things might be mentioned equally significant, but these will have to suffice.

The enormity of this phase of the problem can best be seen from the facts as given below.

Mr. Sears* states, "there are foreign communities in our great cities that are as homogeneous as a New England town in days of old".

"It is computed that over eight millions in all entered between 1900 and the end of 1909, and that over twenty-seven millions have entered in the years between 1840 and 1910, twice what the total white population in the United States was in the former year". "There were in the United States only forty-eight millions of white people, when the ten millions from Central and Southern Europe who have arrived since 1885, began to enter, an addition to the nation such as no nation ever received before".**

The number of immigrants arriving in the United States from foreign countries in 1911 was less than in 1910 by 162,983. The figures for the respective years are, 878,587, and 1,041,570. The departures during the year of 1911 numbered 295,656. The total gain in immi-

*The Redemption of the City, p.206.

**Bryce, The Amer. Commonwealth (New Ed) pp.470-471.

grant population for 1911 was 518,085, as compared with 817,619 in 1910.

The table below shows the country of origin, and the number of immigrants in 1911*.

Country	1910	1911
Austria.....	135,793 ...	82,129
Hungary.....	122,944 ...	76,928
Belgium.....	5,402 ...	5,711
Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro.....	4,737 ...	4,695
Denmark.....	6,984 ...	7,555
France, including Corsica....	7,383 ...	8,022
German Empire.....	31,283 ...	32,061
Greece.....	25,888 ...	26,226
Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia.....	215,537 ...	182,882
Netherlands.....	7,534 ...	8,358
Norway.....	17,538 ...	13,950
Portugal, including Cape Verde Islands and A- zores.....	8,229 ...	8,374
Roumania.....	2,145 ...	2,522
Russian Empire and Finland.....	186,792 ...	158,721
Spain, including Canary and Valeric Islands...	3,472 ...	5,074
Sweden.....	23,745 ...	20,780
Switzerland.....	3,533 ...	3,458

*Article "Immigration" The New Int.Yr.Book, 1911.

Turkey in Europe.....	18,405 ...	14,438
United Kingdom		
England.....	46,706 ...	53,436
Ireland.....	29,855 ...	29,112
Scotland.....	20,115 ...	18,796
Wales.....	2,120 ...	2,162
Other Europe.....	<u>151</u> ...	<u>377</u>
Total Europe.....	926,291 ...	764,757
China.....	1,968 ...	1,460
Japan.....	2,720 ...	4,520
India.....	1,696 ...	524
Turkey in Asia.....	15,212 ...	10,229
Other Asia.....	<u>1,937</u> ...	<u>695</u>
Total Asia.....	23,532 ...	17,428
Africa.....	1,072 ...	956
Australia, Tasmania, New		
Zealand.....	998 ...	984
Pacific Islands, not		
specified.....	99 ...	59
British North America....	56,555 ...	56,830
Central America.....	893 ...	1,193
Mexico.....	18,691 ...	19,889
South America.....	2,151 ...	3,049
West Indies.....	11,244 ...	13,403
Other countries.....	<u>43</u> ...	<u>39</u>
Grand total.....	1,041,570	878,587.

The largest number of immigrant aliens was admitted at the port of New York. These numbered 637,003. At Boston, 45,865 were admitted; at Philadelphia 45,023,

and at Baltimore, 22,866. From border stations were admitted 58,530. The States to which the largest number of aliens went as permanent residents were, New York, 260,278; Pennsylvania, 114,922; Illinois, 76,565; Massachusetts, 70,811, and to New Jersey, 46,782. Every State in the Union received some of the immigrants in 1911.

As to the occupation of the immigrants, and their distribution, may be seen in the following table given by Mr. Hourwich*:

Annual average immigration, distributed
by occupation (in thousands) 1861-1910

Occupation	:1861-70:	1871-80:	1881-90:	1891-00:	1901-10:
Professional	1	2	3	2	10
Skilled	30	33	54	44	132
Agrcl.pursuit:					
total	22	26	37	25	159
Com.Laborers	53	60	133	103	227
Servants	9	11	25	33	92
All other					
occupations	10	11	13	12	33
Total	125	143	265	219	653

The sub-division of the foreigners among the five great divisions of the country at each of the five censuses, ending with 1900, is given by Wright** as follows:

(100. per cent basis)

Geog.Divs.	: 1850::	1860	: 1870	: 1880	: 1890	:1900:
No.Atlantic	: 59.06	: 48.90	: 45.27	: 42.13	: 42.04	: 46.0
So. Atlantic	: 4.67	: 3.93	: 3.00	: 2.61	: 2.25	: 2.1
No. Central	: 28.98	: 37.29	: 41.91	: 43.66	: 43.90	: 40.2
So. Central	: 6.09	: 5.56	: 4.19	: 4.11	: 3.48	: 3.5
Western	: 1.20	: 4.32	: 5.63	: 7.49	: 8.33	: 8.2
United States	:100.00	:100.00	:100.00	:100.00	:100.00	:100.0

According to Roberts† the number of immigrants that have landed in North America during the last ninety years is about 30,000,000. Eighty percent, or 23,500,000 have entered in the last fifty years. The banner year was 1907,

*Immigration and Labor, p.67.

**Practical Sociology, p. 54.

***Immigrant Races in North America.

when 1,508,051 landed. Eighty-two percent of these peoples are between fourteen and forty-five years of age, another thirteen percent are below fourteen years, and the remaining five percent are over forty-five years. The illiteracy of some immigrant nations rises to seventy percent, in others it falls below two percent. Some bring little money with them while others bring much; eighty-five percent have less than \$50.00 per person when they land.

These figures bring to mind immediately an imminent danger, which lies in unrestricted immigration of the Asiatics. They can acquire much more quickly the skill of the American laborer than his standards of living. The inevitable result is a lower standard. Ross* says: "Suppose Asiatics flock to this country and, enjoying equal opportunities under our laws, learn our methods and compete actively with Americans. They may be able to produce and therefore earn in the ordinary occupations, say three-fourths as much as Americans; but if their standard of life is only half as high, the Asiatic will marry before the American feels able to marry. The Asiatic will rear two children while his competitor feels able to rear but one. The Asiatic will increase his children to six under conditions that will not encourage the American to raise more than four. Both, perhaps, are forward-looking and influenced by the worldly prospects of their children; but where the oriental is satisfied with the outlook, the American, who expects to school his children longer and place them better, shakes his head".

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*Social Psychology, p. 265.

It might be well to close this discussion with some conclusions taken from the reports of Immigration Commission.

The Commission found that the numbers of recent immigrants "are so great and the influx is so continuous that even with the remarkable expansion of industry during the past few years there has been created an oversupply of unskilled labor and in some of the industries this is reflected in a curtailed number of working days and a consequent yearly income among the unskilled workers which is very much less than is indicated by the daily wage rates paid".

That the standard of living of "the majority of the employees....is so far below that of the native American, or older immigrant workmen, that it is impossible for the latter to successfully compete with them".

That the new immigrants have in some degree "lowered the American standard of living".

That a "characteristic of the new immigrants is the impossibility of successfully organizing them into labor unions".

That "the competition of these immigrants has kept conditions in the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations from advancing".

With such facts and conditions before us, there should be careful scientific study of this phase of our modern industrial problem, as affecting the life of our republic.

A P P E N D I X .

The question has been asked, shall we Americanize the foreigner or will he Foreignize us? A perfectly legitimate question to ask when one turns to a consideration of the immigrant problem. In a treatment of suggestions for remedies, only the main arguments can here be given. The cure for the evils of immigration upon which all seem to be agreed, is some method of selection which will admit all desirable immigrants, and keep out the undesirable. This method has not so far been satisfactorily outlined.

Restriction of immigration is the watchword of organized labor, and any opposition to restriction is viewed with suspicion, as emanating from the employing class or from the steamship companies, which are hiding selfish interests under a cloak of humanitarianism. A recent illustration of the restriction policy may be seen in "the Japanese Question" which came into prominence about 1906, when the San Francisco Board of Education prohibited Japanese children from attending the public schools of that city, chiefly because Japanese adults also attended. The immigration question again became acute in 1907 because of a new law passed (February 1907) in which Japan was to issue no passports to laborers coming to the States. Race feeling became strong and deeds of violence occurred in some places. The anti-alien land laws of California only recently passed, aimed directly at the Japanese, created much discussion, and considerable international feeling.

With respect to assimilation, conditions have under-

gone a material change. The old immigrants, scattered amidst the native American population, were quickly assimilated. Moreover, they were practically all of Teuton and Celtic stock, and came from countries with a representative form of government. The recent immigrants, on the other hand, have had no training in self-government at home, and being hurded together in foreign colonies, out of touch with native Americans, they are incapable of assimilation, and present a growing danger to the integrity of American democratic institutions.

If by assimilation ^{one} means the understanding of American institutions, it will readily occur to the student that one of the standard works on the constitutional history of the United States was written by a German, von Holst, an alumnus of a Russian University, and another standard book on the organization of American political parties was written in French by Ostrogorsky, a Russian Jew. Moreover, a deeper insight into the social life of the immigrant, will disclose powerful forces making for social assimilation in those very institutions which are popularly frowned upon as tending to perpetrate the isolation of the foreigner from American influences. The newspaper printed in foreign language is virtually a sign of Americanization. That it apparently serves its purpose, is conceded by prominent advocates of restriction. The theatre where the immigrant sees a play produced in his mother tongue is likewise the outgrowth of the democratic spirit of American social life; the theatre in eastern Europe caters only to the upper classes.

McLanahan* says: "The ideal must be always and every-

where to make of these diverse elements one new nation, one not only in territory and institutions, but one also in speech and in spirit. This is being accomplished, and is to be accomplished, not by enforced legal prohibition of that which is alien and forcible imposition of that which is American after the manner in which Russia has been "Russifying" her dominion; but by the secret, genial, and yet mighty influences of our national life. This is facilitated by the fact that immigrants come hither, not in organized communities, but as families and as individuals".

These colonies or aggregations of foreigners ought to be dispersed. There should be a well-defined policy of distribution. If they are to become Americanized, they must come into a more vital relation with American people and customs. Thus distribution would in part accomplish this. Employment agencies do something along this line now, but it should be controlled by State and National legislation, creating bureaus of immigration, for furnishing information as to location, opportunities, etc.

When located on the farm or in the shop, the foreigner should be urged to become an American citizen -- he should be naturalized at the very earliest possible date. If instead of a policy of non-interference with the foreign colony, the policy of distribution and encouragement would be instituted, it would be much easier for the foreigner to become a citizen.

Another cure for the ills of the immigrant is or-

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ganization. Discussing the possibilities of organized labor among the unskilled, a student of organized labor says: "The immigrant is usually accustomed to some form of social organization. He is not as individualistic as is the typical American. He can be organized with others into labor unions; and when the unskilled immigrants, from a variety of birth places, are thus associated, the resulting union is usually strong, coherent, and easily directed by capable and enthusiastic leaders. The McKees Rocks strike furnishes an excellent illustration of the solidarity of the unskilled when organized". Then too, these unskilled and illiterate workmen ought to be brought into some form of continuation school. They should have vocational training which would do much to prepare them for adaptation to American conditions. With what training and experience he has acquired the immigrant is an asset to the country, as will be seen from the following facts given by Mr. Haskin in an article on Immigration - - Coming to America: "In the iron and steel industries he and his children contribute seven-tenths of labor. In the slaughtering and meat packing industry, they give three-fourths of the labor required. They do seventy per cent of the work in the bituminous coal mines and nearly three-fifths of that of the glass factories.

"Seven-eighths of the labor in woolen and worsted manufacturing is contributed by the immigrant and his children, and they produce nearly four-fifths of our silk goods, nearly nine-tenths of the cotton goods, and nearly

nineteen-twentieths of the men's and women's clothing of the country.

"They make more than half of America's shoes, nearly four-fifths of its furniture. Half of the labor in making our collars, cuffs and shirts, is contributed by them, and five-sixths of the work in the leather industry is placed to their credit. They make half of our gloves, refine nearly nine-tenths of our oil, and nearly nineteen-twentieths of our sugar. Also, they manufacture nearly half of our tobacco and cigars."

Perhaps the single agency directly at work to unify the diverse nationalities among us is the public school. Here the children are learning in our common language the same great lessons. While there need be no prohibition of other schools or even the teaching of other tongues, the public school should be cherished and held free from all sectarian or racial control, and dedicated to its one great work of preparing, in the English tongue, young Americans for American citizenship.

The last factor I shall mention, which may be regarded as a prime factor, is religion. American Catholicism has profited largely by its contact with American Protestantism. The great majority of the present immigrants do not speak English, and are, at least nominally, Catholic. To the foreigner, this benefit of contact with Protestantism, will also come. Ideally and ultimately the Churches of America, like the schools of America, should be English-speaking Churches. Agencies which may be employed under the direction of the Churches are, the printing press,

colporteurs and visitors, kindergartens and schools, the Sunday School, and social settlement work.

Chapter VII

Labor Organizations.

Side by side with the development in our modern industries, there has been the endeavor of the workmen to help themselves through associated action. This association of action upon the part of the laborers has resulted in an effort by the State to help the laborers secure a reasonable equality. The organizations, starting within each trade, were known as trade unions, and gradually assumed a national form. When general interests of all unions are at stake, there is combined action in the form councils, State federations, and national bodies, like the American Federation of Labor. As a fraternal organization "the union seeks to accomplish some of the ends of the old-time guild". As a militant organization "the union seeks to promote its industrial power and to increase the earnings of its members".

At the Seventh Biennial Conference of the International Secretariat held at Budapest, Hungary, August 10-12, 1911, the report of the secretary showed that the total membership of all trades unions affiliated with the organizations represented was 6,033,500, of whom nearly two million were in Germany, 1,700,000 in the United States.

Let us look at this 1,700,000 in the United States alone.

The Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was held at Atlanta, Ga. beginning November 13, 1911. The President's report showed progress in the four principal departments - - building trades,

metal trades, railroad employees, and union label trades. The building trades department included twenty inter-national unions, with a total membership of 294,345. This was considerably less than the previous year because of the loss of 189,312 members being taken away by the defection of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and The Inter-national Organization of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers. This loss was partly offset by the addition of the International Association of Machinists and Slate and Tar Roofers International Union with 67,445.

The union label trades department reported an increase in numbers of commodities produced bearing the union label. During the year ending September 30, 1911, the following new affiliations were made: three inter-national unions, sixty-one city central bodies, two hundred seven local trade unions, and fifty-five federal labor unions. The total at the close of the year was as follows: Inter-national unions 115; State federations 38; city central bodies 631; local trade unions 493; federal labor unions 187. There was, therefore, a total of 1,464 organisations, including approximately 28,000 local unions, with an aggregate paid membership of 1,761,000. This was an increase of about 200,000 during the year, a considerable part of which was due to the affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners with 51,300 members.

The remarkable growth in membership of the United Mine Workers since the Union was organized in 1890, of paid up members for each year is as follows:

1890.....20,912: 1902.....175,367
 1891.....17,044: 1903.....247,240
 1892.....19,376: 1904.....251,006
 1893.....14,244: 1905.....264,950
 1894.....17,628: 1906.....230,667
 1895.....10,871: 1907.....260,740
 1896..... 9,617: 1908.....252,018
 1897.....39,371: 1909.....265,274
 1898.....32,092: 1910.....231,392
 1899.....61,887: 1911.....256,256
 1900....115,312: 1912.....289,269
 1901....198,024: 1913.....377,682.

The increase in 1913 over 1912 was 121,426. The paid-up membership for December, 1913, was 415,142, exclusive of exonerations.

The following table taken from the reports of Immigration Commission*, gives the organization of immigrant labor:

Desirable Races	Tot. No.	Organized	
		No.	Per Ct.
French Canadian.....	573	133	23.2
English.....	524	87	16.6
Irish.....	724	107	14.8
Swedish.....	515	48	9.3
Bohemian and Moravian..	537	26	4.8
German.....	1,101	51	4.6
Total.....	3,974	452	11.4
Undesirable Races			
North Italian.....	881	351	39.8
Lithuanian.....	1,408	497	35.3
Hebrew.....	761	163	21.4
Ruthenian.....	684	144	21.1
Slovak.....	1,706	234	13.7
South Italian.....	2,428	258	10.5
Magyar.....	1,501	146	9.7
Polish.....	3,280	313	9.5
Total.....	12,649	2,106	16.6

With this mass of humanity coming before us in organized form, the complexity of the problem of trade unionism is immediately thrust upon our minds. Mr. Mitchell* says: "It is merely the complexity of human life itself". The fundamental principle of trade unionism is clear and simple. It starts from the recognition of the fact that under normal conditions the individual, unorganized workman cannot bargain advantageously with the employer for the sale of his labor. This brings the laborer face to face with the matter of the 'individual contract'. To find a substitute for this individual bargaining, which in a large measure destroys the welfare and the happiness of the whole working class, trades unions were founded. The trade union must stand for the freedom of contract on the part of working men - - the freedom or right to contract collectively.

It is held that the immigrant is responsible for labor unions. He, coming from a country in which wages are lower than our standard, and where the standard of living is, therefore, lower, is often capable of doing only one thing. He knows but a single trade; often, in the sub-division of mechanical employments, which is almost uniformly prevalent and becoming still more so, only a small fraction of that. Thrown out of his place, he must find another almost precisely similar, or acquire a new training by a slow and painful process, during which he earns little or nothing, and he has in far the greater number of cases, nothing laid up. That men

*Organized Labor.

should grow desperate and wicked under such circumstances is not surprising. That they should combine in leagues of various kinds; limit the hours of labor, or the amount of work to be done in a given time; refuse to work with apprentices, or men outside of their own associations; strike, and agree not only to remain idle themselves, but to prevent others from working; is the most natural thing in the world.

Some of the policies of labor organizations as given by Bullock* reprinted from the Report of the Industrial Commission may be stated:

The union has two general methods of improving economic conditions of its members -- strengthening the strategic position of the individual workman, or it may take the function of bargaining altogether out of the hands of the individual.

The union undertakes to restrict the number of competitors through measures diminishing the number of learners. Foreign competition is out off by high union initiation fees, etc.

The above are minor regulations. The main policy is that of unity of action.

Unified action involves definite rules as to wages, hours, and other conditions of work.

The laborer who holds membership in some one or more of the labor organizations, of course, has many advantages, but organized labor in general seems to work a hardship upon the non-unionist. This class of men is by no means a small one. It is to them that we

*Selected Readings in Economics, p.589f.

turn for consideration, especially in the matter of the policy of trades unions with non-union men. Perhaps the best statement of this policy can be given by simply quoting from the Final Report of the Industrial Commission:

"The maintenance of the union organization, through which the wage is upheld, costs time, trouble and money. More important than anything else, it involves for those who are active in it the peril of the displeasure of their employers and the loss of their livelihood. If the non-union man secures a rate of wages above what he could get if the union did not exist, the members of the union feel that he has made a gain directly at their expense. They have sown and he has reaped. It seems to them to be required by fairness that he share with them the burden of maintaining the conditions of which he reaps the benefits. If he is not willing to share the burden, it seems to them only just that he should be excluded from the gain.

"If, on the other hand, non-union men, as efficient as the members of the union, compete for employment by cutting under the union rates, there is a great weakening of the collective bargaining. The employer will prefer the non-union to the union man because he is cheaper. Those who are in the union will be tempted to leave it, because their chances of employment will be greater outside than in. The final result of the process, if permitted to work itself out freely, will be, it is declared, the destruction of the organization itself.

"The intelligent and conscientious unionist accepts this argument the more readily because he looks beyond

his personal interest to the interest of his trade, and of the whole working class. The elevation, first of his immediate fellow-workmen, and afterwards of all wage earners, is the ideal which he sets before him. He believes that no other change, no increase of scientific knowledge, no ennoblement of art, no multiplication of material wealth, can be compared to this in its importance to the social body. He may or may not believe that it is necessary to look for radical improvement to changes of the laws. In any case the thing that seems to his mind to give the best promise of immediate result is the organization of labor. It follows that it is every man's duty, in his view, and in particular the duty of every wage earner, to strengthen the labor organizations. The working man who stands aloof is often felt to be a recreant to his social obligations, and a traitor to his fellow-workmen and to his class.

*There is beyond question much force in the argument of the union men in defense of their attempt to exclude others from employment. The union can exercise little control over the conditions of labor if there is a large body of unorganized men in the trade who do not join in collective bargaining, but who are willing to accept inferior conditions. If working men, perhaps through misunderstanding of the advantages which organization may bring them, are willing to join in the collective cause, there is much excuse for the endeavor to make their conditions such as to alter that determination. So long as the actions of labor organizations in this direction

are peaceful, without intimidation or physical violence, it is not easy to see why they should be placed under the ban of the law.

"The attempt to compel employers to hire only union men may evidently be poor policy for labor organizations, which have not the strength enough to enforce the demand. The animosity of employers is likely to be aroused by what seems to them dictation. It must not be forgotten, however, that, in a very large number of establishments, in many trades, employers - - apparently with little objection - - enter into agreements for the exclusive employment of union men. Yet it is obviously desirable that the union should rely, so far as possible, upon persuading their fellow-workmen of the advantages of organization, and upon persuading employers of the superior efficiency and regularity of union labor, rather than upon more co-ercive methods.

"The attempt of labor organizations to make their membership as comprehensive as possible is materially different in character from the attempt, less frequently made, to exclude persons altogether from the trade. If the union is willing to receive any competent person into its ranks, no man can complain of being absolutely deprived of work because union men refuse to work with him so long as he fails to join the organization. When, however, a union has established a substantial control of its special kind of labor, the temptation arises to restrict the number of members. This is occasionally done by an absolute refusal to receive new candidates. Such action is, however, rare; the forms in which this tendency more

commonly appears are restriction on apprenticeship and high initiation fees".

Even a casual student cannot but appreciate the many good things in organized labor. The danger lies in mismanagement, and misunderstanding. This, of course, can be cared for by the labor leaders, many of whom have proven to be men of great ability and far-reaching influence, as well as men of deep insight into the problems of their fellow-laborers. A remarkable and very unusual instance of the intelligent labor leadership may be seen from the following quotation: "In 1904 on account of falling markets, the operators had demanded a reduction of ten per cent in the prices for mining, but after prolonged conference, they agreed to accept a reduction of five and one-half percent. The union throughout the country was obstinately opposed to any reduction, and the revulsion against the action of their president in recommending and urging the acceptance of the operator's proposition, showed itself in bitter and outspoken denunciation. Throughout his home town and elsewhere his picture was turned to the wall. But he and the executive board carried through their campaign of education and finally the referendum vote sustained their position, and this saved the industry from a general strike".

As an organization, the educational value of the labor union is noteworthy. It is here especially that the organizations are to find their justification. The debates and discussions which they foster stimulate the intellect and do much to counteract the deadening effects of a widely extended division of labor. The organization

frequently brings men and women together and furnishes opportunities for social culture. Temptations to coarse indulgences are thereby lessened, and an important side of human nature receives better opportunity for development.

Before closing, it would be well to note some of the weaknesses of labor organizations. The following summary is taken from Ely* and is quite comprehensive:

The unions are as a rule, based on strife. They aim to prepare their members for industrial war.

They have been, particularly in the past, at least, partial monopolies. They have frequently sought to gain benefits by an exclusive policy.

Labor organizations as such do not directly increase production, nor do they as such, diminish the wastes of competition.

Their ultra-conservatism has caused them to cling to old methods and they have not been inclined to favor progress which has not immediately benefitted them as labor organizations.

Their narrowness and shortsightedness are seen in their lack of interest in public measures and in reforms designed to benefit society as a whole, the wage-earners included.

They share the weakness of other great political and social organizations in their lack of flexibility.

And, lastly, while the labor organizations are pleading that government ought to belong to them, they have not the trained intelligence and the moral strength to

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*Outlines of Economics, p.193f.

govern the country.

One of the important phases of the labor union is, its conflict with capital, but this will be left for consideration in the following chapter.

Perhaps it would be fitting to close this chapter here with the words of the great humane philosopher Thomas Carlyle, "this that they call the organization of labor is the universal vital problem of the world!"

Chapter VIII

Capital and Labor.

One of the most acute phases of our modern industrial problem is that of the conflict of the laborer with his employer, or the conflict between capital and labor. Mr. Barnes*, in speaking of this says: "Disturbance of the relations existing between capital and labor by strikes and lockouts may be anticipated for many years to come, even if it be agreed that they are avoidable under the enlightened conditions of civilization and industry".

He further says: "Some of it might be spared if capital always recognized the difference between a man and a mule, and kept the ten commandments among its money bags".

The conflict between capital and labor dates back almost to the age of serfdom. When man became free to bargain, his labor became a commodity. The conflict though silent, has been going on. It has been the struggle between two prestiges. The outcome of the competition between capital and labor has turned mainly on the relative prestige of capital. The wealth which has conferred prestige has resulted in the social superiority of the wealthy and the subordination of the laborer. In such a regime, merit is little considered, and in the past the comparative prestige of capital has decided the day. This ascendancy which prestige has accorded has been the great procurer of obedience of the laboring man.

There has also been the conflict between prestige

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* The Labor Problem, p. 230.

and merit. The new ideas have been colliding with the old. The laborers always used to doing things in the old way, have caught a glimpse of the new. Of course, capital has opposed, and often the laborer has been compelled to acquiesce to the demands of capital. The new ideas have made great headway. The greater number of people have been impressed because of the merits of the case. The old regime is bound to go, not so much because it has lost its former congeniality with the human mind, but because it cannot compete successfully with these later modes of thought. The spread or progress of a practice or belief is usually due to some excellence in that practice or belief. The later modes of thought - practices and beliefs of the laboring men - have excellence, hence the great growth.

In addition to the above, the conflict between capital and labor may be decided on relative merits. Prestige in this case is not a factor for the things in mind are recent. At present it would be almost impossible to draw anything like an accurate conclusion for at this stage of the game the end of the conflict between capital and labor can hardly be determined. Each has its relative merits.

The conflict between capital and labor finds its basis, so far as organized labor is concerned, in the desire of the laborers as a class to share more and more in the profits of their production, and relief in many cases from a grinding form of slavery. The employer is, of course, desirous of increasing his profits and with the tendency more and more of his capital as a protection

against the demands of the laborer.

The conditions in the Colorado coal fields may be used as an illustration.

The situation had been bad and complicated for some time. The climax came. The miners repeatedly asked the operators to talk things over with them, and invited them to a joint conference such as the coal operators in all the great fields, including the anthracite field, now hold with their miners. The invitation was ignored. The demands formulated for this conference were:

Recognition of the union.

Ten per cent advance in mining rate and the Wyoming wage scale.

The eight-hour day.

Pay for narrow and dead work.

The check wayman system.

The right of the miner to trade in any store he please, and the right to choose his boarding place and his doctor.

Enforcement of the Colorado mining laws and abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system.

The strike was postponed for a week, in the hope that the operators would meet the miners, but they refused to do so. The demands seemed to be for the establishment of mining conditions on about the same level as that in Indiana and other mining States in which the company store, company houses, and indifference to State mining laws have been eliminated.

Perhaps the most common and widely known way in which

the conflict becomes public, is in the strike. A demand is made by the union. The employer refuses to comply, and the men walk out. The laborer has a perfect right to do this, and he assumes the further right to interfere with the liberty of any other man who would take his place. Picketing is one of his favorite weapons and is frequently resorted to in strikes and lockouts. "It is disliked and condemned by employers, justified and practiced by the men; and is often the subject matter of prosecution in the courts of law". Whatever may be said of such methods, from the standpoint of justice, they ought not to be countenanced.

The causes of strikes and lockouts are commonly related to wages or to the reduction of hours. Causes representing the usual grievances from 1881 to 1900 are classified by Wright** as shown in the table, page 96.

The results of strikes and lockouts may be noted briefly.

They tend to injure the particular industry concerned. A strike produced by general discontent and unrest, in a given industry, makes outside capital wary of investing in it, decreases the output, and often introduces the consumer of it to a temporary substitute, which takes its place permanently.

They tend to injure the operator of the industry. His capital lies idle and unproductive. His working force gathered in many cases after years of careful selection and training is disintegrated, often irrevocably

*Howell-Conflicts of Capital and Labor, p.305-6.

**Outline of Practical Sociology, p.291.

Cause or object	Establish- ments	per cent
For increase of wages.....	33,731	28.70
For increase of wages and reduction of hours.....	13,301	11.23
For reduction of hours.....	13,116	11.16
Against reduction of wages.....	8,423	7.17
In sympathy with strike elsewhere..	4,078	3.47
Against employment of non-union men	2,751	2.34
For adoption of new scale.....	2,742	2.33
For recognition of union.....	1,649	1.40
For increase of wages and recogni- tion of union.....	1,111	.95
For enforcement of union rules.....	1,068	.91
For adoption of union scale.....	928	.79
For reduction of hours and against being compelled to board with em- ployer.....	927	.79
Against task system.....	917	.78
For reduction of hours and against task system.....	901	.77
For adoption of union rules and un- ion scale.....	880	.75
For re-instatement of discharged employees.....	868	.74
For increase of wages, Saturday half-holiday, and privilege of working for employers not members of master's association.....	800	.68
Against reduction of wages, and working overtime.....	750	.64
For increase of wages and against use of material from non-union es- tablishments.....	750	.64
For increase of wages and Saturday half-holiday.....	729	.62
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Total of 20 leading causes.....	90,320	76.86
All other causes (1,382).....	27,189	23.14
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Total for the United States.....	117,509	100.00

scattered. His plant suffers a ruinous damage.

They tend to injure the laboring class. His loss of wages is always the largest financial damage connected with a strike, and the burden of it falls most on his already hard-worked wife and hungry children. If the housewives went on a strike when the labor unions voted one, and if the picture of pale-faced children, and mortgaged cottages and pawned keepsakes, evicted families, could be kept before those interested, the strike would seldom be voted. But worse than this, are the habits of discontent and dissipation into which the days of idleness and brooding over real or fancied wrongs cause the laboring man to drift.

But worst of all, because most unjust to all, it plays havoc with the interests of the suffering public. Things have reached such a stage that we are often uncertain whether we live in a land of peace and liberty or in a state of barbarity.

Another phase of the conflict may be seen in the boycott and contempt cases of 1911. The Buck's Stove and Range Company was boycotted by the American Federation of Labor. An injunction was sought and obtained by the Stove and Range Company. This injunction was violated, and the second suit known as the contempt proceedings was brought by the Buck's Stove and Range Company to determine whether Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell, and Morrison, President, Vice-President, and Secretary respectively of the Federation, were not guilty of contempt of court through violation of the injunction.

If concession in one form or another cannot be secured by the officials representing allied organizations, violence is often resorted to, which may be called by the true name of anarchy. The most recent movement of this kind found its expression in the extended series of dynamite operations ending almost, if not wholly, with the conviction of J. J. McNamara, Secretary of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and his brother, J. B. McNamara. Their arrest grew out of the destruction of the Los Angeles Times Building in October 1910, and was brought about by detective W. J. Burns, who had been employed by the National Erector's Association. Detective Burns asserted that President Gompers knew of the activities of the McNamaras, which was vigorously denied by Mr. Gompers, and finally resulted in the following statement being issued by the Council of the American Federation of Labor, constituting the McNamara Ways and Means Committee, declaring that "Violence, brutality, destruction of life and property, are foreign to the aims and methods of organized labor in America". They declared the McNamaras to be traitors to the cause of labor, expressed satisfaction with their conviction and punishment, and contended that organized labor should not be implicated in any way in such matters.

As to the guilt of organized labor in methods of violence may be seen in the recent conviction of more than thirty labor union leaders and officials in Judge Anderson's Court, Indianapolis, Indiana. This was the

climax of a country-wide investigation, assisted by the confession of Ortie McMingal, who as agent for the McNamaras, had taken part in a score or more of dynamitings. Some of the above leaders are now serving sentences in the United States Prison, Leavenworth, Kansas, while others are out on bond, awaiting a final decision by way of appeal from the Federal Court at Indianapolis.

One can but feel that the destruction of property, and loss of life in pursuit of such methods, growing out of the conflict between capital and labor, is extreme folly. The tendency of the times is for a better understanding of the relation of the laborer to his employer and of the employer to his laborer. This tendency expresses itself in the willingness of both sides to submit to arbitration, so admirably illustrated in the street car strike in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, week ending, Saturday, November 8, 1913. Under the wise direction of Governor Ralston and the Public Utilities Commission the conflict between the car company and its employees, on the whole, terminated in a peaceful settlement.

The above named Commission whose business it is to act in such cases is indeed the great achievement of the Indiana Legislature. The law provides for the valuation and regulation of public utilities in matters of service and rates. Such laws also exist in New York, Wisconsin and Massachusetts. The creation of such Commission gives a security in the various business relationships so far not experienced. The Commission

"stands in the shoes of the public interests. It must have the spirit of the people, the feeling of right to investigate on its own motion, and the initiative to go out and see what the conditions are. The average consumer knows little as to reasonableness when it comes to such questions. The Commission must find out and get at the basis, and the spirit of inquiry and initiative is necessary. It is not a matter of listening to the reasoning of attorneys or consulting legal authorities that are cited". This method is fair to all parties and there is but little doubt that every State in the Union will create such a Commission.

Enough has been said to bring the problem definitely before our minds. Further consideration will be given in suggestions for solutions.

A P P E N D I X .

The troubles between capital and labor are troubles which have involved all of us, and a solution of them is not only of universal interest, but is something which an outraged and long-abused public is beginning to demand. Where shall we find a solution for this problem? "What good angel of light will take us by the hand and lead out of this valley of violence and hatred, of strife and bloodshed, into the fair fields of industry and peace, and fraternal prosperity?"

There are certain inalienable rights which ought to be taken into account in the very beginning. Let us look at them.

The right of every man to earn his living by honest labor and of every employer to get his laborers for an honest wage, regardless of their relation to other organizations.

The right of thrift, industry, skill, integrity, to rise above shiftlessness, waste, dishonesty, intemperance.

The right of laborers to organize for their mutual profit, and the right of capitalists to do the same, provided they preserve a due regard for the rights of each other, and of the outside public.

The right of laborers to refuse to work for an employer who will not comply with reasonable demands as to hours, wages, and sanitary conditions; and their right, if they so desire, to do this concertedly.

The right of every owner of a business to conduct it as he sees fit, within the laws of the State.

The right of those who participate in making profits, to share in their division.

In-as-much as we live in a land of freedom, there are certain things, which should be considered wrong. They may be noted as follows:

It is wrong to refuse to let another man work under certain conditions because you are unwilling to work there yourself.

It is wrong for an employer to discriminate against the laborer simply because he is a member of the labor union.

It is wrong to demand that the industrious and skilled worker shall get no better wages from his employer, and no better appreciation from his union, than the worthless and lazy, or even the indifferent.

It is wrong to seek to injure the person or to persuade others to damage the business or property of a man because he employs organized or unorganized labor. The union man who tries to injure the non-union plant by boycott or otherwise is sinning against the brotherhood of man and the justice of God.

It is wrong to withhold from labor a fair proportion of the profits which it helps to make. It is confessedly because of real or fancied injustice here that most strikes occur.

It is wrong to set wages above either work or character. The laborer who is so engrossed with the amount of his wage that he loses pride in the quality of his work, and the employer who regards and treats his laborers only as so many "hands", so much "man-power", which

he buys, are both wrong.

The blame for such conditions as outlined in the statement of our problem should be placed upon both capital and labor.

The first offence of the employer is his discrimination against union labor. Many firms have ceased this only because the unions have grown strong enough to demand it.

His second offence is the withholding from his laborers, a fair share in the increased profits until held up for it by a threatened or actual strike.

Employers have uniformly and woefully failed to take any personal interest in the social and religious betterment of their employees.

Turning to the side of the laborer, the first demeanor is the attempt to prevent a non-union laborer from working under conditions which the union refuses. This is an open violation it seems to me of our National Constitution. The violence and even the lawless brutality of many of these attempts are not only the greatest reproach to labor organization, but one of the most disgraceful chapters in our National history.

His second demeanor is the attempt to injure not only the person, of the non-union laborer, but the business and property of the employer. The embodiment of this attempt is the boycott as already mentioned.

The third count against organized labor is for limiting the number of apprentices in a trade and failing to classify its members according to their ability.

Many cures for the evil have been attempted, some

with splendid success. Let us note some of them.

A personal interest in the social betterment of the employees. A marked illustration may be found in the National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio. The men were put on a day of nine and one-half hours, but the women's day was only eight hours, thus enabling them to avoid the crowd of men in reaching and leaving the factory. The women were also allowed a recess of ten minutes in the morning and afternoon. A very highly intelligent type of girls is found in the factory, and addition to the working force is now being made only from graduates of the high school. No attempt is made to control the dwelling place of the workman, but great stress is put on cleanliness. The work rooms of the foundry are attractive. Not only are free baths provided, but each employee is allowed twenty minutes out of the Company's time to make use of them. The Company also provides a library and reading-room, a lunch room and bicycle sheds, and a rest room for the girls. The beautifying of the homes is most effectively accomplished by offering \$250.00 in prizes for the best front yards, the best back-yards, the finest examples of vine planting, and the best vegetable garden which has been cultivated by a boy. Special instructions given in cooking and domestic science, and literary, musical, and social organizations, are also carried on by both the men and women of the factory. In spite of all these things, the operators organized themselves, and Mr. Patterson found a strike on his hands. From their point of view, these things were of minor importance. Mr. Patterson calmly

considered the matter, and instead of growing sore over the ingratitude of his workmen, entering into a stubborn fight with them, he recognized that the labor union was inevitable, and went about to make the best of it. This he did by creating a labor department, and committing to it the investigation of any complaints from the men, and to take up with the workmen all such subjects as the restriction of output, the discharge of inefficient workmen, unjust wage demands, and opposition to improved machinery. The result of the whole, has been such an increase of mutual confidence and common interest between the employer and his workmen as most heartily to commend his spirit and method.

The writer feels this to be such an apt illustration that further examples would be out of place.

Three other lines in which solutions may be found, are given.

The first deals with the labor union itself. There should be an incorporation of the labor union, and laws enacted governing its conduct. This is very hotly denounced by the unionists themselves, but nevertheless, the bringing of them under governmental control, would be a long stride forward in the solution. Then, and not until then, will they secure the respect and co-operation of the public.

The second line is that of arbitration. What place should arbitration have in the settlement of labor troubles? And should the arbitration be arbitrary or compulsory?

The first question will not need argument. Arbitration

should have always the first place. There are only three possible solutions for a labor dispute: The military, public ownership, or arbitration. Experience shows that the first two go together where the second is attempted; for it takes the presence of the army to keep order during strikes on government railways in Holland, as well as on private railroads in United States. The only sensible thing for any dispute is to arbitrate it, but, face the second question, should this arbitration be compulsory, and the decision of the arbitrators final? Voluntary arbitration which settles a dispute is the ideal solution; but suppose one of the parties is dissatisfied with the decision, and refuses to abide by it? Make him abide by it? As to compulsory arbitration, it seems to be a failure. A study of the New Zealand compulsory arbitration plan would show its fallacies, but space will not permit the study here.

The last, and perhaps the final solution is, the profit sharing plan. This does not mean the distribution of gifts at Christmas time, etc., but an exact distribution of profits, upon a previously agreed principle, and carried out according to exact mathematical calculation. The capital invested gets first its percentage of the earnings, the laborer his living wage, and the officials their fair salary. Any profits left are to be divided proportionately between the capital and labor. A very just principle of the distribution is that adopted, for example, by the A. S. Baker Company, near Evansville, Wisconsin. The salary of the laborer is looked

on as the interest on so much capital which he has in the business; so if the percentage which the capitalists' investment should have is 6%, a laborer who receives \$600.00 a year is calculated for \$10,000.00 capital when it comes to the distribution of the surplus profits; and so with the salaried officials. The influence of this on the workmen has been an inspiration, and the prosperity of the business, which was about to be foreclosed in 1875, has been remarkable.

Some of the prominent concerns in this country which have adopted the principle and carried it out successfully are: The Pillsbury Flour Mills, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Proctor & Gamble Soap Works, Cincinnati, Ohio, Yale and Towne Lock Co., Stamford, Connecticut, Bourne Cotton Mill, Fall River, Massachusetts. Perhaps the most recent and most up-to-date profit sharing plan is that adopted in 1913-1914 by the Ford Motor Co., Detroit, Michigan.

This principle may operate successfully, it may be answered, in times of prosperity; but what will you do when the concern is losing money? During such seasons of depression, there will be no profits to divide; the workmen will be all the more willing to have their wages reduced till the concern can make money; and in all cases, all money lost must be remade before any surplus profits can be calculated.

This new interest in the laborer by his employer has been brought about in a large measure through constant agitation by the labor unions. Whatever may have been their wrong-doings, the labor unions have been and

will continue to be the great guardian and protector of the laborer. In times of financial depressions - - strikes and lockouts, etc., the unions have been the stay of the laborer. To illustrate: They have gone as helpers, responding to appeals from those less fortunate, without regard to color, creed or nationality. On account of the strong opposition of the coal operators and their friends in the non-union fields they have been forced to spend large sums of money. During the year 1912 they spent \$706,225.20 and for 1913, \$1,621,942.67 for relief alone, a total for the two years of \$2,328,167.87.

"From the progress made in the United States in the last twenty-five years in the matters of collective bargaining between employers and employees, the protection of women and children in industry, safety and sanitation in work places, compensation for industrial accidents, minimum wage legislation, the attitude of the public and employers toward the rights and claims of labor, the realization that the main abuses of economic power proceed not from capital but from privileged capital, and other significant changes - we conclude that our economic society is neither retrogressive nor stagnant".

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*Contains only books and magazines consulted in preparation of thesis.