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# The Commons

JANUARY, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer } Assistant Editors  
Graham Romeyn Taylor }

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GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor.

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# The Commons

Number I - Vol. IX

Eighth Year

Chicago, January, 1904

## With The Editor

"Where anything is growing," said Horace Mann, with the instinct of the great educator that he was, "one formative is worth more than a thousand reformatories." This is not truer of the growing child than it is of the growing community. Here in America, where everything is growing, formative agitation, education and action steadily brought to bear is worth incalculably more than reformatory spasms. To help form the American spirit and public policy so that it will not need that kind of "reform" is the purpose and province of *The Commons*.

### A Formative Ideal

Formation takes place around ideal. The oak gathers itself together about the design of it imbedded in the acorn. In the community, no less than in an individual, the common life is frustrated by not having an ideal to focus down upon and to level up to. Families, neighborhoods, business firms and labor unions, public schools and churches, ward politics and city administrations alike fail or succeed, live a lost or saved life just in proportion as they have an ideal worthy of them and worthily try to realize it. "There was no open vision in those days," is the epitaph written over an entire age of a whole nation. The greatest need of this crucial time of wholesale readjustment in America is an ideal vital enough to be formative, strong enough to be practical, simple enough to be popular. It should have grip enough to grasp at one and the same time the life of the home, the school, the shop and office, the club and social circle, the press and church, local and national governments, and gather them all into one progressive commonwealth, worthy of the origin and history of the American people.

### Interdependence With Independence

Independence has been that ideal for a century and a quarter since its immortal declaration was proclaimed to the world. It has rooted itself in the soil of the whole continent so firmly that the danger of losing it is very remote, if not impossible. But it can no longer be our single ideal. Another has been looming up larger and more insistent with every year's growth of the subdivision of labor in the factory system and the international commingling of population and public policies. Interdependence of craft, trade and commerce, of race, sect and nation, of individual and community is the order of our day. It is to be reckoned with, whether we will or not. We ought to want and help the realization of its greater ideal, but the problem is how to recognize and realize it without the loss or weakening of individual and national independence, which has made the American people.

### A Clearing House Constituency

The province within which lies the demand for *The Commons* is outlined in its subsidiary title. No other journal known to us groups the four inter-related spheres of industrial, educational, philanthropic and local government effort for the welding together of our diverse people and interests into one harmonious, progressive commonwealth. The large and growing constituencies, centering about each of these great movements for the social unification and advancement of our people, cannot fail to be interested and helped by the enlargement of the scope of *The Commons* to make it the medium for an exchange of values between them all.

## Industrial Justice

The equitable adjustment of the serious outstanding differences between capital and labor requires more light and less heat. The knowledge of the trade agreements, conciliations, arbitrations and court decisions which succeed or fail in settling these very real differences furnishes the basis of fact absolutely requisite to any fair and permanent adjustment between employers and employes. It is the purpose of *The Commons* to supply both parties to the controversy with a condensed, authentic and expertly edited monthly digest of such adjustments.

## Efficient Philanthropy

Economy in the administration of the personal and financial resources of our public and private, as well as personal philanthropy is as necessary to efficiency as in the business world. Co-operation here is as much the force of gravity as combination there. Intercommunication not only between specific philanthropic agencies, but also the wider economic, legislative and educational relationships involved, is the demand of the hour to make co-operation possible and effective. *The Commons* may hope to be at least such a point of contact and communication as has not yet been practically established. As such it will appeal to the great multitude engaged officially or as volunteers in manifold works of beneficence.

## Educational Freedom

To utilize existing educational facilities, to furnish practical training for both children and adults in the high art of living and working together, greater freedom of spirit and flexibility of form must be secured in our public school system and in our privately controlled institutions. There is no higher or holier cause upon which the progress and perpetuity of free government and life so much depend as keeping our schools and universities close to the people and within their ultimate control. We stand, therefore, for state control of state supported schools; for

their democratic management, which shall enlist the interest of each local community in its own school; for the extension of school facilities and the use of school buildings to provide for adult education and furnish social centers for neighborhood life. We hope to report also the teaching of civics and social ethics in school and college classrooms and the original and extension work of university sociological departments. We are glad to begin at this point with the prospectus of the social science center just opened in Chicago by the joint action of those who are doing the social, charity and correctional work of the city and the extension division of the University of Chicago.

## People's Control of Public Utilities

The success of the time-tested and settled policy of European and especially English towns and cities in the public control and management of their own public utilities demands at least consideration and frank discussion in every American community. We may prefer here and there, or everywhere, to leave these utilities in the ownership and control of public service corporations. But our citizens should not be deterred from raising the question whether it is to their interest to do so in the light of old world experience. No alarm against "socialism" should throw any dust in our eyes that we cannot see through. For the canny Scotchmen of Glasgow, who lead the world in the people's control of their public utilities, are as far from being state socialists as they are closely akin to our most independent and thrifty Yankees. Manufacturing centers like York, Leeds and Manchester are not surrendering private initiative and property rights for the state ownership of the material and tools of production. But they have proved at least to their own satisfaction that it is to the advantage of private business to control municipal monopolies in the interest of all other lines of trade and commerce. The Liverpool city council and the London



county council are the most representative bodies that could be gathered out of these two great communities, yet their practically unchallenged policy is to provide for those common needs of life which can more surely and better be met by public than by private agencies—workmen's dwellings, decent lodgings for homeless men and women, public baths, neighborhood wash houses for family use, municipal street railways and lighting plants, and many other such facilities, which the people have the right to provide for themselves through their local government.

How the people of these great English municipalities are managing their public utilities and making them promote the progress of urban life will be the subject of a series of articles by the editor, giving the results of his recent personal observation and investigation at each of these centers.

## Chicago Disaster Points The Moral

Chicago fearfully points the moral of the demand for far stricter and more absolute public control of all property in public use by its overwhelming theater fire disaster. Private gain at public loss seems again to have been the occasion of death and public calamity. In the typhoid fever epidemic of summer before last the most prolific sources of the pest were traced to the "stay-order book," which permitted personal influence to protect private property from compliance with the ordinances of the health department, which would have removed the causes of the disease. Now, again, while 586 bodies are being borne to their graves and our homes and the wards of our hospitals are crowded with nearly double that number of sufferers, eighteen other theaters are closed by the police at the mayor's order for noncompliance with the building and fire ordinances. These violations of the law were disclosed two months ago by official investigation, and yet action is reached only at the imperative mandate of death. Here, at least, private gain is swallowed up in the public loss, as, indeed, in the last analysis,

it always is. When will we learn the unity of human interests? How many more must suffer to teach us the criminal folly of a partial execution of common law? What worse disaster can emphasize more terribly the wickedness of weak administration and official incompetence in city government?

## Our Contributors This Month

Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows, who so graphically describes the Greek play at Hull House, is the well-known editor of the remarkable series of volumes reporting the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction. Ethelbert Stewart, in his position as special agent of the United States Department of Labor, has long proven himself to be one of the most competent statisticians and investigators of industrial conditions. His article on the eight-hour decision and the workmen's home shows qualities of heart as well as of head. Most widely known as the author of "Prisoners of Poverty," and other sketches of social conditions, Mrs. Helen Campbell is well qualified to write on the new hope for the farmer's family, by her connection with agricultural college work and the literature of domestic science. To the editor of the New York City Association of Neighborhood Workers we are indebted for the able review of the Philadelphia textile strike by the secretary of the Christian Social Union, Rev. Kemper Bocock. Miss Anna F. Davies, head worker of the Philadelphia settlement, adds a note on the strike in the College Settlements Association department. The New York City Neighborhood Association presents, in its department, the thorough-going article on the crusade against the great white plague in that city by Mr. Paul Kennaday, the efficient secretary of the Charity Organization Society committee on the prevention of tuberculosis.



# The Greek Play At Hull House

By Mrs. Elizabeth C. Barrows

"It was only in Sophocles that the various elements of classical tragedy—religious inspiration, simplicity of structure and ideal beauty in form and

subject—were blended together into creations of consummate grace and harmony."—*Haigh*.



A Greek play upon any stage in this country not so long ago was a rarity. Those of us who can recall the days of the giving of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* by Harvard students will remember standing in line long, weary hours for the chance to buy entrance tickets at fabulous prices, as though that were to be the one and only chance of a lifetime to hear classic Greek upon the stage. Now one must live very remote from college centers not to have such a chance now and then. The names of the old Greek tragedians are coming to have a familiar look in the modern newspaper. Harvard, Vassar, Beloit, the Universities of Toronto, Pennsylvania, California, Leland Stanford and others have given Greek plays, while several have produced "*The Return of Odysseus*," a series of studies and pictures arranged from the *Odyssey* by Miss Barrows. The last mentioned has been twice given by the Greeks of Chicago, once at Hull House and once at the Studebaker Theater, seven performances in all. As "*The Return of Odysseus*" af-

fords an opportunity to show the domestic life of Homeric times—the games, the dances, the religious processions—it is extremely popular, especially with those who were born under the fair skies of Greece and who love the atmosphere of that charmed land.

## VALUE OF SETTLEMENT INITIATIVE.

It was because Miss Jane Addams, always clear-sighted and sympathetic, foresaw the interest which this would create, an interest that would not only forge a connecting link between Hull House and the Greek population of Chicago, but that would give Americans a truer knowledge of the intelligence and ability of the large Greek colony surging about the doors of Hull House, that she invited Miss Barrows to make the experiment four years ago, and as she had been so successful then she invited her to come again and try a similar experiment.

During the time that has elapsed since the first Greek play was put on

the Hull House stage, the helpful relations that were then stimulated have been continuous. The Greeks have learned to know and appreciate the activities and friendliness of Hull House and in a small measure to share in them, while the neighboring peoples, American as well as others, have learned to look with admiration on men willing to patiently submit to weeks and months of hard study, and on the brilliant success they achieved. When, therefore, Miss Addams suggested that the time had come again for the Greeks to appear upon the stage, they enthusiastically responded. This in itself was a striking proof of the value of the sort of work accomplished by social settlements, the creation of honorable ambition, for it was for the honor of their nation, not for the love of gain—since they were not to play for money—that these young men were willing to give up seven nights a week for ten weeks to long and strict rehearsing of their parts. Each one felt in his soul that the legend on the Hull House curtain hanging between him and the audience was addressed to him personally: "Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

"THE AJAX OF SOPHOCLES."

The play selected was "The Ajax of Sophocles," which had never been put upon any English-speaking stage, save once in England, in 1882, by the students of Cambridge University. It is interesting to know that it is soon to be given in Athens by the university students. A noble drama, with unity of thought and action, rich in beautiful lines, simple in form, the great work of a great poet, there was reason enough for selecting it, and the glowing success of the English students augured equal success when it should be played by native Greeks, though they might be lacking in university training. What the actors lacked in this direction was more than matched by their familiarity with the language and by the patriotic fervor—almost a religious zeal—with which they threw themselves into the work. Indeed, a distinguished Greek scholar, who has lived for years in

Greece, said, on seeing the Hull House presentation, that there was no other people in the world where comparatively unlettered men could have played a Greek tragedy with so much fire and spirit. Though the classic original was used, the men, of course, pronounced the lines according to modern Greek rules. For some months the leading men in the Greek colony read and studied the Ajax before the serious work of rehearsals began. Unhampered by modern tradition, which drops the curtain on the death of the hero, they were not troubled by the doubts of some critics as to whether the interest of the spectators could be maintained during the long discussion following the death of Ajax, as to his funeral rites. To them the proper disposition of the dead is of so much moment that they not only felt the unity of the tragedy, but made the audience feel it.

THE STORY OF THE PLAY.

Briefly, it is the madness and death



of Ajax and the discussion as to whether his body may be dealt with according to sacred usage, or whether he shall be punished for traitorous designs and cruel purposes by leaving it to be the prey of carrion birds. The



action takes place at early dawn, following, supposedly, the day after his bitter disappointment when the arms of Achilles were awarded to Odysseus instead of to himself. Mad with frustrated ambition, Ajax plots to slay the Greek leaders, but his frenzy is turned, by Athena, against the cattle. Awakening to reason, he thinks to atone for his dastardly designs and bloody deeds by taking his own life, believing, evidently, that by thus yielding to the powers above he may show that he has seen the folly of his pride in defying them before. He seeks a lonely place by the seaside, where, unseen by human eye, he commends himself to the gods, calls down woes on his enemies, in a manner worthy of the imprecatory Psalms, bids farewell to earth and falls

#### CONCERNING THE UNITY OF THE DRAMA.

Professor Jebb says: "The grounds on which the dramatic unity of the Ajax rests are, first, the veto upon the burial of Ajax as an inevitable consequence of his action, for which the spectator has been prepared, so that the latter part of the play is not an arbitrary addition to the former, but a natural and necessary development of it. Secondly, on this veto rests an issue still more momentous for Athenians than the question whether Ajax is to live or die—namely, the issue whether he is or is not to attain the sanctity of a hero. Hence the true climax of the play is not his death, but the decision that he shall be buried." By this burial the ambition of Ajax was to be grati-



upon the point of his sword. Then comes the wordy contest, full of dramatic power, between Teucer and Agamemnon and Menelaus, and the solution of the difficulty through the interposition of Odysseus.

As Ajax is sure to be played in other places—it is to be hoped wherever there is a Greek colony—there will as surely arise the question whether the interest is sustained throughout the play. One may with confidence say that it rises at every step, reaching its culmination only when the body of the dead hero is carried forth to burial, the little child leading the sad procession, his hands on the spears on which his father's form rests, while the sad notes of the dirge die away in the distance.

fied; he was to be held forever as a consecrated hero by a people ready to forget his weaknesses as they recalled his glorious deeds.

#### DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

The play selected, came the task of selecting the actors—no easy task, though Chicago has a Greek population of 7,000 souls. Happily Miss Barrows could reap the fruits of her earlier labors in Hull House. Two of the men who had acted in "The Return of Odysseus" consented to take speaking parts in "The Ajax," and with their help candidates were brought in, scores of them, and from this multitude of workmen, clerks, bookkeepers, fruiterers, flower sellers (not a college graduate

among them) was by degrees evolved the final cast. The loyalty of the young men, who had been unflinching in their sympathy with Hull House and who so greatly helped to bring "The Ajax" to a triumphant conclusion, atoned for a thousand trying experiences, inevitable in handling so large a body of untrained men. The throwing up of parts for trivial reasons, the dropping out of members of the chorus after they had been trained to sing the difficult music, the drilling of men to sing who knew nothing of musical notation and with no conception of time, these were some of the things that called for infinite tact and good temper. Added to this was the fact that, with few exceptions, none of the twenty-five in the cast had command of English. The difficulties at times seemed insuperable. That they were conquered the generous appreciation of delighted audiences amply testified.

There may have been better material in Chicago for some of the parts, but there was no better man for Ajax. The combination of splendid form and feature, of virile strength and native tenderness, would surely have been a delight to Sophocles himself. Mr. Metaldas was by turns the wrathful madman, the boastful warrior, the disgraced chieftain, the misanthrope, the affectionate husband, the tender father and the determined suicide. It was simply a marvel that this young man, after but two months of training, could in one moment stir the hearts of the on-lookers with excitement as he rushed from his tent cracking his bloody scourge, and a moment later dim their eyes with moisture at the pathos in his voice as he bids farewell to wife and child, to earth and sky, before falling upon the fatal sword, Hector's ill-omened gift. "Rugged, imperious and resolute, but not hard of heart," Ajax has been described. Such was the Ajax of Hull House.

"The part of Teucer," says Jebb, "has a singular pathos. He is altogether devoted to his brother, Ajax, and is strenuously loyal to the trust reposed in him." Had the words been

written of the personal character of the man who took the part of Teucer in the presentation in Chicago they could not have been truer. The universities of the land will look long among their students to find one whose depth of feeling and absolute self-forgetfulness will equal that of the Teucer of Hull House.

Indeed, as a rule, so well chosen were the actors that one has but to quote the great English scholar to describe them. "In Odysseus we see the victory of prudence and magnanimity." "If Agamemnon is not gracious or generous, he at least is capable of yielding to counsel." Tecmessa (the wife of Ajax) "loves with a submissive devotion and has won from him (Ajax) a constant affection. He stands to her in the place of country, parents and everything—her only stay and hope on earth." "Menelaus has those traits of harshness and arrogance which Athenian audi-



ences would expect" in the king of Sparta. The chorus was made up of sailors and soldiers, comrades of Ajax, who looked and acted their parts well, as did the messenger. Of all it may be said that the Greek syllables fell fluently from their lips and the blood of their ancestors beat in their hearts and spurred them to win credit for themselves and their land. The names of the entire cast, as given below, are extremely interesting as suggestive of an unforgettable past. It is a great pity that many of them have fallen victims to the modern habit of exchanging these sonorous and dignified names for "Jim" and "Bill" and "Pete."



## CHARACTERS OF THE DRAMA.

Athena .....Liverios Manussopoulos  
 Odysseus .....Panagiotis Lambros  
 Aias (Ajax) .....Georgios Metalas  
 Tecmessa .....Michael Loris  
 Eurysakes .....Demetrios Mazarakos  
 Messenger .....Spiros Manussopoulos  
 Teucer .....Demetrios Manussopoulos  
 Menelaos .....Jason Korologos  
 Agamemnon .....Konstantinos Boukydis  
 Chorus of Salaminian Sailors, Comrades of  
 Ajax.

Paraskevas Eliopoulos, Leader.

## THE MUSIC AND SCENERY.

The music for "The Ajax" was composed by Willys Peck Kent of New York. It is closely wedded to the words and so akin to the musical ideas of the Greeks that they learned it by rote without difficulty, all singing in unison, accompanied only by a clarinet, though the music is also arranged for the oboe, clarinet and flute. The sad and tender strains are like the poetry, full of sombre beauty.

The scenery was painted especially for this play by Chicago scene painters, touched up and vastly improved by artists among the Hull House residents. It made a beautiful picture—the low-lying sea, blue in the distance, the ships from Salamis and the harmonious coloring of the varied costumes of the stalwart men, some of whom had much of the traditional beauty of the Greek face.

There were six performances of the play, each better than its predecessor, with larger and larger audiences and warmer enthusiasm on their part.

The editor takes the liberty to add this word of simple justice: The dramatic feeling, the sympathetic voice, the power to act, were all there, but it was only through diligent and patient training that they were evoked, a training that developed sensitiveness to better things in many ways. The power to evoke the best in another is a great gift. It is the noble endowment of Miss Barrows.

"There is no other enthusiasm of humanity than the one which has traveled the common highway of reason—the life of the good neighbor and honest citizen."—From Thomas Hill Green, at the entrance of Mansfield House.

## The Eight Hour Decision and The Home

ETHELBERT STEWART.

The ground seems to be clearing for a discussion of the proposed eight-hour bill in Congress on its merits. The fight has heretofore been upon its constitutionality. The decision just handed down by Justice Harlan of the United States Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Kansas law would seem to settle the larger question also. Kansas in 1891 passed a law that on all work done by or for the public, whether state, county or city, either by direct labor or contract, eight hours should constitute a day's work, and fixed a penalty for violation. The enforcement of the law was put in the hands of the state bureau of labor statistics. Innumerable suits were commenced, as the contractors almost to a man refused to conform to the law. The state courts throughout sustained the law. Appeal was had to the Supreme Court of the United States under cover of that somewhat overworked fourteenth amendment.

Justice Harlan's decision sustains the Kansas courts and the law, and although Chief Justice Fuller and Justices Brewer and Peckham dissent, a careful reading of the decision would seem to furnish ground for the belief that if Congress should pass a similar law as to contract work the court would sustain the law. True, a similar law in New York was declared unconstitutional by the court of that state. But since Justice Harlan's decision is made known a movement is on foot to get the New York law before the United States Supreme Court. Strange as it may appear, the principal organized opposition to the eight-hour bill has been the machinery manufacturers. One of the strongest arguments against the eight-hour day is that it is not universal in any industry and the ten-hour plant has an advantage over the other.



A great many manufacturers have said they would approve of it if it could be made uniform. The trouble with a union trying to introduce and enforce a shorter work day is that it can only force the smaller concerns into line. The big ones it is unable to touch and this but increases the advantage of the big plant over the small one. The big establishments are run the longest day and fight for the longest day; but it is the big concern that wants and gets government contracts, and if through these contracts it can be made an advocate of the eight-hour day, i. e., if the weight and influence of the large concerns can be added to the many little concerns that have to yield to the unions, in favor of an eight-hour day for all, the few large concerns that are neither controlled by unions nor interested in government contracts could probably be brought to make the adoption unanimous. Personally I believe, and in this many large manufacturers have agreed with me, that the passage of the eight-hour law which they now so strenuously fight, would in the long run be a good thing for them, and especially for the thousands of small machinery plants which cannot successfully resist the union demands. All that the fair manufacturer wants is an equal chance, and the leverage of government contracts would be a powerful one to unify conditions in the entire industry.

There is a side to this shorter work-day question that is not considered in any discussion of it that I have seen. That is the domestic side. The growth of cities, the increase in rentals throughout the more accessible parts of cities have driven the workingman farther and farther from the factory where he works. Even though he finds living rooms near his work, in a few months he is out of work there and finds another job only in a plant miles away. He cannot move from Bronx to Battery, from Stock Yards to Goose Island every year or two. With the uncertainty of street-car transportation in any city that I know, the man who

is an hour's ride from his work must leave his home an hour and a half before working hours to be even fairly sure of being at his post on time. If he must leave his house for work at 5 a. m. the wife must be up by 4 to get him his breakfast. If leaving the factory at 6 p. m. it is 7:30 when he gets home, she cannot have supper (the workingmen still call it supper) before 8 or 8:30 o'clock, and she cannot "get her work done up" much before 10. A weary, endless day of toil for the wives of the working poor is what we see in every city. Perhaps ten hours is not, in some cases, too long for a man to work, but add an hour required to get to his work in the morning, and an hour for him to get home at night, then an hour before that for his wife to get his breakfast, and an hour after that for her to get through with her supper work, and you've got a day too long for any wife to work. Better look a little bit after the "working conditions" of poor men's wives if you really want to make better citizens out of her sons. Give her a chance; she can do it better than you can. Make her patriotic; she will attend to the boy. She has the mother instinct backed by the mother's love for her allies, and these beat the "patriotism in the public schools" with text-book and flag-day adjuncts, worse than the bookmakers beat the bettors at the races.

To listen to the sentiments of some of the wives of workingmen, mothers of boys, in the poorer districts of Chicago and New York, is to be convinced that no outside agency can make a lover of his flag out of that woman's son. She hates every hour she is awake. She hates the government, the church, the union, the non-union, the police, the teacher, every waking hour she lives to hate, and nearly all of her hours she is awake, and right there is the trouble. What she needs is sleep. Since she is such a hater while awake, let her sleep. There is a whole lot of good citizenship for boys in the shorter day for men in city factories and the consequent longer nights for women.

# New Outlook for the Farmer's Wife and Child

By Helen Campbell

How is it coming? Through country settlements and the break in deadly monotony that they promise to bring about? Through village improvement societies, clubs of all orders, new and old, and thus a touch of color for lives that have small conception of what color in life stands for? It is that color in city streets—the life and stir of even the obscurest, dirtiest, most squalid of city streets—that holds its poor content; so content that the country terrifies and the first day of the city “country-week” child is a day of terror because of the strange silence, above all the night silence, and the curious things that “holler” at them, as one child said.

Not in any of these ways is the better day at hand, but in one which women themselves are bringing about. Again, it is proved that the only real help in life is that which we learn to give ourselves. Once learned, all outward aids fall into line, are double in worth, since to them is added the force to handle at will in larger fashion than any founder even dreamed. So it is proving in the agricultural colleges of that great West, even now almost an unknown land to the dweller in the East, who finds it difficult to think farther than Chicago, and incidentally of the health resorts beyond—Denver, Los Angeles and a few representative cities. But what does the East as a whole know of the system of agricultural colleges now in almost every state, and meaning to each one of them the very order of education that thinkers along educational lines pronounce to be the only real one? Boston listens to unceasing expoundings of the next new thing in religion, in ethics, in art, science, education among the rest, but it has no time to follow up the trail and discover for itself where some of these ideas are working out. But the great states in which all New England and more could be set down have been test-

ing and proving, methods new and old, and are reaching a point where a system, flexible, comprehensive, born out of the needs of the people and of the new country, has each year found firmer and firmer base, till it stands to-day as the type of much that has been hoped for, yet deemed an impossibility.

The agricultural college in the beginning admitted no women, but co-education is so absolutely natural an outgrowth of western liberality in thought, that they soon had their place. They took it with a certain timidity. Domestic science, and of a very limited order, was one of the first sops to this element, but it speedily showed itself the many-sided, kaleidoscopic thing we now know it to be, all arts, all sciences a necessary part of the equipment the trained house-mother must have at command. Now and then a boy, who knew his destination to be some lonely ranch, where if he ate he must also cook, begged for lessons in cookery and had them. The time came when the girl took her turn in begging, for cookery meant chemistry and botany and physics, and all that she had not expected to “take,” and presently she was side by side with her brothers in everything but blacksmithing and some rougher arts.

The writer, for some time professor in the Kansas State Agricultural College, watched the gradual evolution, certain that its real meaning was hardly suspected. But it is quite clear that others were watching and working to the same end—that of awakening in the entire student body a new thought as to the possibilities of farm life. In the Kansas college a young pair had gone side by side through the four years' course, the woman taking the farming as well as domestic science course, marrying on the graduation day and setting up at once a small experiment station, as it were—a farm, small when contrasted with the Kansas notion of farms



—where they practised intensive farming, proving, as time went on, that four acres could sometimes do the work of forty.

Not alone there, but at many another point; there is a new thought and a new interest in the possibilities of farm life, this meaning the farm itself, the farmhouse and farm society. Together these boys and girls learn how to plan farm buildings, to lay out their grounds artistically, to furnish their houses in the same fashion, and to take to them literature, music and a social culture, the need of which has been one of the sorest in the farmer's life. Minnesota is the present headquarters of one of the most advanced efforts in this direction, a brilliant corps of instructors in the agricultural college at Minneapolis, directly connected with the State University, and the dean of the woman's special department, Mrs. Meredith, one of the most enthusiastic expounders of the new thought.

It happens thus that over fifty young women were enrolled last year as students of scientific farming, boys and girls working together through two-thirds of the course, but the girls adding more detailed work in home economy, domestic hygiene and household art. They believe, as does new Clairvaux, that a new face can be put upon the dreary facts that have seemed to be the sum of the farming life. They believe that the exodus of boys and young men from the farm can end at least in part and that "Back to the soil" will mean in the end all that the few have believed lay in those words. When trained and educated women deliberately choose to take up farming and believe that so the best life can be lived, who shall say what influence it will have on this problem of the congestion of labor in the cities—on the life of the city itself? Not alone educators, theoretical and practical, but sociologists, general reformers, uncertain where to begin, all orders who know things are wrong and are to be made better, yet hesitate as to where first to lend a hand, are likely to agree that these fifty young women have answered

some of their questions and will probably answer more. In the meantime we can wait peacefully, assured that no wiser step has been taken in many a long day, and certain that this can demonstrate the real emancipation of women in a fashion that will include also the emancipation of man from a good many beliefs and prejudices that have hampered one no less than the other.

This is the new education, its definition in words from one who stands for both the phases given—words that *Clairvaux* has already defined:

"To educate is to build up, to strengthen and develop the inner man, and so far to polish and perfect the outer one that the most casual intercourse with him reveals his rank. Instruction is a matter of business detail, where we each take what we require for a given need. The old sense remains clear in the Italian, where *istruzione* means special knowledge, *educazione* signifies good manners. In the Japanese ideal, education is all, instruction as immaterial as wealth or poverty."

### Field and Work-shop Society

This new Chicago organization is trying to obtain tracts of suitable land and place upon them the best suited families selected from the congested districts of the large cities. Hardy immigrants are also to be given a chance to locate on farms. Seeds, stock and agricultural implements the society will endeavor to arrange for, and assistance will be rendered to the settlers in establishing schools, workshops and studios.

"This union of the landless man with the manless land is the only solution for the slum problem," says an article descriptive of the society's aim. "Nor is this union difficult. Men do not choose the industrial sweatshop and the city slums, but are driven to both through their ignorance, the design of industrial exploitation and our terrible indifference. Divert the worker to rural district of the West and you have cut the tap root of the sweatshop and the slum."

# The Philadelphia Textile Strike of 1903

By Rev. Kemper Bocock  
General Secretary of the Christian Social Union

The greatest textile strike in the history of the greatest textile manufacturing city of America — Philadelphia — was on from June to November of the past year. Despite the long struggle work was resumed under the old conditions.

Some 636 mills were shut down, involving about 142,000 workers. Of these about 60,000 were avowedly on strike to have their working time reduced from 60 hours a week to 55 hours, without a corresponding increase of the price of an hour's work; that is to say, they were virtually on strike for a shortening of their work-day, even at their own expense so far as wages were concerned. It was estimated at the time that these included 20,000 broadcloth weavers, 20,000 narrow cloth weavers, 3,500 damask cloth weavers, 3,000 fancy novelty weavers, 2,000 each of the upholstery weavers, plush weavers, blanket weavers, and tapestry and brussels carpet weavers, 1,000 each of the terry cloth, rug and curtain, and haircloth weavers, 750 each of the weft weavers, and the beamers and twisters, 300 jacquard loom fixers, 250 narrow loom fixers, and 200 broad loom fixers. These are the figures of the former chairman of the executive board of the strikers, Mr. Thomas Fleming, an upholsterer; the only criticism on his figures heard by the writer is that he overestimated the number of loom fixers at the beginning of the strike.

In addition to these, the members of the following unions were on strike for fifty-five hours' time with sixty hours' pay: The entire ingrain carpet trade, with winders and spoolers, weavers, warpers and loom fixers, woolen and carpet yarn spinners, and dyers. Of the 4,354 power looms used in the ingrain carpet trade of the United States, according to the census of 1900, 3,467

were in Pennsylvania, and nearly all of those are in Philadelphia to this day. There were 253 in Massachusetts in 1900, 287 in New York, 31 in New Jersey, and 316 in all other states. These figures will be worth referring to when the reader comes to the Philadelphia manufacturers' argument about dangerous outside competition.

The textile workers in Philadelphia are Americans, English or Scotch people of high intelligence. Among them, for instance, is a former member of an English town council, the successful candidate of the independent labor party, and a number of effective lay preachers and temperance orators.

The Philadelphia textile day begins at 6.45 a. m. and continues till noon, when there are 45 minutes for dinner. The afternoon extends from 12.45 to 6.15 p. m. five days in the week, making a total of fifty-three hours and forty-five minutes from Monday morning to Friday evening. On Saturday the mills run from 6.45 a. m. to 1 p. m., or six hours and fifteen minutes, bringing the week's total up to sixty hours. The state factory inspector's report on the textile industries of Philadelphia shows that 9 per cent of the employes are boys or girls between the ages of thirteen and sixteen years. The age minimum under Pennsylvania law is thirteen, and there are special requirements in behalf of children under sixteen. It was estimated last summer that fully 50,000 of the strikers were women and children.

Another estimate of the number asking merely for a reduction of hours was made a few weeks after that of Mr. Fleming, and stated the total as 90,000 people, engaged in thirty-six trades. Mr. Fleming, with the other members of the executive committee, signed this statement, which is interesting as showing that after his first statement the



total on strike merely for shorter working time increased from 60,000 to 90,000. The committee announced that the request for shorter hours was made primarily for the sake of the women and children, and for these reasons: "To improve health; to increase the opportunity for education; to gain time for enjoying some of life's pleasures; to get some of the benefits from the use of machinery; to enable the breadwinners to spend more time with their families; to give the workers more than a bare half hour in which to eat their noon meals." (The other fifteen minutes are naturally required for going and coming, and waiting for orders to be served in the numerous little 15-cent restaurants that dot the textile district, where those of the people who do not have a home table to go to or have not time to go home can get their dinners.)

The strike was the result of efforts to organize the workers into unions, and agitation for the purpose of making the unions something more serviceable than the harmless "coffin clubs," with death-benefit features and high-sounding titles for lodge officers, which is the sort of organization the average employer refers to when he says he is in favor of unions. The Knights of Labor were strong in Philadelphia twenty-five years ago, but almost perished as the result of the arrogance of their leaders. In 1900, however, a few veterans formed the Central Textile Workers' Union, a delegate body, which eventually included forty-five unions. Of these, roughly speaking, thirty-nine wanted a reduction of hours only, and the other six asked for a corresponding advance in the hourly pay sufficient to make the new wage per week equal to the old. The writer was informed, however, by a member of the strikers' committee on an arbitration conference proposition, that the Central Textile Workers' Union as a whole would recommend the employes of any mill to return to work if offered the reduction of hours pure and simple. The workers issued their appeal for shorter hours on April 11,

and the manufacturers considered it till May 12, when they decided to refuse the request that the hours be shortened after June 1. The manufacturers thus had virtually fifty days' notice before the strike actually began on the first of June.

Wages of course vary in these industries according to many different determining factors. The demand of the dyers was that their wages be advanced to \$13.00 a week, but they rank as almost unskilled; any man of ordinary intelligence can learn the trade in three or four weeks. But the atmosphere in which they work is hot and damp, and creates a thirst which leads many to drink stimulants to excess. More skilled labor (men) brings \$15.00, \$18.00, \$20.00 and even \$25.00 a week, with increasing rarity as the figure rises. But it is claimed that 90,000 of the workers are receiving smaller pay than in 1892, and the cost of living is officially estimated as at least 15 per cent higher. Women and girls receive so much less than men that the executive board of the strikers, speaking in behalf of all, said in one of their manifestoes: "*Our wages average less than \$1.00 a day.*"

The arbitration conference proposition referred to above emanated from the Christian Social Union, an Episcopal organization which has done much in Great Britain to ameliorate popular conditions, and which in the United States is a section of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. The headquarters of this section are in Philadelphia; the headquarters of C. A. I. L. are in New York, whence a suggestion was sent to Philadelphia early in July, looking to an attempt to mediate. This suggestion was immediately taken up by the strikers, who consented to appoint some textile workers to sit with representatives of the manufacturers, and with Bishop-Coadjutor Mackay-Smith, the Rev. Dr. Floyd W. Tomkins, Alexander Reid, formerly business agent of the United Garment Workers in Philadelphia, and the Hon. Clinton R. Woodruff. The only stipulation of the



strikers was that they should have as many arbitrators to represent them as the manufacturers of textile fabrics had.

The proposition was made first to a leading manufacturer, who replied: "While your well-intentioned proposal is fully appreciated, acceptance is not possible upon this occasion. The labor cost of textile products in Philadelphia is already so much above like costs in other manufacturing districts that the manufacturers of this city are at a great disadvantage in the selling of their products in competition with those made elsewhere at lower cost. Fabrics that were formerly made here with profit can no longer be made, since the cost of their production in Philadelphia exceeds the selling price; a further increase in the labor cost will cause either a discontinuance of business or a removal of establishments to other localities."

A few days later the offer of arbitration was renewed through another representative manufacturer, who replied asking three questions:

"(1) Will the arbitrators designated by your union and those selected by the employees' organization agree to recommend an equalization in the rates of wages and hours of labor with those prevailing in other important textile districts whose products compete with those of a Philadelphia manufacturer?"

"(2) If the award of the arbitration involves a reduction in the rate of wages at present prevailing in Philadelphia, will the employees' organization agree to accept such award?"

"(3) Is your organization prepared to give satisfactory assurances that the employees will return to their employment at rates of pay prevailing elsewhere, if the arbitrators find that the present established rates in Philadelphia are higher than elsewhere?"

The executive committee of the strikers replied as follows:

"The issue of the present struggle is not a question of wages, but rather one of working hours. Therefore, and because it is impracticable, it is useless to agree to the proposition that the arbi-

trators recommend an equalization of wages in Philadelphia and elsewhere.

"We think that the question of wages is made entirely too prominent in the proposition, and is calculated to confuse the issue and divert the attention from the main question, which is that we should get fifty-five hours a week. We are ready and willing at any time to submit the matter to arbitration."

Here then was the issue sharply defined; the strikers practically made it a question of shorter hours only; the manufacturers tried to bring in wages, because they believed that this contention made their case stronger. One of them showed by an elaborate table the wages paid by his mill and those of his competitors in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and his were generally the highest wages in terms of dollars and cents. But political economists recognize a difference between *nominal* wages and *real* wages, the latter term denoting what the worker can buy with his wages; and in this respect Philadelphia wages are as low as, if not lower than the wages in the competitive towns of New England. In the suburbs of many of those towns one can rent for \$3.00 to \$5.00 a month as good a house as can be had in Philadelphia for \$10.00 to \$15.00, with quite a little bit of land attached on which the tenant can raise vegetables and keep a cow or pig; and board for the single operative is also lower. All this militates against the Philadelphia manufacturer to some extent; but their Philadelphia mills have a large market close at hand, and many of them do only a part of the producing process, while the New England mills oftener do the whole thing. Very few of the Philadelphia mills make their own yarns. Philadelphia is a hot-bed of small manufacturers, and notwithstanding the talk of New England competition there are ten new mills on one large uptown street built in the last five years.

There is a slack season and a busy season in Philadelphia, while work is steadier in New England. If the question, "how many hours per week do

your employes average all the year round?" were put to a Philadelphia manufacturer, the textile workers say the answer would be a point in favor of shortening the regular time to fifty-five hours a week and making it cover a larger number of weeks. They also say that there would be less waste by mistakes; there is considerable waste in a sixty-hour week because the workers, and young people in particular, grow tired. The manufacturers, however, are opposed to changes in general and to granting any concession to unions in particular; they point to their high city taxes, insurance and water rent, to depreciation of plant, and to office force, on which they would not save anything by shortening the hours, even if they saved on raw material—the product of another kind of mill—and on labor.

As to the educational benefits of shorter hours, they say they are not philanthropists, nor are they in business for their health. Even the argument that shorter hours cultivate more expensive tastes and enlarge the demands of the consuming public does not interest them; it is too social, instead of being distinctly addressed to them and their interests.

Meanwhile, a man who is brought into daily contact with many families of Philadelphia mill workers tells the writer that even the ten-dollar house that most of them rent does not afford enough rooms for a proper separation of the sexes; brothers and sisters occupy the same bedrooms till 13, 14 and even 15 years of age. It is a standing wonder that the mill girls of this boasted "city of homes" are as pure as they are. These little "two-story bricks" of six rooms are built by the thousand, and the conservative Philadelphian is wont to point to them with pride, as largely owned through the building associations for which the city is famous, and which are highly cherished by the local capitalists as tending to promote steadiness of habit and an unwillingness to listen to wicked strike agitators.

The manufacturers proved too strong and the strike failed. Many mills prom-

ised to grant the reduction if all would, but when it leaked out that the ingrain carpet manufacturers had bound themselves individually by a forfeit of \$25 a loom not to surrender unless all did, the strikers began to break. By the first of November practically all the mills were running, with the old employes at the looms, except a few who had found work elsewhere, and a few prominent union men, who are not wanted.

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We recognize that this is an era of federation and combination in which great capitalistic corporations and labor unions have become factors of tremendous importance in all industrial centers. Hearty recognition is given the far-reaching, beneficent work which has been accomplished through both corporations and unions, and the line as between different corporations, as between different unions, is drawn as it is between different individuals; that is, it is drawn on conduct, the effort being to treat both organized capital and organized labor alike, asking nothing save that the interest of each shall be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public, and that the conduct of each shall conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to law, of individual freedom and of justice and fair dealing toward all.—President Roosevelt.

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I've been in so many strikes that I often feel that people think that my chief occupation is creating strikes. I want to say here and now that if I have one consuming ambition in this world, it is to see laborers and capitalists honorably and peacefully reconciled. I do not want any reconciliation which comes from surrender by either side. I want both sides to recognize that each of them has certain rights. I believe that there is a common ground upon which they may meet, a basis of agreement upon which they can unite. I realize that we do not own the mills and the factories, and I also realize that those who do own them do not own the people who work in them. Blacklists, boycotts, injunctions and the like, I firmly believe, have been due to misunderstandings.—John Mitchell.

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No man is above the law and no man is below it; nor do we ask any man's permission when we require him to obey.—President Roosevelt.

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"We must not use force until justice is defied."

"Every law not based on wisdom is a menace to the state."

—Inscriptions on portals of New York Supreme Court building.



# Training Center for Social Workers

By Graham Taylor

Those of us who have been longest and most directly at work among the people have all along felt the force of two facts. One is the lack of trained helpers and heads of departments in every line of social service. The other is the unailing supply of people capable of training and, when trained, of high efficiency. The money, time and talent thus wasted are too costly longer to pass unchallenged.

The invaluable time of the experts at the head of these public and private institutions, which is all needed for their management, is wastefully diverted to breaking in their subordinates. Less money in efficient hands produces better results than larger funds conditioned by untrained help. Economy in administration and the social value of the work would be more effectively promoted by the supply of trained workers than by anything else. While a certain amount of attention to a personal adjustment is inevitable, much preliminary fitting and training can precede or accompany every worker's entrance upon such work. Even without such help from others, some of our Chicago workers have picked up training enough to qualify them for positions of trust and honor.

So widely has the practicability of more systematic training been felt that courses of study and observation are being conducted by some charitable societies and industrial corporations, as well as by colleges. At the greater centers training schools are being established to meet the more varied demand. In taking this great step forward for the advancement of every effort to improve our social and civic conditions, Chicago has been anticipated only by London, New York and Boston.

## NEW UNIVERSITY EXTENSION ENTERPRISE.

At the initiative of a settlement worker, heartily supported by the representatives of practically all the private and public charity and correctional institutions of the city, the University of Chicago will furnish the great facilities of its extension department for the establishment and development of training centers and correspondence courses. The following official prospectus is about to be issued:

## SOCIAL SCIENCE CENTER.

For practical training in philanthropic and social work under the direction of Graham

Taylor. Announcement preliminary to the opening of the institute January 12, 1904. Fine Arts Building, 203 Michigan Avenue, Room 429.

## PROVISIONAL COURSE OF LECTURE STUDIES.

I. Introduction to the study of philanthropic and social work. Five lectures by Prof. Graham Taylor (Tuesday evening, 8 to 9 o'clock, from January 12 to February 9).

1. Relation of the social sciences to philanthropic work.

2. Reciprocal obligations of the individual and the community.

3. Function of institutions in personal and public life.

4. Economic principles applied to philanthropy.

5. The ethics of personal and institutional service.

II. Personal, institutional and public effort for dependents—twenty-four lectures by Prof. Charles R. Henderson, University of Chicago; Hastings H. Hart, Children's Home and Aid Society; Ernest P. Bicknell, Chicago Bureau of Associated Charities; Miss Julia C. Lathrop of Hull House; Miss Harriet Fulmer, Visiting Nurses' Association; John J. Sloan, superintendent of the House of Correction, and Alexander Johnson, Indiana State School for the Feeble-Minded (Tuesdays and Fridays, from February 16 to May 6, 8 to 9 p. m.)

This course will include studies of the sources of information, the registration of cases and the causes of dependency; efforts for needy families in their homes; destitute, neglected, delinquent, defective and crippled children; institutional care of destitute adults; provision for the sick poor in their homes through visiting nurses, by dispensaries and in hospitals; help for convicted, paroled and discharged prisoners; principles and methods of charity organization; public charities, their province, institutions, administration, methods, legislative basis and their relation to private philanthropies.

III.—Preoccupying and preventive policy, agencies and method. Eight lectures by Prof. Graham Taylor, Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, Raymond Robins of the City Homes Association, Miss Mary McDowell of the University of Chicago Settlement, George W. Perkins of the Cigarmakers International Union, and Prof. Charles Zueblin of the University of Chicago (Tuesdays and Fridays, 8 to 9 p. m., from May 10 to June 3).

1. Summary of legislation on housing, sanitation, employment, school attendance, sale of liquor to minors, etc.

2. Improved dwellings, open spaces, public playgrounds and parks.

3. Extension of the public schools and educational agencies to meet social needs, by vacation schools, neighborhood centers, etc.

4. Cooperative associations.
5. Province of the public support and management of social utilities.
6. Insurance benefits of trades unions, fraternal orders, etc.
7. Function of social settlements.
8. Ethical and religious resources.

#### FIELD WORK AND OBSERVATION.

These courses will be supplemented by carefully supervised visits to public institutions and private philanthropic agencies and by opportunities for discussion with instructors and fellow students. Certificates will be granted for satisfactory completion of the lecture course and field work.

Registration fee, for the entire session, \$8. Half rates offered to workers in public institutions, philanthropic organizations, church agencies and social settlements. Payable in advance at the office of the University, 410 Fine Arts Building, 203 Michigan Ave., and at the university extension division of Chicago University.

A limited number of students may apply for temporary residence at the social settlements in Chicago.

Inquiries and applications for registration may be made to Mr. Walter A. Payne, Extension Division, University of Chicago. Prof. Graham Taylor may be consulted Tuesday evening, 7:30-8 p. m., Room 410 Fine Arts Building.

#### SUCCESS IN LONDON AND NEW YORK.

The practical value of this lecture study and field work has been demonstrated both at home and abroad. In London, it is interesting to note, the initiative was given to such educational effort by the Women's University Settlement, of which Miss Helen Gladstone, daughter of the great prime minister, is the resident warden. From the year's course of study and practice furnished there well-trained women have gone forth to occupy paid or honorary positions at many centers of influence and usefulness. Those engaged in this effort have joined forces with Charles S. Loch of the London Charity Organization Society and others in organizing a school of sociology and social economics. The demand for its instruction was proved at the first session by a large attendance and wide public approval. It is still more successful this second year. The summer school in philanthropic work conducted by the New York City Charity Organization Society has drawn so many students from far and wide, not a few of them from the West, that it begins a full two-year course this season.

#### NECESSITY FOR TRAINING.

The announcement of our Chicago social science center, outlined above, is only provisional and preparatory to a full course covering two years, which will be opened next autumn. In addition to this, the senate of the university has also adopted an academic curriculum for a college of religious and social service, which will be coordinate

with the college of arts and literature and of commerce and administration. This course will be more exacting in its requirements for admission, will cover four years, and will lead to a university degree. It will afford students of the center opportunities to carry their studies further, while the students of the college will share the value of the practical observation and field work furnished by the center. It is confidently expected that the offer to supply training will develop a constantly growing demand for it among those in institutional work, social movements, church agencies, shop secretaryships and the civil service, as well as by many who should bear a larger share of citizenship.

## Canon Barnett on the Joy of Life

To mark the opening of the winter season at Toynbee Hall, the warden and Mrs. Barnett received a large number of guests at a *conversazione*.

In the course of the evening Canon Barnett gave a short address on the joy of life. Their work at Toynbee Hall, he said, was intended to give means for joy in life. There was joy in observation, and the natural history class provided means for observation. There, too, was joy in the use of imagination. It was the inward eye that made solitude happy, and imagination provided a great part of joy in life. Their history and literature classes were aimed to increase imagination, to bring the past into the present, enabling people to transport themselves into a glorious past.

One other thing he would mention. Without sympathy, without love and care for others, there could be no real joy. Then, again, their efforts at Toynbee Hall tended to give many opportunities for developing this sympathy, for enabling the happy to help the unhappy. Without the teaching of the humanities which they gave at Toynbee Hall, all technical and scientific teaching would fail. The only problem was how to get people to study those subjects, and he asked those present to persuade those whom they knew to attend the classes.

#### "To the Memory of

#### "WILLIAM WORDSWORTH,

A true philosopher and poet who, by the social gift and calling of Almighty God, whether he discoursed on man or nature, failed not to life up the heart to holy things, tired not of maintaining the cause of the poor and simple, and so, in perilous times, was raised up to be the chief minister not only of noblest poesy but of high and sacred truth, this memorial is placed here by his friends and neighbors in testimony of their respect, affection and gratitude."—On memorial tablet in Grasmere Parish Church.



# Henry Demarest Lloyd

## His Passion for the Better Social Order

By Jane Addams



*Henry Demarest Lloyd*

In the few minutes at our disposal I should like to speak of the passion for a better social order, the hunger and thirst after social righteousness which Mr. Lloyd's life embodied beyond that, perhaps, of any of his fellow citizens.

\*Address delivered at the memorial meeting in tribute to the life and public services of Henry Demarest Lloyd at the Auditorium, Chicago, November 29, 1903. Reprinted from The Commons for December, to meet the large demand of the Collectivist Society after the edition was exhausted.

Progress is not automatic; the world grows better because people wish that it should and take the right steps to make it better. Progress depends upon modification and change; if things are ever to move forward some man must be willing to take the first steps and assume the risks. Such a man must have courage, but courage is by no means enough. That man may easily do a vast amount of harm who advocates social changes from mere blind enthusiasm for human betterment,

who arouses men only to a smarting sense of wrong or who promotes reforms which are irrational and without relation to his time. To be of value in the delicate process of social adjustment and reconstruction, a man must have a knowledge of life as it is, of the good as well as of the wrong; he must be a patient collector of facts, and, furthermore, he must possess a zeal for men which will inspire confidence and arouse to action.

I need not tell this audience that the man whose premature death we are here to mourn possessed these qualities in an unusual degree.

His search for the Accomplished Good was untiring. It took him again and again on journeys to England, to Australia, to Switzerland, wherever indeed he detected the beginning of an attempt to "equalize welfare," as he called it, wherever he caught tidings of a successful democracy. He brought back cheering reports of the "Labor Copartnership" in England, through which the workingmen own together farms, mills, factories and dairies, and run them for mutual profit; of the people's banks in Central Europe, which are at last bringing economic redemption to the hard-pressed peasants; of the old-age pensions in Australia; of the country without strikes because compulsory arbitration is fairly enforced; of the national railroads in New Zealand, which carry the school children free and scatter the unemployed on the new lands.

His new book on "The Swiss Sovereign" is not yet completed, but we all recall his glowing accounts of Switzerland, "where they have been democrats for six hundred years and are the best democrats," where they can point to the educational results of the referendum, which makes the entire country a forum for the discussion of each new measure, so that the people not only agitate and elect, but also legislate; where the government pensions fatherless school children that they may not be crushed by premature labor. The accounts of these and many more successful social experiments are to be found in his later books. As other men collect coins or pictures, so Mr. Lloyd collected specimens of successful cooperation—of brotherhood put into practice.

He came at last to an unshaken belief that this round old world of ours is literally dotted over with groups of men and women who are steadily bringing in a more rational social order. To quote his own words:

"We need but to do everywhere what some one is doing somewhere." "We do but all need to do, what a few are doing." "We must learn to walk together in new ways." His friends admit that in these books there is an element of special pleading, but it is the special pleading of the idealist who insists that the people who dream are the only ones who accomplish, and who in proof thereof unrolls the charters of national and international associations of workingmen, the open accounts of municipal tramways,

the records of cooperative societies, the cash balances in people's banks.

Mr. Lloyd possessed a large measure of human charm. He had many gifts of mind and bearing, but perhaps his chief accomplishment was his mastery of the difficult art of comradeship. Many times social charm serves merely to cover up the trivial, but Mr. Lloyd ever made his an instrument to create a new fascination for serious things. We can all recall his deep concern over the changed attitude which we, as a nation, are allowing ourselves to take toward the colored man; his foresight as to the grave consequences in permitting the rights of the humblest to be invaded; his warning that if in the press of our affairs we do not win new liberties that we cannot keep our old liberties.

He was an accomplished Italian scholar, possessing a large Italian library; he had not only a keen pleasure in Dante, but a vivid interest in the struggles of New Italy; he firmly believed that the United States has a chance to work out Mazzini's hopes for Italian workingmen, as they sturdily build our railroads and cross the American plains with the same energy with which they have previously built the Roman roads and pierced the Alps. He saw those fine realities in humble men which easily remain hidden to duller eyes.

I recall a conversation with Mr. Lloyd held last September during a Chicago strike, which had been marred by acts of violence and broken contracts. We spoke of the hard places into which the friends of labor unions are often brought when they sympathize with the ultimate objects of a strike, but must disapprove of nearly every step of the way taken to attain that object. Mr. Lloyd referred with regret to the disfavor with which most labor men look upon compulsory arbitration. He himself believed that as the State alone has the right to use force and has the duty of suppression toward any individual or combination of individuals who undertake to use it for themselves, so the State has the right to insist that the situation shall be submitted to an accredited court, that the State itself may only resort to force after the established machinery of government has failed. He spoke of the dangers inherent in vast combinations of labor as well as in the huge combinations of capital; that the salvation of both lay in absolute publicity. As he had years before made public the hidden methods of a pioneer "trust" because he early realized the dangers which have since become obvious to many people, so he foresaw dangers to labor organizations if they substitute methods of shrewdness and of secret agreement for the open moral appeal. Labor unions are powerless unless backed by public opinion, he said; they can only win public confidence by taking the public into their counsels and by doing nothing of which the public may not know.

It is so easy to be dazzled by the combined



power of capital, to be bullied by the voting strength of labor. We forget that capital cannot enter the moral realm, and may always be successfully routed by moral energy; that the labor vote will never be "solid" save as it rallies to those political measures which promise larger opportunities for the mass of the people; that the moral appeal is the only universal appeal.

Many people in this room can recall Mr. Lloyd's description of the anthracite coal strike, his look of mingled solicitude and indignation as he displayed the photograph of the little bunker boy who held in his pigmy hand his account sheet, showing that at the end of his week's work he owed his landlord-employer more than he did at the beginning. Mr. Lloyd insisted that the simple human element was the marvel of the Pennsylvania situation, sheer pity continually breaking through and speaking over the heads of the business interests. We recall his generous speculation as to what the result would have been if there had been absolutely no violence, no shadow of law-breaking during those long months; if the struggle could have stood out as a single effort to attain a higher standard of life for every miner's family, untainted by any touch of hatred toward those who did not join in the effort. Mr. Lloyd believed that the wonderful self-control which the strikers in the main exerted but prefigured the strength which labor will exhibit when it has at last learned the wisdom of using only the moral appeal and of giving up forever every form of brute force. "If a mixed body of men can do as well as that, they can certainly do better." We can almost hear him say it now. His ardor recalled the saying of a wise man, "That the belief that a new degree of virtue is possible acts as a genuine creative force in human affairs."

Throughout his life Mr. Lloyd believed in and worked for the "organization of labor," but with his whole heart he longed for what he called "the religion of labor," whose mission it should be "to advance the kingdom of God into the unevangelized territory of trade, commerce and industry." He dared to hope that "out of the pain, poverty and want of the people there may at last be shaped a new loving cup for the old religion."

Let us be comforted as we view the life of this "helper and friend of mankind" that haply we may, in this moment of sorrow, "establish our wavering line."

"O strong soul, by what shore  
Dost thou now tarry?  
Somewhere, surely, afar,  
In the sounding labor-house vast  
Of being, is practiced that strength,  
Zealous, beneficent, firm!"

"Those who love the liberties already won must open the door to the new, unless they wish to see them all take flight together. There can be no single liberty. Liberties go in clusters like the Pleiades."—Henry D. Lloyd.

## Books Received for Notice Next Month

Booth, Charles. "Life and Labor of the People in London," "Religious Influences, Summary," and "Final Volume Notes on Social Influences and Conclusion." Macmillan & Co., London. 1903.

Converse, Florence. "Long Will; A Romance." Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Dixon, Thomas, Jr. "The One Woman; A Story of Modern Utopia." Doubleday, Page & Co.

Shenck, Ferdinand S. "Modern Practical Theology." Funk & Wagnalls.

Rosenberg, Louis J. "Mazzini, the Prophet of the Religion of Humanity." Charles H. Kerr & Co.

Dopp, Katherine Elizabeth. "The Tree Dwellers; The Age of Fear" (Book I in the Industrial and Social History Series). Rand, McNally & Co.

ROWNTREE, B. S. "Poverty: A Study of Town Life." The exhaustive and instructive study of town life in New York, inspired by and partially modeled after Charles Booth's work in London. Macmillan & Co. London, 1902.

SUTTER, JULIE. "Britain's Next Campaign." An appeal for a new spirit of citizenship, a passion for redress, and a power of personal service. London, R. B. Johnson. 1903.

THOMPSON, W. "Housing Handbook." A practical manual for local authorities, ministers of religion and all social or municipal reformers interested in the housing of the working classes. Published by the National Housing Reform Council, 432 West Strand, London. Co-operative Printing Society, Leicester. 1903.

WRIGHT, H. B. "That Printer of Udell's." A novel of life in the West, dealing with some phases of practical Christianity. Chicago, The Book Supply Company. 1903. 12mo. \$1.50.

## Reports and Pamphlets.

Department of the Interior—Annual Report of Commissioner of Education for 1902. Vol. 1.

Federation of Churches and Christian Organizations in New York City.—Seventh Annual Report.

"The Negro Farmer," by Carl Kelsey, instructor in sociology, University of Pennsylvania. A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

"The Tenants' Manual." Greenwich House Publications, No. 1, 26 Jones street, New York. 1903.

"To love our neighbor is to submit to the discipline and arrangement which make his life reach its best, and so do we best love ourselves."—Henry D. Lloyd.

# Association of Neighborhood Workers, New York City

Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, Editor

26 Jones St., New York City

## Enforcement of the Child Labor Laws in New York

The child labor committee of this state has decided to continue its work with Fred S. Hall as its secretary and with an office in this city in the Charities Building, in order to see that the laws passed at the last session of the Legislature are properly enforced. The necessity for such work is great. Four departments share in the enforcement of these laws, and hitherto they have worked independently of one another. The child labor committee has been able to correlate the work of these departments in many ways. For example, inspectors of the labor and health departments have been discharging each week fifty or more children from factories and stores because they have no certificates. Formerly these children were left to find illegal employment elsewhere or to run the streets. Now their names and addresses are regularly sent on postals to the board of education, and attendance officers secure their return to school. Similarly the names of children who are refused employment certificates by the board of health (over a thousand such in New York City since October 1) are now sent regularly to the board of education, and their school attendance secured.

Unlike the Illinois system the New York law provides that the "working papers" shall be issued by the board of health in each city. Unfortunately there is no state body empowered to supervise local health officers in this work, and the result has been a most astonishing neglect of the law "up-state." Our secretary has been obliged to visit the health officers in all the leading cities in order to explain what the law requires them to do. In one city of over 100,000 population the health officer had never heard that there was a child labor law applicable to stores, although the law was passed in 1896. Due to their ignorance of the law, a

large number of local officials have come to regard the child labor committee as a state supervisory body, with very gratifying results.

The child labor law applies now to factories, stores and offices, and to the messenger and delivery service. The requirements for beginning work are threefold:

1. *A minimum age, 14 years.* To prove this age one of the following papers must be filed—a birth or baptismal certificate or other religious record, or a passport. (A small number of children, mostly Jewish girls, are refused solely because they cannot produce this proof.)

2. *A minimum amount of education*—about equivalent to what a normal 12-year-old child has received. (Children 15 years of age are sometimes refused as a result of this provision.)

3. *A previous compliance with the school law*, i. e., statement from principal that child has been attending school regularly. (Children who have successfully evaded the school law are refused under this provision.)

Children refused for any one of these three reasons are obliged by the school law to attend school till they are 16 years of age. After this age none of the above restrictions apply.

This fixes a very high standard for beginning work. Over thirty-four per cent of those who have applied since October 1 have been refused, while only eleven per cent were refused under the old law.

Unfortunately we have a factory inspector who is unwilling to prosecute for the first offense, and no employers have yet been brought into court for violating the nine-hour clause relating to the work of children between 14 and 16 years. A large number of children have been discharged, however, on account of this clause, and there is every indication that attempts will be made by manufacturers to repeal it.

The newsboy law was openly vio-



lated for a month or so, but as a result of several hundred complaints secured by the child labor committee and sent to the police commissioner, a much better observance is now noticeable. It is, however, still doubtful if policemen can be depended upon to enforce a law of this character.

## The Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis in New York City

BY PAUL KENNADAY,

Secretary of the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of The Charity Organization Society of New York.

With a model tenement house law preventing the building of unsanitary tenements and, as rapidly as possible, letting the germ-killing, health-giving sunlight into our thousands of dark rooms, with a Health Department doing its full work and vigilant and inventive in discovering new means of preventing the spread of disease, with a Department of Charities working for the health and happiness of its charges, with a Board of Education, a Street Cleaning Department, our Allied Hospitals' Commissioners and the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the Charity Organization Society all working in accord, really for the public good and happily innocent of "the cohesive power of public plunder," it is perhaps no wonder that the general death rate in New York City is this year smaller than ever before. As for tuberculosis, we find at the first blush a truly astounding state of affairs—a death rate in Manhattan and the Bronx of 2.68 as compared with 4.92 in 1881 and total deaths of 5,744 as compared with 6,123 in 1881, when the population was actually more than 700,000 smaller than it is in the same area to-day. Miss Brandt, the statistician of the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis, offers this explanation in relation to these figures:

"It happens that the nationalities which are pouring into the United States are the very ones least subject to tuberculosis. The Italians, Russians, Hungarians and Poles, who have the lowest death-rates from consumption, formed only 7.37 per cent of the population of the city in 1890. In 1900 their number was more than three times as large and amounted to 16.34 per cent of the population. The proportion of the peoples whose death-rate from consumption is higher than that of the native white population of native parentage has correspondingly decreased, so that in 1900 they formed only 45.8 per cent in comparison with 56.6 per cent in 1890. The change in the relative size of the two groups has been going on since 1900 even more rapidly. This alone would operate to lower the amount of tuberculosis in the city. That some part of the reduction in the death-rate from consumption, even if it cannot be exactly computed, is thus attributable to immigration, must be conceded. Evidently the influx from southern and eastern Europe is not to be deprecated on the ground that it intensifies and complicates this problem."

### PUBLIC AROUSED BY EDUCATION.

Undoubtedly the general awakening of the public conscience to the frightful, and yet preventable, waste which the community had been subjected to by tuberculosis in its unchecked course has had no little bearing on the results thus far accomplished here, as wherever we look for permanent social improvement, the people, and the whole people, whether those who have been put in office or those who have put in office, must co-operate for the common good—ability and willingness on the part of officials, the rest of the people alive to the situation and insistent upon their right of being protected from preventable infection; knowing that the careful and clean consumptive is not a menace to his fellows and that he who is careless or ignorant may spread the disease indefinitely, this is what we must work for, and this is what we can

hope for with a confidence born of experience. The Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the Charity Organization Society, of course, to the writer appears to be doing more than any other one body in the community in this matter of educating the public; through its studies in social conditions, its pamphlets sent out by the thousands, its correspondence with individuals, committees, employers and trades unions, through its lectures in halls, churches and settlements, through its influence on the press and pulpit, and in a hundred other ways, it is able to bring the tuberculosis question before many people directly, and indirectly before many more. Slowly, surely, an awakened public is rising to its duty and we may perhaps expect that not again will it be possible for a governor of New York to sign a Goodsell-Bedell Bill preventing the building of an out-of-town Municipal Sanatorium, that when the question again comes up for decision in some other form he will not then be able to withstand the popular demand to which the committee in its advocacy of a sanatorium gave expression last winter and which it will with greater confidence and popular approval give voice to once more. Sadly true, also, is it that the small park, which the committee with many other bodies wanted placed in the neighborhood of the "Lung Block," so graphically described by Ernest Poole in his "The Plague in its Stronghold, Tuberculosis in the New York Tenement," has not been favorably acted upon by our city Board of Estimate and Apportionment in its all-wise anxiety not to hamper the incoming administration with the carrying out of public improvements which the present administration had at one time regarded more than favorably.

#### HOSPITAL TREATMENT OF CASES.

Working rather along the lines of cure than of prevention is our free public Tuberculosis Infirmary of the Metropolitan Hospital, where some 450 patients are enrolled and cared for under the direct supervision of Mr. Christopher Easton, a Princeton graduate who was appointed in September, 1902,

"with instructions to give special attention to personal acquaintance with the patients, to the social life of the institution, its economic and social features, and to the real cause of the large change in the population of the institution from month to month."

Seton, St. Joseph, Lincoln, Riverside, all hospitals within the city limits, care for tuberculosis sufferers only, and mostly they care for those who cannot pay for treatment; while of homes and sanatoria for consumptives in and near the city we have the Home for Incurables, Brooklyn Home for Consumptives, Adirondack Cottage Sanatorium, the Loomis Sanatorium, Montefiore Country Sanatorium, Stony Wold Sanatorium and Sanatorium Gabriels. For relief of these unfortunates in their homes the United Hebrew Charities, the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Charity Organization Society are doing what their funds will permit. The Post Graduate Hospital's Clinic and the Vanderbilt Clinic have heretofore been the only clinics for tubercular patients, but this defect in our system is to be in some degree remedied by a tuberculosis infirmary to be opened by the Department of Health in another month and by a special class in the Outdoor Patient Department of our large free Bellevue Hospital, which has just been put into operation. To this class will be referred all cases of tuberculosis applying to the hospital for outdoor treatment; a trained nurse and a number of pupil nurses will visit and revisit each patient.

A great deal has been done, a great deal is under way, but how little when we consider that there are still over 20,000 cases of tuberculosis in this city to-day, with a total of recorded tuberculosis deaths during 1902 of 8,883! Can we ever get enough of sanatoria, enough of hospitals, enough of money for home treatment? Who can tell what will be done when we have come to fully realize what it means that this horrible suffering and economic waste can be prevented, when the revelations of science are taken to heart and we may no longer, in ignorance, meekly resign ourselves to the ravages of this scourge.



# An English Opinion of Municipal Activities

The American citizen who counts himself lucky if his city council cleans and lights the streets, and perhaps provides for a few parks and boulevards from the public funds, will probably be astonished to learn the number and character of enterprises which competent English opinion characterizes as being within the functions of the municipality.

A little over a month ago the town of Cheltenham, England, erected at the cost of some 50,000 pounds a municipal building which, as the London Times asserts, is fitted to answer in every respect to the social requirements of the town. Besides containing a hall which will accommodate an audience of 2,500 and the floor of which has been specially constructed on girders and spiral springs for dancing, the building has large smoking, card, supper and drawing rooms.

Considering that this institution was erected and is maintained from the public funds as the common resort of all classes in the body politic, many an American who is used to the conservative views which our municipal bodies take of their functions will raise his hands in holy horror and cry "Socialism, Communism!" Such a person might expect, further, that the advocates of such an enterprise would be found only in the ranks of the socialistic and the ultra advanced. Yet, from that conservative, influential and eminently sane financial journal, the London Economist, comes perhaps the most unqualified praise and approbation for the latest addition to the long list of municipal works undertaken by the town of Cheltenham.

The Economist, "looking upon municipal institutions as providing to a large extent the salt of English life," applauds the address delivered by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the ex-chancellor of the exchequer, upon the occasion of the inauguration of the building. Sir Michael, says the Economist, "points out that it is natural that, the prosperity

of the town being dependent on its maintaining and increasing its attractiveness to the public, the town council should have spent large sums not merely in the widening of the streets and in the provision of excellent systems of water supply and sanitation, but also in providing public gardens and winter gardens and establishing electric lighting—none of which can be properly described as going beyond the true functions of the municipality."

The Economist, unlike some American editorial commentators, does not imply that in providing a club house with dance hall and winter gardens, the Cheltenham town council had done anything more radical than in providing a water supply and caring for the streets of the town. The financial authority states merely that though there may be dangers of "megalomania" on the part of the council which desires to do too much for its community, yet "it is a less serious disorder than meanness of spirit and tends to right itself by a double process. If the burden be too great, the rate payer can show it at elections; and if the municipalities attempt too much, they will not be able to obtain funds at reasonable rates."

While passing over the claims of the reactionists, "that municipal bodies do take too much upon themselves with results injurious both to rate payer and private enterprise," the Economist sees little danger of loss and much chance for improvement if the taxpayers have as full an opportunity of knowing what is going on as the shareholders in a well managed public company. It advocates that rate payers should "have periodically placed before them the fullest and clearest account of the assets of their several undertakings, and of the profit or loss that may be incurred by any of them. Qualified and independent auditors should show to the understanding of the most unskilled persons precisely what rates are being spent and what advantages they have secured."



## Why?

The word seems writ upon the very sky.

It stares me in the face from earth and sea;

It haunts me in each bird-song, and not less

In human voices' sadder minstrelsy;

All life is focussed in one awful "Why?"

To which nor God nor man doth make reply.

Why am I here and why my brother there?

Why lies his path in midnight, mine in morn?

Why was I born to a love-lighted home

My sister to a heritage of scorn?

What claim have I to good which she has not?

What fate imputes to her, not me, sin's blot?

Why must the many want that some may feed,

Aye, gorge and fatten on life's luxuries?

Why must the many give their lives to toil

That other few may sport in jocund ease?

Why must the slum lie festering to the sky

While lordly palaces are reared hard by?

Why does the child's wail rise to heaven above

Out of his stunted, warped and ruined life?

Why must the strong man vainly seek the work

Which want thrusts daily on his child and wife?

How dare the nations boast of riches, when They reckon wealth by dollars, not by men?

Why do we build great temples to His name  
Whose claim to worship lies but in the love

He poured forth, without stint, on brother man—

Earnest and type of Father-love above?

Why do we name our age after the Christ

When with His heart of love we've broken tryst?

I know not why; my question smites the skies

And reads no answer in the stars' mild gleam;

It delves into hell's depths; and thence no word

Comes to dispel the ever-haunting dream;

Yet must I grope and sound my dauntless "why?"

If God be God I'll somewhere find reply.

—Katharine Lente Stevenson.

The enlargement of the form and scope of THE COMMONS requires the change of date in beginning a new volume. Volume VIII closed with the December number, and includes nine issues. This first issue of the new year is number 1 of Vol. IX.

## One Touch of Nature

The whole world is kin under one such touch of nature as all hearts felt when Chicago became a house of mourning. To the credit of both sides in the fateful struggle between the livery drivers and their employers, which had raged without quarter for a fortnight, a truce of ten days was accepted by each. The stables were opened without condition and the drivers' union ordered "every man now on strike to report at once to his place of employment and do everything in his power to assist his employer in caring for the wants of the public. Wages are to have no consideration."

Appreciating the value of a publication devoted to the local interests and dealing almost exclusively with the neighborhood work of a settlement, the Lincoln House, 120 Shawmut avenue, Boston, ceased the publication of "The Lincoln House Monthly" and with November began to issue "The Neighborhood," which will be sent to every family whose members belong to the clubs and classes of the Lincoln House. As *The Commons* is about to go still more afield and treat the industrial, municipal and philanthropic movements throughout the country, we wish it understood that it is not through lack of appreciation of a local organ that we have desired to change the character of this magazine, but because we have the opportunity thus to be of more service. Were *The Commons* solely in the interests of the Chicago Commons settlement and its work, we would prefer to follow in the course which "The Neighborhood" has taken and use the publication to augment the neighborhood work of the settlement.

The new Lincoln House is nearing completion and with the added facilities that settlement will be able to enter even more largely into the life of the community than heretofore.

# College Settlements Association

Miss Myrta L. Jones, Editor

996 Prospect St., Cleveland, Ohio.

## STANDING COMMITTEE

*President:* KATHERINE COMAN, Wellesley, Mass.  
*Vice President:* HELEN CHADWICK RAND THAYER  
(Mrs. Lucius H. Thayer), Portsmouth, N. H.  
*Secretary:* SARAH GRAHAM TONKINS, 1904 Walnut  
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*Treasurer:* ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS (Mrs. Herbert Par-  
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*Fifth Member:* SUSAN E. FOOTE, Port Henry, New  
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## STANDING COMMITTEE ON SUB-CHAPTERS

*Chairman:* LOUISE B. LOCKWOOD, 441 Park Ave.,  
New York.

## LOCAL COMMITTEES

Boston—Bertha Scripture, Chairman, Lincoln, Mass.  
Philadelphia—Isabel L. Vanderslice, Chairman, 436  
Stafford Street, Germantown, Pa.

## SETTLEMENTS

New York City—95 Rivington Street.  
Philadelphia—433 Christian Street.  
Boston—93 Tyler Street (Denison House).

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## The Lace Industry at South End House

The lace industry, begun and carried on conjointly by the Society of Arts and Crafts and the South End House in Boston, is now beginning its third year of existence, and there is no doubt of the value of the work for the settlement girls educationally, artistically and financially. The plan was conceived and started in the summer of 1901, when Mrs. Weber, a member of the Society of Arts and Crafts, and a practical lace maker, undertook the instruction of two or three girls whom the settlement found for her. These girls were working in the shops under hard conditions with little pay—day after day of useless toil. Their work meant to them nothing except a ceaseless grind to gain a few dollars and cents; it brought no inspiration, no knowledge of the beauty and value of work.

The change was great; shorter hours, pleasant surroundings and work with beautiful and delicate fabrics which inspired them with a love of beauty and a longing to understand their work. They became enthusiastic over it and studied the history of lace making and

its different forms, appreciating the value and beauty of different designs and later doing themselves some simple creative work in designing. The refining influence of the work on these girls cannot be over-estimated. They are happy in it and sorry when the day is over. One of the girls said she never before knew what it was to be really happy. And all the time they are learning more and the quality of the work is higher.

In the beginning, since lace making was a new art in this country, there was much to be learned, and many experiments were tried, but as the girls grew more proficient, and it was found out what kinds of lace were profitable, the industry became self-supporting. The girls served an apprenticeship of six weeks without pay. Then they were given three dollars a week, and as they became more expert the increase in pay was proportionate. Of course some girls proved inapt and dropped out, but in this way the real talent was discovered and put to its highest use.

At present the industry is on a co-operative basis, the girls gaining their fair share of all profits and managing the business themselves with the help of an advisory board. Four girls are working and teaching and six little neighborhood girls, aged ten and eleven, are taking a weekly lesson. Of the four girls who teach two are the original apprentices. The little girls begin on the pillow lace, in which the blue print pattern is put upon the pillow, and long slender pins stuck in at every crucial point of the pattern; then the threads are worked about the pins by means of the wooden bobbins on which they are wound. It is quite wonderful to see the pattern grow under the small hands which manipulate the bobbins so swiftly and cleverly.

Later on they learn to do point lace, which is more difficult, and done entirely with the needle.



A very profitable side of the industry is the cleaning and mending of old lace. There is much rare old lace in this country, and hitherto, when it needed repairing, it had to be sent abroad, a bothersome and expensive procedure. But these girls are learning to repair the most fragile and intricate design so well as to escape detection.

Much has been said of lace making being hard on the eyes, but the girls have not found it so. Injury to the eyes has been due to Old World conditions, where the work has been carried on in dark basement rooms and often at night with very poor light. Here the conditions are different. The room in South Bay Union, the club house belonging to South End House, is light and airy and well fitted for the work.

Hand-made lace takes a great deal of time and probably the demand is not sufficient to insure a living for a large number of workers. But besides the value of this industry for our settlement girls in its refining and quickening influence, and besides the chance to earn a living by mending and cleaning lace, which is an almost untouched field here in America, there is a very practical chance for girls with a knowledge of lace making and design in all the large dressmaking establishments, where the cutting and putting together of lace is an important part of the business.

Just contrast now the girl who stays in the shop year after year, becoming a mere human machine, and the girl who, under the influence of beautiful and inspiring work, has learned her own possibilities and is constantly enlarging them. Is there any comparison?

MABEL F. DOYEN.

Note.—Miss Doyen is an ex-resident of the New York College Settlement, from which she has recently gone to the Woman's Branch of the South End House in Boston.

The offer of the College Settlements Association, reported in the December number of the "Commons," to bear one-third of the expense of a fellowship in each of the women's colleges represented on its board, provided the

remaining two-thirds are made up by the college, or by the college and the Association of Collegiate Alumnae together, was presented at the Milwaukee meeting of the A. C. A., and a committee consisting of Mrs. E. S. Atherton, Roxbury, Mass., Professor Katharine Coman, Wellesley, Mass., and Miss Myrtle Baer of Milwaukee, was appointed to consider the matter and given power to cooperate in the case.

While the fellowship proposition meets with the favor of professors of sociology generally, only two colleges have as yet taken action on it. A generous friend is understood to have provided Radcliffe's share of a \$400 fellowship for two years and the committee appointed by the Wellesley Alumnae Association have enough pledged to make them feel confident of securing the amount needed. Other colleges promise to consider the plan next year. Its fulfillment would surely be of potent benefit to the college, to the settlements and to the cause of civic righteousness.

A lecture was given by Miss Davies, head worker of the Philadelphia College Settlement, Monday evening, November 23, under the auspices of the South Chapter of the College Settlement Association. The lecture began with a sketch of the underlying principles of settlement work, its guide being found in the relation of member to member in society, its basis for work in the uplifting of the home; in a fuller development of the power of control within the household. For this principle of discipline a settlement must stand as a concrete example. Its direct object must be to work from and through the things which the people now desire to a desire for something better, a desire keen enough to bring with it an impulse toward its attainment. The settlement thus stands as a guide in the awakening of desire and the aiding of attainment in the bettering of social conditions.

The stereopticon views shown by Miss Davies brought the actual forms of work, of which the principles are the basis, vividly before the audience. In-



deed, the lecture was unusual in the way it so delightfully combined a close connection of detail and principle and a vivid presentation of the conditions to which the principles must apply.

### Wesley College Settlement Fellowship

The College Settlements Association, recognizing the settlement's need of intellectually trained workers, the student's need of practical work, and the great value to society at large of sociological investigation, proposes that each of the leading colleges for women co-operate with it in establishing a fellowship; such fellowship to be awarded each year to a graduate of the college, who shall reside at one of the settlements and pursue some special line of investigation under the direction of the Committee on Fellowships.

The cost will be \$400 per annum. The College Settlements Association offers to bear one-third of the expense; the Association of Collegiate Alumnae will probably bear one-third, and the friends and alumnae of the college must raise the remainder.

The Wellesley College Alumnae Association, at its annual meeting, June 24, 1903, appointed the following committee to secure the funds and make all arrangements for a Wellesley College Settlement fellowship:

Miss Emily Budd Schultz, '94, chairman, 30 North Mountain avenue, Montclair, N. J.

Mrs. Milton G. Starrett, '90, 349 West Eighty-fifth street, New York City.

Miss May Matthews, 1902, 445 Ellison street, Paterson, N. J.

This committee appeals to you to give what you can, either (1) as a contribution toward the expense for the first year; or (2) as an annual subscription, payable each year until withdrawn; or (3) as the whole or part of an endowment fund.

It would be difficult to find any other investment which would yield such immediate benefit to Wellesley, to the college settlements and to the cause of civic righteousness.

### Note of the Philadelphia Textile Strike

Mainly because of its distance from the center of the textile strike, the Philadelphia settlement came little into immediate contact with it. Its progress as watched from outside and the comments on its failure make evident the fact that it illustrates several of the most fundamental difficulties in the improvement of industrial conditions. In the first place note the weakness of the industries in which children and unorganized women occupy any considerable place. It were better perhaps to say "women" merely, for where is the industry in which women may fairly be called "organized?" Then, secondly, the weakness of a strike in which appeal must constantly be made to a constituency widely scattered geographically and not agreed on many points of local policy. Perhaps as a third count may be put the weakness for fighting purposes of an organization in which the central executive body can take important action only after it is so ordered by a referendum vote of the members of all the unions involved. Of course it is evident that these points are counted on the side of the laborers. The strike also illustrated nearly all the typical difficulties which characterize the attitude of employers in an industrial skirmish. While on both sides the forces of disintegration seemed the stronger—and the event so proved—the strike was not without its fine examples of good feeling and the desire for right adjustment. The main lesson of its failure is the familiar one of the need of better education in responsibility and duty; of enlightenment at top, bottom and in the middle of the industrial organization. It is undoubtedly true that in a sense its results have temporarily lessened the strength of union opinion. In another sense, and more justly, they have intensified in many minds the belief that more unionism and not less is what is needed just now in the industrial situation at Philadelphia.

ANNA F. DAVIES,

## Holiday Festivities At Chicago Commons

The regular appointments of classes and clubs are superseded by the holiday cycle of festivities, which add zest and momentum to the steady work of each organization. Besides all the men and women who thus renewed their youth by taking their share of the children's cheer, more than a thousand little folks enjoyed the Christmas festivals arranged by or for their respective groups.

The long series of celebrations opened with the reunion of the two hundred or more boys and girls who had been at Camp Commons last summer. Around their imaginary camp-fire in our auditorium they met not only each other but some of their Elgin friends. The good parish priest of St. Mary's, who had proven himself, by constant care and kindness, to be worthy of being called "father," was present with the Protestant pastor of Dundee. Each vied the other in words of good cheer.

The pleasantest and most hopeful features of this Christmastide was the increased interchange of service between the clubs. The Choral Club of adults, for instance, decided to contribute toward the support of the successful children's chorus. They also joined the cooking classes in furnishing dinners for families in misfortune. The Young Women's Progressive Club gave no small part of the Christmas tree gifts for the kindergarten. The Woman's Club remembered the hundreds of little fellows shut up in the city reform school with five dollars' worth of candy. The chorus of the First Congregational Church and the boy choir of the Church of the Epiphany rendered fine musical programs for the two holiday pleasant Sunday afternoons. Our neighborhood Tabernacle Church held its time-honored watch-meeting under the solemn shadows of the universal sorrow suffered by the city in the death-dealing theater fire.

For seven years the Chicago Commons Shakespeare Club has steadily maintained the progress of its members in their literary studies, with scarcely any outside help. Distinguished speakers, however, have occasionally met with the larger audiences of their friends to help them quicken a wider interest in Shakespeare.

The Choral Club, after several years of hard struggle, is so successful this winter that it has been obliged to limit its membership to seventy-five. It is practising the "Rose Maiden," by Cowen. Its social spirit is as noteworthy as its thorough work under its effective leader, Mr. Gordon. The Tabernacle Church chorus choir, under the same conductor, is being supported by orchestral accompaniment. Its spirited leadership of song cannot fail to add attractiveness to the services.

To the Chicago Record-Herald, for December 13, Chicago Commons is indebted for the best description of its aims and work ever prepared outside of the settlement itself. These unsolicited impressions of an outsider are especially appreciated at a time when, in common with other settlements, and all agencies that are withstanding private gain at public cost in Chicago, we have been subjected to a viciously false and over-reaching violent attack by the least influential of the city newspapers. With this single exception the entire press has always been most sympathetic and helpfully co-operative. The article thus concludes: "The Chicago Commons has no illusions; it knows its imperfections and its limitations, but it knows also that its labors are founded on the principle of brotherly love, and that individual culture is a social product and involves a social obligation. In the words of its own modest but noble definition, it is operated by a group of persons, more or less blessed with the privileges of what the world calls culture, who choose to live where they seem to be most needed, rather than where the neighborhood is supposed to offer the most of social privilege or prestige." There could be no better statement of the purposes of the men and women who have made the Commons what it is to-day."



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**E**VEN a superficial glance at this first number for 1904 must demonstrate to the most cursory reader the great change that has been made in the form and scope of *The Commons*. From reading the subtitle upon the front cover you will realize that we have laid out for ourselves a programme which will make this magazine more valuable to our present readers and elicit the attention and interest of those whom formerly we could not reach.

The announcement of the programme is not made without ample warrant. The co-operation of those recognized as authorities in the several departments of social activity is assured. Later we hope to announce the names of those authorities and the titles of their contributions. We ask you to bring the new form and intent of this paper to the notice of your friends. Our articles should interest every man and woman in this country who is an intelligent employer and who is trying to help the lives of others less fortunate than himself.

We ask those interested in education—which means the head of every family—we ask those interested in the improvement of civic and municipal conditions—which means every intelligent voter—to send us fifty cents for a year's subscription, and to do it now, in the confident belief that he will find in the issue of every month enough encouragement, help and information to make him feel amply repaid for his subscription for twelve issues.

This offer is so liberal and entails such a loss upon us that we must withdraw it at the close of the month of March. After that date we have fixed the price at \$1 per year, or ten cents a copy. It is worth that to-day, but because of the encouragement our subscribers and readers have given us in the past, we will allow all subscribers of record to renew their subscriptions for twelve months more from the date on which their present subscriptions expire—provided remittance is made before March 31st. To enable many who have been our readers to participate in this offer, we now afford them the opportunity to subscribe for one year for fifty cents, provided their subscriptions are mailed to us not later than March 30th.

Your co-operation in helping us secure other subscribers will be appreciated to such an extent that if you send us three subscriptions, including your own, before March 30th, and enclose \$1, we will enter them as fully prepaid for one year.

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# The Commons

FEBRUARY, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer } Assistant Editors  
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The Commons, 180 Grand Ave., Chicago, Ill.

# The Commons

Number 2—Vol. IX

Eighth Year

Chicago, February, 1904

## With The Editor

### The Prominent Citizen of Lawless Instincts

More forcibly than elegantly State's Attorney Jerome of New York City told our Chicago Merchants' Club, "We've got to get the men" to work our city governments. Then he proceeded to account for the scarcity of good men in public life. It dawned on him that the corruption of public life is perfectly rational, because it is nothing but the reflection of commercial life. To this severe indictment the Chicago Tribune enters the plea of guilty for the "prominent citizen," who has always supposed himself to be its client. "Yes, Mr. Jerome was right," thunders the editor, suddenly becoming the tribune of the people. To the original indictment it adds these counts against the "prominent citizen of lawless instincts": He "creates the soot and smoke," "makes the stench," "uses the sidewalk as a shipping yard," "steals land from the streets and river," "grabs all he can for the car tracks without compensating the city," "owns most of the fire-traps and filthy tenements," "periodically debauches the council and legislature when he can." "We know him," concludes the editor, and remarks confidentially, "We don't love him."

### Ignoring Citizenship

Very many citizens of Chicago and every other city, never suspected of these overt acts, almost as shamelessly plead guilty of the neglect of their civic duty. Their citizenship consists in paying no more taxes than they have to and in perfunctorily voting when it is convenient. But they neither participate in party management nor help wield the independent balance of power. They care little and know less of the

vast interests committed to the several departments of city, county and state government. So intent are they in pursuing their larger or smaller private interests that the public welfare concerns them little or not at all. Though their education was furnished wholly or in large part by the state or social benevolence, they regard themselves as self-made men and worship their maker. Though directly or indirectly they have built up their business out of the resources which only a great community can supply, yet they seem to themselves to owe it nothing. Claiming personal rights to fire and police, and even military, protection, they recognize no claims upon their personal service.

### Successful Men Ineligible for Public Office

The greatest of all corporations—the city itself—stands in desperate need of the intelligence, enterprise, energy and experience which have built up their great corporate or personal interests. But these captains of industry and commerce are seldom or never eligible for appointment, even to the positions of greatest trust and responsibility within the gift of any city administration. What mayor in any city would think of offering its comptrollership or department of public works to any of the recognized leaders of its great commercial or industrial interests, even after they had retired from active control, or could do so if they wished? With such a limited range of choice for appointments to such exacting positions, it is not surprising that the administrations of some of our best chief executives break down at the most vital points from the sheer incapacity of the only available appointees.



## Working the Institutions of Their Country

Mr. Gladstone's most honorable ambition, if not the passion of his whole life, is shown by Mr. Morley to have been, in his own oft-repeated words, "to work the institutions of my country." The British people have indeed been more fortunate than we Americans in being able to command the service of many men of similarly high ambition. Not all of them devote themselves to political life. By no means all of them are of the leisure class, though those who are make that class respectable in the eyes of their fellow-citizens. Many of them are busiest business men, who recognize the claims for civic service to be as paramount as the payment of a war tax. Parliament and the London County Council are made efficient by the proportion of such men in the membership. Trades unions also take an intelligent part in local and national politics. Their labor representation committee so carefully exercise their advisory function that they hold the balance of power in many of the greatest constituencies. Their representatives, or those indorsed by them, are among the most effective and progressive members of these great legislative bodies.

Scholars and first-hand students of social conditions are welcome to candidacy for public office. "Your intimate knowledge of the masses in London," writes James Bryce, the historian, himself a member of Parliament, to a well-known writer, "will increase your value as a member of the House of Commons in dealing with London questions and social reforms generally." "If every constituency in London would return such a member," adds one of that city's most influential preachers, "we might in ten years see a complete transformation and the people of London coming to their own."

Here and there among us the same tendencies of this broader patriotism are happily evident. The manliness of the nation, as well as of those capable of rendering the best service, should on the one hand restrain that unjust hypercriticism of public officials which

deters high-minded but sensitive men from seeking office, and, on the other hand, brave both inevitable misinterpretation and even outrageous abuse in the fearless discharge of public duty.

## "Repeopleizing Industries"

The withdrawal of those representing the body of our citizenship from ownership in our industrial properties has startled Judge Peter S. Grosscup into demanding "a proprietorship widely diversified among the people" as the next great step in American politics. In accounting for this most recent phenomena in our industrial evolution, he gives due emphasis to the separation and estrangement which attended the introduction of the factory system, with its necessarily highly capitalized machine production. But surely "the drift toward paternalism inspired by labor unions" is scarcely adequate to account for "the indifference of laboring men to the ownership of their homes." For that tendency has long been observed where trades unionism has had little or no influence. It is due only to the natural caution following bitter experience. The precarious tenure which workmen have upon their jobs, the necessity of being free at shortest notice to offer their labor wherever the market demands it, and the wholesale closing down of great manufacturing plants by combinations of capital render it exceedingly hazardous for working people in trades thus affected to be tied to any locality by ownership in real estate. Whole villages of little houses have had to be deserted by their owners when the shops around which they clustered shut down.

## People's Proprietorship in Their Labor

Judge Grosscup seems to have emphasized our need of "widespread popular ownership" none too strongly from the investor's point of view, but not strongly enough with reference to the producers. "Repeopleizing" certainly involves organization of the people for proprietorship. This he seems fully to recognize with respect to the



corporate ownership of industrial properties. But that any proprietorship in their own labor and skill can be maintained by the vast multitude of our working people without equally effective organization for collective bargaining is not so clearly emphasized. Labor is the very greatest of our industrial properties. Its peopleizing is the greatest problem of our modern democracy.

### Need to Repeople Our Ideals and Spirit.

The judge does not overstate the crisis in declaring that "it has come to pass that instead of peace the standing relation between employers and employes is that of war. They look upon each other, not as neighbors or co-partners, but as belligerents. When they sleep it is upon their arms." He does not go too far in his even-handed way when he traces the still more dangerous cleavage of classes in our American social life. "We have a common system of education, but our children no longer sit in the same schools. We have a common religion, but we worship in separate church buildings. We have patriotism in common and a flag, but the occasions that call it out come only at long intervals. No distance proves so great as the distance between men living in the same city but interested in different occupations and moving in different circles." Refusal to face the facts of the situation is thus manfully rebuked: "Corporations are here to stay. Big corporations are here to stay. Labor unions that abide the laws are here to stay. To deal with them as one would deal with mad dogs is to ask public opinion itself to go mad. But these interests, corporate and personal, one and all must be brought under the full dominion of law." "They must and they can be made the open door to opportunity, through which every American, great and small, may with reasonable security carry his ambition to share in his country's prosperity and in the freedom of his country's laws." Personally and collectively, we need to repeopleize our ideals, our consciences and our hearts.

### Too Little Father

Anent the remark of Leslie M. Shaw, secretary of the treasury, that "there is no place for the boy," our opinion has been called for. Here it is:

"American boys, both rich and poor, suffer more from too little father than from anything else. Enough mother is all that saves most of them, but it does not give any of them their full rights. Men have no right to make half orphans of their children. A child's birthright is to fatherhood as well as motherhood. The money a rich man gives or leaves to his child is no substitute for his companionship if he is the right sort of man. His boy would be a great deal better off all his life for more of his father's time, even at the cost of less money.

"It is a sorry substitute for his share of fatherhood to be sent to one of those military schools which are coming to be private reformatories for rich men's sons who have become incorrigible—often because of their fathers' neglect. A former superintendent of an eastern state reform school left that institution to establish a private enterprise for this avowed purpose. Some poorer men are just as negligent, but many of them are literally forced almost to abandon their fatherhood by the requirements of their industrial occupation.

"To earn the family's bread many a worthy man must be away from home at work all the hours his boy is awake, to return only after he is asleep. The Saturday half-holiday is a remedy more immediately available for this very real and desperate situation. It is hollow cant to deny it to all because some misuse their leisure. In examining for several years prisoners about to be discharged from an eastern state prison the writer found nearly half of them wholly or half orphaned. A prison or reformatory is too far down stream to check the flood of wild, growing boys. It should be checked, or rather rightly directed, at its fountain-head in the fatherhood and motherhood of the home."

# The Reform Of A City Poorhouse

By Julia C. Lathrop

A kindly old gentleman at an Illinois state conference of charities once explained that the great trouble with poorhouses is the name. "If they could be known as infirmaries," said he, "they would be all right." Grim smiles crossed the faces of some of his hearers as they thought of the Cook County Infirmary, whose history certainly afforded a complete refutation of this amiable theory.

About seven miles from the center of Chicago and just across the street from the city limits is this great poorhouse, the Cook County Infirmary, where on a little farm of 260 acres live about 3,000 sick and helpless persons and the nearly 300 public servants who care for them. On the front the infirmary is enlivened and distracted by the row of saloons and roadhouses with which the city persists in marking her boundary—in the rear of the buildings the farm stretches off to meet various tracts of open land, which, by good luck, still separate it from the encroaching line of suburban villages.

## THE POPULATION.

More than half of this little community are insane, and their numbers increase whatever the season or the state of the markets, while as to the rest, the typical poorhouse population varies with the times and the seasons. At present there are on an average only about 1,100 inmates; but these are good times, work is plenty and wages high. Were a period of business depression like that of 1893 to come upon us, this population would probably double, as it did then. Then, too, there are here many humble imitators of the rich, who have both country and city homes, the difference being that the poor go to the city in the summer and return to the country colony in winter, when the weather is too cold for the precarious incomes of street traders or, perhaps, beggars.

The "hardest job" which the county of Cook has on its list is the superintendency of Dunning, and the fact that

it is fairly well paid does not make it easy to persuade a suitable man to undertake it. Its difficulties are recognized in a back-handed fashion by local politicians, who have reason to know the vicissitudes of its history. One of them said lately apropos of a suggestion to remove an excellent official, "A man must be a — fool to disturb Dunning when it's quiet;" and another said, when the subject of state care for the insane was discussed, "I'd be glad to see the asylum turned over to the state; scandals there are a constant threat to us." It must be said, however, that it is the management of local politicians which is responsible for the long line of scandals whose exposures and investigations have furnished perennial "stories" to the press—stories read with regret and languid interest by the well-to-do; but sometimes to be found long after carefully cut out and preserved in the homes of people who have the fear of Dunning before their eyes or who may be tortured by the knowledge that a relation or friend must remain there. It is, however, to describe something more cheering than the old and familiar situation that this paper is written.

## BROUGHT TO CRISIS BY A SENSATION.

In the autumn of 1901 there was a Dunning sensation, whose outcome has been unlike any of its predecessors, thanks to three principal causes:

First, the help of the Chicago newspapers; second, the existence of a fairly administered civil service law; third, the humane and vigorous spirit of two successive presidents of the Board of Cook County Commissioners and of some of the commissioners.

At this time some hateful charges of underfeeding patients were made, which is an euphemistic way of saying that certain attendants were believed to have a way of ridding themselves of annoying patients by neglecting to give them food. A trial before the Civil Service Board followed, and while not enough evidence was produced to convict of such a grave offense, it became evident



that there was much that was wrong to which these charges were a mere incident.

#### THE OFFICIAL INVESTIGATION.

After consultation with the principal newspapers it was suggested to the president of the county board that he appoint a joint committee of citizens and members of the board to try to find out, as slowly as need be, the exact facts about Dunning, and then to suggest and aid in working out a plan of reorganization; for it was plain, without any inquiry, that the plan in use was antiquated and outgrown.

The committee was appointed by the president of the county board and given the widest latitude of inquiry. His

was printed in full, with laudatory editorials. The unbleached and unextenuated observations of that committee never will be published. Many of the best suggestions came from reporters who were suddenly unable to maintain the attitude of passionless gatherers of news, but melted like so many Galateas and gave to the committee invaluable help.

One morning before breakfast a reporter called upon a committee member to say that he had a relative in a good county job who "knew a lot" and would be glad to tell the committee in confidence, but that he could not speak publicly because he owed the job to the Hon. ———, and "it would be awfully bad for the Hon. ——— to have it



successor has energetically continued the policy thus begun.

This committee included two of the busiest and most distinguished physicians of the town, who, like the other members, gave time unstintingly for many months to its labors.

#### SELF-RESTRAINT OF SYMPATHETIC PRESS.

All through the investigating period of the committee's work facts developed which would have made enticing "news," yet never once did the papers publish anything which might hinder the work of the committee, for whose existence they were largely responsible. When the committee made its somewhat formal and colorless report, that

known that he'd put in a 'squealer.'" The committee got the information and, of course, never betrayed the "squealer."

#### DIVISION WITHIN THE CAMP.

The attendants and employes were divided into two camps, those who wanted changes and those who didn't. The inmates, whose simple minds permitted them to be in favor of anything, were solidly in favor of changes, it is needless to say. One day a grizzled employe, much in sympathy with the committee party, came up to some members of the committee as they were going about one of the buildings and said, shyly and very earnestly, "There's



many a one here praying for you folks."

Most of the employes maintained an attitude of discreet neutrality; because, as they wisely said, they couldn't tell whether the committee could "win out;" but, thanks to the courage of a few and to the deliberate methods of the committee, the details of the management were obtained with fullness enough to insure success when changes were asked.

#### BASIS LAID FOR BROADER POLICY.

It was seen at once that the insane asylum especially had far outgrown the shelter provided and that a large sum of money must be spent before the institution could be equipped to care for the increasing numbers of insane sent there. It was found, too, incidentally, that, although in theory only chronic cases are sent to county poorhouses, this poorhouse receives probably quite as large a proportion of acute cases as any of the state hospitals, and that it must, therefore, have the equipment of a hospital. The briefest way to show that this joint committee possessed the confidence of the press and of the public is to state the fact that at the 1902 election the county was authorized without any controversy or opposition to borrow half a million dollars to be spent chiefly at Dunning.

The next difficulty was the lack of medical and nursing service. Again, the superintendent had been making a record for economy by turning back annually a part of the appropriations, which were, at best, scanty, and it required a long time to discover the various ways in which this village of misfortune suffered unnecessarily from the many cruel and petty economies practiced in the name of business management. When discovered, it should be said that the county board at once compelled a more liberal policy. It was plain that while the board could step in occasionally, the constant daily management must be one which could be trusted to show a true humanitarian spirit.

#### MEDICAL SUPERINTENDENTS UNDER CIVIL SERVICE.

Hence the committee at once advised

a medical superintendent and a superintendent of nurses, and both officials were promptly installed.

Now comes the third element, which alone made a successful and permanent reorganization possible, the county civil service law. The new medical superintendent and the superintendent of nurses, both supreme in their respective departments, were civil service appointees. The president of the county board could give them temporary appointments, the public interest created by the papers gave a certain brief security, but the law gave them their places during their good behavior, whatever changes might take place in the board or however soon might come the inevitable forgetfulness of the public. The medical superintendent was obliged to resign on account of ill-health after a few months. In the meantime, for reasons of expediency, the position of medical superintendent was abolished, and the general superintendent is now a physician, Dr. V. H. Podstata. Unfortunately, this position is not a civil service appointment, yet the law which enables the superintendent to rid the service of bad officials and to secure new ones without political fear or favor is indispensable to his success, and makes for his own permanency so long as he is a valuable public servant.

#### GAIN TO THE INMATES AND THE PUBLIC.

What is the gain in all this to the unfortunates who must live at Dunning whatever happens?

1. Medical authority is now supreme there, as it should be everywhere in caring for the sick and helpless.

2. The nursing of all the patients, men and women, sane and insane, is alike under the supervision of the superintendent of nurses and the trained nurses under her. A training school for nurses has been opened. There is no other public institution in the Middle West with so complete and so good a system of nursing as Dunning may now show, although it is not fully carried out as yet.

3. The Chicago press is committed to the support of a humane and wise administration at Dunning.

4. Thanks chiefly to the press, the popular interests in Dunning have been enormously increased. Facts as to the constructive progress of the institution are now good "news," whereas once only scarehead announcements of scandals could be trusted to catch the eye of the general reader.

5. The usefulness of county civil service law has been vindicated as far as it applies to Dunning, and confidence in its honest administration greatly increased.

#### ECONOMY OF INCREASED EXPENDITURE.

It is an interesting anomaly that a basal feature of this reform is not economy, which usually is insisted upon when public undertakings are overhauled, but, first of all, larger expenditures and a more liberal policy have secured better food and better clothing, better housing, gentler care—more and better paid officials.

#### TO BE WORTHY OF THE GREAT CITY.

More money must be spent and many changes made before the Dunning institutions are worthy of the great town whose most unfortunate citizens they must always shelter. These changes were outlined in the report of the joint committee, and include: The removal of the usual poorhouse population to a new farm colony, to be located as far from Chicago as the limits of the county permit; the establishment of an outdoor sanitarium for tuberculous patients in the early stages of the disease and the sending of hopeless cases to the city hospital, where they can have adequate hospital care.

The most important item of all is the use of the entire Dunning plant for a genuine hospital for the insane. Here, on the threshold of Chicago, with its great medical schools, there should be a true modern hospital for the insane—perhaps in time turned over to the state—but from which the sordid brand of a poorhouse is removed under whatever auspices it may be conducted.

#### LESSON OF THE REFORM TO REFORMERS.

If reformers could learn by the reforms they secure—which is, of course, too good to be true—then epi-

sodes like this would teach that it is on the whole simpler and certainly far more human to pay a little attention to such public business all the time rather than to continue our cherished plan of long periods of indifference, followed by brief intervals of hot interest.

Hull House.

## The Freedom of Contract Fetich

BY JOHN PALMER GAVIT.

When the continuous vaudeville palls upon the blase taste, and the ordinary happenings of daily life lose their zest, the man with an abiding sense of the ridiculous can find a never-failing source of amusement in some solemn utterances of the courts of law. And these are never so sublimely ridiculous as when they deal with some aspect of the labor question. They reach their utmost pinnacle of absurdity when they reassert the sanctity of individual "freedom of contract." One instinctively remembers Dogberry when he reads some of the recent decisions of highest courts in various states, which in sounding phrase declare that this and that statute placed upon the law books at the behest of labor are "unconstitutional" because they tamper with the ancient and inalienable right of free individual contract.

"Freedom of contract!" One longs for a life-size portrait of a Hungarian coal miner, haggling with Mr. Baer's Reading railroad over the terms upon which he will dig an overweight ton of coal from the Reading mines! Or of a footsore out-of-work drawing up the terms of a "free-will" contract for day's labor with the "People's (?) Gaslight Company"—save the mark!

Into the dark of the situation, however, there comes now and then a ray of light. Such a ray is that of the decision rendered early in January by the New York State Court of Appeals, sustaining the law which prescribed a sixty-hour week and a ten-hour day as the maximum limit of employment in bakeries and confectioneries in that state. Yet even that decision must be



by a divided court, and into the judgment must be interjected an antediluvian sound of dissent from the doleful tomb, on the subject of "freedom of contract," that ancient tabu under whose malign protection exists a nest of the most baleful evils of the present industrial system.

Like a breeze from the ocean of truth come the words of Judge Alton B. Parker, writing the prevailing opinion of the court.

Medical testimony and vital statistics are unanimous, says he, in their showing that the conditions of labor in bakeries, like those surrounding metal polishers, glass workers and others, are such as to encourage the prevalence of tuberculosis. It is the people's right, he says, that the conditions of the production of their food should be at least not frankly unwholesome. The Legislature was well within its police power when it prescribed ten hours as the outside limit of a day's labor.

Of course, we who have studied the history of the slow gains of the working people in the betterment of the conditions of their labor; we who have stood in dismay to see courts of so-called "justice" sweep away with some scarcely plausible platitude about "freedom of contract" the hard-won fruits of victory in a Legislature, know well enough that where we sought a loaf of human betterment, such words as these of Judge Parker are but a tiny crumb of concession. But then, it is something to have compelled the bare bones of concession.

And the important fact is that this decision, like that of the Federal Court in the eight-hour case recently decided in Kansas, marks not so much a great gain in absolute measurement, as that at last the tide of judicial decision has turned and is setting the other way. Hardly will the average person appreciate the immense significance of the fact that we are gaining here and there a decision from the most conservative courts in the land; that the people have a right to say to the Angel of Greed, "Here is where you stop." It is more than a small thing that in the Utica

bakers' case every court along the line has acknowledged the "police power" of the state to draw the line somewhere in the conditions of labor.

Never mind that it is only an inch that we have actually gained. An inch gained when it was morally certain that we should lose is almost as good as a mile. Remember this opinion of Judge Davy in the appellate division of the Supreme Court was taken almost verbatim into that of the Court of Appeals:

"It is very important for the health of the community that bakers should supply people with wholesome bread and pure food. The people are interested in the business; it is of so much public interest that the Legislature, under the police power of the state, may control the business by any regulation which is necessary to secure the public health. The regulations instituted by this statute were for the purpose of protecting the health of the employes, and giving the public pure and wholesome bread and other articles of food sold by bakers.

"These establishments are compelled to do baking during the night time in order to supply their customers in the morning; it is necessary for them to have their ovens heated day and night, and their employes are required to work more hours each day than men usually work who are engaged in other kinds of business. When we consider the intense heat of the rooms where baking is done, and the flour that floats in the air and is breathed by those who work in bakeries, there can be but little doubt that prolonged labor day and night, subject to those conditions, might produce a diseased condition of the human system, so that the employes would not be capable of doing their work well and supplying the public with wholesome food.

"The Legislature no doubt recognized the fact that proprietors of these establishments desire to obtain as much labor as possible from their employes, who, from fear of being discharged, are often induced to comply with the employer's request to work both night and day, and the Legislature evidently reached the conclusion that more than ten hours' labor each day might be injurious to the health of the employes."

It is the beginning of the end. "Freedom of contract" as a cloak for industrial tyranny must give way now to some other bogey. And if we can only keep the industrial superstitions and bugaboos on the run, they may some day cease to make nests in our hair!

Albany, N. Y.

"Fear not to sow because of the birds."—On warden's fireplace, Mansfield House.



# Present Social Issues In London

By F. Herbert Stead

At the turn of the year one naturally takes stock of the social situation. First may be taken the widest phase of the social questions—the international one of peace. The war fever has died down; sombre reflections and bitter misgivings have taken its place. The report of the war commission has done much to make the public ashamed of its jingo delirium. The ascendancy of cosmopolitan mine owners in the Transvaal has opened the eyes of those patriots who supposed they were asserting the paramountcy of Great Britain. The enormous waste of life and treasure and its pitifully sordid result cause grave stirrings in the national conscience. At the same time Mr. Chamberlain's appeal to the anti-foreign sentiment and to the instincts of British pugnacity show that the devil of international hatred has not yet been cast out. The award of the Noble Prize for services of peace to Mr. Cremer is a reminder that the leaders of the working classes, amongst whom Mr. Cremer takes honorable rank, are all arrayed on the side of peace and arbitration, just as they are all opposed to the jingo cult of hating the foreigner.

## HOUSING.

The first step toward the solution of the housing problem in London is generally felt to be the improvement of means of transit. By a swift, cheap and publicly-controlled system of locomotion, the population now congested in central areas could be spread thin over a large circumjacent area. The central area, freed from the pressure of population, could be developed for industrial and commercial purposes; and for the same rent as is paid for a miserable tenement in the center, a workman could have a cottage and garden in the rural suburbs. The chief difficulty in the way of a unified system of transit is the number of competing and conflicting authorities. The Royal Commission on London transit is at present considering how these difficulties may be overcome by a central authority appointed for the purpose, and is also

devising improved facilities of communication, which, one would hope, will in time transform the metropolis from an unwieldy agglomeration of swollen villages, served, as in stagecoach days, by lumbering omnibuses, into a compact modern city, provided with the latest appliances for promoting rapid and healthy intercirculation of life.

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

The opportunity of meeting the unanimous demand of the British working classes for a system of universal old-age pensions was pitifully thrown away last summer, when the surplus left by the late-war tax was used to reduce the income tax. What might have gone to the honorable relief of the aged poor was frittered away in contributing to the comfort and ease of the comfortable and well-to-do classes. Nevertheless, the agitation in favor of pensions for all in old age still continues.

## DRINK.

The drink question is reaching an acute stage. Licensing justices, acting well within their legal rights, have refused to renew the annual licenses when they have felt that the renewal was not required by the public interest. The decision of the highest tribunal made nearly a generation ago establishes the fact that the license is merely for the year, and that it is absolutely within the discretion of the licensing justices to withhold or renew, as they think fit. Nevertheless, the action of the justices has provoked the trade into a resolute endeavor to secure a legal right to the continuance of their licenses beyond the annual limit, and the present government seems likely to prostitute its enormous majority to conceding this unblushing demand. At the same time, thanks to the investigations of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, and to the leadership of Lord Peel, there are signs of temperance men uniting on certain immediately feasible reforms, such as are indicated in the minority report of the last licensing commission. There promises shortly to be a battle royal between the forces of reform and the en-

trenched and embattled forces of "the trade." The hold that the liquor interest has upon the national life is set in lurid light by a census taken on the last Sunday in the year of Sunday visitors to the public houses in Paddington. The effect is heightened by a comparison with the figures of the religious census taken earlier in the year. Paddington is a fairly typical borough of London. Here are the figures:

Population of Paddington in	—1902—	
	In Church.	In Pub. lic House.
1901 .....	142,690	31,331
Total males .....	61,065	8,099
Total females .....	81,625	16,275
Total children .....	6,957	10,646

This contrast makes the squabble between the churches over the education acts appear the more pitiable. Here, for example, is Dr. Clifford using all the resources of his burning eloquence and organizing skill in rousing Nonconformists of the country to fierce battle with Anglicans, in the dread that Anglican managers may use the powers of the new education act to influence little Nonconformists in the direction of conformity. Haunted by this terror, he is persuading Nonconformists throughout the country to face the perils of fine and imprisonment rather than pay the educational rate. And while Nonconformists are being goaded on to this death-and-life struggle with the Church of England, and the Church of England is marshaling its forces to repel the attack, in Dr. Clifford's own borough of Paddington there are 122,000 attendances at public houses on Sunday, as against 31,000 attendances at public worship. The Nonconformist conscience and the Anglican conscience alike can seemingly tolerate with comparative equanimity the wholesale demoralization of a neighborhood by the drink traffic while resenting with a fury almost approaching to delirium the danger of a slight encroachment on the preserves of denominational or undenominational religious teaching. When Christians fall out the devil comes by his own.

#### EDUCATIONAL.

In the educational sphere itself, the dust of ecclesiastical controversy threatens to obscure one phase of the school

problem which the followers of the Son of Man ought never to overlook. Sir John Gorst has only last week issued a vigorous appeal to the public conscience on the cruelty of forcing underfed and starving children to undergo the strain of school tasks. In the public elementary schools of one of the central districts of London, it is estimated that 40 per cent of the scholars are underfed, and, through lack of food, are unable to appropriate even the normal benefits of elementary education. Their poor little brains are unable, through lack of nourishment, to appropriate the instruction given, and when their compulsory slavery in school is over, they practically lapse into the condition of the wholly uneducated. It is, moreover, estimated that 10 per cent of the scholars are in such a state of physical inanition that to compel them to go through the school curriculum is, to quote the guarded words of a well-informed headmaster, "An inhumane infliction bordering on cruelty." Surely, if there is one thing more than another that would have stirred the wrath that thought it better for one to be cast into the depths of the sea with a millstone around his neck than to cause injury to one of these little ones, it would be this systematic infliction of cruel tasks on starving children. Yet the "conscience" of ecclesiastics, which will submit with enthusiasm to fine and restraint and imprisonment rather than acquiesce in the maintenance of an "atmosphere" of a slightly different flavor from their own, has no indignation to spare in behalf of these little victims of public cruelty.

#### THE UNEMPLOYED.

The problem of the unemployed is again to the fore. A week of severe weather would render it acute. Be it remembered to their good that the free churches have at least held a conference on the subject, and are meditating the possibility of combined action on the matter. But the chief hope of the unemployed lies in the borough and county councils and non-ecclesiastical associations. The Lord Mayor's Mansion House Committee for the relief of the unemployed is acting on the plan sug-



gested by Canon Barnett of Toynbee Hall, and sending out the unemployed men to work on farm colonies run by charitable agencies, housing them and feeding them well while on the colony, and in the meantime giving them a small wage for their families at home. The men are allowed to return home periodically in the hope of securing permanent employment. Great importance is attached to the test of "rustication," as it is called, for weeding out the men who are always glad of a casual job, but dislike banishment to the country districts in the wintertime. Employment for a thousand of the unemployed as sandwichmen—that is, men carrying advertising boards—has recently been provided by a journalist, and part of their pay was three meals a day. The change in the appearance of these men at the end of a week indicates that the fundamental need of large masses of the population is simply food. "Feeding the hungry" may seem a very tame and prosaic descent from the heights of ecclesiastical controversy, but those surely are not least faithful to the apostolic tradition who remember the mandate imposed on the first apostles by the Highest Authority concerning the hungry multitudes, "Give ye them to eat." If the children are not fed, if the mothers are not fed, either through blank indifference or through regard to academic fetishes labeled "Promotion of Thrift," "The Stimulus of Competition," and so on, the physical life of the nation is undermined, and national ruin is not far distant. The nation that has not strong soldiers to fight with, robust workmen to work with, well-trained and well-nourished brains to think with, is doomed to succumb before the onset of nations—that have common prudence enough and common humanity enough to feed the children and the mothers of the working classes, and to provide well-nourished brains with the best instruction they can receive. It is the verdict of the arbiter of the destiny of all nations, "Inasmuch as ye have done it not unto the least of these, ye have done it not to Me," and these shall go away into eternal punishment.

## Social Extension of Our Public Schools

Our great expensive school buildings stand practically idle and useless for all but 1,050 of the 8,760 hours in the year. Without commenting upon doubtful economy of making use of some millions of dollars' worth of buildings for but one-fourth of the time that other buildings are utilized, we may point out a contrast. Though in the more fortunate communities where attractive homes abound in lawns, playgrounds and the other perquisites of sufficiency, the school may seem to the child a thing to be avoided, yet in other districts the plain but clean, well-ventilated and well-heated school room is the most attractive, if not only elevating place of resort.

With the growth of a city and the consequent crowding at the centers of industrial activity, the home of the poorer becomes more and more merely a place to eat and sleep, and it is obvious that, in many communities at least, the only opportunity for the expression of the social instinct lies in the saloons or halls run in connection with them. Charitable and semi-charitable institutions which throw open their doors to the tenement dwellers are not welcomed by the more proud, and consequently, with the increasing necessity for social gatherings and entertainments in an environment which is not degrading and which does not hurt the independent vanity of the worker, comes the general demand for the greater educational and social opportunities in connection with the public school buildings.

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL EXTENSION SOCIETY.

The Chicago Society for School Extension, in their "Handbook for 1903 and 1904," make clear the two things fundamental to the question, which have hindered the general adoption of the idea of school extension in Chicago. The first has been a general lack of knowledge as to the real meaning and method of school extension. Second is the inability to secure the general open-



ing of the schools. The Board of Education believed it lacked the requisite legal authority to throw open the school houses for purposes other than those connected with school work, as generally understood.

Under the first head the society clearly states the meaning of school extension, as the object of the society is—

"To bring about all such uses and extensions of school buildings and grounds as will tend to improve the civic life of the community, such as:

"Properly equipped and managed playgrounds and school gardens, shower baths and swimming tanks, gymnasia with instructors, manual training and domestic science, branches of the public library, vacation and evening schools, schools for the deaf, blind and crippled children, auditoriums for the use of pupils and public with free lecture courses and concerts, and in general the opening of schools after school hours as neighborhood centers, for free entertainments, meetings of parents' clubs, etc., with the ultimate aim of infusing the whole scheme into the regular educational system and making it an integral part thereof."

The legal right to use the school building for such purposes was cleared up last winter, when the Chicago Society for School Extension, with the aid of other agencies, secured the passage of the following addition to the general school law:

"The Board of Education shall have the power to grant the use of assembly halls and class rooms, when not otherwise needed, including light, heat and attendants, for public lectures, concerts and other educational and social interests, free of cost, but under such provisions and control as they may see fit to impose."

#### NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS A SUCCESS.

What has already been done in Chicago along the line of school extension work certainly seems to justify the hopes of the society as soon as the people of all sections wake up to their own need of larger educational opportunities.

At the John Spry School, in Chicago, the Merchants' Club, in cooperation with the Board of Education, and Henry S. Tibbits, the principal of the school, during the winters of 1902 and 1903 organized a most successful center. A musical and operatic society was formed for the study of high class music. The class prepared the opera, "The Bohemian Girl," enjoyed glees and choruses of classical grade. The average attendance was 200. Literary, dramatic and art societies, men and women's clubs, cooking, food study, sewing and dressmaking clubs were also organized and met regularly at the school. Printing and stenography classes were organized for young men, three boys' clubs for reading, singing and games starting with 36 grew to three clubs with 160 members regularly in attendance and many casual. Another club put emphasis on the invention of useful contrivances and improvements, while for the benefit of the young folks a branch of the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company received at the school accounts in the saving department.

At the Washington School, a half block from Chicago Commons, a reading room was open five nights in the week. The teacher in charge was paid by the Merchants' Club. Books were furnished from the school library and the public library. The average nightly attendance was about forty. A mothers' club was organized at the school with an average attendance of thirty. Machines for the sewing school were supplied by the West End Woman's Club. The Merchants' Club inaugurated a cooking school and the Board of Education supplied the teacher. At the cooking school, which was open five nights a week, the average attendance was twenty-five per night, the ages varying from fourteen to fifty. A choral society met once a week under the leadership of a public school supervisor of music, and the Board of Education further furnished teachers for classes in construction work, the material being furnished by the Merchants' Club.

## IN THE GHETTO.

Under the leadership of prominent citizens of the Ghetto district, residents of the Henry Booth settlement, and the principals and patrons of the public and Jewish training schools, there was formed in the Ghetto, in the winter of 1903, a People's Educational League that met weekly in one or other of the school halls. The expenses were borne largely by Mr. L. Klein and other individuals and societies in the neighborhood. Mr. Soyvan V. Tsanoff, of Toledo, was a leader in arranging the details of the meetings, of which Miss Gertrude Barnum, of the Henry Booth House, furnishes the following account:

"The character of the meetings has been popular and educational. The nature of the movement is explained at each meeting in various languages. The talents of the neighborhood are drawn upon so far as possible, and as there are very many talented people in this district, we shall not easily exhaust their resources.

Norwegian peasant dances, Armenian singers, Russian folk-songs, players on Austrian and other rare and charming instruments—all these give special character to our entertainments.

No more touching sight can be imagined than that of the five to seven hundred faces eagerly turned toward the platform. Men and women who almost never leave their cramped homes attend these meetings, where they feel at home and unobserved in the mass of the people. They are of many nationalities, Russian-Jewish perhaps predominating.

We have been obliged to turn away as many again as we could admit, and we are eagerly awaiting the decision of the Board of Education (in reply to a petition to reduce the cost of each hall to \$4.50 per night), so as to utilize two halls on each Friday evening."

## CLUBS FOR PARENTS AND CITIZENS.

In fourteen other schools Parents' and Citizen's clubs have been organized. Some of these clubs meet fortnightly and some once a month. The member-

ship of each club is divided into committees according to the needs of the schools—as kindergarten, manual training, domestic science, school decoration, building and grounds, etc. Five of these clubs, through the manual training committee, raised the funds to equip their respective school with work benches, the Board of Education furnishing the tools and the teachers. Evening lectures in other schools were always well attended.

## THE INITIATIVE GIVEN BY NEWSPAPERS.

An effort to supply popular lecture courses to the people of Chicago, using the school houses as centers, was undertaken and carried on for many years in a definite and organized way by the Chicago Daily Record. This work is being continued upon a broader basis by the Chicago Daily News.

## CHARGES PROHIBITIVELY HIGH.

The greatest difficulty with which the workers for school extension now have to contend is the rates which the Board of Education requires for the use of school buildings. Use of assembly hall in evening, including heat, light and service, \$9.50; in afternoon, \$6.00; use of class rooms in connection with use of assembly hall, each, \$1.00; for the use of any school buildings or rooms on Saturday and Sunday an additional charge of one-third is made.

In many districts these rates are prohibitive. Their reduction, therefore, just as fast as the finances of the Board will permit, is of immediate importance to the progress of the school extension idea. The easier it is for the people of a district to come together in their school house the more likely they are to discover how great a want in their lives is thus supplied, and also to discover the greatest variety of ways in which they can make these meetings of value. The Society for School Extension hopes, by means of monthly meetings, addresses before clubs, published reports and exhibitions to spread the knowledge of the best that is being thought and done along the line of school extension, and by making that public, to make the good contagious.



# Adjustments Between Employers And Employes

By Ethelbert Stewart

It will be the purpose of this department of industrial justice to make such a record as may be of the humanities of the industrial movements. It will be devoted to the rights rather than the fights of labor and capital. Digests of wage agreements, especially such as contain excellent arbitration clauses, profit-sharing plans and divisions of profits made under them. A record of amicable settlements of disputes, conciliatory measures, peace conferences, social betterments and employes' welfare work. Such actions on the part of any trade union or employers' association as have a conciliatory tendency will be noted, and secretaries of such organizations are especially urged to furnish copies of resolutions or notices of such actions for publication. Copies of wage agreements are especially desired. Labor laws of the various states and countries that make for social justice and industrial peace will be condensed and presented as passed. Court decisions affecting labor will be noted. There being agencies enough for the publication of strike news, and the record of wrecking crews, we will give our space to construction crews, and the manly side of men, both employer and employe.

THE NATIONAL WHOLESALE TAILORS' ASSOCIATION OF CHICAGO and the SPECIAL ORDER CLOTHING MAKERS' UNION have each selected their arbitrators, and these are now casting about for a fifth man. The points to be submitted to arbitration are the "closed shop" and the demand of the union that foremen shall be members of the organization. It is to the latter demand that the employers most seriously object. They have for a year had an agreement with the United Garment Workers' Union which practically provides for closed shops, but says nothing about foremen.

The question of whether or not the

foremen should belong to the union of the workmen is one that is just being taken up by American unions. In England it is almost universal, the employers only recently resenting it and endeavoring to organize a foremen's union for the purpose of drawing the latter out of the workmen's organizations. The Typographical Union in the United States insists that foremen shall be members of the union, with voice, but not vote, in its councils. As the distance between the employer and his workmen increases it becomes more and more apparent that there should be some connecting link. The large employers no longer know their workmen, and have no knowledge of his point of view, his aims, his hopes, his feelings. The wise employer, if he cannot come in direct contact with his employes, will come in contact with someone who does, and who comes in contact with them sympathizingly, but wholly in the interest of business justice. The foreman is such a one. He is the natural cartilage between these Siamese twins. He should belong to both organizations, with voice but without vote in either. It is infinitely better for employers than hiring detectives and spotters, and it is cheaper, too. The Special Order Makers' Union will, however, accept the terms of the arbitration, as will the Wholesalers' Association, and an agreement will be made as with the United Garment Workers. The latter is a most excellent agreement, providing for employment of only union men when the union can furnish enough workmen who are perfectly competent, leaving the employers to employ others where these conditions are not fulfilled; it does not, however, prevent the wholesalers from employing contractors who employ non-union workmen. The agreement starts with a "Whereas, the parties hereto are desirous of forming a working agreement and formulating a



written policy for the purpose of insuring peace and harmony in the industry and benefiting equally all the parties hereto." Naturally this spirit produced results, and while no increase in wages is to be discussed before July 1, 1904, a working arbitration arrangement is provided for in case the executive board of the wholesalers and the district council of the unions cannot agree upon any difficulty that may arise. There are to be no strikes nor lockouts, grievances are to be reported upon by the executive officers of the two organizations within twenty-four hours; if these bodies cannot agree, each body must appoint two arbitrators within twenty-four hours, and within the next twenty-four hours these must select the fifth man, and the award must be rendered without delay. This is detailed because it shows, as does the New York Building Trades' agreement, that American industries are never to be tied up by the "peaceful sleep" which has characterized arbitration efforts in England. Arbitration is not to be stifled here by endless delays. It should be stated in this connection that the three unions in the clothing industry that have caused the manufacturers so much trouble because of the "jurisdiction disputes" are themselves arbitrating their differences. A conference has been called between the United Garment Workers' Union, the International Journeyman Tailors and the Special Order Clothing Makers' Union, and this conference will either so divide the work that there will be no more "jurisdictional disputes" or it will merge the three organizations in one, thus "industrializing" these unions and the industry.

THE WESTERN MANUFACTURING POTTERS' ASSOCIATION and the NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF OPERATIVE POTTERS have closed a working agreement for two years. The agreement does not change the uniform wage scale adopted in 1900. Two changes were asked for by the union, involving an increase for kilnmen and that all plain edge jiggered ware, hotel tableware and a few other things be in-

creased 10 per cent. These demands were submitted to arbitration, and the union lost. The hours were reduced to nine for pieceworkers and the two luncheon times were abolished. The manufacturers to salve this bruise offered a two-year contract, a concession for which the union has struggled for years. The arbitration board recommended that in future plain and festooned plates be divided more evenly among the jiggersmen, and this is to be done. The relations between the two organizations is of the most cordial nature, all difficulties being settled by conference.

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THIS year the agreements between the INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION and the AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION are to be for five years. At first these contracts were for one year, then for two years; now for five years. There are 174 of these agreements, covering that number of publications in the United States and Canada. There is a separate arbitration contract with each one of these wage agreements. Briefly, the system is this: The individual publisher, or in a city like Chicago, New York, Cincinnati, Boston and others, where there is a local association of publishers, then such association makes its wage agreement with the local typographical union. Sometimes the president of the international union and the commissioner of the Publishers' Association are called upon to arbitrate these local differences, but when a local wage scale is finally fixed an agreement is entered into covering wages, hours of labor, and all working rules. Then the two national organizations—the union and the employers—come in as underwriters and back the local agreement up with an arbitration contract that is in effect a guaranty that the agreement will be carried out. That is to say, the local members of both organizations make agreements and the nationals come in and guarantee that each side will be required to live up to that agreement. This unique scheme was devised by Mr. Montgom-

ery of the Chicago Record-Herald and has worked magnificently. A copy of this arbitration agreement is printed in full in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 50, January, 1904. A copy of the Boston wage agreement between the newspapers of that city and the union will be found in Bulletin 49, November, 1903.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN'S AND ASSISTANTS' UNION is this year getting five-year agreements with the members of the Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association, and is getting them backed up by arbitration contracts signed by the national organizations in a manner similar to those of the typographical union.

THE fifteenth annual report of the NEW YORK BOARD OF MEDIATION AND ARBITRATION contains, besides a report on the regular work of the board, a copy of all the arbitration laws of the United States, of each state that has enacted such laws, and those of France, Great Britain, Canada, New Zealand and New South Wales. Twenty-four states of the United States have passed arbitration laws, which are reprinted in full. The New Zealand "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1900" is given in full, as is also the "Amendments of November 7, 1901." As these two acts constitute the so-called compulsory arbitration laws of New Zealand, they should be read by every man who prefers to know rather than to quote what somebody has heard someone say about that law. In part 6 is reprinted in full the "Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry, New South Wales, Australia, into the Working of the New Zealand Compulsory Conciliation and Arbitration Law." The report of this commission occupies 45 pages.

A strike of marble workers at Gouverneur, N. Y., was so unpleasant and unprofitable that after the national organizations of both employers and workmen had been brought into the fight they finally got to thinking. A

conference was called and out of it grew an agreement. The whereases and two first sections of this agreement are too good to be abbreviated and are here given in full:

"Whereas, there has heretofore existed a sentiment that the members of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARBLE DEALERS and the members of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARBLE WORKERS were necessarily enemies, and in consequence a mutual dislike and distrust of each other and of their respective organizations has arisen, provoking and stimulating strife and ill-will, resulting in severe pecuniary loss to both parties; now this conference is held for the purpose of cultivating a more intimate knowledge of each other and of their methods, aims and objects, believing that thereby friendly regard and respect may be engendered and such agreements reached as will dispel all inimical sentiments, prevent further strife and promote the material and moral interest of all parties concerned.

"1. That this meeting adopt the principle of conciliation in the settlement of any dispute between the members of the I. A. M. W. and the members of the N. A. M. D.

"2. That a conciliation committee be formed, consisting of six members, three of whom shall be marble workers appointed by the International Association of Marble Workers and three persons appointed by the National Association of Marble Dealers."

The subsequent sections provide for settling disputes by conference and conciliation committees; fixes a date when the hours of labor shall be reduced from ten to nine without reduction in pay; fixes a date after which piece-work shall be abolished; prohibits sympathetic strikes or sympathetic lockouts; fixes a date after which there is to be official recognition of the union and union shops so far as the union can furnish a sufficient number of efficient men; provides that after the date when nine hours becomes operative in the shops of members of the N. A. M. D., no member of the I. A. M. W. shall work for a marble



dealer not a member of the N. A. M. D. for more than nine hours a day or for less wages than is paid by the N. A. M. D. for similar services; that no member of the I. A. M. W. shall set or handle marble not finished by men working nine hours and at wages the same as is paid by members of the N. A. M. D. for similar services and under same conditions. The agreement provides for amendments, but is otherwise perpetual. In many respects it is an ideal agreement, in that it gives time for changes and sets a date sufficiently in the future for both parties to get ready for the change. The agreement in full will be found in Bulletin No. 17 of the New York State Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 142-3.

ON January 7, the EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION of HOTEL MEN of Chicago and the INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF STATIONARY FIREMEN No. 7, agreed to a joint conference and the submission of points of difference including wages, hours and all conditions of labor; and provided that if this conference of members of the association and of the union should not agree a board of arbitration should be selected to settle all questions. Pending this settlement the strike was called off.

A NATIONAL arbitration bill was introduced in Congress January 11 by Representative Foss, and in the Senate by Senator Cullom, providing for a national arbitration tribunal of six members to be appointed by the President.

The tribunal is to gain jurisdiction over disputes between capital and labor by the request of either or both parties to the dispute or by request made by the tribunal. When such request is refused that fact is to be made known to the public. If the arbitration of the tribunal is accepted that acceptance binds the parties to the dispute to abide by the award.

Pending the consideration of the matter the parties are bound not to participate in a strike or lockout, and if a strike or lockout has already taken place it is to cease pending the award.

The judgment of the tribunal is to date back to the date of the petition. The award must be either positive or negative on every point raised; no neutral award to be made. The tribunal is to sit at Washington, although it may go to other points in case of necessity. The President may add to the tribunal for special cases. The only penalty provided is an appeal to public opinion.

THE "HUB" CLOTHING COMPANY of Chicago made its annual profit-sharing dividend in January, distributing \$25,000 among its employees. Mr. Henry C. Lytton, president of the company, in an address to the employees upon the occasion, stated that his company, as every other, depended for its success upon the efficiency and integrity of their employees. The system adopted by this company includes in the distribution of profits every employe from janitors, porters and elevator boys to heads of departments.

The Crane Manufacturing Company divided profits with employes again this year; the details, however, we do not know.

Copies of official statements of profit dividends to employes, with details of plan and basis of distribution, will be most gratefully received by this magazine and should be addressed to the Industrial Justice Department.

BULLETIN Number 50 of the UNITED STATES BUREAU OF LABOR (January, 1904) contains a 103-page article on "Labor Unions and British Industry." The article itself may be subject of future review; the present purpose is to call attention to the fact that in an appendix it gives the "Trade Union Acts" of 1871, 1876, and subsequent amendments in full, also reprints the "Trade Dispute Act of 1902" which was introduced as "a bill to legalize the peaceful conduct of trade disputes," and which was the second bill to become a law under King Edward VII. In Appendix A is given a very full history of the events leading up to the Taff Vale decision, as well as copious extracts from the document itself.



## British Wages and Trade Disputes In 1903

Those who fear a general cut in wages to take place this year in the United States will note with especial interest that though the net result of the changes in wages throughout Great Britain last year shows a decline, yet 1903 was marked by greater freedom from industrial disputes than any of the previous ten years. This is partially due to the fact that the weekly loss of wages was comparatively slight, being considerably less than in either of the two preceding years, though spread over a larger number of trades.

From the British government "Labour Gazette," just issued, we gain the statistics compiled by the Board of Trade relating to wages and disputes in 1903:

Of the total number affected in 1903, 872,000 sustained decreases amounting to about £39,800 per week, while only 19,000 obtained increases, amounting to about £1,400 per week. In 1902 the number of work-people who sustained reductions was 793,000, the amount of reduction being £78,000, while 91,800 obtained increases, amounting to £5,300 per week, and in 1901 492,500 work-people sustained decreases amounting to £118,100, and 429,700 obtained increases, amounting to £40,800 per week. The net results of the changes during 1902 and 1903 are shown by groups of trades in the following table:

Trade.	Number of Workpeople Whose Wages Were Changed in		Net Amount of Increase (+) or Decrease (-) in the Weekly Wages of Those Affected	
	1903.	1902.	1903.	1902.
			£	£
Building .....	4,638	15,575	+ 304	+ 926
Coal mining .....	753,000	735,524	-32,488	-73,872
Iron, etc., mining.	9,310	7,121	- 426	+ 250
Quarrying .....	3,492	6,733	- 170	+ 306
Iron and steel .....	22,624	53,493	- 971	+ 729
Engineering and shipbuilding .....	74,927	32,822	- 4,326	- 2,419
Other metals ....	534	15,357	- 27	+ 145
Textile .....	1,479	2,107	+ 15	+ 142
Clothing .....	3,476	3,112	- 89	+ 291
Glass, etc., trades.	6,386	86	- 600	+ 10
Other trades ....	11,944	18,426	+ 386	+ 791
Total .....	891,810	890,356	-38,392	-72,701

No important changes in hours of labor were reported during 1903. Such changes as did occur were nearly all reductions, and resulted in a net decrease averaging about 2½ hours per week in the usual weekly working time of about 7,000 work-people.

Greater freedom from industrial disputes was experienced in 1903 than in any of the previous ten years. During the year 360 disputes began, affecting 113,873 work-people,

while the total time lost during the year in disputes was 2,316,792 working days. The average annual duration of disputes in the period 1893-1902 was 8,839,347 working days, and the average annual number of disputes and of work-people affected were 724 and 271,000, respectively.

Questions of remuneration were the most frequent causes of dispute. The number arising under this head was 214, involving 52 per cent of all the work-people directly affected by the disputes of the year. Refusals to work with non-unionists, and other questions affecting trade unions, were responsible for 25 disputes directly involving 17,602 work-people, while 54 disputes directly involving 13,471 work-people arose out of questions of working arrangements.

Eighty-three disputes, directly affecting 28,241 persons, terminating in favor of the work-people; 156, directly involving 25,699 persons, in favor of the employers, while 92, directly affecting 17,380 persons, were compromised.

In the following table the results of the disputes in 1900 are set out:

Results.	Number of Disputes. Directly Affecting.		Number of Workpeople Affected.	
	No.	Per ct.	No.	Per ct.
In favor of workpeople....	83	23.1	28,241	31.0
In favor of employers.....	156	43.3	25,699	28.2
Compromised .....	92	25.6	17,380	19.1
Indefinite and unsettled...	29	8.0	19,780	21.7

The high figure shown for indefinite and unsettled disputes is largely accounted for by the dispute in the South Wales tinplate trade, affecting 14,000 work-people, which is now the subject of arbitration under the Conciliation Act.

Discrimination against a labor union was put upon the same footing as discrimination against a fraternal organization, a church or such a body as the Grand Army of the Republic by Judge Rogers, who dismissed the bill in equity filed by the Commercial Telegraphers' Union against the Western Union Telegraph Company. In this case (of Boyer vs. the W. U. Tel. Co., 124 Federal Reporter 246) the complainant held that the company, by discharging all employees who were members of the union, had combined to destroy the union and interfere with its members obtaining employment. When the case was dismissed for want of equity, however, it was held intolerable for a court to compel a man to employ another against his will, and further that an employer may keep a black list of men discharged because members of a union. An employer may also invite the inspection of the list by other employers, even though the latter therefore refuse to hire the discharged employees.

Of 1,312 college-bred negroes who responded to an inquiry, over one-half reported themselves as teachers, one-sixth as preachers and one-ninth as lawyers and doctors. About four per cent are in business

# Association of Neighborhood Workers, New York City

Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, Editor

26 Jones St., New York City

## The New York Excise Question

JAMES H. HAMILTON,

Head Worker, University Settlement,  
New York City.

The city of New York has always an Excise Question, in the popular parlance. To be more exact it is a saloon question, for it has nothing to do with the public revenue. The present question has to do with the selling of liquor on Sunday. The present law inhibits all Sunday sales, but the last few weeks have brought forth a variety of substitutes for this provision. They are alike in retaining the inhibition during the forenoon. They are also alike in permitting some form of legal selling during the afternoon and evening. The best known measure, the one ardently championed by William Travers Jerome, the district attorney, and endorsed by the Citizens' Union and also by a majority of a committee from the Association of Neighborhood Workers, provides for the opening of the saloons after one o'clock noon and until eleven o'clock in the evening.

### SUBSTITUTES.

Another provides for a back room privilege. Another provides for the plan of opening advocated by Mr. Jerome in event that it shall first receive the sanction of a majority vote of the people. Still others provide for the referendum in the smaller units of the city, as the borough or the aldermanic districts or the legislative districts. And still another provides for the privilege of opening, within such districts as the demand for it seems to warrant, by license issued by certain members of the city government. The preliminary issue now, however, seems to have narrowed down to one of expediency between the Jerome plan for paternalistic opening and the plan for democratic opening for the city as a whole—through the referendum.

### ARGUMENTS FOR EACH.

The arguments put forward in favor of the former plan are substantially as follows: First, it is the duty of the legislature to enact such laws for the government of the larger cities of the state as seem to meet the conditions obtaining in them, since it has not been the custom to refer such questions for a decision to a popular vote; second, a popular vote would be preceded by an exciting, fanatical campaign and would not likely result in a judicial and wise determination. The arguments on the other side are:: First, it is not reasonable to suppose that a legislature under the control of rural representatives would deliberately open the saloons in New York on any portion of Sunday unless it should be in response to an urgent popular demand which could not be determined save through a vote; second, a change in the law of this radical nature should rest upon an enlightened public sentiment, and it should be deferred until public sentiment had ripened for it; third, a negative vote would deprive an easy executive of the argument that he only fulfills the wishes of the people in withholding police pressure from the saloons on Sunday, that it does not stand in reason that a rural state should govern a cosmopolitan city. It is quite likely that a compromise will be effected whereby the referendum advocates will support the Jerome measure, provided Mr. Jerome and his supporters will throw their influence in favor of a referendum measure in event that their plan should fail of adoption.

### TENDENCY OF REFORM.

It is a noteworthy fact that the reform movement seeks to open the saloons on the Sabbath, and it is especially significant that the first organized action taken in the matter, after the change in the city administration was decided, was on the part of the Association of Neighborhood Workers, a body representing practically all the social



settlements of the city, a body of people certainly highly qualified by training, by experience and by disinterested motives to interpret the social needs of their communities. When the matter was first presented an informal discussion and vote brought out the fact that the members were almost a unit in favor of some form of Sunday opening to avoid the evils of police graft and of disrespect for law. Their attitude was based upon a well-rooted conviction that the character of New York's population together with the peculiar conditions under which they live would prevent the permanent operation of a Sunday closing law.

#### IMMIGRANT VIEW OF SUNDAY.

The settlement workers, perhaps better than any other class, understand that the European immigrant looks upon Sunday as a day of recreation and amusement as well as a day of rest and worship, and that this feeling is rooted in centuries of custom and tradition. They understand that the absence of the usual accessories of amusement and recreation on the day set apart for these indulgences is a complete anomaly in the eyes of their friends and neighbors. The settlement worker also understands the overcrowded condition of the tenement districts and how inevitable it is that the tenement dwellers will seek the usual places of recreation and amusement on Sundays. As trained students of social phenomena they also understand that the continental use of Sunday does not mean an entering wedge which will eventually lead to seven days' work in the week for all classes of labor, that the employment of the actor, the waiter and the bartender does not imply the employment of the bookkeeper, the salesman and the artisan, that if it has any influence it would rather be to cause the working people to more jealously demand their holiday.

#### DEMORALIZATION FROM INOPERATIVE LAW.

The settlement workers are also familiar with the demoralizing incidents of an inoperative law—such as police graft and more or less general dis-

respect for law among Americans in the process of the making. A committee appointed by the association organized a somewhat detailed investigation into the conditions of Sunday selling to be made before the retirement of the Low administration which it was thought provided as favorable conditions as could reasonably be looked for in the future. Accordingly the saloons in the neighborhoods of the different settlements were visited in the order in which they came on the afternoon and evening of December 20th. The area covered includes the upper and lower East Side and the lower and the middle West Side and a small section of Brooklyn. The inhabitants of these neighborhoods are composed chiefly of German, Irish, and Jews, with a slight fringe in one district of Italian and a small intermixture of American with the Irish and German. The Jewish district is almost homogeneous. Out of the total of 389 saloons visited, 325 were doing business and 64 were closed.

The most favorable district was the Jewish section on the lower East Side. Of the 127 saloons visited 82 were open and 45 were closed. Two investigators reported a considerable majority of the places visited as closed. Between the German and the Irish the offenders among the Irish were quite as numerous as among the German.

It was not a wide open Sunday. The selling was almost exclusively done in back rooms, and as a rule strangers could not obtain admittance.

It was also a quiet Sunday. No carousing was observed and very little drunkenness. The police court docket furnishes further proof of this in a record of only 142 drunks against 231 for the day previous.

The question must here arise in the mind of the reader, If the administration is able to apply the cork thus far, why may it not stop the spigot entirely? If drinking and drunkenness may be reduced by police surveillance, why is not a campaign for complete suppression the proper way for the reformer? Complete suppression might *for a time*

be realized. An energetic mayor might press the cork to the sticking point, but experience seems to show that the effervescence of public sentiment would eventually explode it at the polls—and perhaps explode many another reform besides.

#### LENIENCY OF MAGISTRATES.

An obstacle in the way of the late administration was found in the unwillingness of the magistrates to hold persons for trial who had been arrested for violation of the Sunday closing law. Of all the arrests made during the first nine months of the year 1903, only about 40 per cent were held for trial. Two of the magistrates discharged 75 per cent of the cases brought before them. This is offered as an explanation of the laxity of the police in making arrests. A high police official says that patrolmen are loath to spoil their records with a large number of discharges which may stand in the way of their advancement. This certainly indicates a vicious standard by which to measure fitness for promotion. A suspicion of graft where few arrests are made should be more of a blemish when the conditions are properly understood than any implication of making arrests on insufficient evidence of guilt. The police should undoubtedly have shifted the responsibility in toto to the shoulders of the magistrates, and in not doing it they must share the blame for the situation. That they are not doing it must be evident from the fact that on the day when the Settlement workers found satisfactory evidence of law violation in more than three hundred cases in an investigation that covered only a fraction of the territory the police found less than thirty cases.

A wise conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that the law should respect the religious feelings and habits of the people to the extent of strictly closing all drinking places without exception during the hours of worship—the forenoon hours, and to allow the legal enjoyment of the long accustomed recreation and amusement facilities during the remainder of the day.—

## Child Workers at the Holiday Season Under the New Law

HARRIET M. VAN DER VAART, SECRETARY  
CONSUMERS' LEAGUE OF ILLINOIS.

An investigation was made at the request of the Consumers' League of Illinois to ascertain the effectiveness of the new child labor law, which became operative July 1, 1903. The greatest change in the conditions of working children has been effected by these two provisions: First, that no person under sixteen years of age shall work more than eight hours in one day, or more than forty-eight hours in one week; second, that no person under sixteen shall work after seven in the evening or before seven in the morning.

#### GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN LARGE STORES.

In the large stores not one violation of these two clauses was found, the working hours being from 8:30 to 5, 9:30 to 6, 10:30 to 7 o'clock, with half hour nooning. Girls one year ago worked until 10 or 11 at night. This year, in the midst of the holiday rush, they took off their aprons, turned in their checks and left the store at 7. That the children appreciated this was proven one day, when several gathered around a factory inspector who was taking their names, and one was overheard saying: "Give him your name, then you won't have to work nights."

A visitor in the poorer districts found a family whose father and mother were both invalids, with five little children—one of them subject to epilepsy. The only income was from the earnings of the eldest, a delicate little girl of fourteen, working in one of our large department stores. The mother said the child was often obliged to remain at home because of sickness. Previous to the holiday time the child had remarked, "What will I do when I must stay until 9 and 10 at night?" This is at least one place where the new law lightened the load of an already greatly overburdened child.

#### BETTER CONDITIONS IN OUTLYING DISTRICTS.

Of forty or fifty stores visited in the



suburbs, five or six violations were found, among them two very bad ones. In one the law was wholly disregarded, eight or ten very small girls working at 9 in the evening, having been on duty since 8 in the morning.

The prosecution of these violations certainly reduced the holiday profits, and will probably be the means of improved conditions another year.

One evening was spent in South Chicago without finding any violations, and here, where one year ago fifty children appeared to be younger than the law allowed, this year only four or five were found. In all large stores new cash systems are gradually replacing the boys and girls. In a toy department, where last year they employed two hundred children, this year they employed only twenty-five. The new system was reported to be more satisfactory and fully as economical.

Box and candy factories were generally found open in the evening, and their employes were over sixteen years of age.

In connection with the sweat shops, where the labor was not unionized, small children were found to be employed to carry the clothing between the shops and the homes for the home finishing. This must be largely controlled through the compulsory education law.

#### A WEAKENING AMENDMENT.

The weakest point in the new law, as in the old, still seems to be the enforcement of the provision which prohibits children under fourteen from working. The framers of the bill hoped to make it very difficult, if not impossible, to evade this provision by requiring a school certificate signed by teacher and principal, giving record of birth and grade of pupil, the parent to bring either this record or a birth certificate with the child to one central office, where the oath is to be taken and the child weighed, measured and described; the age and school certificate, which last allowed him to work, to be furnished only after these conditions have been complied with.

But this part of the law was greatly

weakened by an amendment making it possible to put the giving of this age and school certificate, as well as the first record of the child, into the hands of every school principal, both parochial and public. This makes the effectiveness of the provision very largely dependent upon the conscience of each principal and parish priest or minister.

In the several hundred schools in the city of Chicago it would be very strange if we did not find a number of these who might be influenced by such reasons as sympathy for some particular family, a wish to stand in with the neighborhood, the fact that the child had been confirmed.

#### A CENTRAL REGISTRY NECESSARY.

Up to January 1, 1904, the age and school certificates of the public schools have been given out from one central office. Each child has been weighed, measured and described, and where the school certificate was wanting—as with foreigners or children from other states—examined for reading and writing.

The description is valuable for identification, and to prevent the certificate from being passed on to younger children of the family each parent has been required to take an oath in regard to the child's age, proving it by school, baptismal or birth record.

Of these age and school certificates 7,400 have been given out from this central office since July 1, 1903. For convenience and effectiveness this central office of records seems imperative. It might be made also of great educational value for those interested in child study. Allowing for all possible deception, an observer of the working child cannot fail to be convinced that his physical development is below the standard of the average child. When at the opening of this year all this work was put into the hands of the principals, the directions given them by the superintendent of schools were well planned for carrying out the requirements of the law, but for accurate identification by weight and measure it is hardly sufficient to suggest that it may be possible to arrange with some merchant near the school to permit the children

to be weighed in scales at his place of business.

#### IN THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

From a limited observation we find some parochial schools where it would be impossible for a child to receive a certificate to work until he was of the age required by law. In others lax methods prevail, and a readiness to interpret the law according to the wishes or needs of the family, overlooking the fact that the law allows for no exceptions; one of the results hoped for was that the burden of support for these exceptionally needy families would be taken from the immature children and placed where it rightfully belongs, upon charitable agencies.

#### EFFECTIVE FACTORY INSPECTORSHIP.

Credit is due our state factory inspector, Mr. Edgar T. Davies, for the enforcement and dissemination of knowledge of the law. Adults and children throughout the state seem to know more or less of its requirements. A very small school child in Chicago Heights, hanging onto the back of a sleigh, was questioned about little boys working nights, who said: "Oh, they dassn't work now after 7; there's a rule that they mustn't." When asked what rule, the reply was the United States rule.

When the law first became operative Mr. Davies sent copies of the same, with directions, to all manufacturers and employers of child labor, for carrying it out. An inspector was sent to teachers' meetings to explain the law and inform the teachers as to what was required of them in its enforcement. The result of this work has been very apparent in this holiday investigation, in which the factory inspector's office has given hearty co-operation.

#### SPECIFIC RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION.

This investigation has revealed:

First—That as a rule children under sixteen are not working after 7 in the evening.

Second—That children under sixteen as a rule are only working eight hours

a day and forty-eight hours in one week.

Third—That the new law has not been as effective in preventing children under fourteen from working as its friends hoped it would be.

Fourth—The necessity of close inspection at the holiday season, as some employers seem inclined to risk detection and hire extra children for a few days, regardless of the law.

The child labor law can only become effective; can only be a real protection to the working child; can only be instrumental in making for better citizenship, as the citizens of Illinois interest themselves to see that this law fulfills the purpose for which it was created. This responsibility falls with especial weight on the women of Illinois, as they were so largely instrumental in bringing it to pass.

The Consumers' League will act on the suggestion which came to them through *The Commons* from the Child Labor Committee of New York, and secure from schools and factory office names and addresses of children refused working certificates or discharged from work, and send the same to the compulsory education department, so as to provide against the possibility of these children finding illegal employment or being left to run the streets. To do an effective work the league must have a large membership. Every reader is asked to join the Consumers League, and help in the amelioration of the conditions of women and children employed in Chicago and in forming an intelligent public opinion as to the responsibilities of consumers.

The office of the league is room 644 Unity building, Chicago, and the office hours are from 10 to 12 Tuesdays and Fridays.

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"Men do not lose nor lessen their personal responsibility by acting through a corporation, or an agent, or by any other indirection. The growing shrewdness of the public will only lay a surer and heavier hand on those who smite their brothers from behind that ancient and uncanny creature—the corporate person—and then claim immunity for their souls and bodies because their dummy has no body to be kicked and no soul to be dammed.—Henry D. Lloyd.



# College Settlements Association

Miss Myrta L. Jones, Editor

996 Prospect St., Cleveland, Ohio.

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weeds, she protects from devastating birds and insects, and she harvests.

This school garden is but one of a dozen in Boston. Most of them are in the yards of the schools and, of course, vary in size with school environments. In the North End, the most congested of the congested parts, the schoolhouse commissioners purchased land adjoining the yard of the famous old Hancock school, tore down the old tenements and sheds, and where they stood may be seen a charming inclosed garden, in which the nature-loving Italians of the neighborhood take great delight.

The school garden is not a new or American departure. Thousands of them have flourished in Europe for many years, and of late they have not been unknown to America, but the Boston gardens have, I think, made two distinct contributions to the movement, the first of economic, the second of educational moment. They have indicated their importance in directing the mind of the city child towards the pleasures and possibilities of country living, and they have established themselves as an integral part of school work with the opportunity to become increasingly valuable as our ideals come to include an educational alliance between the head and the hand.

The teachers themselves are most enthusiastic witnesses to the value of the garden. They naturally undertook the work with many misgivings. They knew the sins of the school system, its overcrowded schoolrooms and its overcrowded curriculum, but to-day they are a unit in the opinion that the garden has lightened their labors, given new zest to indoor work and helped to establish new relations between teacher and pupil.

There can be no better illustration of the lack of cohesion in our municipal life than the indirect and wasteful way in which this garden work has to be achieved. We have a city forester with a large staff of workers, and all

---

## SCHOOL GARDENS.

BY ANNE WITHINGTON.

Twice a week, at three o'clock in the afternoon, during the planting, cultivating and harvesting seasons, a procession of fifty children can be seen marching, two by two, through one of the streets of the old West End in Boston. Over their shoulders, like a soldier's bayonet, are carried those worthier weapons, the tools on which human society has built its fabric, the rake and the hoe. So completely have these children been cut off from man's heritage that not a foot of ground is to be found in their school district whereon they can grow a potato. The school yard, so called, is a relic of the dark days before the rights of children, even to playroom, were recognized. Not a vacant lot is to be found in that crowded quarter, but the Board of Park Commissioners, pursuing the enlightened course which has distinguished their work from its inception, have granted the use of a strip of ground in the Charlesbank, the park of the West End, for children's gardens. Each of these marching girls has a plot of ground, eight by four feet, which is her farm. She stakes it off; she digs the bordering path; she hoes, she rakes, she sows, she waters, she

the materials needed at hand, loam, manure, seeds, implements, and yet it is impossible for the city's teachers to obtain these for the city's children. So it comes about that while the city provides the land and the children and the teachers, it is left to volunteer organizations, the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, the Civic League and the Twentieth Century Club, to initiate the work and to bear the expense of preparation of the grounds, implements and seeds, and the cost of supervision. Of course the hope is that ultimately the school authorities will assume responsibility for the garden work and that it will be incorporated in the school curriculum like other manual work—nay, some of the enthusiasts have larger hopes. They see in the garden a laboratory wherein many branches of learning now differentiated may be correlated and vivified for the child. It is with this end in view that teachers have begun to use the garden in teaching English, arithmetic, geography, cooking, sloyd, etc.

The school garden with individual beds has been found to be of more value than the garden cultivated in common. More responsibility is developed and the joys of proprietorship certainly are keener. Although only a pitifully small portion of the children can share in the garden work at any one time, by choosing with some uniformity one of the upper grades, the sixth, seventh or eighth, the pupils in the lower grades can look forward confidently to the time when they too may march out of school, twice a week, for an hour's work in the open air.

Late in the winter the work of preparation begins. The boys of the sloyd classes make window boxes, cold frames and small boxes with a glass side over which a curtain is hung. When this is lifted the children can, as it were, look into the bowels of the earth and see the process of germination, the effects of too deep planting and insufficient watering. The seeds of the tomatoes and lettuce which are later to be transplanted are sown, and the diaries of the children record their

observations from day to day. I cannot refrain from quoting from some of these:

"March 10th. We planted radishes."

"March 13th. The radishes are *up*."

April 24, a boy writes with deep emotion that older gardeners can appreciate: "Every seed I have in the world is at the mercy of a dog."

Another young person of catholic tastes writes: "I am going to plant vegetables *and flowers* so that I can have a boiled dinner with flowers on the table every day."

During the summer vacation the volunteer association assumes responsibility and instructors meet the children regularly. When the crops begin to be harvested the work of propaganda has properly begun. The parents are to be interested in this new kind of school work when radishes and lettuce and turnips are contributed to the family table, and home gardens on roof tops, in window boxes, and in back yards, are the first fruits of this effort to make the joys of the country intelligible to the urban mind. Vegetables, therefore, occupy the larger part of these little plots, although they are frequently bordered with gay marigolds, or balsams, or nasturtiums.

It is a truly intensive system which is followed. Every inch of ground is occupied from seeding to harvest. When one crop is off, another is put in its place and the results of faithful cultivation are amazing. Here, for instance, is one child's return from her thirty-two square feet:

Three crops of radishes; two crops of lettuce; peas (eaten by English sparrows); one crop beets; nasturtiums; coreopsis.

Of course the crops vary according to the taste of the child and some of the vegetables that require a good deal of room, such as squashes, corn, melons, are grown communally.

But better than the best of crops are the bits of lore picked up by the way; the germination and the formation of seeds, the weeds, the insects that help and those that hinder, all these and more than these are so many revelations



of the miracle of nature which is spread before the eyes of the child, and which once seen becomes one of life's few lasting joys.

---

EDITOR'S NOTES.

The writer of the foregoing article is well known in settlement circles, having gone from Hull House to a long residence at Denison House, in Boston. Later she became the head of the Woman's Branch of South End House. She became interested in the agricultural education of children after reading Prince Kropotkin's book and through her experience in settlement life. She was asked by the Outdoor Art Association to develop the garden work she had started while at the settlement. So it has come about that in at least ten or a dozen public schools in Boston gardening is a part of the work. She went abroad two years ago to see foreign gardens, but found very little to teach us, as our problem of the garden in a crowded city and of the educational value of it from the point of view of manual training is unsolved and even unattempted in Europe.

---

## Annual Report of the College Settlements Association

The secretary's report shows that fourteen women's colleges are now represented by chapters, each of which sends a liberal contribution to the work of the association; and the chairman of the committee on sub-chapters states that thirty-five schools are co-operating and rendering most valued aid in work as well as money.

Miss Coman, the president of the association, spoke of the number of women desiring to train for social service or to pursue sociological work through life in a settlement. The decision of the electoral board to use the income, not required for the support of its three existing settlements, for the maintenance of fellowship is warranted since philanthropic endeavor has not now so much need of more settlements as of more trained workers. From settlements, organized charities, public institutions, child-saving enterprises, and working girls' clubs come the requests for college graduates who have had some practical experience in dealing with social problems. The thoroughly equipped woman has no difficulty in finding work to her mind as deaconess, probation officer, social secretary or tenement house agent. Collegiate training and academic sociology must be supplemented by actual experience of social and industrial conditions. That our own three settlements have already furnished a worthy list of such social servants is shown by the fact that out of 169 former residents twenty-three have served as head workers for other settlements

and eighty-one are engaged in philanthropic work. For years past the board has supported one scholar and one fellow in residence at one of its settlements. It is now proposed to appropriate one-third of an annual fellowship of \$400 to each college represented in the association with the hope that the colleges and their friends will see the importance of helping by their co-operation to establish such fellowships on a permanent basis.

Space forbids my entering into the details of the reports of the head workers of the New York, the Boston and the Philadelphia settlements. One interesting thing I cannot forbear mentioning, viz., the fact that two probation officers make their home at the Philadelphia Settlement and that the house is regularly open to probationers and their friends one evening each week. For many of these boys the need is for contact with better social standards as embodied in *persons*, rather than for books and talks; a chance for play and exercise in playgrounds and gymnasiums rather than in the streets. Until provision for the normal activities of childhood is recognized as necessary, and made general and adequate in amount, we are simply feeding the will which manufactures criminals.

MYRTA L. JONES.

---

## The Hour

O, herald on the battlements of time,  
Proclaim the birth cry of a greater race;  
On the great scroll of ages mark this place  
In words of gold: It is an hour sublime.  
For now shall cease the ancient awful  
crime  
Of human bondage which even yet we trace  
In our industrial plan. Lo, on the face  
Of things there smiles the promise of the  
time.  
But, brothers, we must stand together true;  
Forgetting minor things for that great end;  
Together we must gain the larger view,  
And for the great essentials we must spend  
Our daily sweat and blood. If this we do  
This hour is marked in time's eternal  
trend.

EDGAR MACLAREN SWAN.

---

"Robert Southey,  
Poet Laureate.  
Also  
Edith, His Wife.  
Also

Elizabeth Thompson,  
For fifty years the faithful servant and attached friend of Robert Southey and of his children, who died, aged 81 years."—Inscription on tombstone in Crossthwaite Churchyard, Keswick.

---

"Thy place in life is seeking after thee, therefore be thou at rest from seeking after it."—Caliph Ali.

# Public School Co-operation At Chicago Commons

The co-operation between the public school and the settlement can scarcely be more happily exemplified anywhere than here on the Chicago Commons field. The teachers of both schools, midway between which the settlement stands, freely use the building for their social occasions and noonday lunches. When the assembly rooms of the old Washington schoolhouse were closed by the building department as unsafe from fire risk, the midyear graduating exercises were held in the Chicago Commons auditorium. On this occasion the decision of the Board of Education to erect a new building with ample grounds about it was received with great enthusiasm.

## FOR A PUBLIC PLAYGROUND.

The hope of securing a public school playground with the new Washington school building makes it very important to maintain the Chicago Commons public playground to its full capacity next summer. Although the only lot available within our means is but 64 by 90 feet in area, it is so well situated, equipped and patronized as to be the best demonstration of the district's need of a far more adequate playground. The \$500 required for the rental of the ground and the support of a director will not only give five months' play to the children of this crowded district, for whom no other provision is made, but will be almost certain to assure the ampler provision of the Board of Education. If next year we can offer the services of a director and the use of our equipment, it may be an incentive to provide at first the space and then the support for a permanent public school playground.

## FREE-SPEECH POLICY JUSTIFIED.

The wisdom and safety of the settlement free-speech policy has been strikingly demonstrated at Chicago Commons. Our Tuesday evening free-floor discussions, which for seven years were far more largely enjoyed by those who attended them than they were bitterly criticised by those who did not, have fulfilled their mission and been superseded by something more valuably constructive. The rampant radicalism which found its first vent on our free floor gradually toned down and almost totally subsided in the full exercise of its freedom. For the last year or two only an occasional, and, by comparison, tame outburst of it was heard. Moreover, other centers of free discussion more fully met the demand, which was never as marked among the men of our own neighborhood as among those who came from a distance.

## A SCHOOL OF CITIZENSHIP.

When, therefore, the free floor was discontinued this fall it gave the Seventeenth Ward Community Club its long-awaited op-

portunity. To its open meetings on Thursday evenings it is gathering every week groups of our cosmopolitan citizens to meet representatives of city departments, county institutions and State affairs, and discuss with them informally the public interests under their care. One evening was devoted to such consideration of the enactment and enforcement of the election laws, when the judge at the head of this department assured the men of the club that during his nine years on the bench he had never seen the laws better understood or more fearlessly enforced than they had been by him. Another evening was spent with our representative in the Legislature and the secretary of the Legislative Voters' League. The keeper of the county jail gave both the older boys' club and the men of the Community Club an insight into the causes of crime and the efforts for the moral improvement of the jail prisoners, which deeply impressed them all. In no better way can this club hold and increase the balance of political power which it has so effectively wielded between the parties in the last four campaigns than by maintaining this practical school of citizenship.



A. E. SPITZER, Prest. C. J. SPITZER, Secy.-Treas.

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Even a superficial glance at these first numbers of **THE COMMONS** for 1904 demonstrates the great change made in its form and scope. We have laid out for ourselves a programme which makes this magazine far more valuable to our old constituency and which has already elicited the interest and support of those whom formerly we could not reach.

The announcement of the new programme is made only with ample warrant of co-operation from those recognized as authorities in the several departments of social activity. Jane Addams, Ethelbert Stewart, Helen Campbell, F. Herbert Stead, Julia C. Lathrop and the others who have already treated different phases of the social situation in the first two numbers of the new **COMMONS**, are only a few of those who have promised us continued support. Their articles furnish a tone of intelligent optimism and constructive criticism so much needed in treating the problems of the world about us, and their contributions are characteristic of those to follow.

This magazine should interest every employer and employe who desires an expert, impartial criticism of the industrial situation. It should vitally interest not only every social worker, but every person who intelligently sets out to define and perform his duty in society. We ask those interested in education—which means the head of every family—we ask those interested in the improvement of civic and municipal conditions—which means every intelligent voter—to send us fifty cents for a year's subscription, and to do it now, in the confident belief that he will find in the issue of every month enough encouragement, help and information to repay him for his subscription for twelve issues.

This offer is so liberal and entails such a loss upon us that we must withdraw it at the close of the month of March. After that date we have fixed the price at \$1 per year, or ten cents a copy. It is worth that to-day, but because of the encouragement our subscribers and readers have given us in the past, subscribers of record may renew their subscriptions for twelve months more from the date on which their present subscriptions expire—provided remittance is made before March 31. To enable many who have been our readers to participate in this offer, we now afford them the opportunity to subscribe for one year for fifty cents, provided their subscriptions are mailed to us not later than March 30.

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# The Commons

MARCH, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer }  
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

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# The Commons

Number 3—Vol. IX

Eighth Year

Chicago, March, 1904

## With The Editor

### The Loss of a Peacemaker

The loss of Mr. Hanna's personality will longer be felt by the industrial interests of the country than by the political bodies in which he was so influential. Their ranks have closed up already. From many other leaders there will be found men enough to man the positions he held. But who is there of as great influence in the business or official life of the country to step in between the lines of capital and labor and stand there to mediate a just peace? "It is the object to which I desire to consecrate the remaining years of my life," wrote this foremost man in our practical politics, with reference to the National Civic Federation as the agency through which he hoped to work for this end. The notable article on "Socialism and Labor Unions," which was announced as the outline of his life work, appeared in the National Magazine the very month he died. His purposed plan for the future became the best estimate of his closed career. What he had thus only just begun to do was of greater significance than all his remarkable campaign service to his party or his efficient businesslike work in the Senate. Where men approach the very line of battle in the spirit with which he wrote his last appeal to his countrymen for peace without dishonor to either side of this great issue, "There will always be a neutral ground," as he firmly believed to the end, "where conflicting interests can meet, confer and adjust themselves, a sort of Hague tribunal, if you please, in the everyday affairs of life, where all can meet with the honest determination to do what is right, meeting bravely the conditions as they change and seizing the opportunity as it offers for the betterment of all the people."

### With Mr. Hanna for Peace or With Mr. Parry for War?

It looks as though our employers would have to choose between Mr. Hanna's sanely reasonable policy of adjustment and Mr. Parry's no-quarter war cry indiscriminately raised against the whole "propaganda of labor unionism in the United States and the everyday practical workings thereof" as "revolutionary and subversive of the rights and the liberties of the great body of the people." There is no question of the choice between these two policies which the radical state socialists are making. One of their most uncompromising agitators was heard to exclaim, "Give us Parry rather than Hanna to help our cause." On the other hand, John Mitchell, who well represents the conservative majorities in trade unionism and the American Federation of Labor, evidently has grown out of Mr. Parry's acute angle into Mr. Hanna's industrial statesmanship. To the miners; whom he called to pay their tribute of silent respect while the body of the late senator was being borne to its burial, he addressed these sensible words: "When I was younger I used to view the labor question differently. I remember the time when I regarded my employer as my natural enemy. I thought it was my business to fight him continually, and I felt it was the sphere of the unions to antagonize the bosses at every point. A fight is sometimes necessary, I still recognize. But the best interests of both parties are best served, I now appreciate, by establishing harmonious relations between them. I believe there is no irreconcilable conflict between capital and labor."



## Infantile Complaints of Yonng Organizations

It may confidently be presumed that most experienced employers feel toward the new Citizens' Industrial Association of America very much as old trade unionists do toward new unions. To those familiar with the history of such organizations of employers and employees there is a marked similarity in the experiences through which each of them seems fated to run. In the earlier stages of their career they are sure to regard themselves as mere fighting machines. Their list of "grievances" generally start out with some very real ones, such as the association undoubtedly has. But they suddenly become as all inclusive as the indictment of the English government by our colonial forefathers, which, to say the least, seems a bit excessive when read in the calmer temper with which history invests us. Every right-minded citizen, and none more emphatically than we, will make common cause with the association in putting up the sternest possible front against "contempt for law and the constituted authorities" as expressed in violence and intimidation. These crimes call not only for suppression at the hand of the full police power of the state, but for the public disavowal of any organization with which such acts or their perpetrators may be even remotely connected. Labor unions cannot afford to shield them by silence, or not to join with the civil authorities in bringing the guilty individuals to justice. But to sweep into one dustpan all legislation for an eight-hour day, the arbitration of industrial disputes and the regulation of the power of injunction, together with any use of "the label," and even the legality of collective bargaining, all to be utterly condemned because "socialism and anarchism must not be allowed any foothold in this country," is a begging of big questions which American common sense and fair play, not to say intelligence, will not long or widely tolerate. Not more open to criticism are specific measures promotive of these ends than are the ends

themselves open to frank and fearless discussion and difference of opinion. Scare-head advocacy will not be taken seriously for reasoning. It is quite too frantic and panic-stricken a tocsin with which either to line up employers more really conscious of their strength, or very greatly to alarm the law-abiding rank and file of labor conscious of their rights under the common law.

## Managers' Tribute to Men

Happily representatives of the greatest employing corporations have long since been accustomed to speak in a very different tone and spirit of their labor associates. In striking contrast is the latest instance in point. The high executive officer of one of our great railroad systems having public occasion to refer to the men in railway service, said: "There is no large class of men to match the railroad man in his devotion to duty, his capacity for self-sacrifice, his purpose of public service, his sense of the unity of our great country." In accounting for the fact that, as a class, they have improved more in manners and morals than the various communities of which they form a part and have become better fitted to perform the public service required of them, this representative of the largest employers attributes it not only to the company's organization of its service, but to "the principle of co-operation among the men themselves and the psychological motive of loyalty which their brotherhoods have added." The type of railroad man he did not hesitate to consider as the product also of "the steady rise in the standard of living" due to the organization and co-operation of both the companies and their men. Arguing from wide experience within railway relations, he urged that industrial corporations "must be shown that an improvement in the type of their employees is real to them, and that by at once improving the men's social surroundings and saving the men's money they can expect to maintain better feeling." This "better feeling" he thought to be of sufficient economic value to warrant the investment of employers' capital in any organized effort to bring it about.

## Not the New Immigrant But the Old American

Fear of a "barbaric horde" to overrun and destroy western civilization is as persistent as any other popular superstitious dread. Even in America we have not seemed able to free ourselves from the old, inherent dread of migratory "hordes." It is an inherited prejudice with enormous powers of distortion which changes the hundreds of thousands of homeseeking, breadseeking foreigners into a terrible, menacing "horde."

Strangely, many who know the immigrants best fear them the least. Dr. Steiner, professor of Applied Christianity at Iowa College, has lived with the emigrant classes in Austria-Hungary and Russia and has acquired intimate acquaintance with immigrants in transit by making eight or ten voyages with them in the steerage. Briefly he said in a recent address:

"The new immigrant is not the real peril of the country to-day. It is the old American; for the new immigrant is what the old American makes him. It is the honestly dissatisfied, but at the same time ambitious and energetic man who comes to our shores. His lot may be bad, but it is much better than that of the man who stays behind because he has not the spirit to be dissatisfied with dire poverty; not the ambition to take steps to better his lot; nor the energy to traverse half a continent and cross the Atlantic ocean to find a realization of himself.

"Europe envies us the men we take away from her. If they later become undesirable, it is because the old American has made them so. They are given suffrage before they understand what it means that they may abuse their citizenship for some political swindler. Immigrants are put up as 'easy marks'; they are swindled, cheated and deceived. Coming from the paternalistic governments of Europe, the immigrant first feels his power of personality when taught to abuse it by the old American. The immigrant's vote is bought with money or a drink; at first he is unwittingly made

a party in corruption. The officers of the law teach him his first disrespect for the law. Seized upon by the worst element in America for political and other purposes, the new immigrant is thoroughly 'Americanized' in the worst manner. And then, if he goes as far or further than his American teachers, they point to Europe and say, 'See what you are sending us. Keep the immigrants out.'"

## The Passing Shadow on a Fair Fame

It is not without sincere regret for the facts of Grand Rapids' shame that we publish the notably straightforward and authoritative recital of them by one of her most loyal citizens. No city in the country has had a better opportunity to make itself a model of municipal beauty and administration. With the natural advantage of a charming site and with a population of a progressive spirit, having the sturdiest working class at its base and the finest culture flowering at the top, the city had been widely and justly regarded as one of the best types of our American municipalities. The dark shadows which, let us hope only for this once, have sullied its justly fair fame are cast not, indeed, by the body of its citizenship, but by a band of conspirators who are sternly, swiftly and surely being brought to justice. And yet to the charge of that blind party allegiance which made their power and shame possible the body of citizens have proved their self-confessed guilt.

This calmest and most complete review of the situation which has yet been furnished shows not only to the people of Grand Rapids but to most other American cities the inexcusable folly and sinister results of easy-going partisanship and the "good fellow" policy in city government which have brought upon American municipal administration the contempt of the world. Not to spread our common shame, but to help us one and all rise out of it and live above it, as Grand Rapids is nobly doing, we publish this amazing statement of fact elicited and attested at the bar of superbly administered justice.



# Buying Up a City Administration

## The Grand Rapids Water-Works Conspiracy Reviewed by One of Its Citizens

With its ex-mayor, fourteen members of the City Council, a member of the Board of Public Works, a state senator and the managers of all three of the daily papers tried or awaiting trial on charges of bribery, conspiracy or perjury, and with its city attorney recently released from two years' imprisonment in the House of Correction, and eligible for a longer term, Grand Rapids is in the throes of the most far-reaching scandals in municipal affairs ever suffered by any community.

The city of Grand Rapids, Mich., has a population of nearly or quite 100,000. It is a typical manufacturing town of the better class, surrounded by farms of great productiveness and value. It is a city of homes. No town in the Union, except perhaps Philadelphia, surpasses it in the proportion of home owners to home occupants. Beautiful in situation, it is roomy and well kept. Its streets are wide, well paved and well shaded. Its homes have plenty of light and air. The tenement block is almost unknown, and nowhere in the town is there a "Bowery or Five Points," nor any section that can be pointed out as particularly vicious or squalid. Its population is cosmopolitan, the largest foreign element being from the Netherlands. Probably more than one-quarter of the city's people are Dutch emigrants, or the first generation of descent therefrom. Germans are next in number, and following them are the Poles, while every nation of Europe is represented in smaller degree. The American population, not native to Michigan, are mostly from New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The city is thoroughly equipped with public schools and has one hundred and one churches, of which twenty-seven are Dutch in some form.

The city has a reputation, and deserves it, for culture and progress. It has been nearly free from turmoil of every kind, and especially free from labor strikes and differences between

capital and employes. It is even now growing rapidly, and its business extending as fast as ever in its history, if not faster.

Notwithstanding all this, however, just now it is advertised far and wide as the place of one of the most far-reaching scandals in municipal affairs ever suffered by any community.

The registered voters of the town number something more than 20,000, of whom probably one-quarter, at least, are Dutch or of immediate Dutch descent.

### THE CITY GOVERNMENT.

The city is governed by a mayor and Common Council and has appointed boards of public works, of police and fire commissioners, of health, of assessors, and an elective school board. Government by boards, limiting the powers of the Common Council, has come about through charter changes during the last twenty years.

The Common Council is composed of two aldermen from each ward, one-half of the council being elected each year, and, for the last six years, the mayor has held office for a two-year term, the term of the mayoralty prior to that being for one year.

Twenty years ago the police and fire departments were under immediate control of the Council. A little less than twenty years ago the charter was amended and the board of police and fire commissioners raised, a board of five men named by the mayor. His appointments are final, the Council having no voice in the matter. One man is appointed each year to serve for five years. The board of public works is similarly organized.

The police board has exclusive control of the police force, its appointments, regulation and discipline, and a two-term mayor can organize it to his taste, having in the course of two terms four appointments; so that in the first year of his second term he can have a majority of his friends, if he appoints on that basis, a majority that

cannot be broken until the first year of his second successor's term. The charter change providing for this board was intended to remove the police department from politics, and for fifteen years the board has kept fairly divided as to the politics of its members. With few exceptions, positions upon the board were filled with men of high personal quality, although "politics" have always prevailed in Grand Rapids in aldermanic and mayoralty elections. No non-partisan or independent was ever elected mayor, nor, as I recall, was such a candidate ever elected alderman. Mayors and aldermen have ever been Republicans or Democrats, or, in their day, Greenbackers.

The organization of the police board will be seen to be the one spot wherein the personal equation in city government can most make itself felt. This board and the personality of the mayor were the center of things in the city politics of Grand Rapids for the four years from 1898 to 1902.

Until one year ago the city attorney was elected by the Common Council, but is now elected by the people at large. The city attorney referred to in this article was the appointee of the Common Council.

For the past eight or ten years the salary of the aldermen has been \$350 per year. Prior to that time it was \$100 per year. The mayor now, and for several years last past, has had a salary of \$1,200 per annum. Prior to that time his salary was \$200. With this necessarily brief introduction we come to a recitation of some of the facts connected with our present unsavory prominence.

#### NEED OF GOOD WATER.

Since 1872 the city has owned and operated a water system of its own, although a feeble private company has a half-developed system in operation also. Numerous efforts have been made to exploit this private system on its own account, but always unsuccessfully, and several schemes have been put afoot to sell the private company to the city, or to buy the city's plant for the benefit of a private enterprise,

which would include the old private company.

Originally the source of the city's water supply was a small brook rising in a near-by lake, pumped from a settling basin directly to the pipes. The rapid growth of the town made this source entirely inadequate years ago. Besides, the small lake became a much-frequented resort and the waters thereof much polluted, and the city became more and more built on the banks of the brook, making still more impurities in the supply. Then the city went to Grand River, a source of supply not only abundant and exhaustless, but of doubtful quality, for the intake of the city's pumps is about one-half mile above a high dam used for power purposes, and hence within the mill pond; and the intake is only about two miles below a soldiers' home having some eight hundred inmates, and two and one-half mile below two tanneries, all of which direct their sewerage into the river. Almost anyone would conclude that water from such a source would be not only open to suspicion, but positively to be condemned. So great, in fact, is the distrust of the city's supply that two or three companies prosper in furnishing drinking water in bottles from springs in the suburbs, and it is safe to say that the majority of the well-to-do buy this drinking water at a uniform price of five cents per gallon. Yet the death rate of the city is low.

#### AGITATION FOR BETTER WATER SUPPLY.

For many years a more or less vigorous agitation for a better water supply has been going on and different committees and commissions from time to time have investigated and reported. Schemes for issuing bonds with which to pay for such a new supply have been two or three times voted down by the city, and nothing has been accomplished in the line of obtaining any other supply than Grand River.

In 1900 the mayor of the town, serving the first year of a second term, announced that Grand Rapids must have a better water supply, and that one of the principal objects of his official life would be to obtain it.



In the early summer appeared a promoter from New York with a scheme to bring water to Grand Rapids from Lake Michigan, a distance of thirty miles or more. He represented that he was ready to invest some \$4,000,000 in a plant for the purpose, on condition that the city would enter into a contract with his company to take, for fifty years, a minimum quantity of water per day at a price that would cost the city about one thousand dollars or more per day.

In the meantime the mayor and his personal organ were advocating, as a source of water supply, some springs north of the town and ostensibly opposing the Lake Michigan scheme.

Without, at this time, going into the history of the agitation during the summer, such things were done that in September, 1900, the board of public works (apparently being ready to recommend a contract with the promoter, and having been advised by the opinion of the attorney of the promoter's New York friends that no such contract could be entered into without an opportunity being offered to the public at large to bid, and without an advertisement on the part of the city to that effect), ordered publication, for the period of *five days*, of a notice inviting bids for a contract to furnish the city with water from Lake Michigan, and requiring each bidder to deposit, as an earnest of good faith, a certified check for \$100,000.

#### POPULAR SUSPICION.

While there had been more or less discussion during the summer in the papers and out of the papers, as to the practicability of such a scheme, and while from mouth to mouth among citizens, not only criticisms of such a scheme as a business proposition, but open charges of probable fraud in the deal were being passed, the publication was continued for the five days, and at the end thereof two bids were submitted to the board of public works, and two checks for \$100,000 each were deposited. The bids with the checks were, on the same

day, referred by the Common Council to a special committee on the subject of a pure-water supply, which had been previously appointed. No formal hearings were had before the committee and nothing definite was heard on the subject for about a month, though rumor was still rife and suspicion of the whole deal more or less openly expressed. At the end of that time the mayor announced, at a meeting of the Council, that he had investigated the matter of the checks which had been deposited and that the parties certifying one were of no responsibility at all, and that the trust company certifying the other did not exist. Meanwhile the promoter had returned to New York.

#### BIDS RETURNED.

Upon this exposure the Council ordered both bids returned, and then ordered publication for *three months* of a notice to contractors to bid on a Lake Michigan supply, and such advertisement was at once made and continued.

The proposed contract as a business proposition was so ruinous to the property interests of the town that few people of business capacity believed it practicable. This fact, together with rumors that would not be suppressed, led to a growing conviction that somewhere inhered in the scheme gross corruption, and the finger of suspicion was definitely pointed at certain of the city officers who had been most active and pronounced in their advocacy of the scheme and who had worked or voted for all of the proceedings that looked to its consummation.

#### FIRST DEMAND FOR GRAND JURY.

Meantime, the city had been also discussing corruption in the political primaries, and as no tangible material could be obtained upon which to proceed criminally against either the promoter of the water deal or the suspected city officers in the matter, or the politicians whose names had been freely connected with the alleged corruption in the primaries, there sprang up a demand for the calling of a grand jury to investigate all of these subjects.

Now the county of Kent, of which

county Grand Rapids is the capital, had never had in its whole history a grand jury. All criminal proceedings had always been based upon complaint, examination and "information" filed by the prosecuting officers, and a grand jury, in its practical workings, was new to nearly everybody. All during the late fall and early winter this demand for a grand jury was insistent, but the court and the prosecutor felt obliged to delay its call because of the lack of tangible clews. The prosecuting officers, however, were faithful and diligent men and pursued every line of inquiry within their reach, until in February, 1901, the town was appraised through the papers, that the city attorney of Grand Rapids had been indicted in Chicago for the larceny of \$50,000. The story became known that that sum of money had been deposited in a safe deposit vault in Chicago by Omaha parties, the sum to be delivered to the Grand Rapids city attorney when this city should have entered into a contract with the Omaha contingent, or their representatives, to furnish Grand Rapids water from Lake Michigan. This contract the city attorney was, according to the scheme, to put through. The Omaha party was one of those who was looking for a contract with this city as a result of the three months' advertisement inviting bids, after the first bids had been returned.

#### COOK COUNTY GRAND JURY INTERVENES.

At the time of the arrest of this official in Chicago, the details of the story were not fully known, but it appeared that the city attorney was left in possession of one of the keys to the safe deposit box. He concluded, it is said, not to wait the conclusion of his contract, but take his pay in advance, with the result that the Cook County grand jury was asked to intervene in the case, as it did. The news of this event put force into the demand for a grand jury here. And now came the first tangible clew, for the news of the Chicago indictment being published in the New York papers, it came to the notice of the promoters of the original water

scheme, and the man principally involved let it be known that he could furnish evidence of a transaction in Grand Rapids similar to the one that had come to light by the Chicago arrest. Means were found to reach him and secure from him letters and telegrams which had passed between him and his confederates during the summer of 1900, which, with testimony he was willing to give, made a formidable case against several of those alleged to be involved.

#### GRAND JURY CALLED.

The grand jury had been called. It sat for several weeks. Evidence given before it, in some mysterious manner, became known to the friends of the implicated parties, and the newspaper organ of the mayor and city attorney was diligent every day in perverting the stories that were told before the grand jury, in ridiculing the court and prosecuting officers, in libeling citizens in no way connected with the scheme, and in every device known to "yellow journalism" it discredited the honest effort of the public officials to arrive at the truth.

#### FIVE INDICTMENTS RETURNED.

But the grand jury was not to be side-tracked or defeated. Indictments for bribery were returned against the city attorney, against the New York man who furnished the money for the bribers, against a bank clerk who was the custodian of it, against a lawyer who was alleged to have engineered the scheme in local circles, and against still another lawyer who was alleged to have been employed to tempt one particular alderman with a bribe. Yet so skillfully had the engineers manipulated their negotiations with the New York contingent that the promoter who had turned state's evidence, was unable to give any direct testimony affecting any of the aldermen or any of the officers of the city other than those above named. It was necessary for two years to elapse and the city attorney to become an informer himself before that result was reached.

#### CITY ATTORNEY TRIED.

The city attorney was tried in the



fall of 1901 and the following is the story brought out on the trial of the city attorney, a story given by the promoters and corroborated by such testimony from local sources as the prosecutor was able to reach.

After the city officials had let it be known that the subject of water for the town was open, the promoter sent an agent to Grand Rapids to look over the ground. This agent was also a lawyer by profession and a man who proved to be willing to adopt any means to attain his end. He brought letters of introduction to a local attorney and they got into communication with this city attorney. Between the three, they decided that money would be necessary to put the scheme through, and a demand was made upon the New York men for \$100,000—\$25,000 to be paid down forthwith and to be used as the city attorney in his discretion might decide, and \$75,000 was to be placed in safe deposit in Grand Rapids, subject to the order of the same city attorney, to be delivered to him when the contract between the city and the New York contingent should be executed.

Early in July the moneyed man of the New York end came to town and deposited \$25,000 to the credit of the local attorney employed, and this money, it was proved on the trial by the officers of the bank holding the deposit, was delivered to the local attorney. A part of it, as was testified, was delivered by the latter to the city attorney. But on this first trial, that money could be no farther traced, nor could the \$75,000 which it was alleged was subsequently sent here for deposit be directly traced.

#### CONVICTION OF CITY ATTORNEY.

The trial resulted in a conviction of the city attorney for bribery, notwithstanding the fears of the public that political influence or worse means, had been and were still being used to unduly influence the jury. This conviction was promptly appealed, and in the trial and in the appeal a great array of legal talent was marshalled, representing not only the city attorney but other parties implicated. This first trial con-

sumed two months, beginning in October and ending in the middle of December, 1901. At the next March term of court the New York man who was alleged to have furnished the money was tried, with practically the same attorneys representing the defense as had been employed in the city attorney's case. He swore stoutly that all his money had been returned, and that it had not, in the first place, been put here for any corrupt purpose, but to secure an option upon, or purchase of, the private water company before alluded to. His conviction also resulted, but so far no disclosures beyond those previously referred to had been made.

#### FURTHER TRIALS.

Then came the trial of the local attorney, the alleged "engineer." A change of venue was obtained to a neighboring county and another long trial ensued. The promoters again came from New York and testified, and another conviction resulted. Not long thereafter, the lawyer of minor importance who had been employed to approach the single alderman was tried, and while admitting the facts substantially as alleged by the alderman himself, he excused himself by swearing that being a friend of the alderman he had merely appeared to approach him for the sake of testing his honesty. This excuse, with sympathy raised for him, secured his acquittal.

To return a moment to the bank clerk. When it became known through the New York promoters that this clerk had been custodian of the large fund, he was faced with an allegation to that effect before the meeting of the grand jury, and admitted the fact, but disclaimed any guilty knowledge of the character of the transaction. He admitted it to the officers of the bank and to the bank's attorney, and agreed to go before the grand jury and tell the facts as they were, but before the grand jury assembled such influences secured control of him, that when he was called as a witness before the grand jury it is evident he did not tell the facts, but quite a different story.

Before he was tried, however, on the

original indictment against him, it became known that he, with the same city attorney, had become involved in the loss of large sums of money. As paying teller of the bank he had permitted his friend to largely overdraw his account, concealing the overdraft in the form of "cash items," and also he had, at the instance of the city attorney, certified for him a certain check or checks, one check at least of \$10,000. When the federal grand jury next met, complaint was made against him, and the city attorney as an abettor, for an offense against the national banking act, the offense consisting in certifying a check when no funds were in the bank against it. The federal grand jury indicted both and they were released on bail. But between that indictment and the next term of court at which their cases could be tried, the bank clerk had been prevailed upon by friends to tell the truth.

#### THE FIRST PUNISHMENTS.

Having decided to do that, he waived any defense in the federal court and pleaded guilty, in the hope that he would be let off with a fine, and the city attorney, probably believing that the clerk would be released on a fine, pursued the same course. But they met a surprise in the action of the court, the judge thereof sending both to the Detroit House of Correction for a term of two years. From this imprisonment they were released the first of last November, and during all the time between the ending of the "water trials," so-called, and the release of these men from the federal prison, the appeals from the conviction of the city attorney and the local lawyer were pending in the Supreme Court. The New York "financier" had been fined and paid his fine, it being the judgment of the court that he had been duped all the way through the scheme and relieved of over \$100,000 in money, and that he probably had suffered enough.

The Supreme Court handed down its decision in the case of the city attorney about the 1st of November, four or five days before his sentence in Detroit expired, and he returned immediately

to Grand Rapids, with his original conviction for bribery affirmed. Without going into the details of the efforts that had been and were then made to induce him to make a clean breast of the whole transaction, he finally decided to do so. Of course, in doing so he hoped to lessen the penalty that he might receive on his affirmed conviction in the state court, a penalty which may reach a ten-year term in prison. As a result of his disclosures, which were circumstantial and minute in every respect, things have been happening rapidly. In substance this is the story he *now* tells:

#### WHERE THE MONEY WENT.

That with the \$25,000 first received he paid to the local attorney \$8,000; to the manager of one of the daily papers \$5,000; to the ex-mayor and the manager of his personal organ \$10,000, and with the balance of that sum he reduced his overdraft and shortage at the bank. That out of the \$75,000 subsequently received and which he withdrew from deposit before due, as he did in the Chicago case, he completed the paying up of his bank shortage and the relieving of the paying teller in that respect; that he paid the ex-mayor \$13,500; that he paid to the manager of his personal organ about the same amount; that he paid to the city clerk \$1,500; to a member of the board of public works \$500; to the manager of the only other remaining daily \$10,000; to some 14 or 15 of the aldermen sums ranging from \$200 to \$500, and that out of the entire sum he practically had nothing left for himself. He had spent all, he claims, to secure co-operation and votes for the water deal.

#### WHOLESALE ARRAIGNMENTS.

Immediately after this disclosure was made and before any arrests followed, several confessions were received by the prosecutor, and corroboration of parts of the story from various sources came thick and fast. No grand jury was needed this time, and as soon as matters could be put in legal shape, warrants were issued for the ex-mayor, for some fourteen members of the Council, a member of the board



of public works and a state senator, and subsequently further arrest for perjury was made of the lawyer who had been acquitted of the charge of bribery; of two other lawyers connected with the defense of the city attorney, one for perjury and one for subornation of perjury; of the city clerk for conspiracy; of the managers of all three of the Grand Rapids dailies for conspiracy. Ten men have confessed and pleaded guilty. So far two aldermen have been tried and convicted of bribery, and the lawyer who was acquitted of the charge of bribery has been tried and convicted of the charge of perjury, all of these convictions having been obtained by city juries. Trials of the several aldermen who pleaded not guilty are now in order and the prosecution intends to try, as rapidly as possible, the ex-mayor, the lawyers charged with perjury and subornation of perjury, and the newspaper men for their alleged part in the conspiracy.

In the meantime sentence of the city attorney on the charge for which he was originally tried and convicted is withheld, and the trial of the bank clerk, who at the eleventh hour confessed his part in the transaction, is not at present pressed.

#### A HUMILIATING RECORD.

To the town of Grand Rapids this is a most humiliating record. There is no space in an article of this kind to elaborate in detail the collateral facts and crimes attending upon and incident to this scheme. The confession of the city attorney tells of the means by which information was obtained of the grand jury's deliberation. It was the old story of bribery. One of the jurymen was bought, he says.

It has become clear to most that much of the testimony in the original defense was manufactured. Reams of alleged correspondence are alleged to have been invented, and pretended contracts were written and signatures thereto secured long after the events to which they referred. Attempts to bribe the state's informer have been investigated and to most minds proved, although one of the attorneys has been

tried on a charge of subornation of perjury (in that it was alleged he attempted to induce, by the use of money, the state's principal witness to pervert his testimony), and acquitted. This lawyer has now been arrested and will be tried for perjury in his testimony given in that matter.

It is now alleged in the last statement of the city attorney that a well defined plan existed between himself and associates to induce contractors all over the country, as far as possible, to send them money for the purpose of securing such a water contract, which moneys they intended to appropriate to their own uses and leave the people who were furnishing it for such corrupt purposes in the lurch, trusting that they would not dare complain of their treatment because of the criminal character of their own proceedings. Except for the exposure of their methods by the arrest of the city attorney in Chicago, their plans would probably have succeeded.

In this article the guilt of anyone who has not been tried and convicted or who has not confessed and pleaded guilty is of course not asserted.

This story is already too long, but is in reality short as compared with what might be recited in detail.

I do not suppose that any two men would agree entirely upon the primary causes which have led to the possibility of such a condition. Doubtless they are complex and most of them are not peculiar to Grand Rapids.

#### INDIFFERENCE TO CIVIC DUTY A CAUSE.

The first is undoubtedly that indifference to civic duty which permits party politics to control in aldermanic elections and submerge quality of candidates to party fealty. It is the old cry—"maintain the organization;" a party nominee, one whose nomination had been obtained by no matter what methods, must be supported, and uniformly he has been. The exceptions have been very few. No reader of *The Commons* but knows what means have been employed in securing nominations on these lines—money, promise of office, promise of support for pet le-

gal measures, even "repeaters" have all had their place, and the public conscience never effectually aroused itself to fight. Not all men so nominated and elected have been necessarily bad, but it takes a strong man in such political surroundings not to become more or less morally obliqued. Some of the aldermen and officers who have now confessed to having been bribed were never known to go wrong before; but listen to this—the first one tried swore in his own defense that he did not consider the money which he admitted to have gotten, as a bribe, but as a sort of a joke—"one on the New York financier," whose money had been put up under the delusion that such a contract as proposed could be obtained at all. "If a fool would part with his money, then better the aldermen get it."

#### INDIFFERENCE TO WORTH OF PERSONAL INTEGRITY.

And secondly, there has been a marked indifference to the worth of example in the matter of personal integrity in public affairs.

No one, I trust, believes in an effort to forever keep a man "down" who has sinned, repented of his error and who strives to rehabilitate himself. But it is not calculated to strike deep dread into the heart of a trusted employe—a bank clerk, for instance, (who may be disposed to divert to his own use the bank's cash)—to know that he stands a chance after a publicly admitted embezzlement to soon thereafter be made cashier of the bank he has looted.

This is quite like what has been done in the politics of Grand Rapids. The town in 1898 elected, as mayor, a man who only a few year before, as treasurer of the city, was short in his accounts about \$17,000 for moneys used, as he claimed, in the aid of his personal political friends in political campaigns, and not for his own benefit. His default was admitted, made good by his bondsmen, and to-day a judgment exists against him for the unpaid balance of his shortage and interest thereon,

amounting to nearly \$20,000. But there was no criminal prosecution. He was allowed to go unpunished. After a few years he began to emerge as a political factor, and gradually, by the aid of warm personal friends (of whom he had many) built up a machine that nominated him for mayor, and he was elected as a Democrat on a practically "wide-open platform."

Being elected a second time he had the opportunity to complete the organization of the board of police and fire commissioners to his personal taste. Prior to his election this board had been almost entirely composed of wise business men; men who were not puritanical in any sense, men who were disposed to be liberal, but who had with unusual constancy enforced reasonable compliance with the law by saloons and other kindred places of amusement.

Persistent declamation and agitation had been kept up against so-called "blue-laws" and "encroachment upon personal liberty," until a campaign on this issue, in the absence of equally forcible agitation in opposition, was successful. And as the Common Council reelected the city attorney referred to by a safe majority, in spite of public protest, after full knowledge of his indictment in Chicago, it is probably a fair deduction that either some of the aldermen were involved with him and felt forced to support him, or they had very lax views of what public example is worth.

Known integrity as a qualification for public office had gone to a discount.

Then, too, the civic conscience has been weakened and debauched by corruption in politics, and by this I mean the open, notorious and flagrant use of money to control primaries and conventions in the city of Grand Rapids, and in Kent County boodling has not, until the developments in this "water scandal," been really unpopular.

The tendency is now up-hill. We already have a better primary law, we have a better sentiment for civic righteousness and our law officers are faithful and efficient, and it is a good deal for a municipality to cleanse itself.



# An Experiment in City Home Gardening

By Lucy Burton Buell

Contributed Through the College Settlements Association  
Department. Myrta L. Jones, Editor

Many years ago Cleveland could justly claim her title of "The Forest City." Her shaded streets, lawns and gardens everywhere to be seen gave her the aspect of a well kept village. But Cleveland is in the soft coal region and she is a manufacturing city. As her industries increased, the atmosphere became so smoke-laden that trees, grass and flowers no longer flourished. The care which had sufficed to keep them healthy under more favorable

When Goodrich House was opened six years ago, some of the workers there felt that it was worth while to try to induce people in the neighborhood to improve their lawns by clearing up their yards and planting a few vines and hardy flowers. The homes in the neighborhood are largely of the old order, not tenements, but detached houses, standing usually two or three in one yard. The ground was hard from the tramping of many feet and covered



conditions was not all that was necessary now and people had not learned to meet existing conditions by planting hardier varieties and giving them more careful treatment. When trees died, new ones were planted—usually maples, because maples were the old-time favorite—but they, finding life too hard for them, soon gave up the struggle and people gradually came to take it for granted that nothing would grow in the downtown district of Cleveland.

with ashes, while tin cans and other refuse was piled in the corners—everyone who has lived in a settlement neighborhood will recognize the picture. Naturally this movement took the form of a club, and the Home Gardening Club came into existence. Dues were fixed at ten cents a year and the payment of this sum entitled the member to ten packages of flower seeds. The club flourished, notwithstanding all the discouraging conditions it had to face; it

grew in numbers from twelve to eighty the first year, and many pathetic little gardens were planted. People began to talk about their flowers, to study them, and after two or three years they were rewarded by better results than at first seemed possible.

As is the case with most clubs, the leaders had to work hard, to prove fertile in resources for keeping up the interest. Throughout the summer, flowers sent in by friends who were glad to share their own abundance made the weekly meetings pleasant. To see that these flowers were distributed among the sick and where their presence would be specially welcome was the work of the club members, and in this matter there has been a real growth of the altruistic spirit. The pleasure of giving has been learned, and where formerly the demand was "some flowers for me," now it is, "the lady next door is sick—may I take some flowers to her?" In August there is the exhibit of flowers grown in home gardens; in November comes the chrysanthemum social. During the winter, when meetings are held only once a month, there are talks on gardening, flowers and kindred subjects, with frequent use of the stereopticon. In February an exhibit of flowering bulbs is held. The club prides itself on its success with bulbs. Prizes are given in the fall for the best gardens and the best specimens of various flowers grown. The prizes are always bulbs. They are rather generously bestowed, so that every member who has really worked, has at least half a dozen bulbs for home culture, and the February exhibit brings out a fine showing from these. Incidentally, the club has been of value in growing friends as well as flowers. There is no group of people connected with Goodrich House among whom the bond of friendship is stronger than among the Home Gardeners. Out of their common love for flowers has grown a real affection for one another.

After two years' work in the club, the success attained seemed to justify the hope that this movement might become more far-reaching. Since children are always most keen to take up

a new project (although it may not be amiss here to say that in the Home Gardening Club one of the most enthusiastic members is seventy-five years old), it was felt that the most promising field for the work lay in the public schools. A conference was held with some of the school officials and the result was the formation of the Home Gardening Association. This organization, composed of about a dozen people, the majority of whom are actively connected with the public schools, drew up a plan for bringing this work before the children. It was decided to allow them to purchase seeds through the association at a cent a package. The co-operation of the teachers was necessary, of course, to make this movement a success, and so well did they respond that the children became enthusiastic.

The first year forty-eight thousand packages of seeds were sold—the next year one hundred and twenty-two thousand, and many children saved their own seeds from the first year's planting. The seeds were put up at Goodrich House by women who were glad to earn the money paid for this work, and the money received from the children met all expenses—cost of seeds, printing, order slips and envelopes, putting up and delivering. The first year the association purchased several thousand bulbs, had them potted, and in February sent them to the school rooms all over the city. The next year unpotted bulbs were sent with directions for planting, and last year notices were sent to the schools that bulbs could be purchased through the association at cost price. There was quite a general response to this offer, which the association feels is an encouraging sign of an awakened interest in this branch of flower growing. Directly opposite Goodrich House is a school building which looked three years ago as do most schools situated in a downtown district. The Home Gardening Association secured the use of a vacant piece of land adjoining the school yard and turned this over to the school children that their playground might not be curtailed by the plan for improving the yard in front of the



school building. This ground was spaded up, the top dirt removed, new earth brought in, and grass and shrubs planted. Contrary to all predictions, these flourished and the school yard is no longer bare and unsightly.

That all this work had an effect upon the children is proven by last summer's experience with Goodrich House window-boxes. Three or four years ago it was impossible to have any flowers in the small grass plot in front of the house; they were sure to be rudely pulled up. Last summer not only were these flower beds unmolested, but boxes placed on the lower windows were quite untouched, despite the fact that their overhanging vines must have

the projectors of this test garden. It was filled with bloom all through the summer, and while picking the flowers left one's hands in much the same condition that would handling coal, the colors did not seem much dulled by their coating of soot and the blossoms were almost as lovely as other more fortunately placed ones. After two years, this test garden was put to a new use.

The question of shade trees in Cleveland had become a serious one. Discovering that maples and elms—the trees of an earlier time—did not flourish, people had taken up the Carolina poplar. This, it was found, would live and flourish, and they were planted everywhere. But with them



been a temptation to mischievous fingers.

It had been so often said that nothing would grow in this downtown district, that the Home Gardening Association determined to make a forcible demonstration of what could be done under the very worst conditions. They secured the use of a vacant lot opposite the postoffice, surrounded by tall office buildings and factories. This land they put into good condition, by bringing in new earth and fertilizing heavily; then the ground was laid out into beds and planted with those seeds and bulbs which experience had already demonstrated were most likely to thrive. The result surprised even

came a new danger to the trees. The deadly scale fastens first upon these poplars and from them spreads to other varieties. The Home Gardening Association wished to show people that other trees than poplars would flourish under adverse conditions. They had planted in this bit of ground a number of trees, each one labeled with its name and a statement of the condition under which it would thrive. They also spread abroad, so far as possible, the facts in regard to the Carolina poplar, and it was gratifying to learn from dealers in trees last fall, that the sycamore and locust, recommended for the smoky districts, had almost displaced the poplar in last year's planting.

To demonstrate how much could be done toward improving a section of the city by co-operation among householders, one block in the neighborhood of Goodrich House was chosen for experiment. This block had the advantage of containing only one tenement house; the other dwellings had more yard room than is usually found on a downtown street. Prizes were offered for the best kept yards and for the best window boxes, and to encourage people to have the latter, boxes were offered at cost and plants enough to fill them given to every one who would promise to care for them. Only one family in the block showed no interest in this work of improvement—many were enthusiastic—and it was a hard matter to award the prizes with so many really beautiful gardens to choose from. The next year, without the incentive of plants given away and special prizes offered, the block was almost as well cared for. Those who have once found the joy of gardening are seldom willing to let it go.

People outside of the Home Gardening Association have become interested in helping in the work. One newspaper has for two years offered generous prizes for the best kept yards and private individuals have contributed in many ways.

That the movement has grown far beyond what the projectors anticipated is largely due to the fact that it is in line with the great movement whose watch-cry is "Back to the Soil," for many are beginning to learn, what wise men have always known, that "to watch the corn grow, and the blossoms set; to draw hard breath over ploughshare or spade; to read, to think, to love, to hope, to pray—these are the things that make men happy."

LUCY BURTON BUELL.

*Miss Buell was one of the earlier residents of the New York College Settlement, since which time she has been for six years connected with Goodrich House, Cleveland, first as assistant and later as associate head-worker.*

No better investment exists for a manufacturing institutions or a corporation than the hearty co-operation and good feeling of the employees.—Marcus A. Hanna.

## The Flux of British Parties

BY F. HERBERT STEAD.

The opening of Parliament brings us afresh face to face with the peculiar transition through which British politics are now passing. The old division of parties is obviously broken up. The disintegration of traditional combinations had been long foreseen. It began most conspicuously with Mr. Gladstone's adoption of Home Rule. The terms "Liberal" and "Conservative" ceased then to represent the actual cleavage of principle and policy. The supporters of Home Rule in the main preserved the title of Liberals, but the Liberals and Conservatives opposed to Home Rule adopted the common designation of Unionists. The Home Rule controversy offered, moreover, a convenient occasion for the detachment of the less progressive section of the old party of progress.

The sudden eruption of the fiscal question and the volcanic activity of Mr. Chamberlain in pressing for what is nothing less than a revolution in our national commercial policy have introduced another and seismic line of cleavage. So we find, at the present moment, a melodramatic shifting of parts and crossing of purposes and grouping of previous enemies. The Unionist government has had, through some critical times, the support of the Irish Home Rule party. The Liberal Unionists are at sixes and sevens, their most weighty leader, the Duke of Devonshire, renouncing his presidency because though he loves Unionism much, he loves Free Trade more.

The younger and most active spirits in the nominal Conservative party, such as Lord Hugh Cecil, Winston Churchill, Lord Stanley and Major Seely, are resolute antagonists of the Unionist government. The official Liberal party has had a sort of unity imposed from without upon its motley array of quarrelling leaders and inconsistent policies by the necessity of defending Free Trade. The issues to be raised in the first few days of the new Parliament will make more apparent



the "incoherent heterogeneity" of our political life. The division on the fiscal amendment to the address will be an interesting indication of the extent to which disintegration has proceeded.

The question of importing Chinamen into the Transvaal mining region will be yet another test of the divisions among those who boast of being imperialists. The government, which claims to work for a united empire and has declared that in the settlement of South Africa the colonies must be consulted, is pledged to allow the introduction into the Transvaal of thousands of Chinese under conditions that are tantamount to slavery, in open disregard of the strongly expressed will of the self-governing portions of the British empire south of the equator. The Cape Colony, New Zealand and the Australian commonwealths have warmly resented this injection of the Yellow Peril into the heart of the country which all parts of the empire bled to secure for the British crown. The only reason for this extraordinary lapse on the part of an imperial government is the alleged but strongly controverted necessity of securing cheap labor for the gold mines. It is a capitulation of imperialism to mammonism. The strongest opposition to this measure is headed by Major Seely, an Imperial Yeoman, who was decorated for his services in the South African war and is a strong Tory.

This political chaos is due to much deeper causes than the Irish demand for Home Rule or Mr. Chamberlain's demand for protection. It is a result of the shifting of the center of gravity in English politics. The Reform Act of 1832 transferred the decisive control of the national destinies from the old corrupt aristocratic oligarchy to the middle classes. The Conservative enfranchisement of the working classes in the boroughs in the '60's and the Liberal enfranchisement of the working classes in the counties in the '80's, involved the transfer of the voting power from the middle classes to the working classes. The outward and visible signs of the inward and dynamic fact have been slower in making their ap-

pearance now than in the changes effected in the 30's. The working classes have taken a much longer time to realize their power than did the keen business instincts of the middle classes. The workingman has been rather a dumb uncertainty, dissatisfied with all parties, liable to be exploited by the different parties in turn. He has been like a great gun loosed from its moorings on deck of a man-of-war. He has been oscillating to and fro, and contributing much to the instability of the equilibrium of the ship of state. The old parties, the old cries, do not much interest him; they do not fit the situation. Until he knows his own mind and feels his own power, the chaotic condition of parties will remain.

The present offers a great opportunity for strong wills and self-assertive personalities. Hence may be explained the extraordinary way in which, negatively or positively, Mr. Chamberlain has impressed himself on the life of the state. Unsettled times give the adventurer his chance. But one thing has been achieved. Politics have passed out of the formal into the material stage. Abstract conceptions which fascinated our forefathers are giving place to the concrete needs of the people. The tariff agitation owes its strength to the fact that it is supposed to deal with the prayer of the vast masses of the people. "Give us this day our daily bread."

The investigations of Mr. Booth and Mr. Rowntree and their findings that nearly one-third of the population are underfed, badly clothed, ill-housed, deepen the conviction that the first duty of the nation is to see that its people are properly fed, clothed, housed and trained. Lord Rosebery's easy optimism, which finds "Wherever we turn, signs of an abounding and increasing prosperity," was, by a strange irony of circumstance, expressed in the very poorest and most crowded borough of London, where it is computed that 40 per cent of the children attending school simply cannot profit by the education they receive, for want of food. The elementary humanities which Jesus made the decisive test at the Day of

Judgment are bulking more and more ominously in the popular mind. They are the essential demands of the working classes. They also appeal powerfully to the noblest souls among all parties.

Organized labor is preparing to assert itself in the next Parliament as a compact and effective fighting force. Perhaps its most effective allies will be among some of the younger Tories whose hearts are with the people. Stranger things have happened than the readjustment thus indicated. It may be found that the leaders of the new democracy will be men like Winston Churchill and Lord Hugh Cecil. Lord Hugh Cecil is an aristocrat of aristocrats; he is an intensely ardent Anglo-Catholic; he has fought the battle of the Bishops against the Nonconformists in the education controversy with all his might. Yet there are many who augur for him the career of another Gladstone. His absolute devotion to religious duty and the passionate fervor of his oratory have reminded competent judges like Sir William Harcourt and John Morley of the earlier Mr. Gladstone. No one can be long in Lord Hugh Cecil's company without feeling that he is *au fond* a Christian. You feel that he would shrink from no sacrifice in carrying out what he clearly saw to be the will of the Christ. He has already shown himself superior to the claims of party and of family in pursuing what he feels to be right. This devotion to the Highest Authority is implanted in a nature that seems to contain the concentrated will-force of three centuries of Cecils.

It would be a picturesque illustration of the way in which progress advances in this conservative island, and it would be an interesting variant of the Gladstone precedent, were the united Labor party, allied with social reformers in all the traditional factions, to find its leader in this youth of sacerdotal creed, of ancient pedigree, but under all and through all, of high Christian purpose. It would be at once more logical, more desirable and more just that the responsible political leader of Labor should be one who has himself handled the tools of the weekly wage-earner.

## Herbert Spencer's Faith in His Method

Someone has said of Herbert Spencer's writings, what is as true of perhaps no other author except Francis Bacon, that after reading them one can never occupy quite the same point of view as before. Like Bacon, Spencer realized the changes to be wrought by his views. Bacon boldly forecast the difference in men's approach to their tasks, which the viewpoint of his "Novum Organum" and "Advancement of Learning" would require them to take. Spencer, with businesslike precision, elaborately provided in his last will and testament for the completion of the work he began in his "Descriptive Sociology," naming the various peoples and nations of which accounts are to be given "in the manner prescribed," and describing a reorganization of the whole series of works already executed. He directs his trustees to resume and continue his task, but "not exceeding the lifetime of all the descendants of Queen Victoria who shall be living at my decease, and of the survivors and survivor of them, and for twenty-one years after the death of such survivor." When the series of reorganized work shall have been completely executed and published, the copyrights, plates and stock are to be sold at auction and the proceeds equally divided among twelve British scientific societies. As Mr. Spencer's methods of collating, analyzing and classifying social data are exemplified in his "Descriptive Sociology," his provision for completing and perpetuating that work lays his last and greatest emphasis upon the value of its method. In this judgment many, if not most, students of social phenomena will concur. For however the results obtained and the execution of the plan may be criticised, the originality and value of the method of social observation he employed can scarcely be questioned. Its point of view and suggestiveness underlie most of the scientific treatment of social data which has arisen since he began to write.



# Day Nursery at the St. Louis Exposition

By Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge

The increase of day nurseries, and the interest in day nursery methods throughout the country during the past five years, is one of the things which we find it difficult to explain unless we take into consideration social and economic conditions which have made social settlements and philanthropic organizations necessary for the betterment of the working class. The greatest factor which is leading to the extension of the day nursery idea is the increasing number of deserted women, and of those who are obliged to support themselves and their children. This is a condition which we may deprecate, but which exists and must be met in some practical way, and the day nursery seems the best possible solution of the problem.

In its primal idea the day nursery cared for the children of worthy mothers who were obliged to work for their support, and to do their work away from their home. The first day nursery started in this country, forty years ago, aimed to care for children during the working hours of the day, in regard to their physical safety and welfare only. The immense system which is gradually being built up around this simple idea is somewhat startling to those who have have not watched the evolution. The first day nurseries were very simple affairs; good food, regular hours, bodily cleanliness, for the children, being the only things attempted. It is difficult to trace just where broader work began, but that probably came with the general awakening of the public to its responsibility toward the worthy poor, and the conviction that the best way to make a permanent impression for good on a community was through the children. In the various nurseries throughout the country there began to creep in all kinds of supplementary work, some of it directly aiding the mothers, but most of it directed toward the education of the children in manners and morals. The first addition made was the kindergarten, which is now almost universal. Next came mothers' meetings, sewing classes, cooking classes, in some few cases manual

training, boys' clubs, libraries and reading rooms, and various kinds of meetings which may be called neighborhood work, on lines similar to that done by the settlements.

All of this broad work necessitated houses sufficiently large and well equipped for it, and at present the number of model buildings is necessarily limited, and only exist in the largest cities, but the ideals of all day nurseries in the country are gradually reaching toward the broader work, and workers who are most deeply interested in the subject find that some kind of neighborhood work is attempted by even the newest and most inexperienced ones. Many of the best managed nurseries are now real neighborhood centers, seeking to influence the mothers, and the boys and girls up to the age of twelve, those graduating from the nurseries at seven coming back from the public schools, after hours, and receiving instruction, in most cases from paid workers—voluntary service being the exception. The settlements in Chicago are the only ones, up to this time, that have realized the importance of the nursery as a part of their regular work, and all of them now have nurseries as the first in the line of agencies toward the betterment of a neighborhood. In New York only one settlement has a nursery in its building, but the co-operation between the settlements and other organizations working among the poor with the day nurseries is increasing every year, as the nursery is becoming better known as one of the most important influences in the tenement house districts.

## PUBLIC AWAKENING.

The public is now beginning to realize the importance of a system which is the first agency in the care and education of children. When it is known that there are about 11,000 children taken care of daily, in the nurseries throughout the country, no one can deny that, besides the immediate help given the mothers, an impression for good is being made on future genera-

tions. In 1892, at the first conference for day nursery workers, there were less than one hundred nurseries reported in the country. The present number, so far as we can ascertain, is about three hundred. They have been springing up in the small communities all over the country for the past five years, until there is hardly a city of over 15,000 inhabitants that has not one or two. Of the large cities, New York leads with fifty-seven, Chicago has fourteen, Philadelphia twelve, Boston ten, Cleveland and St. Louis five each. For many years the day nursery was the only agency for philanthropic work which had not some kind of or-

the exposition, 10,000 children were admitted, some days the number reaching 150. The building was only equipped for the care of 60 children, but the demand for admittance was so great that it was impossible to refuse until the rooms were too crowded to admit any more. During the last two months there were days when several hundred were refused admittance for lack of room. With all the disadvantages of overcrowding, and the limited number of nurses, not a single accident occurred of any kind, and only one child was left unclaimed, and that on the last day of the exposition. The exhibit proved to be the means of interesting



DAY NURSERY BUILDING AT ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.

ganization as a whole, with a central bureau for information. During the past eight years local associations have been formed in New York, Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia, and, more recently, the Federation of Day Nurseries, with an office at No. 21 West Forty-fourth street, New York City.

#### NURSERIES AT WORLD'S FAIR.

At the time of the exposition at Chicago, in 1894, the day nursery exhibit was carried on under the supervision of a Committee of Philanthropy from New York State, in a building provided by Chicago women. This exhibit showed, as far as was possible under the circumstances, the methods and standards of the best nurseries then in existence. During the six months of

the general public in a system then almost unknown, and gave, undoubtedly, the impetus to the movement which, within a few years, has been evidenced by a large increase of nurseries all over the country.

#### AT THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.

The exhibit which it is proposed to make at the St. Louis exposition, during the coming summer, will be under the direction of the Board of Lady Managers, the Day Nursery Committee, with Miss Helen Gould as chairman, having charge of it. The president of the Federation of Day Nurseries has been invited to superintend the exhibit, and will have charge of the practical carrying out of the idea. The staff of helpers will be made up entirely of women who have worked in



day nurseries. The exhibit will show the higher standard which day nursery work has reached, as far as it is possible to show this under the exceptional conditions of an exposition, where the children taken care of must necessarily change each day. The exhibit must be limited to the physical side of the work, and the mechanical means taken to insure it. The other side—the different ways taken to assist the mother and to educate and develop the children morally and mentally—can only be indicated by reports, leaflets and statistics. All the working rooms in this day nursery building will be in full view of the public, which can see how the babies are fed, dressed, put to sleep and amused in the regular routine of a day in a day nursery, and, with the older children, can watch the kindergarten, games, amusements, and the daily routine.

In order that those interested in the details of the day nursery work, especially with a view of starting new nurseries, may obtain full information, special cards of admission will be issued between the hours of six and eight o'clock p. m., daily, when inspection of the building will be allowed, and experienced women will be in attendance to explain all details, and to give the fullest information possible. The capacity of the building is limited to one hundred and fifty, and it is hoped that the public will understand that, with that large number of children to care for, it will be impossible to admit visitors during working hours. The matron, Miss Majory Hall, is the same who had charge of the exhibit at the exposition at Chicago, during the last three months, and, as office secretary of the Federation of Day Nurseries, is able to give information on all the details of the present-day nursery system. The effort of those in charge of the exhibit is to emphasize the fact that there now exists an organization from which those wishing to start day nurseries can learn, by the experience of others, how best to do so.

On June 8th and 9th the Federation of Day Nurseries will hold its fourth conference at St. Louis, which all interested in the work are invited to attend.

## The Daily Walk

Under the widespread arch of God  
Happy my onward way I've trod,  
Under my feet the faithful earth,  
At end of day the sacred hearth.

In biting sleet and blaze of sun,  
I've felt the cosmic process run  
In pulse, in sap, in vibrant sound  
Within, beneath me, and around.

I, played upon by every force,  
Myself a cause, myself a source,  
Hopeful, yet awed, receive my rôle  
As living part of living whole.

—E. G. B.

## Pamphlets of Social Interest

The fourth annual report of the Home Gardening Association of Cleveland, O., beautifully printed and illustrated, is principally valuable outside of that city for its list of trees, shrubs and hardy plants "least affected by the smoke" or "better adapted to outlying districts." Both the association and its report fulfill their motto, "To encourage the growth of flowers in small gardens, to create a love for the beautiful and to make for the happiness of living."

"Country, Time and Tide," a magazine of a more profitable and interesting country life, always comes with fresh spirit and artistic form. Its practical advocacy of the country industries actually conducted by the new Clairvaux Arts' and Crafts' Society, which it represents, is as valuable to the hand-workers in town. Among the attractions of its little pages are a series of papers on such communities as Brook Farm, Robert Owen's New Lanark, the Shakers, the Northampton and Hopedale Communities. These are to be followed by descriptions of the individualism of Tolstoy, Morris, Thoreau and others. (Montague, Massachusetts, \$1.00 a year.)

In tasteful form and with a great variety of description and pictures, annual reports come from the Kingsley House Association of Pittsburg; Greenwich House, New York City; Hiram House, Cleveland; the Alumnae Settlement of New York, and the Elizabeth Peabody House, Boston.

The Friends' Quarterly Examiner for first month, 1904, contains an interesting social symposium to which Mr. B. Seeborn Rowntree, Percy Alden, Joan M. Fry, E. Jurwick and Graham Taylor contribute.

The Handbook of the National Municipal League for 1904 valuably prepares the way for its annual convention in Chicago the last week in April.

The Massachusetts Labor Bulletin for January has an interesting article on "Palaces for the People." The Labor Gazette issued by the Department of Labor in the Dominion of Canada always has a wide range of valuable industrial information.

# At Issue in Trades Unions

By Ethelbert Stewart

## Jurisdictional Disputes

The most striking feature of the recent wage agreements in the building trades is the clauses which specify minutely just what work shall be done by the members of each organization. The agreement between the Employing Plumbers' Association of Chicago, and the Plumbers' and Steamfitters' Union goes into detail as to when the steamfitters' work begins and ends, and the plumbers' ditto. The plasterers' agreement in New York City, and of Albany, N. Y., are alike specific. This is also true of the agreement between the Contracting Plasterers' Association of Chicago and the Plasterers' Union.

The trouble that arises between unions over which shall do certain work is the most annoying thing to building contractors, the most exasperating to building owners, and most bewildering to the public of any of the complications arising out of the employment of union labor. These are called "jurisdictional disputes" in the United States and "demarcation disputes" in England. They have caused more strikes in England in some industries than have been caused by differences between employer and employe. To the uninitiated, let it be explained. For instance, the electrical wiring of a large building is often enclosed in a tube or pipe; this usually is or was a common gas pipe; for years the Electrical Workers' Union demanded that its members do this work, as the pipe was a mere covering for electrical wires that they had to string; the Gasfitters' Union claimed the work, as it was putting up gas pipe, and they asserted that it made no difference whether the pipe was to be used for gas, or electrical wires or any other purpose; then the Conduit Workers' Union claimed this work for its members, as the pipes were merely conduits for the wires. A strike on the building to determine which of these trade union members should do this work would be one in which the contractor

would not be morally involved, nor the owner even indirectly responsible for, and one the public simply cannot understand. In a conflict between union and non-union the issue is clear and the sentiments of the thinking majority usually right; but when a job is "strictly union" and then a strike is ordered to determine "which union," everybody gets mad. The building trades councils were valuable because of their power to quickly settle these jurisdictional disputes. The destruction of these bodies by the opposition of building contractors' councils has greatly increased these troubles. The New York contractors, while demanding the annihilation of the Building Trades Council, were wise enough to cover the jurisdictional question in their arbitration agreement. With the coming of the new agreements this year in Chicago, attention should be given to this, and these questions settled by agreement in advance.

The recent meeting of the national officers of the building trade unions to form some sort of a national alliance or federation was in the interest of greater unification of these trades and will, if permitted to go on, operate to reduce jurisdictional disputes. Contrary to the position taken by many papers and notwithstanding the apprehensive attitude of contractors' associations, the Indianapolis convention of national building trades officials, led by Mr. Gubbins, Mr. Frank Buchanan, and Mr. Herman Lillian was a peace conference and only meant for good. It must be clear to every one that with a multitude of new trade unions forming on lines of trade so fine that no one can distinguish them from some other trade, these jurisdictional fights must soon become as alarming in the United States as they are in England, and such central organizations to control the whole as is projected by the Indianapolis conference should be welcomed. Many will say that the way to settle these fine points is to "destroy unionism root and branch;" but, first, there is no justice in that solution; second,



and hence it does not stay solved that way. Opposition to unionism *per se* only postpones a final equitable settlement and is not, however honest in its intention, fruitful of good results.

### The Popular Labor Smoker

One of the many good movements now progressing is that of the popular "Labor Smoker." At these "smokers" labor leaders get together, not in haste to discuss a war measure or plan flank movements in battles already on, but to get acquainted and "to talk over the whole situation."

Heretofore labor councils have been for the purpose of making somebody else smoke; in these, the leaders get together and smoke, "chin each other" and get broader views from each other's experiences. Especially is this valuable at this time when so many new unions are being formed, so many new leaders in new industries, or industries not heretofore organized, are coming to the fore, without trade-union experience, without even personal acquaintance with the careful, thoughtful leaders of the time. The need of the day is "a-get-acquainted" enthusiasm, and it is needed everywhere. This much had been written before we read Mr. R. G. Wall's article in the Union Labor Advocate, urging the formation of ward trade union clubs for the purpose of getting acquainted. Mr. Wall outlines large purposes for his ward clubs, some of which may be disintegrating, rather than otherwise, but one purpose they can serve and that is the first he outlines as follows:

"The various organizations of the several crafts are essential, inasmuch as they bring together all persons working at that particular craft, and by establishing a community of interest protect the general interest of that craft, and while this is a great step in the uplifting of the wage earner, it falls far short of what can be attained through the ward club movement.

"The ward club movement establishes the opportunity of every trade unionist in any ward, irrespective of the craft he follows, to be personally acquainted. And how few of us in this city really know our next-door

neighbor. This movement further solidifies and concentrates the trade unionist power where it is most effective."

The labor smoker is not bounded by ward lines, however, and is intended simply to bring together the leaders, old and new, to spend a few hours in social conversation. When labor leaders get acquainted with each other, then they would do well to get acquainted with capital leaders, meet them in a "smoker" and further enlarge the views perhaps of both. As in Rome, all the religious ideas and mythological vagaries of the world met and counteracted and neutralized each other, leaving the mind of the people ripe for the truer faith of the earnest and enthusiastic Christians; so in the industrial world the prejudices of every form of self-interest is centered in Chicago, and if these prejudices could be brought together calmly, they would largely abolish each other and clear the ground for an industrial peace, based upon the manhood of men.

### High Handed, Not High Minded

There is a considerable of justice in the statement made by leading trade-unionists that: "We have never put hired detectives and peace disturbers into the employers' associations to report their doings to us, and to make incendiary speeches for publication in our interest. And until employers' associations stop putting their spotters, spies and detectives, whose positions depend upon the alarming reports they can carry back, into our unions, the public should hold in abeyance its opinions as to the source and cause of slugging, rioting and kindred subjects." We have always felt that the putting of private detectives into trade-unions was a high-handed rather than a high-minded proceeding. It certainly does nothing to hasten the day of peace or the era of good feeling. It is not the highest highway to that friendly understanding which is to come, and in its coming, end strikes, lockouts and eventually end the hatred now too apparent on all sides.

# The Collectivist Society

By W. J. Ghent

The Collectivist Society of New York is the outgrowth of a group of three men who associated for propaganda work in the spring of 1902. The first pamphlet published was "An Exposition of Socialism and Collectivism," by a Churchman, of which 25,000 copies were issued. It was determined to attack the ministerial profession first, and accordingly 10,000 copies were sent to ministers in various parts of the country. Many responses were received, of which the vast majority were favorable. From these responses a commendatory circular regarding the pamphlet was prepared and widely distributed. This resulted in many hundreds of requests for the pamphlet.

In May of the same year Mr. Ghent's Independent article, "The Next Step: A Benevolent Feudalism," was republished as a pamphlet, and some 3,000 copies issued. These were distributed generally among social reformers.

Toward the end of the year the group decided to form a general organization. Invitations to join were sent to a number of persons who had shown interest in the work; and in the Bulletin—the third pamphlet—issued in January, 1903, this invitation was made general.

On March 6, 1903, the society was formally organized, and an executive committee was elected, consisting of Willis J. Abbot of Battle Creek, Mich.; Mrs. Corinne S. Brown, Chicago; Peter E. Burrowes, Brooklyn; Rev. Charles P. Connelly, Hiawatha, Kan.; W. J. Ghent, New York; Rev. Lawrence R. Howard, Plainfield, N. J.; Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, Mount Vernon, N. Y.; J. G. Phelps Stokes, New

York; George H. Strobell, Newark, N. J.; James M. Tribble, Montclair, N. J.; Rufus W. Weeks, Tarrytown, N. Y.; Henry White, New York; Rev. Leighton Williams, New York.

## PURPOSE OF THE SOCIETY.

The purpose of the society is to disseminate a knowledge of Socialism and of cognate subjects among persons not usually reached by other Socialist propaganda. The society is non-partisan, no requirement being made of membership in either Socialist party. The "confession of faith," the acceptance of which is a requisite of membership, is sufficiently broad to include Socialists of many kinds. The committee on publication, however, is committed to the main orthodox tenet of scientific Socialism—the economic interpretation of history, with its corollary of the class struggle. The members of this committee are convinced that the bodily needs of the workers are the underlying force driving mankind toward the new status; but they hold also, as Marx and Engels held, that the force of ideals is a powerful factor in the social process; and it is therefore to the arousing of ideals among the middle class rather than the awakening of class consciousness among the workers that the publications of the society are directed. The address of the society is P. O. box 1663, New York City.

## ANNUAL MEETING AND DINNER.

The society held its second annual meeting and first dinner at Peck's restaurant, New York City, January 14, 1904. Thirty-six persons were present. Among the guests were Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Joseph R. Buchanan, author of "The Story of a Labor Agitator;" Mr. and Mrs. Eltweed Pomeroy, Darwin J. Meserole, Rev. William H. Barnes and J. A. Edgerton. Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes presided during the first part of the meeting. On his retirement the chair was taken by Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy.

Mr. Ghent, acting for the secretary,

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NOTE—The Collectivist Society is one of several independent organizations to take advantage of the conditions upon which *The Commons* offers them space, for the contents of which they are to be responsible.



read a number of letters of regret. Among those received were letters from the Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, Rome, N. Y.; F. M. Crunden, librarian of the public library, St. Louis; Garrett Droppers, president of the University of South Dakota; Rev. George B. Gow, Glens Falls, N. Y.; George H. Shibley, Washington, D. C.; Charles F. Thayer, ex-mayor of Norwich, Conn.; Rev. Leighton Williams, H. Gaylord Wilshire and Rufus W. Weeks of New York.

The report of the committee on publication summarized the work of the society from its origin. In addition to the pamphlets mentioned, a fourth pamphlet, "The Socialism of Jesus," by Discipulus, was issued in March, 1903. Ten thousand copies of this were printed, and some 5,500 have so far been distributed. Of the commendatory circulars 55,000 copies in all have been printed, and about 41,000 distributed. Comments on the pamphlets were invited, and the request brought in 1,012 responses. Of responses of all kinds relating to the society's printed matter there have been 3,719, and of these 2,547 were from ministers, 58 from physicians, 46 from college professors and 1,068 from other persons. The results of circularizing physicians and Catholic priests were discouraging.

The financial report disclosed an expenditure of \$1,530 for the year. The membership now comprises 46 full members and 34 associates living in various parts of the country.

The election committee reported the election of Willis J. Abbot, Peter E. Burrowes, Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, Mrs. Darwin J. Meserole and Rev. Leighton Williams as executive committeemen of the class whose terms begin January, 1904.

#### "THE CALAMITY OF A DIVIDED INTEREST."

Mr. Peter E. Burrowes read an address on "The Calamity of a Divided Interest." Among other things he said:

"It is commonly alleged that Socialists are the originators of class distinction in

America, the ardent fulminators of this calamity. Alas, no, this thing was born into history not so lately as we. It was experienced when human creatures first awoke to the fact that alien private ownership had taken from them a natural human interest in their own work. This divided interest more than any other of man's tragedies has wounded the race, and by turning human life into an utterly false and unwarranted struggle for existence it has postponed all just and great ability for thought. The workaday class interest thus perverted determines all our moral and mental choices and gives complexion to all the thoughts of rich and poor, whether we know it or not. And the Socialist's attitude toward this pregnant fact is, that it is better to know and thus learn to regulate it, than to go on in blind ignorance of it and thus be forever its victims as crippled and immoral property tinkers or as degraded slaves of wages.

"The making and choosing of opinions is after all a secondary business; source thinking of any sort is extremely rare. A society which has the misfortune to be rent apart by opposing class interests must have philosophers and religions to match its differences. Let us cease then to haggle about such things until the controlling struggle is over, let us hasten first to regulate the philosophy maker itself, let us understand the watersheds of faith, and first settle this, the greatest of all things in the world to be settled, the inequalities of our economic life. All other things, when this is right, will rightly follow. You who have philosophical vision, let your philosophic statement wait and grow; you who have religious instincts, let your creed wait its formulation while these instincts are being socialized by your efforts for industrial equality, for not until we are socialized shall we have a religion of which a God need not be ashamed.

"To become conscious that we are creedally and spiritually subjectivized to that side of the economic interest which is ours is the most searching of spiritual revelations; before this all other practical truths take minor places. It compels the man who desires a fair mind to fight for a fair mind; the mere meditator, the man who would evolve truth out of his inner consciousness, it casts aside and calls in the men of affairs; it raises political life to the dignity belonging to it, an ethic and a religion. I therefore say to you who profess to be in search of truth that the thing you are in search of is a right mind; and Socialism, with its program of industrial equality, gives you the slogan for righteousness of mind. Equality alone can open the spiritual sources of humanity; equality alone is the answer to man's long pursuit of happiness. In the preliminary fight of the proletariat for a true democracy the lordly world is offered its greatest if not its first chance of a knighthood to be won which requires no defrauded, fallen or undone men to build up its glory."

## "SOCIAL RIGHTS."

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman was next introduced. She said in part:

"All human rights are social rights. Man has a lot of things belonging to him in the sense that he cannot be himself without them, although they do not grow on him. A good many things grow on him, concerning which there is no question of property rights. As to the lower animals, they carry everything they own, and no one can take anything away; but man has a lot of things that do not grow on him, but which he must have in order to be a useful and successful human creature. The work he has to do with his hands is for society. It is a social function. He cannot perform his social function without certain implements or tools. They cannot be attached to him physically, they have to be separate and distinct. They have to be attached to him by a social relation. Society must insure to the individual those things which are necessary for him in order that he may perform his full due to society. For instance, a carpenter is a man with a certain amount of special skill in his head, and a certain number of special tools in his hands. If he has not the skill or the tools he is not a carpenter. Every man has a right to those things which are necessary to him in order that he may do his best work—a very large and generous supply of such things. Whatever the things may be, he has a right to them for the simple reason that his best work is what he is created for and what enables him to secure his place in the world. His only use to society is in his best work.

"This subject of property rights, to my mind, rests on the things used or consumed: The right of ownership is in the things you consume. You have a right to own your food, clothes or tools, but that is the very end of it—you have a right to what you consume, but not to what you produce. That which is produced belongs to the other people."

The chairman (Rev. Mr. Lovejoy) then spoke briefly of the good work of the society and urged upon those present to join in efforts to extend its membership and usefulness.

Mr. Joseph R. Buchanan was next introduced. He declared that although he had been for many years a Socialist, he differed from the partisans in the movement in regard to tactics. Among other things he said:

"I started in this movement as a simple trade-unionist. I was active in the cause during the crucial period of the labor movement in the decade between '78 and '88—ten years. I believe in the organization of workmen for the purpose of compelling a

recognition of their rights. Naturally—I say "naturally," and I know Socialists will agree with me—as I progressed in that work I imbibed the principles of Socialism, for I studied the relations existing between employers and employees, and I could see no solution, and I can see no solution now, of what we know as the labor question, except through Socialism. I differ, probably, from some of you, and probably from our friend who read such an interesting paper this evening, as to the methods to be employed, and I have differed all through my career. That has laid me open frequently to the charge of, let me say—to use a mild word—inconsistency. I believed, and I believe now, that the reform movement, the labor movement and the Socialist movement should seize the opportunities at hand. I am, therefore, what is known as 'a-step-at-a-time Socialist, and I am an opportunist. . . . I am getting along in years; I have suffered a little in this cause, but I would like to see something accomplished before I go, and I believe no greater good can be done to the Socialist cause than to accomplish something practical along the lines of Socialism. If I could get one instance of government ownership of telegraphs or railways, I would take it rather than to stand back and say, 'I want the whole hog or nothing.'"

Mr. Eltwed Pomeroy, the last speaker, said in part:

"Democracy's first meaning is political brotherhood and equality; even this we have not yet made a reality, but we are going to carry it by means of establishing direct legislation. Through that, Democracy is going to be carried on into our economic and financial life. . . . Economic Democracy would mean the fair opportunity for each man to develop his gift of usefulness, whatever it is; for, in all the diversity of gifts among men, there is a kind of equality. Almost every man surpasses in some one point. For the ground of financial equality we must hold, with Bellamy, that if one gives an equality of effort, no matter what his gift may happen to be, he is entitled to an equality of reward. In its final sense, then, Socialism means the carrying forward of brotherhood, of equality, of democracy, into and throughout politics, into and throughout society and into and throughout industrial life."

The interest expressed by all who attended this meeting and dinner was so great that it is likely the society will hold another such gathering some time in April.

Every year of experience, every dollar of accumulated capital, every talent we possess should be regarded as a sacred charge for the good of the nation, to help in uniting the interests of rich and poor, learned and unlearned.—Marcus A. Hanna.



# Association of Neighborhood Workers, New York City

Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, Editor

26 Jones St., New York City

## "Home Rule" in New York

BY WILLIS MUNRO.

In New York the city is strongly Democratic, the state, "above the Bronx," is more strongly Republican. The Bronx, supposed to be named for an early Dutchman named Bronck, whose farm was situated in the district, is the most northerly of the five boroughs into which the present charter divides the city. It is also the name of an attractive little stream which rises to the north of the city, flows south and east through our beautiful Bronx Park and empties into the East River, between the Harlem and Long Island Sound.

In the city during the past thirty or forty years, as successive Tammany boards of aldermen have abused their powers, the Republican minority and their friends, the reformers, have rushed to Albany, and, assisted by the men "up the State," have stripped away one function after another until at the time the greater city was formed the aldermen amounted to little more than purveyors of licenses for news-stands and hucksters. The effect of this general and well-grounded distrust of the aldermen was that the charter of 1897 and the present charter of 1901 centered almost all power given to the city in the mayor and the board of Estimate and Apportionment. The powers of the aldermen were also somewhat increased and now include the power to grant franchises, to build and operate street railways, to "fix" salaries on the recommendation of the board of Estimate and Apportionment, and many others which sound well on a casual reading, but the exact effect of which cannot be determined without a careful study of the charter as a whole. The popular impression is that their power really amounts to nothing, but the writer believes it is greater than is generally supposed. Such power as they have is so constantly abused that we are now hearing renewed cries that it should be still further restricted.

A few examples will help us to understand the present situation. The first mayor of Greater New York was Van Wyck, who took office in January, 1897, for a four-year term. The district attorney of New York County, the old city of New York, elected for the same term was Asa Bird Gardiner. His office was so notoriously corrupt that in 1898 the legislature created the metropolitan election district, including the city of New York and one other county, with a state superintendent of elections and a large force of deputies, to enforce the election laws within the district. The governor appointed as superintendent a former (Republican) chief of police. At about the same time the power to prosecute election cases was taken from the district attorney and given to the attorney-general. Subsequently Gardiner was removed by Theodore Roosevelt, then governor, and Eugene A. Phellin appointed. The charter was also amended, reducing the term of the mayor from four years to two. The scandals of Van Wyck's administration made possible the election of Seth Low as mayor for a two-year term and William Travers Jerome as district attorney of New York County for four years.

Low did much to clean up the city, but at the end of his term Tammany swept the city, ignoring local issues and making the fight on the basis of "a Democratic president next year." This campaign convinced Republicans and reformers that permanent good government in New York City was impossible until the city obtained the power to decide for itself the question of opening the saloons on Sunday.

In January a local option bill for New York City was introduced into the legislature and a few days later Governor Odell astonished everyone by announcing that he was in favor of granting all the cities of the first and second classes a greatly increased measure of home rule. The Democratic leader in the assembly promptly

introduced a most sweeping bill abolishing practically all state control in the city. The governor is still conferring on the subject with Republican leaders, and no bill has yet been introduced which represents his views.

Meanwhile the aldermen seem to be doing all in their power to show themselves unworthy of the increased responsibilities which are likely to be granted them. There has long been an active demand in the Bronx for increased transit facilities. The Portchester railroad having complied with all necessary formalities, applied months ago to the aldermen for permission to use certain streets necessary for their line. The Westchester road, the very corporate existence of which is extremely doubtful, as it is attempting to operate under a charter which seems to have lapsed, and which has complied with none of the numerous other formalities necessary, recently applied to the aldermen for permission to use the same streets for its road. At the last meeting of the aldermen on February 9th, the board by a vote of about 54 to 14 gave the necessary permission to the Westchester road. Strong arguments were made by the minority for a reasonable delay to secure the opinion of the corporation counsel on some of the legal questions involved, but McCall, the Tammany leader, declared that he was in favor of giving franchises to both roads and letting them fight it out in the courts. Later he appeared with a telegram in his hand and announced that he had just had news from Albany, and that if even two weeks' delay was granted the power to grant the franchise may be taken from the board. On the strength of that the measure was passed.

Friends of good government here feel that home rule will mean scandals and bad government, possibly for many years, but that bad government with the responsibility definitely fixed upon Tammany Hall, so it cannot be shifted up to Albany, will eventually result in educating the voters and their aldermen to a point where good government will result.

## Unique and Promising Enterprise

The Young Women's Chelsea Club, as it is called, has hired a three-story and basement house with extension in the rear at 417 West 21st street, New York. It will accommodate twenty or more young women. The price of room and board ranges from \$3.50 to \$5.00 a week. There is a parlor for the residents and a reading room and game room for non-resident club members. This club was started about a year and a half ago, especially for the young women living in the cheap boarding houses in this part of the city. It was found that the young women lived mostly in hall bedrooms, very small and with no heat; moreover in these cheap boarding houses the parlor and dining room would be let out to boarders so that there is no place in the house where the young woman may receive their guests except in their own bedrooms. The consequences may be imagined and may be said to be almost inevitable. Owing to some exceedingly sad instances that had come to the notice of some of the workers of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the club was started by this church and was given a room in the parish house, at the corner of Ninth avenue and 28th street. It grew and did good work. Some good friends took a lively interest in its welfare. Finally one good friend offered to pay the rent of the clubhouse for one year if we felt that we could undertake such an ambitious scheme.

An advisory committee secured the funds for the furnishing of the house and for helping the members of the club to carry it on. The girls themselves are taking more and more responsibility of the undertaking and it is hoped that the receipts from the resident and non-resident members (the non-resident pay 25 cents per month) will after a while be sufficient to pay the expenses of the maintenance including the rent. This is a most ambitious undertaking and, if successful, will lead to the starting of similar clubs throughout this and other states.



# Tuberculosis in Clothing Trades

By Henry White

General Secretary of the United Garment Workers of America

The United Garment Workers are about to carry the war against tuberculosis into the enemy's country by undertaking a crusade against the disease in the clothing shops of Greater New York. The general office, in conjunction with a committee of eminent physicians and public men, has taken the matter in hand, and the campaign is to be vigorously prosecuted. A systematic inspection will be inaugurated with the aid of the business agents of the different local unions, so as to ascertain the sanitary condition of the shops and cause the observance of precautions that would tend to eliminate the disease so largely prevalent in the congested districts where the making of clothing is centralized. It is proposed to interest the operatives in the subject and enlist their co-operation. Rules are to be posted in all the shops for their guidance in the different languages, and circulars and pamphlets are to be distributed, so as to acquaint the workers with the nature and gravity of the disease and the necessity for following the instructions of the best authorities. In this way it is hoped to effectively cope, so far as the industry is concerned, with the dread scourge that has so sorely afflicted mankind.

As a preliminary step a joint committee meeting was held on Thursday, January 14, at 105 East Twenty-second street, which was attended by Charles F. Cox, chairman; Hermann M. Biggs, M. D.; Edward T. Devine, Robert Hunter, E. G. Janeway, M. D.; S. A. Knopf, M. D., and others representing the tuberculosis committee, and Henry White and J. W. Sullivan, representing the general office.

In the general discussion Mr. Robert Hunter said that during a recent visit in Germany he found that everywhere the workmen's organizations have taken up a systematic crusade against consumption. A feeling has been aroused among the masses of the people that here is a direct means for accomplishing a great good. Public sanatoria are in operation in various parts of the country, especially about Berlin, largely conducted by workmen's organizations, which have voted large sums to the central bureau in Berlin.

In London Mr. Hunter found that Alfred Hillier, representing the Friendly Society, and other prominent men in the workmen's organizations have gathered evidence on the question from home and abroad and are proceeding in a democratic method in attacking the disease. To arouse interest articles have been published in the various craft journals, circulars issued among the wage-workers, which evidently have been carefully read, and the people are proceeding practically in the matter. No better way could be found than to get the information as to tuberculosis in the columns of the labor journals. The trade unions may be expected in defense of

their members to take up the subjects of ventilation and other forms of sanitation and of impressing their members with the main facts known as to consumption. Dr. Panwitz, secretary of the Berlin committee, has stated that without the active assistance of the workmen's societies the present state of knowledge in Germany would never have been reached.

The writer, as general secretary of the United Garment Workers, said that he had no doubt that the facilities of the national union to disseminate the information would be placed at the disposal of the committee, and that the unions themselves would also appoint committees on the subject. In New York the unions of the clothing trade represent many thousand men, who, while themselves generally working in factories under better conditions than have been known to the trade, will be found ready to assist in driving consumption from the shops. It is really a great public question, since clothing exposed for sale in many of the finest Broadway and Fifth avenue shops is finished by Italian women in their tenement homes under conditions so repellent as to be indescribable. In the trade unions exists a means for informing the masses, perhaps the only means by which the committee can bring their information systematically before the people.

Upon motion, therefore, it was decided to recommend to the trades unions the formation of committees which could co-operate with the tuberculosis committee in holding meetings and distributing printed matter. The business agents of the local tailors' unions have agreed to place in the shops placards in the different languages containing the rules to be observed for protection against the disease.

Such action opens up a new field of usefulness for the unions, which, by co-operating with the health authorities for the enforcement of sanitary rules, can do much, not only to benefit their members, but also the general public.

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## The Greek Play in New York

The success of the "Ajax" of Sophocles, as rendered by the Greeks of Chicago under the masterful management of Miss Barrows and the inspiring auspices of Hull House, was graphically described by Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows in the January number of *The Commons*. We are glad to note the announcement that it is to be produced by Miss Barrows in Clinton Hall, New York City, on March 24, 25 and 26, under the auspices of the five downtown settlements. It is interesting to note that some of the leading men in the cast at Chicago do much to assure the success of the play in New York by going there to take their parts.

# Chicago Movement for Social Service Training

The Social Science Center recently established by the extension division of the University of Chicago, under Professor Graham Taylor's direction, continues to grow in interest and attendance. The second and third series of lecture-studies include the following courses:

Second series on "Personal, Institutional and Public Effort for Dependents."

By Prof. Charles Henderson, University of Chicago, on "Causes of Dependence," "Tests and Investigations," "Division of Labor in Charity," "Personal Influence in Charity," "The Principle of Thrift in Charity Work" and "The Studies of Charity Workers."

By Alexander Johnson, former Superintendent Indiana School for the Feeble-Minded, on "Institutional Care of the Dependent and Defective Adult" and "Institutional Care and Training of Juvenile Defectives."

By Robert Hunter, New York City, on "Poverty at Home and Abroad," "Pauperism" and "Immigration."

By Miss Julia C. Lathrop, formerly of the Illinois State Board of Charities, on "Medical Charities," "The English Poor Law; Its Relation to American Public Charities," "Public Charities of a Typical State" and the "Public Care of the Insane."

By Dr. Hastings H. Hart, Superintendent Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, on "The Care of Dependent and Delinquent Children," "Institutional Care of Dependent Children" and "Care of Dependent and Delinquent Children in Family Homes."

By Miss Harriet Fulmer and Dr. William A. Evans, on "The System of District Nursing and the Effort to Meet the Tuberculosis Problem in Chicago."

By Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, Chicago Bureau of Charities, on "Prison and Jail Systems" and "Public Charities of City and County."

By John J. Sloan, Superintendent House of Correction, Chicago, on "Legitimate Prison Industries."

By J. Emery Lyon, Superintendent Central Howard Association, on "Society and the Prisoner."

By Judge Julian W. Mack, on "Methods of Securing Financial Support for Charitable Purposes."

Third series, on "Preoccupying and Preventive Policy, Agencies and Methods."

By Raymond Robins, City Homes Association, Chicago, on "Summary of Legislation on Housing, Compulsory Education, Child Labor, Sale of Liquors to Minors, Vagrancy; etc."

By Professor Charles Zueblin, University of Chicago, on "Improved Dwellings, Open Spaces, Public Playgrounds and Parks" and "Co-operative Trading Associations."

By Miss Mary E. McDowell, University of

Chicago Settlement, on "Extension of the Public School and Educational Agencies to Meet Social Needs by Vacation Schools, Neighborhood Centers, etc."

By George W. Perkins, Cigarmakers' International Union, on "Insurance Benefits of Trades Unions."

By Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, on "Function of Social Settlements."

By Professor Graham Taylor, on "Province of the Public Support and Management of Social Utilities" and "Ethical and Religious Resources."

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# The Commons

APRIL, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer }  
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

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# The Commons

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## With The Editor

### Labor's Leisure Problem

The leisure problem is as grave as the labor problem. Each is the principal factor of the other. Leisure is even more of a test of character and ideal than labor. The way anyone spends spare time shows the kind of person one is as surely, if not sooner, than the way one works. In play and recreation the off-guard disclosures of the real life are made.

The all too scant leisure of much American labor possibly registers a too intense reaction from the monotony of much machine toil. On that very account rational amusement and really restorative recreation are requisite to industrial efficiency. Therefore far-sighted employers are beginning to see that their plant is not complete without some provision for rest and recuperation. If for no more humane considerations, such a policy is to be justified by the economy of repair and renovation. Machinery and buildings need both. No less do the man and woman, much more the child, behind the machine.

Though not descriptive of all kinds of workers, especially those with homes of their own, Mr. Burns' realistic sketch on another page is taken at first hand from real life when he shared for a time the fate of the homeless workers, thousands of whom crowd the dreary lodging and cheap boarding houses of Chicago and every city and town. How such men can bring from such surroundings any efficiency for or

interest in their day's work, employers may well be the first to inquire.

The experience of this man who went to see for himself, was sought and narrated to prove the value and economy of such facilities for men as the Young Men's Christian Association affords, especially in its recreative and railroad departments. Employers on a rapidly increasing scale are not only making use of such provision outside their works, but are equipping their plants with facilities for the pleasure and profit of their employes physically, socially and morally.

To a more limited degree labor union halls offer to their members at least a place to be when off duty, usually dingy and dirty enough to drive them into the brighter, more attractive and hospitable saloons. Perhaps the time may not be so very remote when the company and the unions will co-operate in meeting this need, keenly felt alike by labor and employing capital. Meanwhile there is chance enough for the social settlements and institutional churches to demonstrate the practicability of helping men to help themselves to what makes or keeps them men—and therefore workingmen. The public importance of the leisure problem is grave enough to warrant a public policy such as school boards, park commissions and municipal governments are rapidly putting into very practical action.



## A Shipper's Civic Achievement

The opening years of the twentieth century have registered no greater individual achievement than the completion of Mr. Charles Booth's analysis of Life and Labor in London at the close of the nineteenth. About twenty years ago not only the metropolis but all England was startled by the "bitter cry of outcast London," which was piteously but sternly raised by some Christian mission workers in the then all too little known East End. Thus, and in many other ways, not only the mute appeal of suffering thousands, but the growing discontent in influential circles over the existence and public neglect of such conditions, found new and forcible expression. But amidst the clamor of protesting or appealing voices and among the multitude of remedial measures, one man went silently to work to get at the root of the problem. He stood almost alone in his insistent and persistent self-exaction to ascertain accurately the facts of the actual situation.- Employing a small corps of investigators and collaborators, he laid under tribute every available source of information. How varied and voluminous were the data from which descriptions and conclusions were to be drawn, can be imagined only by those who may share with the writer the privilege of inspecting the archives of this investigation stacked in one of the rooms of the Booth Steamship Company office off the Strand in London. Piled from floor to ceiling around all four walls, are bulky packages of the reports of the London School Board, poor law unions, borough and county councils, public and private philanthropies, institutions, churches, missions, fraternal orders, together with a vast collection of the payrolls of employers

and the wage scales of labor unions, all officially furnished to the man who seems to have won everyone's confidence.

Here, too, are the sheets containing the first compilation of facts derived from these sources which, with the original data, were prepared for Mr. Booth by his assistants. Receiving his suggestions, inquiries, criticisms and emendations penciled on the margin, the collaborators furnished a second trial sheet with these changes wrought into the text. Then, with whatever original documents and sources needed, Mr. Booth wrote out with his own hand each of the seventeen volumes, excepting only parts of one or two of them. Four of these volumes deal with poverty and the trades connected with it, including such special subjects as the influence of dwellings on character, and London children. Five more treat on the industries of the world's metropolis, trade by trade, with a business method as precise as the social vision is clear and scientific. Seven volumes are devoted to the description and estimate of the religious, charitable, social and ethical influences of each section of the city. The final volume, giving the summary and abstract of the complete work with the author's conclusions, is a remarkable epitome of the sixteen volumes. This, with the summary of the series of industry in volume V and that of religious influences in volume VII, will prove a satisfactory substitute for the whole work to those who cannot own or read more.

The worth of this work, not only to London but to all the cities of the world, can scarcely be overestimated. It has set a scientific standard for investigating social, industrial and religious conditions everywhere. It supplies a practical classification and method which, by a consensus of opinion, are already widely recognized and used. In its graphic tables and colored maps, enlarged copies of which were presented to the London police stations, the statis-

tical results appeal to the eye with dramatic force. Its conclusions are models of tested accuracy, cautious conservatism, and the fearless facing of ascertained facts. Its permanent reference value is assured by well-nigh perfect tabulations, abstract of contents and indices, as also by the substantial and attractive form of publication furnished by the author's generosity.

Perhaps the greatest service rendered by this great work is the type of civic patriotism set by Mr. Charles Booth himself in the conception and production of these volumes. That one of the busiest men, in active charge of great trans-Atlantic shipping interests, should devote all the business talent he could crowd into the leisure of seventeen years and invest no less than a quarter of a million dollars in ascertaining and publishing the facts and factors of the problems of London's life and labor, cannot fail to have its effect.

His example, which has already been followed by Mr. B. Seeböhm Rowen-tree's "Poverty, a Study of Town Life" in York, is sure to be emulated by citizens of New York, Chicago and every great American city in laying broad and deep foundations for the civic reconstruction which has begun to rise out of our municipal degradation.\*

### Our Labor History—A National Need

It is as true that, in studying present problems, we need to bear history in mind, as that we should have present problems in mind when we study history. This has been forgotten in dealing with the labor problem, and is the reason why its solution is so slow and disastrously expensive to both sides, as well as to the public. We hardly know what the question is unless we know whence and how it has come to us. If the organization of labor half a century ago began to force the method of observation upon political economy, as

Arnold Toynbee proved, the university is reciprocating by introducing the light of historical research to the all too heated and ex parte discussion of American industrial issues. We have had no patient, calm, authoritative historical view of the movement of American laboring life yet given us, such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb have furnished the English people in their "Industrial Democracy." Prof. Ely's announcement in these columns of the proposed investigation in the history of industrial democracy in the United States, is the first promise we have had of this greatly needed service being rendered to the American people. Prof. John R. Commons, in his brief foreword to this work, proves his fitness for the task by the insight and breadth of view he adds to a knowledge of industrial data such as few, if any, men in the country possess.

The New York and Chicago donors of \$30,000 to the fund for prosecuting this work, set an example which as truly deserves to be emulated here as Charles Booth's investigations of London's life and labor is surely being followed up in England. The \$6,000 more, upon the subscription of which depends an additional gift of \$3,000 by one of these four donors, should be invested as eagerly as men buy up the best paying securities offered in the market.

### The Old Soldier Clause in Civil Service Laws

Generous to a fault have the American people been to the "veterans" of their volunteer army. Not the worst fault, however, is the generosity of our pensions, which amazes the old world and threatens to pauperize some of the manliest men in the new. No one begrudges the money, but only the loss of manhood it involves where death and disability do not justify its receipt. But to hamper and imperil the present generation by giving precedence for appointment under the "merit law" to an applicant because he served as a soldier a generation ago, is preposterous. The recent decision of the Chicago civil

\*Life and Labour of the People in London, by Charles Booth, in seventeen volumes, sold separately at \$2 per volume. The Macmillan Company.



service commissioners set a good precedent in refusing to certify, as chief sanitary inspector, a veteran who stood tenth on the list of competitors and did not even pass the tests for "knowledge of duties" and "experience," simply because he enlisted forty years ago. It gave to the city the expert who stood at the head of the examination grades and was chief inspector in Washington and New York City.

Mr. Ball's appointment would have been very improbable, notwithstanding his clear lead, had it not been for the thorough Hull House investigation of the responsibility for the recent typhoid fever epidemic. The strenuous protest of the City Homes Association against the preference of the subordinate, in whose district the most fatal neglect was suffered, for the position of chief sanitary inspector was effective. The commission, evidently to its own satisfaction as well as every one's else, found sufficient lack of "business ability" to avert the otherwise mandatory appointment. Surely some other way of providing for the old soldier amply and honorably is to be found than by depreciating the public service, especially in the struggle of the tenement dwellers for life against the heavy odds of death.

### The Representative Leader

Almost before the hundred thousand votes cast for "no strike" in the soft coal fields could be counted, men were testifying before the Senate committee on the eight-hour bill, that "labor leaders fail to represent feeling and sentiment in the unions." The success of President Mitchell, of the mine workers' union, in bringing about the peaceful acceptance of a 5.5 per cent cut, testifies more strongly, however, that one leader not only represents but dominates the feeling and sentiment in a union.

While it would be well to remind those recently before the eight-hour committee "that the leaders do not rep-

resent the unions" in many of the disgraceful acts of "leaders," such as Parks, who bring ignominy upon workmen's organizations, yet let us acknowledge the inestimable value and service of such a leadership as Mr. Mitchell has exercised.

That he induced his thousands of unionists, "the rapacious Oliver Twists of industry," to cease crying for more and willingly accept less is a great personal triumph for him, and no less a check for those forever croaking that "unions persist in running counter to the logic of supply and demand." Natural and economic forces, not the greed of employers, demanded a "cut," and the soft coal miners displayed a conservatism and reason which should be an example to the younger and ill-directed unions.

Fortunately, too, the newspapers have generally recognized the value of the good news from the soft coal fields. Usually "news" is made to consist of the unfortunate acts committed during a strike or lockout. There should be more news in the 100,000 votes cast for peace, even at a loss, and in the wage agreements quietly accepted by 20,000 union workmen in Chicago alone the first week in March, than in any "first-page story" of a cowardly slugging perpetrated by some irresponsible so-called "sympathizer."

It is with a sense of loss to the cause which he served so well as secretary of the Christian Social Union, that we chronicle the early death of the Rev. Kemper Bock, who will be more missed by the Philadelphia working people than any other clergyman. His discriminating yet sympathetic article on the textile strike of 1903 in that city, in our January number, is a better tribute to the quality and caliber of his spirit than any one else could write.

# AFTER TRADES UNIONS--WHAT ?

## A Glance Behind for a Look Ahead.

By Graham Taylor.

The rapid and widespread organization of employers' associations is the distinctive and epoch-making movement coming in with the new century. Although they were too few and feeble even four years ago to attract national attention or to influence the general situation perceptibly, they have already assumed country-wide proportions and portentous power.

### EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY.

They arose none too soon to save the interests, not to say rights, of their members not only, but their class. They are economic necessities to the employing class as surely as, but no more certainly than, the unions are to the employees. For the freedom of contract of each was menaced by the other. For a long while organized money had undue advantage over unorganized men. The individual workman, coming up single-handed and alone to bargain for his wages, hours or conditions of work with corporate capital, was not on free and equal terms with the party of the first part. Not until both bargained collectively, if one did, could there be equal freedom of contract. This the union approximately secured for its trade, if not for every individual working at it. The craft was freer to bargain, though the individual craftsman came to be at the mercy of the unions or of its voting majority rather than of his employers.

### AT THE TURN OF THE TIDE AGAINST EMPLOYERS.

Then it was that the tide began to turn against the employers' freedom in contracting for labor. Being competitors with each other and without any organization of competing concerns, they were in no position to bargain with the disciplined, compact and increasingly exacting labor unions. If

one employer yielded to their demands, the whole group of his competitors had to capitulate forthwith, either to the unions, or what was worse, to each other. By the same instinct of self-preservation with which their "hands" united they have begun to put their heads together. If they are to bargain freely they must do so more collectively, at least as much so as the allied trades unions do; that is, not only firm by firm, but throughout the whole group of concerns dealing with the federated labor unions. They must have a "business agent" to meet the "walking delegate" on more equal terms than any one of the partners or any other inexperienced and untrained person could.

So now both sides, having learned how from each other, are lining up for what may seem to be a final issue.

The most conspicuous, but perhaps not the most influential or experienced of these employers' associations, frankly avow it to be their hopeful and determined purpose to disintegrate and destroy trades unionism by an economic and legal fight to the finish. Even those employers who are accustomed to speak and write about the "right of labor to organize" and about the "usefulness of the trades unions" are wont so to qualify these sentiments that, as Mr. John Graham Brooks says, they mean "a trades union that makes no trouble for them. The actual trades union, which exists to maintain what it believes to be its group rights, to make its bargains collectively and struggle for every advantage it can get, few employers would tolerate an instant if they could avoid it." Mr. Carnegie is quoted as saying in his "Gospel of Wealth," "Indeed, it gives one but a poor opinion of the American workman if he permits himself to be deprived of a right which his fellow in England long since con-



quered for himself. My experience has been that trades unions, upon the whole, are beneficial both to labor and to capital." And yet Mr. Brooks was told by one of the strongest men in the same company, "We would use every resource within our reach rather than have a trace of unionism within our shops."

WHAT WOULD BE FROM WHAT HAS BEEN.

What if they succeed? We can imagine what the situation might become from what it was before trades unions were permitted by employers or countenanced by the law. It lies in full view only thirty years behind us. The history we are now making was made by the last generation in England, with some differences, of course. Well, there were organizations of labor before either the law, or the employers who made it, tolerated them. They were secret and their proceedings partook inevitably of the nature of the very "conspiracy" which the law was framed and entitled to prevent. They were not as large in membership as they were in their sympathizing and co-operating constituency. But no one besides themselves knew who or what or where they were. They worked quietly along constructive, educational lines which came to the surface eventually in surprising strength and triumph. As early as the year 1800 the battle-royal was set in England. Open employers' associations were pitted against the secret, because unlawful, labor organizations. Lock-outs and strikes, personal violence and wrecking of property, the intimidation of those willing to work, and the persecution of those unwilling to disorganize, are the concomitants of the all too-familiar situation.

ENGLISH LAW FAILED TO OUTLAW LABOR ORGANIZATION.

The anti-combination laws, to the enactment and rigid enforcement of which the employers' associations gave their energy, influence and money, grew for more than half a century in their prohibitory stringency against all organizations of working people which had for their purpose the determination of

the terms of their contract. Although they could not prevent organization, they did punish, with a severity that would seem to have been intolerable, those who for any special reason were found guilty. But in 1834 the screw was turned once too often when six laborers were sentenced to seven years' transportation ostensibly for administering unlawful oaths, but really for the "crime of combination." A reaction of public sentiment thereupon set in. The educational propaganda began to tell. Thereafter public meetings, petitions to parliament, committees to wait upon the prime minister, all began to have their weight. It took forty years to reverse legislation at the hand of the employing class who held the franchise and made the laws. But patiently, steadily, and by strictly constitutional agencies, the equality of the trades union with the organization of employers was pressed until finally established by the repeal of all the penal laws affecting the right of labor to organize. This is what came of seventy-five years of the organized employers' struggle against the right of employes to organize. The battle was waged along essentially the same lines as those upon which some of the more radical of our employers' associations are taking up their position, with differences which give great advantages to American labor unions over the British in their fight.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OF AMERICAN OVER ENGLISH UNIONISTS.

Here the trades unions are not proscribed by law and have every legal presumption in their favor. There, through most of their struggle, the workingmen were largely disfranchised and employing classes had the votes and made the laws, while here they have the vast majority of votes and, therefore, the law-making power all in their own hands whenever they unite to use it.

If, then, with every economic and legal advantage on their side, English employers failed to destroy the aggressive organization of labor, do American employers seriously expect either to do away with the unions, or so to impair their effectiveness that they will leave

the field clear for them to make their own terms with each individual laborer? The business agent of an employers' association before a committee of the United States Senate is reported to have asserted that the labor leaders do not represent the rank and file of the unions, and that the labor vote is a myth. If the associated employers depend upon such an easy-going begging of the question as that to achieve their ends, they will find it to be a broken reed when they bear down hard enough upon it. Experience both in England and America proves that when and where such may be the case, it does not take a very hard or long pressure from the employers' side to bring to the front leaders who do represent the mass, or to develop the active support of that large non-union sentiment, which, however non-committal and unorganized, makes itself felt very effectively on the other side of the line from those who are drawing it too tight.

#### WORLD-WIDE GROWTH OF LABOR VOTE.

As for the labor vote, it only awaits here in the United States an arousing occasion and a sufficiently menacing pressure, which have solidified and made formidable the political power of the working classes abroad. Though the great national strike in Belgium failed a few years ago, it led the workmen so to mass their votes for the socialist party that it lost none of its seats in parliament, but, in the teeth of the reaction over the lost strike, it returned 33 of its representatives to the national legislature. In Holland, the phlegmatic Dutchmen, least likely to be appealed to by socialism, are being driven by thousands into the socialist rank by the military and clerical pressure employed against them. In Germany, against all odds, the Social Democrats have rolled up a representation of 81 members in the imperial parliament.

The returns from the recent Australian election, recorded in another column, show the labor party to have more than doubled its representation in the senate, holding seventeen instead of eighteen seats, and in the House twenty-nine in-

stead of sixteen, a gain of thirteen. The total strength of the party in the colonial parliament has thus been raised from 24 to 46 votes, which is more than one-fourth of the whole. British trades unions are seeing the balance of power through their Labor Representation Committee, which endorses or nominates candidates for parliament and has elected six or eight already. That the labor vote is already predominant here and there among us is in evidence not only in shop towns but in such formally conservative eastern centers as Bridgeport and Hartford, Conn. Their triumph may be sporadic, but not more so than the early victories of the Republican party. It looks, then, as though the labor vote had come to some consciousness of its power and is more likely to grow stronger than to disintegrate into the supposed chimera.

#### CONSERVATIVE TRADES UNIONISM OR STATE SOCIALISM IN POLITICS.

To one of only two choices our employers seem to be shut up. If the radicals among them should, contrary to every probability, succeed in destroying or even rendering ineffective trades unions, their conservative constituency, now overwhelmingly in the majority, would be driven into active or passive identification with the already well disciplined and aggressive socialist party which is committed to legislating private capital out of existence. How conservative the trades unions still are, is indicated by the representative vote at the last meeting of the American Federation of Labor, when 2,147 were polled for the socialist resolutions and 11,282 against.

What that means, John Graham Brooks is as well qualified to predict as any first-hand observer in the United States. In his "Social Unrest" he writes, "If capital should prove too strong in the struggle the result is easy to predict. The employers have only to convince organized labor that it cannot hold its own against the capitalist manager and the whole energy that now goes to the union will turn to an aggressive political socialism. It will not be the harmless sympathy with in-



creased city and state functions which trade unions already feel; it will become a turbulent political force bent upon using every weapon of taxation against the rich."

The other choice is to accept trades unionism as a fact and a force which is here to stay and be reckoned with, and to aid or at least not defeat its conservative members and leaders in developing a constructive policy under the forms of impartial law. With Mr. Brooks we recognize the magnificent energy with which our employers have created an industrial organization that no other na-

tion now matches, and we ask them in his words, "Will they use some fair portion of this strength to complete this principle of organization so that it includes those who help them do their work? Or will they, in the fighting spirit of competition under which they were bred, insist upon an unrestrained and unmodified mastery?"

Upon their answer depends what kind of a trades unionism we will have or, if none at all, then how soon the aggressive political and legislating socialism which is sure to take its place will come to its power.

## Penalty for Bribing Labor Leaders

### Law to Prevent Bribery of Labor Officials

By William Travers Jerome, District Attorney, New York City

Throughout the United States there are statutes against bribery, making it a criminal offense for a public officer to receive any consideration of pecuniary value to influence his official conduct, and also making it a crime for anyone to give or offer such a consideration to a public officer to affect him in the discharge of his official duty. The principle which underlies these statutes is, that no one in a representative capacity should be influenced in the discharge of his duty by any consideration of a private nature. A bill has recently been introduced in the New York state legislature by Assemblyman Prince, which



*DISTRICT ATTORNEY  
WILLIAM TRAVERS JEROME*

seeks to extend this principle to the authorized representatives of labor, by making it a crime for anyone to give a labor representative anything of value to influence his action in calling strikes, or in sending men back to work when they are out on a strike.

So far as I know, this is the first statute of its kind introduced in any legislative body in the United States. Of course, the moral obliquity of a labor representative selling out the interests of his organization, or of a person bribing him to do so, is as great and the same in kind as where it is sought to corrupt a public officer; but heretofore the evil involved has not been considered of

sufficient magnitude to require regulation at the hands of the criminal law. The iniquity of such transactions has been recognized in civil proceedings.

Some years ago a celebrated case went to the Court of Appeals, in which a carriage-maker sued to recover for repairs done to the coaches of a gentleman in New York City. Upon the trial it appeared that the defendant was resisting the payment of the claim because the carriage-maker had subsidized his coachman. The defendant contended that it was immoral and against public policy that he should be compelled to pay for repairs which may have been unnecessary and which, at any rate, had been made by that particular plaintiff because the opportunity to do so was afforded as a consequence of seeing the defendant's servant, who was, as to the defendant, in a confidential and representative relation. The Court of Appeals held this defense good and that such acts on the part of the plaintiff were immoral and against public policy. Undoubtedly the civil courts would hold, if it could get before them in any form of litigation, that the bribing of a labor delegate was also an act that was immoral and against public policy, because of his representative character, but mere declarations of this character on the part of courts in civil litigation are not, in my opinion, sufficient to check the grave abuses that have existed through the bribery by employers of the representatives of organized labor.

In the great strike in the building trades in New York, it was thoroughly understood that 15 out of 17 firms composing the Cabinet Makers' Association contributed a very large sum of money which was used to bribe certain delegates in the United Board of Building Trades, of which the Amalgamated Painters were a member, to admit the Brotherhood of Painters, which at that time was not represented in the board. The purpose of this action was to

strengthen the Brotherhood at the expense of the Amalgamated Painters and enable the employers to break the strike that was then on, by employing Brotherhood painters, whom they before had been unable to employ without causing a sympathetic strike—inasmuch as the Brotherhood was not represented in the United Board of Building Trades.

On its face, it would seem just that the Prince bill should apply alike to the labor representative and the employer; the bill as it now stands simply makes it a crime for anyone to bribe or attempt to bribe a representative of organized labor, but it does not punish the representative who may receive the bribe. It is thought, however, that this situation is sufficiently covered, and the employer sufficiently protected from being "held up," by the section of the penal code in regard to extortion. In addition it would be more easy to detect the wrong-doing of the employer of labor and to punish him for it, if the person bribed were not also made guilty of a criminal offense, as under these circumstances the person bribed would be more ready to testify than he otherwise would.

Everyone familiar with the conduct of business at the present time must have had brought to his attention the great extent to which this bribery of persons acting as agents and in a representative capacity goes on, not alone in the labor world, but in all classes of business. That the purchasing agents for various large concerns receive presents and considerable sums of money before business can be satisfactorily done with such concerns is a matter of everyday observation, and it may well be that later on, should the Prince bill become a law, it will be found desirable to extend its principle not only to matters affecting organized labor, but to all cases in which people act as agents for others or in a representative capacity.



# Labor at Leisure--Sketch at First Hand

Allen T. Burns

Imagine that you went to live in a boarding house among the wage earners, in one of our large cities. Beginning with the first evening's meal, your experience would be something as follows:

## THE WORKINGMEN'S BOARDING HOUSE.

You bolt the juiceless meat and soggy vegetables with better grace than you expected. The talk is novel and interests you. Men are being laid off, for the work is slack. To-night it was Flynn, the next door neighbor. Of what sort is their work? This incident tells you. One man in the shop to-day fainted dead away. His business was to make a certain stroke with a knife some thousands of times. Because of those laid off, to-day he had to make a few thousand extra strokes. The mechanical repetition had paralyzed him, so that in his faint, force had to be used to unclasp his hand from the knife. The work of the other men is just as benumbing in its monotony. It staggers you to see how men become mere parts of a great machine. You realize what limits of social life are placed upon people unschooled, with few and weak natural powers, and these powers ill nourished and sapped by our modern specialized and mechanical industries.

You are not surprised when after dinner the men settle down in their chairs in a stupor. Upon inquiry you find that a few in the neighborhood have tried to attend night school or even read in the evenings. Only the exceptional man could keep it up. A few may work their way to a higher life. But your fellow boarders represent the majority of your neighbors. Their work of the day is such as to prevent any general advance by methods to which you are accustomed. They are too dead.

But as the evening drags on you see your new acquaintances disappear. Where? To bed? No! They are over their first drowse. Naturally they seek some excitement, sensation which

will give all possible relief, relaxation from their day's toil. At least out of curiosity you'd like to go along. But you aren't invited. Neither Joe nor Andy is willing to risk his friendships by bringing a swell among his chums.

## THE PASTIME CLUB.

After you've spent enough evenings alone through this desertion by your housemates, you get in with one of the younger fellows. Some evening he asks you to come around with him to the club. What do you find? A room built for a store. It is poorly lighted, dingy, cold. A few old chairs are scattered about, some dumbbells, a horizontal bar, boxing gloves and a punching bag. This is the "Pastime Athletic and Social Club." But there is little exercise going on. The fellows lounge around the room, smoke, swap stories, are just social. Why call it an athletic club? You find that the club has one athlete, a local wrestler, and bag puncher. He drops into the club and does a few "stunts" with the bag. Or another wrestler is on hand and they have a friendly bout. The rest of the club look on. Some drop off to sleep, or, too weary to hold their heads up, go home to bed. But you are further impressed how exceptional it is that one of them has more strength than enough to do his daily work. You realize how the grind of toil soon saps even natural energy and activity. What is their use for the club? It gives them a chance for good fellowship. After a day spent in a shop where one is boss and the men move only at his direction, what satisfaction to feel themselves recognized as good as the next fellow. Then, too, they share in running the club. It's theirs as much as the next fellow's. They aren't bossed here, but have something to say themselves. Whatever the club is, each man helps of his own accord to make it. The equality and fraternity denied him in the factory he longs for none the less, and finds at the club. His desire to have his voice carry weight is gratified. This ex-

plains why the club doesn't accept the invitation of the mission across the street to occupy its rooms rent free. The mission wouldn't be his. There he couldn't do as he chose.

If you prove human enough you are elected to membership at the next business meeting. But with the membership goes no more authority than belongs to the other fellow. You may be able to put in a new equipment for them. You learn that there is one place where greater riches confer no greater privilege or authority. Your offer would be refused, if thereby the club would lose any of its democratic character.

#### THE RIVAL BALL.

You ask how the club can afford to pay the rent with only fifty cents a month dues. You see at once in the next item of business, the most important of the evening. On Saturday night the club gives its annual ball. The discussion brings out several points. The party must certainly equal last week's given by the Eurekas, and the one week before by the Rivals. And you understand that this ball is one of the series given on successive Saturday nights by the clubs of the neighborhood. They are the great social occasions, the affairs, the functions of your new friends. Each Saturday night is sacred to such a gathering, for they are the only common social meeting place of the whole community. The party of the Pastimes is to be in Kelly's Hall over his saloon.

#### THE SATURDAY NIGHT SALOON DANCE HALL.

Kelly donates a large share of the rent in view of prospective customers. You suggest some hall away from the temptation of drink. There is none, and you groan as you think of the evil of the saloon dance hall, and that your new friends are shut up to it for a social gathering.

Some Saturday evening with a friend you drop into a saloon. Another satisfying social gathering is going on. The men are standing or sitting around in groups. What are they doing? Chatting, playing cards or pool. Here, too,

as at your club, is the spirit of good fellowship, the recognition of one another's manhood, personal worth. There are no reminders of superior or subordinate relations which man will endure in only so much of life as he must.

Among the men in the saloon you find some of your fellow boarders. You don't wonder that they have sought this warm room resplendent with light and mirror, abounding with good cheer and comradeship. 'Tis, to be sure, an agreeable change from the dark, crowded, steaming room in the tenement. Then, too, the scanty home meal is eked out by the tempting dishes on the free lunch counter. The mind too tired for a book or study enjoys the activity of discussing current events and you see in formation the opinions which will control the next election. Here is the old Socratic method of education. The recognized leader propounds his theories and he must make them good in the free discussion of his fellows. Then the vacant positions at the works are reported and the man without a job hears and will be there on Monday.

#### DRINK PAYS FOR IT.

But who pays for all these privileges? Each man buys a few drinks during the evening. The liquor suits well the ill nourished stomach. It sends a pleasing thrill through the nerves numbed by the day's toil. The weariness which made all action seem impossible, is forgotten in the stimulation. Can you wonder that your friends take this easiest road to dispel disagreeable sensations? The one price secures food for a starved stomach, club room for social intercourse and recreation, employment agency, debating society for mental exercise and excitement for the nerves.

#### LENDING A BROTHERLY HAND TO EACH OTHER.

As weeks pass you learn much more of this life. One of the neighbors has his foot smashed in the shop. To the hospital in a distant part of the city he goes. But he is not forgotten. He spends scarcely an evening alone, for his friends gladly take hours after toil



for the long trip and cheering visit. Remember, these are the friends who have been too weary after working hours to enjoy or improve themselves, and they too will look out for the little family at home.

Flynn next door is still out of work and his few savings are spent. Starvation faces him and his family. But this is too common a hardship to be passed over. Each neighbor knows not when his turn may come, so by one of the quickest and surest possible relief agencies they tide the needy friend over until he gets work again. The favor will be returned some day gladly and with no question of worthiness or lack of thrift.

Another neighbor, Larsen, comes in some evening to tell of his fears of losing all his savings. His company persuaded him to put his little store into "common stock." He learns it is worthless. Billy comes home at the end of a week utterly broken hearted. The firm have installed new machines which will do away with his trade, his only capital. He's not young enough to learn a new one. His old mother across the water depends upon him too for support. Joe is mad because he has to work overtime and gets no pay. Why didn't he refuse? He learned that the employer had just squeezed through at Ellis Island a gang of contract laborers who would work at any price, in this land of freedom. "Never mind," Joe says, "I've been working for the church. That's where the money goes I made for old Graham in the overtime." And now comes the landlady with her tale of woe. She has to move. Her rent is raised. Wasn't the owner making good interest on his investment? Yes, but the Italians are coming into the neighborhood and will pack three times as many into the same tenement and so can pay higher rent. The next day the landlady reads of a large gift to some school by the owner of her house.

#### CAUGHT IN THE TANGLE.

You, too, are indignant. You ask whether nothing can be done. Then you, as your friends have done long

before, learn your helplessness. You see that all these evils are part of a great social tangle. You see how little good it does to help one man climb out of it. Few have the strength of intelligence. Yet you have just learned what is an old story to your acquaintances. Rascality, new inventions, fluctuations of stock, accidents, imported labor, greedy landlords, all taking advantage of their ignorance, keep these people in the constant dread of the pinch of poverty. They despair of anything better, for it is a problem of a class, not an individual, and knowledge of their own weakness and frequent deceptions leaves them hopeless. Yet they feel somehow that things are wrong and, though they must doggedly endure, they can hate this social system and its supporters. And they do hate. Their closest interest, the surest call to social action is that which will give the slightest protection against this Damocles' sword of poverty ever hanging by a thread just above their heads.

You are indignant. You feel the evil plight in which your friends are caught. You can speak and so voice your protest in their ears. The words are what for years their hearts would have uttered. In a few evenings, to your surprise, one of the men says his union wants you to come and speak before them.

You gladly go, curious to see this young giant of labor who is just becoming conscious of its power. The union meets up a dark stairway over a saloon. The treasurer's report is being read as you enter. You hear no item for rent. Your experience at the ball tells you the reason. But how the sight thrills you. Here is a group of unschooled men. They are working at the great problem of their own and families' betterment. Dead in earnest, they shrink not before the stupendous riddle of the day: How shall the wage earners not merely exist, but live a human life, a life worthy, a life the right of every man within whom is the spark of the divine?

As these men, each with common right and equal power, discuss the questions before them, you learn some ad-

ditional facts about your friends. With all their hearts they believe that only those with their experience of threatening poverty, only those can best know how to solve their problem. So they insist they must have more to say in the industrial system of which they feel themselves now only victims. Their voices must be given weight in the control of their toil. What each of himself was too weak to accomplish, they achieve through their union. Their personal worth, their individuality have long been denied recognition. But this longing "to have what I say count," this longing is now felt to have gained some satisfaction. Each member feels himself more a man, because he had found a means to assert himself. Hence, his gratification as he discusses out of work, sick, and death benefits for his fellow tradesman; as he arranges for the employment bureau work of his union; as he learns that his action along with his brothers has had some effect upon the conditions under which he must labor. We see why he will be so loyal to his union. It deals with his closest interest, that of threatened poverty. He gains a chance to gratify that long desired and consequently so much stronger desire for self-assertion. He is benefited through the co-operation of his own class. In the fire of common adversity he has been welded into a common body. Henceforth he believes in common action by those of common interests, each man with a common power. He is everywhere, in everything, forever a democrat.

### Need of Social Imagination

In a Christian Social Union sermon, Rev. J. G. Adderly thus plead for the culture of a social imagination which he identified with faith.

It may be a fine thing to say, that the battle of Waterloo was won in the playing fields of Eton; it would be finer still if we could say that there, too, the victories of social reform were being scored. Why was it that so many young men grew up with narrow views of life, reproducing the selfish philosophy of their fathers and grandfathers, and repeating the shibboleths of a past generation about propriety and politics?

Would the housing problem or the tem-

perance problem be a problem at all at the present time if the landlords and the beerlords believed in brotherhood and justice, before pleasure and profits? A little imagination on the part of the rich would go a long way toward making a happier and brighter England. How difficult it was to get up any interest in the unemployed except amid snowstorms and street processions. It must not be thought impossible for employers and employed to meet on equal terms. Why should not more highly educated men work in connection with trade unions?

No quarrel or estrangement between classes was so bitter and so old that it could not be overcome. Men of faith could overcome the world. But where were the men of faith? Did we find them among our statesmen and politicians? Scarcely. Were they among the business men? The Cadburys and the Levers were the exception, not the rule. Were they among the clergy? Yes; a few perhaps, but even here convention too often obscured the vision and suppressed the idea. In all these cases there was more or less separation from the masses of men—fatal aloofness from the multitude.

The English government is capable of taking the census of India at a single stroke. In one night the mighty task is done. From the official report which has just been issued we quote:

The night chosen for taking the census was fixed upon with the object of avoiding, as far as possible, the anniversaries of great religious festivals and fairs and the nights regarded as auspicious for marriage ceremonies or for bathing in the sacred rivers. The area dealt with extends from the Persian frontier to the confines of China, and from the snow passes which look down upon Thibet to the tropical forests where Burma touches Siam.

The enumeration brought to light a tribe hitherto unknown, the Tabo of the North Andamans, concerning whom, it is stated in explanation of their small numbers, that when a contagious disease appeared among them they proceeded to kill all those who were attacked, until very few of the tribe were left.

In the body of the report it is stated that the population recorded throughout the empire was 294,361,056, of whom 231,899,507 were in British territory, and 62,461,549 in the native states. Native India, therefore, while embracing more than a third of the area of the empire, supports considerably less than a quarter of the population.

"The virtue of the people is taking the place Poor Richard thought only the eye of the owner could fill. If mankind, driven by their own fears and the greed of others, can do so well, what will their productivity and cheer do when the 'interest of all' sings them to their work."—HENRY D. LLOYD



# Immigration the Annihilator of Our Native Stock

By Robert Hunter

Unfortunately, the more fundamental questions involved in the immigration to this country are seldom dwelt upon in any discussion of the subject. The fact that four times as many of the foreign born become paupers as of the native born is much talked of. From three to eight times as many children of foreign parentage become criminals as children of native parents. These and other facts connected with the apparent unfitness of the foreign born for American citizenship are put forward, in the discussion of the evils of immigration, as of utmost importance. But it needs to be said that the urban poor of this country are largely—almost entirely—foreign born. We have Russia's poverty, Asia's poverty, Italy's poverty, Poland's poverty, and what other nation's have we not? The rich and well-to-do are mainly American born or the children of Americanized foreigners; the poor are mainly foreign. It is true of every country, it is true of purely American communities, that the poor supply an excessive proportion of paupers and their children an excess of criminals. It is one of the natural results of poverty, and, as the poor here are mainly foreign born, there is naturally a very large number of foreign paupers and of foreign criminals, etc. That this is true, is not necessarily an argument against immigration.

The fundamental question to be decided is the kind of children that shall be born. It is a question of babies and birth-rates. It is an ethnic question. It involves the economic forces which stimulate for selfish ends the volume of immigration and which thereby decide, in a measure, what babies shall be born. William Farr, the greatest student of vital statistics, observed many years ago that emigration from England increased the birth-rate in that country. Immigration to a country almost invariably decreases the native birth-rate and at the same time increases the birth-rate of the newly arrived immigrants.

Immigration in this way vastly increases the races which emigrate and immigrate. In the present instance it is stimulating the birth-rate of the foreign elements in America and abroad, and decreasing the birth-rate of the American born. This means in the case of America far-reaching changes in our national characteristics. From an ethnical point of view, immigration means that the American type must change as this foreign element becomes dominant. If it is a German or Scandinavian immigration, the resultant type will differ, of course, from that which must follow the immigration of Slavs or Italians or Asiatics or Chinese. Unrestricted immigration means the displacing of the native stock by whatever foreign people come to our shores in sufficient numbers.

The native American stock has developed an American type which was distinguished as early as the sixties from the European types. It was in many ways recognized to be superior, physically and mentally, to the foreign types, and naturally so. The American people had been free for many decades from any important war; there was no oppression from above; there was equality of opportunity unequalled before in any other country, and there was almost no poverty. The present prospect is that this type must be gradually displaced by another type, shorter in stature. The skull will be shorter and broader and other physiological changes will result, not to speak of mental changes. Many persons interested in this more fundamental aspect of immigration look with apprehension upon the great hordes of foreign immigrants from eastern Europe, Asia and southern Italy because they are convinced that the American type is surely degenerating in consequence.

But whether this apprehension is warranted or not, it may be taken without question that this country has a grave responsibility in the matter. The most

serious, tragic fact to be considered in any discussion of the effects of immigration is the annihilation, which is progressively taking place, of the native stock of this country. In other words, it is the "racial suicide" of which President Roosevelt has spoken. The direct descendants of the people who fought for and founded the republic, and who gave us a rich heritage of democratic institutions, are being displaced by the Slavic, Balkan and Mediterranean peoples. The immigrants are not *additional* inhabitants. Their coming displaces the native stock.

There are two profoundly serious facts to be considered in this connection: The first, that immigration has not increased the population of the United States any more than it naturally would have increased had there been no immigration since the earliest days of the republic; the second, that unrestricted immigration means an increase in the birth-rate of foreigners, which necessitates at the same time a lowering of our native birth-rate. If it be true, as it has been claimed, that over one-half of our inhabitants in the year 1900 were foreign born or of foreign parentage, it means merely that that number of people inhabit the United States in the place of the children of the native stock who would have been born had there been no immigration since 1835.

These facts are startling. If they are true—and the statements upon which they are based have not been questioned, to my knowledge, since they were made by the late General Francis Walker—all discussion of the question of immigration must be elevated to a different plane from that taken in the past. The decision for Congress to make intelligently is simply, whether or not it is better for the world that the children of native parents should be born instead of the children of foreign parents. The making of the decision cannot be avoided. It is made now, and it is a decision *against* the children of native parents.

It is worth while to consider carefully some of the things which General Walker has written upon this subject:

"All human history," he says, "shows that the principle of population is intensely sensitive to social and economic changes. Let social and economic conditions remain as they were, and population will go on increasing from year to year, and from decade to decade, with a regularity little short of the marvelous. Let social and economic conditions change and population instantly responds. The arrival in the United States between 1830 and 1840, and thereafter increasingly, of large numbers of degraded peasantry, created for the first time in this country distinct social classes, and produced an alteration of economic relations which could not fail powerfully to affect population.

. . . . The population of 1790 was almost wholly a native and wholly an acclimated population, and for forty years afterward immigration remained at so low a rate as to be practically of no account; yet the people of the United States increased in numbers more rapidly than has ever elsewhere been known in regard to any considerable population over any considerable area, through any considerable period of time. Between 1790 and 1830 the nation grew from less than 4,000,000 to nearly 13,000,000—an increase, in fact, of 227 per cent, a rate unparalleled in history. That increase was wholly out of the loins of our own people. Each decade had seen a growth of between 33 and 38 per cent, a doubling once in twenty-two or twenty-three years. . . . The decline of this rate of increase among Americans began at the very time when foreign immigration first assumed considerable proportions; it showed itself first and in the highest degree in those regions, in those states, and in the very counties into which the foreigners most largely entered. . . . Americans shrank alike from the social contact and the economic competition thus created. They became increasingly unwilling to bring forth sons and daughters who should be obliged to compete in the market for labor and in the walks of life with those whom they did not recognize as of their own grade and condition."



This check on the growth of the native population, which resulted from the coming of alien peoples, means that we are more or less consciously substituting one nationality for another—the foreign for the native. This is most clearly shown in Massachusetts. The greatest decline in birth-rates which is known in the western world is that of France and that of the native stock of Massachusetts. France is very much alarmed. Massachusetts seems unconcerned. The mothers of foreign birth living in Massachusetts have 50 per cent more children than the mothers of native birth. Immigration, therefore, means that, by permitting free and unlimited entry, we are increasing the number of births in this country among the Italians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Croats and Polish, Roumanian and Russian Jews.

The same free and unlimited entry increases at the same time the birth-rate among these same peoples abroad. For instance, the birth-rate of the Italians in Italy is one of the highest in Europe. The Jewish death-rate in Europe is the lowest and the birth-rate one of the highest. The increased birth-rate abroad means, therefore, that the places of those who immigrate to this country are filled in a generation and the misery and oppression which emigration is supposed to relieve continues unimproved, while in the United States the degraded peasantry of other countries are supplanting the descendants of the original stock of this country.

This is the race suicide, the annihilation of our native stock, which unlimited immigration forces upon us, none the less powerfully because it is gradually and stealthily done. The native stock of America, possessed of rare advantages, freed by its own efforts from oppression and the miseries of oppression, might have peopled the United States with the seventy millions which now inhabit it. It has not done so for the reason that "we cannot welcome an indefinite number of immigrants to our shores without forbidding the existence of an indefinite number of children of

native parents who might have been born."

We may, of course, permit our native stock to be annihilated, but it is inconceivable that we should permit ourselves to promote, by conscious act, that intermarrying and intermingling of peoples which will indefinitely lower the standard of American or any other manhood. That conscious act is taken for good or bad at Ellis Island and elsewhere, after the legal decision compelling it has been made by act of Congress.

Our philanthropic institutions are yearly making larger provision for segregating the feeble-minded in order to prevent propagation. This is observing the necessity for exercising some selection, when it is possible, as to the kind of children that shall be born. There is extreme necessity in such cases, which, of course, does not exist in the case of immigration. Selection may, however, be exercised powerfully by deciding the class of immigrants that may land in America. The fathers and mothers of the American children can be chosen, and it is in the power of Congress to decide upon what merits. Selection can in this manner be exercised to increase the number of strong-minded children, as it is in the former instance used to decrease the number of feeble-minded children. No nation has ever had a social responsibility of greater magnitude. The future of American society, industry, religious faith, political institutions may be decided in a way quite marvelous by the governing powers of this country. The worst aspect of the whole matter is that the selfish forces interested in promoting immigration in every conceivable way, are deciding all these questions for us.

The ones who come and the numbers who come depend largely upon the steamship companies. Whether we have more Hungarians than Italians, or Syrians than Greeks, or Scandinavians than Slavs, depends to a very large extent upon their ports, their passage rates and their success in advertising and soliciting. There were in 1897 over 7,000 immigration agents in Italy alone, using

every known scheme of advertising and every blandishment to induce Italians to come to America at that very time the Italians in this country were in wretched poverty. They were hungry, eating waste from the garbage boxes; idle on an average eight months of that year, and living, when they had work, on less than \$5 a week. The industries did not need those already here. More came, each ship from Italy brought thousands, to make the Italian colonies of New York and Chicago still poorer. Over 600,000 Italians have arrived in this country since that time.

I am not in sympathy with those who look down upon these newcomers and refer to them as "the scum of Europe." I know and admire too many of the fine qualities which these immigrants have, but I, nevertheless, believe that this country may be ruined by leaving the volume and quality of immigration almost entirely to the decision of the steamship companies. Their agents abroad rob, deceive and traffic in the ignorant and illiterate peasants, and the skill of their agents decides whether we shall have one race or another come in great masses to our shores. If we let the cotton industries alone, they will employ five-year-old children—they would exhaust these little lives as they would exhaust a coal mine—thoughtlessly, for selfish gain. If we let the steamship companies and the railroads, wanting cheap labor, alone, we shall not decide what immigrants will be better for coming and what ones the country most needs. They will decide it all for us.

There are few questions which it would seem easier to decide upon purely moral grounds than this one of immigration. Whether or not we should restrict immigration is perhaps, after all, not so fundamentally important as the fact that in deciding the question, as our governing bodies have done in the past, they have failed to consider the welfare of the people, either immigrants or Americans. The decision has been made as a result of pressure brought to bear upon public officials by private and selfish interests.

Our national characteristics may be changed, our love of freedom, our religion, our inventive faculties, our standard of life. All of the things, in fact, for which America has been more or less distinctive among the nations, may be entirely altered. Our race may be supplanted by another, by an Asiatic one, for instance, and not because it is better so, nor because it is for the world's good. On the contrary, it is in order that the individuals interested in steamships may be benefited, and in order that the employers may have cheaper labor. These selfish forces may be disguised, but they are there, and they are active. The highest moral ground which may be taken in the matter may not be complete restriction. That could only be decided by a much more careful study, but there are no moral grounds for continuing the present policy. If immigration from the old world to the new is not to be stopped, then it must be guided, if that be possible, in order that it may not fall into the misery and degradation of our slums; it must be guided to the rich and fertile valleys which will feed men and make men.

### Coarsening English Ideals

Dr. John Watson, he of the "Bonnie Briar Bush," at the Free Church Council, spoke out on "The Coarsening of National Ideals," in proof of which he cited "The creation of a body of serfs by the introduction of Chinese labor into South Africa; the endurance of the brutal and insolent massacre of Armenians by a power which we protect; the Boer War, which was brought to pass by lust for gold and by the conduct of international criminals who ought to-day one and all to be in penal servitude, but who instead are sitting in parliaments; the love of pleasure which every year is shifting the people to the cities more than any other cause; sports which are becoming less personal and more vicarious and theaters which were never more numerous but never had done less for art than they are now doing."



# Professor John R. Commons and the Proposed Investigations in the History of Industrial Democracy in the United States

By Richard T. Ely

I am glad to respond to the invitation of the editor of *The Commons* to furnish a brief sketch of Professor Com-

something more than has as yet appeared in print about the nature of our project.



RICHARD T. ELY,

Director School of Economics and Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

mons and to point out his special fitness for co-operation in the large work which we are undertaking; also to say

John Rogers Commons was born in Dark County, Ohio, October 13, 1862. He took his undergraduate work at

Oberlin College, from which he received the degree of A. B. in 1888 and A. M. in 1890. He was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins University in 1888-90. At this time I held the chair of economics at the Johns Hopkins University and was very favorably impressed by the moral earnestness and intellectual capacity of Mr. Commons. I was attracted especially by his keenness in analysis and his originality. It has been my good fortune to have had as students, both at the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Wisconsin, many men who have become and are becoming distinguished. While I follow the careers of my students with such affectionate regard that I may be unable to be strictly impartial as between them and other men, I can naturally discern differences among them. If I should divide them into four or five classes with respect to capacity and sincerity of purpose, I should without hesitation place Mr. Commons in the first class.

After leaving the Johns Hopkins University, Mr. Commons held the chair of political economy in Oberlin College, going thence to the University of Indiana, and from there to Syracuse University. Each move was made because at the time it seemed to bring with it larger opportunities. In each place his colleagues speak of him and his work in high terms, and I have received warm words of congratulation from each institution with which he has been connected on his acceptance of his professorship in the University of Wisconsin. In 1889 Professor Commons resigned his professorship in Syracuse University, and since then he has been an expert agent of the United States Department of Labor and of the Industrial Commission, assistant secretary of the National Civic Federation and secretary of the conciliation committee of the New York Civic Federation.

Before I recommended his appointment to the professorship in the University of Wisconsin, I asked for opinions in regard to his qualities and scientific attainments from Professors Carver, Ripley, and Bul-

lock of Harvard, J. B. Clark of Columbia and James H. Hamilton, formerly of Syracuse University, now head worker at the University Settlement of New York; also from Hon. Oscar S. Straus, ex-United States minister to Turkey, and now president of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation and vice-chairman of the National Civic Federation. Anyone might well be pleased to receive the commendation expressed in the opinions given.

Professor Bullock says that, in his opinion, "Commons has one of the keenest and most original minds that we have in the guild of American economists." Professor Carver speaks of him as "a man of unusual ability as a thinker and of tireless industry as an investigator." Professor Hamilton says, "I have never known a more stimulating and more helpful instructor and one who is better calculated to induce productive scholarship among students." Professor Clark says of him, that he is "one of the strongest men in the country." Hon. Oscar S. Straus speaks of his remarkable impartiality in dealing with questions of labor and capital, and adds, "I have observed that Professor Commons invariably takes a broad view of labor questions and does not seem to be misled by any preconceived theories or notions, but takes up the facts as he finds them in each case with a desire to bring about adjustments on the line of conciliation."

Now, just a few words about the work which we are about to undertake and the methods which we propose to follow. May I be pardoned for making a personal reference on account of its connection with our undertaking. More than fifteen years ago I published an historical sketch, which I called "The Labor Movement in America." At that time I had to do pioneer work in this field, gaining an interest in it which I have never lost. Probably no one appreciates more keenly than I do the imperfections of this work. I continued for a long time collecting materials bearing upon this subject, and have had it in mind to write something which could be called a history rather than a



sketch of the subject. It is something broader than a history of the labor movement in this country that I am planning, but a work which would include that. I think perhaps the best title is "The History of Industrial Democracy in America." My idea is an investigation from colonial times up to the present of efforts, particularly organized efforts, to uplift the masses.

The investigation would include, as a prominent feature, labor organizations, but it would also take in the early communistic settlements. I would wish to give particular attention to the thirty years preceding the Civil War, when a great wave of enthusiasm for the uplift of the masses swept over the country, influencing profoundly such men as Horace Greeley, Dana, George William Curtis, Ripley, etc. But some years ago it became apparent to me as well as to others that the expensiveness of the undertaking and the amount of research involved were so great as to make it unsuitable for a private enterprise. My wishes, however, were brought to the attention of some gentlemen who have pledged generous contributions, making it possible to go forward with this work with the co-operation of Professor Commons and others. Among the gentlemen who contributed from New York City I may mention Mr. V. Everit Macy, Mr. Robert Fulton Cutting and Mr. Justice P. H. Dugro of the Supreme Court of the state of New York. A gentleman from Chicago has already made a generous contribution, and has promised an additional sum if at least \$6,000 can be raised from others. The amount of money involved may seem large, but when it is borne in mind that the work will probably extend over five years and that a considerable number will participate in it, it is seen that a large sum is required. It may be proper to add that it is not conducted as a private enterprise, and that the royalties which the work may earn will be turned into the fund, which will be managed by a committee, with Mr. V. Everit Macy as chairman.

It is proposed also to appoint a committee of ten, following the analogy of

the committee of fifty which has investigated the liquor problem, and of which I have been proud to be a member. A committee of fifty I deem altogether too large for the present purpose. In this committee of ten will be included representatives of science, of labor and of capital. The committee has not been formed, but I may mention among those whom it will include Professor J. B. Clark of Columbia. The University of Wisconsin has co-operated in the appointment of Professor Commons, who during the next three years will have half of his time entirely free for these investigations. While he is at the university his time and strength will also be given to this subject. During the first semester, 1904-05, he will lecture upon "Race Elements in American Industry." The subject of his course in 1905-06 will be the "History of Labor and Industrial Organizations Prior to the Civil War," and in the year after he will follow up their history after the Civil War. The John Crerar Library of Chicago, where a considerable part of the work will be done, has already purchased large collections of economic literature, and its further co-operation is promised. We also expect the co-operation of the Wisconsin Historical Library. These libraries are fortunate in having as librarians men like Mr. Clement W. Andrews and Reuben Gold Thwaites, whose delight it is to serve scholars.

The project, as I take it, is worth all it costs in time, trial and money purely from a scientific point of view, just as other scientific work is worth while. I believe, however, that there are very direct and immediately practical advantages. If we are successful in our history we shall show failures and their causes, and so perhaps dissuade people from putting their money and time into efforts which can yield no good results. Many millions have been wasted in this country in fruitless efforts to improve general conditions. This is the negative side of it. I believe also that a true history, such as we hope to write, will disclose the lines of constructive effort and encourage movement along these lines.

# Outline Sketch of American Industrial Democracy

By John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin

Trade unions are not the whole of the labor movement, but they are the laborer's way of turning the labor movement to immediate advantage. Their methods, their successes, their failures, cannot be understood except as they are seen to be a part of the moral, industrial and political history of the country. Some of their methods do not find favor with moralists and political economists who study them from the abstract point of view. The problem is much like that of the older botany and zoology—with a difference. The zoologist collected his bugs and birds, named their parts, arranged them in families and genera, and praised God or Nature (according to his bent) for their wonderful adaptations. But when the evolutionists—i. e., the zoological historian—came into the field, a broader explanation ensued. He saw the struggle for existence, overpopulation and underconsumption, maternal love and mutual aid, and he explained the claws and teeth of the tiger as well as the song of the bird. He neither approved or praised—he understood.

So with the older economist or moralist. He has seen the trades union, with its closed shop, its apprentice limitations, its restriction on output and machinery, and its minimum wage, and he condemns it as contrary to divine or natural law. He may approve of the union, but he condemns the methods that keep it alive.

To-day nearly all the political economists have become evolutionists. They do not condemn or approve—they seek to understand. The trades union has come up through struggle and conflict. It carries the marks of these conflicts. It is a survival of the fittest and seems destined to stay. If its methods change, as they are changing, it is because different methods enable it to live. It has claws and teeth, but it has sympathy and self-sacrifice. Its chang-

ing methods depend on changing methods of its opponents and changing attitude of the general public.

Consider the change that has occurred in the matter of secrecy. The Knights of Labor were a secret organization for fifteen years. The existing unions are secret only in the sense that meetings of a corporation or board of directors are secret.

Secrecy is a weapon to resist widespread hostility. Popular support and demand for fair play encourages openness. But popular support is itself a moral evolution. A revolution in men's ideas of human rights and sympathy for the weak preceded the present trades union movement. If the general public that makes the laws and backs the courts were hostile to the aspirations of labor, it could not openly organize upon its present large and effective scale. The general public needed first a humanitarian awakening, which showed itself in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, was for a time swallowed up in the anti-slavery movement, which was also a labor movement, and then reawakened on a new and wider level in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

How this sympathy originated, how it extended to the wage-earner, how far it has gone, how it has affected legislation and the courts, these are the historical problems that reveal the environment within which trades unionism has struggled for existence. The social environment has changed and the methods of labor organization have changed. The present conditions of both can be understood only as we see out of what they have come.

In no country is the labor problem more complex or varied than in the United States. Sectional divisions, race divisions, protective tariffs, immigration, and the most extreme vacillations of prosperity and depression have con-



tributed to the result as we find it. Serious-minded people of all classes are awakening to the need of more light on every phase, factor and detail of the movement. The spectacular and personal elements have held the foreground, but the labor movement is an uprising of the masses, and the leaders and agitators are products as well as causes. To what it is tending, what

the outcome shall be, is of living interest to workmen themselves, to their employers and to that indefinite body, the general public, that sooner or later is drawn into the movement. This is the task set before them who in the true historical spirit would contribute their share toward aiding the future to build on the past.

## The Ethical Challenge of Our Public Schools

By Henry W. Thurston, Chicago Normal School

Education of the young is the process by which society moves in the direction of its own ideals. Twentieth century ideals of righteousness in industry, government and social life are gradually growing higher and more clearly defined. But our performance lags behind our aspiration. As our ideals of social equity grow, the chasm between the real and the ideal in our social relations yawns ever wider. It is inevitable, therefore, in these days of Iroquois Theater fires, Grand Rapids water scandals, Philadelphia gas works steals, Minneapolis technicality rescues from prison, "divine right of capitalistic grab" and frequent union apology for personal assault, that the searchlight of inquiry and criticism should be turned with increasing frequency upon our schools, out of which all sorts of social good-for-nothings and society hold-up men are continually coming.

The critical argument usually runs thus:

Education of the young is the process by which society moves in the direction of its ideals.

The public school is the institution by which society carries on this educational process.

Therefore, the public school is wholly responsible for the army of non-social and anti-social persons now infesting our political, industrial and social life.

SCHOOL NOT THE ONLY EDUCATIONAL AGENCY.

It is full time that the fallacy in this argument were clearly seen by all intelligent men and women. This fallacy creeps in through the minor premise of the syllogism. For, important as the school, public or private, is as an educational institution (and I yield to no other a greater faith in it than my own), it is not for a moment true that it is the only means for educating the young. The home, the church, the playground, the street, and especially the actual practice of our contemporary society in business, local and national government, and intimate social life are also ever present and potent social forces in the actual education of our young people. The school is set in the atmosphere of our actual society life, and can no more escape its influence than the lungs of a Chicago man can escape the influence of the smoke-begrimed Chicago air.

A Chicago orator is reported in the daily press to have said recently to an audience of three hundred business men, "I challenge any man here to say that there is any general respect for law in this city. This town is rampant with insurrection and insubordination. Even the children have no respect for law. One of the most significant things that have hap-

pened in this country was the recent strike of the school children. What gave those children the courage of resistance? It was what they had heard talked at the fireside by their parents, their brothers and their sisters—a contempt for law. Those children had heard the substitution of revolution as the daily argument against whatever was irksome or inconvenient in government from the least to the greatest affairs. This is the condition that confronts us."

I do not quote these words to deny the righteousness, at times, even of revolution. I do not enter at all into the merits of the case the speaker had in mind, but to make the point that, in spite of schools, the children are tremendously influenced by what adult society actually is. For, whatever may be one's individual opinions about the present methods of labor and capital, no one can doubt for an instant the accuracy of the diagnosis of the effect upon the children of the industrial faith and practice of their own kith and kin. What headway, for example, can a teacher of the children of union men make in an attempt to teach them that a "scab" is all right and worthy of their imitation? How far can a school, church or public be held responsible for the code of industrial ethics held by its children under such circumstances?

#### INFLUENCE OF CORRUPT COLLEGE

##### ATHLETICS.

Again, the high schools of Chicago, under the leadership of Superintendent Cooley and the Board of Athletic Control, are making a fight against the admission by universities to their various athletic teams of young men who have neither completed the prescribed high school courses nor the work nominally required by the universities themselves. In a recent statement sent to the leading universities of the middle West, it was shown that nine such men have, during the athletic season of last year, been admitted and allowed to play on the various athletic teams of these universities. In reply to the request of Superintendent Cooley that this practice be discon-

tinued by the universities in the interests of scholarship, discipline and good morals in both high schools and universities, a professor in one of the universities is reported to have said, in substance, that, unless the other universities agree to the request, his university would continue to admit unprepared students as heretofore. In other words, as an editorial in a daily paper put it, "The thing is wrong. But other people do wrong. Therefore, we must, if we want to keep up with them in the race."

How far does the influence of this university, winking at sharp practice in athletics, go? Does anyone who knows boys suppose for an instant that it is not perfectly well known to all high school boys, yes, even to most grammar school boys, and to every gang and squad of boys that play football and track athletics on vacant lots in every considerable town within the "sphere of influence" of those universities? Trickery, bribery, thuggery, win-at-any-price social ethics are all taught on a well-nigh national scale by the universities that continue the "administrative lie" in the management of their athletics. In the face of such an example, this actual practice of athletic ethics on the part of the "great athletic teams," the veritable heroes and demigods of the boys in the lower schools, imagine the success of the woman teacher in the elementary schools in her effort to teach the boys "to play fair" and "be honest" in their dealings with each other!

#### CRITICISM MUST GO BELOW SCHOOL TO SOCIETY ITSELF.

Yes, it is an encouraging sign that we are beginning to find more fault than formerly with our schools for failing to turn out citizens who come up to our advanced ideals of social ethics. It is high time the criticism be made, but it must lead, not only into the schools, but through them and below them and out of them into our actual industrial, political, social and religious life. The ax must be laid at the root of the tree. The schools are partly to blame, but so also is business, politics, social life and



religion. Education of the young is indeed the process by which society moves in the direction of its ideals, but education of the young is a larger process than school instruction. Actions speak louder than words in society at large as well as within the four walls of the home, where we, as children, have been accustomed to hear the precept. There must be some incarnation of our ideals of social ethics in all our large actual adult dealings with each other, or, in spite of our precepts and schools, our children will follow our practice and shirk, lie, steal, cheat, murder and overreach each other like their forebears.

Still, after all this has been said and admitted, it is true that the school is the greatest single educational force in the lives of most of our American children, and, as such, the school must bear its full share of the responsibility for our present failure to produce ethical citizens. The state has a right to demand that the most effective known means of training boys and girls to be socially ethical shall be employed in the public schools, and in the private schools as well. With ethics toward God, the state has nothing to do, except so far as ethics toward man is dependent upon it. Or, to put it positively, with ethics toward God the state has to do so far as ethics toward man is dependent upon it.

This brings us directly to the question of religious instruction in the public schools around which proposal much of the criticism of the public schools focuses. It is not our purpose here to enter into any controversy upon the subject, but in the light of our previous discussion, to state two typical, but fundamentally different, attitudes discernible in present-day discussion of this great problem to the end that the issue may be squarely joined between them.

#### THE PROBLEM-ALREADY-SOLVED ATTITUDE.

One of these attitudes is the familiar one that the only way to teach our boys and girls social ethics—about “scabs,” cheating in business, honesty in athletics, etc.—is to introduce formal religious instruction into the public

schools. In its extreme form, this attitude leads to a demand for the division of the public funds among the different religious denominations for the support of their own particular form of religious teaching. The assumption of all the people who take this attitude toward the question is that they have the recipe for turning out good citizens at will, regardless of the other industrial forces in society that, as was shown at the beginning of this article, may be molding the children in a contrary way. Now, the fact is that this assumption cannot at present be sustained by the facts. The truth is, rather, that all sorts of rascals and socially unethical people come out from the doors of all kinds of schools.

Public schools and church schools alike are both grappling with the same great problem, and both are failing in too many instances. The problem of developing socially ethical men and women is a larger and more complex one than the problem of getting children to memorize and repeat catechisms, prayers, passages from the Bible, creeds or any other purely formal ethical or religious exercises. If ever the state is convinced of the equity and wisdom of distributing public funds to religious denominations to be used for educational purposes, it will be upon the presentation of indisputable evidence that by so doing a larger percentage of good citizens will be produced in this way than in any other. Until this evidence is forthcoming, it is too much of an assumption to claim that because we know how to make good Methodists, good Presbyterians, good Lutherans, good Catholics, we know also how to make honest and efficient policemen and city aldermen, just employers and honorable employes, true gentlemen and gentlewomen in social life, and a population which believes that religion is a deeper thing than my religion.

#### THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE.

And this brings us to the second attitude toward religion and social ethics in the schools, an attitude, not of assurance that the problem has been solved,

but of scientific inquiry as to all the best means by which it may be solved. This attitude recognizes the manifold influences that form the ethical practice and ideals of the growing boys and girls and seeks the method by which these may all be used to the desired end. This second attitude has been taken, notably by an association of influential men from all parts of the United States and Canada, and called "The Religious Education Association." It has just held its second annual convention in Philadelphia. A few extracts from the program there presented will illustrate our point:

1. "Present Conditions and Influence of the Press Upon Religious and Moral Education."

2. "The Opportunity of the Daily Press to Apply Biblical Principles to Modern Social Problems."

3. "The Opportunity of the Secular Press for the Moral Education of the People."

4. "What Can the Religious Press Do for the Promotion of Moral Education in the Public Schools?"

5. "What Treatment of the Bible in Secondary Public Schools Is Made Advisable by Biblical Allusions in Literature?"

6. "What Religious Teaching, if Any, May Be Given in the Public Schools?"

7. "Report of Religious and Ethical Work Done by Public, Institutional and Private Libraries."

8. "The Desirability and Feasibility of Uniting Existing Sunday School Libraries in the Nearest Public Library or Branch Thereof."

9. "Biblical, Religious and Ethical Work Possible in the Children's Section of the Public Library."

10. "Lines of Co-operation Possible Between the Sunday School Teacher and Those in Charge of the Public Library."

11. "The Religious Values of the Art of Literature."

12. "Clubs and Classes for the Study of Religious Art; Their Scope, Objects and Methods."

13. "A General Sketch of the Field of

Artistic Influence in Religious Education."

14. "Is Religious Teaching Governed by the Same Psychological and Pedagogical Principles and Methods as Other Teaching?"

15. "What Would Constitute a Scientific Basis for Religious and Moral Education, and to What Extent Does Such a Basis Already Exist?"

(a) From the Standpoint of Psychology.

(b) From the Standpoint of Ethics.

(c) From the Standpoint of Theology.

(d) From the Standpoint of Educational Practices.

In such inquiries as are suggested by these titles, especially by the last, all workers in church and public schools alike, all lovers of a better social order on earth can join. To a rivalry in the effort to make the American child into a man who will help to incarnate the kingdom of God among men, let all classes of schools invite each other. If either succeeds better than the other, let the unsuccessful one learn from the one which succeeds. If neither can prove by its fruits in social manhood and womanhood that it is able to do what a critical society is demanding of them, let them both redouble their efforts to discover the causes of failure. And let society also look to itself, lest in its own sins lie influences too great for its own chosen educational institution to overcome.

"There was a child went forth every day,

And the first object he looked upon,  
that object he became.

And that object became part of him for  
the day or a certain part of the  
day,

Or for many years or stretching cycles  
of years."

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"The promise of democracy is not everything for everybody, but a chance at everything for everybody. Democracy is the organization of opportunity for all. It is the use of all the resources of nature by all the faculties of man for the good of all the people."—Henry D. Lloyd.



# Private Profit by Legislation--Its Point of Attack

By Graham Romeyn Taylor.

Mayor Harrison of Chicago has recently described and analyzed at length what he expressively terms "four-flush" legislation. Ornamental laws passed with no thought of enforcement, so far as the intention of their authors and those who vote for them are concerned, and in fact with the full knowledge on the part of the public that they will not be enforced, are developing a new evil in American cities, says the mayor, and creating a disrespect for all law. A city official is practically compelled to abandon all thought of any real enforcement of these ordinances by the storm of public opinion that would undoubtedly arise the moment he tried to put them into effect with any strictness.

## EVILS OF ORNAMENTAL LEGISLATION.

Of greater and more extensive iniquity is this insidious evil, if we are to believe the mayor, than the various forms of graft we have heard so much about; and Mr. Harrison brings to the support of his contention much in the way of concrete illustration. The Iroquois disaster was due to "four flushing" in the building regulations. He pleads with a convincing earnestness that it is time to quit stultifying ourselves by a pride in the false virtue of legislation that is intended merely to adorn the code. We must make our practice and pretensions bear some relation toward each other; in short, we must be honest with ourselves.

As one way of accomplishing this admittedly difficult adjustment, it is interesting to recall in this connection the drastic but effectual way in which Mayor Jones of Toledo squarely faced the issue. He had just taken office for his first term. One week of enforcement to the letter of every ordinance on the books, even to the prohibition of milk delivery on Sundays, brought the aldermen with alacrity to the repeal of obsolete regulations, and the inauguration of some sort of harmony between the code and its administration.

## THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE BLACK-MAILER.

But Mayor Harrison singularly failed to touch upon the point where the two evils of "four flushing" and graft work hand in glove. Too often the very legislation enacted for the sake of respectability furnishes to the grafting official just the opportunity he has been eagerly watching for. One could multiply instance upon instance in the police management of almost any city to illustrate this point. Exemption from the enforcement of a "four-flush" ordinance has proved a most salable article of merchandise in the hands of the New York police, as has been recited times without number; and similarly with city administrative departments which base prosecution upon inspections for violations of the building, health or other laws. Usurpation by officials of the right to decide whether a law shall be enforced or not has gone on surreptitiously and sometimes brazenly; in fact, there are those among us credulous enough to believe that frequently it is exercised "for a consideration."

## ANNULING THE TENEMENT HOUSE ACT.

The city of New York is now confronted with the proposition to hand over unreservedly to the tender mercies of a city official the entire legal right to wield this absolute power. And the astounding effrontery of the thing is that the onslaught is made upon the Tenement House Act. When one remembers the patient toil, the bitter fight for every inch gained in bringing the housing conditions from an absolutely unspeakable to a barely decent situation at best, there is little wonder that every metropolitan newspaper announced the emergency as one demanding plain talk and hard fighting.

Four bills are now before the legislature at Albany, seeking to give the tenement commissioner, and we quote the language of the bills, "power to

modify" any provision of the law or "to limit or suspend its application." "In his discretion" he is also allowed "to remit any fines or penalties which any person or persons may have incurred, or may hereafter incur." No amount of explanatory defense of the measures can hoodwink the people as to the real purpose involved, and the introducers maintain a most discreet silence upon the subject. To strangle the present law, to go back to the old conditions, to increase disease and death, to sweep away in one disastrous moment the progress made during years; these would be the inevitable results of such a vicious piece of legislation. Nor can any excuse be made that the large responsibility conferred would insure wise action on the part of the commissioner. Even though of the best intentions, he could not himself know each individual case for his decision. His "discretion" must depend upon the suggestion and advice of inspectors and subordinates. Bribery and extortion in this connection would be given an almost limitless field.

Moreover, the papers pointed to previous experience with discretionary power. The superintendent of buildings was, until 1901, endowed with such prerogative. What was the result? In over 99 per cent of the cases where it was exercised, the law was practically nullified. Not one per cent of the new buildings, according to one account, had the required air space. And it was the wisdom of the superintendent to remit actually 10,996 fines or penalties out of 11,000 in a single year.

No reflection is intended upon the present tenement commissioner; the admirable work of Mr. De Forest, it is assumed, will be carried forward in every way possible by Mr. Crain. And he has already gone on record as opposing these bills. But even with the best man in the position, is there any reason for opening up the way to a dead-letter tenement law, be it through the corruption of subordinates or the advent of an unscrupulous commissioner? Is any possible small injustice of a pecuniary nature occasioned to a few property holders by the strict en-

forcement of the law to be considered for an instant, when the health, safety and chance for decent living on the densely populated east side of New York are at stake? There can be but one fair answer, and those in back of this proposed legislation know it as well as anyone else.

#### DEATH DEALT BY CHICAGO'S LAX LAWS.

The tenement law in New York differs from "four-flush" legislation, as described by Mayor Harrison, in that it can be fairly well enforced. Yet it is seriously proposed to transfer this law in its entirety over into that ornamental class "Four flushing" in Chicago resulted, among other things, in the snuffing out of 600 lives in a brief half hour of a holiday afternoon. Should this plan on foot in New York be consummated, its untold consequences would spin out a story of silent misery, infinitely prolonged and far reaching, though perhaps not of such sudden and absorbing horror as the Chicago holocaust; the annual death statistics are not so excitedly devoured by the public mind as were the newspaper accounts of that fateful afternoon. A host of lingering deaths from consumption and other dreadul maladies in dark and unventilated back rooms do not catch the eye of the world; the victims are only the poor. A score of unfortunates roasted alive in a wretched tenement having no fire-escape merely makes a picturesque front page "story;" if the human beings destroyed number but two or three, the events of a city day strung along on an inside page of the morning paper include an additional "incident." Children are brought up in surroundings that make impossible the cultivation of any sense of delicacy, to say nothing of decency; yet few stop to think or care. And the wild growing boy with a home not worthy the name does not concern us until he clubs someone over the head and grabs a pocketbook.

#### PROTEST OF PEOPLE AND PRESS IN NEW YORK.

But the people of New York have appreciated the change in tenement con-



ditions during the past few years, be it only from the intolerable to the less intolerable. With one voice, in editorial column and public utterance, the city vented its wrath on the authors and introducers of the infamous measures. The very proposal of a backward step was an insult to the city, and political death should be meted out at the first opportunity to those guilty of such outrageous disregard of the city's welfare. So long and loud was the protest that it became audible even in the sometimes strangely deaf state capitol. The offending senators had not a word to say in defense of their proposition; explanation was not forthcoming, none could be made. The storm of criticism has apparently accomplished its object; the bills probably will never be reported out of committee and they would stand little chance of passage in either house.

Significance attaches, however, to the introduction of such measures. They show that private greed is ever vigilant to creep in with some new advantage or, when no one is looking, to snatch back what the people have compelled it at one time or another to give up. Pressing forward all along the line, it continually hopes that this or that weak point will give way to its onslaught. Not only must it be halted in the very act of buying up a legislature for a colossal franchise grab; this situation at Albany shows that its grasping fingers must be restrained from clutching at the very life of little children. To destroy human life for a profit is what these bills mean in plain terms; and the attack is made on those least able to defend themselves, the tenement house poor.

#### THE POCKETS LINED WITH DEATH-MONEY.

Grafting officials and corrupt legislators who would seek to line their pockets with some small part of the death money are worthy of attention only in passing. They and their evil are only the surface indications of the real iniquitous power. Vested interests have long been wont to shield their respectability by pointing the finger of scorn at the guilty representative of the people, by placing on

him the stigma of shame. He does not find the burden unbearable; to take a "pounding" from the newspapers surely is an easy way to "earn" his retaining fee.

But the people are now beginning in earnest to "get onto the game." The prominent citizen is being shown up in his true light. As Mr. Lincoln Steffens says, it is not a matter of political corruption but of "plain corruption." The business interests are the source, the legislative hall simply one of the places where it comes to a focus in plain view. The corruption of a legislature is getting to be more than a matter of corporation dividends; it frequently means addition to the principal. Control of the law-makers is an asset, a thing on which capitalization is based.

#### RESPONSIBILITY OF VESTED INTERESTS INVOLVED.

Under the present organization of business and prevailing standard of commercial ethics we can hardly expect to see the situation otherwise. The corrupt legislator is surely just as respectable as the director of a large corporation who is continually using his official position to serve his own individual ends. The man who represents a large corporation interest on the floor of a legislature is not different in motive from a corporation director who buys up properties on the side at nominal figures and then pulls wires for the larger concern to purchase them at an enormously increased price. Yet that is the "secret of success" of many a captain of industry whose "habits of economy, diligence and persistent toil" are recommended to the aspiring youth.

To expect a body of law-makers, who are drawn from the business world accustomed to "financial methods" such as these, suddenly to forget special interests and consider the welfare of the people is to expect the impossible. Their election gave them in their own eyes a new official position of advantage which they "needed in their business." A certain senator is identified with such an interest, this assemblyman with another, and so on. Here may sit a man who is interested financially in a number of electrical power companies; is it

any wonder that he is seeking to pass a bill giving private electrical corporations unlimited power to acquire lands and water rights by condemnation proceedings? In another seat is the representative of the street railroad interest; do you question how he is going to vote? Over in the opposite corner sits another one who is "taking care of" some other line of legislative business. And ever present, among a throng of lobbyists, recipient of most deferential attentions, is a former assemblyman who now represents the corporation which has openly confessed its motto to be "the public be damned."

#### THE PEOPLE'S VERSUS THE CORPORATIONS' LOBBY.

Only recently a score of organizations, representing practically the undivided sentiment of a whole community, sent a trainload of delegates to urge an assembly committee at Albany to report favorably a bill sorely needed for their district. The bill was opposed by a single attorney with a couple of representatives of dummy trumped-up "citizens associations." To-day, two months later, finds the bill still slumbering in committee. But a few weeks ago several bills drafted by the counsel for the New York City street railway companies were brought up and hurriedly introduced. What happened to these? Up comes another trainload of citizens representing nearly all of the civic organizations of New York City to express before the same committee their unqualified opposition to the grab bills. This time the proposed legislation is urged by but one or two lawyers. But it is the street railway companies that desire it. The committee acts favorably on these bills with alacrity.

Suddenly there is introduced a bill to give a private concern unlimited franchise to acquire rights and use water for power purposes at Niagara Falls. Not a word for the protection of the scenery and keeping the cataract unimpaired is contained in the bill; compensation to the state for the franchise of enormous value is not men-

tioned. But at the public hearing on the bill, the state of New York was astounded when a member of the state commission which has charge of the state reservation at Niagara Falls appeared as counsel for the power company and urged the passage of the bill.

So conservative a newspaper as the New York Herald, ever fearful that the sacred rights of vested interests may be violated and timid at the mere mention of the word socialism, declared editorially on February 29 that this year private interests were more largely represented at Albany than the people. "It is not too much to say," announces the Herald, "that by far the greater number of the bills now in the legislature represent personal and political jobs, grabs and schemes of one sort or another. Those introduced in the public interest are in a minority, those aimed against the public interest in a majority."

#### THE WHISPER LOUDER THAN VOX POPULI.

And one of the more respected and best known members of the legislature is quoted as saying: "The fashion in which corporation interests are being attended to here is scandalous. No matter how much the public desires some piece of legislation and no matter how much it is needed, the whisper that a corporation opposes it is sufficient to kill it. Chairmen of several important committees are notoriously in the pay of corporations, and in one case the scandal smells to heaven. It is a shameful situation."

Sufficiently clear it must be that the tenement bills herein described are but one more sample of the continual attempt on the part of vested interests to use the legislature for their advantage. The shameless greed that seeks to make a profit out of human misery is but part and parcel of the insatiable lust for private gain at the expense of the common store. It is to be hoped that this time the bounds of decency have been overstepped and that those forced to dwell in the most forlorn places of our great city will be safe-guarded from this further assault on their very lives.

Albany, N. Y.



# Effecting Trade Agreements Versus Winning Strike

The Longshoremens' Union and Their Trade Agreements  
By Ethelbert Stewart

During the last month nearly all of the Longshoremens' (International Longshoremens, Marine and Transportation Workers' Association) wage agreements were renewed for another year, all of those, in fact, which have expired. Some of last year's agreements extend to October, 1904, and hence are outside the spring arrangements. Here it may be well to say that too many

trade agreements date from a given point, as April 1 and September 1. The result of this is to concentrate industrial disturbances into these periods of the year. So many wage scales have to be settled April 1 and so many strikes in a multitude of industries result if settlements are not effected, that an exaggerated idea of the industrial conflict is engendered in the public mind. Over-excitement prevails and wrong conclusions are reached, which when fixed, are too hard to eradicate to make way for just ones.

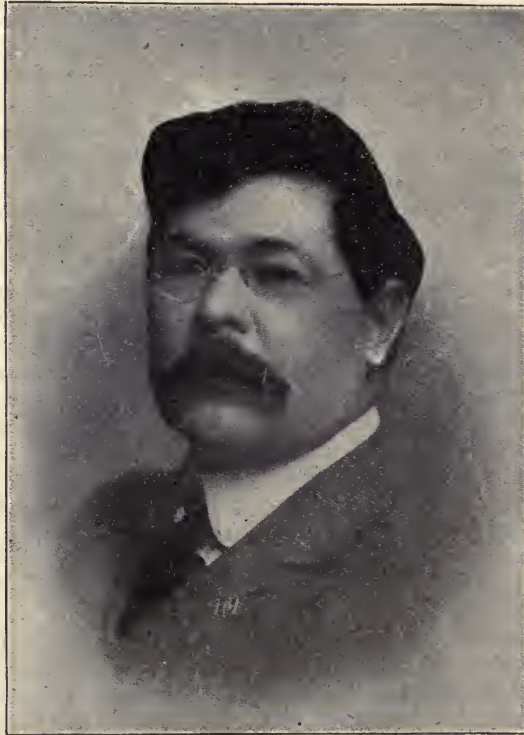
When all industrial settlements must come at about the same time of year too many interests are disturbed at once, too much industrial excitement, heat and uncertainty is generated, and unnecessary explosions occur. Super-

heated steam becomes gas, not only that, but it becomes a blue, non-luminous, intensely hot and corrosive gas; it is only by mixing oil with it that it can be used even as "water-gas." So the bunching of trade agreements and wage scales all in one month generates heat, not light. By general agreement of "captains of industry," these periods of settlement should be disturbed

by industries throughout the year, not bunched into a single month. This would enable the public mind to view things more calmly and look through the eyeglass of prejudice. Personally it has always been a regret that when, with his expiring breath, Goethe said, "More light, more light," he did not have sense enough to add, "And less heat, less heat."

Returning to the Longshoreman, we find a comparatively young organization securing

working agreements year after year with the most varied, compact and powerful of interests on the employers' side, and these without any collusive or morally questionable features. In fact, the phenomenal growth and power of this union is the direct outcome of its dominating idea, which is to effect



DANIEL J. KEEFE,  
President I. L. M. and T. A.

agreements with employers rather than to win strikes.

Mr. Daniel J. Keefe, president of the organization, in his opening address to the last convention fully emphasizes this in the following words:

"It has taken years of patient struggle and sacrifice to build up our organization, and the wisdom of the best minds who have suffered in the past contend that, unless the provocation is very great, should we order a sympathetic strike. The past policy of this organization has always been to exhaust all means to arrive at a satisfactory settlement, and only when every other means failed, to strike, and then do so with a full knowledge and appreciation of what the contest means, and be prepared to endure all the conflict entails.

"But the great secret of the success of our organization has been due to our ability to meet with our employers and have them see where our labor has merited and is entitled to increased wages and better conditions. And in this we hope to continue, and trust that each and every member of the organization will make a special study of all the details of their work to familiarize himself and fit themselves to meet and discuss all that pertains to their employment, with their employers, to the end that annual contracts or agreements may be made for all each year."

The employing associations are equally alive to the value and importance of these agreements. Hence they take the widest range, not only as to localities but as to occupations and interests involved.

Perhaps it would be well to note here the character of this organization. The constituent local unions are organized on strict trade lines; that is to say, lumber loaders are in unions by themselves, coal-heavers, ore-trimmers, firemen, elevator workers, etc., are all separately organized at the base. Then these locals unite at the top by becoming members of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association. In July, 1902, while the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association was on strike against the Great Lakes Towing Company and the Vessel Owners' Association combine, the Tugmen sought admission in a body to the Longshoremen's Union. The latter agreed to admit them, provided they should not be required to strike against non-union tugmen at any point

covered by the then existing agreements. This the tugmen accepted and the two organizations merged, or rather the tugmen's unions became locals of the International.

This strike hung on until September, when the International took a hand in it and almost immediately brought about an agreement, which was signed by the Great Lakes Towing Company and ended the strike. This agreement has been twice renewed. One remarkable thing about this organization and these agreements is the scope—taking in everything from the captain of the tugboat with a salary of \$165 a month to the lumber shovers, iron ore trimmers and salt-wheelers, whose fitful paroxysms of work and food are followed by long periods of enforced repose and hunger.

The Lumber Loading Locals form a group and have two agreements with the Lake Carriers' Association, one covering the lumber-producing ports on Lake Superior, the other like points on Lakes Michigan and Huron. The Lumber Unloading Locals form another group and have an agreement with the same employing association, covering the work of unloading lumber at Milwaukee, Chicago, South Chicago, Michigan City and Benton Harbor. The Grain Scoopers' locals have agreements with the Lake Carriers' Association, covering Buffalo, and with the Grand Trunk Elevator Company, covering Port Huron. Local 124, which is composed of Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders, has an agreement with the Lake Carriers' Association, and the Vessel Owners of the Great Lakes. The Lumber Pilers of Duluth, the Grain Handlers of Portland, Oregon, have contracts; the Salt Shovelers of St. Clair, Michigan, have a contract with the Diamond Crystal Salt Company; at Victoria and Vancouver the union has an agreement with the Stevedoring and Contracting Company, and most important of all the agreement, with the Dock Managers' Association, covering practically all the important docks on the lakes and including in its provisions the coal-handlers, ore-



shovelers, trimmers, brakemen and laborers on both coal and ore docks, hoisters, engineers and firemen, dumpers, pinchers and well builders, fixing the summer and winter rates and working hours and conditions for each. The water fronts of San Francisco and New Orleans are fully covered by agreements.

Of course, the principal space in these agreements is occupied with the details of wage rates and working conditions. Details we cannot enter into here; but each one contains an arbitration clause, and prohibits strikes. The following section from the Chicago Lumber Unloaders' Agreement is in some form duplicated in them all:

Fifth. That in the event of any misunderstanding arising as to what the cargo contains, or any other reason, the gang shall continue to work until the boat is unloaded, and the matter to be adjusted through arbitration by a representative of the union on the one side and the representative of the boat or yard on the other, and in the event of them not being able to agree, they two to jointly select a third man, the finding of the majority to be final. The yard to be responsible for the finding of such committee, and if it is in favor of the gang, the yard to pay the difference between what the gang has already received and what the recommendations of the committee are.

Each agreement is printed in a little book that slips into the vest pocket, and each member of the organization has a copy of the agreement affecting him printed in the language he can best understand. These agreements for the most part determine the date and manner of their renewal, and some of them require the unions to nominate their wage-scale representative at least three months before the conference meets so that they will have time to study conditions, detail their demands and expedite the work of the convention by being thoroughly acquainted with their case.

Most of these contracts forbid intoxicants to be brought into the yards or on the docks, and state that no boss or workman who is intoxicated shall be permitted to work. The Chicago agreement limits the amount of beer to one pint, and is as follows:

Fourth. That it is mutually agreed that no beer or intoxicating liquors shall be permitted to be taken into the yards or on board the boat by the unloaders, direct or indirect, except between the hours of 9:30 and 10 a. m., when each man working on the boat shall be permitted to have one pint of beer, but at no other time, and persons bringing liquor into the yard, or boat, at any other time, shall be ejected from the boat and yard and not permitted to return again.

These temperate, if not temperance, provisions were placed in the contract at the request of the workmen, not the rank and file perhaps, but by the delegates making the agreements.

The attitude of the officials of the union upon this subject is best shown by a quotation from the address of President Keefe in opening the last convention:

And in choosing relaxations and amusements we should choose those which really refresh the mind and body. Our sole means of recreation and amusement should not be confined to the saloon. It is impossible to look about certain localities in our idle season without being grieved at the manner in which our labor, energy and accumulations of the summer are expended.

Let us supplement the effort of the church and other social reform agencies. It becomes the duty of our organization to assist and counsel a wayward brother, and so help him resist and overcome the evil of intemperance. Each and every officer, each and every member can assist by example, and in some way contribute his aid, in the regulation of the morals and manners in all things (and this question of intemperance in particular), which affects the happiness and prosperity of the individual members of the organization. It is intemperance that causes the softness of the mental fiber, the dissolution of the will which makes a man the slave of his appetite, the slave of circumstances and the slave of his fellows.

If there is any one habit or practice which brings disease and suffering and disorder, which abridges and retards the power and influence of labor, that shortens the span of life, which inflicts misery upon the innocent, which humiliates and degrades the worker, it is drink.

Our younger members should not overlook the fact that many excellent opportunities are offered in the manual training schools, whereby they can put in their idle time to great advantage.

This language may not seem quite in keeping with the picture of the "labor leader" as it is sometimes painted by not overaccurate artists, but this is the language of the address.

# An Economist Who Knew It All

By Tilden Sempers

I teach the whole nation,  
From the height of my station  
I often drop pearls before swine,  
And it makes me feel sad,  
When times are so bad,  
That more to my views don't in-  
cline.

In themes of all sorts  
But those that please sports,  
I open my omniscient mind,  
I lay down the law,  
Sound inferences draw—  
Where else can you such wisdom  
find?

But at those crazy dreamers,  
Utopian schemers  
Who're trying the masses to better,  
So patrician my nose is,  
It lifts, my blood froze is—  
The whole gang in irons I'd fetter.

The great laws of trade,  
By Dame Nature made,  
The idleness, folly and vices of men,  
And ignorance, which  
Both poor man and rich  
Can shun by reading the words of  
my pen.

From these, poverty,  
Where e'er it may be,  
Has grown like a plant from a  
poisonous seed.  
If you don't think as I  
'Twere better to die  
Than assail my politic-economy  
creed.

The deuce! What's that I hear?  
Can I trust my large ear?  
I, the great voice of political truth!  
Curse all your silly rhymes,  
I be behind the times,  
Old fashioned, foggy, forsooth!

By the great God of ye,  
Political economy,  
'Tis the thing that I know to a T!  
I'm New York Evening Posted;  
You'll surely be roasted  
If you differ a hair's breadth from  
me!

For good or for ill,  
By John Stuart Mill  
With hauteur unfailing I swear—  
To be sure if you rummage  
Through the thoughts of his dotage  
You may chance on some heresy  
there.

Now things as they are  
From earth—clod to star—  
Must stay in hard sequence unbro-  
ken.  
The woes of the poor  
Must ever endure—  
Have not I, the infallible, spoken?

For the weak one and all  
Must go to the wall,  
'Tis Nature, not I that ordain it;  
With the law, calm and cool,  
I laugh at the fool  
Who rages and thinks to restrain  
it.

For clerical weaklings  
Who in sermonette squeaklings  
New schemes my brain try to  
cram—  
Wild talk of an insane ward—  
I don't care a profane word,  
Most vulgarly rhymed with ham.

— And as for religion,  
A kind of weak bridge on  
Which silly folk try to construct  
A road to the sky  
None ever went by,  
That's a folly I haven't yet bucked.

It wouldn't quite do,  
Though probably true  
To my sky-scraper thought atmos-  
pheric  
In fineness of strain,  
And thus I remain  
Agnostic, but quite esoteric.

And when preachers declare  
With reverent air,  
There's Somebody wiser than I,  
I hold me aloof,  
Nor need further proof  
That the lunkheads are telling a  
lie.



# The Municipality and Its Utilities

By Frederick F. Ingram\*

Public business naturally belongs to and should be done by the public; private business by the private citizen or corporation.

Those are public utilities that require governmental functions in their operation. The question is, shall the people permit their government to part with and lose control of its own functions by transferring them to private corporations?

The public streets and highways in a free country must be equally free to all. Such freedom disappears when exclusive rights or privileges in them are given to private corporations. We then have taxation without representation in its most harmful form.

In the case of *People against Brooklyn* (4 New York Court of Appeals, Reports, 431) Judge Ruggles, referring to turnpike roads, said, "The money paid for their construction and maintenance is reimbursed by means of tolls. Tolls are delegated taxation."

History, past and present, teaches us that corruption, imbecility and weakness by the government, contempt and resentment towards it by the public, are the inevitable consequence of putting into private hands the privilege to collect taxes from the people. Rome's decay began when the privilege of collecting taxes was given away or sold to the highest bidder. The bidders were corporations; the contracts were franchises. The amount of the bid went to the public treasury. The franchise holder got the rest. Monstrous fortunes on the one hand, a debased, impoverished and degenerated people on the other, was the result.

The plundering of the French by the infamous "Farmers-General"—private tax collectors—was one of the principal causes of the French Revolution. As

Voltaire has said, "They draw millions from the people and give a little to the King."

As for modern instances, we have but to turn to the history of English cities when the public utilities were in the hands of private corporations, to find similar municipal corruption to the shameful, degrading conditions that prevail in Philadelphia, St. Louis, New York and many other American cities. The English progressives have reformed their city governments and made office-holding, in them, respectable. They did so by restoring the public utilities to the public. In private hands there, as here, public utilities were used to corrupt the officials and defraud the people.

The remedy and the only remedy here, as there, is municipal ownership and operation.

The opponents to municipal ownership often seek no great objection to the system provided leases are made to, and operation done by, a private corporation. Yet, under that plan the city would furnish its funds as well as delegate its functions to a private corporation. Such a plan is the only one yet discovered that is worse than private ownership of public utilities, for the public then must suffer not only all the ills of private monopoly but furnish besides the funds used for their own exploitation.

They have tried it in Toronto, which city owns and leases to a private corporation its railway system. This private corporation, it seems, is just as much interested in owning the city council that grants leases as other corporations are in owning city councils that grant franchises. Witness the following from Sunday's News-Tribune:—

## "TORONTO'S SCANDAL.

"'CITY OF THE GOOD' TROTS GRAND RAPIDS MERRY PACE. INVESTIGATION IMPLICATES TWENTY-TWO OFFICIALS. WHOLESALE CORRUPTION AT ELECTIONS.

\* Mr. Ingram, for years a believer in and promoter of the people's control of public utilities and to-day one of the leading men on the Board of Public Lighting Commissioners of Detroit, was chosen to present the side of municipal ownership in debate with Prof. C. A. Kent before the League of Michigan Municipalities and the Michigan Political Science Association at their late annual meeting. This article treats the arguments for municipal ownership as brought out in that debate.

"Toronto Street Railway and Gas Company, Bidders for Franchises, 'Tis Claimed, Particularly Active in Advocacy of Certain Aldermen.

"For some years this city has been referred to as 'Toronto the Good,' but the recent civic revelations have demonstrated that 'she is not any better than she ought to be.' Already eleven officials have been committed for trial for glaring ballot stuffing and wholesale corruption. From present implications this list will be trebled before the investigation, which has just been instituted, is concluded. Those implicated are men in the employ of the Toronto Street Railway Company, the gas company and the several pavement companies who are struggling for contracts and who have their representatives in the lobbies of the city hall. Aldermanic candidates favorable to the companies have used their influence to have their henchmen appointed as returning officers and poll clerks, and these men have for years been stuffing the ballot boxes.

"The street railway company and the gas company hold their franchises from the city and there is a well-founded suspicion that their advocacy of certain aldermen has not been altogether disinterested——."

It is generally admitted that there are certain public utilities which the public cannot properly leave to private corporations. Those are fire, education and health. The operation of these services does not adapt itself to the exploitation of the people. Therefore those who seek to get something for nothing pass them by. Would it not be more natural, if any exception is made, to except from private ownership those utilities that in private hands naturally and almost inevitably lead to exploitation and that give their owners power to tax?

We are assured that the employes of private corporations are hired only because of their ability to bring results. The inference is that such employes under municipal ownership would be hired to carry caucuses. I will make

no comment upon such an inference except to refer to the actual conditions.

Prosecutor Folk of St. Louis has shown us that the aldermen in the combine receive regular salaries from the street car companies four times as large as the wages of conductors, and in addition got rake-offs from other public service companies, amounting often to \$20,000 apiece. They also named men for the street car jobs. Their caucus and precinct workers were paid with such jobs, the aldermen having a vested right in the street car jobs, the railway company a vested right in the aldermen.

It is not necessary to particularize farther. Wherever in an American city popular government is dead; machine rule supreme, where the citizen and property owner has relaxed and given up the struggle in utter hopelessness and despair, there will you find these corporations in possession of the public utilities, public officials their mere tools, elections and campaigns only a pretense; the people completely out of touch with public affairs and utterly without influence in them.

The opponents to municipal ownership state that we should beware of anything that goes to raise taxation so as to prevent the poor man from owning a home, and so do I.

In 1899 the Detroit street car owners proposed to sell their property to the city for \$17,000,000. Professor Kent and other non-believers in municipal ownership opposed the proposition for the same reason as I. The price was confessedly twice what the property was worth. It was not right, we contended, to compel the poor man or poor woman to pay twice on the investment, once for the ride and again for the water. They must use the cars and, therefore, cannot escape this extortion, this tax. Well, the plan fell through, but the tax survived and the poor man, whom Professor Kent champions, is still paying that tax and an added tax for the capitalization is now \$35,000,000, and instead of six tickets for a quarter we must pay 5-cent fares, as we did 25 years ago, although the



actual cost of operation has been reduced one-half.

The poor man of Detroit is having the clothes taxed off his back and the food taxed off his plate by the owners of public service—the gas, electric light and street railway companies. The public must pay interest on the investment when they pay for the service, whoever owns it. With municipal ownership they pay interest only on the actual investment and at a lower rate. Is there a pretense that the stock and bonds of the public utility companies represent actual investment, and is it better for the public to pay from 6 to 20 per cent interest on watered stock than 3 per cent on cost of plant?

Under the charter, the Detroit Gas Company is to charge but 90 cents for illuminating gas when the output reaches a certain figure. It passed that figure two years ago, but we must still pay more than 90 cents because some of us burn illuminating gas for fuel. It is the same as if a lumber dealer should offer a rebate on the price of flooring if 100,000 feet were taken, but refused to allow the rebate because some people used flooring in partitions. The courts would make short work of the lumber dealer's contention; they look at it differently for a gas company. They have recently had an election in New York City. The reform government of Mayor Low, though backed by the progressive citizens and the republican organization, was turned out of office. Why? Let one of them answer.

John Martin, member of the New York Reform Club, and editor of the magazine "Municipal Affairs," in a recent article, amongst other things, says:

"Worst of all, the owners of street railways, gas and electric lighting plants, elevated railways, and other monopolies, have resented the efforts of the Low administration to compel them to pay their taxes and to return to the public a fair equivalent for the new privileges they have acquired. Millions and millions have been taken from the city in the past by these bandits of the aristocracy. They have secured their

privileges from corrupt governments on the promise of tiny annual dues, not a tithe of what the privileges are worth; and yet they have steadily evaded even these peppercorn payments. Mr. Low's law official, a man of Tory descent and instincts, but a believer in the eighth commandment, brought them sharply to book. He has secured judgments against them which mean the payment by them of \$3,000,000 or thereabouts, and he has numerous other cases in the courts. These highly-placed scoundrels like not this treatment, and they have supplied a rich election fund to Tammany, without which it could not have won this fight——."

This granting of special privileges to private corporations is building up in our cities a class distinction. On the one hand, restive, ground down by the excessive taxes that under the pretense of rates and charges are imposed upon them by the privileged corporations, the great exploited masses are losing their stake in the country, are losing their homes; in many American cities 90 per cent of the families are homeless. On the other hand are the beneficiaries of franchise grants, possessed with greater fortunes than the skilled mechanic or plain merchant can acquire by hard work in a thousand years. They display their unearned wealth by indulgence in extraordinary dissipations and benevolences. They are patronizing the masses. They are condescending to the courts of justice.

The masses are learning to hate; the ultra-rich are beginning to despise.

We must have a square deal or per-haps the crisis is not so far away.

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## Work

Work brings forth its fruit and requires rest. Have you observed that happy people work better than those who are sad? Why? The same occupation constantly, whether it be work, prayer or amusement, would make us stupid and gloomy. You can dig in the dirt until you become a brute; pray until the habit makes you a monk; and play until you become a mere puppet. But combine the three! It will strengthen the heart and soul; thus your work will be made more fruitful and your religion more cheerful.—Bjornsen.

# Progressive Triumph in London Election

It is a relief to miss the national party names in the reports of English municipal elections. "Progressive" and "moderate" policies and candidates supplant those of the Liberals and Conservatives in parliamentary campaigns. They were dropped because in local interests and issues they used to be as meaningless and corrupting as are our Republican and Democratic nominations for city offices. On local affairs the two great English parties no longer hold their members in line, so they divide up as they prefer more or less of an advance policy and expenditure with regard to public works and municipal trading. The triannual election last

The triannual election last month was perhaps the most significant of the six so far held, for not only were the issues, involving vast expenditures, more clearly drawn than ever, but the full force of the Church of England influence was openly thrown on the "moderate" side of the struggle in the hope of keeping its control of the schools under the new education act. The Anglican bishops even presented a list of candidates whom they indorsed as acceptable to the church. But the great majority of them were overwhelmingly defeated. Moreover, the moderates elected represent, with one exception, the more luxurious West End, while the hard-working, multitudinous East End remained solidly progressive and made three reprisals in the West for the one lost in the East. The popular vote indorsing polled 325,032 for the Progressives and 256,152 for the Moderates, giving the present policy a majority of 68,880, and a majority of 48 members of the council, which may be increased to 54 by filling the vacancies in its roll of 138 seats.

Of the 58 electoral districts, 41 are wholly Progressive, 13 wholly Moderate and 4 are divided.

The labor vote is said to have scored the most notable gains of the campaign. The enlightened and ably financed undertakings of the London County Council for relieving congestion of traffic by

broadening the streets, for housing the people by building workingmen's dwellings, for improving sanitary conditions by providing parks, playgrounds, wash houses, baths and indoor recreation places, and for educating a million pupils at \$20,000,000 annual expense, will now be carried on and out by the most competent and effective municipal legislature in the world.

## John Burns on the Result

To the Daily News inquiry, "What of Battersea?" he replied, "Battersea is all right. With typical generosity my constituents let me go elsewhere—where my services were more needed—and then gave me a majority of more than 3,000. That's enough to go on with, anyhow; but if I had fought here in person I should have added another thousand to that figure. But Battersea, as it always does, played the game." "Expected it! Certainly. J. B. knows his London and he saw that the bishops' gain would not mislead the electors."

Then he surveyed the field of battle. "Look at Kennington," he exclaimed. "There Canon Allen Edwards, who ought to have known better if only by virtue of the fact that he was my vicar when I was in his infants' school—that should have kept him straight for the rest of his life if nothing else would"—and the member for Battersea rubbed his hands gleefully—"Canon Edwards has been badly beaten and taught a lesson in electoral manners, and his defeat is what his policy, his programme, and his methods fully justified." Mr. Burns thus took stock of the immediate causes and results of "the defeat of bigotry." This is how he did it:

(1) Drink has not gained that ascendancy in the good government of London that it would have secured had the bishops been successful. In fact, drink has been beaten all along the line.

(2) Protection has been hotly condemned. Tariff Reform League candidates and principles have either been badly beaten or wisely avoided the ordeal of the poll.

(3) Chinese labor has been condemned.

(4) The bishops have had a serious lesson administered for playing a sorry part. They cannot coquet with mineowners in South Africa over Chinese labor, receive the support of Bung at home, and at the same time act justly toward the education of the



children and the good government of London. This election is a facer for them; if they had shown a little more honesty and less subtlety it would have been better for them.

Coming to the part played by the Labor party, Mr. Burns declared that it had done conspicuously well—in fact, no section had done better—and, finally, he spoke of the lessons to be drawn from the election. These he summed up under two heads:

(1) That London and its suburbs are heartily sick and tired of the Littlers, the Banburys, the fuglemen of monopoly, and others through whom the 'bus companies oppose electric rapid transit across the bridges to the north, east and west. Sick, too, of the water policy of the London Tories, of their ignorant obstruction of tramway works, temperance, and the amendment of the London building act.

(2) That the Progressive party must go on with its work, influenced neither by weak-kneed Whigs within nor the enemies of the people without.

### Mr. Stead's Electioneering

The most picturesque of campaign literature is Mr. F. Herbert Stead's appeal to his neighbors in overcrowded Walworth.

FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS,

On Saturday, March 5th, we chose a County Council, which for three years and with extended powers will rule the greatest city on God's earth. The responsibility is so grave as to send us at once to the highest authority.

If Jesus were a voter in Walworth, say in Townley street, would He do? Let us tell you our answer.

He would vote. He would do His duty as an English citizen. He would vote only for good and honest men. He would not put party or sect first. He would put first the welfare of all the people. But He would show the greatest concern for the "least of His brethren," the ill-fed, the ill-clad, the ill-housed, and the disabled.

He would be especially concerned about the charge of the 800,000 children in London schools, now for the first time entrusted to the care of the county council.

He would insist that the starving children in our schools be fed, by parents or by friends, or if these fail, by the State. He would denounce the folly and cruelty of forcing children to tasks beyond their strength. He would ask for wise and ample training for the maimed, the lame, the blind, the deaf. In the giving of our scholarships, He would bid us discriminate in favor of the children of the poor and of the boroughs where poor children dwell most thickly. He would bid the council use its new powers over the employment of children so as to protect and elevate their young lives. He would surely advise the training of every child in some such

calling as shall turn his abilities, whether great or small, to best account for his own support and for the welfare of society, that he may "labor, working with his hands the thing that is good."

He would require the best attainable conditions of work for all whom the council employs, directly or indirectly, at home or abroad.

Seeing the misery and sin which come from want of work, He would urge upon the council to develop or provide useful work for the unemployed.

He would press upon our would-be councillors the needs of the homeless and overcrowded poor. He would bid the council do its utmost to help the people out from the congested centers to places where they may dwell in decency and health, and with privacy for prayer. To this paramount necessity He would urge that private enterprise, the powers of the local authorities, and the claims of council itself should be made subordinate.

He would in a word use His vote and His voice and His influence to make London more worthy to be called a city of God.

You may not agree with us in all points. But in any case do as you believe He would do: and like Him be most concerned for "the poor and him that hath no helper."

On behalf of the Public Questions Committee of the P. S. A.

I am, yours faithfully,

F. HERBERT STEAD, *Warden.*

Browning Hall, Feb. 27th, 1904.

### Flashes of Common Sense

FROM BERNARD SHAW'S "MUNICIPAL TRADING."

The desirability of municipal trading is actually in inverse ratio to its commercial profitability.

Give a man a comfortable income, and you solve all the Questions for him, except perhaps the Servant Question.

The London cabmen could introduce a penny-a-minute fare if they had sufficient business capacity; but if they had, they would not be cabmen.

Municipalities as a matter of fact do always make as much profit as they dare.

If you have to choose between underfeeding your boy and patching his knickers, patch his knickers.

A rate is "simply a tax on houses; that is, a tax on an article of prime necessity. If it were shifted to bread there would be an overwhelming outcry about taxing the bread of the poor; and yet the poor suffer more from want of house room than from want of bread."

Saving, investment, life assurance are for heads of families in a state of privation slow forms of suicide and murder; and those who preach them indiscriminately should be indicted for incitement to crime.

When a bishop offends in this way people who really understand the situation feel their blood rising almost to guillotining point.

# President Eliot Before the Boston Central Labor Union

By Harry B. Taplin

Standing before a body of men, some of whose most cherished practices and principles he had bitterly denounced, President Eliot presented a remarkable figure in his address to the Central Labor Union of Boston, Sunday, February 7. From the great crowd of laboring men who packed Faneuil Hall there was heard no jeering or disrespectful remark as the president of Harvard University uttered sentiments strikingly and diametrically opposed to some of the tenets of unionism.

He admitted that great organizations of capital and labor are due to natural causes and are the product of the times; but though organized for the purpose of combat and resistance, they are only beginning to learn that they should exist for the sake of co-operation and industrial harmony. The more thorough the organization, the more are hostile relations to be feared. Consequently, working trade agreements have been found especially serviceable in the establishment of better relations.

"Trade unionism," he said, "like any organization—military, ecclesiastical or economic—has a tendency to level down rather than up; to rank and keep all men alike rather than to give free play to the expression of the greatest effort and ability. The watchword of a perfect organization is obedience—that of perfect democracy is liberty. Changes should be introduced and influences set at work to counteract such inherent tendencies and to make the mighty power of organization a servant rather than a master.

"The labor unions and employers' associations, so far as they are fighting bodies, abridge personal liberty; and so far forth they are in conflict with the democratic ideal, as also when they destroy free competition. In this respect one kind of association is as bad as the other. A monopoly has always been an object of detestation in democracies, and such it ought always to remain, for competition is the native air of human progress and improvement.

"The present tendencies of labor unions and employers' associations suggest strongly the expediency of establishing over them governmental inspection and control, and this for two reasons—first, that both kinds of association soon become monopolistic, and, secondly, that they are secret societies. Democratic government, like despotic government, dislikes secret societies, particularly if they are apt to resort to violence for the enforcement of their demands.

"In all social and industrial strife it is immeasurably better to use the great forces of publicity, discussion and fellow-feeling before physical conflicts take place, rather than after they have occurred. It is therefore an intensely interesting inquiry what modifica-

tions of existing labor conditions will tend toward permanent industrial peace, and be absolutely consistent with the democratic ideal of liberty. To that inquiry I turn.

"(1.) Steadiness of employment is reasonably desired by both the workmen and the employer. Labor is a commodity which should be salable for future delivery, and not be merely delivered at a price for the passing day. On the other hand, the enormous investments of capital which many manufacturers now require make it of great consequence to the employer that he should be able to count for at least one year on the cost of his labor.

"(2.) Another common need for workmen and employers is that condition of labor which permits that laborer to have a settled place of abode. A nomad population can hardly be a civilized one. Only a firmly settled laboring population which desires and expects to pass its life in one spot can be really happy and contented and produce good citizens.

"(3.) In manufactures which require large and costly plants and numerous operatives the strife between labor and capital would be pacified in the most substantial and durable manner if means could be found of giving the workmen two things which they now obtain but rarely in a highly organized industry—first, a voice in the discipline of the works, including that very important part of discipline, the dealing with complaints; and, secondly, a direct pecuniary interest besides wages in the proceeds of the combined application of the capital and the labor to the steady production of salable goods.

"Two other humane conditions of labor, if generally introduced, would render industrial conflicts less frequent, and greatly mitigate their severity. These are the rising wage—rising, that is, with years and experience—and the pension or retiring allowance at disability.

"Again, a bold, alert and vigorous democracy will always believe in every man's doing his best and being free to do his best, whatever his station or function in society."

Remarkable, also, was the scene which followed the address. For over an hour delegates, one after another, rose to question the president, and the admirable, clear-cut way in which he answered, especially those questions intended to make him wince, carried with him the sympathy of the audience.

Asked first, "Would you advise the wage-earners to abandon the trades union as at present constituted?" he replied, emphatically. "No. I would not. What I would advise would be to change some of the objectionable features now insisted on by trades



unions, but by no means to abandon the organization."

On the question of open or closed shop, he had to say only that non-union men had a right to do as they pleased, irrespective of union conditions or union demands.

Upon a challenge, he reaffirmed his remark, made last year, that "the scab was a pretty fair type of hero." "A non-union worker, even a Hessian or hireling, could, by his devotion to the duty for which he was paid, undergo such suffering and persecution as to earn the name of hero." The meeting closed with a vote of thanks and hearty cheers for the president, who, though a critic of the union movement, won a signal personal triumph.

### Mr. Foster's Reply to President Eliot

On Sunday, Feb. 21, in the same hall and before an audience fully as large, Mr. Frank K. Foster of Boston, a member of the Typographical Union, made a reply to the address of President Eliot. Mr. Foster is the ablest writer and speaker in the trade union ranks of Boston, and his wealth of experience in the labor movement, so varied and extensive, made his selection as speaker peculiarly suitable. The purpose of his address was to defend the principles of trade unionism against certain criticisms made by President Eliot, and, incidentally, to set forth the ideals and general scope of the larger movement. His

first sentence expresses clearly the spirit of this occasion, "This discussion is inspired by no spirit of controversy."

The address was finished in style, modulated in tone, conservative in its estimates, well balanced and decidedly to the point. And yet the success or failure of the argument affects but little the real value and significance of the address. However, those who are interested will have an opportunity to decide this matter for themselves, since at President Eliot's suggestion both addresses are to be printed in the same pamphlet, and to be on sale throughout the country at a merely nominal price.

This illustrates most clearly why these two gatherings and addresses are full of deep significance. It is because of the admirable spirit of tolerance and fair-mindedness shown on both sides. From this point of view this whole occasion marks an epoch, and will have a strong influence toward establishing in Boston and the East a new order of things. Mr. Foster in his address states this forcibly. "The occasion could give little delight to those who delight in the widening of the social chasm, whose policy it is to intensify class antagonism, whose every endeavor is to fan the flame of social discord. But to the citizen who hopes to find in democracy the solvent which will fuse into an organic whole the elements of the society of the future, this tentative union of the university of letters and the university of labor, has in it the promise of untold potency."

## Rejoinder of Grand Rapids' Ex-Mayor To "Buying Up a City Administration"

To the Editor of *The Commons*:

I have been a believer in municipal ownership of public utilities for the past twenty years. In fact, was one of its early advocates, and it was through the personal efforts of myself and a number of my friends that in 1888 a proposition was defeated for the city of Grand Rapids to sell its water-works to a private company, and many of our prominent citizens who were connected with this proposition in 1888 are now connected with this last attempt to foist the Lake Michigan contract on the city. In 1888 \$1,000 bonds of the Hydraulic Company were placed in the hands of certain people on this proposition, amounting to \$100,000. All the newspapers in the city put forth all their efforts to gain the point, but they were defeated. Knowing the men and the methods resorted to in 1888, I was successful in thwarting their attempt to carry the Lake

Michigan deal through, hence their endeavor to throw the odium on me if possible, and so far they have succeeded to a large extent, but when the time for proof comes I believe that I will not only prove my own innocence, but place the blame where it belongs. At no time have I endeavored to shirk any responsibility in this affair; in fact, I arrested the main conspirators, but they were allowed to go free on their own recognition. If my plan had been followed of punishing the guilty, the expense of convicting them all would not have been one-tenth of what it is now and no one punished.

The animosity toward myself may be accounted for from the fact that I have vetoed every public franchise that came before me and the common council during the four years that I served this city as mayor. In fact, it was a fight for me from start to finish. I tried to help the under dog and some of the well fed beasts of prey who had fattened at the public crib for years did not like this, hence their opposition. Allow me

\*"Buying Up a City Administration, the Grand Rapids Water Conspiracy Reviewed by one of its Citizens;" was published in *The Commons* for March, pages 70 to 77.

to enumerate a few of the franchises I vetoed:

The street railway franchise in 1898. Vetoed, as the rights of the people were not properly safeguarded and no recompense to the city for the valuable franchise.

On assuming the office of mayor I found that the original franchise of the street railway company provided that the railway company should pay the policemen stationed at the different crossings. This they had not done and we compelled them to pay to the city \$25,000 for their share.

When the street railway company extended its lines in the different parts of the city the time on these extension franchises was made to expire with the original franchise, although they endeavored to get the common council to make the life of the contract 30 years instead of about 12.

I vetoed the contract for the building of the electric lighting plant, as the contract was so drawn that only one engine builder could bid on the contract. On new bids award was made to another builder.

I vetoed the Newaygo franchise. This I called a vest-pocket franchise, as they were trying to put it through for speculative purposes. This franchise was to give Newaygo people the right to tear up any or all of our public streets for their conduits and to place poles in any or all streets for the purpose of conveying power and light, and this without any remuneration to the city. This was passed over my veto by the common council, but I finally defeated it by compelling them to give a surety bond which would cost them about \$1,000 a year, and as they had no intention of building, but merely wanted the franchise to sell it if they could, they backed out, as they would not give a surety bond.

The common council awarded a contract, which I refused to sign, for the paying of several streets with asphalt, amounting to \$50,000. I became satisfied that the bidders were all in a deal and there was practically but one bid in, as all the bidders were members of the Asphalt Trust. Therefore I vetoed it, but, as above stated, they passed it over my veto and the contract was awarded to the United States people, but the streets were paved by the Barber people, who also were the highest bidders for this contract.

During my term of office we raised flat throughout the city the entire valuation of all property 25 per cent. This was done in order to have an excuse for equalizing the assessments on some of the largest revenue producers in the city who were paying but very small taxes, while the householder was paying on nearly the cash value of his property.

By adding the 25 per cent it would place the small property at its true cash valuation, or nearly so, and the larger properties we changed, raising some 500 to 1,000 per cent.

To illustrate: The street railway company

was assessed at \$275,000 valuation; we raised to \$1,750,000.

The valuation of the Grand Rapids Gas Company we raised to \$2,150,000.

The Michigan Trust Company, one of our best office buildings in the city, was assessed at a valuation of \$75,000, which we raised to \$300,000.

The same was true of the telephone companies and all public utilities.

The Grand Rapids Hydraulic Company, a competitor to our city water plant, had not paid its taxes for six years prior to my assuming office. We brought suit against the receiver of the company and forced collection. Many of our prominent citizens are stock and bond holders in this company.

Now, just a word in regard to "The Wide Open Town." This cry was raised on my assuming office simply for this reason: I claimed that a saloonkeeper was entitled to protection instead of persecution, and that if he was treated like a man he would run a better place than you could get him to do by driving him with a club.

I also commenced suit against some of our social clubs, which paid no saloon license and ran wide open all night and Sunday without any interference from the police. I claimed that a poor man who could not belong to a club had just as much right to get his glass of beer as the rich man who belonged to a club, who could not only satisfy his own wants but those of his friends.

The cry of a "Wide Open Town" does not seem to apply to my administration when you take into consideration what has happened during the last two years under my successor. When I left office there were 180 saloons. In two years this number has been increased to 205. No high crimes or misdemeanors happened in any saloon during the four years of my administration. During the past two years there have been three murders and several robberies committed in saloons.

I refused licenses to Chinamen to operate their so-called restaurants. During the past two years we have four of the worst Chinese joints in the country, and two of them are now under arrest for selling liquor without license, but these arrests were not brought about by the city authorities—private citizens taking the matter in hand.

On reorganizing the office force of the Board of Public Works I discovered that many citizens had been favored by the Board of Public Works in carrying their bills for water furnished. In all, these bills amounted to \$18,000, and, without exception, all of these bills were against prominent citizens, some of them ex-mayors, but all were well-to-do and perfectly able to pay their water rates. These people were from both political parties, but prominent enough to have a pull.

About six months later I discovered that several of our manufacturing institutions and one of our hotels here owned by a bank



had been obtaining water from the city surreptitiously for years. In other words, they had employed a plumber to tap the city mains, and as there were no meters on the system, this continued for years, and on estimates some of the factories were found to be owing the city upward of a thousand dollars. These people were compelled to pay their just dues to the city for water stolen.

I have not named one-hundredth part of the mean little steals I have stopped in the four years of my administration, and each and every one of them had for its promoter some well-to-do citizen. After watching and fighting openly the whole nefarious Lake Michigan water deal, not only in the common council but in public places and on the platform, I laid bare every part and parcel of it, showing that such a contract, if entered into by the city, meant municipal bankruptcy and a burden of debt for our

citizens for the next fifty years. I do not care to discuss the present phase of the water scandal so-called, as the matter is in court and I am making every effort for a speedy trial.

I am not at all surprised that the Grand Rapids citizen who wrote the article in *The Commons* for March on the "Grand Rapids Water Works Conspiracy" should have withheld his name from publication. I presume he is one of the many enemies I have made during my official career, and probably for cause. From the time that I was elected in 1898 up to the present time I have been maligned and libeled by a certain few of the wealthy and prominent citizens of this city, and if the truth were known it would be found that these people who have taken an interest for many years to drag down a fellow citizen have been doing so from selfish motives.

Yours respectfully, GEO. R. PERRY.

## A Manager to the Company's Employees

When the possibility of personal intercourse between employer and employee disappears with the growth of great corporations employing hundreds and thousands of men and women, commendation and criticism from the "house" to the worker is usually expressed only to the cashier or written upon the payrolls. Money may "talk," but when communication between an employer and his employees is limited to the contents of a small pay envelope, there are sure to be complaints and misunderstandings which do not arise when the worker and the director of the work can "get together" and realize that the interests of both, instead of being at variance and antagonistic, must be identical.

No clearer statement of this can be made than in the friendly words addressed to the employees of Sears, Roebuck & Co. of Chicago by the manager, Mr. E. L. Scott.

"We have come to feel that the management of this business does not rest now in the hands of a few, but in the hands of a very large majority of our employees, each one of whom is seeking not only to better his own work and make it more accurate and comprehensive, but at the same time is going even beyond his old sphere in his desire to better the business as a whole. All this, of course, reacts in favor of the interested employee, and his personal standing and financial returns are measured by the actual personal interest in his work. It is desired that our people shall feel that their salaries are really dividends paid out of the profits of the business, and that these dividends really measure as fairly as possible the ability and care they have contributed to make the business a profitable one.

"We desire that our people shall feel that they are not only in the presence of employers, but that they are in the employ

of friends and that everything which has to do with their welfare is of interest to their superiors.

A savings bank, a hospital, a mutual benefit association and a branch of the Chicago Public Library, all established at the warehouse, as well as the magazine *Skylight*, are evidence that in the above statements the manager's talk is "backed up."

"Notwithstanding an almost unprecedented increase in business during the past year, which increase has continued right up to the last day of the year, we have a right to feel proud of the fact that without any night work or any Sunday work whatsoever during the year 1903, we were able to close down our business at 3 o'clock, Thursday, December 24.

"It was believed, and succeeding events have fully proven that the necessity for night work did not exist. This is doubly proven from the fact that the immense increase of business in December, 1903, was carried on with greater speed, greater accuracy and with infinitely better results without night or Sunday work than the smaller business of December, 1902.

We have, at times, in January, when business would permit, and in July and August, under like conditions, closed the doors at 5 o'clock p. m., giving opportunity for earlier recreation. Likewise with a spirit of fairness which is very commendable, our people in various departments that are hard pressed for a few weeks in the fall and spring have shown a most commendable spirit in willingly giving their services for an extra hour a day. This give-and-take spirit which exists between employer and employee is magnificent, and speaks a thousand times louder than words of the amicable relations existing in our institution.

# Shadows of Philadelphia's Shame

By Carl Kelsey

Philadelphia has not enjoyed in recent years the confidence of the country in the conduct of her municipal affairs. Her citizens have not been satisfied with the situation, but the practical absence of a minority party has made it impossible for any such organization as the Municipal League to make itself felt as a similar society has in Chicago. Just now, however, even Philadelphians are asking where it will stop. They are gradually realizing that the integrity of the courts has been seriously attacked, if indeed actual corruption does not exist.

For two or more years the complaints have been increasing about the character of bail bonds accepted by certain magistrates. Recently one of the chief offenders was brought to trial. It developed that the principal witness for the prosecution had suddenly sold his belongings and left the city. The court ruled that no other bonds could be introduced save those taken the day on which the witness had disappeared. It was shown that the accused had displayed considerable favoritism in several cases, that he had discharged in one day 38 persons who on that day had been held to court by another magistrate, etc. A ballot box stuffer who ran away to avoid trial, came back a couple of years later, and in the face of what seemed convincing evidence was discharged. It seems significant that he and many of his jurors have since been given public positions.

The attention of the mayor was recently called to the evident padding of the assessors' list of voters in certain wards. In one ward, in which there are many lodging houses, there were 5,852 names on the list, but on election day only 2,701 votes were cast, although last November the same ward cast 4,355. The decrease is due to the activity of the mayor, who managed to infuse a good deal of new life into the police and also

to cause certain politicians to restrain too willing voters. In other wards, however, repeaters were in evidence. In the 13th it is said that one gang of 30 men cast some 1,000 votes during the day, the price for each vote rising from 25 cents in the morning to 75 in the late afternoon.

The chief interest in the election was the proposal to authorize the increase of \$16,000,000 in the city's indebtedness. The councils had passed this over the mayor's veto and the machine ordered it passed, the people indicating their willingness by a vote of 127,056 to 44,278. Some of the twelve measures proposed are public necessities; others smack of corrupt jobs. For this reason the mayor wished to have the proposals voted on separately, but the councils decided otherwise.

The great activity of the Law and Order Society in raiding the "speak easies" and disreputable resorts, theoretically unknown by the police, and securing plenty of evidence against them, puts the director of public safety in a very unenviable light before the community. Many are beginning to ask for what he is paid a salary of \$10,000 a year.

Mayor John Maver is making many friends (outside the organization) by his insistent efforts to give the city a clean administration. Many departments are feeling his influence, and for this the public is grateful, although it is recognized that his hands are in a measure tied. The contrast with the previous administration is striking.

There is great public dissatisfaction over the desire of the mayor to surrender his office for a seat on the Supreme Court bench. No one doubts his ability or his integrity, but criticism is caused by the fact that he would be succeeded in the mayoralty by a machine politician whose acts seem to be entirely at the dictation of the machine.

University of Pennsylvania.



# Association of Neighborhood Workers, New York City

Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch, Editor

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## Legislation Opposed by New York Social Workers

By Gaylord S. White, Union Settlement.

Whatever may have been the achievements or the shortcomings of the administration of Mayor Low, there is general agreement that the enactment and enforcement of the tenement house law has marked a decided advance in municipal housekeeping. The only persons likely to dissent from this opinion are the interested builders and others whom the law compels, as one of the papers puts it, "to take into consideration human life as well as interest on their investments." The administration of the new tenement house department by Mr. Robert W. de Forest was an object lesson in the conduct of a city department, and all interested in the welfare of tenement dwellers awaited with no little anxiety Mayor McClellan's appointment of the new head of the department. The Tammany selection proved to be Thomas C. T. Crain, a former city chamberlain.

Mr. Crain took occasion soon after assuming office to invite the cooperation of the settlement and other neighborhood workers and made clear his desire to secure a continuance of the friendly aid that had been given to Mr. de Forest by those whose work brings them in close touch with the needs of the tenement house population. These advances, it is needless to say, have been welcomed; and it appears that there will be opportunity for immediate and active cooperation in legislative work if it is the commissioner's desire to withstand attacks upon the law in the state legislature.

Although defeated for the last two years in their attempts to amend the law, already the enemies of the tenement house act have returned to the charge. Five amendatory bills have been introduced at Albany, every one of which should be defeated. The most serious and perhaps the most insidious attack ever made upon the law is an attempt, in a bill of Senator Hawkins, to confer broad discretionary

power on the tenement house commissioner. The bill is so drawn as to permit the commissioner in the exercise of his discretion practically to nullify every section of the act so far as it relates to tenement houses in existence before April 11, 1901. He is empowered to "modify, limit or suspend." The bill has called forth a vigorous protest and its sponsor has gained an unenviable notoriety by reason of it. The other bills are not so sweeping in their attack, but threaten the health and safety of the tenement dwellers. One of these would permit non-fireproof tenement houses to be increased in height from six to seven stories. The result would be added danger from fire, increased congestion, and the cutting off, by just so much more, of the already meager supply of light and air from the lower floor rooms and narrow streets.

The remaining bills have to do with the remission of fines and penalties for the violation of the tenement house law, with the arrangement of fire-escapes, and with the use of abandoned driveways in tenement houses. The bill which would give the tenement house commissioner discretionary power to remit penalties, would undoubtedly create conditions similar to those of the building department prior to 1900, when out of 11,000 violations reported to the corporation counsel for prosecution, penalties were collected in only four cases. Discretion was exercised and fines were remitted in 10,996 cases!

Should the bill concerning fire-escapes become law, the commissioner would be the sole judge as to the method of construction of such safeguards. The bill which would permit the use of abandoned driveways is special legislation of the worse kind. It is said to have been introduced in the interest of the owner of a particular building in the borough of Brooklyn.

The newspapers have paid their re-

spects to these bills and their authors in no uncertain terms. The "Evening Journal," which supported the McClellan ticket in the last election, does not hesitate to call four of these bills "schemes to promote graft, to destroy life, to develop consumption, to injure the poor." It is a far cry from the "Journal" to the "Evening Post," but there one hears the same note of condemnation. An editorial says: "The passage of these measures would mean the undoing of years of the most unselfish and self-sacrificing labor on the part of men and women who obtained the present enlightened housing laws. A success at Albany now would signify that selfish and sordid builders and owners can have their way without regard to considerations of morality and humanity."

The Neighborhood Workers' Association, including nearly all the settlements and many others engaged in social service, at a recent meeting adopted resolutions concerning the bills, and authorized its tenement house committee to prosecute a vigorous campaign of opposition. The resolutions, after reciting the dangers threatened by the proposed amendments, go so far as to say: "Resolved, that we are opposed to any tampering with the present tenement house law, being convinced that its faithful enforcement is all that is needed reasonably to protect the interests of landlords and tenants."

It is reassuring to have Governor Odell express himself, as he did through his secretary in a recent letter, in the following terms: "The governor does not anticipate that any legislation will be enacted at this session which will imperil the effectiveness of the present tenement house law."

Two other legislative matters that have been receiving the attention of those interested in social conditions are a bill which authorizes the use of parks (except Central Park) for the erection of buildings for temporary school purposes, and a bill to authorize the city to establish and maintain municipal club houses for boys.

Mayor McClellan has repeatedly

given evidence of his determination to provide adequate school accommodations. At present some 44,000 children in the borough of Manhattan are in part time classes. Of these, 30,000 live on the lower east side, and the mayor cast his eye on Corlear's Hook Park, Seward Park and Hamilton Fish Park as offering the opportunity for the erection of buildings, to be used as temporary school houses. These parks and playgrounds have been won too dearly to be surrendered, and Charles B. Stover of the outdoor recreation league, which was instrumental in securing the playgrounds, organized a committee which visited the mayor to protest against his plan. The mayor, however, did not seem greatly impressed with the demonstration and since that time a bill has passed the state senate authorizing such use of the parks.

Conferences of protest attended by representatives of many organizations have been held at the East Side Civic Club, with Mr. Stover as chairman, and at the City Club, with Lawrence Veiller, ex-deputy tenement house commissioner, as chairman. The opponents of the bill, while in accord with the mayor in his desire to provide adequately for all children of school age, believe that this end can be accomplished without encroaching on the parks. The bill, to quote from resolutions passed at the conference at the City Club, "creates a greater evil than the evil sought to be remedied." It is greatly to be feared that buildings once erected will never be removed, although they are described in the bill as "temporary." The alternative, in the most needy section of the city proposed by those who are fighting the bill, is the use of the vacant spaces under the new East River bridge and certain pieces of city property along the river front. Suitable buildings also could be rented or private property acquired to solve the problem. It would seem little short of a crime to deprive the densely crowded lower east side of its too few breathing spaces.

It remains to say a word about the



bill providing for municipal club houses for boys. This bill authorizes the city to establish and maintain club houses for boys. The control is vested in boards of management appointed by the borough president in each borough and provides that not less than \$20,000 shall be appropriated for the purpose in each borough. These managers are to have the power to make leases and contracts, fix salaries and disburse all moneys.

Considerable criticism has been aroused by the bill and some opposition has been organized. It is, to say the least, unnecessary. If enacted and carried out, it would tend to parallel the

work the board of education is doing in its evening recreation centers; but the board of education is ignored in the bill. The appointive power might be abused; and the lack of safeguards in the organization of the work would certainly open the way for questionable practices. The possibilities of the thing are interesting, particularly from the point of view of the politician eager for more rewards to dispense to the faithful. It appears to be a thoroughly undesirable piece of legislation, and even if its ostensible object were desirable, as presented the bill is crude and incomplete.

## The Social Settlement and the Trade Union

By Phillip Davis, Ladies' Garment Workers' District Council of Philadelphia

Contributed Through the College Settlement Association Department. Myrta L. Jones, Editor

The motto of the settlement has always been to help people really to help themselves. The people will do that best in proportion, as their economic footing is surest. The economic ground, let there be no mistake about it, is still the battleground. Here life's struggle is hardest. Here the arrayed forces are grimmest. The settlement cannot hope to stop the fighting, even in its own neighborhood. But perhaps it can act as mediator or see, at least, that the fighting is done fairly.

The settlement resident has figured prominently as umpire in many a good-natured contest on the playground. Why not have the kind of resident in a settlement who could act as referee in the industrial contests of the neighborhood, as well? If it is really the business of the settler, as Miss Addams once suggested, to act in the capacity of the big brother, protecting his little brother from being "bullied," what case is more urgent than this:

Imagine your Italian or Jewish girl of the neighborhood pitted against her employer. Can you conceive any opponent in any contest at a greater disadvantage? Unequal in strength, inferior in intellect, unacquainted with

the language of the land, often entirely unknown, this working girl is, nevertheless, expected to fight her battles and hold her own against the employer who is her superior in all these respects. If fight they must, I plead for a better economic equipment, a stronger fighting chance for this working girl.

Such pleas have been made ever since the present industrial era, or capitalist regime, dawned on society. But society, cramped by the mischievous *laissez faire* doctrine, has chosen to look on in silence, religiously refraining from interfering in this unequal economic struggle, as though it were but a cock-fight between two different breeds.

Fortunately the more intelligent working people resorted to methods of their own. They sought their strength in union—the consequence of which is the trade union movement of past and present centuries.

To-day, even the least intelligent and poorest classes of the working people are having recourse to the same means of self-help and improvement. So that in the poorest neighborhoods, where the settlement is frequently situated, a certain number of trade unions are to

be found. The condition of such neighborhoods, however, while not being entirely unorganized, is painfully disorganized. Such unions as exist are feeble and weak and tottering, often because of their failure to secure the very ground to stand on.

Why should not the settlement find these out and welcome them in its quarters, as it welcomes other clubs and societies of the neighborhood? I shudder to think of the dreary, cold room in which are closeted three or four hundred persons within a stone throw of the comfortable, spacious, often unused rooms of the settlement.

Hull House has harbored trade unions for many years. So has the University settlement of New York. Why should not all settlements do it? Let every settlement search out the trade organizations of the neighborhood and extend to them its cordial hospitality. Let it be a sheltering home for them.

Yet this is not all. Harboring trade unions is settlement charity, not settlement activity. The weak trade unions of foreigners in any neighborhood—and it is of these, especially, that I speak here—lack not only the ground to stand on, but the men and women to fight their battles. They are wanting in leadership, wanting in knowledge of parliamentary procedure, wanting in the principles of associated life. Why, I ask further, should not the settlement search out liberal-minded men and women, with sound economic training, who would take an active interest in such trade unions, and cooperate with them? A man of real power is sure to win the confidence of its members. Such a man can, in time, exert a far-reaching influence over the methods of the union. I say this to allay the prejudice, often cropping out against the trade union. I sincerely believe that these prejudices are the result, not of the aims and objects of the trade union, but of some of its methods. No one can really oppose the doctrine of a living wage, or the gradual reduction of the hours of labor, or the improvement of shop conditions.

The trade union, moreover, especially in those trades characteristic of settlement neighborhoods, the clothing trade, for example, has other objects which are particularly dear to the settlement—such as the abolition of the sweatshop system, of child labor and the speedy enactment of laws regulating conditions of sanitation and safety in the factories of the neighborhood. Were the settlement and the trade union of its neighborhood to cooperate in these matters, as they easily could, if they were in closer touch with one another, how much sooner they could look forward to the disappearance of the sweating system. Some settlements have already done this, without in the least impairing other branches of their work. Why should not all settlements of the country do it?

### Cities and Their Culture Resources

In opening his course of lectures at the London School of Economics, Prof. Patrick Geddes took his point of departure from Boston. "Finding its physical life impeded and deteriorated by crowding and want of air," it "forthwith surveyed all the surrounding swamps and wastes, set a great landscaped gardener to work, and at a stroke possessed itself of 11,000 acres of parks and recreation grounds—more than double our London total." He urged the importance of "regional survey," the study in detail of all the conditions of a locality.

"There are," he said, "types and genera of cities, as of plants. There was the city, which had grown up round a harbor, the estuarine city which supplied a large region with goods coming by water, the acropolis city based on a rock fortress sufficiently far inland to be immune from piracy, the castle-abbey city like Edinburgh, aristocratic in type, still with a vein of reflection due to the speculative life of the old monks, and the cathedral-burgher type like Glasgow, where a shrine first produced a town, and a strong, democratic, burgher community sprang up to supply its needs. Each town grew according to its seed type, and observation, comparison, and study could alone enable us to cultivate a richer and fuller type of civic life."



# From Social Settlement Centers

## University of Pennsylvania Christian Settlement

Eighty-two students and five professors have been working at the settlement during the present year. The student workers meet once a month for a discussion of settlement topics, one of which was: "Is it our aim to lift the boys out of the artisan class, or to inspire them to become leaders in the class?"

An important new feature of the work this year is a class in Settlement Problems and Methods conducted by the director, Mr. J. B. Byall, and Mr. T. S. Evans, the Y. M. C. A. secretary of the university. At the next monthly meeting the questions of getting at the home through the boy and whether to get the boy out of his present environment or to inspire him to improve his environment will be discussed.

The new clubs are being organized at Twenty-sixth and Catharine streets, some distance from the Settlement House. The boys of this neighborhood came and asked that a club might be started for them. They said they could pay the rent if the students would do the rest. A few days later they called again to say that they had forty prospective members. It is a fact not generally known that the boys over the city have small clubs of their own run in their own way. One of our members said a few days ago: "If we didn't have this club we would have one in some back room and spend the time drinking and gambling and shooting craps."

One boy said: "A lot o' us fellers couldn't read ner spell when we joined the club, en now we kin do both."

Another said to a new student: "You ought ter seen us three years ago before we was civilized."

A police officer said: "The neighborhood does not trouble us half so much as before the club opened."

Recently one of the boys defined "ghost" as a person who is a little too good to go to the bad place and a little too bad to go to the good place and never gets anywhere.

A LETTER FROM THE BOYS TO THE STUDENT.

"When you come down here and organize a class you have full charge, and when the boys don't do their part it is up to you to call them down.

"Let the boys pick their study, and when they have' picked it see that they live up to it.

"We want a student who comes down regular, and not every now and then; if you do not find your boys go and look them up.

"If you find the boys are successful in their studies shorten the class for an evening and take them over to see the Houston Club Trophy Room, the Wistar Institute, Chemical Laboratory and any other places of interest that's over there.

"When you come down butt right in and make yourself acquainted.

"Respectfully,

"MIKE BARRETT,  
"JOHN FITZPATRICK,  
"HENRY RANKIN,  
"Committee."

## Greenwich House, N. Y.

The second annual report of Greenwich House contains a very interesting resumé of its purpose and activities, written by its director, Mrs. Simkhovitch. "What is our object? Simply this: To make Jones street one of the most desirable streets to live on in New York." There is danger in extending club work so far as to hinder settlements from taking fresh opportunities in other lines, which are constantly springing up from the social life of a neighborhood.

Greenwich House has published a Tenants' Manual for the use of tenants or tenement house workers, which gives a condensed survey of the laws and municipal departmental regulations which affect tenement dwellers. The incumbent of the settlement fellowship this year is investigating the standard of living in the neighborhood of the settlement. Besides the fellowship, Greenwich House maintains a scholarship which provides an opportunity for a young man or woman to take a year's training preparatory to entering a permanent position in settlement work. The Committee on Social Investigations are making studies for publication of the social conditions of the colored quarter, and causes for the high death rate of the ward in which the settlement is located.

## Hale House Boston

Edward Everett Hale opens the report of Hale House, Boston, with a "Foreword," bearing on the part settlements may take in bettering city government. They are "one of a system of agencies which are meeting the great public necessities of the American cities as no other agencies do." He would encourage regular ward meetings for the discussion of sanitary conditions and how to help improve them. The report also includes a history of Hale House which, it is interesting to note, was an outgrowth of the Tolstoi Club, organized by Dr. Hale that young men in various walks of life should "touch elbows together" in studying matters of civic interest.

## Alumnae Settlement, N. Y.

The personal, homelike atmosphere of the Alumnae Settlement, New York, pervades the sketch of its work, written by its experienced head worker, Dr. Jane E. Robbins. It is supported by many small contributions from the Normal College Alumnae. The settlement has grown from a nucleus of a

small kindergarten to be a vital center of neighborhood life. Their small library has a circulation of 1,000 books each month. "We class as educational the story-telling, which is a constant element in our work. Only one child in a group of fifty recognized the story of Samson, and Buffalo Bill and Sandow were suggested as the probable heroes of the tale."

### Elizabeth Peabody House, Boston

The Elizabeth Peabody House, Boston, concentrates its effort upon the youngest children and mothers, with the kindergarten as the basis of its work. Its report, however, shows that its social, industrial and educational work is being shared by all ages. The Educational Center in the neighboring public school has been a greatly added power for good, and the settlement is co-operating in every way to extend its influence in the neighborhood.

### Settlement Pictures

Hiram House evidently believes that "seeing is believing," for its unique report consists of a handsomely illustrated pamphlet, with the story of their work told entirely by pictures. Kingsley House, Pittsburg, has also issued a picture supplement to its "Record" for April.

### At Smaller Centers

Neighborhood social centers in small communities are often as necessary and useful as those in large cities. Huntsville, Ala., has a social and educational work greatly appreciated by the thousand people who profit by it. The building given by Mrs. C. H. McCormick of Chicago to supplement the church work adds the valuable equipment of social, club and reading rooms.

At the Orange Valley Settlement, New Jersey, a club of Italian working boys and girls, which includes a blacksmith, a plumber and hatter, presented the play of "Miles Standish" very successfully.

### Browning Hall, London

The fundamental idea of the Robert Browning Settlement, London, of which our contributor, F. Herbert Stead, M. A., is the warden, has been from the first to scatter resident households through the neighborhood, "like currants in a cake." But for single or temporary men residents there has long been needed a central residence, which is now to be supplied next to the Browning Club House, where a well-built dwelling of a dozen rooms, a small garden, fernery and aviary has been secured. There are enough helpers previously living in private apartments to defray the working force of the house. The Browning Club has paid its way from the first and contributes a tenth of its income to reduce the debt on its building. The Browning Tavern has recovered its initial losses and bids fair to pay a sub-

stantial rent to the settlement, besides furnishing refreshments for settlement occasions at practically cost price.

The close grasp which the settlement possesses on the life of the neighborhood is indicated by the following facts: It has a men's meeting of over 300 enrolled members, a women's meeting limited to 1,200, a Fellowship of Followers of 200, a Cripples' Parlor of 160, and about 1,000 children in other agencies. In eight years it has sent 3,159 people for a stay in the country, and has secured 9,606 days' outings. Its Poor Men's Lawyers have given 13,000 free consultations; its medical mission has given 38,556 free consultations. It has arranged nine courses of University Extension Lectures with 19,761 attendances. More than 2,000 households connected with the settlement are scattered over more than 300 streets. Street-Friends and Ward-Friends are forming a network of neighborliness. Members of the settlement have served on public bodies, two as poor law guardians, seven as school managers, including two chairmen of school groups, eight as borough councillors, including the mayor of the borough in 1902-3. Its district, Walworth, contains the center of the county of London. It is the heart of the Heart of Empire. It is also the most densely peopled metropolitan parliamentary division. The borough of Southwark, of which it is a part, has the densest population of any borough in London, contains the poorest districts in the capital, and has the greatest proportion of aged pauperism of any Poor Law Union in England and Wales. With a population of 206,000, the borough has not a single park. It is "pock-marked with public houses."

### Chicago Commons

The Chicago Commons settlement work has always fostered cooperation between groups of people within the neighborhood who have a common interest in helping each other, and also that of outside clubs and circles who are helped as much by lending a hand.

The support of the day nursery at Chicago Commons has been withdrawn by the discontinuance of the Matheon Club of West Side young women, which established and in large part has sustained the work for six years. On hearing that the nursery might have to be abandoned unless special provision for its support could be secured, the Progressive Club of neighborhood young women immediately and unanimously stood in the breach by offering \$50 for its maintenance during the coming year. Their estimate of the value of its work is shared by all who know of it. Its abandonment would not only deprive the very needy children of the only care they can get while their mothers are at work, but will add worry to the work of these brave women if it does not prevent them from continuing to earn their



livelihood. Are there not enough women's clubs or mothers meeting in churches to provide the \$100 a month needed to help these working mothers help themselves and their children?

As great an emergency confronts our "Camp Commons" outing work this summer. The beautiful meadow on the Penny farm at Elgin, where the camp under Mr. Henry F. Burt's efficient direction has been so happily and successfully conducted for several years, can no longer be loaned us for the purpose. A suitable site in that locality, where the children of our neighbors have won so many firm friends, should be permanently secured for the camp. At least ten acres or more should be purchased and a plain house, affording frequently needed shelter, should be built this spring. The entire cost need not exceed \$5,000. What dividends such an investment would yield not only in the health, happiness and uplift of 200 or more children every summer, but in the rest and outing of wornout mothers and convalescent sick folk who could be sent thirty miles away from their burdens so readily and cheaply.

The site of our little rented playground across the street from the house has attracted the attention of the public school authorities to the desirability of that whole block as the location for the new Washington schoolhouse. The maintenance of this play space next summer is, therefore, more necessary than ever. For if we continue to demonstrate its need and value, it will surely aid the effort to secure ample space and equipment for the play of 5,000 children surrounding our two practically yardless schools. To maintain apparatus and a competent director will cost, with the rent of the ground for five months, only \$500. To deprive this neediest child life of its only play space, and in prospect of getting a permanent public provision for it, is a responsibility the settlement dare not assume and yet must share with those who can help maintain.

## Independents to "Ward Organization"

The following action of our Seventeenth Ward Community Club not only speaks for itself but for the efficiency and permanency of the political work done by the independent voters of this great ward headed up in this club. It is a well deserved tribute to the character and competence of the alderman elected as a Democrat, who has ably represented its whole people in the City Council and on its judiciary and other important committees.

To the Delegates of Our Republican Ward Convention:

By a unanimous resolution of the Community Club, the Secretary was instructed to send you a testimonial of the club's appreciation of your recent action (or rather

among them was recognition of the public's interest in the matter, and of the propriety of returning a faithful servant in office to that office. It augurs, we believe, for better times, and a better and higher spirit in parties.

We believe your party is entitled to a high credit mark for your attitude at this time.

## To Neighboring Buyers and Sellers

This club has issued two bulletins on home trading, which are uniquely suggestive. Of their neighbors, the Buyers, they ask, among other things:

Do you say that "business is business" and that you must trade where you can save the "last cent?" If so, are you any better than the employes' boss, who refuses shorter hours or fair wages to his men on the ground that "business will not allow it?"

It is time for us to recognize that every good move costs *something*, and that doing sensible things that cost something is the best "business" we can be about. It is not meant hereby that one can make all their purchases at home and ignore down town stores entirely, especially as to larger and more costly articles. Still, we can do our part to encourage the *gradual building up* of home trading in all ordinary articles by buying what we feel that we can afford to buy at home. Remember that it should be a *pleasure* to pay such price to a neighbor as will enable him to earn a *decent living*.

If we want to get back to old neighborhood relations (which our fathers and mothers had in the earlier day, but which we have almost entirely lost), one of the first steps to be taken is *to trade in our home ward*.

To Our Neighbors, the Storekeepers:

Yes, we advised our people in "Club Bulletin No. 1" to trade at home. Now, has it occurred to you that there is much for *you* to do to encourage home trading? Do you keep your store clean? your goods fresh?

Do you recognize that your usefulness to your patrons lies in your service to them—in giving them the full benefit of your experience for a moderate and fair profit to you?

Do you on the other hand have the independence of kindly cautioning your customers where you plainly see that they are making a mistake, content to wait for time and their experience to justify your advice?

Do you in your private life among your neighbors reflect the honesty and frankness that will give them added confidence in you as a conscientious dealer?

Do you recognize that you cannot expect the community to be interested in your welfare if you are not interested in its welfare and progress? By attending public meetings where vital public issues are concerned—not merely which concern street pave-

ments, etc., and your own pocketbook? By (non-action) in respect to the aldermanic issue.

While not pretending to know all the considerations which have moved you in this respect, we are satisfied that not the least doing your duty, not only in registering and voting, but by your positive efforts to reason with your neighbors to vote for fearless and independent men?

Do you decline to say that you are "not in politics," or that such open conduct will "hurt your business," etc., and earn the contempt of your neighbors? and do you understand that sooner or later the community will hold you to ultimate account; that it pays to be a *fearless man* and a *real citizen all the time*, whether it costs you something or not?

*Until the shopkeepers of our ward have lived these few and necessary rules of life and business, they need not expect that "home trading" will return to them.*

#### SOCIAL FUNCTION OF MUSICAL ART.

It is a sign of better times coming to find an organization so strictly devoted to its high art as the Apollo Musical Club of Chicago, practically recognizing its social function. For the fourth winter it offered to the people of our Seventeenth ward a gift such as it only had to give in the recital of the oratorio of the "Messiah." So great has become the demand for admission at 25 cents each that the sale of tickets was restricted this year to the office of the settlement. Nearly 100 voices from the superb chorus, led by its own director and accompanist and supported by volunteer soloists, met the enthusiastic response of as many people as could safely crowd into our auditorium. It must be a matter of satisfaction to the Apollo Club thus to meet the demand which itself has created for the best music among those who need it the most. The proceeds of the recital will promote the growing musical work of the house.

## Current Articles of Social Interest

### The Triumph of the Australian Labor Party

As an industrial experiment station, a remote spot where labor inventions and improvements may be tried and tested without immediate danger to the watchers from over the seas, Australia is now attracting the attention of the world. As military experts look to Indian Head to learn from the target tests the value of the new big guns and armor plate, so labor leaders concentrate their gaze upon the island continent as the proving ground where the new ordinance of industry may be first condemned or approved.

It is, therefore, as this "proving ground" of theory and practice which may profoundly influence the rest of the world, that the advance and triumph of the Australian Labour party is watched with extraordinary interest.

As given by Reuter in the London *Daily News*, the situation is graphically this:

#### SENATE

	Old.	New.
Ministerialists.....	12	6
Opposition .....	16	13
Labor party.....	8	17

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Ministerialists.....	32	27
Opposition.....	27	26
Labor party .....	16	29

The striking success of the labor party is shown at a glance. In the Senate, the party is more than doubled, and in the House 13 seats have been gained. The total strength of the labor party is raised from 24 to 46.

The ministerialists in the House have lost 5 and the opposition 1 seat. The number of members returned to the House has been increased, owing to growth of population, from 75 to 82.

"The individual members of the labor party," the *News* continues, "are many of them men of strong personality, and, though their horizon may be somewhat limited, are reasonable and intelligent of perception, and in their personal habits, austere. They are not to be confounded with mere agitators. The party are absolutely self-centered and self-contained, owing allegiance to no political master, and ever ready to throw their sword into the scale to achieve their objects when the regular parliamentary parties are fairly evenly divided.

"The local effects of the increased labor strength will inevitably be the enlarged government regulation of private employment, including the farming industry, in the direction of extending the area for the payment of a compulsory minimum wage, the official recognition of unions, with possibly compulsory preference of unionists for employment, the limitation of hours of labor, compulsory arbitration on the lines adopted by New Zealand, increased stringency in connection with the white Australian movement and regarding alien immigration restriction, discrimination against foreign vessels doing coastal trade, and generally Australia for present Australians and no one else.



## Tribute to Trust or to Union?

The dollar, dollar and a half or two dollars additional which you and I have had to pay for each ton of coal we used this winter usually is set down as a "tribute to organized labor," or, more mildly, as a "contribution toward a higher scale of life for the miners."

In what light there may be from the figures given by Guy Warfield in the March "World's Work," we may discover quite another receiver for our "tribute" or our "contribution."

Mr. Warfield, who made a first-hand study especially for "World's Work" by living with the miners and working in the mines as a non-union miner, says:

I asked President J. L. Crawford, of the People's Coal Company of Scranton, famous for selling coal at \$20 a ton during the strike:

"Are you sorry the strike occurred? Are you satisfied with the awards of the commission?"

"I'm not kicking," he replied to both questions.

I asked other individual operators the same question. I found them more wary. They would talk little.

But here are the financial results of the strike a year after its close: The coal that would have been mined if no strike had occurred was, according to the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, about 25,000,000 tons. Thus the miners forfeited about \$25,000,000 in wages. This same commission awarded the miners, when they settled the strike, a wage increase which, including the sliding scale, is estimated at its highest to be 18 per cent. This increases the present wage cost of mining to \$1.18 and the total cost of mining to \$2.18 per ton, the costs other than wages amounting to about \$1.

"Before the strike the average selling price of coal at tidewater was about \$3.60 per ton. A year later this price averaged \$4.90 per ton.

"At \$4.90 per ton, with the cost of production \$2.18, the operators' profits to-day may be estimated at \$2.72. At \$3.60 per ton, with the cost of production at \$2, their profits before the strike were about \$1.60 per ton, or about \$1.12 less than now. Since the settlement of the strike the coal companies have produced more than 70,000,000 tons of coal, which have been distributed in the market for something in excess of \$75,000,000 more than would have been received by the operators at the prices prevailing before the strike.

"About \$75,000,000 additional for their coal as a direct result from the strike—this is the financial prize of the operators.

"Arbitration or no arbitration, the operator has realized that a strike enriches him. The public pays the cost of the strike in the increased price of coal. The operators win; the public loses."

As the Chicago Tribune pertinently comments, "In other words, wages have gone up 18 per cent and profits 68." Where is that mine owner who was afraid of being driven out of business by the "exorbitant demands of the rapacious trades unionist?"

## Trade Unions in Petticoats

With "Trade Unions in Petticoats," Frank Leslie's Monthly for March gives an interesting history and statement of present condition of the Chicago workingwomen's organization.

Initiated less than twenty years ago by Mrs. Lizzie Swank Holmes, the Woman's Labor Movement developed in Chicago as nowhere else in the country—developed into a complete and powerful system, comprising an overwhelming majority of the workers in twenty-six different trades, and embracing an aggregate membership of 35,000 women.

As a direct result of these organizations the wages of women have increased from a minimum of ten to a maximum of 40 per cent. Their working day has been reduced from a basis of sixty hours per week and upwards, to a minimum limit of fifty-three hours per week, with ample pay for overtime. Child labor has been totally abolished in those industries where it had long been most flagrant, and in the few instances where it yet remains it is doomed to an early death, so unremitting is the war now being waged against it. Along with these have come radical sanitary improvements—larger and better ventilated shops, and, not least important, a generous and well-regulated allotment of holidays and half-holidays. The inter-relationship of employer and employee has been reduced to a complex system of rules and agreements mutually binding and reciprocally effective, which the millionaire proprietor cannot disregard with less impunity than may the young girl toiler in his shop or mill. To-day neither the clothing manufacturer, nor the steam laundry proprietor, nor the brass founder, nor the pork packer, nor any of two score other employers, can dismiss an apprentice girl without the full consent and approval of the "lady" walking delegate of the latter's union. He cannot deduct a penny from her wages for the breakage of tools, or "dock" her for tardiness unless the "lady" walking delegate is convinced of the justice of his claim.

With two exceptions, there is no line of feminine industry in all Cook County to-day

which is not more or less thoroughly unionized, and feminine industry nowadays means necessarily any industry. The United Garment Workers have 8,000 members, the Horse Shoe Nail Makers have fifty, the Laundresses' Union boasts 2,500 women and girls, the Feather Duster Makers, 100. The Paper Box Makers number 5,000 against the Brass Foundry girls, with their two-months'-old "baby" union of fifty-two. The two exceptions mentioned are the Servant Girls and the Stenographers, and they are exceptions only because no well directed plan of action has as yet been put forth in their behalf.

The Chicago papers report that many women have become such enthusiastic "unionists" that clubs have been formed by girls, who take oath that they will be wooed and won only by men bearing union cards. Cupid on a sympathetic strike!

### A Chimera to Run With the Elephant and the Donkey?

With the elephant and the donkey, which have become recognized as the pen and ink hieroglyphs to represent the two leading political parties, John H. Raftery evidently would set up the chimera as the symbol of the politico-labor party.

"For all who build upon the concrete and enduring efficiency of politico-labor influences in election campaigns," he says in *The Voter* for March, the stability, sincerity and cohesiveness of amalgamated labor, whether as to class loyalty or political consistency, does not amount to a tinker's damn."

Finding from the experience of practical politicians that "union labor outside of its own normal scope has no more cohesion or stability than a rope of sand," he discounts the political hopes of Hearst and other vaunted "champions of labor."

"The truth is," says Raftery, "that the rank and file of organized labor in the United States is infinitely superior in moral rectitude, in mental poise, in respect for law and genuine patriotism to the self-seeking, grasping, boodling poseurs and thieves who are recognized and authorized as 'labor leaders.' But unhappily the leaders stand forth as exemplars of the policies and beliefs of

their followers. The best, most irreproachable—perhaps the most honestly disposed leader labor has had in recent years is John Mitchell."

Always concise and pithy, *The Voter* keeps a keen eye on the political situation both in local Chicago affairs and throughout the country.

The editor of *The Voter*, Henry Barrett Chamberlain, is well known for his versatility as a newspaper man. He was war correspondent of the *Chicago Record* in Cuba during the Spanish war, and left daily newspaper work to become secretary of the Municipal Voters' League.

### Summer Cottages at Macatawa, Mich., to Rent for the Season

Recently built cottage, furnished seven rooms and bathroom with running water, on Lake Michigan shore, south of Macatawa, seven hours from Chicago by Graham & Morton daily line steamers. Fine site between lake and woods. Apply "COTTAGE," care *The Commons*, 180 Grand Ave., Chicago.

### FOR SALE

Lake front cottage, Macatawa Park, seven rooms, double veranda, running water, partially furnished if desired. Apply "COTTAGE," care *The Commons*, 180 Grand Ave., Chicago.



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## Books of Civic and Industrial Interest Reviewed

Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society. By Richard T. Ely. The Macmillan Co. Price \$1.25 net.

In this latest volume of the "Citizen's Library" Prof. Ely has added another valuable contribution to the popular understanding of the industrial situation. It supplements the many conspicuous services he has rendered in the development of American political economy. His book is all the more practically useful for not being as exacting and exhaustively devoted to the evolution of industry, for which reason it has been severely reviewed by at least one critic. But Prof. Ely's evident purpose was to write a series of studies of the social aspects of industrial evolution. This he has admirably and adequately succeeded in doing. It is a real service to show more widely, as he has so well done in his general survey, that present problems are the result of the evolution in industry, the history of which he so interestingly and suggestively sketches. Both sides of the ethical controversy over competition are fairly stated. But sometimes it seems as though the competitive principle as conceived by the author is so restricted in his view of its operation as not to be the real force to be reckoned with in trade. On the other hand, a defense of its restriction against the charge of bringing about race deterioration is one of the most valuable contributions of the book. In treating such problems of industrial evolution as monopolies, municipal ownership, concentration and diffusion of wealth, inheritance of property, and the evolution of public expenditure, the author puts every reader under obligation to him in adding the careful analysis and summary of the voluminous report of the United States Industrial Commission, which covers so many of these points, as well as the present situation of labor. The ethical emphasis increases toward the close of the volume as it is laid upon "industrial peace," "industrial liberty" and "the widening and deepening range of ethical obligation." In the course of this development, a critique of Prof. J. Mark Baldwin's "Social and Ethical Interpretation of Mental Development" is introduced. The volume closes with a resumé on the possibilities of social reform.

All these studies are very valuably supplemented by statistical tabulations and diagrams, bibliographical footnotes and summaries, and appendices and indices most useful for reference.

"Long Will; A Romance." By Florence Converse. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Illustrated, crown, 8vo. \$1.50.

The author of "The Burden of Christopher" succeeded in powerfully dramatizing in that story a tragic phase of the present industrial situation. In "Long Will" she has perhaps even more successfully interpreted

the tragedy of the English peasants' revolt in 1381, that first great strike, which initiated the labor movement in England. Her hero is Will Langland, whose vision of Piers Plowman she treats not as literature merely, but as what it is, the first great labor poem in English history. Many cantos of the Vision are wrought into the story most effectively. The diction and style are exquisitely quaint in old English colloquial without being difficult to read. The characters of Langland and his daughter, Calote—the English type of Joan d'Arc—are powerfully drawn, as are the robust forms of John Ball, Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, and the half spoiled, but winsome, spirit of the boy king Richard. Through the whole story runs that spirit in which Greene, the historian, says, "Langland stands alone in his fairness, in his shrewd political common sense on the eve of a great struggle between wealth and labor." Besides giving us a great story, delightfully told, Miss Converse has added a book that deserves to be used, not only as a collateral reference for the enjoyment of that early English poem, but as a strong side light upon the historical and economic study of that distant struggle, which has not yet ceased to have its bearings upon our present-day issues.

### A STORY OF SETTLEMENT POLITICS.

Mr. Henry Kitchell Webster is deservedly placed by the Macmillan Company with F. Marion Crawford, Owen Wister, William Sterns Davis and others among the favorite authors by whom their "Little Novels" are being written. His stories, "The Banker and the Bear" and "Roger Drake, Captain of Industry," open a new vein for American fiction in the tragedy of industrial relationships, which is more dramatic in our life than in that of any other nation. It has more live material for any novelist who will study it at first hand than the most exuberant imagination can originate. Mr. Webster's realistic insight to this intense life is combined with an artistic skill which carries on and out his stories with an almost business directness, relieved by leisurely playfulness of style. In "The Duke of Cameron Avenue" the author ventures into the closely allied domain of commercialized city politics, centering his plot at a social settlement. His campaign is true to the social ideal and practical method of settlement political endeavor, and has touches of local tone and color taken from the real life under the writer's observation. From more than a mere delicate suggestion of the pairing instinct we are mercifully spared. This little novel is successfully short, though not one of his stories is so long that his reader does not wish it was just a little longer. ("The Duke of Cameron Avenue," by Henry Kitchell Webster. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904.)

The Reporter's Manual.—John Palmer Gavit.

Mr. Gavit has long been known to readers of *The Commons* as its first editor and always as a contributor whose articles have given the columns of the paper a great deal of interest. Much of the distinctiveness upon which *The Commons* has often been congratulated by its constituency is due to the point of view he thoughtfully gave it when editor. As connected at present with the Associated Press at Albany, he is in a position still to lend much of more than ordinary interest to our table of contents by his incisive writing upon aspects of current topics, as his recent article on "The Freedom of Contract Fetish" has evidenced.

It gives us great satisfaction to notice a book just published by him, which is the result of years of keen observation and experience concerning newspaper methods.

Concise, but complete, useful in what it suggests quite as much as in direct help to every writer for the newspaper, this book will prove of inestimable value not only to those just entering upon newspaper work but to the experienced as well. The Manual is not a treatise on journalism, nor a haphazard collection of hints; it has a definite purpose and accomplishes it—to place in easily get-at-able shape a wealth of advice and instruction about "recognizing" and writing news. Its admirable arrangement puts at one's service in an instant the precise guidance sought for. Pointing the way to sources of news, it reveals a remarkably extensive field for the exercise of what is popularly thought to be a faculty incapable of frequent use in newspaper work—forethought—and we venture to say that for one who uses the book there will be forthcom-

ing many a "scoop." For sale at \$1 by the author, Albany, N. Y.

Country Time and Tide, monthly, \$1 a year. Edward Pearson Pressey, Montague, Mass.

Of the many artistic magazinelettes that are becoming so popular these days none is more truly deserving of this popularity than this one. There is nothing of the philistine about it, but its radicalism is that of sweetness and purity, as well as of liberty. It holds up "a more profitable and interesting country life" in a most charming manner, without preaching, tells the arts and crafts news, has a good country life story, and points to a more beautiful industrialism in rural life. The institution of New Clairvaux, at Montague, which issues this magazine, is perhaps the best equipped and most promising art community in this country.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

Scudder, Vida D. "A Listener in Babel." A series of imaginary conversations at close of last century. Houghton, Mifflin Co. Crown 8vo. \$1.50.

Tolstoy, Leo. "Sevastopol and Other Military Tales." Translated by Louise and Aylmer Maude. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. Price \$1.50.

Steiner Edward A. "Tolstoy the Man." The Outlook Co., New York. Price \$1.50 net.

Montague, Gilbert Holland. "Trusts of To-day." Facts relating to their promotion, management and attempts at state control. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. Price \$1.20.

Miller, Elizabeth. "The Yoke." A romance of the redemption from Egypt. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.

## From the Editor's Ink Horn of "The New Field"

Dr. Spahr, until recently an editor of "The Outlook," and now editor of "Current Literature," wrote us the other day: "You have found a new field and fill it."

Professor Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, volunteers this appreciative note:

"Permit me to say that I regard *The Commons* as one of our most valuable periodical publications. I have always been interested in it, but in its new form it appeals more strongly than ever to me. I was so much interested in the last issue that I read it all and it is not often that I read everything in a

periodical. I trust that the circulation of *The Commons* will increase greatly, for it has its own peculiar field and mission."

So many others have written similarly—two or three hundred in the past few months—that they have convinced us that we have found not merely a new field, but a field which they and the remainder of our already large and rapidly growing constituency greatly wish us to cultivate.

Already there exist great numbers of industrial magazines, which may be roughly divided into two classes; one published "of, by and for" a single



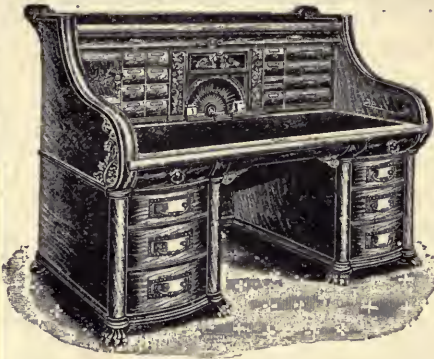
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party in the industrial struggle, as a contemporary frankly proclaims. This class of journals is apt to uphold each and every act of capital and, without analysis, call the consequence of the act industrial justice. The other class of journals, published in the interests of the other party in the industrial conflict, is similarly prone to characterize desires of labor, per se, as industrial justice.

The "middle ground" upon which the classes must finally meet peacefully and harmoniously to adjust their outstanding difficulties is the field which *The Commons* has entered. Indeed, we are sorry to find that so many consider it a new field. If it is new, we hope it will not be so very long.

With this issue *The Commons* enters its ninth year of endeavor to demonstrate "efficient philanthropy." We hope that with this and succeeding numbers, as in the past, we may give the frank and constructive treatment needed in philanthropic, institutional and public service.

Under the department of educational freedom, the most fundamental of the four intimate and interrelated spheres treated by *The Commons*, we present with this number "The Ethical Challenge of Our Public Schools," by Henry W. Thurston, of the Chicago Normal School, and an influential educational author.

We are glad, too, with this number to present the article by Mr. F. F. Ingram of Detroit, on "The Municipality and Its Utilities," for we hope to develop a strong department devoted to fair and fearless discussions of "The People's Control of Public Utilities."

## LIGHT FROM THE PAST ON PRESENT LABOR PROBLEMS.

Under this title, the editor will begin in the May number of *The Commons* a series of descriptive studies on past conditions, measures and men in the English labor world having a bearing upon uppermost American industrial problems. These studies will be supplemented monthly by articles from those having first-hand knowledge of the present issues involved.



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# CHARITIES

A Weekly Review of Philanthropy

Published by the New York Charity Organization Society

EDWARD T. DEVINE, Ph. D., Editor

CHARITIES is a publication of general circulation devoted exclusively to the field of practical philanthropy and social uplift. Its aim is to keep its readers thoroughly abreast of the times in all things charitable---the latest news, the newest thought, pertinent comment, instructive experience, telling achievement. It is an admirable running-mate for The Commons.

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Commencing with the March (1904) issue, **DR. CHARLES B. SPAHR** became the Editor-in-Chief of *Current Literature*. Dr. Spahr for many years has been an Associate Editor of *The Outlook*, and brings to *Current Literature* experience as an Editor, expert knowledge of economics, and practical ability to apply that knowledge to current events. His entire time will be devoted to *Current Literature*, and under his direction many new features of great interest and value will be added to the magazine.

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**THE EDITOR, GRAHAM TAYLOR,** reviews the month's men and measures.

---

## Special Features of The Commons for June

**The Year's Municipal Disclosures and Development,** by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

**The Municipal Program,** by Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, Grand Rapids.

**Functions and Opportunities of Political Organizations Under the Municipal Nominating Law,** by Horace E. Deming, New York City.

**Workingwomen's Homes,** by Mrs. Ethelbert Stewart.

**Legal Disabilities of Women,** by Kate F. O'Connor.

**Woman as an Investor,** by Mrs. Charles Henrotin.

**Provincialism in Philanthropy,** by Jeffrey O. Brackett, President of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

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# The Commons

MAY, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer } Assistant Editors  
Graham Romeyn Taylor }

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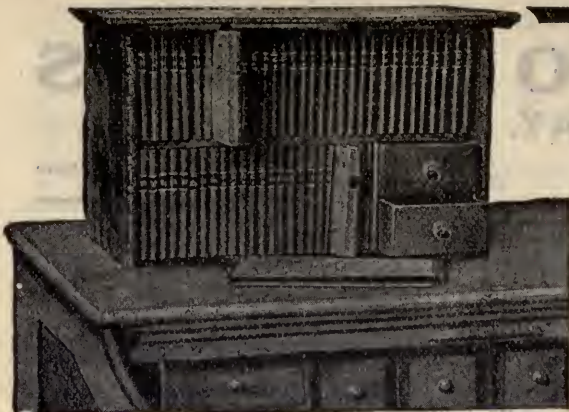
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# The Commons

Number 5 - Vol. IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, May, 1904

## With The Editor

### No Silence at Violence.

The demand that labor unions purge themselves from complicity with lawlessness and violence, whenever and wherever implicated, is rightfully insistent. It comes not nearly so much from those who wish them ill, as from their well-wishers in and outside of their own ranks. It is not surprising that the more honorable the men among them are, the more indignantly they resent the implication and the demand that they repudiate what they never justified. But second sober thought should at least take into account such considerations as these. Nothing is costing trades unionism such defection in the public support it so much needs as even the suspicion of resorting to violence. American public opinion at heart is fair and law-abiding. In the end it will never stand for taking the law into one's own hands, or relying upon the blow of force instead of the persuasion and justice of one's cause. Ostensibly, at least, in times of strike and lockout, violence is done in the name and for the sake of the union cause. It will not do always to say that it is incited by employers' detectives or done by the mob. For it is more frequently charged up to their account than the evidence ever adduced warrants. Usually it is due solely to the individual men who commit the overt act. Rarely is it to be traced to the collective action of the union or its officers. In either case general denial

is not enough to discharge the union of responsibility.

The member of a union committing overt acts of violence should not only be held individually accountable by the union, as well as by the public, but the union should, for its own sake and that of the community, help detect and convict the law-breaker. Nothing short of this policy will line up the wavering public support and win the new friends the unions need. It may be necessary also to hold the oldest and most loyal trades unionists in the ranks where and when their loyalty to law and the union pull apart. If this stand for law and order were fearlessly taken, in a short, sharp and decisive way, it would not only restore lost public favor, but would go far to get support for every demand of labor that commends itself as just and reasonable. But every blow of violence strikes a nail on the head which is being driven straight into the coffin that will bury a type of unionism so unworthy of its name and cause.

---

The Carriage and Wagon Makers' Union of Chicago has the honor of setting the precedent for an open and aggressive stand against offenders. It produced in court one of its own members who had attacked a non-union man, furnished four witnesses from the union to testify against him and collected a fine of \$20 which it imposed upon him before he was arraigned in court.



## No Silent Partners in Law-Breaking.

It is not a whit less incumbent upon corporations and combinations of business men publicly to disavow and bring to justice those among their own number who, to promote the gain of enterprises in which they are interested, defy or buy or evade the common law. Gentlemen who rightly wax indignantly denunciatory over the silence of labor unions and their leaders at crimes committed in their struggles are inconsistently very still and quiet at the public scandals over the grave and criminal breaches of law and order by which corporations or private interests profit at public expense. For example, in the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Northern Securities case we read, "The purpose of the combination was concealed under very general words that gave no clue whatever to the real purposes of those who brought about the organization of the Securities Company. If the certificate of the incorporation of that company had expressly stated that the object of the company was to destroy competition between competing parallel lines of interstate carriers, all would have seen at the outset that the scheme was in hostility to the national authority and that there was a purpose to violate or evade the act of Congress."

But now that the said "purpose" is judged criminal, who of the eminent citizens of Minnesota and of New York, publicly named among the appellants, has been heard from disavowing, much less denouncing, the crime clearly committed in their name, if not by all of them, each and severally. The United States senator who has just been convicted of a felony and sentenced to the

penitentiary has been for years, by common consent, adjudged to be a legislative broker whose influence was publicly offered for sale. But now that his slimy soap-bubble has burst, where are the railway officials from whom William Allen White charges "peremptory orders came out of Chicago and St. Louis, in the campaign which ended with Burton's election, demanding that local railroad lawyers support Burton or lose their places?" Are these lawyers purging themselves of contempt for the law by vacating such attorneyships, or even by exposing the unmanly accomplices of this convicted felon?

Chicago has been corrupted and scandalized for more than a generation by as vulgar and lawless a lobby as ever disgraced a city or state legislature in the interests of a public service corporation. No thanks are due for the failure of its nefarious and unpatriotic design upon the rights of the community to the denials or dissent of stockholders and directors, who are at least guilty of the conspiracy of silence. No more severe and searching arraignment has ever been made, in or out of court, against workingmen for contempt of law than Lincoln Steffens' indictment of the capitalist "enemies of the republic." But we submit the rank injustice either of holding the mass of business men guilty of such treasonable conspiracy because some of them are, or of holding the mass of organized workingmen guilty of violence and lawlessness because some of their number have proven to be such. It is high time for the innocent on both sides of the line to speak up and out against those among either of them who have put themselves outside the bonds of honest fellowship and the pale of patriotism.

## Can the Law Compel Competition?

The decision of the United States Supreme Court against the Northern Securities Company puts this question to a more decisive test than ever. The anti-trust act upon which it is based defines its own purpose to be "to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraint and monopoly." It affixes a penalty of \$5,000 fine and one year imprisonment, or both, for the crime of each contract, combine or conspiracy "in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states or with foreign nations." Judgments under this act have been repeatedly rendered and affirmed ever since its passage in 1896 by lower and higher courts. But this last decision is at once the most sweeping reaffirmation and most minute interpretation of the act ever handed down.

The majority opinion, written by Mr. Justice Harlan, affirming the decree of the United States Circuit Court for Minnesota, which dissolved the Securities Company as illegal and criminal under the act, squarely faces the compulsion of competition as the main issue of the case. It makes interference with free competition identical with the "restraint" from which the anti-trust act aims to protect interstate trade and commerce. The minority opinion further emphasizes this issue by urging against it the fact that the act says nothing directly of competition in prohibiting restraint of trade. But so definite and determined is the decision of the court on this point that, as Mr. Justice Holmes' dissenting opinion points out, it even prohibits such holding of stock as results in interference with free competition. Indeed, Justice Harlan explicitly says that the act in all prior cases "has been construed as forbidding any combination which by necessary operation destroys or restricts free competition among those engaged in interstate commerce." In still more strongly reaffirming this construction, the judges themselves raise the question "whether the free

operation of the normal laws of competition is a wise and wholesome rule for trade and commerce." But the court immediately disavows the need of its considering or determining this "economic question."

In thus boldly defining the issue, however, it prompts the inquiry how decisive this decision will prove to be. It will undoubtedly for a time put the safety breaks on dangerously rapid tendencies to interfere with free competition in the interest of private monopoly. But how far will it be able to compel individuals, or combinations of them, much more whole communities, to compete, whose interest it is to co-operate? Within state lines and municipal limits the co-operative movement may freely develop. But against the force of social gravity toward the economic advantage of safeguarded combination and co-operation over unrestricted competition, is the last decision likely to prove more effectively prohibitive than those that have preceded it during the fourteen years' operation of the anti-trust act? Its most far-reaching effect is likely to be the reaffirmation of the old Federalist claim of the right of Congress to control private interests for public welfare. The possible effect of this decision in establishing and developing the precedent set by the Interstate Commerce Act is incalculable.

## Social Reconstruction by the Supreme Court

Mr. Justice Holmes, with the chief justice and two other justices concurring, dissents from this position as "an interpretation of the law which in my opinion would make eternal the *bellum omnium contra omnes*, and disintegrate society, so far as it could, into individual atoms. If that were its intent I should regard calling such a law 'a regulation of commerce' a mere pretense. It would be an attempt to reconstruct society." He adds: "I am not concerned with the wisdom of such an attempt;" but everyone else is concerned with the reconstruction, or, rather, the construction, of society in-



volved in this decision. For, on the one hand, in behalf of an individual or individuals against whose interest or community of interests it is to compete, the minority of the court urges that under this ruling the same monopoly may be attempted and effected by an individual who owns stock in two competing roads as by a combination of individuals who do likewise. It urges that it would be a crime for two stage-drivers to form a partnership who had been competitors in driving across a state line. On the other hand, the majority supports the government's charge that "if the combination was held not to be in violation of the act of Congress, then all efforts of the national government to preserve to the people the benefits of free competition among carriers engaged in interstate commerce would be wholly unavailable, and all transcontinental lines, indeed, the entire railway systems of the country, may be absorbed, merged and consolidated, thus placing the public at the absolute mercy of the holding corporation."

Between this calamity, which, the government warns the court, would follow its decision for the trust, and "the disaster and widespread financial ruin" which the trust lawyers predicted would follow a decision against them, the majority of the court steps in to avert the former and risk the latter. It will be interesting to see which of these two tendencies, to combine or to compete, will prove to be the most effective in "reconstructing society" industrially. The socialists will not be slow in trying to shut the masses up to a choice between the national monopolization of all the means and tools of production and the monopoly of the necessities of life by the capitalistic trust. Meanwhile, unterrified by this slogan of the radicals, and undeterred by this conservative decision of the United States Supreme Court, in so far as it is irrelevant to local issues within state lines, the people will continue more or less unconsciously to construct their municipal policies according to their own interests. More or less instinctively will

they register their final decision between competition and co-operation, and the spheres to which one or the other shall be restricted. Upon the too impatient and inconsiderate haste in these local tendencies the merger decision may exert beneficial influence as a check and balance. But meanwhile this most notable case can hardly fail to prove a far-reaching stimulus to the great debate as to whether industrial society shall be constructed on a predominantly competitive or co-operative basis.

### Chicago's Public Ownership Vote.

Although advisory and not mandatory, the referendum vote in Chicago on the city's street railway policy is decisive. While "immediate municipal ownership" may prove to be entirely impracticable, as it surely would be found to be very difficult, both on account of the financial inability of the city and the inefficiency of its administration departments, yet what the people want and will have later, if not sooner, is clear enough. A vote of 152,423 to 30,104 for the enabling act, 120,744 to 50,893 for immediate ownership, and 120,181 to 48,056 for temporary license instead of franchises to the companies until the roads can be acquired by the city, comes close to being an imperative mandate politically. Those who refer to this vote as merely the ignorant sentiment of "the lodging house wards" are themselves strangely ignorant of how small a proportion of such a total even our large floating vote constitutes. But to attribute it to the labor vote squares to the facts and accounts for the casting of it. For the majorities for all three "municipal ownership" propositions were greatest in the wards where the permanent laboring population lives.

So far from being ignorantly inconsiderate, these workmen voters are practically the only organized bodies of citizens who made any consecutive effort to understand and publicly discuss the issues involved. They have been threshing out at least the points of gen-

eral public policy involved for three or four years in every labor union and in open public meetings. Moreover, they were capable of discriminating between these measures and the men who bid for their votes. For in several wards where they were expected to vote for candidates only because endorsed by the more radical public ownership faction, the labor voters decisively defeated unworthy men, some of whom posed as trades union candidates, and at the same time carried the measures by overwhelming majorities. That kind of a vote must be reckoned with by some other rejoinder than that offered by contemptuous prepossession. It can be guided with sympathetic intelligence. But it can neither be ignored nor coerced.

### Women in Modern Industry.

In pursuance of its purpose to furnish its readers with the best available first-hand studies of laboring life and its social conditions, *The Commons* gives right of way to the special features of this number. Through the courtesy of the president of the Chicago Woman's Club and some of its most distinguished members, we present the summaries of their inquiries as to the status of woman in modern industry which they made among employers of women and women employes. The parties directly involved speak for themselves in these presentations. What other investigators think of "woman as an investor," "the homes of working women," "women's legal disabilities," "the training of women for industrial life" and "the status of woman in the profession of teaching" will follow in *The Commons* for June. The opening of the promised historical survey of the labor movement has been deferred for the same reason to the next number.

### Municipal Problems and Progress.

We have waited to open our department devoted to the peoples' control of public utilities until we could present some facts and principles underlying the whole municipal situation in Amer-

ica, which are fundamental to any fair and intelligent treatment of that subject.

The national conference for good city government and the meeting of the National Municipal League, in session as we go to press, afford both the occasion and material for opening our discussion of the municipal policy confronting every city. By courtesy of participants in these noteworthy occasions, we are able in this issue to furnish our readers with three of the most fundamental inquiries of the program, and next month to publish the papers of other distinguished publicists, announced on another page, which will constitute some of the special features of the June number.

Valuable as was every feature of the pre-arranged program, perhaps the most invaluable contribution toward the actual work of promoting good city government was the informal exchange of experience over a lunch table. Gathered about it were the men who head up the movements for political betterment in New York City, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, Cleveland, New Orleans, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Denver and other cities. Their comparison of experience in both success and failure was all the more practically effective because brought out by questioning and answering each other in the freest and most conversational way. It was equally advantageous both to the conference and Chicago that the National League met in this city. For it gathered no small part of its inspiration and suggestion for future work from the uniquely successful experience of the Chicago Municipal Voters' League, which in turn profits greatly by the different points of view and the inspiring personal fellowships afforded by this occasion. The countrywide outlook thus made possible, while encouraging, involves a stern, persistent, not to say desperate struggle for the emancipation of our cities from the intolerable evils of blind partisan control. But the character, ability, determination and leagued organization of the men lining up everywhere for this war without discharge are the sure harbingers of final victory.



# Partisanship in Municipal Politics

By Charles J. Bonaparte

President of the National Municipal League.\*

It is usually thought, or, at all events, very often said, by reformers that a national party can have no legitimate place in municipal politics, for, since the fact that a mayor or an alderman is a Republican or a Democrat cannot properly affect in any way whatever the discharge of his duties to the city he serves, it is essentially and obviously absurd to vote for him because he is a Republican rather than a Democrat or *vice versa*. If this proposition be really so nearly self-evident as it is usually assumed to be by those who advance it, how can we explain the fact that in at least nine-tenths of the municipalities of the country a proportion of the voters no less overwhelmingly habitually cast their ballots for or against candidates for such offices just because these are Republicans or Democrats and for no other reason whatsoever? Why is it that the great bulk of our citizens, not to mention every one of our politicians, good, bad and indifferent, adopt a rule of conduct so plainly unreasonable? I think this question requires an answer.

It must be remembered that, owing to the practical and thoroughgoing adoption of the "spoils" theory of politics by our politicians, our "parties" differ essentially from political parties in all other enlightened countries, and from those known here before the adoption of that theory. Here in the early days of the republic and elsewhere now, parties were and are organizations of men entertaining similar views on questions of public policy and combining to obtain practical acceptance for their views.

But for our parties to obtain the principal executive offices, and through them those in their gift, is the whole end and reason for existence; far from wishing the offices to carry out a policy, their managers often fear above all things to advocate an intelligent policy, lest it may cost them the offices.

## THE EFFECT OF THE "SPOILS" DOCTRINE.

The whole purpose of our parties being to obtain and distribute offices, they are correspondingly organized. Their leaders are prominent officeholders or those who will become such if the party succeed; their active members are the incumbents of petty offices, or such as hope to dispossess them; their revenues are derived from assessments on official salaries supplemented by the investment of capitalists having contracts to obtain or taxes to evade. Every public trust, however responsible, or however humble, that of chief justice of the Supreme Court or that of village lamplighter, is for our politicians simply current coin to excite and reward partisan activity. They believe that, as a national organization, the one party has no other aim than to seek these offices, the other, no purpose but to keep them out; that for strictly analogous reasons these parties exist and contend in every state and division of a state throughout the union. They think an American political party is kept up for purposes as strictly interested as a railroad or a life insurance company; the sentiments of its platform mean for them no more than the devotion to the public to be found in a prospectus of the former, or the longing to care for the widow and orphan professed in the circulars of the latter; such professions are advertisements and nothing more. The very men who prepare them often look with undisguised contempt upon anyone who takes them more seriously; a politician of to-day can hardly conceive of a party with other ends than to secure support at public expense for as many as possible of its members; that citizens should combine for any other purpose seems to him absurd and visionary.

No argument is needed to prove this theory of politics no less false than unworthy, but it has come dangerously

\* From his annual address at the meeting of the League, April 28, at Chicago.

near to practical acceptance by a very large proportion of our citizens. The thorough refutation and rejection by public opinion of the "spoils" doctrine, the introduction and observance in good faith of the merit system in all branches of public service, federal, state and municipal, is at least a prerequisite to the rescue of municipal government from the unwholesome influence of partisan politics.

#### SOURCES OF THE POLITICIAN'S POWER.

Is this influence, however, wholly unwholesome? Is no good done in municipal politics by party organizations formed on national issues? These questions must be answered fairly. We must bear in mind the necessity and duty of seeing things as they are and not letting our wishes or our theories color the glasses through which we look out on this work-a-day world. Moreover, we must remember that half a loaf has many points of superiority over no bread, and that a very unsatisfactory makeshift may yet be very useful while we await something better. Finally it may be



CHARLES J. BONAPARTE.

well to note once more that political parties are not essentially or necessarily *quasi* corporations devoted to place mongering; our parties have been no less deformed and degraded by the "spoils" system than our public service and our electorate; indeed they are the earliest and most maltreated of its victims.

In a very clever and instructive, as well as amusing, satire, entitled, "The Boss; An Essay Upon the Art of Governing American Cities," published in

1894, and, I regret to say, already out of print, the author, a Mr. Champenowne; points out very clearly, although with a slight touch of sarcasm, why our modern American cities cannot govern themselves without the aid of politicians. He says:

"The people of a modern city differs much from the people of an ancient city, or from one of the middle ages . . . in being very much greater in numbers. . . . But the results of this, as I said at the outset, are very important; for where there is so great

a congregation of men they cannot act as one body, either in choosing rulers, or in making laws, or in deliberating about what is best to be done. . . .

Hence in a great city it may be said that no one knows the wishes or desires of many of the citizens, and it often falls out that the greater number of them desire the same thing; but cannot bring it about because they are ignorant of their own agreement. . . .

Herein lies the strength and opportunity of the politicians; for they can unite, being few and acquainted with one another, and

having nothing else to engage their attention; but the multitude cannot. Neither can the multitude have any leaders, at least for any long time, except the politicians. But the politicians can be their leaders, since they reward themselves with the offices; and whoever becomes a leader of the people, expecting to be repaid for his labor with office, is a politician."

There is really nothing mysterious in this; some one must make it his business to control any association, or to



direct any corporate work; and the more unwieldy the assemblage the more imperative is the need of expert guidance. Professional politicians are indispensable to any popular government; we are peculiar only in having more of them, and those of a lower type, than other free nations.

#### EFFECTIVENESS OF PARTY DISCIPLINE.

It is no less clear that popular government is impossible without associations of some sorts for political ends among voters, and that the power and influence of such associations will be augmented in proportion as their members accept more promptly and cheerfully the guidance of their leaders. To quote again from "The Boss":

"The great need of any number of men, if they are to accomplish anything by acting in common, is to be organized and disciplined. . . . Although it is the law that the greater number shall rule, yet nearly always a smaller number, voting under orders as one man, will prevail over the greater number, because the latter are divided in their counsels, and many of their voters merely offset one another by being for different men."

It is in no way surprising that the local organizations of our great national parties should exercise an influence usually paramount in municipal political contests, for it must be owned that an association of this character possesses a permanence and cohesion which no ordinary municipal party could acquire.

I should be the last to maintain that "parties" such as these are ideal instruments of government, especially of municipal government; but, while we try to make them better, or even to make them step down and out that better may fill their places, let us frankly recognize that, bad as they are, they are of some, and even of great, utility and that their removal from the sphere of city politics will leave a void, which, if not aching, may be seriously inconvenient and imperatively demand to be filled.

Amateurs in politics are an extremely useful and meritorious class; but, of all

politicians, and, I had almost said, of all men, they most need a strict discipline, and especially the discipline of adversity. A noted English statesman when asked what form of training was most useful for boys destined to public life, pointed to the twigs of a birch tree; a good sound thrashing puts more political sense into a man than all the writings of Aristotle or Machiavelli, who are so often quoted by the author of "The Boss." When the National Municipal League was formed in 1894, the Good Government Clubs of New York seemed to many sanguine friends of reform the long-sought substitute for Tammany in city politics. Mayor Strong's election sufficed, first to make them the Goo-Goos, then to consign them to merited oblivion; they were absolutely ruined, as instruments of government, by a single brilliant victory. On the other hand, our Baltimore Reform League has a record of twenty years' hard, steady, useful service to the cause of good government and pure politics, and is still stout, vigorous and respected. The Maryland Independents, of whose body it forms the nucleus, have been thrashed so often and so soundly that none of their occasional successes have availed to banish humility, charity and common sense from their intellectual equipment.

#### A RESULT OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

These considerations are the more material because in municipal government, and more especially in the administration of our great American cities, public men must deal with a class of problems whose attempted solution by minds untrained through experience may breed no little mischief. Our friend, Mr. Champenowne, says:

"All municipalities in this country differ in their constitution from all those that do now subsist, or that have heretofore subsisted, in any of the other countries of the earth. All these other cities, whether ancient or modern, are or have been ruled either by princes, or by nobles, or by such of the inhabitants as are either rich or at least do not count upon wages for their support. . . . Now when we speak of the

people we mean all the inhabitants or all the male adults. . . . But that government by such a people as this could exist in a city would probably not have seemed credible to either Aristotle or Machiavelli. For they thought that a people such as they knew could hardly be restrained from plundering the rich if it became possessed of the government; and they would have said that if the power was obtained by the very poorest, such as slaves and outlaws, the city would at once be destroyed by their excesses."

That universal suffrage in our great cities has not, in fact, led to these lamentable consequences, is undoubtedly the result of many causes; to some extent, however, it is due to certain characteristics of our politicians, which, in a measure, neutralize their more baneful qualities. They are greedy and shameless, but seldom bold, and cowardice with the bulk of them is some substitute for conscience. Moreover, a thoroughly corrupt and self-seeking class is by nature conservative. The American politician has in his mind no dangerously vague visions of general improvement for mankind; he has the perfectly definite and commonplace intention to advance his own interest, and no mirage of the imagination lures him into perilous paths in this pursuit. He is not naturally a demagogue; when he attempts the role, he is usually clumsy and unsuccessful, because transparently insincere. To inflame and play on passions and prejudices of class or race or creed is, in truth, greater work than he is fit for; the practice of vulgar frauds and petty intrigues does not train men to be real popular leaders in mischief.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE UNATTRACTIVE.

Another aspect of the matter merits a moment's attention. One of the most serious objections to a democratic form of government is that it renders public service particularly distasteful to those particularly well qualified to serve the public. The usual and almost inevitable incidents of a canvass for office are repulsive to most men fitted to fill offices of moment; and the higher grades of public employment are far less profitable,

for honest and competent officers, than are positions of private trust of the like responsibility. The result is that first-class men usually serve the community at a sacrifice of both interest and inclination, and, in truth, under a sort of compulsion. When the party organization believes that only the nomination of such a candidate will save it from defeat and consequent loss of minor offices, it is better able to first find such a candidate and afterwards to induce him to accept its nominations than any temporary or purely local association can be. As our author says: "Loyalty is with most men stronger than reason," and one who would firmly refuse to take the trouble and incur the expense involved in seeking or holding the mayoralty because he might thus make taxes lower, streets cleaner, schools better and public servants more honest and capable, may not resist an appeal to accept that he may help the G. O. P. out of a hole.

From all that I have said it may reasonably be inferred that I believe the existing local organizations of the two national parties may be employed for certain purposes as useful agencies of municipal government; and even that, under existing conditions of political education and morals among the people of great American cities, if it were possible to do away with them altogether, the results of so doing might be disappointing and, in some cases, disastrous. It must not be supposed for a moment, however, that I am in any wise blind or tender to their faults.

Our vast political corporations are ruled each by a small inner circle of men whose stake in its operations is sufficient to have them make its control the business of their lives. Our laws are made and enforced by men who owe their official life to our professional politicians, as these constitute, for practical purposes, the two great corporations we call parties; and their rule is such as should be expected from the characteristics of men who control them.

Although fortunes are no doubt made in it, politics, regarded as a way



to make money, is a poor trade. It has few attractions for men of character and ability, and such men, with rare exceptions, shun it. It is recruited from the failures and outcasts of all professions. Its lowest stratum is made up in no small measure of habitual criminals; we reform, or further debauch, our convicts by making them our rulers.

Among so many thousands a certain number of men of ability will, of course, be found. But I believe the impression that politicians are generally acute and ingenious, though untrustworthy, is wholly groundless; the vast majority of them are men of the most moderate natural abilities, and the most limited acquirements. The "bosses" are noted for skill in obtaining plunder and liberality in its distribution among their followers, while the latter believe in their patron's star, that is to say, feel confidence in his continuous ability to find them places; they adhere to him with unscrupulous fidelity; but he will be deserted in an instant if another proves, or is thought, better able to reward effective service at the people's cost.

#### PARTIES UTILIZED FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Organizations formed of such men for such purposes can be agencies of good city government only against their will, and to compel them to be such agencies is, to my mind, the immediate end of municipal reformers in America to-day. I say the *immediate* end, for I fully recognize that we may reasonably look forward to a time when the mass of our fellow-citizens shall have attained, through long and sad experience, a standard of enlightenment enabling them to elect a mayor or alderman for some other and better reason than his nomination as a Democrat or as a Republican; and we may also hope that when the serpent of "spoils" politics has been, not "skotched" skin deep, as at present, but killed for good, our parties themselves may become again worthy of their names and fit for their work. But, dealing, as we must, with the voters we have and the parties we

know, under any ordinary circumstances, I see but one sensible course for sensible friends of good government, namely, to invite bids from both parties for their support, bids in the nomination of good men and the support of good measures, and to close with the highest bidder.

I need hardly say that I disclaim any right to speak *ex cathedra*, but I would have us discharge our duties as citizens in accordance with those principles of honesty and common sense which guide the fulfillment of any private trust; let us seek to obtain the best rulers we can and the best laws we can for our city, just as we seek to make the safest, most judicious and most profitable use of lands or goods placed in our keeping. In neither case can honorable and conscientious men make any bargain with iniquity; a trustee has no right to bribe an assessor that his *cestui que trust* may pay lower taxes, or let the trust property for a gambling hell or a brothel that the latter's income may be larger; and, in like manner, a citizen has no right, by word or act, to justify belief that he holds a scoundrel for anything else but a scoundrel.

But we must bear in mind that we are not inspired prophets entrusted with a revelation of warning to a people steeped in sin, a warning which the latter will do well to heed, but whose reception in nowise concerns us. We are men, no better or wiser than our fellows, seeking by purely human appeals to reason and conscience to make more or less of these things as we see them, and feel as we feel about what we all see. Partisanship in municipal affairs is a source of odious abuses and the abatement of its evils should be matter of grave and urgent concern to all in hearty sympathy with the principles and purposes of the National Municipal League; but its elimination is, for the moment and as things are, neither practicable nor certainly and unreservedly to be desired; and I now invite the aid of all who thus sympathize with our aims and methods to make it, if and in so far as we can make it, a source of good.

# Method of Nomination to Public Office

## An Historical Sketch

By Charles B. Spahr

Our public affairs have come to be administered by political parties, and yet our parties, until very recently, have been without authorization, or even recognition, in our laws. The central principle of democratic government is that the real powers controlling the people shall be under the control of the people, and therefore the popular recognition of the fact that democratic government has come to mean party government has brought with it the popular determination that party government shall be controlled by public law to serve public ends.

In this country the center of party government and the recognized source of its authority is the primary system of selecting party candidates and determining party policies. The origin of this system is practically contemporaneous with the origin of our national struggle for independence. It is true that, according to the memoirs of Samuel Adams, as early as 1725 his father "and twenty others used to meet, make a caucus and lay their plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power." But it was not until the years just preceding the Declaration of Independence that the North End Caucus and the South End Caucus and the Middle District Caucus of Boston obtained a position of recognized power in determining the leaders and measures of the radical democracy of the New England metropolis. Samuel Adams himself is the father of the American primary system, for only in his day did the system become anything more than an informal gathering of individuals interested in political affairs. The part borne by Samuel Adams and the North End Caucus in the Revolutionary War naturally brought the institution to the attention of sympathetic spirits all over the country. What the part was is sufficiently indicated by the following citation from Frothingham's "Life and Times of Joseph Warren:" "As the time ap-

proached when the tea ships might be expected the subject was considered in the North End Caucus. . . . This body voted that they would oppose with their lives and fortunes the landing of any tea that might be sent to the town for sale by the East India Company."

### SUPREMACY OF THE CAUCUS.

The caucus of Samuel Adams' day, though a much more formal and formidable organization than that out of which it had grown, was itself rather of the nature of a secret meeting of men who, by co-operation, could obtain control of the political situation. Its honorable history at the beginning was due entirely to the public-spirited type of men who organized it. Like Franklin's little "Junto," which exercised an influence altogether out of proportion to the numbers or prominence of its members, it was based upon an idea of secret co-operation, which can be used as effectively for bad ends as for good ones. The caucus was irresponsible, and in later days irresponsible caucuses came to be the most effective means of corrupting public life.

In the rural districts, where all the voters know one another, the evil side of the caucus has not developed so markedly as in the local towns and cities. In nearly all such districts, not only in New England, but throughout the country, the local party caucus was at first practically a town meeting of the members of the party. The next stage in the development of the system came from the desire to enable members of the party in different districts to confer together and act as a unit. The first means through which such conferences were obtained was by means of committees of correspondence, but a little later the party members of the state legislatures and of the national Congress took it upon themselves to choose party candidates for state and national officers and assumed the general direction of party affairs. During the first two



decades of the last century the legislative and congressional caucuses were practically supreme, and it was felt that only through them could all sections be represented in party councils and all sections of the party act together in the contests with party antagonists.

Gradually, however, this instrument for party unity came to be regarded as a party tyrant. Members of each party in districts in which the opposition party was in the majority had, of course, no representatives in the state legislature or in the national Congress, and, therefore, were without direct representation in the party councils. Furthermore, it came to be felt that the legislators and congressmen were not responsive to popular feeling in the matter of nominations. In 1824 the popular sentiment aroused by the arbitrary rule of "King Caucus" was one of the important contributing causes to the defeat of the candidacy of William H. Crawford for the Presidency.

#### CONVENTION SUBSTITUTED FOR CAUCUS.

The substitute for the legislative and congressional caucus which democratic sentiment then demanded was the convention—a system which preserved its commanding authority in all sections for one generation, and in most sections for two. The central idea of the convention system was that the members of each party should meet locally and choose delegates to county, or senatorial, or state, or national conventions, instructing them, if thought necessary, just how they should vote in these conventions. It was a further adaptation of the representative system of government to the affairs of the party; but this method of governing party affairs, like its predecessor, became more and more unsatisfactory as the years went on, as population increased, and as the desire of the people for direct control of public affairs grew stronger. The mere growth of population formed an important reason why the convention system ceased to meet the needs of the people.

#### DIRECT PRIMARIES.

When the population was small, the number of delegates sent to county, district or state conventions was relatively

to the population large, and nearly every citizen knew personally the delegate who was to represent him; but when the population increased the number of the delegates became relatively small, their personal relations to most of their constituents were remote, and the delegates came to be what the members of the legislative caucus had been before them—a small ruling class. In order, therefore, for the general electorate to regain as much control as it had formerly exercised over party affairs, it was necessary to do away with the convention system and substitute one in which the people voted directly for the men to be nominated and the measures to be supported by their party. The popularity of this reform, outside the ranks of political leaders, was, of course, in part due to the further development of the democratic spirit, which demanded that government should be directed, not by a special class of citizens, but by the whole body of citizens, in order that the interests of all, poor as well as rich, might obtain equal consideration in the party councils.

#### FARMERS' INDEPENDENCE.

This new spirit was most marked in the rural districts, and particularly among the substantial farmers in those districts. In the Northwest, as well as the East, the great body of such farmers, at least until the rise of the Populist party and the political revolution of 1896, were identified with the Republicans, and therefore it was in the Republican party at the North that the demand for a primary system, in which the ordinary voters should select candidates instead of merely selecting delegates to select candidates, had its first and strongest development. In the South nearly all the farmers of this independent class were identified with the Democratic party, and therefore in the South it was in the Democratic party that the demand for direct primaries had its first and strongest development.

In the South this demand was even stronger than at the North, and for this there were several reasons, the chief one being that in the South the choice of the Democratic primary is, in most

sections, sure of election, and unless ordinary citizens are given a choice in the primary, they have really no voice at all as to who shall govern them and how they shall be governed. The regular election in most parts of the South is merely a listless and perfunctory ratification of what the Democratic primary has already decided upon. It being clear, therefore, at the South, that the popular control of the primary was essential to popular government, the citizens of this section early began to abridge and to overthrow the power of the delegate conventions, and to require that the nominees to all responsible offices should be chosen directly from and by the rank and file of the voters. It was in South Carolina that this system first reached logical completeness.

The triumph of the reform faction of the South Carolina Democracy in the election of 1891 was followed by the destruction of the convention system and the choice of all public officials, including United States senators, was given over to the voters at the primaries. To some extent this system in South Carolina disappointed the radical Democrats who introduced it, for it was found that the primaries were more likely to select a moderate than a radical for any place of great responsibility. But the new system, like every democratic advance, so thoroughly commended itself to the mass of the people that no one has dared to suggest a backward step. From South Carolina the system of direct primaries has extended into Georgia, into Alabama, into Mississippi, into Louisiana, into Texas and into Virginia, so that to-day nearly all through the South conventions do little more than formulate platforms; the real choice of Democratic party candidates is lodged with the people of the party.

In the North the substitution of direct primaries for party conventions has developed somewhat slowly, but during the last few years the advance has been nearly as marked as at the South. Beginning, perhaps, with Crawford County, in western Pennsylvania, which established direct primaries in 1860, county after county throughout the middle West adopted the plan of

having the candidates for important party nominations submit themselves to the suffrage of the voters of their party instead of being selected by conventions. This system was slowly introduced into cities of considerable size, and during the last decade, when the influence of the bosses and professional politicians in nearly all the cities reached a point no one concerned for popular self-government could longer tolerate, there has come strong demand all over the North that the selection of candidates by conventions must end and their selection by ordinary citizens take its place.

In Minnesota the first important law providing for the introduction of a new system in a large city was adopted in 1899. This law was confessedly experimental, and introduced a direct primary system in the single county containing the city of Minneapolis. Two years later the Minnesota Legislature extended the system so that it applied to all city, county and congressional nominations throughout the commonwealth. In the Minnesota legislation the use of the Australian ballot was combined with the provision that the voters should vote directly for candidates instead of delegates, and wherever a reform primary system has been advocated in the North, the employment of a secret ballot furnished by the public authorities has been essentially a part of the system.

After its triumph in Minnesota the direct primary gathered equal popularity in the neighboring state of Wisconsin, which, a year ago, despite the antagonism of the forces which supply and handle political corporation funds, adopted the new system, provided the voters should give direct sanction to the new law at a coming election. In Michigan a direct primary system has been tried in the city of Grand Rapids, and both political parties in most parts of the state have in their platforms called for a general law establishing the system everywhere. Similar gains have been made for direct primaries in Indiana and Ohio, and even greater gains in the state of Massachusetts. At first in Massachusetts the system of direct primaries was only applied to the



selection of minor officers, but by the law, enacted a year ago, all candidates for the present state legislature are chosen directly by the voters. The example of Massachusetts and Minnesota bids fair to have a far-reaching effect upon the people of other commonwealths, as the demand for a system in which the whole electorate shall take direct part will soon be next to universal. Each step in the development of our nominating methods has been a step to make more real the control of public affairs by the whole electorate. All those who believe in this American ideal instinctively give their support to every movement toward its attainment.

#### THE ENGLISH PRIMARY SYSTEM.

In England the primary system has had a similar development, though a much later one. There, as well as here, the primary has been the organ of democracy, and it has been peculiarly the democratic elements in society which have furthered its development. The word "caucus" in England was not generally used until the early seventies, and then it was applied by the Tories as a term of reproach to the methods by which the Liberals of Birmingham organized their supporters in order to carry through the civic reforms which have given that city its international reputation, and in order to secure for the Liberal party that strong representation in Parliament for which the city of Birmingham was so long famous. The Liberals would have preferred to keep for their organization the name they themselves had chosen, "The Birmingham Liberal Association," for they felt keenly the discredit which had been brought upon the primary system by the abuses of this system which had been tolerated by the democracy of America, but they accepted the bad name in order to secure machinery by which common men could make their influence effective in the political life of the nation.

From the city of Birmingham the plan of entrusting the management of the Liberal party to delegates elected by the whole body of Liberal voters was soon extended to other progressive centers, and soon Mr. Gladstone formally

endorsed the National Association of Liberal Clubs, which has come to be the controlling power in all the affairs of the Liberal party. There, as here, the control of the party by the members of Parliament elected by it did not satisfy the needs of the new democracy; and a primary system, similar to the convention system which we are outgrowing, is now the means by which the party of progress in England agrees upon its programme and selects its candidates. Years after the Liberals had accepted this institution, the Conservative party unwillingly followed in its footsteps.

#### THE VOICE OF THE FUTURE.

Hark to the throbbing of thought  
In the breast of the waking world!  
Over land, over sea it hath come!  
The serf that was yesterday bought  
To-day his defiance hath hurled—  
No more in his slavery dumb—  
And to-morrow will break from the fetters  
that bind  
And lift a bold arm for the rights of mankind!

Hark to the voice of the time!  
The multitude think for themselves,  
And weigh their condition, each one;  
The drudge has a spirit sublime;  
And whether he hammers or delves,  
He reads when his labor is done;  
And learns though he groans under penury's  
ban  
That freedom to think is the birthright of man.

—Charles Mackay.

A cooperative labor exchange has recently been started in Cincinnati for the purpose of saving retailer's profits by cooperative purchasing. The membership fee is \$10.00, and it is from this source that the capital is derived to operate the scheme. The exchange is buying and selling hundreds of tons of coal, and members are saved five per cent on their purchases of this commodity. The intention is to enlarge the business deal in other things as soon as the success of the scheme warrants.

"Who at all times and everywhere gave his strength to the weak, his substance to the poor, his sympathy to the suffering, his heart to God—Greater love hath no man than this."—Of Major-General Charles George Gordon, on the memorial to him in St. Paul's, London.

# The Voter's Right to Select Candidates

By George W. Guthrie

The citizens of a republic are both sovereigns and subjects. In a representative republic, such as ours, their sovereignty consists in the right to govern themselves and their country by laws made and administered by public officials freely chosen by them for that purpose and responsible to them alone for the manner in which they discharge those duties; the theory being that the people who are to be subject to the laws and who will be the greatest beneficiaries of good and the greatest sufferers from evil administration, should of right have the power to control and direct their government.

But it is manifest that anything which limits or impairs the citizen's freedom of choice, or equality of power, in the selection of public officers to the same extent curtails his sovereignty; and that the existence of any power which relieves public officers of direct responsibility to the people, and can protect them from the consequences of, and at times even reward them for, official acts prejudicial to public interests or in conflict with public sentiment, destroys every vestige of indirect or moral control.

## SOVEREIGNTY OF THE CITIZEN.

Under such conditions the sovereignty of the citizens becomes a mere sham, and experience has shown that it is idle to hope for a continuance of honest administration (i. e., an administration in which all the powers of government are exercised solely for the best interests of the whole people).

Freedom of choice and direct responsibility to the people are absolutely essential alike to government by the people and honest administration. If popular government is to be preserved and is to furnish an administration which will honestly, faithfully and efficiently fulfill those great ends for which governments were established among men,

the people must be vigilant at all times to prevent any custom or statutory regulation which will, in the slightest degree, impair the operation of these two essential principles.

In this, theory and experience both agree; and what has been said applies with equal force to every department of government, National, State and Municipal.

At present, however, we are concerned only with the municipal department; but there is no department of government which comes closer to the people—in which the benefits of good and the evils of bad administration more quickly and intimately affect the people concerned—or in which the power of the people to select their own officers and control their acts is more important.

Now every intelligent citizen who fairly considers the actual (not the theoretical) political system which prevails in this country, and in no department with greater effect than in the municipal, knows that it materially restricts the power of the people in the choice of, and impairs their subsequent control over, their officers.

## MONOPOLIZING THE OFFICIAL BALLOT.

Moreover, the State, by the adoption of an official ballot, now so general, has greatly increased the ability of the "boss" or "machine," once invested with power, to perpetuate it

If the State gives a place on the ballot to a political party and a "boss," or a "machine," or an "organization" which has the right and power to select the candidate whose name shall occupy that place, evidently the State grants the "boss" or "machine" or "organization" (the title is immaterial) a monopoly in the use of the party name and the support of the public policy for which that name stands.

Manifestly, such a monopoly is un-



reasonable; it is absurd that any set of citizens should be given a copyright on any public policy.

If a policy is a public one and beneficial to the public, it should be open to the support of every person who approves it, without being obliged to accept, as the price of being permitted to do so, a candidate in the selection of whom he had no share.

If, on the other hand, the policy is a private one, the association to promote it should be stamped as a conspiracy against public order and unworthy of any public recognition, instead of being protected by law.

Consider for a moment our present political system as it affects both the liberty of the citizens and the interests of the community.

#### EXCLUSIVE POWER TO NOMINATE.

Certain associations of citizens (each regulating for itself the terms and conditions on which membership in it can be acquired and maintained and the manner in which its will shall be ascertained and declared) have exclusive power to select the candidates who shall represent at the general election the public policy over which the respective associations claim and are given a monopoly.

In some of these associations and in some localities the members at large are accorded an opportunity to express their wishes in the selection of candidates, the primaries being sometimes honest and sometimes fraudulent, but always confined to those who are "regular;" in others, the members at large have no powers and the selection is made by delegates or committees, and sometimes by a single person.

The candidates thus selected are placed upon the ballot as the exclusive representatives of the public policy for which the respective associations stand, and a vote for or against them at the election is a vote for or against that policy.

Now, under this system, what share in the government has the citizen? He has had no share in the selection of the candidates, and yet if he participates in the election he must make a choice.

In order to show his approval of a policy which he thinks wise and beneficial for his country he must agree to accept as his candidate a man in whose selection he had no share, who may be personally very objectionable to him, and whom he may believe to be unfit for the office for which he is to be chosen; or in order to defeat this candidate he must vote for some other one whom he may believe very worthy but in whose selection he has had no share, and whose election will be the endorsement and introduction of a policy which he believes to be prejudicial to his country.

Is such a choice of evils worthy of a free citizen in a free country?

#### AND WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

The ballot is the instrument through which the sovereignty of the people is given effect. The State has the right and duty to protect the ballot from fraud of every kind and from anything which might obstruct the free expression of popular will through it, or impair the equality of each citizen's share in, or opportunity to use, it. Legislation to promote these ends is right and proper and should unhesitatingly be resorted to from time to time as need arises.

But beyond this, the State cannot go without violating the principles upon which our institutions rest. Any invasion of the liberty, purity, or equality of the ballot by an individual or association of individuals is a crime, and such an invasion by the State is tyranny.

No legislation, therefore, should be attempted which directly or indirectly impairs or limits the choice of the people in the selection of their officers. We may consider their choice wise or unwise, but the right to make it is theirs, and they should have the power to use it.

A just government exists for the equal benefit of all the people and the protection of their rights. As the people are its beneficiaries, so they are the safest custodians of its powers.

No sincere believer in a government by the people will ever tolerate, and no honest one will ever excuse, anything

which destroys, or unnecessarily hampers, the power of the people to control their government at every step.

Bearing in mind the incompatibility of present methods with the power of the people to govern and control their city, and with the integrity of municipal administration, and with the proper limitations on the power of the State to act, let us see what statutory regulations are necessary and proper to guarantee to each citizen that free and equal share in the selection of public elective officers which is requisite to insure that the officer chosen shall represent and be accountable to, not a "boss" or a "machine," but the general body of citizens advocating and supporting the policy for which he stood as candidate.

The State fixes the time for the general municipal election, and it fixes it at a date believed to be most convenient for all citizens; why, then, should it not do the same thing in regard to the preliminary elections which are to determine who are to compete for public offices as the representatives of the public policy for the furtherance of which parties exist, instead of permitting these important preliminary elections to be changed from time to time to suit the convenience or advantage of some candidate or some organization which, however it may arrogate to itself the title, is certainly not the party?

There is no sufficient reason (i. e., there is no reason so far as the interests of the people themselves are concerned) why there should not be a fixed date for all such preliminary municipal elections; for, whether called "primaries" or by some other name, they are elections. Of course, the date should be fixed at a reasonable time in advance of the general election, and with proper regard to the habits and business of the people: but these are questions which the Legislature is designed to consider and, if truly representative of the people, is well qualified to decide.

Particular interests might be inconvenienced and private schemes prejudiced, but the interests of the people themselves (the only ones worthy of consideration) would not be in the

slightest degree impaired; for, having notice of the date, the people would make their arrangements accordingly, just as they do for the general election.

Neither is there any sufficient reason why the preliminary elections of all "parties"—if we use "party" in its true sense as meaning all citizens holding common views as to the public policy which they desire introduced and carried out in the conduct of the municipal government—should not be held at the same place, on the same day, and under public supervision, while there are many and controlling reasons for the adoption of such a course. It is sufficient to point out that it would save unnecessary and useless expense to the State and that, because the members of each party would be engaged in the choice of their own party candidate, it would reduce to a minimum the danger of those of one party interfering with the selection of the candidate of another; nor would there be any more danger of confusion and disturbance at such joint preliminary municipal elections than at the following general municipal elections.

And, as these preliminary nominating elections will continue to have an important and controlling influence in the government, and as the State does protect and give effect to the action of political parties, it is right and proper for it to take due precaution against the commission of frauds, rather than restrict itself to the investigation and correction of them after commission, which is always difficult and often impossible.

#### ELECTORS' RIGHT TO NOMINATE.

But no regulation should be permitted, either by the State or by an "organization," which would exclude from participation in the preliminary election any citizen who has the right to vote at the ensuing municipal election.

There are three reasons for this, all of which are unanswerable.

In the first place, as already pointed out, the only legitimate and proper purpose for which "parties" exist is the introduction and execution of a certain policy in public administration by the election of officials agreed upon in ad-



vance by those who approve and support that policy; therefore, it would be absurd for the law to give any limited or restricted number of citizens a monopoly in an exclusive right to use and advocate a certain public policy; yet, for the State to give any body of citizens, less than the whole, an exclusive right to select the candidate or candidates who shall represent such policy at the election, is to give them such a monopoly and protect it by law.

In the second place, the proper purpose of political parties, and the only one which the State can recognize or which makes them beneficial agencies of popular government, is that they enable citizens who agree upon a common political policy also to agree among themselves in advance of the election on the candidate most satisfactory to them to represent that policy, and who, if elected, will be pledged to carry it out in the administration of public affairs. And, as at the general election, every citizen will not only have the right to vote for the election of the candidate so selected to represent the policy, but will be solicited to do so (i. e., to join the party then), he should have a voice in that selection (i. e., be allowed to join the party in advance of the election) if he desires it.

The question to be settled at the preliminary nominating election is which of the persons seeking to be a candidate upon a certain platform of principles is the choice of the greater number of the citizens who support that platform; and that can only be ascertained by permitting *every citizen who approves and desires to support it* to express his choice by voting at the preliminary nominating election which settles the question.

In the third place, no test has ever been devised which, in its application, does not either violate the constitutional rights of the citizens or exact from them a pledge which they have no right to give, and which no one should be permitted to ask.

The ordinary tests are proof by the citizen that he voted for the candidate of the *organization* at a previous elec-

tion, or a more or less specific pledge by him that he now holds a particular set of political opinions, and that at the approaching election he will support the candidate chosen, or both.

#### SECRECY OF BALLOT NULLIFIED.

We do not now recall any State constitution which does not guarantee to its citizens a secret ballot; but of what avail is this constitutional guarantee if a citizen must, before he can participate in a nominating election, disclose how he voted at a previous general election? Either the secrecy of the ballot must be thrown aside, or the right to participate in nominating candidates for public offices abandoned.

So sacred and so important is this secrecy of the ballot that the State will not require a lawful voter to disclose, even in a judicial proceeding, how he voted; how, then, could it permit the exaction of such disclosure by a self-constituted political "organization" as a condition of a citizen's right to take part in the selection of candidates for public offices?

And every right-minded citizen, who gives the matter an impartial consideration, will admit that no citizen has the right to give, and no "organization" has the right to ask, a pledge which will bind him in the future exercise of his right of suffrage.

When he casts his ballot, it is the citizen's right, and his duty to himself and the State, to vote according to the honest dictates of his conscience; and it is against the highest public policy to permit him to be compelled, for any reason, to give a pledge, which, if kept, might prevent him from doing so.

Moreover, the danger of the supporters of one policy interfering in the choice of the candidate of the supporters of another policy, unless tests of this character are provided, is more fanciful than real.

*None but a very dishonest citizen would do this.* It is well known that such an one is not restrained, if a sufficient inducement is offered him, by any such tests or pledges; and, on the other hand, they prevent the citizen who holds the secrecy of his ballot in high

respect from taking part in the primary. Under the separate primary plan, there is the greater opportunity for and greater inducement to dishonesty, as there is the greater opportunity for profit from it. It is notorious that, under the separate primary plan, the henchman of ostensibly hostile political managers often participate "under orders" in the primary of the opposite party. Thus rival "bosses" by working in harmony may each help the other to control.

#### ALL VOTERS PARTICIPATE.

Where the preliminary nominating election is freely participated in by all voters, each would know that, if he voted with the supporters of a policy to which he was opposed, he would lose his chance of voting in the selection of his own candidate, an inducement to honesty which is wanting when separate primaries are used.

Where any political movement has developed into a strong popular following, the State has the right to ascertain, and should ascertain, who is in fact the choice of a majority of those professing allegiance to the movement before being required to certify to it by printing his name on the official ballot as the movement's candidate for public office; being careful, however, that the laws provided for that purpose do not give any preference to one party over another, or impose any obstacles to new movements.

With these limitations, public policy and the liberty of the citizens both require that in the formation of the official ballot the same liberty and equality shall be preserved as existed when citizens prepared and voted their own ballot. For the State to do more is to hamper, rather than assist and protect, the people in the exercise of their most solemn right, the right upon which the sovereignty of citizenship itself depends.

It may be asked what right has the State to prevent citizens organizing on any lines they see fit to adopt, and conducting their business and selecting their candidates in any manner they see fit to adopt, so long as the purpose for

which they organize is not prejudicial to public policy?

#### FREE ASSOCIATION UNIMPAIRED.

The answer is that the State is not asked to do anything of the kind. The act proposed will not interfere with the liberty of association: it only prevents any such association monopolizing a public policy which may be of great public benefit. Citizens will still be free to organize as they see fit, and to put any name or names on the official ballot they desire, by petition. This is their right and is preserved by the very letter of the act: but the stamp of the "organization" will no longer be necessary to get a candidate's name on the ballot as the representative of a public policy, and thereby make the election necessary of the "organization's" candidate to secure the adoption of or adherence to such policy in public administration.

Every supporter of the policy would have a fair opportunity and an equal share in the selection of the candidate on whom they would unite. No citizen would be contented with less: none should be permitted to have more.

It is the purpose of the proposed act to recommend the introduction of these principles in the field of municipal government, where, as already pointed out, the rights of the citizen, both as sovereign and subject, are of such vital importance. We believe that its effect will be to develop local public opinion in regard to the local government, and secure a free and honest expression of it.

Under it, before the State can print the candidate's name upon an official ballot for the municipal election as the representative of a certain public policy, a reasonable opportunity will be given to ascertain; *first*, whether that policy is sustained by a sufficient number of citizens to justify its further consideration at the time; and, *second*, whether the candidate whose name is to go on the ballot as the representative of the policy is truly and honestly the free choice of the citizens who support that policy as the man best fitted and most suited to them for representing those views as



a candidate and carrying them out as a public officer, if selected.

Through the opportunity it affords for an official polling of the vote in favor of any given set of political principles, the strength or weakness of their support by local public opinion is clearly demonstrated; and through the absolutely open and fair competition it insures between candidates who profess the same set of principles, it ascertains beyond question which candidate has the greater popular support, and is, therefore, best entitled to be recognized as their representative. In this way, without interfering in any way with political organizations, and without in any way giving any statutory preference or

preponderance to organizations or to individuals, it guarantees that each citizen may, by a secret ballot, not only give a free, untrammelled expression to his opinion upon any public policy which he desires considered or enforced in the conduct of the local government, but may participate freely and effectively in the choice of the candidate for public office who is pledged to that policy, if elected.

The enactment and enforcement of such a law protects, defends and enforces the sovereignty of the citizen, and should make him the willing and loyal subject of the government he helps to establish.

## The Drift Toward Industrial Unionism

By Ethelbert Stewart

The most unpleasant feature of strict trade unionism is that as mechanical arts and appliances advance the trade lines become less distinct and too much energy is lost in quarreling over work. The trade union movement in England has had a long and bitter experience with this tendency within itself, and is for most part accepting industrialism, or the organization of all workmen in an industry into one union regardless of trade lines, as the ultimate solution of the problem. It seems to be at least the inevitable next step toward an ultimate solution. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers includes everything in the machinery industry except the boilermakers. The English unions were compelled to become industrial by their own "demarcation," or, as we would say, "jurisdictional" fights. The secretary of the Shipwrights' Association in England makes no concealment of the fact that the difficulties his union has with employers are far less frequent and less serious than the trouble with other unions over "demarcation disputes."

UNION OF ALLIED TRADES.

Industrial unionism means the organ-

ization of all the workmen in an industry into one union without regard to their trade or occupation in that industry. Strict trade unionism, when "hewing to the line," means the organization of all persons working at a closely defined trade or occupation into one union without regard to the industry in which they work. The United Mine Workers is a good instance of an "industrial" union. Here the wages are fixed by one agreement for blacksmiths, carpenters, machine runners, miners, drivers, top and bottom laborers, cagers, etc., the ultimate aim being to bring the entire force of productive employees in the industry into one organization. This may be done by amalgamation, as in the case of the United Brewery Workers and the United Mine Workers, or by the federation of trade unions, as in case of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, the Longshoremens and others, which, while they are trade unions at the base, are industrial at the top; and this is perhaps the essence of "industrialism," that it gives a central organization covering the entire industry power to veto a strike by any segregation of workmen, as a sin-

gle trade, in that industry, and, on the other hand, when it does order a strike, can reach every occupation and trade in the industry. It changes the allegiance of the individual workman from his trade organization to his industry by giving the latter jurisdiction not only over the former, but over him. The articles of confederation gave the continental congress no power over the individual, who still remained only a citizen of his state; but the constitution makes each individual a citizen first of the United States, and his state citizenship is a very secondary matter. So strong was the old colonial idea of state citizenship, however, that even in 1860 many men who disapproved of secession said: "My state first, though wrong, I will go with my state." This is precisely the anachronous situation in labor organizations to-day; and in their attempt to solve their difficulties it would seem the tendency is to follow the line of our political development, and give to an industry practically supreme power over the trade.

#### RESULT OF SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.

Up to the present time the industrial unions in the United States have for the most part been driven into this form of organization as a result of opposition to the sympathetic strike. The United Mine Workers, the Longshoremens, the Brewery Workers' Union, the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, the American Flint Glass Workers—these were industrialized principally by dint of the difficulties surrounding the sympathetic or combined action of different organizations formed on narrow or strict trade lines. The innumerable conflicts between unions over questions of jurisdiction are resulting in a further and more inevitable consolidation, and industrialization of organization. The world outside of unionism was startled by President Gompers' address to the American Federation of Labor a year ago in New Orleans, in which he called attention to the "fratricidal war" among unions, and made a noble plea for some settlement consistent with strict trade unionism. The convention ordered several such settlements which the unions

involved refused to make, and in November, 1903, Mr. Gompers felt called upon to say to the Boston convention:

#### GOMPERS' PLEA FOR PEACE.

"It becomes my painful duty to again call attention to the very grave danger which confronts our movement by reason of the internecine strife due to the conflicting claims to jurisdiction. Owing to the acuteness of this question last year, the New Orleans convention made most strenuous efforts to bring about a solution of the various conflicting claims then made. Had all the organizations affected yielded in good faith to the suggestions made and conclusions reached, that convention would have fully merited the tribute ascribed to it and which it deserved in being designated the "peace convention" of the labor movement. In not many instances, however, have the organizations departed from their original claims, while several others, by their violation of their pledges to that convention to cease hostilities and to abide by the awards of impartial arbitration or of decisions reached by the convention itself, have rendered conditions, if possible, still worse. In fact, in some trades, where no conflicts existed, the organizations have deliberately changed their claims to jurisdiction with no better reason than that "other organizations have extended their claims," they therefore saw no reason why their own claims to jurisdiction should not also be extended, thus demonstrating that when a wrong policy is once inaugurated its evil influences are extended until the gravest consequences and dangers confront the entire labor movement. The trade unions are the natural movement of the wage earners to protect and advance their interests. The workers of the craft or calling associate the better to protect and promote these interests."

Again, he said in the same address:

"It is not an uninteresting fact to state that there were applications from one or more international unions for the revocation of the charters of thirty international unions, and some of the complaining organizations were really



disappointed that their requests were not granted. With the executive council I would have no hesitancy in revoking the charter of any affiliated organization, but to do so there would have to be good and substantial reasons therefor and no other means at hand by which the best interests of labor could be served. No doubt had the executive council easily yielded to the demands for the revocation of charters we should have had still more demands of the same character, and instead of having the best general organization of labor our country has ever had we would be divided up into fragments contending in open fratricidal war against each other, instead of co-operating in a faithful, honest and intelligent effort to accomplish the best results with the least domination."

This is an irrepressible conflict, for the reason that those who are seeking to widen the scope of unionism are compelled in their action by the logic of events, while the "hew-to-the-liners" are compelled either absurdly to multiply the organizations or cease to be strict trade unionists themselves. Let us illustrate by a few examples.

#### ALLIED METAL TRADES.

The Allied Metal Mechanics claim the right to organize and hold jurisdiction over blacksmiths' helpers. The Blacksmiths' Union contest this claim. Naturally the Allied Metal Mechanics' Union wants all the occupation not otherwise provided for in its organization, to the end that all may be organized. Naturally the blacksmith does not want his helper, whom he is daily and hourly educating and training to become a blacksmith, to be in an organization the blacksmiths could not control in case of a strike. But if the Blacksmiths' Union admits the helper to membership it ceases to be a strict trade union, while to insist upon a separate union of helpers involves too much, since the drop-forgers and the machine-blacksmith or "bulldozer" would have the same claim to separate unions, and there would simply be no end to it. It is simply impossible to tell whether the drop-forgers or the

"bulldozer" is a blacksmith or a machinist. The "bulldozer" is a man who heats bars or pieces of iron cut to length, and when hot puts them into a machine or shaper called a "bulldozer," and which presses the heated iron into the shape desired. Like the drop-forgers he works a machine, but the product of the machine is blacksmiths' work. In a blacksmiths' strike what could not be done by drop-forgers or "bulldozers" enough "helpers" could be found to do to break the strike. A blacksmiths' union which does not contain all of these is treading on very thin ice, one that does is hardly a "hew-to-the-liner." The trouble with the slogan, "hew to the line," is that it is impossible to find the line in trades to-day, and in the search for the trade line the unions have gone to hewing each other.

#### IN THE PRINTING TRADES.

Again, Mr. Higgins of the Printing Pressmen's Union is right in wanting the helpers and pressfeeders in his organization; the inconsistency is in opposing at once a pressfeeders' strict trade union, and an industrial organization which should include all employees in the printing industry. The recent action of the International Typographical Union, and the agreement of the Allied Printing Trades Council with other and non-affiliated unions in the industry show the trend in this industry is toward a unification of organizations. Ever since the International Machinists' Union had to give up the linotype-machinist to the Typographical Union the handwriting on the wall here has been plain. And why should not the press-feeder, who can take the pressman's position at any moment in a strike, be in the Pressmen's Union? And since all in an industry are employed by one employer, and these employers all in one employers' association, why should not the instincts of self-preservation equally consolidate the unions? In a machine shop of modern proportions there are iron molders, boilermakers, blacksmiths, machinists, each with their helpers; buffers and polishers, assemblers, stationary engineers and firemen, crane men, each with a separate organ-

ization, some jealous of each other and all held apart by the bogey of "the sympathetic strike," yet all under one employer.

#### BUILDING TRADES CENTRALIZING.

In the building trades especially industrialism seems about to be forced upon the unions. The employers' associations are composed of contractors in every branch of building acting as a unit. The new national association of contractors, practically pledged to destroy unions, will have forty-four distinct and jealous organizations to combat, playing one against the other. If, however, these were one the union could take contracts to build and compete directly with their locking-out former employers, as is now done in Paris and many places in Belgium. The owner who now lets to a general contractor, who sublets the parts, cannot and will not let his building to forty-four unions in the building trades; whereas he could and many times would let to an industrial union, which, acting as the general contractor, could from its various sub-organizations furnish the labor for all the parts of a building. There seems to be no other solution of the endless jurisdictional fights that come from changing methods of work and continuous fading of some trade lines and creation of new ones.

The New York bricklayers who never become sympathetic and have not affiliated or had a strike for years, struck last fall to control the work of fireproofing. Naturally the manufacturers and users of this material wanted to classify it as a new trade so as to secure lower wages. From a strict "hew-to-the-liners" point of view they were right; but the bricklayers could see the point when it came home to them.

#### SYMPATHETIC ASSOCIATION.

Industrialism seems also to be the only practical way to help the weaker occupations in an industry without resort to strikes. Sympathetic help will be an essential part of any uplifting movement so long as any segment of the race is lower or less prosperous than

the rest. Trade unionism, inspired with somewhat of the spirit of other helpfulness, will become mere clubism when it yields up that spirit. The apotheosis of Arthur may be made into a Constantine for trade unionism; but the soul's sympathies cannot be destroyed, and the strength of weakness lies in the sympathetic human heart which will "strike" if necessary so long as it beats. When sympathetic association has lifted those of a single trade up to a point where they can afford to be simply selfish, then is the spirit of "other-helpfulness" again crucified, as per order of the Pharisees and must cuddle once more in the souls of the poorer ones until it can associate another group, lift them up and be again cast out. But must this go on forever? Will there never be room at the inn? Those on the outside and on the inside who condemn trade unions for being "sympathetic" should pause. Are there not enough agencies teaching self-helpfulness in its most diabolical form? Can we not afford to let one organization teaching "other-helpfulness" exist?

The Boston convention of the American Federation requested the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders, the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics, the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' International Union, the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union and the United Metal Workers' International Union to hold a conference in January for the purpose of adjusting their differences regarding jurisdiction. If the conference cannot adjust the matter the executive council will define the line of demarcation.

The trouble is the Federation has no power to enforce its mandates and the unions will not always obey. The International Association of Machinists is taking a bolder step, however, and during January voted on a proposition to consolidate with the Allied Metal Mechanics and the later organization has



called a constitutional convention to provide for industrialism should the machinists' proposition carry. The three organizations in the clothing industry; the "Special Order Clothing Makers' Union," the "United Garment Workers of America," and the "Journeyman Tailors' Union of America" have begun the work of merging into an industrial union. The leaders of the principal national building trades have already held two meetings to outline a federation which will probably lead gradually to the industrialization of the building trades unions.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Cattle Butchers have made such arrangements with the carpenters, painters and other trades in the Stock Yards of the country that all are represented in a common council, which amounts practically to industrialism, although it is not admitted to be such. There can be no doubt that the trend of the times is toward the industrial form of unionism; and many sincere and well-informed men believe that the greatest strength and greatest peace for labor, and the greatest gain to industry and commerce lies in that direction.

## The Evils of The Intelligence Office

By Myrta Leonora Jones

Editor College Settlements Association

The investigation of employment agencies, begun in 1902 by Miss Frances A. Kellor as a fellow of the College Settlements Association, is about completed and the formal report is being prepared. Miss Kellor has had the fellowship for two years, has investigated 732 employment agencies in the capacity of employer, employe and as a purchaser of offices, and positions have been accepted in homes to learn the conditions into which offices send girls. Four cities have been covered—Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and New York—and eight assistants have contributed to the thoroughness of the work. It was Miss Kellor's belief that no one could go openly and avowedly as an investigator and accomplish much, but that as a patron or applicant for a position all reasonable inquiries would be answered.

It is a well-known fact that the supply of servants is, in most parts of our country, quite inadequate to meet the demand. This is especially true in the case of general housework, for only the less desirable girls and the new arrivals go willingly into this branch of housework, which is less skilled and not so well paid as that of waitress, maid, cook or laundress. Out of New York's

three hundred intelligence offices which supply domestic servants, one-third of them depend almost entirely upon the foreign-born, or upon American-born children of foreign parents for their supply, while another third depend entirely upon "greenhorns" or new arrivals who know little or no English.

A classification and description of all offices visited has been made. Many of those dealing with the less skilled classes of domestic servants are found in tenements, basements, saloons and living rooms without other equipment than that needed for the home. Visitors to these offices seldom think of the significance of the surroundings, and the reader of the foregoing statement may at this point inquire why tenements are undesirable headquarters for this purpose?

First of all, there can be no efficient regulation of such offices. The young and the old, the newcomer and the old-timer, the intoxicated and the sober, the clean and the dirty, the good and the bad, mingle together and occupy the same rooms. Furthermore, a lodging-house feature is a frequent accompaniment of these agencies, as was found to be true of more than one hundred of those in New York alone, more

than a third of the entire number. Men and women are lodged in rooms separated by meager partitions, and in one room fifteen girls were found huddled together on the floor upon old clothing and mattresses. Aside from the awful effects upon the girls themselves, can employers afford to accept women for service who come from such dirty, disease-laden, vermin-infested places as these offices and lodging-houses? Employers who patronize better offices may turn aside, feeling it is not their problem, but they can never be sure that a girl has not been the rounds. It is certain that the grade of women in household work can never be materially raised so long as workers are recruited from such sources.

In one hundred and nine offices of the city of New York, the law requiring every proprietor of an employment bureau to give to each person from whom a fee was accepted a receipt stating the amount paid is constantly violated, for in the offices to which I refer no records are kept. There is no equipment of any kind, not even ink in many cases with which to write a receipt. The investigation into business methods has included an inquiry into the amount and payment of fees and has taken up the question of references, the effect of the office in teaching idleness and dishonesty, and as dictators of wages and controllers of supply.

Unquestionably the treatment in offices drives girls, especially the better class, out of household service. Girls in waiting have said: "We are treated like dogs in this office; no wonder we would rather go to factories. Nobody cares for a girl here except for her money. You do not have to pay to get into stores." Another said: "You know where you are going when it is a factory wants ye." Still another said she had spent a good part of a year looking for housework through an office and then in a day got a job in a factory for nothing.

In many offices it is found to be the practice to send girls into disreputable places. "The surroundings, the business methods and the frauds pale into insignificance," says the investigator,

"besides the conscious and deliberate immorality of many offices, the traps which they set for the unwary, and the helplessness of their victims. The bare fact is, that while appearing to obtain work for honest and ignorant women, they do, in fact, degrade, debase and ruin them and later cast them out physical and moral lepers. Not only are these women robbed of their small savings, herded like animals and subjected to many indignities from office keepers, but they must submit to association with immoral men and women and to temptation by them."

You have heard of the slave trade, you rebel at the vestiges of slavery that crop up in the South, but in our large seaport towns exists a very real and absolute slavery system, the essential fact of which is the "runner." "A girl who knows not one word of English lands in complex, bewildering New York, straight from a peasant's home in Russia, Hungary or Sweden. A 'runner' meets her and wins her trust by his helpfulness or by his familiarity with her home and friends. From that moment she is as helpless as though engulfed in a sea. Her luggage is sent to an intelligence office or to a boarding-place in collusion with it; here it is held, and preposterous charges made for board." No girl can spend much time in such a place and remain honest and truthful. She is coached to lie about her age and capabilities, about her habits and where she has worked, and is taught how to answer questions. Every day she sees the office breaking contracts and promises and certainly has no ideals either of honesty or constancy set before her.

There is no question so common among employers as "Why cannot we obtain servants?" When agencies receive from five dollars upward for girls furnished to disreputable houses, when the demand from these establishments is so great that a conservative estimate shows that in New York alone some 10,000 women are turned aside into these places yearly, one answer to the above question is given. "Do you mean that girls are sent to questionable houses without their knowledge?" is a question



often asked Miss Kellor. Her reply is, "We have found some offices, which have openly advised us not to tell the girls for what kind of a place we wanted them, but many offices work out methods which better protect themselves. Girls unwilling to enter such houses are sent first as servants, not inmates, and after a term spent there in the midst of vice and intemperance, they are more amenable to suggestions. Then these houses are described to ignorant or immigrant girls in such attractive colors and as presenting so much ease and money, that a girl says she is willing to go, totally ignorant of what she is going to."

Miss Kellor points out that by the time any society or friendly visitor gets hold of a girl who has been through the teachings and temptations of such an office, it is often too late. "*The office, through its runner, ever keeps an eye on the girl.*" This problem must be met by thorough knowledge of the facts, constant watchfulness and competition. No corps of friendly visitors, no agent of any society, no amount of missionary care meets the situation. Only an employment agency and lodging-house for women out of work, situated in the very heart of the district where these offices are, thoroughly cognizant of every method they employ, itself employing honest trained "runners," can even partly meet the need. Just so long as any organization cares only for girls who have gone astray and attempts no preventive work, it practically says to these offices: "Go ahead with your work, we will care for the human wrecks for which you are responsible." These offices cannot be closed without providing substitutes. No uptown "home" will meet the need.

Miss Kellor rescued a young girl about sixteen years of age, who was sold to a disreputable house for ten dollars. She could not speak a word of English, had just eight cents and her little bundle of clothes and had waited all day in the office without food. It was night, and in despair of finding her a place to stay Miss Kellor took her to one of the uptown homes, where she was told that

they would take the girl if she was thoroughly respectable. This story is related, not in criticism of the home, but to emphasize "the need of an accessible shelter, unhampered by red tape, to which girls may be sent in emergencies and where the unemployed may wait and may be helped not only to find work, but to return to the path from which even the most intelligent might be led by the cunning devices and nefarious system of such offices."

Miss Kellor has addressed many letters to housekeepers in order to learn their views of the servant question, and it is plain that not only must the intelligence offices themselves improve, but the conditions of domestic employment as well, before real progress can be made. The employe should receive her due as to personal liberty. Her sleeping quarters should be separated at least by a screen from her companions, if greater privacy is impossible. She should have half a day a week for her own purposes and every other Sunday free, and these and other holidays owed to maids should not be given grudgingly. Servants should not be deprived of all their evenings by late dinners. They should be allowed to receive callers at stated times and have some place provided beside the kitchen where they can do so. Unless all this is looked into and observed, decent, self-respecting women will not "hire out," as they call it.

The proprietors of well-regulated and well-conducted offices should, for their own protection, stand ready to co-operate with those seeking to reform the most flagrant abuses in this business of employment agencies, and they are, to a certain extent, doing so. As a result of Miss Kellor's investigation, a bill has been introduced into the New York Legislature, which is quite an ideal one, and will, if passed, regulate many existing evils. It provides for the proper licensing of such places, prohibits offices located in rooms used for living purposes and on premises where boarders are kept. It also demands the keeping

Note.—An attempt is already being made by Jewish women to carry out this suggestion on the lower east side in New York.

of proper registers, regulates the question of fees, and provides means for the enforcement of the act through a commissioner, who shall make bi-monthly visits of inspection to every such employment agency in the city. This will prove a great factor for good, as are already the free employment agencies and the immigrant homes. But when all is said and done, the great need is for co-operation among all the forces working for betterment in this line. Miss Kellor in a recent article

in "Charities" suggests an organization acting as a clearing house, which, by efficient business methods can wrest this supply of inexperienced newcomers from the disreputable offices and place them in good positions. It must understand their methods and meet them by equally efficient but *honest* ones. But before this can be done, on any adequate scale, an enlightened public sentiment must be created, and this can only be brought about by spreading widely the knowledge of existing evils.

## The Movement For Neighborhood Social Halls

By William English Walling

Contributed through the Association of Neighborhood Workers of New York City

In the heart of the east side and facing the plaza at the entrance to the new Brooklyn bridge there has arisen a five-story structure that is perhaps more beautiful inside and out than any other building, public or private, in the great Jewish quarter. This building is Clinton Hall, the first result of the campaign of the Social Halls Association against the demoralizing dance halls of the east side that became known to the whole world during the agitation against the red-lights three years ago.

### CLINTON HALL.

The building itself is an entirely new departure in the tenement section. Its graceful, yet substantial, colonial architecture in red brick with stone facings contrasts strongly with the awkward and artificial efforts at ornamentation of the other halls. Inside the contrast is even more striking. The hundred east side halls that furnish the only available meeting places for large social gatherings of the people, of whatever nature, are invariably connected with saloons. Their very entrances are ill-smelling and disagreeable. Inside they are dirty, poorly ventilated and poorly lighted. In all cases the efforts at decoration would have been better

omitted. There are no elevators; to save space, no room has been left for corridors. The whole impression these institutions give is repulsive, even when lighted up in the evenings and filled with their holiday crowds. Nothing is more depressing than to visit one of them in the absence of festivities.

Clinton Hall is bright, clean and attractive. There has been no economy of space at the expense of light and air. The staircases are wide and easy. The wainscoating is marble, the floors mosaic, the decorations light and simple, but always gay in their colorings. There are large elevators, a luxury not to be found in any other such building in the section. The cloak rooms and women's and men's rooms are clean and commodious. The building fails to remind one that it was constructed to fill the same functions as those gloomy barracks where the people of the east side have hitherto been forced to have their weddings, dances, banquets and entertainments and meetings of all kinds.

WHERE THE REAL LIFE OF TENEMENT DWELLERS IS SHAPED.

The social halls movement is an expression of the deep and growing con-



viction, among those who know east side conditions, that the influences which do the most to shape the character of the people are to be found neither in the sweatshops nor in the tenements, but in the places that provide for the social life of the people.

The observer of east side life knows that the speed and intensity of sweatshop work is such that there is hardly time for thought and none for social intercourse. The hours spent over the machine are dreary, grinding monotony, that mean nothing to the workers but the earning of their bread. All the improvement of sweatshop conditions through better factory laws, consumers' leagues and union labels scarcely touch the higher life. In making for better health and more leisure, better sanitary conditions and shorter hours are also paving the way for all the other benefits that depend on health and leisure; but the question still remains as to how the workers spend their leisure, and whether higher development actually does follow physical opportunities.

Again, the real life of the majority of the people is not that of the tenements. With the density of overcrowding on the east side, greater than that of any quarter in the world, it is impossible to make home life attractive. To say nothing of the unhealthiness and dinginess of the tenements, the number of people living in a few rooms make it impossible for the young and active members of the family to lead a normal existence there. The result is that only the mothers, the youngest children, the old people and the invalids are to be found continuously in the home. The rest use it principally for eating and sleeping purposes.

The men when not at work are to be found at synagogue, cafe and political meeting. The children spend the larger part of their life outside of school hours on the streets.

DEMAND FOR RECREATION EXCEEDS THE  
GOOD SUPPLY.

As in every other part of our country, the young people who have grown out

of childhood spend their evenings in education or amusing themselves. There is the keenest desire and ambition for education, fostered by the parents, but, after all the commercial, technical, normal and evening schools are filled, as well as the city college and the law and medical schools, there is a vast surplus of young people who must find other expenditures for their time. Not only are sufficient educational facilities lacking, but the great majority of the population work so hard during the day that the desire for and need of amusement takes precedence over all others when evening comes. Of the hundred thousand young people on the east side, perhaps a thousand who have their evenings free are provided for by the settlements. The rest must depend on those amusements that it pays the owners of halls, cafes and saloons to offer them. It is these young people that the social halls aim specially to reach.

Among the young men there is some interest in bowling or pool, but neither of these are to be obtained except through the saloon, and the man that bowls or handles a cue is expected to drink. The interest in politics and trade unions is very general but hardly a political or trade union meeting can be held except in a hall adjoining a saloon or over one, and the rates charged to the organization are inversely in proportion to the amount of drinking done. Intemperance is almost a new evil among the Jews. There is little natural tendency in that direction in the ghettos of eastern Europe, from which most of them come. It is the necessity for social life and recreation that is being exploited to teach the young men habits of intemperance and ruin.

Drinking is also creeping into the cafes. Nearly all the larger cafes have procured either a malt or a general license. Here in many cases the girls go as well as the men, and the way is open for a far more serious evil. But it was not the cafes, but the dance halls, which shocked the country a few years ago,

when their evils reached a climax under the Devery regime.

The visitor to the east side is struck by the number of transparencies, advertising dances and balls given by the innumerable "pleasure clubs." The custom is for a group of young men, and in some few cases, girls, to organize a club, which gives several dances during the season. The more important of these are known by name to all the livelier young people of the section, so that when you hear the boys or girls speaking of the Adirondacks or the New Eras or the Clairmonts, you can know that they are speaking of the pleasure clubs. The dances invariably begin late and not infrequently last all night. There is always a bar on the same floor with the dance hall, and sometimes they are practically one. There are usually tables near the bar, where in many cases the girls drink also. Not only is drinking carried on in the hall, but smoking as well. No signs of respect are shown to the presence of women, no concessions made. Miss Wald expresses it by saying "liquor is spilt over everything." Of course, many of the men are apt to be more or less under the influence, and drunkenness is a commonplace.

It is not surprising that such an opportunity was seized by those elements in the community that profit on vice. The Cadet system had its origin in these halls. Political and social corruption, and even demoralization, was rapidly developing through them when the campaign of 1901 put a slight temporary check to some of their most flagrant abuses and made them known the country over. But the system still flourishes and its moral contamination continues to corrupt the young people of both sexes, even to degeneration and ruin.

#### THE NURSES' SETTLEMENT LEADS AGAINST PERVERTED AMUSEMENT.

Among those who were most concerned and who agitated most intelligently against this shocking state of affairs was Miss Lillian D. Wald, head of the Nurses' Settlement, and prominent for the last decade in all move-

ments for the betterment of the east side. Miss Wald found young people of her own clubs going to ruin through the perversion of the places of innocent amusement into recruiting stations for immorality.

"While education and religion have been fostered by the better element, the social life of the community," she says, "has fallen into the hands of the lowest class. Social life means more than education. You can't say that even politics or religion are more important. Through social life individual expression and the development of society are made possible, and it is in the early years when social life is most developed that character is forming and the attitude of the young people to life and society are fixed. My interest in this work was, in the first instance, to save my own boys and girls. I could speak of endless experiences to the point. One club of mine, the Dorians, that I had known since they were young boys, on becoming older, decided to give an entertainment. I found that they had chosen one of the biggest and most disreputable halls in the city. Its name was even unsavory among the others.

"As usual, the price of the hall, \$15, was to be refunded if the required amount of drinking was done at the bar. I protested against a club which I had fostered patronizing such a place. They then changed their name from Dorian to Doreen, but gave the dance. This was certainly not done out of disrespect for me, for I found afterward that the secret purpose of the whole affair was to make me a present of a writing desk, which I, of course, refused. They simply thought it necessary to use this hall because there was no other available place. The reason I have given so much time to the social halls movement is because this is simply the *only* way out."

Miss Wald found ready co-operation from other philanthropically disposed persons who are familiar with the state of affairs. Miss Virginia Potter, Miss Sara Straus and Mr. Jacob Riis were readily interested in the project to start



a movement to erect decent and respectable social halls, where all facilities for entertainment and amusement could be had at the usual prices without the offer of any premium on drinking and without affording any opportunity for moral corruption.

Public-spirited residents of the east side were also interested from the outset, and the support of several prominent and wealthy bankers and other business men was secured. The directors of the association consist of the four persons named, four business men and two residents of the east side. It is hoped that the first hall will produce a small profit, the object being to make it pay 4 per cent. If success is had in this effort, sufficient money will be forthcoming for the construction of other similar halls. The financial position of those who have offered to back the movement, further in the case of the success of this first experiment, is such that there can be no doubt of their ability to "make good."

#### UPON WHAT SUCCESS OF THE MOVEMENT DEPENDS.

First. That it shall be democratic.

Second. That its "halls" shall furnish every facility needed by their patrons for legitimate recreation and amusement.

Third. That they shall be clean and respectable.

Fourth. That they shall pay.

The movement is democratic because many of the stockholders are residents of the east side; because its directors are in close touch with the people, and because every effort is being made to fill all reasonable demands.

"I want our young people to think that there is nothing as exciting or interesting on the east side as our place," is the way Miss Wald expresses the effort to encourage every form of legitimate amusement. It would seem from the response already made that there are many clubs and societies on the east side which find the prices of the hall reasonable, and its few restrictions not oppressive.

The building was opened on the third

of February by a ball of the American Hero Club, a product of Miss Wald's settlement. A week later a banquet of the Timothy J. Campbell Association, a Tammany political club, was successfully held there. There followed a few days later a ball of the Onward Social Club. On the following week the East Side Club, a non-partisan political organization, gave a concert and ball in the hall. The schedule for March included a fair, three balls, three concerts, five weddings and a Greek play, to be played on three consecutive evenings. One of the balls was given by the College Settlement, a concert by the Social Democratic party, the fair by the Revolutionary "Bunt." There seems to be no doubt that there is a demand for the hall, especially if we remember that most east side dances and entertainments are arranged several months in advance.

Clinton Hall contains all the usual facilities for amusement. In the basement are bowling alleys, pool and billiard tables and shower baths. On the first floor are two restaurants, one where smoking is allowed and one where smoking is not permitted. The entrance to the latter is separate, so as to secure the women from passing through a room where men are likely to preponderate. The second floor is taken up entirely by a beautiful assembly hall, which can be used for meetings, dances or a large wedding. It has a seating capacity of 600, is provided with a commodious little stage, large cloak rooms and a gallery seating conveniently about 150 people. The entrances and arrangements to the hall are as convenient and pleasing as could be imagined. The stage is provided with a dressing room, and on one side of it is a private entrance to a supper room on the floor above, which may be hired by dancing parties and others wishing to use it. Connected with this supper room is a kitchen and a women's retiring room. There are also two lodge rooms on this same floor, with a movable partition, so that they can be converted into a single room holding several hundred people.

The floor above is divided into smaller club rooms, two of which are already leased by the year to the East Side Medical Association, with several hundred members, and the Dental Society, almost as large. Lastly comes the roof garden, which is hoped will be one of the most popular and advertised features of the hall during the summer. It is intended to have an orchestra in the garden and to serve the same refreshments which are usually to be found in such places. There is a very striking view of the East River and the new bridge from this roof, and as the elevator service is probably sufficient, it will afford the first opportunity of this kind that has been opened up on the east side.

#### PRECAUTIONARY SAFEGUARDS OF RESPECTABILITY.

Measures have been taken to ensure the respectability of all functions that shall take place in the building. There are no blue laws, but a few simple rules of decency. Smoking is prohibited in the ball room, smoking rooms having been specially provided. Loitering is not allowed in the halls and undecent language is not tolerated. But there is to be no espionage, the patrons will have to find their own chaperones, and no meddling supervision is intended.

The buffet has been placed on a different floor from the dance hall, and the cafe being connected with them by a dumb-waiter, the drinking does not overflow into the ball room. There is no bar, so that the standing treat is eliminated. The drink served will always be of a guaranteed purity, but the patrons may secure anything they ask for.

Above all, there is no rebate on the hall in proportion to the amount of drinking done. A higher price than the average is charged for the hall, but there is no other charge even if there is no drinking at all. This is the fundamental reform, and for this alone the movement is worthy of the strongest support, were nothing else contemplated. It will be necessary, however, to convert the young people on the east side to the fact that it costs a club as much

or more to pay a heavy drink bill and nothing for the hall as to pay a small price for the hall and drink as little as they please.

The association's first experiment seems likely to pay because of the unusually good location of the building; because of the very low price at which the ground was secured; because of the free services that have been given by its directors and others who have promoted its development, and because of the many new and attractive features it offers. But it still has serious financial questions to meet. Of course, the building has, as usual, cost rather more than was expected and carries a considerable debt. As it is superior in every way to anything else in this section, a somewhat higher scale of rents is justified.

The price charged for the larger hall is \$25 for meetings and \$40 for balls and weddings where services are required. If the banquet rooms on the floor above are also included, the price is \$55. The lodge and club rooms are rented from \$2.50 to \$3 per evening, and will hold from 30 to 100 persons. These rates are about twice those charged for halls in the saloonkeepers' buildings, but not only is the service in these places inferior, but a minimum of drinking is absolutely required. There has been some difficulty in persuading the trade unions and others of the less well-to-do residents of the quarter that the rents in Clinton Hall are not excessive, but there is still a very large element, which might be broadly called the professional and business element, that is undoubtedly ready to pay higher prices than those they have been accustomed to for better service. The directors of the social halls are anxious to reach all classes of people in the community, but it seems that in this first experiment they will not be able to benefit those most in need. As the movement grows and experience is acquired, it may be possible to furnish services almost as good as those of Clinton Hall at a somewhat lower rate and to reach every element in the community.



The cafe is expected to be a source of profit, and this will undoubtedly be the case if it is run on a business basis. The prices are to be the same as those prevailing in competitive restaurants, but it is supposed to furnish a better bill of fare. Thirty cents is to be charged for the regular lunch and 35 cents for the dinner.

A danger arises here from the excessive zeal of reform. The prime object in the restaurant and bar is to raise funds to help support the building, but if the effort is made at the same time to raise the standard of eating, the first object may be defeated in the effort to accomplish the second.

The social halls movement originated in a most pressing need, and will be pushed on in the most liberal spirit. The founders expect to learn by experience and to adapt themselves to every condition they may meet. Their boundless enthusiasm and solid financial support should carry them far. If Clinton

Hall proves a success, there is no reason why the experiment should not be reproduced in every working class section of our crowded cities. For while the movement grew up out of east side experience and east side needs, the conditions are not dissimilar in other districts where the working people live.

A Clinton Hall in every crowded city quarter would set a standard and teach a lesson to the owners of private halls. It would encourage the erection of similar buildings by the people themselves, a movement already spontaneously begun by the Germans in New York and elsewhere. It would help to create a universal desire for clean and attractive meeting halls, and might finally result, as some of its promoters hope, in the taking over by our municipalities of many of the functions of these buildings, as has already been widely done by the progressive cities of Europe.

University Settlement, New York City.

## Items and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

### "Can Labor Unions Be Destroyed?"

By William English Walling in "World's Work"

Propounding the tremendous question which he does not even attempt to answer, Mr. Walling's most pertinent statement sets forth what he regards as the new attitude of employers' associations toward organized labor.

"The old organizations," he says, "were friendly to the unions; the new ones are almost without exception hostile," and without discussing whether it is wiser for the employers to be hostile or friendly toward the unions, Mr. Walling appears to urge the classes to "go" for one another. Noting a new tendency in the actions of employers' associations, he omits any statement of the probable results of following that tendency, and concludes with this war note:

"A year or two will show whether employers can conquer the unions alone or whether, to achieve that end, they must seek assistance of the govern-

ment and the great middle class. They propose first to try it alone and they have decided not to give the politicians a chance."

Perhaps it is interesting and instructive to note what other than the blind employer type of mind looks with anticipation toward attacks upon labor unionism. As the radical state socialist, whom we mentioned in THE COMMONS for March as wanting nothing better to help his cause than the attacks of Parry and his kind, John Turner, the anarchist, seems to see through Parryism a possible opening for his program.

"I doubt," he is reported as saying recently, "whether American or English workmen will ever force a general strike, because they are calm and deliberate in their actions. But I believe that what Parryism is leading up to in this country is a general lockout. If the capitalists are blind enough to force

this condition, then they must take the consequences. That it will result in a step forward for the working classes is certain—how long a step depends upon the working classes themselves.”

## Bishop Spalding Before the House Committee.

The “Shermanized” version of strikes, enunciated by Bishop Spalding before the House committee on labor, has gained great currency. Another sentence, less epigrammatic and catchy than that “strikes are hell,” yet is more worthy of repetition: “Where a business does not permit of a living wage, according to the American standard of living, that business ought to close up.”

## Union Called a Trust.

The “limitations of output,” minimum wage corresponding to minimum selling price, and many other points of similarity between the great combinations of capital and the combinations of labor, have led many to compare unions with trusts. A petition filed in the St. Louis Circuit Court affirms a similarity between the two combinations, declaring the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to be a “trust, an illegal association, a combination against public policy and contrary to law,” and asking that it be dissolved. The plaintiffs are the William G. Frye Manufacturing Company, the Charles A. Olcott Planing Mill Company, the Fox Brothers Manufacturing Company and the Lohse Patent Door Company. Pending the suit for dissolution, a restraining order and injunction is sought against the Carpenters’ District Council of the union.

The action grows out of the attempts by the union in the last six months to unionize the plants of the plaintiffs.

## Civic Federation Ends a Big Strike

The strike of lithographers has been ended, and 10,000 men returned to work at the various establishments throughout the United States and Canada.

The settlement was reached at the headquarters of the New York Civic Federation, Twenty-second street and Fourth avenue,

April 20. The agreement by which the strike was declared off was signed by a committee of employers and employees. There was general rejoicing all around that the trouble was over.

The men had been out since April 15, since which time Emerson McMillin, the banker, who is president of the New York Civic Federation, and School Commissioner Samuel B. Donnelly, who is a member, had been doing their utmost to bring peace to the industry. After many conferences at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, at which Mr. McMillin presided, a proposition was agreed to, both sides making concessions. This agreement was submitted to the unions throughout the United States and they voted to ratify it.

## Ascendancy of Australian Labor Party.

Holding the balance of power in both the Senate and the House of Representatives (for detailed figures see THE COMMONS for April), the ascendancy of the Australian Labor party is again seen in the recent choice of members for the New Victoria cabinet.

From reports it seems that the two older parties, the Ministerialists and the Opposition, might have united and together outvoted the new labor party, had not their differences over the fiscal issue been accentuated by the Chamberlain propaganda.

Mr. Watson, the labor leader, has formed a cabinet with himself as premier and treasurer. The other members are:

Mr. Hughes, minister for external affairs.

Mr. Higgins, attorney-general.

Mr. Batchelor, minister for home affairs.

Mr. Fisher, president of the board of trade.

Mr. Dawson, minister of defense.

Mr. Mahon, postmaster-general.

Mr. McGregor, vice-president of the federal executive council.

As, with the exception of Mr. Higgins, all the members of the new cabinet belong to the Labor party, Australia as an “industrial experiment station” must be watched more closely than ever by students of the labor movement in politics.

## Union Liable for Boycott Damages

That a labor union is liable for damages resulting from a boycott ordered by it was the principle of New Jersey law laid down by Justice Franklin Fort in the Supreme Court April 20, when Dressler & Hollender, contractors of



Perth Amboy, obtained a verdict for \$500 against the walking delegate and other members of the Bricklayers and Plasterers' Protective Union of the same city. The case is the first of its kind in the state.

Justice Fort in his charge to the jury told it that trades unions were not illegal and that every man had the right to control his own labor and to combine and agree with another man or men as to the rate he and they shall charge for it. A combination of men to carry into effect the demand for wages was not unlawful.

No man or combination of men could, however, without making himself and themselves liable civilly, combine to maliciously injure or seek to injure the business of any man or firm or corporation by preventing them from carrying on business or by preventing others so disposed to work from working for the firm or corporation or person.

Every man had the right to control his own labor and to sell it and to join with others to sell it, but he had no right to influence others unlawfully. Any man or body of men had a right to strike, but not to force those willing to work to remain idle.

Labor organizations and employes alike are profoundly impressed by the verdict. There have been criminal proceedings growing out of boycotts and strikes before in New Jersey, but never before has a civil judgment been obtained against a union for maintaining a strike or boycott. The charge by Justice Fort was on a line with the decisions of the Chancery Court in the Paterson silk strike cases a year or so ago. He left to the jury only the question whether the union was at fault and whether the action maintained was malicious.

Seeing precedent in the general legislation which prevents the product of convict labor from entering into competition with that of free workmen, the California State Federation of Labor urges further legislation to prevent competition of military with civilian mechanics.

The following preamble and resolutions have been adopted.

Whereas, Of late years the quartermaster's department of the United States army is working enlisted soldiers in competition with civilian mechanics on transports and all vessels subject to army regulations, and on government reservations throughout the United States and its possessions; and,

Whereas, The enlisted soldier is only paid an advance of 50 cents per day over his pay of \$15 per month, while the wages of the

civilian mechanics employed at such work are \$3.50 to \$6 per day.

Resolved, That the California State Federation of Labor in convention assembled most earnestly protests against the action of the military authorities in employing enlisted men at 50 cents per day to compete with civilian mechanics.

Resolved, That at the close of this convention the secretary is instructed to forward a copy of these resolutions to our senators and members of the House of Representatives from the state of California.

A copy of this remarkable protest has been sent to the president, the senators, the representatives, and every cabinet officer, with a letter of transmittal from which the following is quoted:

You are earnestly requested to use your utmost influence to prevent soldiers and others in service of the United States Government being further employed to the detriment of civilian mechanics and against the interests of trade and industry as set forth in the resolutions herewith submitted.

A striking innovation in municipal administration is that of the city of Johannesburg, South Africa, which has applied for and been granted the right to purchase land within and beyond its boundaries, with municipal funds—such lands to be held for eventual sale, at low prices to citizens looking for a home.

The municipal authorities, impressed with the evils of the private monopolization of land, are enthusiastic about their project and consider it a guarantee of their city's future greatness and prosperity. By endeavoring to secure thousands of acres of the surrounding land, they intend diverting the spread of land-lordism, and the taxing of all the combined industries, energies and resources of the city for the benefit of land-holders.

Bricklayers and laborers, as well as men who had been thrown into involuntary idleness in other trades by the strike in the building trades in New York, reported for work on time April 7 at all buildings tied up by the strike, declared off pending arbitration. The strikers were glad to get back to work and did not hesitate to say so.

# Woman in Modern Industrialism

By Catherine Waugh M'Culloch

The conference on this topic arranged by the Chicago Woman's Club in April was a notable example of the desire of women to mitigate to some extent the struggle for life and to learn methods of mutual aid. Modern industrialism is driving men to such fierce combat that it is becoming more and more important that women shall develop, instead, the unselfishness, sympathy and regard for others that shall make a race fit to survive. So women are beginning to consider the effects of modern industrialism upon themselves and their families, upon the home and society.

Mrs. Ethelbert Stewart's paper on "Workingmen's Homes" was an astonishing revelation of the heroism of those who earn small wages. Her schedules of expenditures for a family of five on a salary of \$14 per week, or \$728 yearly, was: For food, \$312; for rent, \$120; for fuel, \$49; for light, \$12; for clothing, books, doctors' bills, etc., \$235; total, \$728. She claimed that no woman could do all the home work and bear and rear a family properly even on \$25 per week without breaking down, and that few workingmen had \$25 per week, more often it was \$9. The wife of such a man was a Napoleon of finance if she kept out of debt. Such low wages necessitated the mother sacrificing all her love of beauty and social life. She advised women's clubs to provide creches not only to care for children when their mothers were earning, but also when they were attending some neighborhood meeting or club or place of recreation.

Foreign-born women, Miss Jane Adams said, would often be helped to a more economical household expenditure by consulting their husbands, who had a better knowledge of relative values. The provisional temporary character of the homes among poor people made good housekeeping difficult.

Mrs. Alice P. Norton of the School of Education of the University of Chicago claimed that to meet the requirements of good housekeeping to-day, the schools should give special scientific in-

struction in sanitation, ventilation, textiles, chemistry of foods, plumbing, drainage, sociology and economics. Three million women employed in household service in the United States needed much of this training. Mistresses of homes also needed this knowledge, but resented the suggestion. It was recommended that as much work as possible be put out of the home so that it be more economically and skilfully done. French women who were noted as economists did not bake bread nor make desserts nor shell peas.

That children should early be taught in the home to perform household tasks and that not all the teaching be left to the schools was strongly emphasized.

Women skilled in various professions reported concerning their work and remuneration as nurses, probation officers, rent collectors, lawyers, physicians, decorators, bookbinders, teachers and librarians. In such professions women are better paid than are women in other employments. Superior education, unusual natural gifts, remarkable perseverance have placed some such women in remunerative positions, but they are to be counted by the hundreds only, not by the hundred thousands.

The progress made by women in securing admission to the professions was encouraging. Dr. Lucy Waite reported 4,376 listed in the medical societies, and while New York had the largest number, Illinois came next with 239. Of the number, 51 were giving instruction in medical colleges in Chicago.

In an investigation as to the fees of 76 women physicians, graduates from a certain college, 10 received annual incomes from \$3,000 to \$4,000, 5 received from \$4,000 to \$5,000, 3 received from \$5,000 to \$10,000, and 15 received from \$15,000 to \$20,000.

The women lawyers were less numerous and less successful, with perhaps not over 100 of the 1,000 admitted in active practice. Few have had yearly incomes above \$5,000, and \$2,000 is probably larger than the average income. The many lucrative political po-



sitions open to men lawyers are generally closed to women because of their lack of political influence.

Miss Maud Radford said women excelled as text-book writers for the elementary grades; that their intuition was valuable in reading manuscripts; that their pay as novelists was as high as that of men. Miss McDougal said that women illustrators received generally as good pay as men.

In the teaching profession Mrs. McLeish showed that salaries were lower for women than for men. The men fill the higher executive positions and the women predominate in the class-rooms. The influence of industrialism is felt even in the lower grades of the schools.

Miss Julia Lathrop reported that women in public institutions received about two-thirds as much as men, and though considered by physicians superior to man in the care of the insane, found fewer good positions open.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones charged this to the present Illinois method of putting party spoilsmen with political influence in charge of these unfortunate wards of the state. Someone said that a \$500 salary would secure a \$500 man or a \$2,000 woman.

In the addresses on woman's work in the professions it appeared that women with larger fees could hire others to do many of the tasks which so burden mothers, without neglecting the children.

It was held by Mrs. Fanny Bloomfield Zeisler that the mother who went occasionally from home was much better appreciated than the one who was always hanging around, but that the constant absence from home of actresses and opera singers was disastrous to home life.

Mr. William Foster, a lawyer and the son of two lawyers, said his mother, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, read law books while he played around the room; that her legal work never prevented her being a good mother, and that when he grew to manhood he and his mother were boon companions and intimate friends.

Mrs. Elia W. Peattie thought the mother missed a great deal in being ab-

sent from her children, but that the woman journalist could do much of her work at home; that a grandmother or aunt or any other loving, even untrained woman, could very well attend to the children during their earlier years.

In the general discussion of the family and the financial burdens borne by women, it was shown that only under modern civilization was any share of the burdens connected with the child put on the father. Before the dawn of history the mother took all care of the child and made all provision for his future care. She gathered the fruits, nuts and grains, she dried meat and fish for his food, prepared skins and wove fibers for his clothing, erected the shelter to protect him from storm, tilled the ground, hewed the wood, shaped the pottery. Through ages of effort she has won man to help her, and now society and the law, expect him to do most of the outside, wage-earning work which brings food, clothing, shelter, and she is expected to do the inside work of personal care and loving watchfulness.

But if he dies or flees, her ancient burden comes again on her shoulders and she must do both inside and outside work. Motherhood calls forth compliment and poetry, but there is no money in it. So the mother who is willing to do her half in caring for her children must also do the father's half because society has planned nothing to assist her, but a scheme of poorhouses, separated brothers and sisters, and adopted homes.

Society should so father the fatherless that the mother could be paid to stay at home and raise her own little brood free from the fear of hunger and homelessness.

As the average age of women employed in gainful pursuits is not above twenty-four, and nine-tenths of all employed are single, with no children of their own to care for, the problem of the working mother, while important, affects only a fraction of the workers. But until government does provide money support for the fatherless, a mother ought to find no door of remunerative employment shut. The em-

ployer can be depended on to pay no more than her services are worth, and law should never prevent the mother wage-earner entering the field where she can earn the most.

It was suggested that women's industrial emancipation may have caused the decline in chivalry now, evidenced by the immobility of the masculine hat and the spectacle of women hanging on to straps in street cars. It should have added that as woman receives generally so much less pay than man she is not industrially on the same footing. As woman must work harder than man for the same money, she is physically less able to stand, and as he, the voter, is the one responsible for the scarcity of seats because he does not force the street car companies to provide adequate accommodations, he alone should stand and let the blameless woman sit.

Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams said colored women were debarred from most positions, except household service, where the demand for workers exceeded the supply. There were in Chicago few of them in factories, about 100 in the canning department of the stockyards, many successful dressmakers, about 100 trained nurses, 15 schoolteachers and twenty stenographers. She pleaded for justice in allowing capable colored girls to fill higher salaried positions.

Concerning the effect of industrialism on the health of women Dr. Julia Ross Lowe had found that housework is the most healthful; that factory work in sanitary workrooms, with its regular hours and systematic methods, may be healthier than life in an overcrowded unsanitary home; that workrooms are not always sanitary; that the girl employed in work which keeps her on her feet for ten hours a day, for four years, has little chance for mental culture or recreation and when married often breaks down under the double strain of housework and maternity. She believed that the American stock was deteriorating physically. Dr. Harriet Alexander argued that the reverse was true; that few died of childbirth now, while years ago about one-third died thus.

#### TRAINING FOR SELF-MAINTENANCE.

One of the most encouraging addresses was that of Miss Sarah L. Arnold, who told of the work of Simmons College in training women for self-maintenance. Their course trains in secretarial work, librarianism, household economics, horticulture, nursing and social science; one-fourth of the time is given to the technical work in the student's specialty and three-fourths to the ordinary academic work. The union of the two makes a liberal education. The keynote of the address was that education should not fit one to be a recluse, but fit one for service.

Miss Katherine L. Sharp, of the librarianship department of the University of Illinois, said there was a greater demand for library school graduates than could yet be supplied. They could begin at \$35 to \$40 per month and with a yearly increase of about \$5 per month each year come to \$100 per month. Of the persons interviewed, 15 received \$1,500, 8 received \$1,800 and 3 or 4 \$2,000; \$2,500 was the limit for women. Most of the positions over \$2,000 were for men.

Public night schools, according to Mr. Cooley, superintendent of the Chicago schools, were valuable in making girls more intelligent and economical, and as such were justified to the hard-headed business man. The high school now teaches stenography, typewriting, accounting, economics, science and modern languages in their bearing on commercial life.

Throughout the conference there was a constant demand for more thorough preparation and better schools as a remedy for women's low wages. On the last evening were presented two other remedies, trades unionism and the elective franchise.

#### THE LEGAL DISABILITIES OF WOMEN.

Miss Kate O'Connor, a successful real estate agent of Rockford, Ill., told of her experience as a worker where her remuneration was less, her position lower, because she was not a voter. She could go to a certain limit and then be legally debarred by sex.

The possession of the ballot would



put women on a higher financial footing and enable them to secure equal opportunities and equal wages.

#### WOMEN AND TRADES UNIONS.

Miss Anna Nicholes briefly outlined the history of women's entry into factories and trades unions. Unions have helped establish higher wages, shorter hours and decent conditions, and it would seem very stupid for girls working together not to organize to mutually better conditions. This is a remedy for the great majority of women workers in shops, factories and stores.

Fred W. Job, secretary of the Employers' Association, followed this paper with a vigorous denunciation of wrongs committed by union men. He said that conditions were appalling; that a man in Danbury was rendered insolvent because he would not hire union labor only; that the agreement not to buy clothes without the union label sold by the walking, talking delegate was a conspiracy and had nearly ruined the clothing business in Rochester; that certain girls in the employ of a boot and shoe company had been guilty of plain stealing in striving to secure two kinds of pay; that there were over 1,300 strikes last year and more people injured by strikers' violence in Chicago than by grade-crossings; that there were seven murders committed; that bludgeon methods, muriatic acid and dynamite made one believe the trades unions stood for violation of law. He said that club women must do more than scratch on the surface, they must go down deep enough to see all the violence and law-breaking. He said striking was often done for the most foolish reasons; that girls who packed cookies struck because the manager wanted only a rearrangement of the method whereby time could be saved.

Miss Jane Addams agreed with Mr. Job in deprecating violence, but said that one must not, because of the horror caused by an individual case of violence, overlook the fact that the great majority of trades unionists were peaceful. Twenty-six thousand men the first of March had made their contracts for work without violence of any sort; that

it might be difficult to realize the value of a movement when one was cotemporary with it, but those things mentioned by Mr. Job, which were temporary and exceptional, should not be held as a characteristic of the whole movement. Other great movements had in their earlier beginnings some erratic reformers who would not move on peaceful lines, and these were eliminated as the voice of the majority was heard. She knew the great mass of trades unionists were working for peaceful settlements and were personally guiltless of lawlessness.

Mr. Sincere, another attorney for manufacturers; claimed that contracts were sometimes only signed at the point of a gun. He criticized specially the limiting of apprentices.

Mr. James Hunt, a trades unionist, said he approved the limiting of apprentices, otherwise the boys would underbid men and fathers have nothing to do but carry their sons' dinner pails. He preferred to do the work himself and keep his son that much longer in school. He said that though a member of unions for many years, he never had heard violence approved.

Prof. Graham Taylor said that if those who read Lincoln Steffens' recent exposure of the rascality of certain bribe-giving business concerns should at once denounce all Chicago business men as bribers, it would be the same sort of scratching on the surface as denouncing all trade unionists as law-breakers, because a few individuals had been guilty of violence.

Some of those present spoke of the need of authoritative data on these important problems affecting women, childhood and the home, and wished that some careful state investigation might be made, perhaps under the state labor bureau.

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"He trod an open but unfrequented path to immortality, in the ardent and unintermitted exercise of Christian charity. May this tribute to his fame excite an emulation of his truly glorious achievement."—Inscription on John Howard's monument in St. Paul's, London.

# Status of Women Employed in Manufacturing

By Mrs. George W. Plummer

The following questions were sent out by the reform department of the Woman's Club to a large number of firms employing women:

How many women do you employ?

How many are married?

How many are widows?

What is the average age?

What is the length of employment?

Why do you prefer to employ women rather than men?

Have you any idea of the family or financial obligations carried by your women employes?

What education would you recommend for working women?

What is your opinion of trades unionism for women?

Have you any form of voluntary association among your women employes?

Is the supply of working women equal to the demand?

Have you any remarks to make about their health?

Replies were received from firms who employ in the aggregate 24,231 women.

There were reported out of the whole 683 married women, 199 widows. The average age was 25 years.

The question concerning the length of employment was taken by some to mean the number of hours which employes gave a day to the work, but the majority took it to mean, what the average duration of service with the firm was. As to the length of hours, only two reported less than ten hours, one seven to nine, another nine hours; the rest were from ten to eleven hours a day.

In answer to the question, "Why do you prefer to employ women rather than men?" a number replied, "Nature of work." One said, "For light work, requiring deftness, women are superior." Another said, "They are more attentive to their work, more regular and cleaner." Another, "Less whisky and

beer. More conscientious workers. Lower wages." Again, "Do better work." Better adapted to light work." "They have proved very capable and faithful as cashiers." "Find women more competent for stenographic work." "Steadier." "Where they can be used, more steady and reliable."

In reply to the question, "Have you any idea of the family or financial obligations carried by your women employes?" many said, "We have not." Some of the answers are as follows: "There is no 'race-suicide' hereabouts. Families are large; climate is temperate, living cheap. Yet this class of people are not forehanded, as a rule." "Most of them assist at home." "Think a large majority are not depended upon by others for support. Work for self-support only." "Some have such obligations, some work for additional money, but most for their own livelihood." "Most of them have fathers and mothers, and they contribute to support of the family." "Practically all are helping to support their families." "Some of those married help out by earning \$6 to \$8 per week here. Some unmarried help at home with what they earn."

Some of the replies to the question, "What education do you recommend for working women?" are as follows:

Some of the replies are as follows: "As good as possible." "Grammar or high school and business course." "All they can get." "Good school education when young." "Common school." "Good common school and manual training." "All they can get; many cannot cook a cup of coffee." "A good common school education to begin with, with particular attention to domestic economy." "Night schools and Y. W. C. A. advantages." "Public school." "To obtain all the education they can." "Thorough common school education. Our employes are quiet and accurate at



figures, write reports neatly, are courteous and pleasant in doing business with our patrons." "The opportunities of public school education, including high school, are sufficient for positions occupied in business houses." "High school education." "Anything that will raise their ideal and teach them the value of economy and simple living." "Kindergarten, English branches and industrial school for our work."

We have taken only a few of the answers upon "What is your opinion of trades unionism for women?"

Here are some of the replies: "We have little respect for trades unionism for either sex. We do not object to it." "Not necessary for the question of wages, and unions decrease the efficiency." "Believe it beneficial. Think all women wage earners should belong to trade unions." "Our opinion is unfavorable. Neither think it beneficial nor necessary in mercantile houses." "Is not womanly," "All right if properly managed." "Don't believe in it. Absurd." "Trade unions have proved a nuisance. We would advise them to leave them alone." "A very poor one. Would not employ union labor." "Do not think well of it." "Do not consider it in any way to their advantage." "Not much benefit, if any." "Prefer not to express my opinion." "A failure, not a benefit to them anyway." "Not necessary, nor successful."

There were a large number who made no reply to this question at all.

"Have you any form of voluntary association among your women employees?" brought out the fact that the majority have some benefit and relief fund.

To the question, "Is the supply of working women equal to the demand?" the answers were in most cases "Yes." In one case, "Greater." There were five cases of "No." Another said, "Not at all times." And another, "Hardly." And in still another, "Yes, in some departments, never in others."

Replying to, "Have you any remarks to make about their health?" there was not a single complaint that the employees were not well. One said,

"Health seems better than men. All seem well and happy." Another, "Health of all excellent, except such that dissipate." Another invites the clubs to come and see. The surroundings of the employees good; says they are very healthy. "Generally good. Compare well with that of men. Very small mortality."

In closing this summary, we have given some of the interesting notes which we have received in the letters accompanying the question slip, and also some of the replies given in by the Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics on Compensation in Certain Occupations of Graduates of Colleges for Women, which we felt would be valuable along this line.

#### EMPLOYERS' SENTIMENT.

"We take a great interest in this corporation in all such matters, and are striving to bring about better relations between employer and employee, and are taking a great interest in the health, morals and upbuilding of all of our operatives, and are only too glad to give any information along this line that we can."

"We have proved here that woman does not lose any of her womanliness by entering the industrial world, *if the conditions are as they should be*. On the other hand she comes in contact with people of all kinds and becomes stronger and broader minded, more capable of coping with social and domestic problems."

"This is a very serious problem, and if proprietors will not see that it is their duty to humanity to provide sanitary workrooms, we must prevail upon them to take up the work from a selfish motive, because it will pay them in cold dollars and cents to better the condition under which their employees work. Many proprietors are falling in line and no doubt the sweat shop will be a thing of the past."

"First, a fully equipped gymnasium. We have women's gymnasium classes two nights a week, with a competent woman instructor. We have private, individual dressing rooms, and shower

baths capable of giving sixty people baths at once. We also have a reading room and library. We have retiring rooms for the women, where they can spend their spare moments during the day, and we have a piano and pianola, etc. We also have a retiring room, with cots, with some first aids, in case any of the women are taken sick, faint or meet with an accident. We also have a lunch room, where we furnish them with good, wholesome, well-cooked, cleanly food at the lowest possible cost. We have separate entrances for the women. We employ altogether about 3,000 people."

"Real estate is an untried field, but, nevertheless, most prolific and interesting, and one which women are especially equipped to fill.

"The women, I find, are apt pupils and are willing, ready and anxious to learn. It is because they have had little or no opportunity and have never been called upon to draw from their own business facilities, that they have not been considered successful as a body. The individual woman, however, who has branched out—applied herself, studied and observed—has been generally successful, some eminently so. Women starting out for themselves are apt to expect chivalry from men in business, and here is just where so many make their great mistake. A woman who enters the competitive race must not expect consideration because she is a woman, as she will not get it. Furthermore, she is not entitled to it; all that she has a right to expect is a "square deal" or the same courtesy that one business man extends to another. From my own experience I can state that men are uniformly fair and courteous and will deal with a competent woman as readily as with a competent man.

"The real estate and loan business, to my mind, is a fine field for women, especially for those who have been in a position to gain the confidence of the public."

"In the cotton mills many of the operatives marry on Saturday afternoon and go back to work on Monday; and when

they have children, they place them in nurseries and return to work as soon as possible after confinement. I can give no idea as to the percentage."

Why do you employ women rather than men?

"Reasons why women are employed rather than men which have come to my attention are: Lower wages, scarcity of men, delicate fingers required in some trades, such as electrical; more careful of machinery, more skilful in certain lines of manufacture and more faithful."

Have you any idea of the financial obligations carried on by women employees?

"In every line of inquiry it will be found that a *very large* percentage have family financial obligations. I understand that women wage-earners who marry sometimes return to work because their husbands are not willing to surrender any portion of the amounts expended before marriage for their accustomed pleasures, and the family allowance not permitting the wife as much as she had during her independence, she is obliged to earn it herself or go without."

"There are, of course, many kinds of work which women do more efficiently than men, but there are certainly some occupations in which women are employed on account of their lower wage scale. Many women workers, of course, have other persons dependent upon them, but, on the whole, the standard of wages is determined by the woman who lives at home and is partly supported by other members of her family. There is at least one large store in Boston where a special point is made of having all the women employees live at home. This is not on account of moral concern as to the employees, but because the employers wish to get the fullest advantage of the low scale of wages set by the so-called 'pin money worker.'"

"There seems never to be any lack of women to fill all available avenues of employment. This, of course, tends to keep down wages. As against this tendency, however, there are two or three



large stores in Boston in which a special standard of fitness is set and a higher rate of wages established than would be called for by mere supply and demand. I do not know of any such method in connection with factory employment, however, in Boston. In the steam laundry industry, the wages were formerly somewhat higher than at present. The reduction of the element of danger in connection with laundry machinery and Chinese competition have served to bring the wages down to the general factory level. The special causes, tending to depress the rate of wages for women make it specially important there should be trade unions in their occupations to act as a sort of buffer against the operations of these depressing forces.

"There is a thriving Women Clerks' Benefit Association in Boston; also the Union for Industrial Progress, which includes women working in factories.

"I look with much interest upon two experiments recently entered upon in Boston toward the solution of the problem of domestic service. The Household Aid Association is sending out properly trained women to work in homes by the hour or by the day. The laboratory kitchen is sending out cooked meats on order."

"Probably in busy times 60 to 75 per cent of our working force come from the homes of moderately well-to-do working people, and what the individual earns is used for her own support; 15 to 25 per cent are from outside the city and live at boarding houses or with relatives, and are entirely dependent on their own earnings. The balance are often cases where invalids or others are wholly or partially dependent upon the worker. It is a common practice among families where girls and boys are working for each to contribute his or her earnings to a common family fund.

"The women who work in our factory do not take it up or desire it as a life calling. We furnish employment to young women not needed at home, who come to us after their schooling is over and before marriage has come to them. Any special education to meet the fac-

tory conditions would be misdirected energy.

"If every employer of working people were to treat his employes in the same manner that he would like to have his own sons and daughters treated were they obliged to go out and work for their living, I believe that labor and capital would be very much closer together than they are to-day, and so-called labor troubles very much less frequent."

"There are very few women that are as competent as the best men in telegraphy. When they do attain that standard they usually receive as much pay as men doing the same work. Women are unfitted to become chief operators, having the government of men and care of wires. They, therefore, do not rise above positions as operators or managers of small offices. Chief operators, wire chiefs, assistant chiefs, etc., in large offices receive considerably more than operators working at desks. The average pay of a chief operator is about \$100 per month.

"We have no women who can justly be called first-class operators, who can accurately transmit forty or fifty messages in an hour during the whole day, or who could receive them if they were sent. The nervous strain required to do this is very great, and this may account for the scarcity of first-class operators amongst the women. Is not the inherited tendency amongst the monogamous races for women to look forward to an early marriage and a consequent withdrawal from the struggle for existence, a retarding factor in their competition with men? The data for this inference are the facts that for the first few months young girls generally make rapid progress, and having attained a sufficient degree of experience to enable them to earn enough barely to live on, they seem to stop further effort toward improvement. That this cessation of effort is ascribable to the hope of a marriage in the near future, making such effort useless, seems to be justified by the fact that this is what happens in the majority of cases."

"Women should unite and resolve not to under-cut each other or their fellow

craftsmen of the printing offices and other industrial places where their cheaper labor is appreciated by their employers. Intelligent work and faithful service should be paid for, and it is robbery for the employer to discount the pay because the worker wears petticoats."

These are answers of employees as given in the compensation of college graduates:

"The real value of woman's work is slowly turning the tide. Meanwhile, as long as she will work for less she not only may, but must, for few women are in a position to refuse to do it."

"A woman's work is often inferior to man's in the same grade, because she is apt to take up work as a temporary necessity. She, therefore, does not feel that desire to learn her profession thoroughly that a man feels, who makes his profession his lifework."

"The women clerk's wages range from \$3 to \$5 per week, the latter for experienced hands, while the men's wages are from \$10 to \$15 and \$20."

"The majority of the young girls live at home, and this is one of the reasons for accepting low wages."

"Men as a rule want women to work for them and not with them; hence at present few women do anything except the 'dead work.'"

"I have observed that in late years when a woman entered an examination and was in every way fitted and earnest in pursuit of scientific studies, and could compete with men she was fairly dealt with. There are some women in the Government service who receive higher pay than men for performing inferior work. This is, I fear, the result of influence and favoritism. I think that when women are in every way fitted equally with men they will be equally recognized. Their period of higher education has just begun, that of man has long continued."

"My observation leads me to conclude that women as a rule are to blame for low wages, and for several reasons. When women enter the business world they carry with them false notions of what is due them. Everything beyond

courteous justice is a privilege accorded them, but many demand these privileges as rights. This destroys their desirability as employees. When they lay aside the fol-de-rol of being 'ladies' and are business women the way will be clear for an advance in their wages."

"I have fulfilled all the duties of a citizen, just as man does (with the exception of voting), reared three fatherless children from tender years, kept them in school until they were twenty-one, partially supported an invalid sister, assisted the young boys of her family, and I am a woman, living on wages much less than those of men."

## Women in Trades and Professions Underlying The Home

By Mrs. Leslie Lewis

The questions to which these answers were returned were sent to persons specially trained for their work, as professors of economics or directors of schools of domestic science, or to persons who are carrying their theories into practice in some chosen work along the line of previous investigation.

We feel, therefore, that what we have to offer are the thoughtful statements of special students, and, as such, are entitled to our consideration.

The first question asked was:

"What, in your opinion, is the future of the professions and trades which underlie the home?"

The consensus of opinion seems to be embodied in the following answers of Mrs. Ellen H. Richards of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mrs. Virginia Hull Larned, president of National Household Association, and Miss Isabel Evans Bullard, director of the School of Domestic Arts and Science, in our own city.

"The trades that are susceptible of mechanical treatment will be carried on outside the home, under careful supervision. Those that remain in the home will become more scientific and artistic



—in other words, will be raised in quality."

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, president Consumers' League, New York, gives practically the same opinion, and adds:

"The work of the household will be much simplified and, in the future, no doubt, fewer household employes will be employed. It seems important, therefore, that young girls should either learn some one trade or profession well, or should be trained to do general housework and to cook simple, nutritious food."

"Do you consider the present organization of the home as permanent, or is it undergoing certain modifications incident to modern industrialism?"

Miss Caroline Hunt, professor of home economics, University of Wisconsin, gives the following answer (see her paper).

Dean Marion Talbot of the University of Chicago says:

"The organization of the home will undergo *profound alterations* in the future, as it has in the past."

Marion Foster Washburne of Elkhart, Ind., replies:

"Undergoing rapid modification."

And here again we find that the consensus of opinion is that a change is going on, and that science will play a large part in the reorganization of the home.

Mrs. Mary Mumford, vice-president of the National Congress of Mothers, says:

"The home at present has no science and is wastefully managed."

Third question:

"What special modification in education, if any, would you recommend to meet the present-day needs of good housekeeping?"

From nearly all the schools of domestic science comes the reply: The introduction of some phase of home economics into the colleges for women, and the study of domestic art-science in all elementary and high schools.

I quote the reply of Mrs. Emma Jacobs, director of domestic science in the public schools of Washington:

"What form of domestic service

would you recommend to meet the increased luxury and complications of modern housekeeping?"

"Service by experts or skilled workers, paid by the hour," is the reply given by most of those to whom we have written.

One writer suggests that housework should be done by two classes:

First—The intelligent woman who shares the family life.

Second—People who come by the day and maintain their own family life.

"What would, in your opinion, render domestic service more acceptable to women?"

Dean Talbot says:

"More clearly defined duties, more exact standards, more regular hours, better conditions for doing housework, more recognition of the trade character of the work, less feeling of social caste."

Mrs. Edwards gives:

"Definite duties and exact hours, with a *common standard*, so that the work may be done in the same way every day, and not be changed at the caprice of an ignorant mistress."

Mrs. Mumford, vice-president of the National Congress of Mothers, and one or two others advocate:

"Allowing servants to live outside the place of labor."

Mrs. Nathan says:

"Placing household service on a scientific basis will bring a more intelligent class of young women into the service, and more consideration on the part of employers would be exacted by intelligent women."

"What effect would the recognition of woman's economic and financial value as housekeeper have on the status of the home?"

Miss Bevier of the University of Illinois thinks that:

"It would help to a more rational division of income, set a value on skilled labor, and dignify housekeeping, on the principle that we value what we pay for."

Several replied that it would raise the status of home. Some made no reply to this question.

Mrs. Mumford looks at the question

from a different point of view. She says:

"I don't believe the life of woman as wife-mother, home-maker, can be reduced to a financial or economic basis. There are things in life which can't be estimated on a money value. Let us be thankful that it is so, and let us as women hold our service as something in life which no money can pay for—that life which is more than meat or raiment. We should not let ourselves down to be estimated as housekeepers. *Home* is a spiritual thing. In it are the unseen things which are the most truly real, but can be measured in terms of this world.

Mrs. Nathan makes reply to the question as follows:

"In order to have a financial value as housekeeper, one should have had some training. Many housekeepers have experimented for years with their husbands' earnings with little or no success. When young girls receive proper training to qualify them to be housekeepers, their value will be recognized and the betterment of the home will be the result. The family income is often the product of the wife's labor, as well as the husband's; it is to the interest of both to make the income yield as much comfort as possible."

"What method would you suggest for formulating woman's economic value as housekeeper?"

Very few answered this last question. From one person comes the following:

"Tabulated statistics as to actual cost of living, actual expenditures compared with expenditures that would be sufficient. That would help to show how much money is wasted in ordinary buying, and that woman is an important factor in the 'economics of consumption.'"

Another answer is:

"Efficient training and the wise conducting of a home should entitle a woman to an independent income in proportion to the total income and that set aside for the wage-earner."

Mrs. Nathan says:

"If the wife feels that she can earn

more at painting, or writing books, or singing, or working at any other profession, she is justified in employing a housekeeper. It seems to me a false position for a husband to pay a wife for supervising their joint home. Every married couple must thresh out their own problems in regard to the just and wise expenditure of the family income."

## Replies By Caroline L. Hunt

By Caroline L. Hunt

1. "What, in your opinion is the future of the professions and trades which underlie the home?"

The trades must pass through the union stage. After that their fate is as uncertain as that of other trades.

Professional housekeepers and dieticians will probably find increasingly remunerative and interesting work in large institutions. Their services will not be available for the average private family until there has been an agreement between families as to standards of living and until some form of co-operative consumption has been adopted. The cost of education of the professional worker is so great that the average private family cannot afford to appropriate her exclusively.

2. "Do you consider the present organization of the home permanent?" No, because it is not democratic. It forces upon woman and not upon man a choice between a home and the opportunity for intensive cultivation of special talents. It forces the domestic helper to sacrifice her home life to the home life of her employer.

"Is the organization of the home undergoing modifications incident to modern industrialism?" I can see no signs of reorganization—only of the temporary adjustment.

3. "What special modifications in education, if any, would you recommend to meet the present-day needs of good housekeeping?"

The establishment of thorough professional courses for housekeepers and dieticians.



The introduction into college of courses which shall give men as well as women a scientific attitude of mind with reference to that part of environment known as home.

Manual training, including cooking, for boys and girls in all the lower schools.

4. "What form of domestic service would you recommend to meet the increased luxury and complications of modern housekeeping?"

No concessions should be made to growing luxury.

The complications which arise from the fact that women now have the opportunity to educate themselves for and to pursue lines of work other than housekeeping and the complications arising from the difficulty of preserving physical vigor in closed houses must be met by simplification—not the simplification which results from a desire to escape work and responsibility, and which shows itself in barrenness and unattractiveness of home surroundings, but the simplification which results from a clear understanding of the purposes of home and which shows itself in directness of application of means to ends.

A clear understanding of the purposes of the home might result in the centralization, not of homes, but of the places where the work necessary for the maintenance of separate homes is performed. Central heating plants would reduce amount of dirt, central power plants for running pneumatic cleaners would reduce the work of removing dirt.

A consuming public, educated to know and to demand the things which are essential to good and healthful living, and willing to dispense with the non-essentials, might make desirable the centralization of certain forms of work. Cooking might be done in public kitchens and laundry work in central laundries. The daily, weekly and semi-yearly house-cleanings might be done under the direction of specialists.

Growths in grace might make healthy adults willing to perform personal services for themselves and to care for their own belongings—to prepare their clothes for laundry or repair shop, to

make their own beds and to prepare their rooms for the cleaner, and to wait upon themselves at the table.

The housework which remained could be shared by the various members of the family or could be done by outsiders having homes of their own and definitely limited hours of labor.

The homemaker whose talents lie in directions other than housekeeping might thus be relieved both of work and of superintendence, and should become simply an organizer.

5. "What would, in your opinion, render domestic service more acceptable to women?"

Specialization, definite hours of labor, the opportunity for homes with those they love. This would mean the abolition rather than the reform of domestic service.

6. "What effect would the recognition of woman's economic and financial value as a housekeeper have on the status of the home?"

Such recognition would be reactionary. It would result in lowering women's wages in other lines of work. It might result temporarily in better housekeeping, but it would certainly in the end lead to poorer homemaking.

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Work is given to men not only, nor so much, perhaps, because the world needs it. Men make work, but work makes men. An office is not the place for making money; it is a place for making men. A workshop is not a place for making machinery, for fitting engines and turning cylinders; it is a place for making souls; for fitting the virtues to one's life; for turning out honest, modest, whole-natured men.

For Providence cares less for winning causes than that men, whether losing or winning, should be great and true; cares nothing that reforms should drag their cause from year to year bewilderingly, but that men and nations in carrying them out, should find there education, discipline, unselfishness and growth in grace.—Henry Drummond.

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"Copartnership says only that labor shall share in ownership, management and results. It seeks to harmonize all five of the interests involved in production—the employe, the employer, the consumer, the trades union, the general public. It asks for all workers such a voice in the management of their own industry as democracy demands that the people should always have in their own affairs."—"Labor Copartnership," H. D. Lloyd.

# Women in The Literary and Artistic Profession

By Mrs. John H. Buckingham

It has been said that three strongly marked characteristics of the 19th century are:

First, the entrance of women generally into public life; second, a distinct rise in the standard of morals, and third, a quickened sense and recognition of the paramount importance of the home.

In the census the housekeeper is written down N. G., not gainful, and all women who work without pay are put in the same class with industrious convicts and idle millionaires. About 12 per cent of the women of this country have a gainful pursuit, and what proportion of that number is occupied in literary work, on the stage, as artists, or in the various branches of Arts and Crafts, it is impossible to state. The number is large, however, and in some of these lines greatly increasing. Tremendous significance for women lies in the revival of handicraft because it opens up immense industries which offer activities for both hand and brain and can be carried on at home without interfering seriously with the care of children. We see that it was necessary for handicrafts to fall into disuse while we were working out the system of division of labor, and that now, upon its revival, it is possible for women to become more than amateurs. In the schools of Industrial Arts from 80 to 90 per cent of the students are women and 10 per cent support themselves. In one such school out of 60 women students all are preparing to be self-supporting, one-third are married and one-third are supporting themselves and helping to support others. A striking example of what women can do in this line is furnished by two young women in New York who, a few years ago, began making artistic lamp shades, German favors, dinner cards and other decorative articles. They now employ 50 women, all of whom are supporting or helping to support themselves and others, 10 of whom as designers. Sala-

ries range from \$30 per week to \$3, the average being \$10.

It is the testimony of this firm that women have a monopoly in all these lines of work. They strongly favor congenial employment for women. The benefit of health and spirits has been so marked that they are frequently asked to give employment to young women not obliged to labor or work for support, simply to give them an object in life and therefore improve their health. In no place is ill health so fatal to family happiness as among those that labor, and none can be well unless their work is congenial and sufficiently remunerative to keep them encouraged. They employ only four men. They prefer to give employment to women who *need* the work, and prefer also trained workers. Indeed, the answers to the question of the necessity for training have been virtually unanimous in its favor, though along certain lines that of experience is placed above that of mere technical training.

Of the students in the night classes in an eastern school of Industrial Arts 40 per cent are women, 10 per cent of whom are supporting themselves.

Of the instructors in art schools two-thirds are women who work for salaries one-quarter to one-third less than those paid men for the same work. The average salary is \$600 for a year of eight months. In cases where men are at the head of such institutions, in reply to the question, "Do you prefer to employ women?" the answer is "No, but in salaried positions they work for one-third less." Their reward more nearly approximates men's in all lines the more advanced the workers become. Etchers, designers, decorators are paid equally for the same quality of work. Sixty dollars a week is paid one young woman for designing jewelry. In illustrating there are a number of women doing good work, the best of them being paid as well as men. They receive from



\$25 up for a book cover or an illustration.

The fact that women have a monopoly in the arts pertaining to the home is a significant one, as well as the further fact that much of the work may be done at home, and need not interfere with home life. "Why," said one successful crafter, a woman who has originated the work in which she excels and teaches in one of the art schools as well, "I suppose my work does interfere somewhat with my home duties, but," she added, "I believe I give more time to my home and children than the average society woman, who spends a good deal of time in the shops and at social functions."

Woman is essentially religious. Art is religion, and in artistic expression woman satisfies a need of her nature. Her work becomes a creed, a faith with her, and disposition and character cannot but be improved, and she becomes a better wife and mother because a better individual. In success along these lines perseverance, patience, temperament, count for more than environment, and the mother of a family often does better work than the woman whose time is all her own. On the other hand, the wish to find expression for peculiar talents is self-regarding, and breadth of life depends upon an equilibrium between self-regarding and unselfish desires. It's a question whether home life with its cares is compatible with the capacity for work which makes *genius*. Harriet Hosmer, Cecilia Beaux, Mary Cassatt, and our own Julia Bracken are unmarried. One of the few fine women etchers of this country says, "An etcher may safely be regarded as working purely for the love of etching, for being one of the finest of the fine arts it appeals to a higher understanding and therefore to a more limited number of appreciative people than does color." So it is not a profitable line of work unless one is a Rembrandt, Whistler or Haden, and even then success generally comes late in life. From a list of 17 women etchers who have done excellent work in past years, I find only a few who are working at present.

Whether a woman can do her whole

duty as wife and mother, and succeed in a professional career—I mean the success that comes by putting one's life into one's work—is a question. It generally takes two to make a genius. There is usually the silent partner, one who helps with labor and inspiration, and the position is so subordinate, so self-effacing, that, up to the present time, men are not applying in large numbers.

As to the reward in these various occupations, an average is difficult to determine. Painters, sculptors, etchers, and handicraft bookbinders work generally at their individual risk as to sales, pupils, etc., many supplementing their income by teaching in the art schools, for which they are paid, as we have seen, from one-quarter to one-third less than men. In such shops as the Roycroft the women workers come from the country about Buffalo, are absolutely untrained, and are taught what is required. They generally marry soon and never become expert crafters. The average wage paid is \$5 per week.

The highest wage paid to rug makers is \$1.50 per day. Earnings vary according to the time given, which is largely determined by temperament. It is the opinion that the employment of the mothers, compelling the children to do much of the housework, more than compensates, by the spirit of helpfulness and independence engendered, for some loss of neatness and orderliness in the home. While the tired worker is less companionable to her husband, it is perhaps, after all, a question of the fatigue of careful unremunerative housekeeping versus the fatigue of remunerative, interesting employment. A good worker seems to meet both requirements in a surprising way, while a slovenly, peevish wife is the same whether she works or not.

As designers in wall papers, linens, lawns and printed goods, carpets, furniture, jewels, book covers and decorative wares, women are holding excellent positions in many of the leading houses, it being the opinion of experts that they excel in the arts pertaining to the home, and virtually have the monopoly in some of them.

The field of agriculture and horti-

culture is a new one in this country and a valuable one for women. The laying out of small places in the suburbs, with the care of lawns, trees and shrubs, has been the theme of lectures given during last winter in New York City by Prof. George T. Powell, classes having been formed by ladies who direct their gardeners and give much care to the landscape work at their country homes. Foreign gardeners are so ignorant of American conditions and needs, and often so unwilling to take suggestions, that these ladies are themselves taking practical instruction and would welcome intelligent young women who are trained for the work, to superintend the caring for grounds and greenhouses. This is a practical need and the field a new one. Dr. Powell is employing women on large fruit farms where some of the work is done by the piece system, and women earn more than men. A new line of horticulture, the planting of dwarf trees, is being developed. It will require much higher skill and will be a new and valuable work for women who excel where skill and care is required in pruning, and in grading fine fruits.

"What a transformation there will be," writes Dr. Powell, "when young women of culture and training, who have a real love for nature work, and with executive ability are prepared to give general direction to the development of beautiful homes."

Women have come to this country from Europe to take horticultural and agricultural courses, and one young girl came from Honolulu for the study of flowers. Miss Beatrix Jones and Miss Lee are doing good work in landscape gardening in New York. Miss Witherby is very successful in laying out and conducting school-garden work in Boston, while others are following different lines of the work most successfully.

In schools of acting and music young women outnumber the men 3 to 1 and the unmarried outnumber the married 3 to 1, while on the stage until recent years the men far outnumbered the women. The large majority of actresses are married. While more women

seek stage life, plays are written for more men than women. The vogue of light opera, extravaganza, and spectacular productions has opened in the last ten years a large field of employment for untrained young women. Many companies employ 30 to 40, simply as "show girls," as they are called, and the number of women earning a living on the stage has probably doubled in that time. In one of the Ben Hur companies, for example, there were 30 chorus singers, 25 dancers, 12 little girls, and 5 actresses, making 72 women in one company. The average salary in that company was \$17, though the lowest was \$4. Wardrobe women, seamstresses and dressers abound. The head ones get \$30 or \$35 per week, the others from \$12 up.

Actresses are paid as well as men, a star always having a percentage in the profit. Salaries range from \$10 to \$300 per week, but the average is nearer \$10. This varies, however, as in the case of a company playing Ibsen, requiring actors of highest skill, where the average is \$62 per week. It must be remembered, however, that while actresses are paid as much as men, their expenses for dressing are three times as heavy, the demands in this respect being ever on the increase.

Special training for the stage is of such recent date in this country that time is hardly ripe for sure comparison as to its financial advantage, yet many examples are given of graduates from schools of acting who are making instant positions utterly beyond the reach of untrained novices, and receiving salaries above the average almost at once. In legitimate drama the unanimous verdict is that some training is necessary, that of *experience* being required by some managers for parts of any importance.

As to age, younger women are demanded in light opera, vaudeville and that class of entertainment, but in the legitimate drama, the leads and, in fact, most of the parts are filled by older women, the creative power reaching its height only when ripened by the culture of long experience.

Indeed it is pleasant to think that in



all creative work there is no age limit. Mrs. John Drew and Joseph Jefferson are examples of this on the stage.

One of our local managers, a woman, gives employment to 100 women, vaudeville, vocalists, instrumentalists and miscellaneous specialty people. All support themselves and many of them work with their husbands in what is technically called "*team work*" and receive joint salaries. Probably one-half of these women are contributing to the support of others. Terms are so variable that an average salary cannot be given. The highest paid for one act is \$25, the lowest \$5. In vaudeville women are generally paid more than men.

A study of the lists of Lyceum Bureaus and exchanges shows a small proportion of women readers and lecturers, and a very large one of musicians, both instrumental and vocal, but many lecturers prefer to make their own dates, thus saving the percentage that must be paid the regular bureaus. In the lecture courses given by the Board of Education in large cities, a woman will be found for every man. Their rates range from \$10 to \$125 a night.

For church positions \$500 is the average salary, \$2,000 the highest, women's salaries equaling those paid men, as they do also for concert engagements. Women orchestras are new and popular, particularly in smaller cities and in towns, their work therefore pays well, orchestra players receiving from \$15 to \$45 a week and expenses, according to the work done and previous reputation. Women orchestras, however, cannot succeed as a novelty alone, but must be musically strong. Training is absolutely necessary to success in a musical career. One of the greatest vocal teachers in New York City, a woman of international fame after an experience of twenty years in America, during which time she has had between 26 and 2,700 pupils, says that when she finds pupils who cannot pay her price, \$5 a half-hour, and recommends them to women teachers, graduate pupils of hers who teach her method, charging \$3 a half-hour, she finds that many of

them say, "Oh no! If I cannot take of you I will go to a man!" She thinks that this is due to the fact that they believe men can get engagements for their pupils more readily than women do and that they more often promise to do so. Prices charged for lessons by women teachers as well as by executants compare favorably with those charged by men of the same reputation, but the scale of remuneration is so often a sliding one and varied in individual cases by people of both sexes that it is utterly impossible to draw conclusions of value. They range from \$1 to \$6 a half-hour.

Many managers testify to the fact that they prefer to engage women, finding them more dependable for rehearsals, careful as to details in filling engagements and prompt in recognizing financial claims. Some of them deplore the fact that women who have been bread-winners are apt to be less satisfied with a moderate income, and after a few years of married life return for engagements to supplement an income which would have been sufficient had these same women never earned money. They believe that there are too many women making money that they may enjoy greater luxuries, and that it means much to women who are seeking a livelihood.

As to women composers, up to the present time they have not attempted the large things. We have no great symphony or opera written by a woman, but as song writers many are well known, and their compositions are sold in goodly numbers by all leading music dealers, there being absolutely no difference in the selling price, at least from the price of music written by men.

The professions of the stage and the platform call for a sacrifice of much that is of charm and value in home life. Actors, singers and musicians are obliged to travel more or less, and absence and separation unquestionably affect marriage. Stage women have practically no family life and yet more than half are wives and mothers. Most professional people are very fond of home and work that they may keep it for themselves and those dependent upon them. "There are more divorces than

among others," says one of our most brilliant actresses, "but the children seem to come out as well as others, and the love and service between actress mothers and their children is very marked."

In the field of literature, the measure of woman's achievements is greater than in any other. While there have been literary women in all ages, not until the last century have they taken rank with men. To-day they very nearly, if they do not entirely, approach them in fiction, and while a great novel is not as great an instance of creative power as a great picture, poem or symphony, still many years of full opportunity and endeavor must have trained and developed women before the highest creative power can be denied them conclusively.

The actual number of books published each year is 10,000. There are 15,000 weekly papers and over 2,000 daily papers, equivalent to 135,000 books. More than nine-tenths then of all that is written to-day is written for the newspapers. The attitude of newspaper managers toward women is worth noting. I am able to give the opinions of but few, but these are fairly representative. As a rule managers prefer to employ men, as they can be worked harder, and less compunction is felt about throwing them out of work. The proportion of women regularly employed on newspapers is small, the largest number on any one being five. The East is more conservative than the West on this point. On a large eastern paper two women are employed as against forty men. On one of our daily papers five women are regularly employed, salaries ranging from \$25 to \$30 a week. The most they have ever paid was \$100 a week for editorial work, the least \$20 for society work, each case exceptional.

Managers are forced, more or less, to employ women in departments relating strictly to the feminine element, such as club and society news, domestic science and fashion. Generally speaking, women have here the monopoly. Other work is given reluctantly, and in many cases women must prove by their work what would be taken for granted

in a man. Women reporters are paid from one-fourth to one-third less than men are paid, and all salaried positions in like proportion. That the number of women employed on newspapers has not increased as much in the last ten years as it has done in other lines, is due largely to the fact of the Associated Press and like associations which tend to reduce greatly the entire number of workers.

Newspaper work is exacting and uncertain. The strain is excessive. If women could work as hard they could earn as much as men, but they rarely stand more than ten years of the life without breaking down. One of the best newspaper women in the United States says, "The woman who makes a success as a reporter must be willing to work from eight to fifteen hours in a day, seven days in the week, to take whatever assignment is given her, to accomplish the task set her in spite of difficulty or rebuff, to practically renounce social life, to subordinate personal desires, to disarm prejudice against and create an impression favorable to women in this occupation, to expect no favors because of sex, and to submit her work to the same standard by which men are judged." The incomes of women employed on newspapers run from \$8 a week up to \$100, but it would hardly be frank to omit to state that the number who make less than \$20 a week is far greater than the number who make more.

Several hundred women in the United States make a living by writing fiction and essays for the Sunday editions of the dailies and for the magazines. Their average economic condition is not so good as that of women regularly employed as news gatherers, yet a number of them have considerable incomes and some are well known as writers of books.

In space work the rate is the same for both sexes, the only difference being that women often claim less for extra special articles than men do, as they have not the same means of knowing the commercial value of their work. In paying contributors to magazines there is no difference made. Ability governs



as a rule. More than one-half the magazine writing is being done by women. For various kinds of literary work there is a certain price, beyond which some of the conservative publishing houses never go, but with the more broad-minded this is different. Viola Roseboro, a manuscript reader at McClure's, receives \$5,000 a year.

The American woman shows marked capacity not only as an editor, but in publishing and managing periodicals as well as in securing advertisements for them.

Perhaps there is no newspaper in America that kept closer in touch with its readers than the New Orleans Picayune under the management of the late Mrs. Nicholson.

Women seem to be quite as clever as men in guessing at public sentiment and taking the course that will be most likely to secure practical success.

There has been sent me a list of eighteen publishers and editors in our own city who are at the head of their own business and financially responsible for its conduct, while the list of women editors who hold excellent salaried positions or who work on commission and have made a high reputation is legion.

An estimate of the average annual income made by literary workers is impossible, as most, if not all, write for many publications.

Women who are obliged to earn their living do the best work, as a rule. With the unmarried there is a greater necessity, and they have more vital force to put into their work, and stand it better. Women of mature experience and undiminished powers of assimilation are the most valuable workers. "I have never known an age limit," says a well-known newspaper man; and an equally well-known newspaper woman writes, "My half dozen best workers are fifty years old or over."

As to the effect on the home of the employment of the mother, and by that I mean conscientious, continuous earning of a living, not the occasional writing of pieces for the magazine, there is much to be said. While acknowledging that the home must be neglected more or less, and that children lose somewhat

by lack of oversight, the larger majority of replies I have received point out the facts:

That children are better educated because of the mother's employment, and her acquaintance and reputation are a great advantage to them when they wish to enter business or professional life.

The subjective rewards summarized mean a perpetual broadening of the intellectual and spiritual horizons of the worker, for, happily, the professions and employments which come within the province of this paper tend to the cultivation of the mind, to the awakening of the higher creative faculties, and many of them call for the exercise of hand as well as brain. All of them pertain to the home, in one way or other, for it seems quite as natural that a woman should write an article, or either write or act a play which should educate public opinion and society as that she should make beautiful table covers or design wall paper.

While the woman whose life is spent in the outer world has, many times, a wider range of interest, it does not follow that because a girl works in an office her mental and social outlook must be enlarged thereby. Is the broader outlook not sometimes entirely overlooked because the life becomes so soon a question of ways and means? The rush of the business world is not conducive to the making of real friends. Do these busy women miss social intercourse, the club, the church, the various evening functions they are too busy to attempt? From conversation with many I am led to believe that for the high-salaried woman in all lines there are compensations in independence, joy in her own proficiency, her enlarged vision, contact with the best minds, and the ease which money brings, which more than outweigh the loss. Many of these women, if they marry at all, marry late in life, because they demand more and will not marry men of inferior positions to the employer or the business men with whom they are brought in contact, but all have told me that conditions being equal, they would prefer marriage.

To the large majority, however, who do not get to the top, I believe there is

little in the outer world which compensates for the loss of the social element, which is an essential need of woman's nature.

I am led to believe that no other class of employment offers generally so congenial a field to women as those coming under the head of art and literature.

This conclusion has been forced upon me by the enthusiasm for their work evident in the replies from workers along these lines. The work which brings joy in the doing, that which makes for beauty, for culture, for largeness of life, must and should be woman's work as well as man's.

## From Social Settlement Centers

### University Social Settlement, Cincinnati

John Howard Melish, in a recent appeal for the aid of student workers, gives facts of interest respecting this five-year-old work.

The building, located at Liberty and Plum streets, was, like Hull House, in former days, a mansion. "Its many rooms are large, with high ceilings, plate glass windows and massive woodwork. It is equipped with all the conveniences of more modern dwellings. The neighborhood in which it stands is closely built up with tenement houses and factories, thus crowding the population as nowhere else in the city.

"This mansion has been equipped with gymnasium, shower baths, reading-room, clubrooms, kindergarten and classrooms—in short, with those things in which tenement house life is deficient.

"In addition to usual settlement features, this settlement is the sociological laboratory of the university. The workers here study the land and the buildings, their past history and their present sanitary and habitable condition. They also come to know the people; their nationality, their openness to American ideas, their habits, their work and wages, their tendencies and amusements. This acquaintance brings knowledge of the roots of political power in the district, of the public schools and the churches. Possessed of this information, the settlement people are in a position to estimate the comparative efficiency of the agencies which are working for social recovery, and in time may inform the city in regard to the total drift, downward or upward, of her life in that section. The settlement should become more and more a strong factor in the formation of a sound public opinion in this neighborhood, and in our city."

### Birmingham Woman's Settlement

In a suggestive article in "The Student Movement" Miss Dorothy Scott sets forth, under the title "Monotony in the Life of the Poor of Great Towns" some of the chief causes of the notable migration from the country to the cities.

Referring to the attraction of amusements, she says: "The chief variants of the life of the poor are either actively harmful or only just escape being so. They are therefore not indulged in by the more respectable, and these pay heavily for their higher standards by a life of almost unrelieved dullness, so that it can hardly be wondered that virtue seems dreary to many. They are generally, though by no means universally, unconscious of the monotony in which they live, and, all alike, whether they belong to this 'clean and respectable' section of the community or to the reverse, have a childlike capacity for enjoyment if only it were within their reach in some wholesome form. Everyone who has watched them must have felt the pathos of their keen, almost grasping, pleasure in every minute of the time when they have been having some treat. Old women whose days are spent chiefly over the washtub, systematically overworking, will enjoy themselves like ten-year olds, and when, as is sometimes the case, it is their first outing for a dozen years, it is all the more amazing that they should appear so little crushed by the continuous work. For in the case of the respectable and striving, the work, more especially for a woman, is almost incessant. If she is the mother of a family with aspirations to a decent standard of cleanliness, life is one long battle against dirt in the house and in the clothes and persons of her children. So few of the richer classes ever live in the heart of a town, in houses right up to the pavement, that they hardly realize the much greater difficulties in the way of dust and dirt that have to be contended with by the poor. Before marriage, while they 'go to business,' as they call it, there is, of course, more variety in their lives, though the monotony of the long hours of constant repetition of some tiny mechanical process (which is the fate of many) is oppressive. Talking to each other is often impossible, owing to the noise of the machinery, and when there is no machinery silence is generally compulsory. The more respectable girls spend a large part of their scanty leisure helping in the housework at home, prompted by good feeling or sometimes coerced by parental authority. In the case of the women and girls, therefore, it seems that the monotony of life arises not so much from lack of occupation as from too much occupation of a rather wearisome kind."



## Duxhurst Farm for Inebriate Women

The "Toynbee Record" reports a drawing-room meeting held at Toynbee Hall on March 9th, at which Lady Henry Somerset gave an address on the aims and work of the farm colony for inebriate women, at Duxhurst, near Reading. She emphasized the special claim of this colony as a piece of pioneer work, intended to substitute for the old "remedy" of perpetual reincarceration the treatment of drunkenness as a disease, in what should be a physical and moral hospital. The character of the buildings, groups of cottages, rather than one vast and intractable barrack, was important; the character of the women's work was still more important. The old principle that "woman's salvation must be worked out at the washtub" sacrificed the reform of the woman to the attempt to find paying employment; what was wanted was an absolutely fresh employment, whether paying or not, to break with the past and give a new line of thought. This was found at Duxhurst in gardening and farmwork, which had the further advantage of giving the women a sense of being necessary to some living thing in need of their care. Reviewing the results, Lady Henry Somerset claimed that they proved it a fallacy to say that drunken women cannot be cured; the colony doctor pronounces fifty to sixty per cent of the inmates to be permanently restored.

### Association House

ASSOCIATION HOUSE (474 West North avenue, Chicago) was opened in 1899 under the auspices of the Young Women's Christian Association at the request of 115 young women in the neighborhood. Two years later the management became independent of the association, though still affiliated with it. The work soon overcrowded the rented rooms and overflowed into a house a block away on a fine site for new buildings. Effort to erect one of them for the use of boys and men is now being made by the Men's Bible Class of the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church, which has assumed charge of this department of the work.

During the past season there have been over 400 women and girls enrolled in the domestic economy departments, and our group of young women have become deeply interested in the intricacies of cookery.

The building site affords ample space for well-equipped playground. The attendance of children averaged 123 in the morning and 250 in the afternoon. Young men and women enjoy the grounds as eagerly in the evening.

The baby roll numbered 36, ranging in ages from five months to three years. With seven hammocks, pure milk depot and feeding bottles, we practically did the work of a day nursery. A wire-covered lunch shelf was provided with a lunch committee in charge.

The children were organized into com-

mittees to take charge of the hammocks, babies, swings, sand box, teeters, and to teach the various games, clean the grounds, and, in general, assist the superintendent. Clean City League buttons and leaflets were widely distributed. Badges as well as buttons were given the persistently good and helpful on the recommendation of their fellows.

On several occasions the boys cleaned North avenue, from Leavitt street to Milwaukee avenue; they distributed hundreds of the pure milk posters, and the City Health Department leaflets.

The song and story hour at noon was very popular, the largest number present at one time being 200, when the head nurse of the Visiting Nurses' Association addressed the children on the Clean City League.

In the spring of 1903, extension work was organized among the fifty factories in the immediate neighborhood. An extension secretary, who had, herself, worked in a tailor shop, devotes her whole time to this shop work.

There are about 1,500 young women in the factories and tailor shops which have been visited.

The privilege of placing posters and announcements has been granted in most of these. Regular weekly meetings are held in five tailor shops at the noon hour.

These meetings are varied from song services and Bible talks to travel and practical talks. Many of the women have expressed appreciation for this break in the monotony of the day's work and have become interested in the settlement and are taking advantage of the classes and other gatherings of the house. In the fall of 1903 a resident worker was secured to take charge of the three weekly Bible classes and other religious meetings, which include Bible talks in the various young women's clubs.

On Sunday afternoon two Vesper services are held, one for young men and one for young women. At the close of the meetings tea is served to those who care to remain. The attendance at the tea hour ranges from 30 to 80 or more, membership of about 275, while the Women's Department has grown to number fifteen clubs, having a membership of over 700.

### Hull House Chicago

The dedication of a memorial organ at Hull House was the settlement event of the month in Chicago. It was given by the family of Mrs. Sarah Rozet Smith, one of the earliest and most constant friends of the house and its head resident. Fortunate is the family, as Miss Addams well said, in which to the deepest love of their own children is added such sympathy with the wider circle of less favored families as not only permits but prompts fellowship and service between them. Here among the humble homes to which this home has so long ministered and kept its hospitable door wide open,

the great organ will long breathe into neediest lives the music, spirituality and concord, of the sweet, strong gentlewoman whose passing away bereaves not only her kindred but a multitude with whose spirit she had come to be akin. For from her devotion to the ultimate purpose of this socially democratic work she never swerved. In tones as deep and tender as those of her own harmonious life, this organ will lift all who hear it to the higher unity of similar ideals, and leave them who yield to its message in the equality which death ever teaches and exemplifies to life.

The Hull House Women's Club is said to be the first settlement woman's club in the country to announce the erection of a building to be used exclusively for its meetings.

The building comes as a donation from Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen and it is expected it will be ready for the club women by next fall.

The new building, 42x100 feet and two stories high, will face on Polk street, west of the Hull House gymnasium. There will be two entrances, one on Polk street and the other a private entrance from the gymnasium. In the basement will be the library of the club, the sewing-room and the cloak-rooms, and a refreshment kitchen and several committee rooms. Above will be the large audience room, with a gallery holding 800 seats.

## Chicago Commons' Tenth Year

The annual May Festival, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the founding of the settlement, is thus announced:

Tenth anniversary rally at Scandia Hall, Tuesday evening, May 3, 8:15 o'clock. A mass meeting of all clubs and classes. Music by the Daily News Band. The work of various departments briefly presented. Singing by the Chicago Commons Choral Club.

Addresses—Mr. John Maynard Harlan, Aldermen William E. Dever and Louis E. Sitts, Raymond Robins and Graham Taylor.

### AT CHICAGO COMMONS.

Wednesday evening, May 4—Concert by the Chicago Commons Mandolin Club, assisted by the Oak Park Banjo Club.

Thursday evening, May 5—Graduation and reception of the Domestic Science Department.

Friday evening, May 6—Operetta "Florinda," by the Chicago Commons Children's Chorus; fancy drills by gymnasium class and play by Girls' Club.

Saturday afternoon, May 7, 2:30 o'clock—Matinee performance of "Florinda" and special features.

Saturday evening, May 7—Exhibition by the gymnasium, dramatic and musical departments.

Friday and Saturday, May 6 and 7, 2 to 10 p. m.

Exhibits—Kindergarten and training school, cooking, sewing, art needlework, carpet and rug weaving, basketwork, manual training, Girls' Club handwork; also handwork by the pupils of the Washington and Montefiore public schools.

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But the Year Book has many original features of its own which add much to the great value of these compilations. Among the most valuable of these are the brief but comprehensive summaries of social conditions

and movements furnished by the corps of capable collaborators enlisted from many lands and peoples. The errors and incompleteness of the work are only those incident, if not unavoidable, to such a first essay into so complex a field of inquiry.

What the "Statesman's Year Book" is to the publicist, the census abstract to the statistician, the metropolitan almanacs to the politician, Blue Book and commission report to commerce and labor, this Year Book will immediately become to all who are intelligently engaged in the multiform social service of state, city, church, school and philanthropy. Dr. Strong has added another distinct contribution to his many public services, and Mr. W. D. P. Bliss thus issues an annual collaboration of his valuable Encyclopedia of Social Reform.

"Social Progress," a Year Book and Encyclopedia of Economics, Industrial, Social and Religious Statistics, by Josiah Strong. Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.00 net.



## The Neighbor

The Neighbor. The Natural History of Human Contacts. By Nathaniel S. Shaler. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo. \$1.30 net.

A book which no one interested in the larger problems of races or the questions of individual associations of mankind can afford to neglect.

Especially valuable to students of the tremendous immigration issues and race difficulties in America, "The Neighbor" also treats in a convincing, pleasing and interesting way the evolution and philosophy of mutual attraction, repulsion, contact and isolation in individuals, tribes and races.

Perceiving that the most important feature of the American commonwealth consists in the intimate mixture in its society of exceedingly diverse races, Professor Shaler recognizes that we are, perhaps at the price of our national life, endeavoring to accomplish the task, which historically seems impossible, of merging all the discrepant elements in a close-knit society.

In other states, which have had a like variety of men within their bounds, the various peoples have been geographically segregated so that the interaction has been between masses of folk, each keeping something like a tribal isolation.

Leading from the primitive expressions of the individual in the earliest forms of organic life, Professor Shaler presents not only the contemporaneous problems of the individual, tribe and race, but also all the steps and evolutionary processes which have contributed to the present conditions, and a knowledge of which are absolutely essential to him who would understand or treat the present-day problems. If only for the clear and original statement of the great ethnic problems of the Hebrew, and more especially the negro, Professor Shaler's latest book should be studied by all interested in those problems; and, though, his answers to the questions asked by the presence of diverse races of the United States may not appeal to all, yet, as the recommendations of a great naturalist and humanitarian, they must exercise great influence.

His "way out" of the American difficulties, including certain added restrictions to immigration and certain added disfranchisement of the negro, will be condemned by many who lack Professor Shaler's knowledge of and insight into the necessary and natural limitations and variations of races of men. On the other hand, his appreciations of men generally condemned or despised will fail to appeal to them who have not that broad conception of and faith in human nature which is the possession of the author of "The Neighbor."

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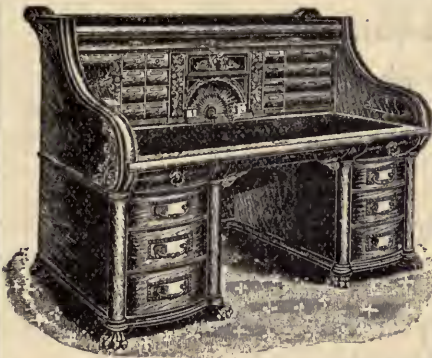
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# The Commons

JUNE, 1904

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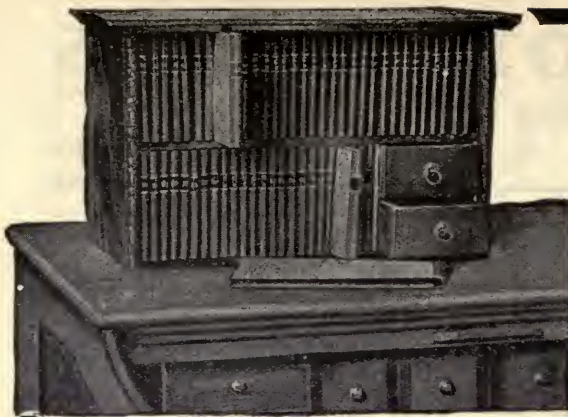
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# The Commons

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Chicago, June, 1904

## With The Editor

### Time to Assert the Supremacy of Human Interests

It is time that human interests at stake in the labor problem assert their supremacy. For human rights and progress were never more involved in any political or religious issue than they are in the economic struggle now on. Indeed, the economic terms and factors of this most desperate class conflict of modern civilization are simply emptied of their real content and obscure the actual situation unless interpreted in terms of human life. Percentages of wages and profits must mean men, women and children; home life, womanhood and childhood; competence, culture and progress on both sides of the line, to be understood at all. On either side men know what wages or profits mean to themselves. But neither seem to realize what their slightest rise or fall means to the others across the line. So, in simple self-protection the whole community must make this class question its own. Otherwise the human, not to say American, standard of what a free man, woman and child should be, or what family, citizenship and religion mean, may be lost in the clash. Those familiar with manufacturers' and employers' associations, publications and the trades journals are aware of the notes of alarm sounded to rally their forces for a last stand against the loss of prestige at home and competitive advantage abroad, because of the impending domination of organized labor. Many a man among them has responded with

a personal feeling born of the fear of losing his own trade mastery, if not his family's standard of living. With a common consent, most uncommon among them hitherto, employers have united their whole resource as only nations do when their existence is imperilled or their destiny is at stake. It must be confessed that there is much reason for the now-or-never feeling and the desperation which stakes all on a last stand. For, however much or little the unions have actually encroached upon the just claims of employers, their tactics assured their ultimate industrial control. This, of course, is a great, and in a democracy, a legitimate goal fairly to contend for. The "men" are not in position to wonder that the "masters" will not yield it short of the last ditch, while they themselves are doing their utmost to wrest the balance of industrial control from them.

If workmen claim it is only their own that they want and will have—the product of their own toil, the control of the conditions under which they must work and live—they should also recognize that the claims and conditions of employers, of non-union men and of the community are inextricably involved both in the tactics and results of their hard campaigning.

On the other hand, employes have everything at stake in maintaining strong, aggressive unions. How else can they secure and protect freedom of contract with highly organized and powerful employing competitors? Better, say they, that some of their own



class should have it restricted, if they will not join the unions, than that the whole working class lose it altogether. What choice is there left them between organized self-reliance, at the risks of the abuse that is always made of power, and personal dependence upon the good will, if not the benevolence, of the employer, at the cost of servility? It looks like another "irrepressible conflict," with conscience and good cause on both sides, and humanity itself trembling in the balance between the ebb and flow of the titanic economic forces in life and death grapple for the control of the industrial world.

The overwhelming conquest by either of the other would be attended by a loss to human interests hard to conceive. However apparently shut up, in this event, to an industrial oligarchy, riding roughshod over the rights of the many, or a suppression of individual rights under the coercion of any class organization, however large, which ignores or tries to control the mass, the American people would accept neither. But the sooner the community organizes its balance of power to control the contest so as to conserve the inconceivably valuable interests and assets it has on either side of the line the less will be the human loss now so seriously threatened.

Indicative of these swift and strong counter currents are the things which are being said and done at crucial points. For instance, the Kansas Supreme Court holds unconstitutional the law which made it unlawful to discharge an employe for belonging to a union. The Illinois Appellate Court declares illegal and void "contracts intended to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the unions to the exclusion of workmen not members of such unions." By making picketing equiv-

alent to intimidation and conspiracy it protects the freest introduction of strike breakers. As umpire of the Anthracite Commission, Carroll D. Wright decided recently for the open shop on the ground that "there can be no doubt that the employer has a perfect right to employ and discharge \* \* \* and is not obliged to give any cause for discharge."

These decisions which restrain employes from any collective control of the conditions of their employment, while leaving employers free to discriminate against union men by either refusing to employ them or discharging them without other cause, are regarded by organized labor as practically abrogating its power. So one of its most successful organizers says: "We favor the abolition of all agreements and arbitration wherever we have been forced to accept the open shop." Whether or no, as William English Walling contends in the Independent, "the open shop means the destruction of the unions," it certainly annuls the "enacting clause" of their present policy and tactics. This would be no loss but all gain if only all employes could be persuaded to join the unions. But the fear is well grounded that while awaiting this slower and perhaps not impossible success, the loss of hard-earned advantage might be so great as to make the heart of a whole generation sick with hope deferred.

### A Nobly Inconsistent Utterance

The breach is not so inevitable and hopeless to all. On the eve of a strike President Charles S. Mellen of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, spoke with rarely good spirit and sense to a workingmen's club at Hartford. His address, which was widely reported and well received on

all sides, centered about these words: "I regard the unions as a condition that has come to stay. I have no prejudice whatever to properly conducted ones, and express my wish that our men generally would join them. Not that I would run a union plant as such, for I would not coerce my men nor consent to discrimination as between those who were or were not members. But I would wish to have in the union the conservative influence of many of the good men who are out." He thought the union "divested of all clap-trap is simply a means of averaging wages," "tends to the discouragement of individual effort," "is a good thing for the drone, helps the lame, the halt and the weary at the expense of the really competent!" Nevertheless, with no more inconsistency than the situation itself everywhere involves, he insisted that "it is only by sacrifice, by self-denial, by the help, the advice, the encouragement we give those less fortunate, that we can discharge the duty resting upon us;" that "only by the self-denial of the individual for the benefit of the many the community progresses." It seems strange, though, that when that sacrifice is organized and borne collectively it loses all the virtue so freely urged upon and credited to persons. Notwithstanding, also, that he had said the most good in the unions goes to those who have nothing to lose, he summed up his counsel to his men in these strangely strong words: "My advice to you who have families, who have a stake in the world, is to join your unions and make yourselves felt in them. Be always a forceful conservatism. It seems to me as much in your interest to do this as that you shall attend the caucus and nominate good men for office and vote for them at the polls." It took a strong, brave, up-

right and downright man to say all this just then and there.

### Too Human to be Laughed Away

It is about as poor humanity as democracy to make merry in print every time a "mistress" tries to share a little more of the home life with the maid. To give occasional opportunity for the enjoyment of their own social life to those who constantly minister to that of "the family" and its friends is no more than human. True women, not to say "ladies," are not letting the laughter of fools shame them out of doing to some other mother's daughter what they would have done to their own if theirs were "out at service." That "lady" honored her own womanhood and that of her friends who gave a reception to the woman who had been twenty-five years a helper in her home. The home which this woman had helped make and the house she had helped keep so long could not have been put to worthier or more hospitable use. The grave of the Southey's at Keswick was just and generous enough not only to receive the dust of the faithful servant who served them all their lives, but to give larger space on the one stone covering it for the tribute to her service than for their own names.

### Religious Significance of the Industrial Situation

The industrial situation is so full of divisive and moral issues which are fought with so much personal spiritual peril that the churches are sure to be faced with its religious significance. Some of them already have committees at work to suggest and express their attitude toward it. The labor committee of the National Council of Congregational Churches has secured the appointment of a similar committee by



each of the state associations. That of the Illinois churches unanimously adopted the following pronouncement:

Representing all parts of the commonwealth, and standing for its whole people, the general Congregational Association of Illinois recognizes the economic necessity, under existing trade and labor conditions, for the organization of employers and employees alike. The protective, peace-compelling, progressive and fraternal influence of these industrial organizations is recognized to be far greater and more continuous than their agency in promoting and intensifying the clash of personal interests and class strife. The struggle of these competitive forces is inevitable and would not be eliminated if both organizations disbanded, much less if only one were forced out of existence.

We, therefore, defend the right, equally for each, to organize for the protection and promotion of their respective interests and rights, within the clearly defined limits of the common law.

We call upon trades unionists, individually and collectively, not only openly to repudiate, but also actively to co-operate with the civil and police authorities in the detection, conviction and legal punishment of every one guilty of acts of violence in labor disputes.

We call upon employers, individually and collectively, to abjure and help suppress the scandalous abuse of legislation in securing special privileges at public expense and the increasingly menacing attempts to pervert the common law and police power from their public functions to private ends and unjust class advantage.

We would urgently reimpose upon the conscience and heart of our own and all other churches and Christian people, their high and holy prerogatives of intercessorial prayer, mediatorial ministry and personal and collective sacrifice for the prevention of fratricidal strife, and for the equitable adjustment of real differences between conscientious men, and for the peace and progress of the entire community, through which service of interpretation and mediation, more than any other within our power to render, the kingdom of the Father is to be advanced among the men of this industrial age.

### A Giver's True Estimate of a Gift

What Mrs. Emmons Blaine said at the public opening of the buildings presented by her to the University of Chicago for the school of education which she endowed, is partly reported on another page. It will be read here, as will her entire ad-

dress in the University Record, with a double interest. What so great a giver really thinks of her gift cannot fail to correct the tendency to estimate pecuniary means above the ends for which they are given. It will disarm the criticism of those who are predisposed to attribute to every large donor this very claim from which Mrs. Blaine would be exempt, in order to share the larger satisfaction in the end to be achieved. Hers is the nobler estimate of what, to others at least, is a noble deed. Educators, and all interested in the history and progress of American education, will respond to what she discovered in Francis W. Parker's work at the Chicago Normal School to prompt one of the greatest private gifts ever inspired by our public school system. It might indeed have been enough to have had the satisfaction of bringing such a career as that of Colonel Parker to its climax, and lifting such a victorious champion of the modern educational ideal and method forever out of the reach of his life-long opposers. But there is not a note of personal triumph in this utterance, any more than there was in his when he stepped from the arena of ceaseless conflict to the sway of easy command.

Clear above the area of the personal into the realm of the highest ethical ideal in education are the purpose and spirit of the school of education lifted by its initiator and donor. While upon Francis W. Parker she confers the title of its founder, upon her, who had vision to find him and give wings to his ideal, others will look as its seer. To her, meanwhile, the school will unfold the possibilities which had seized upon the eager nature and brilliant mind of him whose name she bears, and in its growth she will share the satisfaction which he would have had "in doing for it in his own great way."

## How Will Manual Training Affect Organized Labor

The discussion of this question by one of Chicago's most influential employers, which we report in another column, strongly appeals to the imagination. However our view of industrial history or our own industrial experience may brighten or darken our forecast, in accord with or rejection of Mr. Bartlett's predictions, we will all allow the room there is for interesting developments out of school-shop into the workers' world.

Employers, naturally, are the first to see and improve the advantage to their sons, as well as to their business, of adding to the curriculum of a liberal culture the rudimentary training in hand crafts and machine-work. Nothing is more significant in modern education than the large representation of the employing class, and even of rich men's sons at the benches and forges of manual training and technological schools. It would mean much if it gave them no more than a practical insight into the technical arts and crafts which constitute their own business.

But it means much more than this to the employer. It will at least give him a more practical and therefore just estimate of what constitutes good service at the bench or anvil beside which he has himself stood. If he were not a prig while standing there among his fellows, he could hardly fail to learn from some of them more of what "the standard of living" means to the employe and why he forms the union to maintain it. From the employers' better knowledge of the human factors of their plant and working capital much is to be expected in both these directions, not only to increase efficiency but to promote co-operation with the employes.

But the direct influence upon the labor side of more and more men who will enter the ranks of skilled workmen, is of still greater interest and significance. It was conceded that "the graduates of this school will, by virtue of their past environment and teaching, without doubt be in favor of unions of capital or unions of labor," with a proviso.

What that proviso will be, which is likely so materially to affect the character and efficiency of either union, is a question which surpasses in interest almost every other raised by modern education. In any event it will predicate broader intelligence on all sides of every issue. Many men will learn, what so few now know, the history of their own trades and the story how the human situation now confronting them grew up out of the long past into the immediate present.

But that stronger and better informed intelligence can scarcely fail to have a profound effect upon the leadership and policy of both sides. For in these schools will surely be found, more and more, the leaders of the hosts now battling with each other for their personal or class rights. With what provisos will they enter the ranks, which they are destined to lead? One will be to inquire and know facts for themselves, and not take other men's say so for the law of nature or of the organization.

They will more sharply challenge the authority of so-called "natural laws." which are interfered with at will by one party, but under no circumstances are to be even questioned by the other. They will discuss the proportion of apprentices to the number of journeymen in view not only of the individual rights so seriously involved, but of such common interests as the nation's protective tariff policy is based upon. Hu-



man life and its economic productivity will at least be included in the "output," the limitation of which is being considered. The pace of production will not be set regardless of age, or of the entire period of what should reasonably be the worker's efficiency in a given trade. While the union will not be allowed to level the capable down to the average of the inefficient, the moral, not to say religious obligation, to "bear the burden of the weak" and to level them up will not be disallowed in the brotherhood of labor more than in the fellowship of the family. What is a virtue at home will not be a vice in the shop, but men will not claim the right thus to be virtuous wholly at their employers' expense.

Such results presuppose some attempt to inculcate industrial ethics along with mechanics and manual skill in these schools. If they are not to be training schools for conscience and the social consciousness they are likely to train up a harder-headed and harder-hearted leadership than has even yet arrayed against each other those who have more in common than to divide them. Unless humanized by the moral intelligence of these school-taught leaders the industrial struggle of the future will be as much harder fought as the opposing forces will surely be more ably led. Let the manual training schools favor the unionizing of both employers and employes only with the human proviso.

### The Educational Solvent

There is in this number a remarkable, because undesigned, emphasis upon the industrial aspect of education, or the educational aspects of industry. Running through the utterances called forth by recent, though widely differing events there is a strong concurrence of conviction that the solvent of the industrial problem is both primarily and ulti-

mately educational. The foresight of this in the two views of the situation taken at the University of Chicago School of Education is equaled by the insight shown by Mr. Bruère within factory walls. His strong point is well taken that education in and for the factory is the moral and economic obligation, both of the community and the manufacturers. Mr. Brackett makes education the bond between the people and their charities, and as such the corrective of that provincialism under the isolation of which politics eat the heart out of philanthropy.

### Labor Bribery Bill Made Law

The New York State Legislature, in its closing hours passed the bill urged by District Attorney Jerome, making it a criminal offense to bribe or attempt to bribe a representative of organized labor. Governor Odell has recently signed it, so that the bill is now on the statute books. Those who read Mr. Jerome's article in *The Commons* for April, describing the conditions the law is designed to meet and its significance as a new principle in legislation, will remember his comment on the bribery of representative agents and buyers so prevalent in business circles, and his statement that should the New York law be found to work well its principle "may well be extended not only to matters affecting organized labor but to all cases in which people act as agents for others or in a representative capacity." Massachusetts has just now gone on record with such a law. It provides that whoever gives, offers or promises to an agent, employe or servant any gift or gratuity whatever, with intent to influence his action in relation to his principles, employers or masters in business, or any agent, employe or servant who receives or accepts a gift or gratuity or promise, under an agreement or with an understanding that he shall act in any particular manner in relation to his employer's business, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$500, or imprisonment for not more than one year.

# Factory Education: A Statement of the Case

By Henry Bruère

The American community has not yet discovered a practicable means of equipping sons of workingmen for broad, serviceable lives as workingmen. In our public institutions for higher education we have limited ourselves, customarily, to training men for the learned vocations, for the professions, wherein the possession of a liberal education is not repugnant to the tasks to be performed. A possible exception to this rule may lie in the agricultural college, but institutions of this nature are not primarily intended for men who perform the mere drudgery of farming, the agricultural laborers. Further than this, farming is peculiarly a public interest, the basis of our economic activities, and therefore, a vocation of greatest importance to the community as a whole. However, agricultural education is directed toward the improvement of the agricultural resources of America, rather than toward the enrichment of the lives of American farmers. It is technical education, aiming at increased productiveness of lands, and the maintenance of fertility through the heightening of efficiency among farmers. Broadly speaking, colleges of agriculture are likely to create a class of captains of agriculture, analogous to the managers of our large industries, who by means of an acquaintance with the technique of their vocations, are enabled to direct the unskilled and uneducated laborer in the processes of manufacture or cultivation.

The point of view from which elementary education has been carried on is cultural. The children of society are taught to read and write and the elementary facts of life for developmental purposes. While there are wide differences in methods, elementary education is generally designed, from the child's point of view, not for the cultivation of particular aptitudes in children, or even for their discovery, but, merely, to supply them with the bare necessities of competitive life in a modern society.

Our enlightened communities enforce attendance at school during the formative period of a child's life. The child of the working class, at any rate, is not free to elect the kind of education he shall receive during these formative years, nor can his parents choose for him, except between the more or less enlightened instruction in the public grammar schools and the usually old-fashioned curricula of the parochial schools. On attaining the statutory age the child is theoretically prepared to earn his living, and in the majority of cases the struggle for a livelihood must commence at this point.

With the general and limited lump of information derivable from attendance in a grammar or parochial school, the boy finds himself submerged in the detail of a manufacturing plant. He has found a job and has, at length, set out in earnest to pay his way in the world. Because he is a boy and limited in strength he receives lower wages than the man next him who is called upon to exercise no greater intelligence or initiative than he and is, perhaps, actually less intelligent. The work he does is, simply, work, non-developing at best and, at worst, stultifying. It is repetitious piece-work in which he performs processes with the aid of semi-automatic machinery, unrelated in his experience to any organized activity, except in so far as he understands that others are doing similar work in order that a certain salable product may be created. Even when the process which he supervises results in a finished article, that is, when the process is final in a series of processes, as, for instance, the balling of twine or sealing of a package, the repetition deadens the imaginative interest. The child is now no longer subjected to influences giving him an opportunity for mental growth, nor on the other hand, is he able to cultivate special skill which will enable him to command a stronger economic position, and with it, increased



opportunity for growth as a result of the nature of the work he is enabled to perform.

Here the limit of society's concern seems to have been reached. The child has been provided at the public expense with the traditionally necessary equipment for competition on the one hand, and the supposed anti-toxin to bad citizenship on the other. For the industrial class the question ceases at this point to be one of good-citizenship and becomes one of economic fitness. But the apparent interests of the modern manufacturing establishment seem opposed to the cultivation of this fitness beyond the degree already secured by society, namely, a practice of the simple virtues of obedience, honesty, regularity and reasonable precision, inculcated by the grade schools. A steadfast adherence to these principles of conduct is made the condition of job-tenure, and soon results in the monotonous subordination of the spirit of the child to the controlling forces of the factory.

So long as the job is held and wages sufficient for the maintenance of life are paid, the range of the factory worker's initiative is limited to his activities out of working hours. With the child, these are further controlled, to a very large extent, by his parents, and, in some instances, by the church. This parental and religious control is again directed toward the cultivation of passivity, toward submissive obedience, honesty and fear of punishment.

The problem which arises here is in regard to the inquiry: Can society afford to look on the probable waste of capacity in this manner indifferently? On the other hand: may a community permit the restriction of individual growth without forfeiting its self-respect? The problem, while it is a single one, involves, especially these two questions; a question of commercial expediency, and, secondly, a question of moral development. As a commercial organization, as an economic body, are we so abundantly supplied with capable workers that we can afford to be profligate with the material out of which capable workers are to be made? Is there no folly in permitting a boy with latent

capacity for skilled or executive work to deaden his energies and quiet his ambition in the performance of meaningless work? A very reverend and delightful gentleman writing recently in the Atlantic in a burst of enthusiasm over the increased dignity of labor in America, ventures the remark that "the great factory not only educates the man who runs it, but every boy who tends a lever or minds an engine." This, of course, is another instance of the old fallacy which gave rise to the conception of the "noble savage." Nature, to be ennobling must be understood, and in a manner comprehended; just so with "wheels and bands," which do not educate unless they are understood and their activities comprehended.

A great deal of the work done in our factories by boys is done without mental concentration on the work in hand. It is done automatically, mechanically; the muscular forces of the tender co-operating with the device of the machine. A foreman of a large shop told me the other day that some of the men in his department had operated the machines at which they were then working, for ten or more years, and that no single man who had become accustomed to his job was willing to be transferred. The work done was largely supervisory, that is, machine tending, requiring no original thought on the part of the operator. The obligation to readjust his mental machinery incurred by transference to a new job, counteracted the average man's desire for variety of experience. It scarcely requires argument to convince one of the fact that machine tending of this nature is not an educative process, it neither gives satisfaction to the tender by affording him an opportunity for self-expression, nor does it develop in him marketable skill. Intellectually, in so far as his work is concerned, the boy at eighteen is in no way the superior to the boy at fourteen. He may be more regular in his activity, that is, he may work more days in the year; he may turn out a greater number of pieces a day, on the average, but he is capable of no greater or new self-expression in

his work, nor of work of a higher order because of his activity.

One cannot help feeling that a way must be found, either of making all work developmental, or of relegating to the least fit (as is, theoretically, the method now employed), through a process of selection, all meaningless work, then striving to limit the necessary quantity of that class of work, to the lowest possible amount, both for any institution or any individual. Already automatic machines are supplanting the machine-tender and a large part of the machine work now done by unskilled workmen might very readily be done by automatic machines.

On the other hand, the power of organized labor seeks to secure for work of this class higher compensation, with a shorter working day, leaving a part of the day open for leisure. This leisure, however, is generally not cultivated when secured. The working class has not discovered the need of a legitimate avocation, and, usually, does not possess an inclination towards the constructive or even wholesome use of non-working hours.

But our problem is an immediate and pressing one. We are not prepared to substitute automatic machines universally in machine tending operations, nor is the commercial world ready to shorten the work day sufficiently to afford an opportunity for the man engaged in non-expressive work to restore his energies and quicken his faculties in educational activities or by self-expression in an avocation. The solution, if, indeed, but a temporary one, must be found within the factory. It is clear that ordinary machine tending unfits a man for a higher class of work. A man engaged in machine tending for a period of ten years has not the power of readjustment necessary for learning a new means of livelihood. At any given moment, therefore, we must be resigned to a large waste of human capacity, and be satisfied with seeking to make the adult operatives' lives richer along the lines of their personal interests. The educational opportunity lies among the boys, and the nature of the case makes it impossible for the commu-

nity to properly undertake the education of the factory boy. The community is not prepared to open opportunities for his advancement, and this advancement along the lines of his aptitudes must be an important part of any scheme of education which seeks to raise the mental capacity, or to cultivate the powers of a factory boy. We cannot stimulate his interest and then give it no means of expression. His days are given up to dull work, and, if he is to grow, he must grow out of that work. The problem, then, appears to be one of technical education. Manufacturers are coming to feel their responsibility in this matter, and to appreciate the advantage of educating the men upon whom they must in a large measure depend for commercial success. Principles of good organization prompt a manufacturer to develop his own men to answer his own needs. "I hope to see the day," the superintendent of a large Chicago factory said recently, "when we shall consider it a disgrace to go to New England for managers of our establishments."

The manufacturer is under ethical compulsion to encourage the development of the boys whose work helps his profits. The advanced states have interfered to the extent of prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen in any case, and, under certain conditions, of children under sixteen. The average lad at sixteen has not had time to discover his aptitudes, to train them, and to acquire, in addition, an elementary education. It is a mere extension of the principle of the child labor laws to require that no boy or girl be permitted to devote all of his energies to work which does not cultivate capacity in him. We are slow to weigh the interests of the generation of to-morrow against those of the generation in power. The fault is universal, among bodies of organized labor as well as among capitalists. Here and there, however, a corporation has found it wise to cultivate capacity, usually along the lines of the commercial interest of the particular corporation. An interesting example is the Westinghouse Manufacturing Company, which has opened a school in East Pittsburg for apprentices in its electrical



plant, where instruction along electrical lines especially is given after working hours. A smaller company is planning to make attendance at a special school compulsory upon boys employed in its shops, during a part of every working day. These manufacturers are realizing what the community will eventually realize, that they cannot afford to increase indefinitely the ranks of unskilled laborers. For America, immigration supplies an overplus of inefficiency. American-born children must be taught to do things, must be encouraged in self-expression, even if it costs in wages. It does not seem that we shall need to fear a dearth of men who

are unfit for higher work than machine tending. So long as competition remains the underlying principle of our industrial organization we must be content to open the way for development of capacity where it is latent and with the salvage of skill from the intellectual graveyard of machine tending. Ethically, it is the concern of the community, which owes it to every child in the community that he be given an opportunity for self-expression in his work. Economically, it is vicariously the concern of manufacturers, to whom skill is precious and intelligent co-operation on the part of employes the *sine qua non* of successful undertakings.

## Social Extension of a Great Park System

By J. J. Foster

General Superintendent South Parks, Chicago



Under an act passed by the legislature May 14, 1903, the South Park commissioners were authorized to issue bonds to the extent of one million dol-

lars for the purpose and creation of small parks or playgrounds in the South Park district, no one playground to exceed 10 acres in extent.

The park commissioners, acting under the Small Park Act, immediately proceeded to acquire sites for the playgrounds. Seven such sites were selected.

The Small Park Act also provided for the levying of an annual tax for the maintenance of these small parks or playgrounds. Another act of the Legislature, approved April 29, 1903, authorized the park commissioners to issue bonds to the extent of three million dollars for the creation of new

ing any sort of game which can be safely played on this area without much restriction, allowing them to play pretty much as they please. Surrounding this play field will be a granite concrete walk from 16 to 20 feet in width, which will be used by the smaller children for roller skating. Each playground will also have commodious outdoor gymnasiums, both for men and women. These gymnasiums will be provided with the usual apparatus, and, in the case of the men's, a suitable running track will be



parks in the district. Acting under this act, the park commissioners have selected seven new parks ranging from 22 to 320 acres in extent, and most of the ground has been purchased and is now the property of the park commissioners. The work of improvement was entered upon very early in the spring.

The small parks or playgrounds in most instances provide a play field about 350 feet long, 250 to 300 feet wide. This ground is to be used by the children and young men for play-

built. There will also be provided a playground for small children, with giant strides, swings, teeters and hammocks for the very little ones. In connection with this there will be a children's lawn, where little babies can roll about on the grass under the shade of trees; near this will be a wading pool in which children can wade about and sail little toy boats. Sand courts will also be provided with covered seats in connection therewith; and each of the playgrounds will have a band stand and quite a com-



modious concert ground surrounding it for afternoon and evening band concerts.

There will also be in each of the playgrounds a swimming tank or pool varying in size from 80x50 to 150x75. This pool will be enclosed by the large building which will be erected in each of the playgrounds. This building will have all the sanitary accommodations required for the playground, suitable shower and other baths, dressing rooms for those using the tank and lockers and dressing rooms for both men and women and boys and girls using the gymnasium. It will also have a large room that will be used as an indoor gymnasium during the winter. Kindergarten provision will also be made in this building for the care of the little ones who come to the park during rainy weather. This kindergarten will also be carried on out of doors when the weather is suitable. In addition, the building will be provided with suitable assembly hall, where people of the community can gather for lectures or musical entertainments, or any amusements which are proper.

There will be in each building several small rooms which can be used for club rooms for the neighborhood—women's, men's, boys' and girls' clubs. There will also be a place for light refreshments, where children can obtain pure milk and good sandwiches for practically cost. It is expected that the accommodations of this building for the use of the people will be entirely without cost to the persons using it. In each of the playgrounds there will be a considerable area, particularly around the margin reserved for grass, trees and shrubbery, it being thought that a considerable space could not be better used than in the making of the place attractive by the introduction of such things.

This, in a general way, describes the scope of the small parks or playgrounds. The larger parks will all be provided with the same accommodations for athletic sports as will be found in the playground, only on a more extensive scale.

Of course, the larger parks will furnish much greater areas for play fields

and much greater opportunity for being beautified with plantation, lakes, etc.

The total area of the territory used for parks and boulevards in the South Park district was last year 1,535 acres. The new additions increase this to about 2,185 acres.

The total equalized assessed valuation of the South Park district, supposed to equal about one-fifth of the actual value, is practically two hundred and fifty million dollars.

The South Park's taxes this year amount to about one-half of 1 per cent on the above-named valuation. In other words, the total South Park tax for this year on a home actually worth \$5,000 would be \$5. The tax for the interest and sinking fund of the bonds and the maintenance of the new larger parks will equal about \$1.75 a year on a home worth \$5,000. The tax for the interest and sinking fund and for the maintenance of the seven playgrounds which it is proposed to create will be about 90 cents a year on a home worth \$5,000. With the addition of these and other new parks, thus uniquely equipped for the pleasure and profit of people of all ages and tastes, and some of them to be laid out with rare beauty, Chicago will have the finest park system to be found in any city in the world.

### Finding and Founding---Mrs. Emmons Blaine's Estimate of her Gift to Education

"I did not found it, I simply found it," said Mrs. Emmons Blaine of the School of Education, when the magnificent buildings she gave for its use to the University of Chicago were being dedicated. "Founders," she added, "were the men who made the works which here meet to flow in one mighty stream. Finder is the only claim that I can make to a status in this school—and to just the extent found, owner, possessor, and by necessity of that, worker, though among the workers who wrought to this result I was the least." And this she said, not only in justice to the pioneering initiative of Francis W. Parker, the constructive genius of John

Dewey and the co-ordinating achievements of Henry H. Belfield, but to claim "exemption from any status as donor—not to be ranked by the *sous* given but by the wealth received."

#### DISCOVERING THE SCHEME OF LIFE IN EDUCATION.

To all who know Mrs. Blaine and the part she has personally taken in the newest educational movement in Chicago, these words of hers will ring with something more than fine naiveté. For we who have seen her seeking these years in almost daily attendance upon elementary schools cannot fail to feel the thrill of the words through which she shared with others the joy of finding. The simple satisfaction in "the discovery" was so supreme that it could neither be dimmed nor dulled by the dollars which were never more than "the incidents of the work."

But let her ask and answer her own question. "And what was the thing one discovered in the scheme of the old normal school? Was it a method of teaching, a system of instruction? Not to me, primarily. It was a scheme of life. It was the human picture. So confused about us, so distorted, beginning to take shape, beginning to find its proportions and values, beginning to resolve itself into harmony. In this process the first step is the selection of the central theme. And if important and recognized in every work we know, how much more important in that subtle, delicate and vital work, the construction of a conception of life in the growing mind, is the settling of values and proportions. Therein lay Colonel Parker's greatness, in his unerring vision of character as the prime principle of education and in his unswerving sureness in holding to it among all the claims and counter demands of an age that does not recognize this principle in education and amid all the perplexities of overlaid custom built up with prejudice. He struck through all to the root, and held all to the bar of his prime demand. What did not hold there was left aside, while from the foundation was being built, bit by bit, the harmonious whole, consonant with

this central essential principle."

#### LEARNING SECONDARY TO CHARACTER.

From the criticism of caring too little for learning Colonel Parker was thus effectively defended:

"One who knows cannot but feel that they were the unseeing ones. One might as well say that because Michael Angelo's lifetime did not suffice to complete all his work fully, and he left us those great figures still in part unchiseled, he cared naught for finish. One might as well, while gazing at their great symmetry and proportion, refuse to see the intention, and—not even observing the Moses—denounce all as crude.

"This is the spirit of carping criticism which, in applying a foot rule to measure great works, loses sense of the whole, and in omitting the would-be from the is, cuts the ideal from out of the actual and loses the essence of some of life's best gifts to humanity.

"It was not that Colonel Parker loved learning less, but character more. Every brain that worked for the children would have had the training of a logician, the stores of the savant, if he could have willed it so. He longed for these himself and only for that purpose—that he might give them. Every hand that taught would have been the hand of an expert. But no savant, no expert, by virtue of that claim, could with his consent injure the soul of a child. He with the tongues of men and angels; he with the informations of the encyclopedias, would each have had to stand and deliver his claim to the right to mold the nature of the child with his tools, however wondrous they might be.

"It was not that he undervalued the finest instrument, but that the mind should wield the instrument, not the instrument the mind. It was not that he underrated a complete equipment, but that he who possessed such must still show what he could do with it to that little child. And all who know, know how, when that was shown and seen, he longed for the full measure of learning to complete the whole and to find such teachers and to so train them, was his life's ideal.



## AT STAKE FOR THE WORLD IN EDUCATION.

"In a choice clear and simple, shall it be character or shall it be learning that we give a child? no one would hesitate. So much, the Christian light that has penetrated, has done for us. But while we utter the choice, and feel safe in the words of it, the subtle and deadly temptations that assail the life of education, come in a thousand forms; deadly, because, while we describe character in terms of action, these strike at the root of all, being selfish; subtle, because hidden in many difficulties. The edifice of attainment being once constructed, and the perpetual question from the first being not, what can you do with what you possess, but how much more have you gained than your neighbor. Ambition takes hold, and to ambition is added arrogance, when the top is reached. Then the last state is worse than the first, and some saving grace must come in to undo all. Then comes the problem, unmet as a rule, is the educational institution to take note of the individual as a human being or only as a machine?

"These visions make us glad that the truths sought in these elementary and normal schools may be still sought and found in the university, where the search may ascend into the clear light of learning in the spirit that is free of selfishness and pride, where learning may be seen to be but new outposts into the vast unknown, and where, when we earth-bound creatures dig a little deeper or pierce a little higher, it will not be in the spirit of a race to get ahead, but in the comradeship of an advancing army.

"And so shall be found the force making for righteousness, for freedom, for community brotherhood, which our country and the world have need of."

### Meaning of Manual Training to Industry and Education

In speaking for the Commercial Club, when its manual training school was formally recognized as a branch of the School of Education at the University of Chicago, Mr. A. C. Bartlett

gave this forecast of what combining the shop with the school may do for both culture and industrial relationship:

"The manufacturers and merchants, constituting the membership of the club, foresaw as occupants of their factories, warehouses and counting rooms, not only theoretically but practically trained men who could solve some of the perplexing problems which constantly beset employers who are seeking capable assistants.

"Your speaker was somewhat surprised when, in conversation with two bright young men who were about completing their senior year, he learned that they thought the blacksmith shop the most fascinating room in the whole institution. This did not necessarily mean that they would spend their entire lives at the anvil, but their frankness and evident enthusiasm did mean that they considered pounding iron and steel just as honorable and dignified as pounding a pulpit. If nothing further were accomplished than keeping much of the nonsense regarding the degradation incident to hand labor out of the minds of susceptible boys and young men, the time and money devoted to a manual training course was well expended.

"In 1882 the club did not foresee conditions now existing in the world of work that will render this and kindred schools factors in determining the relations which should exist between labor and capital, employer and employe. Unquestionably, many of the greater evils of society can be corrected by the proper education of its members; not alone the education which entitles the student of a college or university to a diploma or degree—for that is too frequently narrow and incomplete—but that broad catholic education which comes through a thorough mental and physical training, and which affords a clear insight into the lives, the capabilities and the rights of the student's fellow men; which unfolds to the understanding the obligations which properly devolve upon the individual; which teaches those true principles of practical economics that constitute the foundation to which the world's machinery of material life is anchored:

that education which makes its possessors leaders of men who are less fully equipped than themselves. Much of the turbulence existing to-day in the industrial world is due to the ignorance which prevails among both employers and employes; ignorance upon the one hand of what constitutes good service by loyal and interested workmen; hence a lack of appreciation of loyalty and true interest; ignorance of the domestic and social life of employes and of the demands made upon every citizen, whatsoever may be his station in life, by the advanced civilization of the present day.

"On the other hand, that ignorance of natural laws which impels wage-earners to attempt the enforcement of self-made rules which are not sanctioned by the enactments of men or the revelations of God; attempts resulting in lawlessness, distress and crime, and which must in the end, for those reasons, prove total failures.

"The school for which we are to-day formally opening yonder beautiful building, and other schools of the same order, which are educating both the heads and the hands of the mechanics, manufacturers and business men of the future, will do much toward dispelling the ignorance which stands in the way of the more rapid development and progress of this great country. The higher education, the theory and the practice which a course in one of these schools affords; that perfection of education and development which comes through the library and workshop, the lecture room and the foundry; the absorption of moral influences and the fashioning of wood and iron, simultaneously, are guarantees that the graduates will never become greedy, unjust, and unscrupulous employers. Neither will any graduate from this school ever lift his voice in favor of limiting the number of young men who shall be allowed to learn the trade of their choice, any more than he will advocate limiting the number of young men who shall attend this and similar schools of learning. These graduates will never be in sympathy with leaders of men, not legally constituted, who undertake to say that a son shall not learn the

trade of his father, while at the same time, adult foreigners without limit as to number are permitted to fill the factories and workshops of this country; that the indifferent workman shall set the pace to which the better, more skilful and more ambitious workman must conform, in other words, that a good workman can receive no more pay than a poor one, that a skilled mechanic shall not be permitted to work, however much his services may be in demand, unless he can show a certain form of card with his name inscribed thereon. The graduates of this school will, by virtue of their past environment and teaching, without doubt, be in favor of unions of capital or unions of labor which shall be beneficial to those who are interested, provided they do no harm or injustice to those who are not included. Because of that discipline of mind and of hand to which the graduates of the manual training school shall have been subjected, they will early fill the high places in the departments of life for which they are adapted, and their influence will be felt among those who have been blindly or unwillingly led by either ignorant, self-seeking or unscrupulous leaders."

### Little Brothers of the Ground

Little ants in leafy wood,  
Bound by gentle brotherhood,  
While ye gayly gather spoil,  
Men are ground by the wheel of toil;  
While ye follow blessed fate,  
Men are shriveled up with hate;  
Or they lie with sheeted lust,  
And they eat the bitter dust.

Ye are fraters in your hall,  
Gay and chainless, great and small;  
All are toilers in the field.  
All are sharers in the yield.  
But we mortals plot and plan  
How to grind the fellow man;  
Glad to find him in a pit  
If we get some gain of it.  
So with us, the sons of time,  
Labor is a kind of crime.

For the toilers have the least,  
While the idlers lord the feast.  
Yes, our workers they are bound,  
Pallid captives, to the ground;  
Jeered by traitors, fooled by knaves,  
Till they stumble into graves.  
How appears to tiny eyes  
All this wisdom of the wise?"

—Edwin Markham.



# Provincialism in Charity

## An Open Letter to The Editor of The Commons

By Jeffrey R. Brackett

Mr. Brackett has been lecturer at Johns Hopkins University, head of the department of charity for the city of Baltimore, is the president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and will be director of the training school for social workers soon to be opened in Boston under the joint auspices of Harvard University and Simmons College.

In the issue of *The Commons* for December, 1901, was an article by Miss Julia C. Lathrop on the "Isolation of our Public Charities." Miss Lathrop spoke from her rich experience as a member for eight years of the Illinois State Board of Charities. She told first how she had once visited a poorhouse of a remote but prosperous county. It was on the highroad, within a mile of the county seat, yet "the Zulus were as near neighbors as were the intelligent population of the pretty town." It was a typical expression of "public inattention." Members of the local committee of the board, who were with her, were much shocked at what was seen in that "surprise visit." One of them, a lady active in good works, said that a society which she represented always came at Christmas and gave cards to the inmates, but they always sent word that they were coming, and it was cleaned up and the children looked nice. She never thought that it could be like this. To offer that poorhouse, adds Miss Lathrop, as a fair specimen of all country charity would be most untruthful. Yet she believed it to be typical of too numerous a class of country institutions, large and small, throughout the land.

If county poorhouses are isolated, continued Miss Lathrop, state charitable institutions suffer yet more from separateness. Especially do they need the highest medical and scientific authorities from outside to come in and rescue them from routine, to direct instruction, and to maintain a scientific spirit. She then urged the claim of public charities upon people of intelligence. What opportunities for useful work and study there would be if all poorhouses, jails and other public institutions, charitable and penal, were con-

ducted by persons devoted to their work, and properly qualified for it! The state, she added, has established and maintains numbers of normal schools to fit young persons to be public school teachers. Now, let the work of caring for dependents and delinquents be rescued from isolation, and since it must long be a necessity and public service, let it become a dignified and adequate service!

### ISOLATION OF PRIVATE CHARITIES.

This article by Miss Lathrop I have read and reread, with gratitude to her and *The Commons* for it. I venture now to give my testimony to the isolation which is to be found in the other and very large portion of the field of charity, our private charities. To every suggestion that our communities should undertake larger activity in public work, there is made the objection that public work means bad politics; that private effort is the safest way to honesty and efficiency. With such argument applied to the field of charitable effort, of which my experience may qualify me somewhat to speak, I have no patience whatever. It strikes me as thoroughly un-American. The answer to it is the same we would make to the same criticism of our public school system. The people can have good public charities just as they can have good public schools, if a considerable number of the people will work hard and persistently for them. But the object of my writing is not to present theories; it is to bear witness, from some little observation, that the provincialism in our private charities is more than most persons think it is; and to lay stress on one or two ways by which that provincialism may be overcome. For a larger work can and should be done not only by public but by private charity—which is both sin-

gle-minded and open-minded. And if in a given community there is not a considerable number of intelligent persons active in good private charitable work, there is then little hope in that community for enlightened management of public charities.

Let me cite the instances of several institutions and agencies, of which I happen to know, in order to show how politics of one or another kind and provincialism enter into private charity.

First I have in mind two institutions for the care of neglected children. They were indeed for children who were neglected under their lack of care. One of them was under a management which was supposed to be fairly representative of the colored people of the community. Just before it was broken up, as the result of action of the authorities in withdrawing public aid, the children were in the care largely of a cook and a feeble-minded girl, her assistant; the only fuel in the house was some scanty furniture. The other of these institutions was a personal enterprise, instituted by a colored man and his wife. They had secured some contributions, chiefly from very benevolent white persons, including a considerable sum from one prominent and very highly respected citizen. When I called one day to see what these educators of youth were doing, I found a few woe-begone pickaninnies lined up on a bench. This "industrial home" soon ended in a quarrel between the man and his wife, a removal of some of the furniture from an upper window and the intervention of the police. These are in-

stances plainly enough of very bad conditions, such as are, happily, not frequently found. But they can be almost matched by several medical agencies, notably dispensaries, some of which have been under the management of "good citizens," though living largely on public money.

#### NEGLECTFUL CARE OF NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

Let us turn now to several institu-



JEFFREY R. BRACKETT.

tions which would be considered by the casual observer as "doing good work" throughout, if not excellent. In one the death rate of infants, especially of foundlings, has been tremendously high. The management knows that the lives of many of the infants could be saved, if they were put in the care of foster mothers, but it has made no effort to interest the community in providing the necessary means for that more enlightened treatment. In another institution a leading manager

said one day, with some vehemence: "I will never consent to placing out another boy in a country home. It is only hardness and little humanity." A few questions showed that they had been placing out children merely through correspondence; that the homes were never visited; that little effort was made to study the fitness of the home for the child and the child for the home. Another institution which takes young girls under its care, with authority of law, was visited one day by a handsomely dressed older sister of one of the girls, coming from a neighboring city. She claimed to be able to give the girl a good home.



The girl was at once given over to her, but someone in the neighborhood chanced to recognize in the sister a disreputable woman. The head of the institution, quickly notified, was just able to rescue the girl before she took the train.

To have a thorough knowledge of the families before the girls are received and before they are given up had not been thought of as an essential part in good child-saving, in the mind of the well-meaning head of that highly regarded institution. From other and large institutions, where much of the time is spent in piecework for outside clothing houses, many youths are sent out into the world, under nominal parole but really much their own masters. They have not been fitted to adapt themselves readily to the best opportunities. It is the very period in their lives when most of all they need constant and wise friendship. Again, I have in mind several agencies which might have accomplished large and important service, if they had not been under the control of aged persons who would brook no interference from workers younger and more enlightened—and desirous, therefore, of better methods, of stronger efforts, of larger usefulness. Since I began to write this letter, a woman of unusual capacity, a keen observer, has come to my office with the question: "What can be done to rid our community of this old-fashioned method of managing institutions by double boards—a board of 'trustees' of men, who usually think only of money matters, and a board of lady managers to oversee the housekeeping, and other details—with its lack of concentration of responsibility?"

These instances are sufficient to point the lesson. There is "politics" indeed in some of our private charities. Not the "politics," perhaps, which results in "graft" and gross abuses, but a petty and personal politics, often with serious results; and there is more often still to be found an isolation, a provincialism, which results in sins of omission, if not of commission. That the sins of commission do not appear more often is largely due to indifference of on-look-

ers. That the sins of omission do not seem more serious to a community is because the average person mixes up woefully the words "benevolent" and beneficent.

#### DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROGRESS AND PROVINCIALISM.

Now these illustrations are not taken from any backwoods region; they have been seen in the midst of a large community. And close by them, scattered throughout that community, are institutions and individual workers who are in every way the very opposite—who are touched with a different spirit, who are always aiming to look in their charity and correctional work not merely at the things that are seen, but for the things which are not seen! A leading clergyman of this community said the other day that he had noticed, within the last ten years, a great difference in the work of charity, and with it a marked difference in the characteristics of the needy who come to his attention. He saw in them less of the pauper and dependent, more of the hopeful and helpless.

This clergyman is right. There has been a marked change in that community. It has come about by the growing acceptance by more persons of certain common-sense views of charity, which may, perhaps, be summed up as follows: First, that there should be differentiation of duties among various agencies for uplift, that each may give undivided attention to its own particular work. The minister does not have to be called away from the preparation of his sermon in order, for instance, to try to deal with a homeless man, or with a woman asking carfare to another town, or with an unknown person who wishes to have some children "put away"; for the homeless man can be sent direct from the door to the Wayfarers' Lodge, the wandering woman can be sent direct to the official who deals with transportation of the needy, and the children's aid society is as much of a specialist for solving problems of child-saving as an oculist is for treating our eyes. Again, the progressive people believe that there should be co-operation between various

agencies and workers. Each may be trying to do some particular work, but each must know what the others are trying to do, and all must work in harmony for a common end. More than all, there must be open-mindedness, a desire to search out what other thinkers are doing, and to apply their conclusions as far as may be desirable. Now the difference between these two classes of workers, the difference between progress and provincialism, is not a matter of geography. It is a matter of mental attitude and of purpose. As a loyal citizen of Boston once said of that famous city, it is not a locality, but a state of mind!

#### VALUE OF SUPERVISORY BODIES.

For such provincialism that we have spoken of, there is to-day no real excuse. Many are the means of doing away with it. I am not going to speak here of a good system of supervision in a community by such an official body as a State Board of Charities, or such a private association as a State Charities' Aid Association. The value of such agencies is great, affecting private work as well as public work, if they are intelligent and vigorous. But little should be expected of a public board of charities unless the appointing power can, and will, put his hands on the right persons for it. Here in Maryland we have had an interesting illustration in the limitations of legislation. Four years ago a Board of State Aid and Charities was appointed. It was largely to bring system into the custom of appropriation of public money to private charities; but it had powers of visitation given it which might have been of great good if the board had only been made up, in part, of men and women who are thinking about the problems of charity, and willing to give time to them. Unfortunately, it was made up wholly of ex-governors and busy business men. Nor shall I do more than mention the great value of special schools and classes for systematic training of social workers which are now being carried on in a few large centers of thought and activity. Most significant of the present educational movement in char-

ity and correction, they are yet available only for the very few. The means of promoting progress and preventing provincialism on which I would lay stress are those which, happily, are available for the many. They are at the door of nearly every man and woman who will read and think and keep in touch with others.

#### EDUCATIONAL BONDS BETWEEN PEOPLE AND CHARITIES.

First of all, there is attendance on conferences, national, state and local. From every side is heard testimony to the educational value of the papers, of the discussions, and of the means of making acquaintances at these conferences. For instance, the head nurse of a visiting nurse association in one of our largest cities writes that a very important part of its work to-day is the direct result of what she learned at a recent national conference. Again, a man who has been in charity work for years, who has taken an important place in child-saving, bears witness that the week spent at a recent national conference has made him see the opportunities of his work in a new light. To those who cannot spare the time and money to go to national conferences, there are conferences nearer home. Those in Ohio and New York, for example, are almost as largely attended, and are perhaps as influential within their states, as are the national gatherings. There is no good reason why workers in every community of size should not meet occasionally in local conferences. A good example, in point, is the Conference of Child Helping Societies of Boston and its vicinity. It has, from time to time, by meetings or publications, brought about a better understanding of child-saving work in that community, a better working together of all interested for a common end. Recently it has been trying to secure greater uniformity of records kept by child-helping organizations. Of twenty-six societies which receive children directly in institutional homes, twenty-three answered the circular letters. A suggestion has been made that a committee of the conference shall stand ready to act as con-



sultants on methods of record-keeping for such agencies as ask their advice. All such efforts as these, which cost little more than trouble on the part of the few interested leaders, must result in better understandings, more co-operation and more open-mindedness.

#### LITERARY LINKS.

Then we have to-day a literature of charity and correction. The standard books cost little—such as Warner's "American Charities," "Friendly Visiting," by Miss Richmond; "Homes of the London Poor," by Miss Hill, and "Rich and Poor" and "The Strength of the People," by Mrs. Bosanquet. Small classes for study and discussion of such books can be formed anywhere, where one leader of experience and thoughtfulness can be had. There is not merely a growing standard literature, but good current publications of value. The Review, published monthly by the Charity Organization Society of London, and Charities, published weekly by the New York Charity Organization Society, should be found on the table of every student and worker, just as the leading medical journal would be found on the desk of a progressive physician. Pick up at random a copy of Charities and we shall find notices of bad conditions which are to be remedied, of how good work is being done, here and there, from Maine to California. A beginning is made of periodicals on special subjects within the general field. Thus a number of leaders in clubs and other forms of social work with boys have formed a general alliance, have issued several editions of a "Directory of Work with Boys," and are publishing a magazine, which aims to give the most helpful news from institutions, agencies and individual workers throughout the land. All the benefits of this alliance are to be had for a dollar or two a year. I have seen men in taking up golf search all the writings on the game. Wise men who become interested in raising chickens will read the literature, by no means insignificant, on the care of poultry. Why in charity and correction should so many persons go on working, apart in corners, at the same

problems, when the experiences of others would lighten their labors, and often save time and money and human happiness? Progress in charity and correction, public or private, as in all else, comes only by education of the public mind. It is secure only when a number of persons, not merely a few scattered individuals, believe sufficiently in the value and dignity of this work to read about it, to think about it, to keep in touch with others who are reading and thinking about it, and, in so far as they cannot themselves give attention to details, when they place its administration in the hands of persons of single minds and open minds.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, is the reason why I ask leave that this communication be an open letter to you. Will you not publish soon an account of what has been done during this first year of the School of Social Science, established under your leadership by the University of Chicago? Such information is due to the growing number of persons who look for increased opportunities for training in social service. And, if I may be permitted to speak for myself, as well as for others who have read *The Commons* from its beginning, I would add a hearty word of thanks for what you and your associates have done through this publication in these past years. It now comes in enlarged form, aiming to be of greater educational service to all interested in social uplift. May it have the hearty support of the large number of subscribers and readers which it deserves.

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"I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practice resignation unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner and reduce it to its lowest terms, and if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion."—Thoreau.

# Nomination Reform and Political Organization

By Horace E. Deming

EDITOR'S NOTE:—In *The Commons* for May was published Mr. Charles B. Spahr's historical sketch on "The Method of Nomination to Public Office," tracing the developments of the caucus and the primary system in this country and England. The same number contained the paper of Mr. George W. Guthrie on "The Voter's Right to Select Candidates," a forceful argument in justification of the purpose sought in a Municipal Nominating Law formulated by a special sub-committee of the National Municipal League. At the recent meeting of that organization the committee made its report and set forth the merits of the proposed law. *The Commons* was fortunate in obtaining the address of Mr. Horace E. Deming, chairman of the committee, stating in detail the fundamental principles underlying the law advocated. Much of this ground, however, was covered by Mr. Guthrie's paper. To round out the discussion of the subject in our columns we know of nothing better than that part of Mr. Deming's address which sums up in clear and concise language the principles and purposes of the proposed law and defines to what an extent political organizations would be affected by its provisions.

The fundamental principles upon which a municipal nominating election law should be based and the purposes to accomplish which it should be enacted may be outlined as follows:

The selection of nominees for municipal elective office should be made at a nominating election, open to and freely participated in by all qualified electors, held at public expense under the same general regulations and under the supervision of the same public officials as at the subsequent municipal election.

Where personal registration is required as a condition to voting at the municipal election, only registered voters should participate in the nominating election, and the voter should cast his ballot at the nominating election immediately after registering.

The regulation or control of the internal affairs of "organizations" should not be attempted, and "organizations," as such, should receive no recognition in a municipal nominating election law.

The function of a municipal nominating election is not to determine which competitors for the nomination for a municipal office are "organization" candidates, but which among all competitors professing the same set of political principles has the largest popular support among his fellow citizens.

The elector should not be required to disclose in any manner for what theory of public policy or for what candidates he intends to vote or has voted; on the contrary, his right to vote with absolute secrecy for whatever policies and candidates he pleases must be sacredly preserved.

Some simple method should be adopted which will enable any elector, who openly avows his allegiance to a given set of political principles and desires to be nominated for a municipal office as the representative of those principles, to compete with all others who avow the same principles and seek the nomination.

The use upon the ballot of a political designation in connection with the name of a candidate for nomination should be to inform the voters what political principles the candidate represents, not which organization favors his candidacy, and the fact that an organization adopts a particular phrase or title to designate its political principles must not prevent its use upon the official nominating ballot in connection with the candidacy of anyone who professes the same principles.

Only one political designation should be permitted upon the ballot for the same set of political principles.

The competitor for the nomination for an office who has the largest popular following as the representative of a given set of political principles should have his name printed upon the election-day ballot as such representative, provided those principles have received a sufficient percentage of the entire vote cast. The state should recognize for that office the candidacy of no other person representing the same principles.

The ballot to be voted at the municipal nominating election should contain the titles of none but municipal offices, to be filled at the ensuing municipal election, and under each office should



appear the names, alphabetically arranged, of all candidates for nomination to the office. At the ensuing municipal election there should be a similar exclusively municipal ballot.

To sum up, under an electoral system adapted to the needs and purposes of a representative democracy, the state will do two things:

First, it will provide for a municipal nominating election, with appropriate machinery (1) to determine whether a given set of political principles has sufficient popular support to entitle it to be considered in deciding the municipal policy, and (2) to determine which of the several candidates avowing the same set of political principles—the fact that he is or is not favored by an organization would not concern the state—shall have his name, as the representative of those principles, printed upon the election-day ballot.

Second, it will provide for an ensuing municipal election, with appropriate machinery, to decide which of competing sets of political principles shall have its chosen representatives elected to municipal public office.

That is, the nominating election discovers which theories of public policy are entitled to serious consideration in determining the conduct of the municipal government and decides the competition between those seeking to represent the same theory of public policy. The municipal election decides the competition between the different theories of public policy to find expression in the conduct of the municipal government.

At the nominating election any citizen who favors a particular set of political principles—whether or not he happens to be a member of an organization, and whether or not the given set of principles is favored by a particular organization—is entitled to the free expression of his choice of the man to represent those principles upon the official ballot upon election day, when the competition between different sets of political principles is to be decided.

What is there in these electoral methods that interferes in any way with the absolute freedom and independence of

organizations? They are left undisturbed in the administration of their internal affairs; they can make any conditions of membership they please, adopt any methods they please of transacting organization business. An organization can decide in any way it likes what man, in or out of the organization, it will favor as a nominee for a public office. But the state says this decision shall not give to the man so selected by an organization any right, because of such selection, to have his name printed upon the official ballot to be used at the general municipal election. In order to have his name so printed, he must, at a nominating election held under the supervision of the state, secure more votes than any of his competitors for the nomination who avow allegiance to the same set of political principles as those he claims to represent.

Organizations would neither be destroyed nor made unnecessary by such a law. Their legitimate influence and functions are undisturbed. But as organizations they would no longer usurp public functions, nor would the powers of the state be misapplied to give organizations a virtual (often an actual) monopoly of nomination to public elective office. On the contrary, the nominee of an organization, so far as such nominations are concerned, would occupy his rightful place as a competitor on equal terms with all who seek the privilege of being put upon the official ballot at the general municipal election as representing the same set of political principles as he avows. He who, whether or not he be the choice of the organization, secures at a fair and open nominating election the largest popular support as the avowed representative of those principles is the man entitled to this privilege.

If it should seem to anyone that, in addition to the opportunity afforded by a nominating election, there might be emergencies which would make it desirable that names of candidates for a municipal office could be placed upon the election-day ballot who had not competed at the nominating election for the

nomination to that office, this can easily be accomplished through properly authenticated petitions setting forth the particular theory of public policy the petitioners seek to have put in practice in the conduct of the local government and naming the candidate they desire as the representative of this theory: The ample opportunity which the nominating election would give for free political action would make such emergencies increasingly rare. But no petition should be permitted to nominate for an office a candidate already defeated at the nominating election as a

competitor for the nomination to the same office, for he has already submitted his candidacy to the suffrages of his fellow citizens at a fair election and been defeated; nor should a petition be permitted to nominate for any office a new candidate to compete with one already selected at the nominating election to represent the theory of public policy set forth in the petition, for the representative of that policy has already been chosen at a fair election.

The municipal nominating law drafted by the committee is intended to embody these principles.

## The Good in Gambling

By F. Herbert Stead

Gambling is confessedly a great evil, whether it assumes the form of betting or appears in the practices of the gambling hell or haunts the Stock Exchange or possesses the politician who gambles with his country's resources. But "there is a soul of good in things evil." There is a soul of good even in the evil of gambling. It is not to be thought of for one moment that the myriads who yield to the temptations of gambling do so merely for the sin of it. There is a good in it which attracts as well as an evil which destroys. What is that good? Let us see.

The progress of humanity is a march onward from present to future. But the future is unknown. Every step, therefore, which we take is a step into the unknown. But before the step is taken, there is a guess, a hope, an estimate, a forecast. Men are bound to forecast the future and to act on that forecast. The forecast may be wrong. To-morrow may turn out very differently from what they expected. But they must *take risks*. If they expect or demand much from the unknown future, they must risk much. The people who make much progress are people who count much on the future, who risk much, therefore, and are not afraid to face the risks. They are courageous. The people who are timid do not count much on the future, and do not risk

much. As in the fell encounter of the battlefield, so in the whole struggle of life, it is the people who are not afraid of risks, the brave people, who make headway. They keep on trying this and that and the other expedient; they risk failure and defeat; but they keep on trying. They risk; they experiment; and so they advance.

Now, we have a word to denote this element in conduct which reveals the courageous character. It is the element of venture. Venture is an essential condition of success. It is the conquest of the unknown; it is the capture of the future. Without venture men would stagnate and the race would decline. A world of experience is summed up in the proverb, "Nothing venture, nothing have." Risk nothing, and you will receive nothing. Venture, therefore, is a good thing. The venturesome are the brave, who push on the cause of mankind.

But this perpetual risking, with the frequent achievement which rewards it, carried on through generations, develops a positive joy in the process. To face risks fearlessly becomes a pleasure to brave people. There is the stern joy which warriors feel in meeting foes worthy of their steel. We all know the pleasurable excitement of danger. The happy warrior is the man who if he be called upon to face some awful



moment to which heaven has joined great issues, good or bad, for human kind, is happy as a lover. There is, in a word, *joy in venture*. Venturesomeness adds pleasure to life.

Venture, then, we have found, is essential to progress, and venture brings with it a peculiar happiness. It is God's way to link pleasure with the functions that are necessary to the advancement of mankind. Eating is one of these functions, and pleasure accompanies it. Parentage is another, and an unutterable joy attends fatherhood and motherhood. So venture, being necessary to the forward movement of man, is joined with many a pleasurable thrill.

But wherever pleasure of any kind is to be had, there is a tendency in men to try to get the pleasure of the process without regard to the end or result for which the process is designed. This is the selfish quest after pleasure; this is the sinful tendency. The man who wants to have the pleasure of eating without regard to the end which eating is meant to serve is guilty of gluttony. The man who wants to have the pleasure of indulging his thirst without regard to the end which beverages are meant to serve becomes a drunkard or dipsomaniac. The pleasures concomitant on the founding of the family, pursued without regard to the responsibilities and sanctities of home life, turn a man into a licentious brute, an object of just horror and loathing. The parallel in the case of gambling is obvious. Venture is necessary to the onward movement of the race. Venture is accompanied with a joy or exhilaration all its own. And the man who seeks the pleasure of venture without regard to the end which the venture is meant to serve is a gambler. He enjoys the pleasure of risking something, he does not care for what end, so long as he has the pleasure of risking.

Now perhaps we can trace the soul of good in things evil. The good in gluttony, though shockingly abused and perverted, is the healthy animal function of nutrition. The good which is profaned by the sensualist is the divine attraction of sex. And the good in gambling, though abused to the ruin of

body and soul, is venture; the readiness to encounter risks; the courage of hazard. The widespread curse of betting and gambling is a witness to the venturesomeness which runs in the blood of the English-speaking race, and which has made it the pioneer adventurer of the world. It is that same venturesomeness which is one of the glories of our race, which has flung its empire round the world, which has conquered the sea, which has explored the trackless wilderness, which has pierced its way through polar ice and darkness on problematical voyages of discovery. And the dim toiling multitudes who are dungeoned up day after day in our factories and warehouses, the slaves of the desk and of the counter, the helots of our mines and the serfs of our fields, even the women whose lives are forever incarcerated in the crowded slum—what outlet have they for the adventurous spirit of their race? They, too, come of the breed of Drake and Frobisher, of Stanley and Livingstone, of Hobson and Roosevelt. They, too, feel the stirring of the blood within them that demands the joy of risk and hazard. But what can they do? The pleasures of daring, the dangers of sea and of mountain, of the chase and of the battlefield, are not open to them. But something they must risk, and something they will risk. The venturesomeness that is destined for world conquest finds ruinous vent in the rage for betting and in the gambler's mania.

We condemn gluttony, but not the healthy and hearty enjoyment of a good meal. We damn the vice which pollutes the sacred fountains of life, but not the sanctities of parentage. And we condemn gambling with an entire abhorrence, but we may not condemn the spirit of venture which finds expression, evil expression though it be, in gambling.

But why, it may be asked, dwell on the soul of good in things evil, rather than on the evil that perverts the good? Why? In order that the soul of good may be so recognized and understood that it shall find other and worthier expression of itself. The sacramental delight of the social feast makes gluttony

loathsome. The sacred romance of true conjugal passion is God's triumph over sensualism. And how is gambling to be overcome? By recognizing the inherent nobility of the spirit of venture which it perverts, and by finding for that spirit a noble outlet. Venture is that spirit in man which refuses to be enthralled by the bondage of circumstance, by the limitations of the palpable and visible. It is an assertion of man's destiny, to rise superior to circumstance, to mold his own environment, to overcome the world. Venture is the dynamic nerve of *faith*. It is an inward witness to our own divine sonship, a reflection in our own world-conquering freedom of the freedom of the Creator and Ruler of all. This sovereign instinct of our nature cannot be repressed, and the attempt at repression is foredoomed to failure. Rather should we strive to appeal to it, and offer it worthy forms of expression. In the humblest lot, and amid the most sordid surroundings, there is high call to risk much and dare much for noble ends.

The workman that will risk dismissal and destitution rather than prove untrue to his union, the elector that will hazard the wrath of the "boss" and the machinations of the caucus rather than smoothly acquiesce in civic wrong, the storekeeper who cheerfully jeopardizes his prospects of getting on rather than resort to illicit commissions and more or less successfully disguised robbery, need to be encouraged to feel the same glow of victorious venturesomeness as the soldier feels in scaling the redoubt, or the explorer in tracking the source of unknown rivers, or the mountaineer in conquering a virgin peak. The quest after a higher order of life in industry, in commerce and in politics demands all the daring of the knight-errant, and offers all his joyous glow of venture.

In our ethical and religious appeals, too much stress has been laid upon prudential considerations—the importance of being "safe" in this world and in the next—and too little account has been taken of the infinitely higher passion for staking everything on a noble issue. In seeking first the kingdom of God and risking with the soldier's cheerful cour-

age, what we shall eat and what we shall drink and wherewithal we shall be clothed—in hazarding, that is to say, our livelihood, our position, our prospects and all other objects of worldly ambition—there is the sublime thrill of which the pleasures of the adventurous explorer or of the frenzied gambler are but feeble monitions or perversions. We want to expect more of the courage of the Pauline hero who "hazarded his life," or of Browning's "grammarian:—"

"He would not discount life, as fools do here,  
Paid by installment.

He ventured neck or nothing—heaven's success

Found, or earth's failure.

Throws himself on God, and unperplexed  
Seeking shall find him."

"Neck or nothing"—that is the true spirit of evangetic venture. We need in all our social enterprises and experiments to respond, with more alacrity and joy, to that authoritative demand which bids us, in obedience to the Christ, to become desperadoes to the world, to reck as little of the world and its conveniences, rewards and popularities, as the condemned one carrying the instrument of his death to the place of execution, to pursue the ideal quest at all risks, and at all costs. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me."

London, England.

The American labor unions are becoming more and more conservative and careful in their management, and are not likely to be led away from the straight road by hot-headed members. Business men, too, have found that fighting does not pay in trade.—Marcus A. Hanna.

We must get right down to the belief that life is a matter of mutual interest between labor and capital; we cannot separate the two great factors which underlie our industrial development; it is not possible for one to prosper permanently unless the other shares in that prosperity.—Marcus A. Hanna.

We have, perhaps, been too busy and too engrossed in our rapid expansion to look upon the ethical side of this question and forget that two factors contributed to the prosperity of our nation—the man who works with his hands and the man who works with his head—partners in toil, who ought to be partners in the profits of that toil.—Marcus A. Hanna.



# The Year's Municipal Disclosures and Development

A Synopsis of Secretary Clinton Rogers Woodruff's Annual Report

A distinct note of encouragement for all friends of better municipal conditions pervades the annual report of Secretary Clinton Rogers Woodruff of the National Municipal League. Advances all along the line are noted in his comprehensive view of the situation, taking the country as a whole, and some of the events of the year which brought dismay and disheartenment to many a one in the campaign for good city government are seen through his optimistic eye to indicate a healthy aggressive spirit and to prove that progress gained by years of persistent effort is not likely to be totally swept away in any temporary reverse.

The appalling disclosures of corruption in administrative departments of a large number of cities, which resulted from numerous investigations and court proceedings, caused consternation and despair among interested observers throughout the land. To one in the thick of the fight, however, they served as evidences that the people are wide-awake and really effective in bringing to book some of their recreant servants. As Mr. Woodruff says: "It is better to unearth scandals and punish thieves than to allow them to pursue their work unmolested in the dark, while the people hug the delusion that they have honest public servants. Every scandal brought to light and every offender punished is a move in the right direction and is a sure index of improved conditions for the future."

A reverse where the loss is proving to be far less than most friends of good municipal government at first supposed it would be is seen in the defeat of Mayor Low for re-election in New York City. To many it seemed a grievous disaster. The actual result thus far, however, has been that Mayor McClellan's administration has failed to signalize a return to the evils of the usual Tammany maladministration. The progress made in efficient and upright city government is being conserved and even furthered. Of the situation in New York City the report

deals more in detail, as will be noticed hereafter.

Hopefulness characterizes the year's developments in other lines than those which at first seemed to have such a discouraging aspect. Municipal elections, generally speaking, have witnessed an extraordinary awakening of the independent vote and a surprising display of the discernment and effectiveness which it can show when fully aroused. The steady triumph of the Municipal Voters' League in Chicago is brilliantly reflected in the achievement of the Baltimore electorate, which fathomed the schemes of the party managers and frustrated their plans of sweeping machine men into power on the same ticket with men of high character. The voters left the "ring" candidates on both tickets in the lurch and elected the best men. As Mr. Woodruff says, "The politicians of both parties were utterly disgusted the next morning." These are only two of a notable list of victories recorded.

Credit for the successful campaigns is justly accorded to the activities of such civic organizations as the Municipal Voters' League in Chicago, the Civic League of Kansas City, the Merchants' Association of San Francisco, and many others which are mentioned. In fact, one of the features of the report is the interesting statement of the purposes and accomplishments of these bodies and their remarkable increase in numbers and growth in power. Not the least significant among these groups of organizations are the associations of city officials. In several states the mayors and other city officers meet in annual convention to discuss the problems of practical municipal administration and local improvement. The interchange of news and experiences at these occasions is responsible for much sincere and valuable public service on the part of officials of high character, especially in the middle-class and smaller cities, who are doing themselves and their localities credit. "Surely," says the report, "such

activities on the part of those who have heretofore been looked upon as the natural obstacles, if not opponents of municipal improvement, is in the highest degree encouraging."

Municipal ownership, control and operation of public service franchises and the importance this subject is assuming in many cities constitute the fourth main line of discussion in the report. A chronicle of events and referendums along this line is included, and to the comment on the overwhelming and significant vote in Chicago on the Mueller bill is added an account of municipal enterprises of this nature in smaller places throughout the country—enterprises that have passed beyond the experimental stage.

Attention is also directed by the report to the status of municipal civil service reform. The year is characterized as one "of activity rather than one of completed results." A number of cases of vigorous attempts to break down or undermine the law were frustrated, and considerable encouragement is to be gained from the notable extensions of its application.

Five main lines of discussion, it will be seen, are followed by Secretary Woodruff in considering the year's progress in municipal betterment. Roughly they may be designated: Disclosures of Corruption in Municipal Administration; Campaigns and Elections; Civic Leagues and Associations; Municipal Ownership; Municipal Civil Service Reform. Classified under these heads we note in brief summarizing paragraphs the more important and significant events reported by Mr. Woodruff. A very broad and general survey of the field at large is all that can be attempted here. But perhaps a birdseye view of wide scope will serve to open at a glance the extensive activities of the movement throughout the country.

#### DISCLOSURES OF CORRUPTION IN MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

Before proceeding with the account of investigations, prosecutions and convictions for corrupt administration in the various cities and localities, it is

interesting to note in this connection some general figures adduced by Mr. Woodruff to show the amount of defalcations in banks as compared with the public service.

The United States Fidelity and Trust Company is authority for the statement that in 1901 the banks of the country lost \$1,665,109 from defalcations and in 1902 \$1,709,301. The editor of Midland Municipalities is responsible for the statement that the loss of federal, county and municipal governments from the same cause was \$1,282,055 in 1901, and \$1,067,789 in 1902. So that for these two years the employees and officers of banks defaulted in the amount of \$1,024,569 more than did all the public officials in the country. This is an interesting and in some ways remarkable showing, as the opinion quite generally prevails that there is more dishonesty in public than in private service, and especially on the part of municipal employees. To be sure, these figures do not take into consideration the exorbitant prices which the city, state or nation is oftentimes compelled to pay; but on the other hand, the bank figures do not take into consideration the profits accruing from watered stock and other peculiar devices for making money.

It is significant to view these statistics in the light of the contention which Mr. Steffens has voiced for a large number of observant persons, that the corruption in politics is directly traceable in most cases to the door of the business corporation.

**MINNEAPOLIS:** Five former city officials sentenced to state prison for long terms for connection with the Ames scandals; although some of these men have been awarded new trials on technicalities the fact remains that on the evidence they were convicted of gross misdemeanors in office. The superintendent of the poor and his bookkeeper were indicted for misappropriation of funds, and three councilmen for bribery. The state's witness was spirited away and the prosecution had to be abandoned, but here again the indicted men stand convicted in the minds of the public, because the flight of the state's witness was regarded as tantamount to a confession.

**DENVER:** The League for Honest Elections has succeeded in securing the conviction of seven defendants, including a state senator, for padding registration lists. Nineteen more defendants awaiting trial, some of them women.

**GREEN BAY, WIS.:** Grand jury found eighteen true bills against seven city officials, charging some with having received money for protecting places of evil resort, and others with having entered into a conspiracy to extort money as the price for securing a favorable report and the passage of



a franchise desired by a construction company.

**CHICAGO:** Notable "graft" investigation conducted by a special committee of the city council appointed by the mayor. Citizens' Association collected much of the evidence to show that a system was in existence covering the entire city, by which sanitary inspectors exacted payment of certain fixed sums for allowing plumbers to omit the tests required by the city ordinances. Health commissioner was compelled to file charges of neglect of duty against other inspectors, who were discharged by the civil service commission. Another inspector resigned under fire, as did the chief of the sanitary bureau. Other departments were investigated, as a result of which fifty city employes lost their positions. Inefficiency in the police department was shown to be due to lack of system and discipline. Instances of blackmail, extortion and bribery were brought to light and four of a number of indicted officers have been convicted. Policy shops also were investigated by the association and 1,200 found in the city with daily receipts of \$18,000, amounting annually to \$5,500,000, of which the profit to the "policy syndicate" was nearly \$2,000,000. Supine attitude of the police toward policy shops disclosed. More than 180 indictments secured in the last few months.

**ST. LOUIS:** Circuit Attorney Folk greatly handicapped in his punishment of confessed and convicted boddlers by the technicalities of the law. Boss Ed. Butler of St. Louis found guilty, but sentence reversed on a technicality.

#### CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS.

As noted before in this article the independent vote was everywhere in evidence, and no more striking instance of its power and discernment is to be found than in the Baltimore election.

**BALTIMORE:** Mr. McLane the democratic candidate for mayor, who was reluctantly accepted by the "ring" because it hoped his personal high character and excellent record as state's attorney would "pull through" the rest of the ticket, was elected by a plurality of between 500 and 600; but his two running mates, who were really "ring" candidates, were both beaten. This gave the republicans two members of the board of estimates (the most powerful body created under the new charter), while the two remaining members, besides the mayor himself, must be nominated by a respectable Democratic mayor and confirmed by a Republican second branch of the city council; so that the "ring" failed to achieve its ends. On the other hand, the Republicans, by losing the mayoralty and the first branch of the city council, were properly rebuked for nominating a man who, as they were fully warned, could not get the independent vote. The result can be summed up as follows:

The voters have never before in the history of the municipality so evenly distributed the governing power between the two parties in a contest for supremacy. They elected a Democratic mayor, a Republican vice-mayor, a Democratic common council, a Republican city comptroller, a Democratic common council, a Republican select council. Mayor McLane has made many appointments of a high order, and although a party man has acted as an independent.

**CHICAGO:** Another sweeping victory for the Municipal Voters' League was recorded on April 6. A large majority of the successful aldermanic candidates bore the endorsement of the league, and the council as now constituted numbers but a handful of the old "gray wolf" variety. The sixth ward was the most conspicuous battle ground; bossism was ignominiously defeated while wise party leaders have seen their wisdom ratified at the polls. Apathy brought about the defeat in the twenty-third ward of Alderman Herrman, whose loss will be seriously felt. He it was who headed up the "Graft Investigation," and one of the street railway commissions. His opponent was by no means condemned by the league, however. According to the rule of the last four years the new council was organized on a strictly non-partisan basis, pledges made to the league by a large majority of the incoming members having committed them to a continuation of this policy.

**KANSAS CITY, MO.:** The merit system was the issue upon which the civic league scored a victory at the election of April 6. The former mayor, who had been using his office to further political ends, was sharply rebuked, his candidate for mayor being defeated. A majority of the various candidates elected had previously declared to the league, upon its insistence, their favorable attitude on the merit system. The new president of the upper house is generally regarded as the leading advocate of the merit system in Kansas City.

**CLEVELAND:** In April, 1903, state interference in local affairs was rebuked and Mayor Johnson reelected. In the autumn it rebuked Mr. Johnson's projection of municipal officials into state politics. Both these objectionable practices were thus rejected by the voters.

**HARRISBURG, PA.:** Mayor Vance McCormick is justifying the confidence reposed in him and is giving the city honest and efficient public service. A system of water filtration, park system and street paving are being developed.

**NEW YORK:** Mayor Low defeated, the issues being very much confused by the nomination of two of the original fusion candidates on the Tammany ticket and their consequent deposition from the ticket headed by Mayor Low. The reaction partly due to the "people taking reform as mericine rather than food." Too much vituperation.

tion was heaped upon Tammany and too little emphasis put upon the excellencies of Mayor Low's administration. Tammany made a strong appeal to the dominate Democratic party spirit in the city. The administration of Mayor McClellan is thus far "the best partisan government New York has ever experienced." The mayor has stood strongly for the right of the city to self-government without interference from the state legislature. Police Commissioner McAdoo has refused to allow his deputies to compromise his administration of the department and it has been aggressively efficient. The open town has not been inaugurated, and a respectable number of Mayor McClellan's appointees have been most favorably commended. The head of the department of street cleaning appointed by Mayor Low has been retained and that department shows no retrogression.

**PHILADELPHIA.** Mayor John Weaver, though he has not broken with the machine, nor taken the police out of politics, nor rid himself of bad appointees, has at least shown a disposition to confer with those who for years have been working for the city's welfare, and has evidenced a decent regard for public opinion. This treatment from a mayor is a new experience for Philadelphia. He has compelled two ex-city treasurers to repay \$80,000 of fees illegally retained. He forced the machine to reduce a proposed loan from \$25,000,000 to \$16,000,000; to agree to his plans for an assessment of property for the purposes of taxation at its full value, and to make a reduction of the tax rate from \$1.85 per \$100 to \$1.50. He awards contracts to the lowest bidders. Policy playing has been driven to cover.

**BOSTON:** Mayor Collins, Democrat, who has proved to be an honest, well meaning official, was reelected. Four out of five candidates endorsed by the Good Government League were elected.

**CAMBRIDGE:** The non-partisan party elected its mayoralty candidate, eight out of eleven aldermen, thirteen out of twenty-two common councilmen, its candidate for principal assessor, and all of its candidates for the school committee. For twenty years prior to two years ago, national politics had nothing to do with the management of municipal affairs in Cambridge. Two years ago, however, the Democrats nominated candidates and succeeded in electing their candidate for mayor and a minority of their candidates for the common council and the board of aldermen. A year ago they succeeded in reelecting their mayor and in securing a majority of the aldermen. This year, owing to the excellent organization of the non-partisan party, the result was as indicated above.

**INDIANAPOLIS:** The Republican candidate for mayor, supported by the brewery, gambling and corporation combine with which the mayor then in office was co-operating, was defeated by 6,000 votes. Notwith-

standing strong appeals to party prejudices, the two United States senators lending their personal sanction and influence to the "ring," the independents prevailed and overturned the existing corrupt condition of affairs. Moreover, former Attorney-General W. H. H. Miller, of President Harrison's cabinet, set a strong example of civic patriotism by vigorously declaring that no party obligation bound him to support an unfit candidate for mayor.

**ROCHESTER:** The present mayor, one in a succession of good mayors, represents a high order of public service. Defeat met an attempt to bring under political influence the city public schools rescued therefrom a few years ago.

**DULUTH:** Shows efficient management of public utilities, substantial economies, a lowering of the tax rate and discriminating votes on franchise questions.

**ST. LOUIS:** An honest and generally efficient administration by Mayor Rolla Wells, especially noteworthy because it comes from an organization composed in large part of partisan opponents.

**OMAHA:** Demonstrated independent spirit in her November election and the mayor represents the earnest desire of the people for a higher plane of municipal administration.

**SAN FRANCISCO:** Elected honest and capable officials in the election for the board of supervisors.

**GALVESTON:** Displayed a remarkable achievement of municipal enterprise in recovering from the disaster of three years ago. With the city credit nil, public buildings demolished and thousands of homes destroyed, her able commission of five leading citizens, disregarding the clamor of the spoilsmen, are giving a wise administration. The opportunity was taken to organize and improve the home government, and she is now doing more public work in proportion to the population than any other city in the South.

#### CIVIC LEAGUES AND ASSOCIATIONS.

The example of the Chicago Municipal Voters' League has been followed by these organizations, all of which are pursuing the advisory methods of the Chicago league, basing their recommendations upon a careful examination of the candidate's personal and public records:

Boston—Good Government League.

Milwaukee—Municipal Voters' League.

Pittsburg—Civic Voters' League.

Indianapolis—Citizens' League.

Other organizations among a large



number that are doing good and effective work include:

*CHICAGO, Legislative Voters' League:* Applying to the candidates from Chicago for the state legislature the same methods that have been used by the Municipal Voters' League in regard to aldermanic candidates.

*GALVESTON, City Club:* Responsible for securing the present charter and the present excellent government of that city.

*NEW YORK CITY, City Club and Citizens' Union:* Form the nuclei around which the good government forces rally, the first named contributing the educational, the latter the political, center.

*SAN FRANCISCO, Merchants' Association:* Continues to be the model of all that a business body should be for the improvement of local conditions, never hesitating to call to strict account those guilty of reprehensible shortcomings, inefficiency or a prostitution of public functions to private ends.

*NEW YORK, Merchants' Association:* Exercises a strong influence in local affairs, legislation at Albany affecting local conditions, and backs up civil service reform.

*LOS ANGELES, Municipal League:* Has secured the audit of the city's books and the introduction of a considerable measure of civil service reform, and has fathered various important improvements.

*MINNEAPOLIS, Home Protective League:* Has insisted on the enforcement of the law, especially in regard to sale of liquor to minors.

*CHICAGO, City Club:* Serves as a rallying place for men interested in the civic organizations of the city. It has made two important investigations, one, that of Mr. Freeman into the condition of the theaters, the other, that of Captain Piper into police conditions.

*DETROIT, Municipal League:* Secured for the first time in any franchise granted by the common council, a provision by which the city may inspect the accounts and the books of a public service corporation for the purpose of ascertaining the cost of production as a basis for regulating the rates to be charged. Also secured the passage of a primary election law for Wayne County.

Organizations of municipal officials include general bodies like the League of American Municipalities and the American Society for Municipal Improvements and various state leagues like those in Wisconsin, Michigan, California, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Alabama, and among the cities of the third class, as in Pennsylvania.

Especially interesting is the co-operation taking place between city officials and political scientists noted in the

joint annual meetings at the University of Michigan of the League of Michigan Municipalities and the Michigan Political and Social Science Association. Secretary Fairlie of the league is the professor of municipal administration in the University of Michigan. A college professor is also secretary of the Wisconsin League of Municipalities.

A general alliance between civic organizations is being arranged and such bodies as the League of American Municipalities, the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, the American League for Civic Improvement and the National Municipal League are to be brought together. This is a significantly encouraging fact. Co-operation among local bodies is already being developed in San Francisco, Philadelphia, Chicago and New York.

#### MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Rapid growth attends the municipal ownership movement not only in an educational way but also in actual experience. A few instances are briefly summarized:

*CHICAGO:* An overwhelming majority at the election of April 6 went on record in favor of municipal ownership of the street railway lines. This has been so widely discussed of late that further comment seems unnecessary.

*DULUTH:* In the course of five and one-half years operation by the municipality, through its water and light board, the water rates have been reduced one-third and the gas rates from \$1.90 to 90 cents per 1,000 feet for illuminating purposes and from \$1 to 75 cents for fuel purposes. In addition to this saving to the consumer in rate reduction of approximately a quarter million dollars, there is now on hand an accumulated surplus of \$90,000, and the department has expended \$276,000 in interest on the bonded cost of a supplementary system constructed by the city and essential to a pure water supply. The service given is absolutely of the best and universally satisfactory.

*MEADVILLE, PA.:* Public ownership of the waterworks and electric-lighting plants is entirely satisfactory.

*LINCOLN, NEB.:* Has so successfully conducted her waterworks that she proposes to furnish electric lights.

*BURLINGTON, VT.:* Election turned on the municipal ownership of the electric light, those favoring the proposition prevailing.

*ONTARIO, CAN.:* Legislature has in-

vestigated and reported the matter thoroughly.

**NEBRASKA:** Legislature has passed a law compelling the city government of Omaha to take over the waterworks.

**STOUX CITY, IA.:** Municipal League by threatening to defeat a twenty-five year gas and electric franchise (not offering any return whatever to the people of the city), has forced the company to abandon its fight for the franchise and concede to the people:

1. An immediate reduction in the price of gas of 10 cents per thousand and a further provision that the prices should be reduced 5 cents per annum until the price reaches \$1.

2. The payment of 2 per cent of the gross receipts to the city.

3. A provision for the purchase of the plant by the city at the end of ten years or any five years thereafter at the cost of duplication. It was over this provision that the company held out longest.

4. The surrender of all its unexpired franchises.

5. A provision for inspection.

6. A provision for the placing of all electric wires in underground conduits when the council should demand it.

A 2 per cent gross receipt provision was also secured from an independent telephone company that asked for a franchise, and forfeiture was stipulated in the event of a sale to a competing company.

#### CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

Events and the state of affairs along this line in a few cities may be indicated briefly:

**CLEVELAND:** Excellent administration of the water bureau by Edward W. Bemis. Mayor Johnson has not permitted political considerations to interfere in the slightest in the conduct of the department.

**CAMBRIDGE:** The attempt is being made to have the merit system extended to the heads of departments.

**KANSAS CITY:** As noted above, the civic league supported for election only those who were known to be friendly to the establishment of the merit system.

**PHILADELPHIA:** Mayor Weaver has thrown open the examinations (which had been closed to everyone during the Ashbridge administration) to representatives of the local civil service reform association.

**LOS ANGELES:** Police and fire bureaus have been established on the merit basis; due to activity of the Municipal League.

**NEW YORK CITY:** Attempts have been made to create places to satisfy party workers to whom promises of reward had been made. A number of new exemptions have been asked for and obtained, but a number have been defeated. The most important attack in the line of exemption was the attempt on the part of the Municipal Commission to carry through the exemption of the office of the

deputy tax commissioner, involving some sixty places. This was strongly opposed by the New York Civil Service Reform Association and the Merchants' Association at every step, and the state commission refused to take these positions out of the competitive class.

Two movements out of the ordinary and both very successful are found by Mr. Woodruff in the Juvenile City League of New York and the "New Voters' Festival," an annual event in Boston.

About 1,300 boys in forty-two clubs, extending from West Thirty-seventh to West Fifty-seventh streets, are gathered together in the Juvenile City League. They are taught the right attitude to assume toward their city by being led to perform simple duties. The first activity of the league has been toward keeping the streets clean. The work is in charge of Mr. William Chauncey Langdon, and he has the cordial co-operation of the department of street cleaning, which, to help the boys in their efforts to keep their street clean, has placed on every block where the league has organized a club, a can for paper and fruit-skins. The boys have not only accomplished much in picking up rubbish and papers in the street, but have learned to refrain from throwing things into the street and to urge their companions to do likewise. Cards of directions are circulated. Through the kindness of the department of street cleaning and the department of corrections, there has been a series of excursions to Riker's Island to see the fillings where the street-cleaning department is making real estate from the ashes and rubbish of the city. The health department has conducted a number of excursions around the city, by boat from West Fiftieth street to Hell Gate and back, giving the boys a good idea of the city and its institutions.

Boston's "New Voters' Festival" is held each year in Faneuil Hall and is intended to interest the new generation who are about to assume the duties and privileges of citizenship in the high ideals of civic patriotism and show them the full measure of their responsibility. Several addresses are deliv-



ered by men of public spirit, and this year the Freeman's Oath of 1634, "I do solemnly bind myself that I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best

conduce to the public weal, so help me God," was taken with impressive solemnity by a large audience of men from eighteen to twenty-two years of age.  
G. R. T.

## How a Union Inspired a Working Woman

By Raymond Robins

It was at Hull House on a gray Sunday afternoon. A meeting of the Woman's Trades Union League was in progress and the "spirit of the place" had just finished speaking upon the influence of trades associations in developing a social conscience among the workers of the world.

Then something happened. It is difficult to express electricity with pen and ink. Also the sweeping emotions of a great revelation elude the written word. One remembers something like this:

A plain little woman telling in simple words the story of the struggle of some scrubwomen—mostly widows—to secure a fair wage, reasonable hours and opportunity for the merest decencies in the matter of dressing-rooms. She told of the beginning, when, trying as individuals to gain some of their most pressing needs, they were repulsed with indifference, contempt, now and again brutality, and the agents of the lords of the skyscrapers laughed them to scorn. Of hard conditions and harder masters she spoke without bitterness but with convincing veracity. Then she described the birth in the thought of these scrubwomen of the possibilities of a union. How the difficulties in organizing this vague hope in the minds of such a motley host seemed insurmountable. Then came the spoken word of the walking delegate—a positive, inspiring, courageous word at last—out of that *terra incognita* of organized labor. Then with a certain grave dignity she told of the meeting between the committee from the Scrubwoman's Union and the representatives of the owners of the steel and granite palaces of commerce, of the proud boasting, the

later wheedling and the final surrender of these earth masters to the demands for industrial and social righteousness of five hundred scrubwomen backed by the *in hoc signo* of organized labor.

Here in miniature was a living picture of the great industrial world drama—the time movement of the age. Our quickened thought ran out to the tenement homes of these five hundred women, considered their limited and disinherited lives, then back to the owners and agents of those mighty piles of steel and stone within the loop, and we in vision saw this committee of hard-handed women of poverty treating on equal terms with those soft-handed men of privilege while the curse of Adam was transformed into the *labor omnia vincit* of the working world.

Here, verily, was a new gospel and a new prophet. Never again shall I think of Demosthenes' oration for the crown as the supreme achievement of the spoken word, but forevermore shall the pathos and the humor and the innate eloquence of action in the words of the secretary of the Scrubwoman's Union type for me the *summum bonum* of quickening human speech.

What gave to this quite ordinary appearing woman such power over the minds and hearts of her hearers? How dared she to speak before such an audience—never having learned the wisdom of the schools? The answer came: "She has risen into relationship with her species." Here was incarnated this great definition of true education.

Surely this rise into relationship with their species of the women of the working world is the next great step in the onward march toward industrial freedom.

# The Municipal Program

By Delos F. Wilcox

Seven years ago, at the Louisville convention of the National Municipal League, Mr. Horace E. Deming of New York presented the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the executive committee appoint a committee of ten to investigate and report on the feasibility of a municipal program, which shall embody the essential principles that must underlie successful municipal government and which shall also set forth a working plan or system, consistent with American political institutions and adapted to American industrial and political conditions, for putting such principles into practical operation; and said committee, if it find such a municipal program to be feasible, is instructed to report the same, with its reasons therefor, to the league for consideration.

The "Committee of Ten," as actually made up, had seven members, all distinguished citizens of New York and Pennsylvania. In the following year, 1898, this committee made a preliminary report, which formed the basis for the discussions at the Indianapolis conference for good city government. The report was then finally revised and presented to the Columbus conference in 1899 for adoption. Having received the approval of the league the report of the committee, together with various introductory and explanatory papers and discussions, was published in book form under the name, "A Municipal Program," and has for the past five years exerted a far-reaching influence upon municipal reform in the United States.

The Municipal Program is an attempt to crystalize and formulate the best American theory as to the right organization of municipal government. The program is not calculated to insure good administration, but to give an opportunity for it. The National Municipal League, like all other truly American bodies, is pledged to democracy, and sees no sovereign remedy for municipal evils except to give the people a fair chance to control their government. If the people are corrupt and bind themselves over to the spoilers, there is no remedy in legislation and constitution-making. We can only

hope that the relentless law of compensation, which makes corruption self-destructive, and the educational influence of better ideals will in the long run cure the people of evil-mindedness. Indeed, it is unthinkable that democracy, if sufficiently intelligent, should become or remain corrupt. There is no motive for it. It is appropriate, therefore, that the Municipal Program formulated by this league should have for its principal purpose to free the popular will, to break down the barriers that now hinder us from the realization of municipal government of, for and by the people.

A brief review of the principles of municipal reform as embodied in the program and illustrated in the recent experiences and present necessities of American cities may be of value. These principles are chiefly the following:

1. That every city or other local community should have the right of self-government in its local affairs without the interference of outside governmental or party machinery.

2. That the city's public property in land, with especial reference to franchise rights, should be so safeguarded as to be preserved unimpaired for the use of all the people in this and future generations.

3. That all barriers should be removed which prevent the popular will from freely and effectively expressing itself as the public will.

4. That municipal administration should be conducted in the main by a class of public servants who by reason of experience and special training are particularly fitted for their official duties.

5. That official responsibility should be so placed, through simplification of governmental machinery and full publicity of accounts, that the people may hold their public servants to the execution of the public will with the least possible delay and uncertainty.

## I. HOME RULE.

The purpose of "municipal home rule" is simply that the people of every city may have a chance to think what they are doing and do what they are thinking when they are electing local officials and voting on local questions. A clear issue and a free judgment are as necessary for the community as for the individual. The successful student, the capable workman, the useful man in



every walk of life, is the one who thinks what he is doing and is free to do the best there is in him. Surely the functions of city government are sufficiently vital and sufficiently complex to deserve the honest and careful attention of the people. The purpose of home rule is to make this possible. We can all agree on the proposition that every community should have the right and be held to the duty to attend to its own affairs. The difficulty comes in formulating a practical program which will carefully delimit the sphere of the state and local governments, preserve the integrity of the state and the liberties of the cities, and promote efficiency in the conduct of all public affairs. Dr. Oberholtzer has reviewed for us the "Home Rule Provisions in American Municipal Charters," so that it will be only necessary here to outline the home rule provisions of the Municipal Program and call attention briefly to their practical significance in the American city problem of to-day.

In the first place, then, the Municipal Program confers upon all classes by constitutional guaranty a general grant of governmental powers, including the same powers of taxation as are possessed by the state, and the power "to perform and render all public services," subject only to specific limitations by state law. In other words, the rule that a municipal corporation is a body with enumerated powers to be strictly construed is reversed, and any function not specifically forbidden by state law may be undertaken by a city. The necessity for this change lies in the fact that municipal functions cannot be successfully enumerated. It would be folly to pass a law setting forth in detail the various kinds of things a man may do.

The only practical method is for the law to enumerate the things a man shall not do. The same rule holds good in regard to local government. The constitution of the United States reserves to the individual commonwealths the indeterminate, unenumerated powers of government. In like manner the individual commonwealths, after conferring upon their central governments

such powers and functions as are necessary for the general welfare, should reserve to the local communities the indeterminate and unenumerated powers of government. Going one step further, the local communities should choose the necessary public functions and reserve to the individual citizens such freedom of action as is possible after the public necessities of nation, commonwealth and city have been satisfied. This is the logical and practically necessary scheme of "a government of the people, for the people and by the people." Not only is this clear in theory, but it is illustrated every year in the futile attempt of some legislature to spin out all the minute details of authority required by a modern city, and by the constant limitation of municipal functions on account of the absence from city charters of clauses granting specific authority to perform some unforeseen public service.

In the second place, the "Municipal Program" requires every state legislature to enact a general municipal corporations law, and offers a draft of such a law. This general act is to be applicable to all the cities of the state, and be operative in such cities as adopt it by popular vote. The constitution and laws of the United States do not discriminate between Kansas and Ohio, Nevada and New York, or Delaware and Texas. All the states have equal powers within their sphere of jurisdiction. In like manner there is no need, with a general grant of powers, for special charters from the state legislature to cities of various sizes and locations. The requirement of a general act governing cities gives wholesome encouragement to the legislature to refrain from interference with the affairs of individual cities.

In the third place, the Municipal Program puts a direct and powerful check upon such interference, while not absolutely prohibiting it under all circumstances. It is provided that all legislative acts applicable to less than all of the cities of the state shall require a two-thirds affirmative vote for passage, and shall then be submitted by the legislature to the council of every city affected by them. Unless approved by the council

within sixty days, or, failing such approval, repassed by the legislature within thirty days thereafter by a three-fourths vote of all the legislators from the state outside of the cities affected and a two-thirds vote of all, such special acts cannot go into effect. This provision is patterned after a provision incorporated in the New York constitution of 1894, but is much more stringent and would absolutely cut off all special legislation obnoxious to cities except under the most extraordinary circumstances. The framers of the Municipal Program did not go quite the full length of cutting off the ultimate authority of the legislature in such cases.

In the fourth place, the Municipal Program reserves to every city of more than 25,000 population the right to frame and adopt its own charter. As Dr. Oberholtzer has informed us, this plan is in practical operation in varying degrees of completeness in five commonwealths. These commonwealths contain eight cities with over 100,000 population each, and eight others with more than 25,000. With a general grant of powers established in the constitution, as well as a brief outline of municipal organization, the right of a city to frame its own charter comes to be chiefly the right of the people to arrange the details of municipal organization and place such limitations upon the council and the executive officers of the city as seem necessary for the preservation of the people's rights. This part of the municipal Program is often misunderstood as conferring upon aldermen the right to make and amend charters. As a matter of fact, the scheme leaves to the people of the city the right by means of a constituent convention to frame their own charter and put such limitations upon the powers of the city council as they see fit.

As a final guarantee of home rule, the Municipal Program strikes a body blow at the interference of political parties in city elections. Party machinery is often as persistent as governmental machinery. And so it is necessary, not only to permit cities to perform local public functions, but also to let the people think what they are doing when so

engaged. For national political parties to intrude in municipal politics and drag irrelevant issues into the decision of local problems is impertinent and unmannerly. To prevent this and at least guarantee to the people the right to mind their own business in local elections, the program provides that municipal shall be separate from state and national elections, and that all nominations for municipal offices shall be made by petition and the names of all candidates printed together on the ballot without party designations. In recent years the struggle for primary reform has been going on all over the country. A few important cities now nominate their officials by direct vote of the people. Yet a system of direct nominations that compels the people of a city to divide into parties according to their views on national issues and fight out their local battles along these lines is radically wrong. In some respects it further encourages the intrusion of national politics into local affairs. Free nominations by petition are an essential feature of a home rule program.

## 2. FRANCHISE RIGHTS.

The second fundamental principle of the Municipal Program is that a city's rights in the streets, parks, waterways and other public places should be inalienable so long as these places are needed for public use. They can be alienated under no circumstances except by a four-fifths vote of all the members of the council, approved by the mayor. Franchise grants are limited to twenty-one years, in order that the rights of a future generation to the full and free use of the streets may never again be taken away by the corrupt or heedless representatives of this generation. In order that the city may in reality retain the full use of its property, every city is permitted to exercise the option of operating its own franchises if it sees fit. Indeed, the city is exempted from all limitations upon its indebtedness for these purposes, provided only that it operates its public utilities so that they are self-sustaining. To further guarantee the city's rights, every franchise-holder is compelled to keep



detailed books of account open to the inspection of the city, and make quarterly financial reports to the city comptroller. It needs no argument to satisfy us all, I am sure, that the street should be kept "an open road" for the common use of all, and that the bartering away of the rights of future generations to the use of the city's public places is nothing short of a crime.

### 3. DIRECT POPULAR RESPONSIBILITY.

The third great principle of the Municipal Program is that the will of the people shall prevail. To this end the initiative in the adoption or amendment of city charters is given to the people by means of petitions signed by a small percentage of the voters. This provision alone would open the way for full popular control of local government. But the program goes further, and provides specifically that on popular petition or otherwise any city may establish a system of direct legislation applicable to all city matters. The necessity for direct legislation arises from the peculiar conditions of the times. The representative system is breaking down because of the immense concentration of the control of wealth and its relation to government in franchise matters, taxation, regulation, etc. It is practically impossible for the average American citizen, with his weakness for gold, to resist the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon him when elected to public office with ultimate authority to grant special privileges and regulate large enterprises that touch the government in various ways. It is a waste of manhood to subject alderman after alderman to such temptations, when by the device of direct legislation we can bring the whole people face to face with their enemy. The "enemies of the republic" are so powerful and the crisis we are in so pregnant with disaster that the whole people must be organized into a legion of honor to fight for civic freedom.

### 4. MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

The fourth principle of the Municipal Program is that city officials need to know their business. It is gradually dawning upon the American mind that special knowledge is required to run the

machinery of city government, if we are to avoid a wreck. It is not enough for a man to be a "good fellow" or to know how to read and write or to be successful in business even to make a good city official. The complex machinery of a city can be run only by those who know how to do that particular thing. Of course, policemen and firemen are permanent officials, with special skill gained by training and experience. But the city engineer's force, the employes of the board of health, the park superintendent, the water works employes, the auditing clerks, and practically the whole body of municipal officials need special knowledge and long experience to give the city the benefit of good service. And so the Municipal Program provides that "all appointments and promotions in the subordinate administrative service of the city, including laborers, shall be made solely according to fitness, which shall be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations that, so far as practicable, shall be open competitive examinations," and that "all persons in the administrative service of the city, except the mayor, shall hold their offices without fixed terms." There is elaborate provision for the regulation of the civil service, and every effort is made to avoid the pitfalls which are found in civil service regulations not adequately worked out to fit practical conditions.

### 5. DEFINITE OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The fifth principle of the Municipal Program is concentration of official responsibility. The mayor and council are to be the only officials elected by the people, the one being made responsible for the whole administrative service outside of the finance department, and the other being given all legislative powers not retained by the people themselves.

The mayor is to appoint and remove all heads of departments at pleasure except the comptroller. All subordinate administrative officials are appointed by him subject to civil service rules, and may be removed by him for reasons stated in writing, but not based on religious or political considerations. The financial department of the city is to be in charge of the comptroller, who is to

be elected by the council and be responsible to that body. He is to have charge of all auditing and accounting operations, and is required to make annual reports to the state fiscal officer according to uniform schedules applying to all the cities of the state. Bringing the auditing department under the control of the council is calculated to render safe and salutary the great concentration of administrative powers in the mayor's hands.

Such are the main features of the Municipal Program adopted by the league five years ago. Both space and knowledge fail me to make a detailed statement of the use and influence of this program since its promulgation. It has nowhere been enacted into law as a whole, but its influence has been felt practically everywhere that charters have been framed, constitutions revised or municipal reform agitated "under the flag." It was published in full in Honolulu for the benefit of the Hawaiian legislature. It was used by the Havana charter commission, and, I believe, by the Porto Rican and Philippine commissions. It has left marked traces in the new constitutions of Virginia and Alabama, and has formed the basis for a sweeping amendment to the Colorado constitution. The charter commission of Portland, Ore., used it. The charter revision commission of New York city adopted some of its provisions. The Duluth and St. Paul charters are in line with it in important respects. It has formed the basis of agitation for charter reform in Wisconsin, Michigan, Delaware and doubtless many other states. Its experience in Ohio, however, has been unfortunate. The municipal code commission in that state was at work at the time of the Columbus conference for good city government, at which the program was adopted. Perhaps on account of their proximity the commissioners absorbed so many reform ideas that their code was rejected by the Ohio politicians. In the Ohio code of 1902, which may be designated as the "Cox frame of municipal government," all traces of the influence of the National Municipal League were successfully obliterated.

"Corruption is treason," is Mr. Folk's magnificent challenge to battle down in Missouri. Mr. Lincoln Steffens in his powerful portrayal in the April McClure's of Folk's battle with corruption has rendered a service to the whole nation. The only way to overthrow the "system" is to cut off its roots. St. Louis is in name a home rule city; yet its powers and privileges are very scant compared with those given to cities by the Municipal Program. Because its home rule is imperfect, Mr. Folk has been unable to cut off the local root of the "system." It is only by the perfection of local and popular responsibility that "graft" can be eliminated. Fix it so that every valiant patriot can carry on a fruitful battle with the forces of evil in his own town, and by and by the "system" will fall of its own weight.

The Municipal Program is an intelligent plan for giving the people a fair chance to become and remain free. In the midst of the reports of municipal corruption in Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, Chicago and the rest of the cities, big and little, we are sometimes asked if, after all, there are not signs of improvement. Our answer must be—Not yet! Not yet! There is nothing in the general condition of municipal affairs in the United States to offer a crumb of comfort to any citizen who is not doing his level best for his own city. Our call is a call to battle. Civic cleanliness and civic freedom can be had only by somebody's sacrificing something. As President Hadley has said, we must have a higher order of patriotism—a patriotism that will make men, including some big business men, vote and work against their own pecuniary interest for the sake of justice and civic honor. The thing to do is not to get frantic, but to coolly and steadily fight for position. That is the Municipal Program.

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The tendency has been to study economics purely from a political standpoint, and my experience has led me to believe that there are social and moral phases of the relations between labor and capital often lost sight of in the eager pursuit of gain.—Marcus A. Hanna.



## CIVIC WEEK AT THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION

Mr. John A. Butler of Milwaukee, chairman of the joint committee of the National Municipal League and the American League for Civic Improvement, has furnished us with this outline of the program and arrangements for the "Civic Week," which promises to be one of the unique features of the exposition:

The final program for the "Civic Week" sessions at the St. Louis Exposition, arranged by the joint committee of the National Municipal League and the American League for Civic Improvement, will soon be printed and distributed. The meetings will be held daily during the week beginning Monday, June 13, from 9:30 a. m. to 12 m., in the Town Hall in the "Model Street" at the exposition grounds and the headquarters for delegates will probably be at the Inside Inn. The first session at 9:30 a. m., June 13, will be opened by the presiding officer, Mayor Rolla Wells of St. Louis, with a brief and interesting address. Other well-known and able men will preside at the succeeding sessions, including Governor Cummins of Iowa. The idea of the meetings grew out of the suggestion and establishment of a general civic alliance, and if properly supported by interested audiences the congress will tend to promote important mutual effort for civic betterment in every part of the country. It looks to a mutualizing of effort by a half dozen national bodies devoted to the attainment of creditable municipal conditions. The committee has secured the generous and patriotic co-operation of a considerable number of profound students of municipal conditions, and there is promise of a practical and instructive discussion of the civic problem by competent authorities.

The program is still tentative and subject to change, but the following portions of it can now be made public:

### MONDAY, JUNE 13.

"The Aims and Accomplished Work of the National Municipal League," Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff of Philadelphia.

"The Civic Problems Discussed from a Legal Point of View," Hon. Amasa M. Eaton, president of the Municipal League of Providence, R. I.

### TUESDAY, JUNE 14.

"The Aims and Accomplished Work of the American League for Civic Improvement," Prof. Charles Zueblin, University of Chicago.

"The Civic Problem Discussed from an 'Improvement' Point of View," Horace J. McFarland of Harrisburg, Pa., president of the American League for Civic Improvement.

### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15.

"The Aims and Accomplished Work of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association," Charles Mulford Robinson, Esq., of Rochester, New York.

"The Civic Problem Discussed from an Ad-

ministrative Point of View," Prof. John A. Fairlie, University of Michigan.

### THURSDAY, JUNE 16.

"The Aims and Accomplished Work of the League of American Municipalities," Hon. John M. Head, ex-mayor of Nashville, Tenn.

"The Civic Problem Discussed from a Religious Point of View," Rev. Frank Mason North, New York City.

### FRIDAY, JUNE 17.

"The Aims and Accomplished Work of the American Society of Municipal Improvements," Charles Carroll Brown, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind.

"The Civic Problem Discussed from a Civil Service Point of View," Charles Noble Gregory, Esq., Dean of the Law Department, University of Iowa.

### SATURDAY, JUNE 18.

"The Aims and Accomplished Work of the American Society of Social Service," Dr. William H. Tolman (probably), New York City.

"The Civic Problem Discussed from a Political Point of View," Dr. Samuel E. Sparling, University of Wisconsin.

*The Commons* is planning to have an account of these occasions and an interesting description of the "Model Street" in the July number.

## Far Reaching Law Against Sweatshops

Sweeping in its character, the law recently passed by the New York State Legislature and signed by Governor Odell, bids fair to revolutionize tenement work in New York City. As one of those interested in putting it through remarked, "it will not merely affect tenements here and there; whole blocks of sweat shops will be dealt a death blow." We reprint from an editorial in the New York Evening Post an excellent account of the law and the way it will deal with the evil.

An act passed by the last Legislature, providing for the licensing of all tenement houses in which manufacturing is done, has just been signed by Governor Odell. It is the most important tenement legislation since the passage of the De Forest measure in 1901. It is, indeed, a corollary of that law, seeking to safeguard the conditions under which the poor of the tenements work, precisely as the former statute attempted to make sanitary the conditions under which they live. It is thus another step toward that absolute elimination of the sweatshop, which is the ultimate end of all enlightened factory legislation.

There is probably no place in the country where so much clothing is manufactured as south of Fourteenth street and east of the Bowery. This great industry is the economic cause of congestion on the East Side. Here every year are turned out millions of dollars' worth of ready-made clothing, cloaks, hats, all kinds of underwear, neckties, fur garments, and a thousand other similar articles. The workers are for the most part Jewish and Italian emigrants. In this tailoring not only the head of the family, but frequently the wife and children are engaged. The Italians who spend the open-air months working out of doors have the choice in winter either of returning to Italy or of running a sewing machine in a sweatshop. Small children eke out the family income in making artificial flowers. Most of this work is done in the tenements. Through the efforts of the United Garment Workers practically all the ready-made clothing has been transferred to factories, but little progress has been made in other lines. Clothes for women and underwear are still manufactured under the most unsanitary conditions. Rooms in which highly contagious and infectious diseases prevail, especially tuberculosis, are frequently found filled with clothing in various stages of manufacture. The sick are often among the hardest workers. Their very illness compels them to toil.

At present the sweatshop licenses are issued directly to the worker. There are now 23,000 such licenses outstanding. Only fourteen factory inspectors are assigned to New York city—evidently too small a number to do the great work required. A way out of the difficulty was found in the new Tenement Department. One of its features is a thoroughly organized bureau of records. In a card catalogue is kept a complete description and history of every one of the 83,000 tenement houses in New York. These records are brought up to date. The condition of every tenement house can be readily ascertained—whether violations for unsanitary conditions have been filed against it and are outstanding; whether at the moment any of its occupants are ill with contagious diseases. Briefly, the new sweatshop law proposes to make these records available for the Commissioner of Labor. In future licenses for labor in tenement houses will be issued, not to the workers themselves, but to the buildings. Before any such work can be done the house-owner must obtain a license, have it framed, and hang it conspicuously in the public hall. The landlord who permits work in a tenement house without this preliminary is guilty of a misdemeanor. Likewise, the manufacturer, before letting out work in such a building, must first ascertain that it has been duly licensed and take other stipulated precautions against unsanitary conditions. The greatest responsibility, however, is laid upon the Commissioner of Labor. When an application for a license is made he must first consult the records of the Tenement Department. If a pending violation

against the building for a contagious and infectious disease is disclosed, he may deny the application instantaneously. If not, then he must inspect the building, and, in granting a license, file a statement that the records show the presence of no communicable disease or other unhealthful conditions. He must make a sanitary inspection of all licensed tenements at least once every six months. He can direct the tenants to clean filthy apartments in which manufacturing is done, and in case his instructions are disregarded prohibit such work.

Inasmuch as licenses will be issued to entire tenements instead of rooms or apartments, the number of licenses will be at once reduced, it is estimated, at least 75 per cent. This, with the use of the Tenement Department records, will so lessen the work of factory inspectors that they will be able to devote their time to constant inspection. The shifting of responsibility from tenants to landlords will make the latter more solicitous of decent sanitation. It is difficult to see how, if the law is enforced, clothing can be manufactured under the shocking conditions that now prevail. Unquestionably many tenements will be unable to meet the new conditions; and many landlords, rather than accept their new responsibilities, may refuse to permit manufacturing at all. If the East Side sweatshops are really in a way to be abolished it will be a great blessing.

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## The Chicago Daily News Free Lectures

Public school assembly halls in Chicago have been well utilized by throngs of people, who have enthusiastically attended the 208 lectures given during the past winter under the auspices of the Chicago Daily News. So great has been the interest in some neighborhoods that the attendants have organized to aid in conducting the lectures by providing additional entertainment, such as music. Stereopticon pictures have been the rule in connection with most of the lectures, but occasionally scientific lectures, illustrated with practical demonstrations, have been given, while purely oral ones have at times been tried. The latter were not apt to be as popular as the others. The halls are rented from the Board of Education, and in some of the larger ones the attendance has averaged 900 or 1,000. Adults only are admitted at some of the centers and tickets of admittance are issued. Thirteen of the halls have been in use all season, the lectures being on Friday evenings, and the total attendance numbered upward of 125,000. In the three years that the News has conducted these courses 424 lectures have been delivered.



# Woman and Trade Unions

By Anna E. Nichols

An amusingly pathetic incident of the messenger boys' strike in Chicago recently was a letter issued by the young strikers to the mothers of the girls who were displacing the boys, urging the mothers not to allow their daughters to carry messages, that it was bad for them morally, that the life was too hard, the pay too small.

Mothers may be appealed to to keep their daughters at home, laws may be desired to limit and restrict their conditions of work, home-makers may call attention to the greater desirability of domestic service, and still we find an increasingly large number of women and girls in the business world.

Their position here seems now assured, almost unquestioned.

The invention of machinery and the introduction of the factory system wrought a revolution in woman's life and work: took her from the home industries, which had been largely her work, and placed her in factories. With activity unimpaired, and the same power to produce that had always been hers, woman followed the work—first into the textile industry—then the further sub-division of labor and introduction of delicate machinery opened to her nearly every branch of industry. Now we find that while in 1840, according to Harriet Martineau, there were in all only *seven* occupations opened to women in America, there are practically none closed to her that she chooses to enter to-day.

This revolution of industry has placed women in the industrial field. Their adaptability, deftness and reliability has assured their position there; necessity compels them to remain. For the majority of women work to-day because they must. They are working for self-support. Where this need does not exist, a feeling of independence, which is quite as much their rightful possession as their brothers', impels them to maintain themselves.

Aside from the pressure of outward circumstances, it is only fair to recognize that many women are impelled by a more subtle, possibly unconscious, de-

sire to contribute their share to the world's work.

With five million women engaged in gainful occupations according to the census of 1900, an increase of nearly two million in ten years, with one out of every five women in America engaged in work for pay, it is too late to argue about allowing women to enter the industrial world. They are already there, and there is every evidence that they are there to stay.

While this opportunity brings a larger, freer life to them, still the adjustment to the new conditions is difficult. Woman enters business poorly equipped industrially, timid, ignorant of conditions, lacking self-assertion, and with an individualistic bias of mind.

In fact, it is difficult to conceive of a more helpless being than the unorganized woman worker of to-day.

What is the result?

She has taken the place of the cheap laborer.

Some years since Carrol D. Wright made an investigation into the reason that women workers were preferred to men, and found that in many cases the acknowledged reason for this preference was that they were cheaper.

The ex-president of the International Cigar Makers' Union states that women came into the cigar trade and worked at wages men could not live on. Work for which men had received \$10.00 a thousand, women did for \$3.00. While women were the means of dragging wages down, it took twenty years of agitation to organize them, and wages have never regained the same mark that existed before the influx of women workers, 25,000 of whom are now found in the cigar makers' trade.

The same lowering of salaries is found among the clerks—where we had one woman clerk in 1870, 20 years later, 1890, we had 170. The wages have been much lowered by this competition with women workers, while in the gents' furnishing houses, where the clerks are almost exclusively men, wages have not suffered.

This is not peculiar to America. In

Denmark lowest wages are paid for the "natural" work of women, as it is called, such as needlework, box-making, etc. But women not only compete with men and bring down wages, they underbid each other.

Not long since the office girls came to the Federation of Labor to talk about organization, stating that the real young girls just out of school were underbidding and taking away their work, and that they could not live on such small wages. "The main thing," said a labor leader, "is to raise the wages of the women."

The case of the woman worker, who is trying to secure a living wage, is complicated by a still more deadly competition—that with the young woman who lives at home and is supported by other members of her family, but who works for better clothes, or "pin money." Employers have been quick to take advantage of this fact. Mr. Robert Woods of Boston, states: "There is at least one large store in Boston where a special point is made of having all the women employes live at home. This not on account of moral concern as to the employe, but because the employers wish to get the fullest advantage of the low scale of wages set by the so-called 'pin-money worker.'"

A similar intention seems to be shown in a letter to this conference by an establishment in Chicago employing about 1,000 girls, which states: "Our aim is to secure young unmarried women between the ages of 18 and 25 years. Women do not take this work up or desire it as a life calling. We furnish employment to young women not needed at home, who come to us after schooling is over and before marriage has come to them." "And," they naturally add, "any special education to meet factory conditions would be misdirected energy." Cheap labor, unskilled, is what this employer is evidently looking for. Both of these instances furnish examples of what Mrs. Webb of England calls "parasitic trades," which she defines as "trades in which an employer without imparting any adequate instruction in a skilled craft, gets his work done by women or

boys or girls, who work for pocket money and get their real support from parents—that is from the industry by which the parents live.

"In all these instances the efficiency of the services rendered by the young persons or women is being kept up out of the earnings of some other class." This is more than unfair. This is bad economics—it is waste.

Individually the work-woman and the employer are powerless to remedy these conditions; they both need some further aid to just dealing than the individual desire and ethical standard of each, even where this is true and high.

"Not one by doing right, alone  
Can mend the way,  
But we must all do right together."

Some organized effort, therefore, becomes essential.

#### WOMEN IN TRADES UNIONS.

It is scarcely necessary to make a plea before an intelligent audience today for the right of any kind of people to organize. Surely we would consider it very stupid for a number of girls to go to the same workshop or store, day after day, meet the same conditions, and not come into some kind of formal association, club or organization. I think that the first thing those interested in reform would do, if there were no trades unions, would be to appoint a committee to go among working girls and unite them into some such organization that would mean the bettering of conditions. And yet sometimes the working woman has to struggle to secure even this elementary right. This was recently the case with the Kabo corest workers, where the women after being abruptly locked out, were told that they could only return by signing individual contracts with the company, that is, repudiating their union. The union had been made imperative through an irritating system of "petty fines" and "repairs," which greatly lowered wages. The union—that is the collective body of workers—were willing to accede to the terms of the em-



ployers, such as a 10 per cent reduction, but begged that those who were receiving \$3.00 a week and under should not be cut, and also begged for arbitration. This was refused and the whole point at issue resolved itself clearly into a struggle of the firm against the organization itself.

A plea for trade unionism among women is simply a plea for a possible life for women workers: Without it they are helpless—robbed of the product of their one possession, their labor—worked 10 to 15 hours a day, to the point of exhaustion, their lives become a sacrifice to industrialism.

It is interesting to notice that the girls who first united here in Chicago realized this need for protection, as was shown by the very name, "Protective Union," for the bindery girls, the women cloak makers, the shoe operators, the shirt workers.

#### HOW DO UNIONS HELP?

First, in the vital point of the wages.

The trades unions seek to establish a minimum wage—i. e., a wage lower than which the worker will not accept. This protects the woman against herself in accepting less than she is worth, prevents her from demoralizing conditions by becoming a cheap laborer, and also controls the would-be "pin money" maker. It checks the "parasitic" employer and insures to the worker at least living conditions and the maintenance of her working capacity.

It is fair to all in that it brings about a "uniform upward pressure."

The question of wages, though vital, is not the only point of contract, but as has been pointed out by Mrs. Webb, quoted above: "The wage earner does not, like the shopkeeper, merely sell a piece of goods which is carried away. It is his whole life, which for the stated terms he places at the disposal of his employer. What hours he shall work; where and when he shall get his meals; the sanitary conditions of his employment; the safety of the machinery; the atmosphere and temperature to which he is subjected; the fatigue or strains which he endures; the risks of accidents or disease which he has to run: all these

are involved in the workman's contract and not in his employer's, yet about the majority of these vital questions he cannot bargain at all."

Applying this to a local condition—take the case of a girl who applies for work in the Stock Yards in the shipping or canning departments; imagine her investigating the heating, ventilation, the cleanliness of the room, objecting to the steam in the atmosphere, or looking into the decency of the sanitary accommodations. These points are left to the employer, or to the competition of employers as to who can most reduce expenses, and a few limited regulations from the health department. An effective trades union organization places the worker in a different, more independent position in regard to these conditions.

When it comes to the matter of the number of working hours, the trades unionist movement is surer of public sympathy in its efforts, as it is a question more easily understood. The inhumanity of the long hours of woman's work has been a familiar topic. Sixteen hours used to constitute a normal working day. Were it not for the continued vigilance and pressure of the trades unionists to-day, this advantage might be lost to the workers. The eight hour day is far from being an accomplished fact.

Take the case of the laundry girls who regularly work ten hours, often eleven or twelve. In a recent attempt to limit the day to the stipulated ten hours, and if they worked longer, to receive pay, time and a half for this time, an employer told them: "After you have worked ten hours, you are not worth it."

#### WOMEN DIFFICULT TO ORGANIZE.

It is not an easy thing to organize the working women into unions. It is a "tussle" to organize the men, and the women are still more difficult. This arises from causes partly pointed out—inherent in the false education and position of woman—and largely from the fact that most women do not expect to remain in the labor world, but look forward to release by marriage.

This brings an element of uncertainty and mutability and a lack of interest and long range view of matters, that injure their industrial efficiency and make them indifferent to efforts to better their condition. The steady, slow work of organization does not appeal to the women, and it is only recently that they have come into the trades union movement in numbers. The trades union men were forced to see that this unorganized mass of workers was a menace to all, and wisely insisted that the women working in their trades should be given equal opportunity and equal pay for equal work.

The objection may be raised that if an equal wage be insisted upon by woman that she will find herself displaced as a worker—the real preference being for the male worker. Give her an adequate wage and with ambition stimulated and fuller recognition of her place in the industrial world, woman's efficiency and skill will win her own recognition, and she will find her own place.

A case in point came to me the other day.

A girl in a dry goods store was told by the head of her department that he wanted her to do better work. Her prompt reply was: "Do I not earn my \$5.00 a week?" He replied that she did, but he wanted her to earn \$8.00—which she quickly did and more.

The inequality of the wages of the sexes disappears as one rises in the scale of skill and efficiency. Principals of schools receive the same, regardless of sex.

The employers of about 12,000 women, representing eighteen different concerns, have made reply, expressing their opinion of trades unions for women—and it is in most cases unfavorable.

One employer of large numbers of women states that he employs a larger proportion of women to-day than he did ten years ago because they are more industrious and honest and *less troublesome from the standpoint of the union.*

The history of trades unions of women has largely been treated so far in footnotes by historians. In Eng-

land, according to the Webbs, in 1833, we find the Grand Lodge of Operative Bonnet Makers—the female tailors trying to uphold their right to make waistcoats. Whether the "Female Gardeners" and "Ancient Virgins" of that time were part of the trades union movement is not clear.

In 1892 England claims 52 unions with a membership of nearly 100,000 women, with strong auxiliary societies such as the Women's Industrial Council and the Women's Trade Union League, officered by such women as Lady Aberdeen and Lady Dilke.

Take our own State of Illinois. There are nearly 300,000 women engaged in some gainful occupation, 16.3 per cent of the whole number of women in the State. To trades unions alone, as matters stand now in our State, can these working women look for any regulation of their work, since the Supreme Court has decided that legal regulation of woman's work is class legislation.

The list of women's trades unions here in Chicago is of great interest as showing not only the strength of the movement locally, but the variety of employments where women work in large numbers: special order of clothing makers, paper box makers, school teachers, laundry workers, canning room employes, A. M. C. & B. W., can makers, ticket agents, elevated R. R., boot and shoe workers, cracker packers, bindery girls, twine workers, waitresses, glovemakers, rubber workers, retail clerks, telephone and switchboard workers, suspender workers, feather duster makers, knitters, dyers and cleaners, janitresses, woven wire mattress workers, ladies' garment workers, picture frame makers, horse nail makers, curled hair finishers, core makers and candy dippers.

There are in Chicago about 30,000 women organized in unions alone, and about as many more into unions with the male workers of their craft.

These organizations have every one of them meant better conditions for the working women. From the candy dippers, organized only last June, who have secured a decrease of one hour in the working day, to the janitresses, organ-



ized about two years ago, who have gained from \$3.40 to \$10.00 a month more, and have decreased their work at night  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours, through the horse nail workers, organized eight years ago, who have secured an advance in wages of \$1.50, making wages \$10.00 a week and a reduction of the hours from 10 to 9 a day. Through all these unions we see the benefits of organization.

The immediate causes of organization are as various as the unions.

Take the special order of clothing makers. They were forced to organize to get a living. As one of their members put it: "The whole Italian population came into our trade and wages went down, down."

Having secured for themselves an increased wage scale and better conditions, they effected an organization among the Italian home finishers—a thing which one would have said could scarcely have been accomplished. But they succeeded in organizing this difficult class of people, working in a haphazard, casual way in their isolated home, and secured for them a better wage scale and many of the better conditions of their own advantaged position.

The unions have always been in the lead in the important work of legislation to restrict child labor.

The members of the union just mentioned, the special order of clothing makers, utterly refuse to work with children under 16 or to allow children in the shops to carry work home when they should be in school.

It seems to me that in many ways the women in trades unions occupy an advantaged position—a position in the foreground of progress for women. They are brought into vital contact with economic questions. They are forced into helpful and close relations with a vast number of foreign women workers, and are so educated out of race prejudice. They are forced to be most democratic in their social life.

#### WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES TO MEN'S UNIONS.

After considering organizations so vital as the trades unions, it seems like an anti-climax to turn to those organi-

zations that are merely auxiliary to the trades of the husbands, fathers or brothers of the women members. These organizations are interesting and deserve more than the passing mention that can be given.

First in importance, perhaps, as being the nearest to the trades union movement itself, is the "Woman's Union Label League." This is an organization among the wives of union men, and its members pledge themselves to give the preference in their shopping to goods bearing the union-label—it is the Consumer's League of the working people—because that stands for better conditions, wages and hours for the workers.

There is an interesting organization just effected, "The Woman's Trade Union League." This is composed of women sympathizing with the union movement as well as members of unions, and has for its object the collection and publication of information concerning the conditions of women workers and the encouraging and assisting of women trades union organizations.

The ladies' auxiliaries to the brotherhoods of the railway employes are exceedingly interesting. One reported in 1897, 105 divisions and about 2,500 members. Many of them carry sick and death benefits to the amount of several thousands and aim to assist needy families of their order.

To my mind, these women organized along trades lines—the line from which the family support comes—have something of an advantage over the usual woman's club, in that they must consider so many vital economic questions from a close range view. The Woman's Auxiliary of the Railway Postal Clerks of Omaha and Council Bluffs is studying civil service. This subject becomes more live and interesting from the fact that their husbands are under civil service rules.

The criticism may be made that this paper presents trades unions only in a favorable aspect—that there are "dark spots" on unionism.

The wrongs and injustices imputed are not inherent in the organization itself, but are the results of weaknesses

common to all humanity, while the benefits are social, the necessity so great, as to far outweigh its wrongs.

The impossible conditions in which our women workers are attempting to hold their own in the industrial world are known to many. Whatever advantage a future reorganization of industry may hold for the worker, for the immediate future the only word for the working woman is the watchword of unionism: "Agitate, educate, organize."

Neighborhood House.

## In the Shadow of the Ghetto

By Hattie A. Morse.

"No, I did no' want dis last baby. I tink I haf enough alretty. But when dey come you luf dem. You cannot help it. No matter if you haf twenty, you luf dem shust like anything."

"De man my girl is goin' to marry—his folks are reech—O, *very* reech. Dey liff in a nize flat wif seven rooms; dey haf a piano, and dey pay *twenty-two dollars a mont' rent*."

"Yes, I vent out washing till I was fifty years old. Den I had to stop, and couldn't work no more. I lift a heavy tub one day, und strained my back und get kidney trouble. It made me sick all over. My legs and feet swell up, O so big!

"You see my feet? Dey don't look much like feet any more, do dey? I had to lay in bed for weeks, und spent all dat I had saved for de doctor and medicine. It is hard, Mrs. Marrie, to work hard every day all de time till you are fifty years old, und den haf not'ing.

"I haf paid for dis place, all except two hundred dollars. De man comes around and gets seven dollars interest money every six months. He is very strict. I haf to pay right up. He says if I do not pay right up he vill—you know de word—close de mort—foreclose de mortgage, yes dat is it. O, Mrs. Marrie, if I should lose dis place, what would I do? I haf no children. I would haf to go to de poorhouse!"

After regaining her composure she continued:

"I used to git twelve dollars a mont' rent for dis place, but now I get only six dollars a mont'.

"De people who rent de front part can't pay me no more dan six dollars. I used to rent dese two rooms (kitchen and bed room) for five dollars, und I liffed in de little room where you see de old lady. Why don't I rent dem now? What would de old lady do? Her children turned her out. She must have some place to liff.

"O, vell, I git along. I liff plain, und I pay all my expenses and my interest money out of de six dollars de people in front pay me."

And there was no sigh in self-pity from the woman with misshapen feet and aching body, who took every step with the aid of a crutch and who, though she lived in her poor home on six dollars a month, yet gave lodging to another more unfortunate than herself. The "Simple Life" and "True Charity" were being practiced quite unostentatiously, perhaps, unconsciously; and in spite of daily and hourly dread of the poorhouse "if anything should happen," there was a smiling face, sweet to see.

"No, he's gettin' no better. He has four and five fits every day. His father pays out all he can earn on the poor b'y, but nothin' seems to help 'im. If there was only some place to send him—but there ain't. What will the poor b'y do after I'm gone? His father must work. He can't be with him all day, as I be, and take care of 'im.

"May the Lord spare me as long as poor Benny lives! Perhaps he will. God is good."

"My man is a fool of a thing when he has liquor in him. He is a good man when he is sober. For years he worked hard, and brought home his wages to me. He works for the C—Manufacturing Company. You know the steel flies up in their eyes when they work, and after a while they can't see so well, and they don't get so much pay.

"My man he got kind a discouraged when his sight began failing him, and he took to drinking. Now he gets drunk almost every week.



"It don't do no good to pray, Mrs. Marrie. I've prayed and prayed. If prayin' would do any good he'd a stopped drinkin' long ago; but it don't."

And she, who had imagined herself almost a temperance crank, looked with new eyes upon the drunkard in the street. If she were obliged to work at

something which gradually was making her blind, and as she stuck to her task indefinitely must see her pay decrease instead of increase, she wondered if she too, would not take to liquor—or anything which would promise even temporary relief and make her oblivious to the approaching fate.

## College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

### What A Boys' Club Teaches

By Jane E. Robbins.

One of our old-time College Settlement Club boys came to see me the other night, and we fell to discussing the Settlement. He had been as a small boy the leader of an exceedingly troublesome little gang, and he had developed in line with his early promise, until now he was distinctly "agin the government." His denunciation was rank and sweeping—he had never amounted to anything, none of his set had shown any ambition, and the Settlement was largely responsible. Back in the years when he was twelve and thirteen, when he should have been digging at his books, his only thought had been to get around to the house as quickly as possible. The club had been a bad thing for him and for the other boys.

It is so seldom that we who belong to the didactic class meet with anyone who lays down the law to us that the experience is most unpleasant. After the first moment of cold surprise, however, I recalled that the subject of my next speech was "What the Neighbors Can Do for the Settlement," and I tried to get myself into a properly teachable frame of mind. After an hour's lesson, I said, meekly: "We tried to do something for you boys, and I am sorry that we failed." At this point my candid young friend felt perhaps that I was becoming too deeply discouraged, for he replied, cheerily: "Well, at least, we all turned out honest." Unfortunately for my peace of mind, I remembered that one employer had sent for me to talk over the thefts committed by

one of that particular set of boys, and I knew that I could not even comfort myself with the thought of their honesty.

I could not easily put out of my mind criticism so freely and frankly bestowed, and last night I was delighted when another young man who had belonged to the same set came to call. It was six years since I had seen him, and he wanted to tell me of his luck. He had gone as office boy into a law office, where every encouragement had been given him; he had worked steadily in law school at night, and had now been admitted to the bar. He felt that if it had not been for the club at the Settlement he would never have had the ambition to succeed, and he wanted to take charge of a boys' club in gratitude for all that had been done for him. It was the obverse side of the same shield, and surely the two sides are equally worthy of our consideration.

There seem to be three distinct elements to be considered in estimating the probable outcome of a boy's life—the boy's own character, his home surroundings and the influences thrown around him by society. Some boys seem bad from the beginning—we who love them find much that is good mixed with the bad, but their chances in life are poor. We suddenly realize how much the home influences count when we come upon a family where the mother is not unwilling to have the child steal. When the mother is bad we are fighting against the heaviest odds. The life of the streets is full of temptation, and we recall the sigh of the boy who said: "This house tries to make us good and

everything else in the world tries to make us bad." If the boy himself is distinctly weak-kneed, or if the home influence is on the wrong side, we will probably fail in our attempt to help the good in the boy win out in the struggle with the bad. Our responsibility is to make a strong contribution to the right social environment. It is our privilege, when a mother is trying hard to bring up her boy to be a good man, to help her by forming a healthy environment for him. To do this we must begin at the beginning. It was a five-year-old whose mother said to him, "John, I hope that you will never smoke cigarettes," and he answered, promptly, "No, mother; I have given them up."

We can learn much from the wise kindergartner who studies each child separately and appeals to every side of his nature as an individual, and as a social being we who have classes in carpentry and forget music, or have a story-telling hour and no boxing-gloves, have failed to master the first principles of our problem. We often fail not because what we do is wrong, but because we have left so much undone.

It is borne in upon me more and more that as human beings we are incurably poetic. The most mischievous boy of ten, whose eyes fairly snap with excitement at the thought of the joys of rough-house, is the very one who sings Brahms's lullaby like an angel. I have several times recently turned around from the piano to see if the street little urchins I knew so well had vanished and cherubs singing of stars and angels had taken their places. A school-teacher driven to nervous prostration by one of our young hopefuls said, sternly, "He is not a boy—he is a young devil," and yet music can change him instantly into a young saint. Our best chance with the boys is to appeal constantly to their poetic side, to give them every outlet for their creative instincts, and to smile when we can on their horse-play. How could a boy humming Brahms's lullaby do anything base or mean?

Their intense interest in biography will carry them a long way. The story of Alexander the Great is better than a sermon on temperance, and the life of

Abraham Lincoln means more than whole volumes on civics. And yet we must never forget that what schoolboys and factory boys often need most is an opportunity for games and noise, a chance to blow off steam in harmless fashion.

How much time should be given to the boys who are neglected and promise little for the future is one of the difficult questions to settle. The troublesome boy is always with us, and he often turns out later to be a strong force on the side of the right. But the boys with marked downward tendencies are the ones who later, in the Association of Clubs, vote against good measures, lower the general tone of the Settlement and make new problems for the perplexed head-workers. Still, I believe that a certain amount of effort put forth on behalf of the least promising of our neighbors is the sacrifice that the Settlement may properly make for the good of all. I should feel that if one of my boys went to prison it might mean that I had not done my duty toward the neglected boys at my neighborhood. When a boy writes to me from jail, feeling certain that he can count on my friendship, it is a compensation for many distracting evenings made up largely of noise and confusion. When I talk to the young men who have grown up in the Settlements, I find that their gratitude goes out in special degree to the club directors, who bore with them through the period of their semi-savagery. One young man said to me: "If you ever see Miss —, tell her that we appreciate her now; boys do not get their right sense until they are grown up."

How to help a club of young working boys to make definite progress is one of the most difficult problems that we meet. Without a club director of strong character the club can easily slide downhill, and to permit a club to disband on a question of principle is often the truest kindness. Unless a clubhouse stands for more than passing the time away—unless it really stands for *constantly higher desires* it is not worth the club dues.

Every pressure ought to be brought



to bear upon boys and young men to look for work, and in times of special lack of employment to permit the house to become a lounging place is an easy-going kindness that is often most mistaken. What boys especially need is to be "jacked up," and when you talk to a group of boys, you will always find that they realize that other boys need "jacking up." It is partly because of the scarcity of the right stimulating force that I think most boys and young men do better with a clubroom open two nights in the week than with one open every night.

The social club can be made of great value to the leaders of settlement activities. We must necessarily for some time to come stumble along in half-blind fashion, but in such clubs there is opportunity for the frank criticism and the genuine understanding that we so much need. If we carefully abstain for the next twenty years from forming theories, but are content to go on patiently using all the practical common sense that we have, while at the same time we dream dreams as to the future of the work with boys, I believe that at last they will help us to make our work an important influence in the life of our country.

## Women's Leagues for Trade Unionism

The one seeking directly to promote trade union organization among women wage-earners, the other binding its membership, composed mostly of the wives of workingmen, to demand the union label on goods which they purchase, two leagues were formed as a result of the American Federation of Labor convention held in Boston last November: The Woman's Union Label League has for its officers: President, Miss Vida Scudder of Wellesley College; secretary, Mrs. Mary K. O'Sullivan. The latter is also secretary of the National Woman's Trade Union League, of which the president is Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew of Boston and the vice-president Miss Jane Addams of Chicago. We are glad to have accounts of

the purposes and progress of these two organizations by persons who are engaged in the work. Attention is also called to the article by Raymond Robins in another column on the Scrubwoman's Union, which was recently organized in Chicago by the National Woman's Trade Union League.

### THE WOMEN'S UNION LABEL LEAGUE.

BY ANNE WITHINGTON.

The banding together of consumers to voice a moral protest is no new thing. Many members of the Society of Friends and others of anti-slavery proclivities in the days before the war persisted with much personal inconvenience in buying cotton and cotton goods from the free blacks of the West Indian islands, thereby boycotting the produce of slave labor and the non-union man of that day.

At a later time the famous White List of New York gave women a chance to convince proprietors of retail establishments that the humane treatment of employes was a public demand. Here perhaps is the introduction of the closed shop—closed to inhumanities.

The lineal descendant of the White List the Consumers' League, widened the field by going back of the retail shop to the factory and demanded that articles bearing its endorsement be made under proper conditions, duly inspected, and not made by child labor. A growing knowledge of the evils of the sweating system whereby disease is disseminated, together with the modern distaste for child labor, have given the Consumers' League its opportunity. However, it limits the use of its label to certain articles, chiefly women's wearing apparel, so that it is in nowise antagonistic to the Label League, which introduces the vital question of wages by binding its members to promote the use of the union label.

Men of the trades unions have much pressure brought to bear upon them to forbear buying articles not bearing the union label, whereas the women of their families, who are the chief purchasers of things of daily consumption, household supplies, family clothing, etc., are brought but indirectly into the union movement. These are the women the Label League seeks to organize.

Meetings have been held at Denison House, as several residents are interested in the work of the league, but the members are, for the larger part, working women or from families of trades unionists.

It is becoming less difficult to get articles bearing the union label in the shops. An excellent retail shoeshop has been recently opened in which only shoes of good quality, bearing the label of the Boot and Shoeworkers' Union, are sold. Suits and skirts can be had on order and are improving in quality. Of course the field for usefulness is

unlimited. Questions of hours of labor in retail shops, trust-made goods and other matters of vital importance to the worker have been discussed at meetings of the league. The membership is small, but is bound to increase as the industrial war becomes more clearly a struggle for new liberties on the one hand and new tyrannies on the other.

### THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE.

BY MARY E. HASKELL.

Following the lead of England, where a similar organization under the presidency of Lady Dilke has done effective work for several years, this league was formed to promote the organization of women wage-earners into trade unions. A national executive board of nine members drawn from Boston, Chicago and New York is organizing local committees in each of these places. Local committees and national board alike are made up in part of trade unionists, in part of sympathizers themselves ineligible to membership in unions.

The character of the local committees varies with each city. Chicago was active at once. In connection with the strike of the Kabo corset workers in Aurora, Ill., it came into considerable prominence, taking up the side of the girls. Consequently it is regarded by the women's unions with confidence and by the opponents with animosity. The New York branch is getting in touch by degrees with the local trades in which women are employed, but is proceeding slowly. The Boston branch will employ an agent whose business it will be to familiarize herself with the trades in Massachusetts, and so enable the committee to direct its work effectively.

As yet the league is chiefly promissory. It has achieved results only so far as it has been able to command time and work from its members, who are mostly people already absorbed in trades, professions and social activities. Until its paid agents are actually at work, therefore, its progress will be somewhat delayed. The secretary for Chicago is Miss Gertrude Barnum, Riverside, Ill.; for New York, Mr. William English Walling, 184 Eldridge street; for Boston, Miss Mary E. Haskell, 314 Marlboro street.

## What Children Read

LUCY P. WATERMAN.

Perhaps there is an end to the surprises one gets in working with children, but, for myself, I am not inclined to think the end in sight. I still find that any preconceived ideas I may have as to children and their taste in books, or what is to be gleaned from books, get here and there a little jounce, in actual experience.

One or two "leanings" of course can always be counted on. The average child wants fairy tales, and the young boy of foreign birth who is just learning to be an American wants United States history. In any fair-sized group of reading children,

some one will probably be fond of Marshall Saunder's "Beautiful Joe;" there will be some preference for the boys' books that Ellis has written, and some for Mrs. Lillie's work, and Henty's, with now and then a voice speaking up in behalf even of "Elsie Dinsmore"! and a general affection for "Hans Brinker," "Little Men" and "What Katy Did."

One of my recent surprises was to find that a friend of mine "going on" thirteen, who is so attached to the "Gypsy" books that, when Elizabeth Stuart Phelps is mentioned, she exclaims, "I love her! She wrote 'Gypsy,'" should be charmed with Frances Crompton's story "The Thankful Heart." That is such a quiet, delicate, uneventful story, with its distinctly English setting, that I wondered at its attraction for the same mind which so cherished the adventures of Gypsy Breynon.

In taking charge of a New York home library one winter, with its real meeting place in a school in Sullivan street, I was brought into contact with the youthful mind of the Italian, the French and the negro, all, one might say, Sullivanized by their surroundings.

The kind of reading the children did interested me a good deal. Lives of our national heroes, particularly Lincoln, and elementary books on United States history were especially popular. But one little Italian, who might have been twelve years old, fell in love with the story of Lohengrin, as told by a visitor, and so we got the Wagner story book in our next supply of books from headquarters, to her great joy.

Her preparation for such reading had been of the most meager sort, but something in the Wagner stories, perhaps the wonder element which makes them kin to fairy tales, appealed to her, and does to many children.

Do most of us, I wonder, first learn to enjoy poetry through hearing it read and repeated? To this same group of children, who came from homes that were tenement-house homes, I one day read aloud Southey's "Lodore" as an experiment. Not only did they listen with close attention, but before the end was reached, two small girls were creeping around to look over my shoulder and see how those tripping, scurrying lines looked in the book. Sometimes the rhythm will attract children, as in that case; sometimes it is the dramatic element in a poem which takes the fancy, as in Browning's "Pied Piper" or Longfellow's "Paul Revere."

Most of the people who have tried it will agree that you cannot force unpopular books upon children. If Julia, by chance, takes home a book which she doesn't like well enough to finish, and tells Mary and the other girls that it is no good, the book will probably be a wallflower (or a shelf flower, we might say) for some time, and your recommendation of it will not count for much. Yet it is possible that some day, if you care to tell these girls a story, or a chosen bit, from that very book, you may so appeal to



them that the desire of every one will be to take home the once-scorned volume. There is really a chance here for something higher than maneuvering, for tact and helpfulness, the planning of which will fascinate the "library teacher" and be of good to the library child.

It is certainly encouraging to know that more people are thinking and studying over the combination of child and book than ever before. There seems to me as great reason for hopefulness, however, in the ordinary tastes, and the responsiveness of the children themselves.

## From Social Settlement Centers

### Elizabeth Peabody House

Literary lights of Boston joined with the settlement folk in celebrating on May 16 the centennial anniversary of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody's birth, and the house which now bears her name was the scene of a number of interesting gatherings. No place for the observance of the occasion was more appropriate than this house, which stands as an embodiment of her theories of education and democratic principles.

On Sunday evening, May 15, the large hall of the house was filled with an audience fairly representative of the neighborhood, scarcely one per cent of whose mature population is of American birth. Rev. Charles G. Ames, president of the Elizabeth Peabody House Council, presided and explained to these foreigners—to many of whom Miss Peabody's personality has been that of a possible, vague contemporary of Washington—something of her influence upon child education in America. As the vital connection between this vague personality and the kindergarten, which means so much to them and their children, became clear, their interest and attention perceptibly deepened.

After this preliminary explanation he introduced Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole, who spoke from personal acquaintance of Miss Peabody's broad sympathies, and concluded by saying: "The anniversary of her birth was in reality the birth of a great ideal that had gone on and will continue."

He was followed by Rabbi Charles Fleischer and by Mr. David S. Tilley of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, both of whom from knowledge and sympathy were peculiarly fitted to appeal to this audience.

The morning of May 16th was kept as a kindergarten fete, with pleasures adapted to small children. At 3:30 in the afternoon the hall was again filled by old friends and pupils of Miss Peabody, teachers and social workers.

Miss Lucy Wheelock presided and introduced as the first speaker Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, who told many stories of Miss Peabody illustrative of her scholarship, her extraordinary versatility of mind, her generosity and her wonderfully wide social sympathies.

Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Mr. Frank B. Sanborn followed in much the same vein, telling of her relations with Margaret Fuller, Bronson Alcott, Allston,

Emerson, Col. Green, the sisters of Kossuth and many other distinguished persons. In their early days they had frequented her little bookshop in West street, the gathering place of the cleverest people of the time, where Miss Peabody sold foreign books and homeopathic remedies or planned the contents of next month's Dial with equal ease and interest.

After the speeches the guests visited such clubs as were in session and inspected the various exhibits of manual work.

At the end of the afternoon, just as the children were leaving the clubs, Mrs. Howe expressed a desire to have the company sing before separating and seated herself at the piano. The children were called in that she might hear their voices with the others, and all present sang together the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "America" to the accompaniment of this venerable lady, whose presence in the house seemed to make her close friend, Miss Peabody, a vivid personal reality.

### Chicago Commons' First Decade

The tenth anniversary of Chicago Commons was celebrated through the whole gala May Festival week announced last month. Very creditable exhibits of handwork by the children of the two neighboring public schools as well as by the settlement clubs and classes and kindergarten were much appreciated. The whole series of musical, dramatic and gymnastic entertainments attracted large gatherings of the friends of the participants and the house. The high-water mark of neighborhood co-operation and enthusiasm was reached in the rally of families in the largest hall in the district. Fathers, mothers, boys, girls and little babies filled the 1,000 seats and the standing room for another hundred or so. Grouping about their club banners, raising their club yells, so many of the far larger multitude as could get into the hall listened and laughed, played and sung, reported and cheered until Mr. John Maynard Harlan began his words of greeting from the city by assuring them "This is organized fun."

The growth of the neighborhood response to the settlement initiative is indicated both by the membership of the clubs and classes and the self-support attained by many of them. The kindergarten training school

with its twenty-six students supports the kindergarten of eighty children. The day nursery caring for thirty-six children costs \$55 a month more than the mothers pay for the children. The domestic, art and science department numbers 554 and meets the expense of maintenance, leaving the teaching to be provided for. The music department with 307 pupils and chorus members supports itself. The adult social clubs number 287. The outing work, including the camp at Elgin, country visits and day picnics, provides 1,500 persons with out-of-door life from one day to two weeks, besides affording the only play space for the hundreds of children who daily enjoy the Chicago Commons public playground five months of the year, all at a cost of only about \$1,000 more than the people themselves contribute. The membership of the settlement groups is 2,500, of the church groups 746, making a total of 3,246 regular attendants at the house, which does not include the many hundreds who gather at special occasions held under our own and other auspices.

Chicago Commons hopes to signalize the opening of its second decade by raising the \$10,000 needed to clear its \$65,000 property of all indebtedness. As \$2,000 of this sum has already been subscribed, the effort to raise the balance, together with the \$5,800 needed to maintain the work through the remainder of the current year, is now being hopefully made by the warden.

The Norwegian "Independence Day," May 17, is, next to the Fourth of July, the grandest national festival observed in our neighborhood. The warden addressed 1,200 Norwegians in an outside hall, and on the Sunday evening previous a religious observance was held in the crowded settlement auditorium at which addresses were given in both languages by prominent Norwegians, and patriotic songs were sung by the Normandone Sangforening. To conserve the heritage of our foreign-born citizens is at once one of the problems and patriotic services of the settlements and public schools. Without their own past in the background our cosmopolitan citizenship cannot make America what it ought to be in the foreground.

## Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago

The Northwestern University Settlement threw open its attractive building at Augusta and Noble streets to its many friends in Evanston and Chicago for two afternoons and evenings. Fully 1,400 of them responded to the invitation to inspect the exhibition of handwork from the nearby public schools and the settlement manual training and domestic art classes, and to meet the residents socially.

## Unemployed About London Settlements

Notwithstanding the end of winter, the unemployed problem is still serious in London. From Cambridge House comes the report that in a very short time 93 applications for work were received. Mansfield House Magazine and the Toynbee Record also speak of the situation as critical: An incident giving an insight into the conditions is told in the former: "At the West Ham police court the other day a man was charged with assaulting a quay foreman on the Victoria docks. It appeared from the evidence that there was a crowd of 1,000 men at the dock gates, where a foreman in the service of a company of stevedores was taking men on to unload one of the Ghent Line ships. Only 70 out of the crowd were needed. The offender who struck the foreman was one of the disappointed. He was angry at being passed over—again and again passed over."

The editor pertinently adds: "Imagine the state of mind, the sickening, maddening despair of a man who has been trying for days to get work, and has been day after day refused. Imagine the feelings of that disappointed crowd, dependent for their day's food and night's lodging upon their day's job, and finding no work. For this state of things at our doors we are collectively responsible. This is how the social system from which we draw our living works out."

A large conference on the situation was held on April 29th. Mr. Maynard, secretary of the executive committee of those administering the Mansion House unemployed relief fund, said the rural work colonies established at Osea and Hadleigh had provided work for 467 men, of whom the large majority are not regularly unemployed, but can support themselves and families in normal times. Although the work done was of a rough nature, the superintendent of the colonies said that it was as good in quality as any that could have been done by men accustomed to that kind of labor.

Emigration is being fostered by the Southwest Ham Unemployed Aid Society, "not as a solution of the poverty problem," but to relieve the situation in the old country and give to many young people a better opportunity than they would otherwise have for physical and moral well-being." Twenty-six persons were enabled to sail for Canada. The Self-Help Emigration Society has rendered assistance in varying degree to 8,000 carefully selected emigrants considered likely to succeed as colonists. The financial aid rendered is not the greatest part of the society's service. Emigrants are through it introduced to correspondents and helpers on the other side, who meet them on their arrival and put them in the way of obtaining immediate employment.

Dr. Barnardo's society, interested in the waif children of London, has done much



through methods of "careful choice of children, proper supervision on the voyage, selected situations on the other side, continued inspection by trained agents, and an established organization for the righting of wrongs and for the defense, guidance and encouragement of the young colonists." Under this system 15,166 boys and girls, children of city slums, have been sent to Canada at a cost of \$50 each.

### Toynbee Hall

Popular appreciation of art was well instanced by the attendance at a recent exhibition at the Art Gallery. The number of visitors during the first three weeks numbered 70,000. The catalogue is so written that "men in the street" may understand and discover unnoticed power and beauty. A charming feature is the children's visits during the mornings. There may be seen delighted and interested groups gathered round a guide who, in front of a model Dutch interior, or before some other picture, lays hold on the children's interest till their imagination is kindled. There is a probability that

such galleries may in the future be controlled by the county council. Uncertainty of income under the present arrangement is a great hindrance. With public control and support the Whitechapel gallery might be a pioneer, showing how national and private collections could be brought into the service of education.

The Toynbee Travelers' Club made an Easter expedition to some of the hill cities of central Italy. Siena and Perugia were the principal stops, but flying trips were made to a number of other places en route. One of these was Assisi, with its crowded memories of St. Francis.

### Browning Hall

The new residence for men was formally opened on April 11th by Lady Besant, widow of the late Sir Walter Besant. F. Herbert Stead and his fellow workers are accomplishing a great deal at a very small cost. "The expense last year was only \$2,710. The gross turnover in connection with its various agencies for thrift and other means of helping the poor was more than \$30,000."

## Three Sources Of Social Information

### Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy\*

The new volume in the series, *American Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century*, is not only a convenient collection of information and of hints how to get more information, it is a readable and an inspiring book. Here is the American spirit at work, serious, humorous, confident of the future.

"The fostering of life, the protection and cultivation" of the spiritual element in individuals and communities—this is the object of constructive and preventive philanthropy, but within this wide field Mr. Lee marks off his subject. Much of the effort spent on the defective, dependent and delinquent classes is also truly preventive and constructive, but this is not here under consideration. Of good citizenship, the most important of constructive activities, whatever has become "an established and fully recognized part of our public or private duties" is no longer to be considered as philanthropy, and in general this name is reserved for what is "a part of the new growth on the ever growing tree of social life."

Yet philanthropy itself has become civic. The motive of the philanthropy of the present has shifted "from a motion felt by one class to do good to another class into a motive that can be entered into by all. \* \* It is no longer what I can do for you, but what we can all do for ourselves and our country."

As illustrations of American philanthropy before the war, Mr. Lee has selected the public library, an "institution carried on by citizens for the sake of citizens," and the Lowell mills, in the days of Lucy Larcom.

The next following chapters deal with the encouragement of thrift as an education toward unity of purpose in life. With the creation of conditions which shall make possible good homes, especially through attention to health and housing, and with the setting of the home in clean and pleasant surroundings, whether the force at work be Colonel Waring, the National Cash Register Company, or the women of Deerfield.

It would be hard to say just where the same matter could be found so conveniently grouped, and so informed with a sense of its wider significance. But it is in the rest of the book that Mr. Lee becomes most spontaneous and delightful. It is in treating of play and work as means of growth—of playgrounds, country outings, clubs, vacation schools and industrial training—that he really lets himself go.

Here are illustrated two great related principles—that education comes through work (in the sense in which play, too, is work), and that work, the grown man's daily employment, ought to mean education and growth—that is, life.

But the exposition itself is not abstract, but concrete. Mr. Lee tells what has actually been done and what has been successful and why. "The width of a sand box ought not to exceed ten feet, because if it is wider it is difficult to pick a child out of the middle." "The effective radius of a resting place for a mother who does not own a baby carriage

\*Constructive and Preventive Philanthropy, by Joseph Lee, Vice-president of the Mass Civil League. 11th illustrations by Jacob A. Rills, Macmillan, 1902. 242.

cannot be much over a quarter of a mile." There is not much use in "a class of open spaces, of which we have many in America, the sort of place in which one finds asphalt walks bordered with little posts with curly wire nailed along the top and grass between. Places of this sort are well called breathing spaces; you can go there and breathe, but there is very little else you can do."

What we need is "a system of playgrounds in which children of every size could find their effective opportunity," and to this end there should be "a sand-garden attached to every school, a large playground in every ward and sufficient ball fields and tennis grounds in the parks and suburbs."

Mr. Lee is, too, to use his own phrase, one of the "child seers." He notices that one kind of apparatus is always in demand, that some grounds are generally deserted—he *thinks* himself inside a boy again (or else he really is a boy still), and he tells us why. Perhaps the most important suggestion he gives is in regard to the transition from the boy's playtime to his life of work and the way it is helped by industrial training. "It is not an easy thing to set up in his mind the image of the staid and sober, steady-going and unpicturesque young mechanic or business man where so lately the picture of Chimmie de Kid has reigned supreme."

It is interesting in this connection to observe how books with such seemingly unlike subjects as this and Mr. Brooks' *The Social Unrest* culminate in the same thought. It is the mark, I believe, of the next step in our understanding of industrial organization. To the older economists the dominant consideration was the product, which goes to the employer; wages counted as cost. To the later economist work was for the sake of wages; the test was the standard of consumption. The next step is to regard work as also for the sake of the worker as such, as constituting the very process and tissue of life itself, "not a squandering of life's best hours on a task alien, extraneous to life and making no contribution to it." It is an immortal service of William Morris to have helped toward this insight.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter of Mr. Lee's work is, as it should be, the conclusion. After the Civil War the country turned to face the difficulties bound up with the new waves of immigration. The first move was for sanitation, the next for the Americanization of the newcomers, and here the impulse is educational. The teachers are the leaders, the public school, with all other activities that can be connected with it, including the libraries, is the chief means. The rate of progress is an accelerating one. "Most of what we have done has been done since the year 1887, and half of that I should think since the year 1897." Little has been actually accomplished, but it is a foretaste: there is promise that the next century will be "as remarkable in its social results as the last has been in its material development."

EMILY GREENE BALCH.

## A Summary of Child Labor Law

A "Handbook of Child Labor Legislation for 1904" has just been issued by the National Consumers' League. It should not only be read, but studied, by all interested in securing the best legislation for children. The suggestiveness of the report in showing the vast amount of work still to be done, as well as the encouragement it affords in what has already been accomplished, cannot but stimulate effort.

In reviewing the pamphlet, one of the things that first attracts attention is that "Delaware, Georgia and Oklahoma have no restrictions whatever." Children may work at *any* age. They may work without even knowing their letters. They may work day or night, or *both day and night*.

The great fact that stands out most prominently in all the legislation is the "exception," which always greatly weakens and often entirely nullifies a law.

Forty of our states prohibit children working under 14 years of age, but in nine of them only the mining industry is covered. Even here Colorado excepts *coal* mines. Only twelve include the main occupations where children are generally employed. Children under 14 years of age are protected in Illinois, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Oregon in *all* occupations during *school* hours. In other states the age limit varies from 10 to 13 years.

"The most effective means of preventing the illegal employment of children is compulsory school attendance throughout the entire period during which employment is prohibited." "If the law prohibits children working under a certain age, it should require them to be in school to that age, during the entire school term of each year." In 19 of our states we find the "child labor laws" and the "compulsory school laws" covering the same period of time, but in a number of the nineteen we find them again in the same "exceptions," thus weakening both laws. For instance, in Minnesota the child labor law says: A child may *not* be employed in factories, stores, etc., under the age of 14 years (except in vacation).

Compulsory school attendance law says exemptions may be granted to children necessarily and lawfully employed.

It has been the experience of those who have been interested in working children that the exception in favor of vacation means that the child seldom goes back to school.

Fifteen of our states have no compulsory school laws, and it is significant that in the table, on the last page of the pamphlet, in which the "states are placed in the order of the literacy of the children, those states being grouped at the bottom of the scale which have the largest number of illiterate children, and those at the top which have the least number of illiterate children," that ten of these fifteen states having no compulsory



**THE ROUND OF LIFE IN IMMIGRANT CITY DISTRICTS, AS AFFECTED BY THE OLDEST AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.**

BY

Residents and Associates of the South End House, Boston.

Edited by Robert A. Woods, Head of the House.

*Illustrated by a variety of colored maps.*

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school laws are the ten *bottom* states in this scale.

Twenty-four of our states require that a child must read and write or show school attendance certificates before being allowed to work; but again we find the exceptions weakening the law. Six require school attendance only, twenty-three do not require any educational test.

Where night work is prohibited, sixteen states specify hours. Eight make the prohibited evening hour as early as 7 o'clock. New Jersey excepts the industries in which most children are employed. Nine states, while not prohibiting night work, limit the number of hours in the twenty-four and also the number in the week. Eight others limit the number of hours in the twenty-four, but do *not* limit them in the week. Arizona, Utah and Montana have an eight-hour law for all employes, but do not limit the hours to forty-eight in one week, which allows for work on Sunday.

Eighteen states do *not* prohibit night work or have any restrictions in regard to limiting hours.

"Alabama alone of all the states specifically *provides* for night work for children between 13 and 16 years by limiting such work to forty-eight hours per week."

In South Carolina orphans of 10 are allowed to work eight hours at *night* in the mills. Of all our states we find only Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Oregon and New York, without any specified exceptions, make 14 the age limit, with compulsory school laws and educational tests, and night work prohibited between specified hours.

Illinois is the only state which limits the hours of its working children to eight in one day and forty-eight in one week.

"After the marked gains of the past year in child-labor legislation, efforts to secure a uniform prohibition of night work for children under 16 should follow.

"In the handbook of 1903, the law of Massachusetts was printed as the standard statute. In the space of one year, the laws of New York and Illinois have been so improved as to excel the Massachusetts law in several important points. In the present edition, therefore, the best provisions of the law of Massachusetts, New York and Illinois have been embodied in the Standard Child Labor Law."

The final certificate allowing the child to work, required by the laws of Massachusetts and Illinois, is to be issued by the superintendent of schools, thus throwing the responsibility upon the Board of Education and the Factory Office.

Citizens of Chicago who have observed the almost baby newsboys and girls in the streets of their city late in the evening will note with special interest the laws lately enacted in New York covering street occupations for children, followed by a brief statement of the still better provisions of the Boston law.

HARRIET M. VAN DER VAART.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

Post, Louis. "Ethics of Democracy." Moody Publishing Company. \$2.00.

Comings, S. M. "Pagan vs. Christian Civilization." Chas. H. Kerr & Co. 15 cents.

Dopp, Katherine E. "The Early Cave Men." Rand, McNally & Co. 45 cents.

Gilman, N. P. "Methods of Industrial Peace." Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.60.

Professor Gilman's former volumes on "Profit Sharing," "A Dividend to Labor" and "Socialism and the American Spirit," have proven to be hand books of such permanent reference value that his new work on "Methods of Industrial Peace" is sure to fulfill a still larger purpose. Its original and thorough contribution to the hitherto fragmentary literature of the most insistently important issue of the day will be as welcome as it is timely. An extended review of its contents may be expected in the Commons for July.

## THE HIGHER COST OF LIVING.

Prices of all commodities which contributed to the increased cost of living in 1903 over the preceding thirteen years are carefully tabulated and analyzed in the bulletin of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Carroll D. Wright, in making his report, pursues the method adopted by all leading authorities of the world, and in comparing prices for 1903 with former years he reduces the price of the preceding thirteen years to the average price for that period. He places this average price always at 100. The difference between 100 shows the decrease or increase in cost for 1903.

## ALL COMMODITIES HIGHER.

The first table shows the average relative prices of all commodities higher in 1903 than at any time since and including 1890. Farm products reached the lowest average in 1896 and the highest in 1902. Cloths and clothing were the lowest in 1897 and the highest in 1890. Fuel and lighting were the lowest in 1894 and the highest in 1903. Metals and implements were the lowest in 1898 and the highest in 1900. Lumber and building materials were the lowest in 1897 and highest in 1893.

Raw commodities and manufactured commodities have been separated for further examination. In the group designated as "raw" are included all farm products, beans, coffee, eggs, milk, rice, nutmegs, pepper, tea, vegetables, raw silk, wool, coal, crude petroleum, copper ingots, pig lead, pig iron, bar silver, spelter, pig tin, brimstone, jute, and rubber, a total of fifty articles. The average price of all these commodities during January and February, 1903, was 33 per cent above the average price the preceding ten

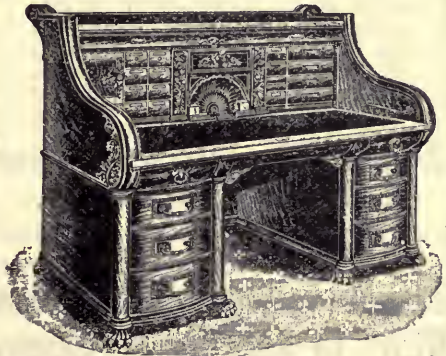
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years. The average price for the year was 22.7 per cent higher than for the same period the preceding years.

Manufactured commodities have advanced to a level only exceeded in the year 1890.

They are higher by 21.5 per cent than in 1897; by 11 per cent than in 1899, and about 1 per cent higher than in 1892.

### INCREASE IN FARM PRODUCTS.

Statistics show a decrease in the price of beef from 1902, but the relative price compared to the period since 1890 shows an increase in cattle of 4.7 per cent.

Under the head of farm products sixteen articles show increases as follows:

Wheat, 5.1; steeds, 6.9; Timothy hay, 19.2; corn, 21.1; Barley, 21.2; hides, 24.8; oats, 31.7; hogs, 37.0; cotton, 44.7; New York hops, 59.5.

There was a decrease of 1.3 per cent in sheep, 2.5 per cent in rye, 5.9 per cent in flaxseed.

Fifty-three articles of food are given, and on thirty-five there is an increase over the average for the preceding thirteen years ranging from 5 per cent on bread in the Washington market to 72 per cent on pepper from Singapore. The following increases in percentage are shown:

Dried codfish, 5; potatoes, 5; butter, 6; canned salmon, 10; molasses, 12.5; crackers, Boston X, 12.0; mess beef, 14; Western ham, 17; Tallow, 17.2; eggs, 23.2; New York cheese, 23.3; mackerel, 23.6; cornmeal, 23-35c; smoked hams, 34; Lard, 34; beans, 35; bacon and salt pork, 42-43; herring, 51

Decreases are shown as follows:

Sugar, 1.2 to 5; sodar crackers, 9.5; flour, 6.4; vinegar, 12; Evaporated fruits, 28; coffee, 57.4.

### ADVANCE IN CLOTHING.

Of seventy articles of clothing, the prices of fifty-six for 1903 are higher than the average price for the preceding period since 1890. Increases ranged from 3 per cent for gingham to 20.8 per cent for sheetings. Women's dress goods were 14.3 per cent higher; overcoatings, 17.3 per cent higher; and blankets, 17.9 per cent higher.

The table on fuel and lighting shows an astonishing increase in cost to the consumer during 1903 over the average price the preceding ten years. The result follows:

Petroleum, refined, 53.1; Petroleum for export, 32.5; anthracite coal, 26.2; anthracite stove, 27.1; anthracite chestnut, 34.2; anthracite egg, 34.3.

The only item in this class showing a decline is parlor matches, which fell off 14.4 per cent. The average increase for 1903 over the period since 1890 was 40 per cent.

Of thirty-six articles considered in the metals and implements group, two were the same price as in 1903, thirty above, and four below the average price for 1890 to 1899. Wood, screws, and bar silver were each 27.6 per cent below the average for 1890 to 1899.

Wire nails were 4 per cent below and Disston handsaws 1.4 per cent below.

#### BIG JUMP IN LUMBER.

Of twenty-six articles considered in the lumber and building materials group twenty were above and six below the average price for 1890 to 1899. White pine boards and uppers were 71.8 per cent above average; spirits of turpentine, 71 per cent above; poplar, 58.3 per cent above, and pine doors, 58.2 per cent above.

Of nine articles included in the group of drug chemicals only one—wood alcohol—shows in 1903 a price lower than the average price for 1890 to 1899.

Of fourteen articles in the group of house-furnishing goods the 1903 price of twelve is above the average price for 1890 to 1899. The price of only two was below.

Of thirteen articles included in the miscellaneous group the prices of only two were in 1903 below the average price from 1890 to 1899.

It having been asserted for the great trusts that control of a large percentage of the market and ability to manufacture cheaply gave the public the benefit of cheap commodities, the figures now made public about the price of petroleum and refined sugar will be interesting. Attention already has been called to the figures on petroleum which indicated that the price was mounting in November and December, 1903, when the report was closed.

#### OIL 100 PER CENT HIGHER.

Further examination shows the lowest price of the refined product of the Standard Oil Company, 150 degrees fire test, water white, in March, 1893, was 7½ cents a gallon—and the highest in November and December, 1903—15 cents a gallon. This is an increase of 100 per cent in illumination in ten years. Crude petroleum also increased from 51½ cents a barrel in October, 1892, to \$1.88¾ a barrel in December, 1903. The lowest prices for sugar were in 1894, and the highest price in 1890. Sugar was 8 to 10 per cent lower in 1903 than during the preceding thirteen years.

The lowest price of anthracite egg coal was in September, 1895, the wholesale rate being \$2.82. In the latter part of 1902 and throughout 1903 the wholesale price was \$4.95. George's Creek bituminous, f. o. b. in New York, leaped from \$2.10 in 1899 to \$8.28 in 1902.

Mr. Wright says no attempt has been made to go into the causes but merely to state the figures. He enumerates, however, the variation of crops, taxes, and combinations among producers, supply and demand, etc., as contributing elements to fluctuations.

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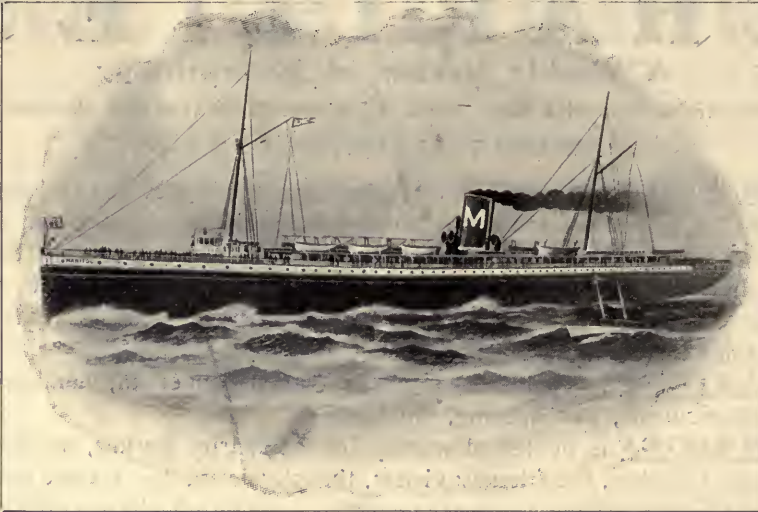
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# The Commons

JULY, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer } Assistant Editors  
Graham Romeyn Taylor }

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# The Commons

Number 7--Vol IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, July, 1904

## With The Editor

### Playing Football with Law and Citizenship

We have been among those who consider themselves too far on the outside of the strained and complicated situation in Colorado to pass judgment upon individual men and specific measures. But now that some of these men are attempting to justify their extraordinary measures, outsiders may be in better position to weigh what they have done in the light of what they say of themselves than those nearer by who are more personally, if not passionately, involved. The reserve judgment now being expressed by those most worthy of attention can scarcely be mistaken at the few points on which there is substantial agreement.

There is little doubt expressed that both the mining, smelting and refining companies and the Western Federation of Miners have been playing football with the law and citizenship of Colorado much too long. In the rough rush of either side to drive the ball over each other's goal, the Supreme Court and legislature of the state have taken a hand in the perilous game in a way that at least demands much more of an explanation to justify any claim to an impartial administration of justice. Just why the eight-hour law enacted in 1899 was declared unconstitutional in Colorado, when the Utah law was held to be constitutional both by the Supreme Court of that state and the United States Supreme Court is at least

open to question. But why the legislature flatly disobeyed the constitutional amendment, passed by an overwhelming popular vote in 1902, which contained the mandatory provision that "the General Assembly shall provide by law" for the eight-hour day, is not an open question. For Ray Stannard Baker, in McClure's Magazine for May, has furnished evidence enough that "powerful lobbies" of the smelting, refining and mining companies, headed by men he names, had "a lawless legislature to deal with."

No more "ugly fact," as it is well called by another, has followed in the whole grewsome train. The trail of the same serpent has been over it all. Lawlessness is unmistakably "writ large" over this whole disgraceful history.

### Pitting Citizenship Against Trade Organizations

The perilous responsibility assumed by those on either side of this civil war in Colorado who first pitted their trade organizations against citizenship is now causing both of them to suffer, unequally, of course, the consequences of having the citizens of the state pitting themselves against the intolerable situation. Many of them, who belonged to neither side, irritated out of all patience, seem determined to end it in any way that will do it surest and quickest. Such is the impression given by citizens of Colorado who have not taken sides, who blame both for lawlessness



and outrage, as charged by Mr. Baker, whose view of the situation they indorse. Not without misgiving as to resultant troubles they think a large majority of the people of the state justify the use of any power, by anyone having it in hand, who is in position to bring the situation to an end.

"'Bloody Bridles' Waite," said one such, "was the labor unions' governor. Peabody is the capitalists' governor. Both brought the state into trouble. Let the one who can finish it up." He was too good and strong a man to say that this is right, but he knew no other way of stopping a greater wrong, law having broken down under the lawlessness of both sides.

Such an alternative forced a two-edged sword into unwilling hands. Leaving out of consideration whoever takes pleasure in such peril, the employment of military force to suppress the force of violence has brought irreparable injury to many innocent workmen and their families. The spectacle of worthy citizens, as many of them are known to be, driven by troops from the homes they own, amidst the tears of crying children and weeping wives, for no other reason than that they belong to a trades organization, is a terrible consequence. But it is a consequence. It came about as the last act of a long tragedy—a tragedy for which but few who thus suffer may have been directly responsible, but which inflicted upon many another, just as innocent, lifelong personal injuries and, in very many cases, terrible deaths. Had all the unionists now innocently suffering stood, like men, patiently together for law and order against this policy of violence, only a very few would have paid penalty for guilt. If the Western Federation of Miners had belonged to the American Federation of Labor, the

saner counsels of safer leaders would have spared organized labor this serious crisis. Only a very temporary advantage was likely to accrue from either kind of violence, but the unions always lose most and gain least by any breach of law. Pitting unionism against citizenship puts their own and others' loyalty to too great a strain.

In radical ranks, loyalty to law, love of country and the call of the state have long been perilously underrated. Here at the first real clash it is seen how easily citizenship carries the day. In the recourse to the ballot, which is sure to follow, it is claimed by just men, who have been standing clear, that a sweeping majority will roll up to vindicate the extraordinary measures taken to end the fight.

If those on both sides who need it are taught what all the English trades unionists long ago learned, and most American unions always knew, to obey the law until it can be changed, then the evil of this most menacing clash between citizenship and trade organizations will not have been without some mitigating and counteracting good.

### The "Man on Horseback" Again, But in America!

Of course it is the "man on horseback" recourse in all but the form of his appearance upon the scene. The governor of the state happens here and now to be the man in the saddle. The Springfield Republican does not dignify the procedure even as a military dictatorship, but sets it as low down as Lynch law of the mob. "When General Bell justifies his most arbitrary performances by citing the lawless work of vigilantes, he points to a situation which cannot possibly be reconciled with a government of laws rather than of men. His defence of his acts in deporting

men who have 'transgressed no written law' is an argument in favor of Lynch law, and no other." So says this most influential journal of conservative New England, and more, of "government by mob." "If it were a mob of the propertyless classes which had thus gained the upper hand in the state of Colorado, and were closing the courts, compelling judges to decamp, locking up crimeless citizens in bull pens, driving others out of the state by hundreds, dumping them without food or shelter on the prairie of an adjoining state, and destroying their property and means of livelihood, this country would shake from end to end with consternation. The mob in this case is composed of the 'best citizens,' and is representative, particularly of the property interests. Hence its extraordinary proceedings are viewed elsewhere with astonishment, but not alarm." Whether this severe indictment is equally just in every specification or not, we shall do well to be reminded by this old and safe counsellor among our American press mentors that "the rise and progress of this mob of the better classes is to be regarded with alarm. Right and justice and law are no less menaced and outraged in this case than they would be in the other." Raising the question whether the government of the United States is powerless to restore law and order, it is well maintained that "great wrongs are being done against men in Colorado, equally in their capacity as citizens of the United States and citizens of Colorado. As citizens of the United States is there no protection for them?"

Even the New York Sun, while extenuating the determination of the Citizens' Alliance to uproot and destroy the whole system of trades unionism in their state "as not remarkable," is

moved to declare "it by no means follows that such a campaign is justifiable. It is not impossible that the Citizens' Alliance itself might become an instrument of oppression as dangerous to Colorado as the unions are now. Beginning with the proposition that no union man could stay in the district, the Alliance would find it not only natural, but practically unavoidable, to compel every man to join its own ranks. Thus a tyranny as objectionable as the one displaced would be created, and drastic measures would be necessary in time to overthrow the new despotism."

In further asserting the constitutional right of law-abiding union workmen to remain in Colorado and to sell their labor there at their own terms, the Sun says the only way of remedying the trouble in the Colorado mining camps, is "the fearless assertion of the supremacy of law over unions and alliances alike," and it might have added, over the mining companies, too. All America should raise its cry, "No tyranny, either of unions or alliances," until constitutional rights are restored and wrongs against them are redressed.

### **"If Citizens be Friends"**

The suggestive sentiment with which Mr. C. S. Loch opens and closes his new book on "Methods of Social Advancement" strikes the note up to which the national conference of charities and correction was keyed from first to last. Within its own goodly fellowship not only, but throughout the wide sphere of work which it influences, it demonstrates year by year that results are more dependent upon citizens being friends than upon any other single element of success. The friendships formed and ripened at this greatest point of contact and interchange have much effectiveness to show in every



branch of philanthropic and reformatory work. The personal friendships between administrators of public and private charities is reacting in both directions most beneficially. The comradeship of those associated in the same or kindred lines of service in no small part counts for the high-hearted courage of those who are constantly face to face with the hardest situations and worst facts of human life. The friendly visitor and not less the friendliness of the official investigator or dispenser of charity make all the difference between a machine or a spirit in working upon human hearts, nerves and wills.

To be friends in citizenship is as necessary to the promotion of justice as of charity. Partiality to "the good fellow" in party politics is the base counterfeit substituted by the evil-disposed for the lack of fellowship among the better-inclined. Friendship among the citizens in securing justice for themselves and all others is the real thing which is only beginning to supercede the perversion of it in politics. The rise of the city clubs in New York and Chicago; affiliation in civic leagues, citizens' associations and wards clubs; "friendly visiting" from house to house and man to man in campaigning may yet wrest from the saloon, the gang and Tammany Hall tactics that political power which really roots in their self-seeking good fellowing. The national conference still further promotes its high aim by every application it makes of the heart of charity to the sense of justice. For the power of this sentiment works both ways equally well. "If citizens be friends, they have no need of justice, but though they be just, they need friendship or love also; indeed, the completest realization of jus-

tice seems to be the realization of friendship or love also."

### What Comes of Citizen Friendships.

The personnel of the several sections of the conference well illustrates the effectiveness of these citizen-friendships. What else has drawn and held together all these years the group of distinguished men who have lavished their high talent, valuable time, and, in some cases, wealth in discharging the obligations of citizenship to those in prison for crime. Perhaps the strongest group of men who have for years stood at the heart of the conference have been in the prison section. Their influence upon each other is marked by those without, and probably would be acknowledged as cordially by each within their friendly circle. To have been of service in promoting each other's efficiency is worth the while of such men as General Brinkerhoff, to whom the public institutions and policy of Ohio owe so much; Warden Brockway, who made New York's reformatory the successful laboratory of the new penology; Frederick H. Wines, whose expert service on the Illinois State Board of Charities, United States census, and in his official reports and other published writings, has made him authoritative; and the late Charlton T. Lewis, the literary quality and fundamental value of whose posthumous message was the most impressive feature of the recent session.

Vast public and private institutions of great states owe much of their progress to the annual conference with each other of such officials as the late President Craig of New York's Board of Charities; William P. Letchworth, of the same state, who, with Mr. F. B. Sanborn of Massachusetts, has

worked so long for the insane; Alexander Johnson of Indiana, whose service to the defectives is equaled only by his all round knowledge of the whole field of charitable effort; and Hastings H. Hart, whose long administration of the conference secretaryship, to which Mr. Johnson happily succeeds, widely extended his public service beyond his chosen child-saving sphere.

How worthily the succession is being maintained is amply evidenced by such fact-founded and far-reaching tenement-house legislation as Robert W. de Forest, Florence Kelley and Lawrence Veiller have added to the statutes of New York. The disciplined staffs gathering around leaders who have risen from their ranks, such as Homer Folks and Edward T. Devine of New York, Joseph P. Byers of Pennsylvania and Ernest P. Bicknell of Illinois, assure the steady rise of official standards in philanthropic service. Perhaps the most far-reaching movement within the scope of the conference, however, received its first official recognition this year. A committee was appointed to report on training courses for philanthropic and social service offered by universities, special schools and other agencies.

Those who have shared the advantages of the New York City School of Philanthropy seem to have caught the spirit of personal friendship, as they have already formed an association to perpetuate the personal bonds there formed. So on all sides the great human movement, which finds its most natural expression in the conference of charities and corrections seems to be depending for the "conservation and reproduction of its energy" upon the source of its being—the heart.

## Higher Loyalty in Social Co-operation

The presence of twelve settlement head residents among the charitable and correctional workers is significant of the closer co-operative relations between the two constituencies, which is naturally developing without compromise of the very distinctive points of view maintained by either. It would not have been creditable to the common sense or loyalty of both if "the little rift within the lute," once upon a time observable, had continued very long to "make the music mute." For those who are doing different things which yet involve so much in common cannot in loyalty to the cause or community they serve fail to appreciate and co-operate in each other's service. The non-competitive and cordially co-operative relations between "Charities" and "The Commons" are exemplifying the practical value and possibilities of knowing each other well enough to work together.

## The Democratic Emphasis Within Charity Circles

Still more significant was the appearance for the first time on the roll of the conference of a delegate from the Federation of Labor. Constant in attendance and alert in discussion was the representative of "The Branch of the Federation of Labor for Maine and the Central Labor Union of Portland." His advent was publicly declared to be "an event," by one of the most influential leaders of the conference. Perhaps it may prove to be the eventful precedent of the Portland session. Evidence is not lacking of an increasingly democratic emphasis within the conference upon the need and possibility of an industrial reorganization which shall diminish charity by increasing



justice. One of the most prominent superintendents of associated charities, entrusted with the largest share in the program, thus raised this query: "The question often has been asked whether the prevailing attitude of men toward poverty and dependence is not changing and likely to change; whether the problems of dependence are not passing over more and more into the realms of justice and economics, and whether, with this transition, there may not come such changes in methods of meeting the problem as will eliminate altogether the organizations of charity as at present constituted." As to whether the organizations of charity as now known shall survive, he wisely concludes, "will be determined by their adaptability to gradually changing conditions." He admits that they must "inevitably fall behind and be discredited and abandoned if they are molded into rigid and changeless forms." Upon the history of charity organizations in the past fifteen years he grounds the hope that the movement "has within it that power of adaptation which will enable it to cast off what is outworn or retards progress, and retain that intelligent flexibility which will conform to the increasing complexities of civilization and take full advantage of every advance in scientific knowledge." It really looks as though scientific charity, "instead of stepping back to make way for the new idea, will adopt and absorb it, and in so doing move forward." But we will all do well to be reminded that "the day is not likely to come when there will be no helpful service for the strong to render to the weak or when such service cannot be best performed by a union of effort."

Francis H. McLean still further and more emphatically voiced the rising ideals in co-operation. Charity, which

is more than suspected to be a "pleasant pastime for frivolity temporarily turned from itself to seek some new pleasure," was said to be "laboring under the curse of being a perquisite of aristocracy." Democracy was truly said to have neglected this field. "Here was no possible republic in its eyes, here no room for the free play of mutual effort and sympathy in this feudal country of vassals and overlords; each little isolated altruistic overlord or group of overlords in lofty, high and solitary grandeur! They were the heroes and heroines, the only ones, while the great breathing force of democracy bourgeoned its way into other fields." To the dynamic of democracy breaking into this field, he attributed the development of registration, centralized investigations, conferences, advisory committees and the whole associated charities movement. While admitting that "vestiges of aristocracy still linger with us," yet he rightfully claims that "our range of friends contains many more kinds of persons than it used to, and the ideal is to make the work democratic and constantly to touch life at more and more points." So this glowing address concludes, "even the apparently dull and prosaic field which we labor in will be colored by the tints of romance, the romance of democracy."

The point at which the social and philanthropic interests promise to meet, mingle and exchange values in conference discussions is covered by the standing committee on neighborhood improvement. Its program at this session included such topics as "Recent Developments in Municipal Activities Tending to Neighborhood Improvement," "How May Voluntary Organizations Co-operate With Public Officials to Secure Better Tenements, Baths, Playgrounds and Sanitary Regula-

tions;" "Playgrounds as a Part of the Public-school System," and the valuable paper by Mrs. Simkhovitch on "Recreational Uses of the Public Schools" in New York."

### An Educational Issue of National Importance

The attack upon the right of the Chicago Board of Education to maintain a normal school for the training of public school teachers may prove to be a crucial crisis in the history of American public education. The bill of complaint accompanying the petition to restrain the board professes to bring said action in behalf of the petitioners and other property owners and taxpayers. But the entrance of the real principals and animus of this suit into the open is awaited with a resoluteness against all comers such as American loyalty always shows in defense of the public school. "Without assuming to represent or speak for all of the taxpayers of the city," the Union-League Club of Chicago offers the Board of Education its aid and support in defending the normal school against this attack upon its prerogatives. In so doing, "this body of citizens and taxpayers" takes occasion through its political action committee to assure the Board of Education and citizens of Chicago of the seriousness with which it views the impending struggle. "The importance of the common school system of this city and its promise of the future development of the many elements which make up its inhabitants into a homogeneous, thrifty and dependable citizenship cannot be overestimated. Experience has fully demonstrated that the supply of teachers from state and outside normal schools is not only utterly inadequate in numbers, but also so deficient in preparation that no reliance can

be placed upon such sources of supply for teachers. Expensive and unsatisfactory supplementary training over a long period of apprenticeship is necessary to make such material available for the teaching force of the city schools." In view of these facts and of others showing that the city has maintained normal training for nearly fifty years, off and on, this most influential club of the city significantly thus concludes its letter: "An attack from any source aimed to deprive the people of this city of the benefits of such a normal school as this board has wisely maintained is one that we should, if permitted by your honorable body, be pleased to aid in resisting at our expense and under your supervision." The Board of Education has unanimously accepted this patriotic offer, as it had already determined to resist the attack upon the part of its work most vital to its whole functions. Many signs fail if this does not prove to be the first gun of a concerted action against the integrity of the school system which will force the American people to fight over again, in part, at least, their ever-victorious battle for state control of state-supported schools.

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Civic week at the St. Louis Exposition, the program of which was printed in *The Commons* for June, has been postponed until fall.

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The recreational use to which the public schools are being put in New York is of such suggestive import, and the way in which Mrs. Simkhovitch presented the movement was so effective, that her paper was considered one of the very best at the National Conference of Charities and Correction. We are courteously permitted to print it in full in THE COMMONS for August. With its effective illustrations it cannot fail to promote this most helpful movement, happily led by our greatest city where not only the need is the greatest, but the example is the most far reaching.



# What Trades Unionists Hold

By George W. Perkins,

President Cigar Makers International Union

We hold that, owing to the improved machinery and the modern means of production, it is impossible for one standing alone to maintain present conditions with reference to wages and hours of labor, to say nothing of improving them. The only way to successfully do either is by combining our interests and unitedly, in an orderly manner, make fair demands for better wages, less hours and more congenial surroundings.

As an economic truism, we assert that the more the masses earn the more they are enabled to consume, and that it is the consuming capacity of the masses rather than the amassing great fortunes that makes countries great and life worth living.

We assert that the organized working classes of this country are better off than they are in any other part of the world and that the middle classes, merchants, employers and capitalists, enjoy greater prosperity and greater wealth than in any other part of the globe.

We confidently assert that there is no power on earth by which wages can be maintained and increased, except through the trade union method of organization.

CANNOT EXIST PART UNION AND PART  
NON-UNION.

The open-shop proposition is a subterfuge and brought forward for the purpose of confusing the public mind and is unfairly treated by some who are selfishly inclined. The so-called closed shop is not a closed shop in the sense that some would make it appear. On the contrary, it is a wide-open shop, always open to the workman who is willing to become a member of the union that has brought about better conditions as to wages. In a strictly union shop we do not attempt to say who the employer shall put to work. All we insist upon is that the workers shall be members of the union. Individuality in our great factories has

been lost in the magnitude to which our modern institutions have grown.

There is no individual liberty to be obtained now. The only way to obtain real freedom and liberty on the industrial field in these days is through combination and the principle of collective bargaining. One man standing alone in our great institutions is lost and his effort to obtain recognition is impotent and futile. But 500 men welded into one harmonious unit become a power and are thus able to secure liberty; freedom of action, better wages and improved conditions generally. We do not deny the right of the non-unionist to work where and for whom he will and for what he pleases. If he has this right, we also have the right to work for whom we please and with whom we like. In this regard the "personal liberty" chap and his hypocritical advocates have no advantage over us from a legal or ethical standpoint. It is said that a country cannot properly exist half slave and half free. We assert that a shop cannot properly exist and enjoy union conditions part union and part non-union. Under the competitive system of production, the tendency of ages, if left without the restraint of the unions, is naturally downward. Well meaning employers are sometimes forced by competition to reduce wages.

Hence we feel that if we were to run on the open-shop plan, employers would find more ways than one constantly to reduce wages and the number of union men employed. If an employer, for selfish or commercial reasons, decided to rid the shop of all union men he could afford to employ means that would accomplish this end under the open-shop rule. For policy's sake he could afford temporarily to pay the non-union men higher wages and give them the best jobs and, by a systematic policy of discrimination, gradually force all union men in sheer desperation and self-respect to resign

voluntarily. We have tried both plans and know from experience that we cannot successfully maintain our position under the open-shop plan. We know from experience that we cannot maintain discipline in our own ranks nor can we force the non-unionists to abide by any agreement made with the employers. From nearly every point of view the open shop plan works to a disadvantage both to employer and union. Before leaving this subject I want to emphasize the fact that we do not bar the door of the union to any man. All have a right to join and work in any so-called closed shop.

#### THE CAPITALISTS' CLOSED SHOP.

The nearest approach to a really closed shop that I know of is the New York Stock Exchange, the ground floor of the Standard Oil Company, and a few other kindred "shops." We want every one who works for an honest living to join our unions and work in our strictly union shops, and are constantly trying to induce them to do so. Try to join the commercial kind of closed shop and you will get what usually falls to the people commonly called "lamps." With reference to the often-repeated but mistaken idea that increased wages increase the cost of living, while this process may curtail the profit on any one given thing, the increased purchasing power of the individual increases the volume of business and thus does not materially detract from the income of the manufacturer, who is able thus to maintain his usual income without adding to the cost of the article sold.

#### NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSIONS.

A great many interested people are now engaged in a despicable effort to make it appear that trade unions, by asking for improved conditions, are going to precipitate the next industrial and commercial period of stagnation. Leaving aside the question of whether a depression would occur in the immediate future, I call your attention to the fact that periods of industrial and commercial stagnation have occurred at stated intervals ever since this country

has existed as such. The first great industrial depression, that I now recall, occurred in 1837, and it was one of the severest that the country has ever experienced and there were very few organized workingmen at that time. The next great depression occurred in 1857 and was also severe, and at that time there were not enough organized workingmen in the country even to be noticed. Another depression occurred in 1873; still there were very few organized workingmen at that time. Another one occurred in 1893, at which time, however, the labor movement had grown to fair size, but the depression at that time was not as long nor as severe as any of its predecessors. This clearly proves that depressions occurred before the advent of the labor movement, and our friends must look to another source for the real cause of the industrial and commercial stagnation.

#### STAGNATION DUE TO UNDER-CONSUMPTION.

To my mind briefly, the cause of industrial stagnation is due to the fact that the masses produce more than they consume. Stagnation could be caused by an over-production of crops, but in so far as the manufacturing end of the question is concerned, it is due to under-consumption, and the only bearing the labor organization has upon this momentous question is that when the time comes—if it ever does—that the masses are enabled to earn sufficient wages to enable them to consume a fair share of the wealth they create, industrial and commercial stagnation will entirely cease. Take away the power of the masses to consume, and commercial and industrial stagnation will occur more frequently, be of longer duration and cause more widespread disaster. Financial panics, to my mind, are caused largely by the over-capitalization of our trusts and incorporated enterprises and the continuous extension of the credit system.

#### AS TO VIOLENCE IN TRADE DISPUTES.

Another burning question which now seems to agitate the public mind is the alleged use of violence in trade disputes. I call attention to the fact that



the organized labor movement is composed of men and women who are actuated by the same passions, the same hopes, the same aspirations and the same feeling that dwell in the breasts of all other American citizens. While we claim to be better disciplined, better prepared for the exercise of the rights of an American citizen, owing wholly to the fact of the opportunity for thought, study and schooling in connection with handling our own affairs in our own organizations, we still, however, belong to the same general, common, human family.

Pick up your newspapers, go to the police courts, look in any direction, in any walk of life, no matter whether it be the so-called high, low or intermediate station, and you will find that someone has taken the law in his own hands or his passion has overcome his discretion, and he has attempted to settle the question of achieving his rights by the use of physical force.

It is a fact that a great oil company was convicted of dynamiting the plant of a rival concern which it could not subjugate and control in the city of Buffalo. This, however, does not prove that its eminent head is in favor of the use of physical force in its effort to monopolize and control the oil industry of this country. Because a former cabinet secretary and an opposing lawyer attempted to punch the head off each other in a law case, it does not prove that all lawyers are un-American, anarchists, or believers in the settlement of disputes by the use of physical force. In nine cases out of ten violence in trade disputes are brought about by the employers hiring Pinkerton thugs and ruffians for the purpose of creating disturbance in order first to turn public sentiment against the strikers, and secondly, to create an excuse for the purpose of calling out the militia to be used as pickets. We unhesitatingly say that the organizations, as such, are opposed to the use of violence in trade disputes and that, if the other side did not provoke such trouble, there would be no disorder in strike difficulties.

Briefly summarized, our contention is

that the more we earn the more we can consume, and hence the better it becomes for all engaged in trade and transportation; that the only way we can obtain better wages and shorter hours of labor is through our organizations; that in reality there is far less violence in trade disputes than there is in any other walk of life, and that where disturbances do occur in nine cases out of ten we are not the instigator; and that it is impractical for the labor movement to work under the so-called open-shop system.

#### GROWTH DESPITE PROLONGED OPPOSITION.

Trades unions have been condemned and opposed ever since their inception. In my own time it was almost a crime to belong to an organization, one hundred years ago it was a crime, but despite the unfair laws of repression, the prejudice of employing classes and the prejudice of the general public engendered by environment and a lack of knowledge of our movement, despite all obstacles that have confronted us in the past, we have steadily grown in numbers, power and influence. In all sincerity and in all earnestness there is no power on earth that can stop the onward and upward growth of the trade union movement. This being true, all sensible men and women have recognized it as a fact and are now treating the trade union movement as a legitimate institution. Fair-minded manufacturers have nothing to fear from the legitimate trade union movement, the merchant has everything to gain by it. The great mass of the wealth-producing classes are benefited by it to a degree that cannot be surpassed by any other agency. This being true, I suggest that we first try to get a clear conception of the idea and general worth of the trade union movement, to fix in our minds the fact that it cannot be disrupted or destroyed, and to so shape our action accordingly. For the trade union movement is here and here to stay, and it must be reckoned with now and in the future.

# Bohemia: A Stir of its Social Conscience

By Josefa Humpal Zeman

Winding your way through the fascinating old streets of Prague, you arrive at a most interesting spot, not only for Bohemia and Bohemians, but memorable to the whole civilized world—Betlemsky Place.

Here once stood the chapel "Bet-

men and women. Led by the great pedagogue, Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius), the last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, still known in America as the Moravian Brethren Church, and, carrying "nothing but the sacred Bible," they left the homes so dear to



THE OLD STONE BALCONY IN THE NAPRSTEK HOMESTEAD.

lemská Kaple," from which Huss preached the reformation. Here began the first act of the tragedy that cost Bohemia such endless suffering and finally its political rights, the loss of its national nobility and an army of noble

them to strangers or to weaker compatriots, who, giving up their new-found truths, returned to the fold of the Roman church.

In vain would you search for this historical chapel, although older ones



can still be found in Prague. Not even a monument marks the place, to which the world should make pilgrimage to offer thanks that the shackles which bound human thought in the middle ages were here broken.

It again played an important part in the new awakening of the Bohemian nation. Every child in Prague will tell you where "Betlemsky Plácek" is, not because of its historical significance, but because here stands the old homestead "u Halánku," the home of "Vojta Náprstek," founder of the work which in every sense could be called a "social settlement."

#### WHENCE NEW LIFE SPRANG IN PRAGUE.

As you approach the quaint old house with a double roof, one of those moss-headed landmarks of which Prague is so full that the city well deserves to be called a text-book on architecture, you will feel that you have been transplanted back to the seventeenth century, never even dreaming that within those old walls sprouted pretty nearly all that is modern and practical in Prague.

You enter a large courtyard and ascend an old, spotlessly clean staircase well worn by the thousands of feet that have walked over it to the hospitable "home." At the other end of the yard is the entrance to the "Industrial Museum," the direct outgrowth of this settlement work, founded by the mother, son and wife, so much loved by their "neighbors."

Walking up those old stairs, you will reach a long stone balcony. The walls of the house are covered with charts, pictures, diagrams, mottoes and by a long row of busts of great men. You pass several doors and enter the one with inscription "Citárna" (reading room). The walls of the room are covered with books and beside the table stand several glass cases, containing works of art and collections of souvenirs, many of which are from the United States. From this room you enter a larger one, where you will usually find a few cordial women and men studying or reading. Your American heart will suddenly beat faster and a

pleasant warm feeling will run through your body. There facing you, in the place of honor, are large portraits of Washington, Jefferson, Longfellow, Byron, Tennyson, Cooper, Franklin, etc. Under them you read in the English language the motto of the host: "Know thyself. Speak the truth; no lie thrives. Well begun is half done."

The woodwork is covered with pictures of the benefactors of the human race. Here is Florence Nightingale, there Galileo, Lincoln, George Peabody, Lafayette, Michal Angelo, Thorwaldsen and many others. On a small table stand pictures of the prominent Bohemians, Dr. Anton Dvorak, Smetana, Fibich and other composers of music; beside them stand photographs of Kubelik, Kocian, Ondricek, Sevcik, the artist Vaclav Brozik, who painted the picture of Columbus before Ferdinand and Isabella, the miniature of which was on the Columbian 5-cent stamps; Alfons Mucha, the great decorative master, and others. Among them are many Bohemian authors less known in America, of whom there are not a few women renowned in literature, philanthropy and the woman's movement. The books are arranged like the whole homestead—in a most unconventional style. There is something so homelike about these walls covered by shelves of well-worn books, the favorite friends of the masters of this home. On tables are arranged papers and magazines, a majority of them Bohemian, but very many are English, American, German, Russian, French and Slavonic. From this cheerful room you enter a small, narrow room, the workshop of Mrs. Josefa Náprstek, the faithful wife and untiring helpmate of the founder, without whom much that has been accomplished would have been left undone. And again books and scrapbooks greet your eye. Furniture is largely lacking. A few chairs, a couch and table—that's all. No trinkets, nothing that would take time and work to keep clean. "Time was money" to these people, but not money for selfish greed, but money for doing good. This and a few rooms, kept in

the exact condition in which they were left at the death of Mr. Náprstek's remarkable mother, Anna Náprstek, the "good mother" of the poor, and the best coworker of her son, is all that had been used as a home by these interesting "residents." They even did not avail themselves of the comforts of beds, because these would take up too much room, but turned everything to the use of the public. Yet those who came from a distance were treated and feasted with a true Slavonic hospitality.

#### NAPRSTEK, THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

Vojta Náprstek was one of two sons of Mrs. Anna Náprstek. She was a widow and owned a large brewery and wine distillery and so could afford to give her sons a good education. Vojta, having graduated from the preparatory school, entered the University of Vienna, because it seemed to be a center for Slavonic nations, and also because Vienna offered him a good opportunity to study Asiatic languages and his-



THE INDUSTRIAL MUSEUM IN OLD PRAGUE.

#### A LABOR MUSEUM.

The walls of all the narrow halls are lined with scrap and information books and connect with the fine new building containing Náprstek's Industrial Museum, designed after the plan of the Kensington Museum in London.

So much, then, for the general description of the exteriors of this, what seemed to me a true, "settlement" in idea and work. For the real settlement spirit we must look to the founder.

tories. Vienna, however, did not afford him a pleasant reception, for he was too patriotic a Bohemian to suit the taste. Therefore, his life there was not very pleasant. He came to Vienna in 1847, then a youth of 21, and in 1848 was en route to America as a political refugee, having taken an active part in the revolutions of 1848 at Prague. He was delighted to throw up his study of law when this law was so sadly



trampled upon in the state from which he was escaping.

#### PLANS A BOHEMIAN COLONY IN AMERICA.

He admired the United States as a land of liberty and dreamed that he would help to start a Bohemian colony there like those ideal Puritan colonies of the "Mayflower" emigrants. This ideal, happy and free Bohemian colony was to send aid to her poor, down-trodden old "motherland." These men and women he expected to return home to be apostles of freedom when they had grown up in this free atmosphere, had become experienced in the struggle with natural elements, had been hardened by the bustle of large cities, filled with the democratic spirit of freedom and neighbor love, and inspired by a true respect and knowledge of their own worth, as well as enriched by the fruits of their own labor.

Ten years later he was the only Bohemian who came back to stay an enthusiastic and ardent devotee to his old love—his native land—eager to assist materially and spiritually all that would benefit Bohemia. He was true to his program. His experiences in America were at first those of the average immigrant. Sixty days crossing the ocean in a sailing vessel, manual labor in New York factories, labor at carpentering and stone-cutting in New London, Conn. Finally, when financial aid reached him from home he started a book store in Milwaukee, Wis. In 1854 he began publishing in German a free-thinking journal called Milwaukee Flug-Blätter, "Ein Wochenblatt für Ernst und Scherz."

Later he was one of the party sent out to the Dakota Indians. Then he traveled in the South, making collections for the Bohemian Museum in Prague.

#### RETURNS FROM EXILE A PATRIOT.

At last, after ten years of this life in exile, his mother succeeded in getting him pardoned and he was allowed to return to his old home, being, however, for years under police surveillance. He returned with the aspiration "to consecrate his life to the highest ideal capti-

vated his heart, viz., his people, humanity and social freedom." "I am ready to sacrifice all for my conviction and no lack of success will frighten me. My heart does not feel the need of evil in this world and hence I would sacrifice all, demanding the same from everyone else, that poverty and ignorance should vanish from the face of the globe." At another time he said: "Pity me, if ever I should fall in the vulgarity of wishing from some selfish motives to become a protector or champion of the masses fighting for their rights, as, sadly to say, many others now do."

Another time he said: "The real man has in his own self-education and in the self-refinement of his own soul the guarantee of morality." His program was crowded in a sentence that he wrote to a friend: "I hope there will be some field left to the cultivation of which I could apply all my strength when I return from America."

The most characteristic trait of his character was in his love of justice. Julius Zeyer, the Bohemian poet, said, of him "that he breathed it with full lungs." From this love of justice flowed his love for his abused native land, his tolerance toward others, his benevolence, his interest in the workingman and his ardent zeal for the emancipation of woman. Because he was so just he was not satisfied with the present condition of society; he took the part of the oppressed and suffering, the cripple and the child. He could not understand why so large a part of the human race should be disfranchised because of sex.

He believed, with Proudhon, that it is a wrong and unfortunate to see in woman nothing more than sex, and, according to his opinion, the wrong could be righted by giving woman not only all her natural rights, but a large responsibility, both in the nation and society.

#### TURNS HIS HOME INTO PEOPLE'S HOUSE.

Filled with these motives and ideals, he set to work by opening his room and later his whole house to his neighbors. First came his fellow students, young scholars, statesmen, women, children, and then came the masses.

In 1863 lectures were arranged in large public halls, where practical subjects were discussed. These lectures were illustrated by exhibits of machines, instruments and articles. So it came to pass that Vojta Náprstek taught the Bohemian women in 1863 how to use a sewing machine.

Men again were shown how their labors could be lightened by modern tools. Books were published, exhibits arranged, Mr. Náprstek making tours to England and other countries to gather material and information with which to show how to improve the standard of living, the industries and commerce of Bohemia. Out of this grew the "Industrial Museum."

#### AMERICAN CLUB OF BOHEMIAN WOMEN.

While busying himself with these large enterprises he invited to his home the young women and mothers and organized them in a club like those women's clubs that he had learned to know in the United States. The club had for its object to uplift the Bohemian women to the same standard of usefulness in society as the American women have attained. In honor of the progressive women of America the club was called "American Club of Women" and was organized after a series of public lectures on "Woman and Her Rights" in 1865. For this club Mr. Náprstek began to collect books and established a reading room in his own library, different members of the club taking care of it on different days. The library numbers now 50,531 volumes.

It is still open to all the friends of Náprstek's home, on Wednesdays and Saturdays exclusively to women. Books are loaned and the library is enlarged each year from a certain endowment fund and by gifts from friends from all parts of the world.\*

#### A SOCIAL CO-OPERATIVE CENTER.

The first object of the club then was self-education and enlightenment. Then began the intelligent effort to help others. Lectures were arranged, now in the reading room, when distinguished

professors, scholars, journalists, authors and philanthropists spoke. Excursions to hospitals and public institutions, and especially to the villages of peasants, were made regularly. On such occasions literature was distributed, peasants praised, if their yards were well kept, and thrift was encouraged by prizes.

In times of war bandages were made, the wounded visited, letters written, supplies sent, etc.

On the whole, more than 2,000 lectures were given, 266 educational excursions made, 283 pleasure picnics, over 57,000 women attended the reading room, 30,000 gulden (about \$12,000) raised to establish an orphan asylum for girls. At Christmas time food and clothes were distributed, and this all was done between 1865 and 1895. Since then the work, somewhat changed, has been going on.

#### WHAT CAME OF IT ALL.

In this club we can well say Karolina Světa, the great novelist, got her inspiration to start the Zensky Vyrobní Spolek (Woman's Industrial Association), which owns one of the finest industrial schools for women in Austria and is now led by the famous poetess and women's leader, Eliska Krásnohorská, the founder of "Minerva," the gymnasium for girls, that prepared the girls for university education. To Miss Krásnohorská and her "Minerva" the Bohemian women owe their thanks for the fact that the University of Prague opened its doors to women and has now given doctors' degrees to many.

Hence, tracing these red threads, we will get back to Náprstek and see that his dream had been fully realized, not only in the education of woman, but in her entire awakening, for since this first club an endless number of clubs and societies of women have sprung up, even forming themselves into a national council, "Nstredin Spolek," and finally establishing their own club rooms under the name of "Zensky Klub" (Woman's Club). There are now not only industrial schools, colleges and teachers, normal schools, but even cooking schools, as "Domácnost," and finally the physical training clubs, "Sokolky."

\*Books, journals, reports or anything printed in the English language, especially of sociological character, will be most gratefully received.



All out of a little mustard seed!

With the Woman's Club grew the children's work. That was conducted by arranging outings, circulating children's books, providing for orphans and clothing the poor.

Many of these orphans were taken into the home of Mr. Náprstek—I think twelve in all—and these were the “residents.” Some to-day occupy positions of trust and importance in social life of Prague. Receptions were held each Sunday forenoon, to which gathered the cream of intellectual Bohemia and guests from other lands. Here patriotism, social reforms, woman's question, politics and benevolence were discussed. Young labor leaders like Barák and others were welcomed guests and every new and wholesome effort found here a grateful hearing and following.

A large daily paper grew out of this gathering. The effort to build the first monument to John Huss also took root there.

All this time Mr. Náprstek did not fail to remember the laboring man. He brought to Bohemia for public exhibit object lessons, works of mechanical arts and training. William Morris and his methods were closely watched and everything that would create the love of work, the saving of time and muscle, and yet develop good artistic feeling, was put before the working masses.

Yet all this was done in humility and conservatism, never catering to the bombastic, showy spirit.

#### HIS CIVIC SERVICE.

Like a true advocate of his own principles, Mr. Náprstek never shrunk from any duty as a citizen, and so when elected as alderman of the city of Prague he was one of the most faithful and democratic men in the council, although a member of the conservative party of “Old Bohemians,” of which Dr. Rieger had been the honored leader. He never forgot the United States and his home was the meeting place for all Bohemian-Americans. Mr.

Náprstek, his hospitable wife and orphan “residents” acted the part of most hospitable hosts. The home was always opened to everything that was American.

It is impossible, in a superficial and hasty sketch like this, to fathom the depth of this beautiful soul, his self-sacrificing life and the vast good that has come through his untiring zeal and devotion to his people.

Hating all oppression, he never grew in the favor of the state or the state church. When finally, in his sixty-eighth year, death surprised him, tenderly, without any long agony, he was taken out of his field of labor. He died September 2, 1894, and, according to his frequently expressed desire, his body was quickly transformed to ashes, in Gotha, and placed in a bronze urn, which was set in the wall of the “Industrial Museum”—the eloquent monument of what untiring zeal, well applied energy, can do in a comparatively short life.

True to his principles, Mr. Náprstek gave all his wealth, including the treasures gathered by him and his wife, to the city of Prague, requesting that his widow should preside over the household and direct the work that he so loved. For her assistance a board of trustees had been appointed.

The spirit and presence of Náprstek will be felt in this charming old household as long as the presence of his devoted widow graces those hospitable rooms. When she has passed away another urn will be added to that of Mr. Náprstek, and silently those bronze urns will keep on preaching the gospel of love and usefulness to the thousands who will come to learn.

Well has Julius Zeyer said in the inscription that has been engraved on the “urn” containing the ashes of this truly good man:

“What remains of the body easily can be crowded into a small vessel, and yet his large heart carried in itself the whole world.”

# Peace or War in the Iron Industry?

## Foundrymen's Association versus Moulder's Union

By Ethelbert Stewart

The expiring agreements between employers and employes in the iron-foundry business are not being generally renewed in cases where the employers are members of the National Foundrymen's Association. A large number of these agreements expire within the next two months, and it is feared that the era of comparative peace in this industry may be at a close. The association recently elected a new commissioner, *vice* Mr. John A. Penton, resigned; and since the new management the relations between the association and the Iron Molders' Union have been somewhat more strained. Between the national officers of the two organizations the tension has not as yet become great, but when local unions or districts gave their "thirty days' notice" of a desire to renew last year's agreements, the reply from local employers' associations has quite frequently been that there would be no renewals and no further relations of any kind with the union. Whether this means in all cases that agreements will be made only with the national union officials, and not with the local unions, or whether it means that agreements are to be abandoned entirely, it is perhaps too early to say, but a general state of unrest exists in the industry.

### THE UNION LEADER.

During the past few years a very excellent system of trade agreements has been built up by the Iron Molders' Union, under the leadership of that Nestor of American trades unionism, Mr. Martin Fox, a man thoroughly respected by employers and employes alike. Poor health compelled Mr. Fox to resign the presidency of this union, although he is still an honored advisor in its councils, and Mr. Joseph Valentine is now the president. Mr. Valentine impresses one as a man anxious at all times to be thoroughly fair and just to all parties. He seems to be thoroughly in line with the conservative policy of

Mr. Fox in his long administration of the affairs of the union, and while, like all iron molders, he is a fighter, he does not impress one as a man who wants to fight. Of the over 460 local unions comprising the National Iron Molders' Union, considerably over 400 have trade agreements with their employers either as individuals, firms, or as members of the National Foundrymen's Association. The most important, in that it is the basis of arbitration, is the New York agreement of 1899, a copy of which is printed in full in the May issue of the Bureau of Labor Bulletin. Therein will also be found the Philadelphia agreement, that of Buffalo and vicinity, the Pittsburg, the New Haven, the Denver and the St. Paul agreements. These are all with members of the National Foundrymen's Association.

### NATURE OF AGREEMENT.

Scores of agreements with the national organization, or made by national officers for local unions, cover the question of restriction of output, "set day's work," use of molding machines, number of apprentices, and control of output of apprentices, and cover them fairly, thus setting precedents for reasonable agreements everywhere. If a local Iron Molders' Union refuses to make a fair agreement, it would seem to be good policy for the employer to make an agreement with the national direct, rather than incur the expense of strike. This organization does not ask for "recognition of union" nor agreement for "closed shops." Unions that are thoroughly sure of themselves positively conscious of their own structural integrity, recognize themselves so thoroughly that they do not beg others to recognize them. Of all the hollow shams that go to make up the "causes of strikes" this is the most distinctively illusive, "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." While doubtless the national officials would refuse to sign an agreement for an "open shop," they do not ask for an agreement for a "closed shop."



To the liberal agreements of the national officers, employers and the officers of the National Foundrymen's Association reply that when restrictions, "set day's work," opposition to machines, etc., are "officially off," by agreement a tacit understanding still exists among the men, and that actually in practice no reform is effected. To this again the union officials reply that they will agree to man the foundries with molders who will live up to the agreement. It would seem to be the part of wisdom for the National Foundrymen's Association, under its new management, to put the union officers to the test on this latter proposition before declaring against all agreements, or declining to renew those now expiring. It is claimed, too, that the use of "handy men" is nowhere covered by agreements. But the matter of use of "handy men" could be fixed by agreement and regulated, as the apprenticeship question is. If the employers win temporarily, or in isolated cases, on the "handy man" issue, the final result will be the organization of the "handy men." The core makers have already consolidated with the molders. The next step will be to unionize the "handy men," as an allied organization, and instead of an iron molders' union you will have a foundry employes' union that will cover the industry. In the end they will control the "handy man" by organizing him.

#### CONFLICT FROM CONFLICT.

Nothing can come of this conflict but more conflicts. If the National Foundrymen's Association wins in these lockouts, that only means there will be scores of strikes for years to come on the part of the union to win back what they lose now. Strife engendering strife, strike begetting strikes, and finally in trade-agreements; and no association of employers, no union of working men essentially belligerent, refusing to be at peace, can hold its membership, or live for a great length of time. The Stove Founders' National Defense Association in 1886 said: "Give no quarters and ask none;" the union accepted the challenge and with a war cry

of "No peace, but death to the Defense Association," waged their long costly strife over the Bridge & Beach patterns; but both parties pulled down these flags, and the result was the finest working agreement between employers and employes the world has ever seen. These organizations have an apprentice problem on now, but no "red rags" are flying, no campaign of gore is on; both sides are gathering statistics of apprentices, and when fully informed as to facts will settle on a basis of justice, showing to the world that employers and workmen can live together in peace. The stove founders have the largest strike defense fund of any organization in the world. It has been accumulating in bank for eighteen years and they have never spent a dollar of it, and are not swinging "bloody shirts" in the air to get an opportunity to check out that fund either.

#### A RETROSPECT.

Pardon a few paragraphs of history that may throw some light on the prospective outcome. Local iron molders' unions were formed as far back as 1835, but were quite numerous in 1855. Strikes and lockouts began in 1855 in Philadelphia, where a local employers' agreement to crush the organization existed. In 1857 the foundrymen of Albany, N. Y., started the "Founders' League," its purpose being to import foreign workmen to take the place of union molders then striking against the league members in Albany, Providence, R. I., Port Chester and Philadelphia. That is, there was a molders' strike in Philadelphia, although the Philadelphia foundrymen do not seem to have joined the league, they having an association of their own. The strike in Albany in 1857 was "against an overplus of apprentices and in resistance of the store order system of wage payments." This struggle continued until out of it all the scattered unions got together and formed on July 5, 1859, the Iron Molders' National Union; the local unions in the following cities joined in the original compact: Philadelphia, St. Louis, Albany, Troy, Cincinnati, Providence, Jersey City, Peekskill, Utica,

Port Chester, N. Y., Wilmington, Del., and Baltimore. There was a strike on in Albany when the first convention of molders (July 5, 1859) was in session, and a committee of seven was appointed to draft resolutions relative thereto. In fact, the Albany strike may be said to have been the immediate cause of the feeling of necessity to "get together" on the part of the molders. The resolution reported and unanimously adopted was:

Whereas, The Foundrymen of Albany have been for a series of years taking advantage of the journeymen, and have by their acts clearly demonstrated that tyranny begins with the capitalists, who invariably claim the lion's share of that wealth which labor produces; and,

Whereas, We believe that the time has now arrived when it has become necessary, for the molders of this country to assist each other in every just effort to save themselves from the oppression of their employers; and,

Whereas, The molders of Albany have been out of employment some ten weeks through the unreasonable and oppressive measures of their employers' who have reduced their prices of labor below that of every other city in the Union and then demanded that one-third of their wages should remain in their (the employers') hands for one year without interest, etc.; therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this convention the molders could not submit to these conditions without degrading themselves as American mechanics.

*Resolved*, That we sympathize with them and know their cause to be just and believe their strike to be right, and that we consider the cause of the molders at Albany the cause of our craft at large.

*Resolved*, That we believe it to be our duty to aid them in their struggle against the unmanly, tyrannical and avaricious encroachments of their employers.

*Resolved*, That we will go to work with a firm and unyielding determination to raise funds for our co-workers during this their strike, and that we will never cease in our efforts until our Albany brethren obtain their just rights.

*Resolved*, That we as mechanics see the great necessity of upholding the price and dignity of labor, for that nation prospers best where labor is best rewarded.

*Resolved*, That a copy of this preamble and resolution be furnished to each union of iron molders and that speedy action be had thereon.

We hear no more of the "Founders' League," but the St. Louis founders formed an association in 1860, another in 1862, again in 1864, to "smash the union." What all this cost the employers is not known; the unions reported that the St. Louis strikes have cost them "thousands of dollars" in 1860, and this waste of money and deliberate manufacture of "bad blood" went on four years to no purpose.

#### "UNION SMASHERS" FAIL.

In 1866 the most pretentious scheme was started. The foundrymen in every city in the United States and Canada agreed that on a certain date they would lock out every union man from the foundries. As the day approached the members of the lockout association began to withdraw, and when the date arrived two stove foundries closed in St. Louis! The "union smashers" rested for twenty years after that. In 1886 the "Western Stove Manufacturers' Association" organized its National Defense Association, a sort of a wheel within a wheel, and agreed that when a member's employes were on strike other members would take its patterns and do its work. It was reported at the time that the elder Mr. Cribben of Chicago, then an officer of the association, having been himself a molder, told his associates just what would happen and advised against it. The "ball was started rolling" at St. Louis, when Bridge & Beach got into trouble with their men and tried to have their "struck work" done in other foundries. The said other foundries also struck. Then followed the most general, bitter and expensive war with union labor that had occurred in the West up to that time. (The railroad strikes and riots of 1877 were not with unionized labor.) The result, as stated above, was that both parties took the chip off their shoulders and entered into a model working agreement, which has never been violated by either party for eighteen years.

#### FOUNDRYMEN'S ORGANIZATION.

True, there has never before been an organization of machine and general



jobbing foundrymen so well equipped as the National Foundrymen's Association. Hitherto its management has sought agreements rather than conflicts; and there certainly has been built up a magnificent organization. None of its predecessors in general molding had such a strike defense fund, none such a system of employing and transporting floaters from strike-point to strike-point. None before has had a strike benefit fund like the unions themselves, out of which to pay individual members strike benefits based on floor space rendered idle by an "authorized strike." All these points, borrowed from "union methods," are elements of both strength and weakness to an employers' organization. This strike benefit fund makes membership expensive and the non-belligerent members soon get tired of paying for the idle floors of some who always had strikes before they joined the association, and will keep the association on strike in their individual foundries so long as they remain members of it. Some employers never have strikes and these will not stay in associations long when high assessments come frequently to pay for other people's fights. The N. F. A. is, next to the Stove Founders' National Defense Association, the best organized and most valuable of the employers' associations. But the S. F. N. D. A. came out of its horrible struggle almost a wreck, and finished by making an agreement it could just as well have made without the struggle.

#### THE UNION.

But on the other hand the union is also better equipped than it ever was before, in the hands of more conservative, brighter men. While it must be admitted that William H. Sylvis was a remarkable man and a wonderful organizer, as a practical trade union leader the age he lived in did not produce men like his successors, Fox, Valentine, Frey. The merging of the core-makers and bringing to the organization their leader, Mr. O'Leary, has strengthened it. These men build no flying machines; if they have schemes

for "saving the nation" they are not advertising them; but when conditions arise in a foundry they meet them right there and then. Men of a higher type than their followers no doubt, but the employers dictate the personnel of local unions by the class of molders they employ, and these national leaders do the best they can in your foundry with the kind of men (foremen and otherwise) you have hired; and they stick to that one text. The union has a greater percentage of all possible competent molders in its membership than the N. F. A. has of existing foundries in its membership.

#### WOMAN'S AID.

Being one of the oldest, it is one of the few unions in which the wives of the members are friendly to the union. Women are essentially individualists, and the employers' strongest ally in a strike is the antagonism of the workman's wife to his union. This is not nearly so true, if true at all, in these days of the iron molder's wife. There are benefits now which she can understand. Workmen's wives usually see in the union only a place where their husbands put fifty cents of their money each month when they could put it in flour or clothes. The economic side—the industrial necessity for unions—only a small percentage of women can see. But in 1896 the Iron Molders' Union instituted a sick benefit fund, and since that time has paid \$771,660.75 to sick members. It has inaugurated a funeral benefit fund, and in May, 1904, paid to fifty-seven widows of deceased members a total of \$6,650 in sums of \$100 or \$150 each, nineteen of the number receiving the latter amount. For out-of-work members it has a fund from which such members' dues are kept up for thirteen weeks, then, as it carries a member delinquent for thirteen weeks, a man out of work is not embarrassed by his union for his dues for a period of six months. These things have made the molders' wives the union's friends, and the union smasher's task becomes less easy.

"SMASHING UNIONS."

Begotten of conflict, born of strikes and lockouts, you cannot "smash trade unions" by fighting them. You may make secret societies of them; but so much the worse for you and for society as a whole. They are not less powerful, though infinitely more dangerous, as secret than as open unions. Labor organizations have never been destroyed except by their own fights on the inside, such as the personal quarrels in the Knights of Labor and the jurisdictional disputes now raging in the American Federation of Labor. If you cite me to the A. R. U., the answer is a secret society in San Francisco, growing stronger every hour out of the secret blacklists of 1894.

STRUGGLE UNNECESSARY.

Believing that there are many points of justice and common fairness on both sides of the mooted question at issue between these two organizations in the foundry business, and having keen sympathy for the fair demands of both

sides, it is nevertheless urged by the friends of the wage-agreement that there is nothing here that cannot be settled without resort to the threatened general conflict. The spirit in which treaties ending war are made would have evolved a treaty to have prevented the war; and after your conflict of August and September, if it comes, you will have to settle by agreement after the battle what you can settle by agreement without battle, *for the union will still be there.*

There is no intention here of scolding or of fault-finding with either organization, but the struggle seems so entirely unnecessary. Nothing can be gained by battle in this case that cannot be gained by agreement. The *casus belli* is not sufficient to justify the combat, and if what is here said seems directed mostly to one side, it must be understood that the union is not seeking trouble. The renewal of last year's agreements is all that it asks; the chips are all on one shoulder.

## Under Brooklyn Bridge

By Emily Hamilton Welch

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following was given as one of the commencement speeches at Vassar College by Miss Welch, who was a member of this year's graduating class. Social service by college students is increasing in importance and significance, and *The Commons* is glad that its readers may share this account of how one undergraduate spent a vacation. It is our intention soon to publish announcements of college and university training for social work and descriptions of voluntary service undertaken at various university centers.

The old saying, "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," is especially significant in connection with the recent efforts to establish playgrounds for the poor children in our large cities. For it was with the idea of opening up opportunities to these children, when young, and thus starting them in the right direction, that the playground movement began. Healthful play, which is taken as a matter of course by most children, is forbidden to the children of the city poor by the conditions of their life. The ill-ventilated tenement houses, always overcrowded, offer no attraction to these children and they seek relief in the open air. The

cars and wagons make it dangerous for them to play in the middle of the streets with any freedom. Consequently the only places left for them are the sidewalks, baked by the hot summer sun, and the gutters, which are much too limited in space for the large numbers of children always found in the tenement districts.

Since under these conditions healthful play is practically impossible, the vacant lots, with their equipment of games, swings and sand boxes, are welcomed as a godsend by hundreds of children every summer. Without such places these children, besides suffering themselves, become a serious menace to



the community. One of the necessities of child nature is exercise. It is essential to growth. If a boy cannot get this exercise in a harmless way, he will take it by organizing the gangs which stand around the various corners and among the passers-by. The girls, too, need the exercise to keep their minds occupied with healthful things. Mayor Quincy of Boston described this danger of freedom without opportunity very forcibly when he said: "The turning loose upon our streets during the summer months of an immense number of children whose parents are unable, on account of occupations in which they are engaged, to control or keep them out of mischief, presents a most serious social problem to the community. In my opinion the economic, social and moral loss of leaving the great mass of children, upon whose education such an amount of public money is expended, to run wild to a great extent during the summer months, is so serious that the community cannot afford longer to let it continue."

It is not, however, only as a preventive agency that the playground justifies itself. The most serious evils resulting from the repression of childish instincts will be prevented by mere provision of space for playgrounds, but with some supervision of their play positive educational advantages are also gained. It is found that by careful training on the part of experienced teachers, children may be taught to play with each other in the right way, a thing which is almost impossible away from the playground, because of the conditions under which they live. A child's play does as much as his school training to bring out his latent capabilities, and on the playground he not only has a chance to find himself, but his nature is discovered and developed by others.

Perhaps a description of a typical playground will best illustrate the ends sought and the methods used to obtain these ends. This playground could be called typical because its equipment and supervision were like other playgrounds; its location, how-

ever, was unique. Situated under four of the tall arches of the Brooklyn Bridge, it was so sheltered from the hot rays of the sun that it caught whatever breezes there were and was continually cool and lovely. Under one arch were long tables for the quiet games and for the sewing and basket weaving. Here also were the swings or "scups," as the children called them, for the large boys and girls. The word "scup" used for swing is interesting because it has become obsolete except with the children of that class. All of them use it, no matter what nationality they are nor in what part of the city they live. During my first morning on the ground a child came to me and said: "Teacher, make my sister get a ride on the scup, she wasn't got once." Do you wonder that I did not recognize my native language immediately?

Under a second arch were the baby scups for the little tots, two large sand piles, and some small hammocks where the big brothers and sisters could leave their little ones and know they were safe. Under the third arch was the basket-ball field, with boys and girls continually playing that fascinating game, and the fourth contained the baseball ground, where "the team" played all day long before an admiring audience of small boys.

The day began with a flag salute. Most of the children were foreigners and this flag salute was intended to imbue them with a spirit of patriotism. When we heard, late in the summer, however, a child singing, instead of "Land of the pilgrim's pride," "Land of the pigeon pie," we were a little skeptical as to the good results of our efforts in this direction. After the salute the children scattered to their play; some ran for the sand piles to build beautiful houses and castles such as teacher had read about in the fairy books, but the majority of them preferred the scups. There were dumb-bell exercises, flag drills and contests and games of all kinds, so that each child could find plenty to do. Each one was encouraged to suggest his own

choice and thus unconsciously to learn to depend upon himself.

Four or five children from the playground went to the country with a lady who was interested in the work, and one of them, after wandering about all day picking flowers and running in the fields, said to her in a disappointed tone: "Where are the leaves; where is the country?" When we heard of this we immediately started a garden on the ground, so that every child might at least learn to know what leaves are. The children took up the idea enthusiastically and brought various flowers to plant in the garden, most of which were gathered from Sunday visits to the graves of their relatives. Three or four of them at a time tended the garden, with the understanding that they could do as they liked with it. A fact which interested and at the same time amused us was noticed in the course of the summer. When German children were caring for it, they made a border of bricks; the Italians preferred shells, the Jews sticks and the Irish no border at all.

There was but one rule on the ground, "What is fair for one is fair for all," and the enforcement of this was a potent influence in raising the standards of the children. It was felt that if they could be taught to take turns and give up a scup or game voluntarily to some one else, it would mean a great deal to them during their winter play. At first the children could not see the justice of this rule, which was contrary to all their principles and especially to their most important one, "Might makes right." We

won over the worst children by appointing them as monitors of the scups, and very soon the whole atmosphere changed. There was no more bickering and tale-telling, and by the end of first month even the monitors were no longer necessary. The child's sense of fairness as developed by the enforcement of this rule was evident from another incident. Games had been missed every night for a week, although we watched each child carefully as he or she went home. We finally called the children together and explained to them why it was not fair that one child should take a game home to play with it alone. The games were for all the children, and as the only place where all could use them was on the playground, it was only right that they should be left there. Within the next two weeks every game was returned as mysteriously as it had disappeared, and at the end of the summer we had the same number that we had started with, though many of them were a good deal the worse for wear. It was such results as these that made us feel that we were really accomplishing something. On the closing day the ground was besieged with mothers begging us to keep open longer, as their children had never been so happy and so healthy before. Good as these physical effects were, however, the social ones were just as marked. A policeman summed up the results very effectively as he pointed to a large armory in the vicinity of the ground: "If we had more of these playgrounds," said he, "we wouldn't need so many of them nor us."

## Live Issues in Hawaii

Only now beginning to emerge from the throes of a "reconstruction period" and with many of her social and political problems still in tentative form, Hawaii presents many social problems of significant interest.

Within a single decade the Hawaiian Islands passed from the form of a constitutional monarchy, through stress of revolution, to an independent republic,

since merged into a full-fledged territory of the United States, with an organic act of Congress serving as a territorial constitution.

These rapid and radical changes in government, taken together with the cosmopolitan population of Americans, Englishmen, Germans, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and particularly the native Hawaiian people, have involved



social and business readjustments which present a social study at once absorbing and unique.

The interplay of race and national prejudices, combined with the provincial ideas of most classes—the inevitable result of insular and remote environment—has made doubly difficult the assimilation of the new population since annexation, and the fusing of the whole into any considerable feeling of community interests.

Nevertheless, the sense of independence and public responsibility, born of the revolution which overthrew a corrupt monarchy, has proven serviceable groundwork on which a civic spirit can be slowly builded.

The difficulty of this work, however, is tremendously increased by the fact of the free electorate given to the natives. Outnumbering the white or "Haole" population more than three to one, and ruled primarily by his superlative race prejudice, the native "Kanaka" is the easy and frequent prey of shyster leaders. Almost invariably an Hawaiian will vote for a fellow Kanaka even if ignorant or incompetent, as against any "Haole," however capable or fair-minded the latter may be. The result is often a legislation composed of some dishonest and more incompetent men, incapable of systematic work and the easy mark of unscrupulous leaders. Yet the recent special session showed the Hawaiian legislators responding splendidly to Governor Carter's appeal to their sense of duty and responsibility.

At last year's session of the legislature the Hawaiian Electric Company, which had supplied light and power to the city of Honolulu on a ten-year franchise, secured a blanket franchise for the entire island of Oahu, to be absolute for thirty-five years, with no power to either legislature or future municipality to amend their rate charges, require wires to be placed underground or any important improvement to be made.

Such a mortgage on the future of Honolulu, which bids fair to become a famed tourist resort and great port of call for all Pacific shipping, aroused opposition. Letters were written by

citizens to various members of Congress, it being required under the organic act that all special franchises granted by the Hawaiian legislature shall be confirmed by the United States Congress.

A representative was also sent to Washington to oppose the efforts of the electric company's attorneys before the House and Senate committees, to whom the bill was referred.

The result was amendments to the bill, limiting the franchise to Honolulu only, reducing the rates 15 per cent, and making even that subject to adjudication, if shown to be excessive.

The term of the franchise was eliminated, and the whole made subject to alteration, amendment or repeal, either by Congress or by the Hawaiian legislature, with the approval of Congress.

This result is doubly advantageous to Hawaii at the present time, in that it not only gives immediate and practical benefits to the patrons of the electric company, with assurance against future exactions, but it will also serve as a stimulus to action in future questions and issues which concern the public interest.

BYSTANDER.

#### IMPERIALISM.

(Written during the South African War, in reference to the poor of London.)

Here, while the tide of conquest rolls  
Against the distant golden shore,  
The starved and stunted human souls  
Are with us more and more.

Vain is your Science, vain your Art,  
Your triumphs and your glories vain,  
To feed the hunger of their heart  
And famine of their brain.

Your savage deserts howling near,  
Your wastes of ignorance, vice and  
shame—

Is there no room for victories here,  
No field for deeds of fame?

Arise and conquer while ye can,  
The foe that in your midst resides,  
And build within the mind of Man  
The Empire that abides.

WILLIAM WATSON.

# New Centers for Social Co-operation in Britain

By F. Herbert Stead

There is being witnessed in England the formation of two bodies which promise to be of great influence in promoting social progress. One is the British Institute of Social Service, corresponding to and with the American Institute founded by Dr. Josiah Strong. The British Institute has secured the countenance of men of influence in all the Shaftesbury lectures. Mr. Budgett Meakin, secretary to these lectures, and his committee have carried out the preliminary arrangements. The institute has been tentatively launched into existence, with the proviso that if only the requisite financial support is forthcoming, its operations will be definitely begun.

Although a number of representative persons have taken part in the proceedings of the preliminary committee, the arrangements are being made by only one or two friends who have guaranteed to meet the initial outlay. Behind the imposing array of names which commend the institute to public sympathy are to be found, according to very credible rumor, the initiative and actual though veiled management of the Cadburys and Rowntrees. As the British institute is worked very largely on parallel lines with the American institute, I need not expound its aims and its manner of working. There is one great difference, which is, perhaps, characteristic of the two halves of the English-speaking world. The American institute is avowedly based on the Christian religion. The British institute is without avowed religious basis.

While the purpose of the British institute is principally practical, the Sociological Society, which has come into being during the last few months, is, as its name indicates, concerned with the evolution of systematic social science rather than with the application of the same to concrete details. Already it has secured the adhesion

and practical co-operation of most of the leading names of the various social sciences. At one of its earliest meetings Dr. Francis Galton introduced the science of Eugenics, as he calls it. He defines it as the science which deals with all influences which improve the inborn qualities of a race and that develop them to the utmost advantage. The list of qualities desired in the race would include "health, energy, ability, manliness and courteous disposition." He pleads for (1) the dissemination and further extension of the knowledge of the law of heredity. (2) Historical inquiry into the rates with which various classes of society have contributed to the population. It may be expected, he adds, that "types of our race will be found to exist which can be highly civilized without losing fertility." (3) A systematic collection of facts showing the circumstances under which large and thriving families have most frequently originated. A manuscript collection derived by interrogative circulars addressed to carefully selected families might develop into "a golden book of thriving families." (4) The development of social influences of a kind to ban marriages that are unsuitable from the eugenic point of view. (5) Insistence on the national importance of eugenics "until it be introduced into the national conscience like a new religion." He sees no impossibility of "eugenics becoming a religious dogma among mankind."

## FALL OF BIRTH RATE IN CIVILIZED LANDS.

The rapid fall in the birthrate of most of the civilized nations lends a peculiar significance to this discussion of eugenics. It is evident that reason is actually regulating, restricting or otherwise interfering with a domain of conduct hitherto left almost entirely to the guidance of instinct. Everyone who desires the multiplication of the best life must desire that the reason which regulates should aim at higher



ends than the immediate comfort or selfish convenience of possible parents. There is a great and increasing demand, none the less imperative because so rarely expressed, for a reverent and scientific exposition of the duties, negative and positive, of Christian parentage. The American president has spoken out with a directness which is the more emphatic by reason of its contrast to customary American reticence on this question. The pioneers in what we may describe as Christian eugenics will have to take their ecclesiastical lives, so to speak, in their hands. They will have to encounter the combined opposition of Mrs. Grundy and Mammon, who often leave Jesus Christ only a third place in the management of the church that bears his name.

#### THE "TO-MORROWS" OF SOCIETY.

Next to seeing that the "to-morrows of society" are well born comes the duty of seeing that they are well brought up. The furious noise there has been over the education acts has at least compelled the public to consider more earnestly than heretofore the many problems bound up with the training of children. The "religious" squabble has happily not been allowed to overshadow the whole region of educational reform. The Mosely commission has done much to turn the mind of the nation toward American ideals, to discredit still further the obsolescent and obscurantist devotion to tradition which has been sheltered under the venerable walls of what one of the commissioners wickedly described as our "beloved antiques," Oxford and Cambridge, and to enforce the need of a university training that is in continual personal touch with the foremost developments of practical effort. The compassion, as well as the common sense, of the nation has been profoundly stirred by disclosures of the condition of unfed and underfed children in our public elementary schools. To the Scottish education bill now before the House of Commons the most eminent medical body in Scotland proposes to add a clause authorizing systematic medical inspec-

tion of all school children with a view to securing that the requisite physical conditions are present.

#### TOYNBEE CONFERENCE ON UNDERFED CHILDREN.

On June 9 a small but highly representative conference was held at Toynbee Hall under the presidency of Canon Barnett, in order to discuss the question of underfed children. Sir John Gorst laid it down as an axiom that children must be fed before they are taught, and mentioned as a possible solution the method adopted in Paris, where all children can partake of the public meal on presenting coupons, which are paid for by parents who are able to pay, or by the state for parents who are unable. Sir John Gorst insisted that the matter should be dealt with by the local authorities. In the discussion that followed there was a general expression of opinion that the task of discriminating between the children whose meals should be provided by the state and those whose meals should be provided by their own parents was impracticable. It was also strongly pointed out that the influences of mother and home which found characteristic expression in the family meal were essentials in education not to be too readily sacrificed. There was a strong feeling that the most effectual though less easily effected method of securing sufficient food for the children was to raise the wages of the father. It was frequently urged that the improvement of the physique of our embryo citizens was not to be achieved by even granting free meals. Drastic reforms of housing and land tenure and distribution in general were needed.

The conference, though issuing no program, is sure to help in promoting some kind of reform. Possibly the next step will be found to be one of the kind suggested by the Scottish medical faculty, namely, the periodical medical inspection of all school children. We shall then have facts on which to proceed of a more definite and scientific kind than are at present available.

## THE LICENSING BILL.

The licensing bill now before Parliament will be in general outline known to your readers by aid of the daily press. Had the government consented to the fixing of a time limit—a number of years at the end of which licenses would cease, if not renewed, to carry with them claim to compensation—the measure might have been of real service. As it is, however, the measure stands condemned, not merely by the temperance sentiment of the country, but by the preponderant mass of religious and moral judgment.

The development of public opinion on the question of compensation offers an interesting study in ethical compromise. On moral grounds, extreme teetotallers have always opposed compensation in any form to the dislicensed publican. More moderate men held that, whatever the state of the law might be; the custom of the licensing magistrates gave the licensed victualler an equitable right to expect that his license would be renewed if he conducted himself well, and that if it were not renewed he ought to be compensated. A new element was introduced by the final decision of the House of Lords on the case of Sharpe versus Wakefield, which pronounced the tenure of the license to be strictly annual and entirely within the discretion of the magistrate to renew or not to renew. Having had this decisive verdict, the licensed victuallers could not press as before the plea they had based on the custom of the licensing bench. The thirteen years which have elapsed since that decision have eaten up whatever equitable claim the previously undefined state of the law might have justified. Consequently, both on equitable and on ethical grounds, the claim for compensation on the non-renewal of license is without justification. At the same time, the feeling has spread among the most earnest classes of the community that to stand stiffly by their ethical and equitable rights would be to postpone anything like the necessary reforms for an indefinite period.

The defeat of the compensation proposals of the unionist government in 1890 simply left "the trade" to go on increasing its wealth and extending its political influence. The conviction has been deepening that even if the claim to compensation be regarded as veritable blackmail, it would be to the interest of the nation to pay the blackmail, however heavy, if thereby the nation could assume effective control of a most dangerous and pernicious monopoly. Had the nation bought out "the trade" at its own price forty years ago, the nation would have been immeasurably the gainer. Not merely would intemperance have been discouraged and a better system of public house have been developed, but the nation would have been saved from the demoralizing ascendancy of the brewers.

The debasing tendencies which have attained so terrible power of late years and which constitute to the minds of the most serious among us the dimensions of a national apostasy, have derived their malignant strength from the unholy alliance of the British brewers and the South African mine-owners. These two powers, organized, mobilized and alert, availed themselves of the paroxysms of the war-fever to secure at the general election of 1900 their unparalleled majority in the present House of Commons. This exceptional opportunity has been further enhanced by the irresolution, vacillation, division and cowardice of the opposition. The legislative outlook for temperance is consequently very dark.

The after-effects of the South African war, political, commercial and ecclesiastical, have opened the eyes of many that were blinded by a mistaken patriotism to see that the war was a crime. The nonconformist leaders who truckled to the jingo sentiment have, in the educational and temperance legislation of the government, had their noses well rubbed in the mess they had helped to make.

London.



# John Burns' Idea of the Labor Page in the London Daily News

To give a "daily record from field, factory and workshop," a considerable portion of one page is now set apart in the London Daily News. Information and inspiration from and to those who toil, free discussion by all, and a general sympathetic spirit to unite rather than divide those in the service of democratic ideals and practical betterment through the labor movement—such seem to be the lines on which this influential newspaper is conducting its significant new department. Its editor announces that "we do not commit ourselves to the views which may be expressed in this column which we allocate as an open platform for the discussion of industrial politics." Broad-minded and generous in attitude, the purposes of the column were well defined on the day of its inauguration, and the keynote is found in the hope expressed that the discussions will be "first, sincere; next, simple; and, lastly, sympathetic." A long list of men prominent in English social movements and including men of all types from trade union representatives to philosophers and authors sent words of earnest well-wishing for the success and helpful influence of the new departure.

Inspiring above all was the letter from John Burns. Strong in hope, firm in its insistence on rights, wise in its leadership, noble in its altruism and human throughout its appeal, all narrowness is dispelled by the magnificent enthusiasm he displays for true progress in the interests of all mankind. To quote him in part:

In the discussion that this page must evoke, let us hope that tolerance, charity, breadth of view and impersonal aspects of the labor question alone will be advanced. There is room for continuous knowledge, advice and counsel to labor. Its increasing responsibility is growing with accelerated speed, and in every country the gradual abandonment of the governing role and directing power by the rich and comfortable means greater burdens and higher duties being developed upon labor representatives, leaders of industrial thought, and officials of trade unions and friendly societies, and through these head centers the whole of the working class. This growing power,

this widening influence, the oncoming of municipal control, political influence, social responsibility means labor educated, sober, studious, equipped with all the qualities that will rally to the side of the poor; the languishing interest of the cultured rich, the earnest middle class, the altruistic and the sympathetic, yet overburdened of all classes.

The Daily News will do well if it allows its columns to be the lion's mouth into which the well-ordered grievances of the disinherited are deposited and dispersed. It ought to be supported in its generous effort to incorporate in daily journalism the exposition of the aims, objects and methods of the vast army of workmen on whom the lot of labor has fallen. And don't let the labor page be too narrow in its aim and outlook.

Above all, make your page the voice, the indignant champion, the sympathetic advocate of the tired women workers, the sickly shop-girl, the poor charwoman, the slatternly step-girl, the humble coster, even the despised Magdalen of the street, who, in the rejection of the crumbs of low wages, clutches at the sadder alternative of the loaf of lust. Let all who labor and all who suffer find in your columns instruction, inspiration, solace, advice and hope. Don't even forget "the man with the muck rake," the melancholy millionaire, the dyspeptic monopolist, the tired and joyless trust magnate who, in the accumulation of other people's money has made himself sad and others sorrowful by the long hours, low wages and dirty homes in foul streets that his wealth too often means to many of his fellow creatures.

Teach the workman to abandon drink more quickly, as, happily, he is doing slowly; quicken his growing aversion to betting and gambling; guide his wavering footsteps from the paths of mean tastes and sensuous desires that centuries of imbruted toil, through the subservience of the ancient lowly, have cast upon him. Teach him to think of those weaker, poorer than himself. Urge him to have for all the *esprit de corps* the aristocrat displays for the narrow interests of his own class. Teach him to have the disciplined capacity the middle class has shown. Advise him to incorporate in his work, thought and yearnings for the future of the industrial race the best hopes, the highest aims, the cleanest methods, so that when the call of duty seeks him he can, following the example of Australia, provide the British race with a ministry of men who shall without jealousy or suspicion make industry its oriflamme, peace its guerdon, and the widening, but Spartan, comforts of a prosperous people more widely diffused their goal. Teach labor how to build up a nation, happy because unselfish, crimeless because sober, wise because warless, strong because

it made the humblest patriotic, because it gave them something to proudly defend. Lead labor through the path of duty to its higher destiny; make it self-respecting because respected; influential because educated and tolerant. Correct its faults, chasten its failings, inspire its better side. Above all, in your self-imposed duty in your valuable journal, make always for that fusion

of forces that will unite the best men of all classes in building up the "nobility of labor, the pedigree of toil," and through that realize the dockers' motto of

"A nation  
Made free by love, a mighty brotherhood  
Linked by a jealous interchange of good."

If your labor page helps to do this you will earn my joyful gratitude.

## Sharing Losses with Profits

An agreement, rational and business-like, making profit-sharing neither a philanthropy nor a mere visionary "extra inducement" scheme is that which has for some years been running between the A. W. Burritt Company, lumber dealers, of Bridgeport, Conn., and the men in their employ. It was a stroke of genius, perhaps, which added a loss-sharing clause to obtain the full co-operation of hand, brain and good will which mere profit-sharing, in its various forms, has too often failed to secure. Distrusting that "partnership" of the employe which permits him to share the profits but not the losses of the employer, the company originated this novel contract:

THIS ARTICLE OF AGREEMENT made and entered into this day of one thousand nine hundred and —, by and between THE A. W. BURRITT COMPANY, party of the first part, and the signers hereto, all employes of said company, party of the second part,

WITNESSETH as follows:

First—It is agreed that the party of the first part and the party of the second part shall share the profits and losses of the business of the A. W. Burritt Company so long as the second party is in the employ of the first party.

Second—The profit is to be ascertained as follows: The inventory of — is to be taken as the starting point, and an inventory shall be taken in the same form on February 1, each year thereafter. From the gross results thus obtained shall be taken all expenses of every kind, including depreciation of buildings, tools and machinery, and bad debts, and the results of the above shall be considered the net gain or loss, as the case may be. If the result thus shown shall be gain, the capital actually invested as shown by the inventory at the close of each year shall first draw six per cent (6%) interest; or, in case there is less than that amount, shall draw what there is, in liquidation of its claims, the balance thus remaining to be divided between the party of the first part and the party of the second part in such

proportions as the actual capital invested in the business bears to the total wages of each of the parties of the second part for each current year.

Third—For each current year one-tenth of the wages of each of the parties of the second part shall be withheld by the party of the first part weekly, and in case there has not been a net loss on the entire business of the year, this reserved money, together with any accrued profit as figured above, shall be paid to each of the parties of the second part on or before March 1 of each succeeding year.

Fourth—In case there should be a net loss made on the business of the year, without figuring any dividend as above provided for, capital, this loss shall be divided between the party of the first part and the party of the second part, in the same method described for dividing profit; but the party of the second part in no case becomes responsible for losses greater than the amount reserved from their wages.

Fifth—Other employes of the A. W. Burritt Company may become parties to this agreement after this date, on invitation of the party of the first part; but the computation of their share shall be figured only on wages earned after date of signatures. Any party of the second part can withdraw from this contract and from the company's employ at any time, but the party of the first part holds the right to retain his reserve until the expiration of the current year, and if said reserve is held, its owner shall share in the profits or losses at the expiration of said current year; but in no case can any party of the second part share in the profits or losses unless his reserve has been retained until the end of the year.

Sixth—The party of the first part can at any time discharge any party of the second part from its employ and require him to withdraw from this contract, but in such case said party of the second part shall have option to withdraw his full reserve or to leave it until the end of the year to share in results as above described.

Seventh—It is further agreed by the party of the first part that no party of the second part shall be temporarily retired from work so long as the party of the first part has any work of the kind said party of the second part is accustomed to do; but if there is a shortage of work in the hands of



the party of the first part, it shall reduce the hours of work and so divide the work between the parties of the second part.

Eighth—If at any time the party of the second part should become sick or incapacitated to perform his duties, and has the certificate of a reputable physician that he is so incapacitated, after two weeks' duration of said sickness, said party can draw on his reserve wages at a rate not greater than six dollars (\$6.00) per week, without affecting his interests in the profits at the end of the year. Further, if any party of the second part becomes injured on account of any accident while in the employ of the party of the first part, said party of the first part shall, at its own expense, provide him with a competent physician or surgeon, after application is made to them stating that such services are needed.

The contract is never a condition of employment, it being optional with each man, after receiving invitation from the

company, to enter into it or not. It is never offered to an untried man, and never to more than three-quarters of the entire force.

That the men are convinced that the division of profits and losses are figured on a fair basis is shown by the fact that the contract has been entered into by every employe to whom it has been offered and has proved highly satisfactory to both sides. And, as Mr. Burritt, the president of the company says, "Don't lose sight of the fact that it takes a good man to risk one-tenth of his weekly earnings in the success or failure of the company by whom he is employed. He will do all in his power to see that it is success rather than failure."

## The Grip of Monopoly on New York

By Henry Raymond Mussey

Contributed through the Association of Neighborhood Workers of New York City.

Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, Editor.

A glaring light is thrown on "the corporations' control of public utilities" in New York by the publication in the *Evening Post* of a series of articles dealing with the history of the electrical subways. It is a story of monopoly within monopoly, monopoly entrenched behind monopoly, monopoly based on legislative grant, on corrupt relations with public officials on unscrupulous use of corporate power in defiance of clear provisions of corporate charters. The writer in the *Post* has done the public a service in calling attention to a condition of affairs too little known. His investigation is careful and thorough. The facts as here stated are taken directly from his articles; for such deductions as are drawn he is in no way responsible.

As far back as 1875 a bill was introduced into the legislature, compelling all electric wires in the city of New York to be placed underground. It was favored by the fire department, the insurance companies and the public generally; but the companies concerned (chiefly telegraph and telephone) were able to convince the legislature that the project was impossible. ("Impossible,"

we have long since learned, is set down in the dictionary of many of New York's public service corporations as a synonym for "expensive;" and as profits appear, impossibilities disappear.) So, despite recurrent bills in the legislature, underground wires remained impossible for several years. Presently the impossibility vanished. The Metropolitan Telephone Company, the local representative of the American Bell Telephone Company, suddenly saw a great light. It discovered that if all the wires could be forced underground, and it could control the subways, it could also control the price of its service in New York, for competition would be out of the question. "What a lot of lunkheads we have been!" one of the directors is said to have exclaimed when these facts were put before him. This may be so, but from that day the companies must be freed from any charge of "lunkheadism." The people of the city have been the lunkheads. The impossibility having been removed by the possibility of profit to the company, the legislature, which for nine years had steadily resisted the demands of the public, in 1884 obediently passed a law

putting the wires underground. The next year it created a board of electrical subways, giving this board power to grant subway franchise. So loosely drawn was this bill that it was declared unconstitutional. But the board had meanwhile granted a franchise to the Consolidated Electrical and Telegraph Subway Company, a nominally independent concern owned jointly by the Metropolitan Telephone Company and the Western Union Telegraph Company. It was pointed out by critics that the board in doing this was "conferring on a corporation of its own creation such exclusive privileges as the legislature itself is prohibited from conferring by constitutional prohibition." Nevertheless the legislature in 1887 confirmed the grant, which has successfully withstood all attacks. Four important provisions were made, however: That the company must furnish just and equal facilities to all competing companies; that rates of rental should be equitable; that all of the net earnings of the company above 10 per cent on its capital should be paid to the city, and that at any time after January 1, 1897, the commissioners of the sinking fund might purchase the plant for the city, paying its cost and 10 per cent additional. The rights of the public would appear to have been fairly well safeguarded, and the possibility of free competition assured to newcomers in the field of the telephone, telegraph and electric lighting business. Let us see what happened.

The option given the city to purchase the subways after ten years has for some reason never been exercised. Every one of the other three charter provisions above mentioned has been flagrantly violated by the company, sometimes apparently with, sometimes without the connivance of city officials. The control of the electrical subways, as above pointed out, passed directly into the hands of the local representatives of the telegraph and telephone monopolies. The payments they had formerly made to the city for stringing wires overhead ceased. The cost of maintaining wires under-

ground, it is estimated by experts, was 20 per cent less than in the case of overhead wires. The company was given the privilege of using the streets of the city for its subways, and at present there are over 100,000 miles of electrical conductors in the subways of Manhattan and the Bronx. In payment for these privileges the city has never received one cent, for reasons now to be shown.

In 1891 the board of electrical control made an agreement with the Subway Company, allowing it to increase its capital stock at will. This action of the board needs no comment. It is on a par with other acts of that body. For the company to obtain such an agreement may have been good business, but it was extremely poor morals; for it was evidently nothing else than a means of violating with impunity the clear provision of its charter limiting its profits to 10 per cent on its capital. If capital were to be increased at pleasure, profits might rise to any figure without exceeding the percentage fixed. Otherwise all profits in excess of 10 per cent would have gone to the city, as the legislature intended. Violation number one.

Next, as to rentals. In 1890 the board of electrical control fixed the rates to be paid to the company for trunk line ducts as follows: Three-inch duct, \$900 per mile per annum; 2½-inch duct, \$800; 2-inch duct, \$700. These rates are prohibitive, yet so great are the profits of the telephone and electric light business at present prices in New York that would-be competitors have been willing to pay the charges, if only they might get their wires into the subways. As for the private fire and burglar alarm companies, they pay as high as \$900 a mile a year for a single wire; but they must have the wires to do business at all, so they pay the charges—and who pay them? "Rentals shall be equitable." Violation number two.

Before passing to the third point, the refusal of facilities to competitors of the existing monopolies, one other detail of organization must be given. It was found dangerous to operate high and



low tension wires in the same conduits. Therefore, on May 15, 1891, as an offshoot of the old Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company, the Empire Subway Company was organized to control the low-tension conduits. In these conduits must be placed the telegraph, telephone and low-tension electric wires, while the high-tension wires remained in the conduits of the consolidated company, which now passed into the hands of the electric lighting companies. Later, when all these companies were combined into the New York Edison Company, which, as is well known, is simply a branch of the Consolidated Gas Company, a corporation having a monopoly of furnishing light of all kinds in Manhattan and the Bronx, the Edison Company bought the Consolidated Subway Company. Therefore, the consolidated gas monopoly, through its child, the New York Edison electric monopoly, controls the consolidated subway high-tension conduit monopoly, and is able to bid defiance to competition, as will be pointed out. When the two subway companies were separated from each other, the New York Telephone Company, successor of the old Metropolitan, and local representative of the American Bell, kept its grip on the Empire Subway Company, which, it will be remembered, had the only subway in which low-tension wires could be placed. This is the situation as regards New York's electrical subways to-day.

Now, as to the treatment of competitors, and charter violation number three. An illustration will make all clear. Once secure in its grip on the Empire company, the New York Telephone Company suddenly raised its rates from \$125 and \$150 a year to \$240 a year. Business men protested, but the rate stood. They went to the legislature, and the company defeated their bill. Then members of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, failing other relief, determined to form a new company, and so, in 1899, organized the People's Telephone Corporation, believing they could get cheaper service, even after paying the enormous charges for

the use of the subway. After much difficulty they obtained from the Tammany commissioner a permit to put wires in the subway. This they presented to the subway company. After long delay, it gave them permission to put in wires—for stretches of four or five blocks at a time. Then there would be a break of half a mile, where "conduits were full," as it was alleged; then perhaps another half dozen blocks where the new company might have space, then another break, and so on. The offer of such facilities would be ludicrous, were it not so absolutely defiant of charter provisions and the authority of the state. It is said that the subway company has since that time put in many tubes at the very places where it was alleged that the conduits were full, and in the franchise tax suit of 1900 Judge Earl found that not more than 41 per cent of the subway space was in use. The People's Telephone Corporation fought vainly for years to get its wires into the subways, but finally, though backed by some of the best men in New York, it gave up in despair, and a group of Philadelphia capitalists took its franchise off its hands for \$70,000. It is said that they have since disposed of it to the New York Telephone Company, but the report cannot be verified. Probably no more need be said as to "just and equal facilities to all competing companies."

So far I have summarized mainly the facts given by the writer in the Post as they bear on the question of charter violations. Now for what they have cost the people of New York. The grandchild of the consolidated gas monopoly, it will be recalled, controls the high-tension subways, and effectually prevents electric light competition. Commissioner Monroe's admirable investigation last year showed some of the results. The New York Edison Company made a bid to the city of \$146 a year for each 2,000-candlepower lamp used for street lighting. The price of such lamps in the sixty-eight cities investigated showed an average of \$88.60 per lamp. New York pays from 15 to 150 per cent more than any other large city

for the same service. The commissioner framed a bill for establishing a municipal lighting plant. After a hard fight it was killed by the Consolidated Gas Company and its faithful henchmen in the state senate. So New York is still lighted by flaring gas lamps. Last year the commissioner proposed changing them all to Welsbach mantle lamps. The company bid \$29 a lamp per year for maintaining each of the 22,500 new lamps. (Chicago gets the same service for \$18.) The commissioner declined to accept the bid, and this year the company has made the magnificent concession of bidding \$24.75 per lamp. After much parleying, Commissioner Oakley has determined to accept this bid, the principle in dealing with corporate highwaymen seeming to be that if at first they demand all your money, and then compromise on half of it, you ought to be grateful. Meanwhile it seems probable that the city has power, under the new Section 47 of the charter, without further legislative sanction, to issue bonds for a municipal lighting plant; and unless the consolidated finds some way to defeat the move, its monopoly may again be threatened from this quarter. The charges for private lighting and telephone service the writer in the Post does not discuss in detail, contenting himself with stating the well-known fact that they are higher than in any other city in the United States.

The profits of this public plunder are known only to the insiders. A public investigation of the Metropolitan Telephone Company was had in 1887, however, when its business was small as compared with that carried on at present. According to the sworn testimony of its officers, it made 116 per cent net profit in 1885, 145 per cent in 1886 and 145 per cent in 1887. The company was formed in 1880, with a cash capital of \$600,000. In six years its net earnings had amounted to \$2,843,454.53, besides which it had set aside yearly for depreciation a sum equal to 20 per cent additional on its capital. The 60 per cent increase of rates before referred to occurred four years later, and in addition the business of the company has

grown almost beyond belief. The New York Edison Company pays interest on \$40,000,000 of bonds and dividends on 45,000,000 of stocks. As for Consolidated Gas, the parent monopoly of all, I quote from the Financial and Commercial Chronicle Supplement for January, 1904: "STOCK.—In March, 1900, stock increased from \$39,078,000 to \$54,595,200, and in July, 1900, to \$80,000,000, to complete the control of the gas and electric light business in Manhattan, to provide for improvements, etc. DIVIDENDS.—Formerly 6 per cent; from June, 1893, to 1898, 8 per cent yearly; in 1899,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; 1900, March, 1 per cent; June, 1 per cent; September, 1900, to December, 1903, both inclusive, 8 per cent yearly. Net profits of calendar year. 1903, above dividends, about \$2,500,000, against \$2,100,000 in 1902. Since 1897 the price of gas has been reduced from \$1.20 to \$1 (beginning in 1901), as required by law." (This remarkable instance of compliance with law is well worthy of notice.) The stockholders of the Consolidated Gas Company have recently voted to increase the capital stock from \$80,000,000 to \$100,000,000, and in the face of this increase Consolidated Gas is quoted at 190. Who pays the dividends?

This wholesale extortion is by no means the worst feature of the case. The associated monopolies have the government of the city and the state by the throat. The city has been trying for years to get pipe galleries under its streets. The rapid transit commission threw all its great influence toward getting them in connection with the rapid transit subways—and has publicly acknowledged itself beaten by the Consolidated Gas Company. Commissioner Monroe's experience has already been referred to. In the face of this contemptuous disregard of public rights and wishes, in the face of the notorious violation of charter provisions by its controlled companies, in the face of enormous overcharges maintained in defiance of an outraged public sentiment, the Consolidated Gas Company, parent monopoly of all the lesser monopolies, last winter went brazenly to Albany



with its Remsen East River gas bill, conferring upon it free valuable privileges in perpetuity, its claim being that the bill only confirmed rights already granted by the legislature. Was the bill smothered by a wave of public indignation? No! It was passed by the legislature, and the mayor, by some piece of jugglery, was misled into signing it, though it was evident enough that if the bill conferred no new rights, it was unnecessary, and if it did grant new privileges, the gas company ought to have been held for the last penny those privileges were worth. Only the governor's veto, interposed at the eleventh hour, saved the city from this new spoliation.

Such is the power of the intrenched monopolies in whose grip New York finds herself to-day. Is it any wonder that some of us begin to contemplate with comparative complacency the possibility of the "lessened progressiveness of publicly-managed industries?" Is it any wonder that we begin to look toward municipal ownership as the only sure means of relief from such intoler-

able conditions? Is it any wonder that we are becoming unwilling to trust the interests of the public to a bargain between our elected officials, however upright they may be, and a powerful and unscrupulous corporation? If this group of New York's public service corporations have made competition impossible, and if, having attained a position of monopoly, they are using that position to extort from the public the last cent they can get, they will have only themselves to blame if the public at last turns on them and strips them of their privileges. Yet it is probable that they measure correctly enough the strength of the forces opposed to them. He would be a rash prophet who should predict that New York will quickly undertake any extensive experiments in municipal ownership or really effective public control. In one or two lines she may make a beginning, but for many years to come it would seem that her public utilities as a whole are likely to remain private property, exploited for private advantage, with only incidental consideration of the vast public interests involved.

## College Settlement Association

Mytra L. Jones, Editor

### The May Meeting

The annual May meeting of the electoral board of the College Settlements Association was held at the college settlement, 95 Rivington street, New York City, on Saturday, May 7. Thirty-five members were present, including the electors from the following college chapters, both *alumnæ* and undergraduate: Wellesley, Smith, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Wells, Packer Collegiate Institute, Swarthmore, Elmira, Barnard and Mt. Holyoke. Miss Katharine Coman, president of the association, occupied the chair.

The officers elected for the ensuing year were as follows:

President, Miss Katharine Coman.

Vice-president, Miss Vida Scudder.

Secretary, Miss Sarah Graham Tomkins.

Treasurer, Mrs. Herbert Parsons.

Fifth member, Miss Susan E. Foote.

The treasurer's report showed a slight falling off in the subscriptions for the year from the college chapters. The college electors spoke earnestly of the need for getting their constituencies in touch with *practical* work in order to stimulate personal interest and enthusiasm. More addresses on the aims and methods of settlement work, including talks from the fellows of the association, were suggested, also that, whenever possible, students spend some of their vacation time in one of the college settlements. It is hoped that the joint college and college settlements association fellowships will prove a stimulus to the college chapters.

The committee on fellowships reported that the *alumnæ* association of Wellesley and Swarthmore have al-

ready agreed to bear one-half the expense for a fellowship or scholarship for 1904-1905, the College Settlements Association to bear the other half; also, the association of collegiate alumnae is to co-operate in the support of one fellow. Negotiations with Smith College are under way and a similar arrangement with this college may be completed shortly. Applications for these positions, or for information concerning them, may be made to Mr. George Haven Putnam, Westhainpton Beach, Long Island.

In the discussion which followed the report certain decisions were made by the electoral board, viz., that each of the committees directing the work of the fellows be empowered to add to their number, one member always to be a representative of the faculty of the co-operating college; that the fellow should reside preferably in the association's own settlements, and that the head worker of the settlement in which a fellow takes up her residence should be associated with the work of the fellow and be prepared to aid if necessary in its direction. It was suggested that the head workers prepare a list of special investigations which need to be done in their respective neighborhoods, for reference by the fellowships committee.

The work of the publication commit-

tee will be taken up by its chairman, Miss Vida Scudder, in a separate article in *The Commons* in the near future, and will not be dwelt upon at this time, except to say that in addition to the reprinting from the Outlook of Miss Mary B. Sayles' article on "The Work of a Tenement House Inspector," this committee has issued a report from Miss Frances A. Kellor, for two years the association's fellow. Miss Kellor's remarkable work in the investigation of employment bureaus is the subject of this report.

It may be of interest to members of the association and others visiting the St. Louis exhibition to know that in the home economics section of the social economics department may be found an album containing photographs of the three settlements as well as a file of annual reports and a file of the College Settlements Association publications, including reprints, leaflets and fellowship reports. In addition to this, one thousand bibliographies of settlements and one thousand copies of the last annual report have been placed on the shelves for distribution to the public. A new edition of the bibliography of church, social, university and college settlements, edited in 1900, by Mrs. Montgomery, is now in course of preparation.

SARAH GRAHAM TOMKINS,  
Secretary.

## From Social Settlement Centers

The head workers of no less than twelve settlements spent an afternoon together in delightful and most helpful conference while attending the National Conference of Charities and Correction at Portland. There were present Miss Dudley of Denison House, Boston; Miss Jones of Hartford, Miss Robbins of Lawrence House, Baltimore; Miss Bradford of Whittier House, Jersey City; Mrs. Weller of Neighborhood House, Washington; Miss Wald of the Nurses' Settlement, and Mrs. Simkhovitch of Greenwich House, New York City; Miss Montgomery of Welcome Hall, Buffalo; Miss Addams of Hull House; Mr. Taylor of Chicago Commons; Mr. Robins of Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago, and Mr. Melendy, who has been chosen by the representatives of some of the principal philanthropic interests of

Newark to establish a settlement in that city.

### A School Teacher's Settlement

A school teachers' settlement will be opened in New York City on the lower East Side next autumn. Miss Julia Richman, superintendent of the Board of Education's district No. 1, is the projector of this interesting private enterprise. With a small group of teachers she will establish a home center not only for their own residence in the district, but as a point of social contact for their fellow teachers, who can be interested in studying and more closely identifying themselves with neighborhood life and conditions as a basis for their school work. The house will be reserved for this purpose. All the work of the residents and their non-resident



associates will be located in public school buildings. This movement of the teachers is full of promise and possibility, not only for the newer extension of the public school system, but for all its regular educational work.

### Lincoln House, Boston

An event of great importance to Lincoln House was the closing night of the clubs, for it was also the opening night of the new building, the first time when the entire building was lighted up and thrown open for inspection. The month of May saw a series of entertainments, closing exercises and exhibitions, which proved of interest to the whole neighborhood and attracted considerable attention from the community. It is of especial interest to note that a collection from the annual handicraft exhibition at the house now forms a part of the Massachusetts educational exhibit at the St. Louis exposition. Handicraft work has always been made much of at Lincoln House, and the exhibition this spring marked a very high attainment in the quality, variety and amount of the work shown. The plan for next year is to limit the range in the interests of better work in fewer subjects. To this end pyrography, leather and bent ironwork and basket weaving for boys are to be discontinued and more thorough work attempted in wood sloyd, clay modeling and drawing. The collection sent to St. Louis includes typical work of the drawing, sewing embroidery, leather, fret-sawing, bent iron, pyrography, sloyd and printing classes, pictures of the new house, programs and other printing illustrating the activities of Lincoln House. There are also some photographs of the cottages at Osterville, where the summer outing work is carried on. Seashore sports are enjoyed by all those who go to Osterville, and this year, as last, a catboat with a reliable captain will afford many pleasant hours.

### Speyer School, New York City

Settlement activity is prominently identified with the work of the Speyer School, the practice institution of the Teachers' College of Columbia University. Speyer News, a monthly bulletin of notes from the various clubs, written usually by the children and young people of the school and clubs, devotes its June number to a résumé of the year, and includes several articles by residents and workers. Starting primarily with the educational side, devoted to the working out of educational experiments and the practical training of embryo teachers, the school aims to lead the way in the social extension of the public school. To this end a large neighborhood work of clubs and classes, led by Columbia University students, centers about the building. The building is so designed and arranged that this work can be carried on effectively, and evenings find it

in use just as completely as it is during the regular school hours. This neighborhood work concerns itself mainly with the families of pupils enrolled in the regular school. The customary classes and clubs maintained at settlements are in full swing, including a summer camp for the boys. A unique feature of the work is the "City of Speyer," a real self-governing town of five wards. Each ward is a boys' club of fellows from 12 to 14 years of age. They have elections, with regular printed ballots, the ordinary set of municipal officers and a board of aldermen composed of two delegates from each ward. This scheme has been so successful that the summer camp planned for this year will, it is hoped, carry out the same sort of organization.

### The Frederick Douglass Center, Chicago

The Frederick Douglass Center stands for a new experiment in the work of social justice, though the deep moral necessity from which it springs forbids us to think of it as mere experiment.

It is based first, in the conviction that, as Professor Du Bois says, "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line;" second, in the belief that, however named or to whatever class of suffering or ill-used humanity it is applied, the human problem is always the same. There is then but one general solution to this problem, one general method of social alleviation and cure, that which lies in an ever-enlarging spirit of kindness, a deepening social consciousness that is measured only by the utmost human faith and love.

The spirit of human fellowship once understood carries us far, being no less wide and inclusive than our thought of the divine compassion itself.

The Social Settlement has long pointed the way, through the law of neighborly help and good-will. But the work of the settlements has for reasons well understood developed along one main line, that of friendlier adjustment of the relations between labor and capital, the rich and the poor. Hull House and Chicago Commons are the avowed homes or meeting places of the working people, where in an atmosphere of friendly trust and encouragement they meet to discuss their rights and duties, where they are supplied with all the incentives to self-improvement, and can form a social center for themselves.

The Frederick Douglass Center has been formed in the belief that there is immediate crying need for a place and organization which shall stand as openly for friendly help and interest in the black man. The need for such a movement is imperative, and the cordial response it has thus far met with from many of our best citizens shows that the time is ripe for wise, concerted action. Hordes of colored people are coming up from the South, the majority of whom are

ignorant, dissolute and idle, falling easily into vicious and criminal ways. The rapid increase of such an element lowers not only the standard of the colored population in our midst, but of our common citizenship, and seriously threatens the well-being of the whole. It is from mingled motives of humanity and good citizenship that the Frederick Douglass Center has been formed. Its appeal is not only to the spirit of justice in aid of a needy and oppressive class, but to a higher patriotism.

The objects of the center are more specifically defined in the second by-law: "To promote just and amicable relations between the white and colored people, to seek to remove the disabilities from which the latter suffer in their civic, political and industrial life, to encourage equal opportunity irrespective of race, color or other arbitrary distinctions.

"To establish a center of friendly help and influence in which to gather needful information and for mutual co-operation to the ends of right living and a higher citizenship."

The work of the organization is divided under the following standing committees:

Social Statics—For the gathering of needful data about the colored people in Chicago.

Business Opportunities, Legal Advice and Redress, Sanitation, Housing, Etc., Civics, Club and Class Work.

Our printed prospectus presents the names of over one hundred charter members, of a highly representative character, gathered from the business and professional circles of the city, settlement workers, prominent club women, etc. The membership fee is \$1. It is hoped to open the center in or near the colored district early in the fall.

Finally, let me say that we hope to do our work in a persuasive rather than litigious spirit, "with malice towards none, with charity for all." The center will not be a place in which to foster weakness or the sense of grievance, but to promote industry, honesty and thrift in all those seeking our aid and counsel, to develop a deeper sense of obligation, "the responsibility of the superior" among the more favored members of society, and to encourage individual worth and attainment on all lines among all classes and kinds of people.

CELIA PARKER WOOLLEY,

196 E. 44th St., Chicago.

## Chicago Commons

The neighboring public schools are making more and more use of the settlement's social facilities. Three of them rounded out their graduating week at the building, one of them holding its closing exercises in our auditorium.

Camp Commons has pitched its tents for the seventh summer at Elgin, Ill., whose citizens extend as cordial a welcome as ever

to our little men and women. This year the young people's choral club also share the privileges of the camp the first four days in July, signaling their visit by rendering a cantata in town.

Our over-crowded playground needs to be covered with tan bark to keep the dust down, and to have a supply of fresh sand.

For the sixth year our Pestalozzi-Froebel kindergarten training school sent its graduating class of ten teachers out to their work. They were addressed by the supervisor of public school kindergartens. The alumni dinner was served at the settlement to fifty guests. The announcements for the seventh year by the principal, Mrs. Bertha Hope Hegner, promise high standards and distinctive settlement features.

## Honors to Whom Honors are due

The Universities of Wisconsin and Iowa have reflected credit upon the states they serve in conferring their highest degree of Doctor of Laws upon Miss Jane Addams of the Hull House social settlement, Chicago, and Mr. Edward T. Devine, secretary of the Charity Organization Society, New York City. Academic registration is thereby made of the recognition which the public has long given to the social service rendered by the two movements, whose leaders were thus most deservedly honored. Such public service exacts full enough capacity, preparation, culture and achievement to rank with the learned professions. The "practice of charity," which Mr. Devine has not only ably defined, but amply exemplified, entitles him to be recognized as a teacher of the highest of all laws. The evolving of social ethics from democracy and their application to democracy, which have come to higher fruition in the personality, work and genius of Miss Addams than perhaps anywhere else in America, predicate a breadth of observation, a depth of experience, an ethical insight and an art of expression so unique as to be worthy of the highest public recognition.

Ex-Comptroller Bird S. Coler of New York City has just published in book form various papers he has written during the past four years on "Commercialism in Politics."



# Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

## "Organized Capital Challenges Organized Labor"

Ray Stannard Baker in McClure's for July.

For war or for business is the question fairly put to the employers' associations, which, as features in the "amazing storm of opposition and organization against labor unionism," Mr. Baker divides roughly into two classes.

"First," he says, "are those which propose to *fight* the unions. Their leaders emphasize the fact that industry is war. Second, those which seek to *deal* with the unions. Their leaders emphasize the fact that industry is business." The two classes of associations are "singularly like the two classes of unions. The new association, like the new union, springs into existence with great enthusiasm, vehemently airs its grievances, bitterly arraigns the other side, pays its dues reluctantly, usually wishes to fight immediately, and chafes because results are not more rapidly forthcoming. But gradually the association as well as the union begins to understand the real principles of industrial organization—it begins to overlook the inevitable annoyances; it learns that the strike and the lockout, instead of being the prime object of organization, is really the reluctant weapon of last resort; it discovers, finally, that the labor problem cannot be settled over night, nor by sulphurous speechmaking, nor by violent methods; that it requires long continued patience, self-restraint, decency of both sides."

After reviewing the methods of these new belligerent organizations and comparing their use of the sympathetic lockout with the unions' use of the criticised sympathetic strike, and noting the same use of the boycott and feeling against "scabs," both in the ranks of capital and labor, Mr. Baker marks the passing of the new, excitable and irritable employers' organization into the other class which recognizes and acts upon the recognition of the fact that industry is business; that employers are merely purchasers of labor and that employes are merely sellers of labor; that, in the relation of buyer and seller, the interests of both cannot be identical; that they must be, in fact, up to a certain point antagonistic; but that should not, and will not, be pugilistic. As Mr. Baker concludes:

"The condition at present most favorable to industry would seem to be one of strong, well-disciplined, reasonable organization on both sides. A great disparity of strength always means the abuse of power by the more vigorous organization; but the prime

object should be peace. The same qualities of fair dealing, honesty and personal contact required in business generally are equally necessary in buying and selling labor—a transaction which is, after all, neither sentiment, nor warfare, nor speechifying, but business."

## Successful Co-operation in England

At the recent annual meeting of the British Co-operative Congress at Stratford the growth of the movement was illustrated by these remarkable figures. The congress represented 1,701 distinct societies and was attended by 1,500 delegates. There were 2,116,127 registered members in these societies, and the capital invested in the co-operative enterprises amounted to about \$186,000,000. The business controlled by the association reached an annual total of \$445,000,000, and the net profits for 1903 approximated \$46,000,000, or three and one-half times the percentage of net profits made upon the whole commerce of the country under ordinary conditions.

While the success of the distributive and retail co-operative societies is beyond all question, the presidential address acknowledged with regret that efforts at co-operative manufacturing and land owning have so far met with failure, but the probable cause of this was not indicated. Do these lines of industry and activity require more ability than distributive functions?

Commenting editorially, the London Daily News says:

"Co-operation has afforded a training ground in business habits and responsibilities to a vast number of men and women whose individual means are strictly limited, and it has done something more. The educational work, direct and indirect, and the growth of the spirit of association working in manifold public channels for the public good were amongst the agencies on which Mr. Greening laid stress as factors in the tone and character of the movement. Education has been recognized from the first as the life blood of the co-operative movement, and its leaders, as Mr. Greening's address shows, have accepted Arnold Toynbee's view that the education of the citizen is the special business of cooperators. There is no doubt that the thoughtful men and women

in the co-operative and trade union movements represent to-day not a particularist interest, or a mere aspect of class selfishness, but a point of view which is essentially a public one, and as such is bound to supply the corrective to the forces of individual and class selfishness, to which Mr. Chamberlain's appeal has gone forth. These men and women may not be missionaries of Empire, but their crusade against sweating, overcrowding and ignorance, and their efforts to raise the standard of life and happiness constitute a mission from which democracy must draw no small part of its driving power, and one with which politicians, whatever their bent, must understand and reckon."

The Mansfield House Magazine, a London settlement organ, says:

"That private traders, as a rule, do not like the co-operative societies is, under the circumstances, scarcely surprising. Co-operation is turning close on £10,000,000 a year into the pockets of (mainly) working-class consumers, which otherwise would have flowed as profits into private traders' pockets. The co-operative movement is a very sensible effort—so far as it goes—in the direction of making the most of workers' all-too-scanty wages."

### Parks to Sell Milk

Modified milk at cost or a little below cost will be sold by the South Park commissioners of Chicago as a feature of their refectory service in the new parks now under construction.

President Foreman has been in correspondence with Nathan Straus of New York, whose work providing pure milk for the poor of the eastern metropolis has resulted in great benefits to the masses, especially during hot weather. Somewhat similar ideas will be put into practice here, especially in parks in the congested districts.

The sale of pure milk is only one feature of applied conveniences planned by the South Park commissioners, who now are earnestly at work on the second half of the

new parks' project—the actual improvement of the sites.

### Labor Bureau Report on Child Labor

"Child Labor in the United States" is the subject to which is devoted most of the space in the May Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor. An extensive statistical article by Herman R. Sewall, Ph. D., is based on investigations in thirteen states where according to the census the largest numbers of children were employed. Ages, earnings and occupations, hours of labor, and other conditions affecting children are all discussed at length. The study is supplemented by a résumé of legislation relating to child labor and a catalogue by states of all the laws on the subject enacted in the United States and in force at the close of the year 1903.

### Civic Federation's Welfare Department

Employers' welfare work claims the attention of a recently established and already successful department of the National Civic Federation. Several important conferences and meetings have been held and the plan of work mapped out provides for:

1. Educating the public as to the real meaning and value of welfare work.
2. Interesting employers not giving such consideration to the welfare of their employees.
3. Maintenance of a central bureau to provide inquiring employers with information as to especial successes and failures in welfare work and their causes.

Three different kinds of conferences are planned: First, of employers for the discussion of the following and kindred subjects—general policy to be pursued in installing and maintaining welfare work, housing of labor (city and country mills), recreation, educational efforts, sanitary work rooms, hospital service, wash rooms and baths, luncheon rooms; second, public conferences; third, conferences of welfare managers and social secretaries.

## Sources of Social Information

### Methods of Industrial Peace

By Nicholas Paine Gilman. Crown 8vo, \$1.60 net. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York.

In his treatment of "Socialism and the American Spirit," "Profit Sharing" and "A Dividend to Labor," the author not only led the way to but raised high expectations of his last volume on a far more difficult subject. Its contents transcend its title, unless indeed the combination of employes and of employers is intentionally rated as chief among the methods by which alone industrial peace can be promoted. For fully one-half

of the book is devoted to defining the natural development, necessary principles, legitimate aims and methods of "the two kinds of justifiable industrial combination"—the trade union and the employers' association. Perhaps no better introduction can be given this part of the work than to state how well it supplements John Graham Brooks' widely used volume on "The Social Unrest." This book is as strong and satisfactory in definition as that is in description, which is saying much for it. Its reference value may be tested by turning from the index to the remarkably concise and comprehensive, authoritative and usable definitions of such



terms as "collective bargaining," "trade agreement," "living wage," "limitation of output," "sliding scale." While critical, it is fairly and not captiously so. Devoted to present methods, it is sufficiently historical to show where they came from and what reason they have to be in use. The surprisingly few books not only, but the inaccessibly scattered data, especially upon the American phases of the complex problem, add both credit and value to what Professor Gilman has so industriously gathered together and to the luminous way in which he has fulfilled his avowed function of "exposition."

He may rest assured that he has succeeded in his purpose of "clearing the minds of those who hereafter discuss industrial peace and in assisting the practice of those who have the task laid upon them of settling labor disputes." To such it is quite indispensable. Really to have contributed toward any solution of industrial differences is to have rendered a public service more needed than any other in the present day.

### The Society of To-morrow

A forecast of its political and economic organization. By G. de Molinari. Translated by P. H. Lee Warner. 8vo; \$1.50 net. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York.

The editor of the French Journal of Economics in this volume defends the free competition "of the economists against what he thinks to be the needless industrial organization of the state proposed by Socialists. Granting that the greatest good to the greatest number is the motive of both theories, he contends that social miseries root in the restriction of competition, or liberty, as he prefers to call it, not in its free play. In the insistence upon the responsibility of those who secure special privilege by monopoly of material resource or official perquisite for the continuance of the state of war, the author makes a forcible and valuable contribution to the literature of peace. There is a reserve power of economic and historical knowledge at command which strengthens the argument at every point. Productive competition will, he thinks, supplant the present destructive warfare of armed monopolies and reach the social goal by laws of natural development without the artificial overorganization of Socialism. In an appendix of 27 compact pages, Edward Atkinson estimates the cost of preparation for war to the United States during the past seven years to have been one thousand million dollars. The volume is fruitfully suggestive and should be productive of practical results.

### Trusts of To-day

By Gilbert Holland Montague. 8vo, net \$1.20. McClure, Phillips & Co. New York. As Mr. Montague well says in his preface, "The facts of the trusts of to-day clearly define the trust problem." Toward

this needed definition he has very valuably contributed in presenting the facts of the trust in an unusually clear, well-connected and discriminating manner. That no sovereign specific is at hand Mr. Montague knows only too well, but it is quite certain that the present volume will help clear the way for whatever solution is to come. The "new phase of the trust situation" is to be found, he says, in "the acute realization among investors of the real evils of trusts, and the sober criticism everywhere passed upon all suggestions of remedy."

Very forcibly is it shown that however seemingly justified, the trust must stand two tests; industrially, revealing a real economy over existing methods, and proving politically that monopoly has been shorn of its mediæval terrors.

Perhaps one of the most useful chapters in the book is the one giving the history of anti-trust legislation from the time when the Parliament of Queen Elizabeth abolished monopoly by royal patent down to the triumph of Attorney-General Knox in the Northern Pacific merger case.

Giving, as we have said, simply the facts of the Trusts, Mr. Montague has no sovereign method for their regulation. The grouping of suggestions from various sources is illuminating and shows the mind of the country soberly set to "find a way or make one." Toward this end Mr. Montague has certainly contributed valuably.

### Ethics of Democracy

By Louis F. Post. Moody Publishing Company. \$2.00 net.

Clear-sighted, lucid and sane, the straightforward healthy outlook afforded by this book should come as a veritable tonic to those who find in the signs of the time nothing but cause for despair. Keen and penetrating in comment, Mr. Post shows, however, not the slightest inclination to cynicism. He exemplifies in his own point of view that balance which avoids the "spurious optimism," he punctures with such well-directed thrusts, and considers it no pessimism to look facts squarely in the face and call a spade a spade.

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The devotion of a large part of our space this month to the memory of Mayor Jones has compelled us to wait until September for the publication of our finely illustrated article by Mrs. Simkhovitch on the great use being made of the public schools of New York City for recreational and social extension purposes. It will be made the feature of THE COMMONS for September.

**THE EDITOR, GRAHAM TAYLOR,** reviews the month's men and measures.

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# The Commons

AUGUST, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer } Assistant Editors  
Graham Romeyn Taylor }

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# The Commons

Number 8--Vol IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, August, 1904

## With The Editor

### Who Blundered Away the Packing Trade Pact?

The outbreak of the packing house strike at the very dawn of the day of peaceful resumption of work, pending the arbitration agreed upon, is a pitiful tragedy to all concerned. It was a just truce. Every one was in high spirits over the triumph of common sense and goodfellowship under sane leadership. When "somebody blundered." It looks like nothing more than a blunder, though a tremendously serious one. At best, a surprising carelessness on the employers' side and much too hot haste upon the part of the unions were responsible for precipitating upon the country this needless renewal of a most menacing struggle. Why every appearance of the "discrimination" outlawed by the agreement was not avoided in taking back the striking workmen, is a question the packers should answer in defense of their good faith. Why the union leaders did not pass up to the packers themselves their demand for an explanation of the action of their subordinates, Mr. Donnelly owes it to his good name and hitherto level head to explain. Hard pressed as he may have been by the hot-heads, his previous resistance of their opposition to his concededly honest and well balanced leadership put him under bonds to do again what he had done before. Rather than yield to them, against his judgment, if he did, he might far better have re-

signed, as Henry White did the secretaryship of the Garment Makers under similar circumstances.

Any well-grounded suspicion of having taken mere tricky, strategical advantage of the truce will cost either side not only the loss of public favor, but the severest penalty that impatient popular indignation can visit upon such guilt.

### Labor Issues in Party Platforms and Candidates

Live labor issues, which have more of the real life of the people in them and seriously affect more lives than any or all others, are conspicuous in both party platforms only by their absence. The nearest approach to them was ventured by the Democrats. In the platitudes with which their plank began, they were no more rash than the Republicans. Their competitors for the labor vote had been so bold at Chicago as to declare "combinations when lawfully formed for lawful purposes are alike entitled to the protection of the laws." With full equal courage it was asserted at St. Louis that "Capital and labor ought not to be enemies," "are necessary to each other," should have their "just rights," those of labor being "no less sacred than the rights of capital." But not content with these flat-footed assertions, the untterrified Democracy bravely determined to go the Grand Old Party one better. But their flat foot becomes sensitively tender footed as they ap-



proach the contested ground. This is the way they walk delicately up to it: "Constitutional guarantees are violated whenever any citizen is denied the right to labor, acquire and enjoy property, or reside where interests or inclination may determine." This far-away look toward Colorado has a dangerously near-sighted squint askance the closed shop. Anent which the Boston *Transcript* already warns them after this fashion: "It will be surprising if those who meant to stand on one end only of this plank, do not find the other end tipping up, with annoying frequency and ease." For, as is well added, "Here is verified again the old difficulty of formulating rules of freedom for one class or emergency, which it is not desired to have applied to other people in reverse situations."

Eight years ago it looked as though labor issues had, very crudely and partially, to be sure, but nevertheless actually, gotten hold of at least the organization of the Democratic party. Now that its commercial constituents and their outside allies are more surely in the saddle, so much of the labor vote as has been traditionally following in its train is very likely to be dislodged by what will seem to most working men a reactionary policy, dangerous to their interests. But there will be far less choice, for them at least, between the old party platforms than for the past two campaigns.

As between the two candidates, one is a far better known quantity than the other. For a while the state judge has rendered decisions which show a fair attitude toward labor, the President acted decisively on a country-wide scale for the right of organized labor to national recognition, in a court of arbitration appointed by the executive, and

also in instituting his own investigation of the critical Colorado situation through the department of Commerce and Labor.

But the tendency of even the more conservative labor voters may prove to be away from their former affiliation with either party, and to be set this once at least, toward a party of protest. Political action of some sort certainly cannot be much longer delayed as a definite labor policy. If it begins in this campaign by largely increasing the Socialist vote, it by no means follows that it will continue to do so. Here, as in England, trades unionists are sure to try the balance of power policy before resorting to the expediency of an independent labor party, much less irretrievably to commit themselves to radical socialism. Unless driven to desperation by the force tactics of the so-called "Citizens' Alliance" of the Colorado type, or the "Employers' Association" of the Parry type, the conservative trade union leadership and the sturdy common-sense and public-spirited citizenship of the rank and file of American labor will be sure to hold "the movement" steadily in line with a safe but increasingly powerful policy toward "industrial politics."

### State the Closed Shop Issue Before Deciding It

The press-forum for free discussion and the open field for industrial action so far offer far more advantageous opportunities to decide intelligently and justly the critical "closed-shop" issue than either politics or the courts yet promise. Both parties, perhaps more wisely than the courts, find discretion the better part of their valor. Certain judges have the temerity of their preconceived convictions to far-fetch this

issue into their decisions of cases which neither directly involve nor are to be determined by it. Only when cases come before them which will test the legality of the "closed-shop" principle as practiced by combinations of employers, will the validity and applicability of the one-sided judgments thus far handed down appear. Then the tetering proclivities of rulings formulated to meet one class of emergencies, but not yet "applied to other people in reverse situations" will be as surely and keenly felt as the tipping up of political platform planks, of which we are warned above.

The National Civic Federation's Monthly Review for July presents a symposium of answers to the question, "Is the Closed Shop Illegal and Criminal?" which goes far and away deeper into the statement of the two-sided case to be settled than any court or party has yet been able or perhaps willing to do. The National Civic Federation is to be commended and congratulated in rendering a service so valuable as its symposium will strike everyone to be who reads it, or the careful summary of it presented in another column.

### Turn On The Light: The People Do The Rest

McClure's Magazine and Lincoln Steffens are not only putting city after city and state after state under obligation to them for helping to scorch the brand of traitor and felon upon the men who have been selling them out to the highest bidder, but are spreading a country-wide "awakening" of conscience and a genuine "revival of religion" in citizenship. No one outside the personal knowledge of the facts in the local situation can realize what it means to have the beginning of the end made sure. Those only who are in at the be-

ginning know how dim and distant is the hope of being in at the death. There is darkness that can be felt, but for a while it is impossible to make others feel it. Indeed, others are made to believe that the "reformers" are the conspirators against these good citizens who pose as angels of light all the while they are doing what can be done only under the cover of keeping the people in the dark. But when the light really begins to be turned on the game is up. The traction "enemies of the republic" are playing their last cards in Chicago. The boldest of them have left their country for their city's good, while those still standing by the old way of playing the game that was unloaded upon them are non-residents at a safe distance.

The lingering gang of politico-commercial brigands, whose brazen pose as reputable business men Mr. Steffens exposes as mercilessly as truthfully, show symptoms of broken back. While their newspaper organ prematurely flopped its national party politics, for the same obviously local reasons their "bank" remains "strictly bi-partisan," as the Chicago Tribune observes.

Here, as everywhere, the only real problem is how to turn on the light, for when that is done brightly and long enough the people surely, if slowly, will do the rest.

### Hands On, Not Off

The Georgia Industrial Association is refreshingly frank. In the primeval innocence of its infant industries, the cotton goods manufacturers naively feel no reason why they should not say, "those of us who are familiar with laws restricting the hours of labor, rules limiting the number of apprentices, etc., are going to use every effort to be freed from legislation of this sort." One of



them, evidently in memory of the good old times, declares: "What we need in the South is laws to make people work; not laws to make them idlers." Whatever measure of fact may underlie the latter remark, it surely cannot furnish basis for the non-intervention of law with the shameless abuse of little children by too early and long work in the mills. In speaking before the American Academy of Political and Social Science on "The New South's Rare Opportunity," Mr. Hayes Robbins of Massachusetts well said: "The keynote it not 'hands off!' but 'hands on.' The only place in the United States where the idea of protecting little children has made practically no impression as statute law is the new industrial South. If long hours and child labor become the fixed conditions of success, the whole field of competitive industry must eventually come down to that basis. The real test of the South is not the size of the profits of its mills in the next five years, but the quality of southern citizenship in the next five years. Improvement of industrial methods would not destroy southern mill profits, but the use of child labor must be restricted."

### Admit Workers to Welfare Work

Replete with pictures and packed full of valuable descriptions of current undertakings, the Civic Federation's handbook of its recent conference on employers' welfare work presents a fund of information and suggestions never before made available in such small compass. Employers, managers, social secretaries from all over the country attended the conference, which was held last spring in New York, meager accounts of which appeared in the press at that time. The full significance of the occa-

sion, the interesting side lights on the methods, spirit and reasons for success or failure of special lines of work were brought out in the interplay of discussion and exchange of opinion. The proceedings are published in full in the hand-book.

We wish that there was more evidence of taking the employes into consultation. The list of persons who attended the conference contains only the names of officers of the companies and corporations, together with the social secretaries. Apparently not a single representative of the workingmen was there. Descriptions of the welfare work at certain places, however, shows that there is an element of democratic feeling and of hearty cooperation on the part of the employes, both in making suggestions and in the actual management of the shop and its betterment features. For real and permanent success that is worth while, we believe such things to be essential. An account will soon be published in *THE COMMONS* of a concern where the democratic spirit seems to be supplemented by a very real share in running the affairs of the shop by the employes.

### Samuel Milton Jones

To cross the ocean in the steerage of an emigrant ship, to requite his Welsh parents by helping them from babyhood eke out the slender existence of a quarry worker and small farmer, to carve honest success out of the fierce competition of the oil fields, to amass a fortune by inventive genius and justly generous business policy, and to acquire a rarely liberal education with the help of only thirty weeks' schooling, is achievement enough to crown any life with success. This much he had accomplished at forty-six years of age.

But it was only the standing room upon the earth upon which he wrought out the amazing self-conquest and conquest of other hearts in the incredibly short span of his twelve remaining years. Just where almost every other man stops growing he began. Where others think they have earned ease, he felt and assumed a whole life full of new obligations. The wealth which possesses those who toilsomely acquire it was the means of dispossessing him of any pride in it or subserviency to it. What binds others freed him. The power over men which money gives put him under bonds to love and serve every man, woman and child.

It was the Golden Rule which made him fear and hate the rule of gold. Men meant so much more to him than money that his possessions and administration of it for others' benefit became the burden and perplexity of his life. So identified with the poor and the toiling masses was this man of wealth that he was recognized by them as one of them, and as better able to understand and voice their sorrows and aspirations than they did or could themselves. Only what he was at home and in shop suggested him for office to others, but not to himself. After only four years of this life among them, he was four times in succession called upon to be mayor of Toledo's people by such mandatory majorities as to command his obedience and to paralyze both party organizations, which could say or do nothing against him. Dying at fifty-eight, he was followed from the city hall to the lawn of his home, and thence to his grave by a whole city full of sorrowing folk, moved as no community has been since Lincoln died. No schoolman, his messages were heard and hung upon by the multitude. Not a

poet, his songs were on the lips of the workers, who sang their loving tribute to his life in his own words as they gathered around his silent form and open grave. The old, old Golden Rule that had become so visionary as to be practically banished from the market in which men buy and sell, and bargain for each others' wages and work, was received again at his hand, not only as a new gospel, but as the sign by which the people could reconquer their rights and win the liberty of love.

### The Man of the Golden Rule

To be associated in thousands of minds with so old a rule of life, almost as intimately as he who formulated it 2,000 years ago, ought to be as startling to all of us as it was sadly surprising to him. He simply took seriously what others held only ideally, if not facetiously. Others professed it, he believed it. Others said it could not be done. He did it. Others preached and talked and sang about it. He went about everywhere, not only talking and singing, but doing and being the thing itself. Others remembered it sometimes. He never seemed to forget it. Others did it here and there where convenient and easy. He did it everywhere, even in trade, politics and religion, where it is hardest to do it, and even to his avowed foes. So rare was it to find anyone actually living and working by this Golden Rule that he became a marked man for being and doing what he supposed everyone was expected to be and do. Yet he was prepared to be suspected of cant and posing by those who were in business only for themselves. But he suffered in silence when those who professed, and even preached, the same "rule of faith and practice" stood more and more aloof from him, and



even opposed the very applications of it which drew the people to him.

Thus he became known not merely as a Golden Rule man, but *The* Golden Rule man, almost as though there were no other. So wide apart have fallen the terms of the "common rule of faith and practice!" Nevertheless, as Phillips Brooks said, "We should not think Christianity has failed because it has so seldom or never been tried." But if it ever succeeds, it will only be because many another becomes what "Golden Rule Jones" was.

### What to be in Business For

It was in the winter of 1894, only two years after Mr. Jones had come to Toledo, that the writer was summoned to his aid in helping him hold a series of public meetings, which he called in a church, to discuss the ethics of Jesus in relation to industry and trade. The power of money over men, the impoverishment brought by wealth to its possessors, the destruction of persons wrought by the abuse of property had begun to appal him. In his reaction toward "The rule," unlike Francis in the thirteenth century, this Twentieth Century Franciscan could neither find self renunciation nor discharge himself of the obligation involved in the possession of property so easily as by renouncing it and ridding himself of it. With all the ideality of the medieval mystic, yet with all the practicality of the thoroughly modern business man he was, Mr. Jones then found himself grappling with the issue between property and persons, which is the ethical tragedy of modern life, and the self-stultification of much of its religion. He had just nailed on his factory wall this notice, painted on a piece of tin, "Rule governing this shop: 'Whatso-

ever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them'." The next Christmas he issued to his shop-mates his greetings of peace and good will, enclosing the company's check for 5 per cent of the amount which had been paid each man in wages from the beginning of the year, because "We ought to try to carry out in every way that we can the spirit of the Golden Rule that we profess to believe in, and we are very happy to say that the interest you have shown in your work is the most conclusive proof that you, too, believe that the Golden Rule is applicable to the affairs of everyday life." In the still more remarkable letter issued on the following Washington's birthday, and written "that there should be a more perfect understanding of the purposes of carrying on the business of the company by all that are engaged in the work, in order to insure the success that will come to all of us if we each do our share toward it," Mr. Jones made the following noteworthy declaration of what he, at least, was in business for. "There is only one true and right reason why this or any other business should live a minute, and that reason is to do good. No matter how much some may sneer at the statement, it is and always will be true just the same. This business never has been, is not now, nor never will be run simply to make money for those in charge of it, otherwise called the owners. We have tried to do justice to every man, the men that do the work, the men that sell the goods and the men that use them. We are going to keep trying, because it is right that we should keep on trying to do right all the way to the cemetery, no matter how many others do wrong." When he lay dying these twelve years afterwards, he kept mur-

muring to himself, "He that endureth to the end." And the last word he said to the one nearest akin to him was, "Say it in Welsh, 'He that endureth to the end'."

What higher end is there for which to endure? None suggested itself to any of us who sat on his home porch the other day while his shop mates and the mighty multitude of fellow workers paid him their overwhelming tribute of affection. What is there in the money to be made by exploiting or making enemies of such men as these to compensate for the loss of thus loving and being loved? If Samuel M. Jones, the employer, has done nothing more than prove industry to be the sphere in which the most soul-satisfying relationships of life can be established and maintained, he will have achieved the greatest service rendered by his generation to the world.

### Making Citizenship Religious

Mayor Jones' public career grew naturally and opened out legitimately, if not almost inevitably, from his private life. He became to the city, as mayor, what he was as a man to his fellow men. He not only carried into office and carried out in public policy as far as he could the ideals of his personal and business life, but he accepted public office only because he regarded it as one of the neediest and most effective spheres for proclaiming and realizing the highest ideals. As simply and genuinely as he lived out and loved in those ideals at home and in the shop, just so naturally and manfully he made them the issues of his campaigns and the policy of his administration. His stump speeches were actually referred to by the people as "preaching." His songs were sung at political meetings with all

the fervor of hymns. Something of that social joy and fellowship that characterized a genuine revival of religion pervaded his mass meetings. The mayor's office in the city hall became a pantheon upon whose walls were enshrined the faces, the songs and the prophecies of the heralds of the new time and the better day. In the city of the Golden Rule Mayor, as in Savonarola's Florence, citizenship will be looked back upon as having begun to be religious.

Sorry proof of what it lacks of being such could hardly be cited than the advertising circular issued by a Toledo stock jobber advising investment in street railway stock because of the sharp advance which the mayor's impending death would be sure to cause in its value. And yet the man who stood between this stock and the appreciation of its value did so, by virtue or holding that "what Toledo desires and ought to have is the best possible service from the street cars at the lowest possible cost that is consistent with just dealing for all concerned. I believe that if on both sides we are more true to duty there will be less need to stand for our rights, and by paying our obligations we shall find our partners making a better effort to give us a fair deal."

### A Humanizing Common Denominator

Still higher and farther reaching was the real contribution which Toledo's mayor and the man of all its people made to Democracy. He did it by believing profoundly in "all the people." He would discriminate against none. When the law was to be executed he intended that all should obey it if any were expected to. For nothing was he



so severely criticized as for this even-handed insistence upon one law and one judgment for all. His lack of faith in the value and the virtue of forceful constraint perhaps more fairly laid him open to criticism. The dock of the police court, upon whose bench he occasionally sat, may not yet be wholly ready to be constrained by the justice of love which he administered there. But some, at least, who received its sentence of forgiveness sinned no more. No tenderer heart paid the full tribute of a better life than the pardoned convict whose release he secured to take him into his own employ and brotherly

fellowship. If more men would become to the wayward what he was, fewer of them would be beyond pale of being "a man among men."

Between the better and worse, the richer and poorer, the wiser and more ignorant, the alien, the immigrant and fellow citizens he became like a common denominator. And it humanized not only a whole city's government, police force and population, but to some extent at least everyone, near or far, who fairly sensed the spirit of him in whose life and love as in whose song,

"No title is higher than Man."

## Golden Rule Jones' Own Day

By Graham Taylor in the Chicago Daily News

Not since Lincoln was buried has any American community paid greater tribute to its dead than Toledo lavished upon the loving life and public service of its golden-rule mayor. Nothing had ever been too much for him to undertake for his city. Its citizens withheld nothing from him that their hearts could yield. None was higher in his esteem or in command of his life than his fellow townsmen. No one had ever been so much to all of them.

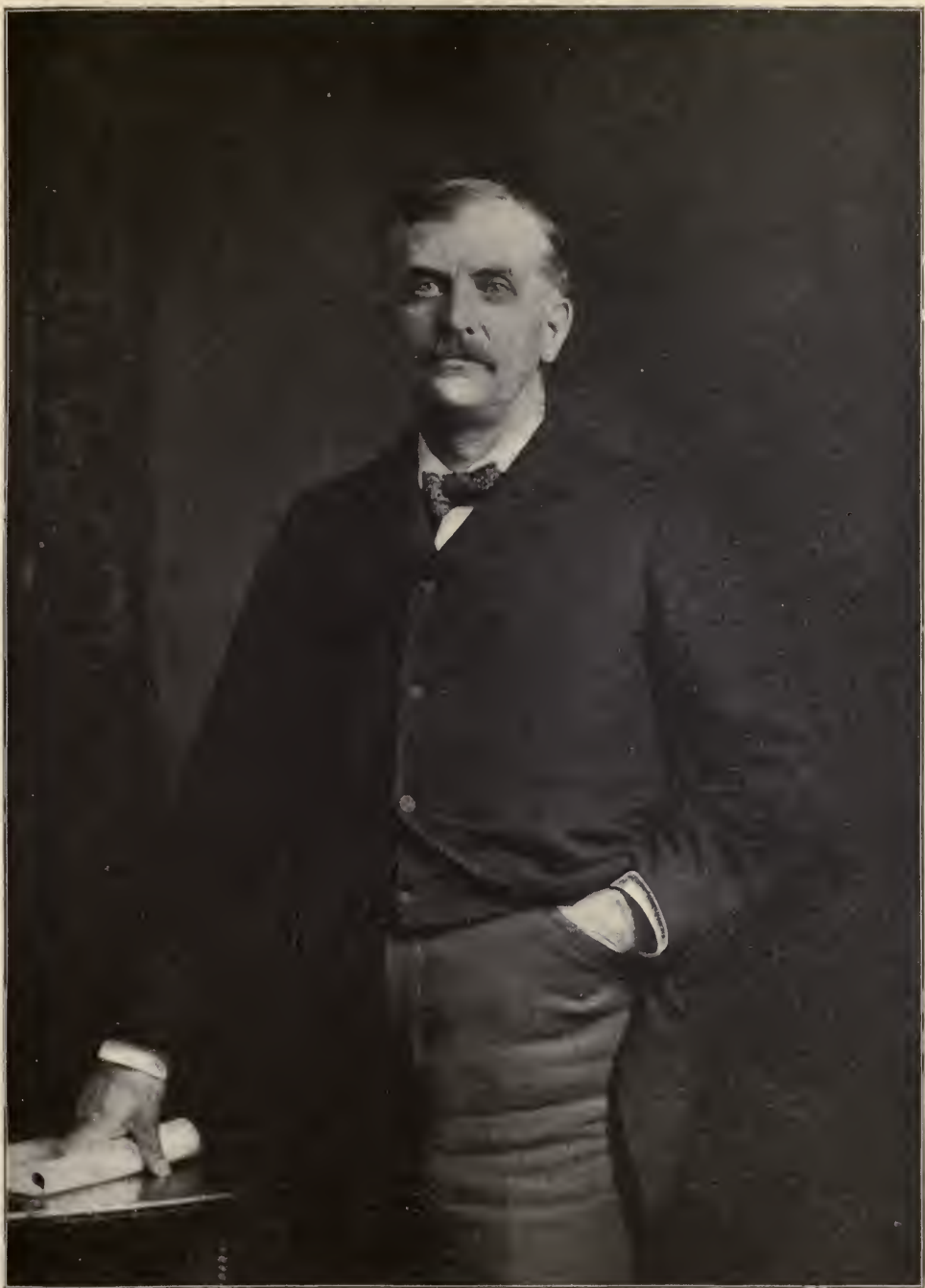
That "dear love of comrades," which the mayor went about to exemplify and enjoin in the words of "Old Walt," whom he loved to quote, was never more real or more fully and freely lived out and loved in. The day of his funeral was "Samuel Jones' own day," as his nearest of kin said, while adding only the one wish "that his old Welsh mother might have seen it."

His spirit had been abroad before, strangely permeating and uniting his fellow men, but never as upon that day. Never had so many different minds and kinds of folk been so at one with him and with each other as around the still heart of this big brother to every one of them. It was the people's own day,

too. The whole people made it their own. The city government did what befitted it and the occasion, without detracting by any display from the simplicity and solemnity of the supremely impressive facts. But men, women and children did the homage to the memory of their own man and mayor. Business men closed every branch of business, some of them printing black-bordered notices in the newspapers telling why they did so. Stores, factories, little shops, humble homes and finest residences alike were draped in mourning. Phrases from the mayor's talks, snatches of the songs he wrote and sung, couplets from the favorite poets he was wont to quote and pictures of his familiar face were seen everywhere.

Some of these were taken from the walls of the mayor's office in the city hall, which are lined with photographs and lettering presenting men and mottoes heralding the new time and its better day, of which they had caught the vision. From Robert Louis Stevenson are the words to which its occupant keyed his life:

"To be honest, to be kind, to earn a little and spend a little less, to make upon the



MAYOR SAMUEL M. JONES.



whole a family happier for his presence, to renounce when that shall be necessary and not to be embittered, to keep a few friends, but these without capitulation, above all on the one condition to keep friends with himself—here is a task for all that a man has of fortitude and delicacy."

From Leo Tolstoi this far cry, so near to Samuel Jones' heart:

"Men think there are circumstances when one may deal with human beings without love, and there are no such circumstances. One may deal with things without love, one may cut down trees, make bricks, hammer iron without love, but you cannot deal with men without love."

Within the Memorial hall, which had so often re-echoed his ringing voice, the people took their last look at the face they loved. They had outlined in flowers the aisle through which they were to pass by their dead. And were flowers ever more the symbol of hearts grown together? For they were sent there by all the city departments, by "Syrian-American citizens," Polish, German, Hungarians and other nationalities; by the University Club and the Bartenders' Union; by the United Catholic Societies and the Spiritualist association; by the horseshoers, cloakmakers and many other labor unions; by the Western Oil Men's Association, accompanied by sixty-two names of his business associates and competitors; by his own employees, who gave a great floral golden rule with the words: "We knew him."

Between 5:30 a. m. and 9 p. m. for two days, fifty people a minute passed up that aisle, until fully 55,000 men, women and children of every description silently, reverently and affectionately parted from their friend.

Then his fellow workmen took up his body to carry it home. Such a procession as followed it has seldom been led by the living or the dead. There were not only the labor unions, but the mothers, wives and children of the men; po-

licemen, firemen, mail carriers and officials of the Toledo, Cleveland and other city governments; 600 newsboys and their band, playing "Nearer, My God to Thee"; musical, benevolent and fraternal societies and unorganized groups of citizens, women and children followed in their train. No military company nor any implement of war or strife was seen. To the music of the Golden Rule shop band they marched in strange silence through silent throngs.

On the spacious lawns of the home and adjoining residences fully 15,000 people gathered for the out-of-door funeral service. The casket lay upon the threshold of the home, upon whose lintel were the words, "A Wide House to Shelter a Friend," and over whose open hearth, "The Truth Against the World." Surrounding it upon the porch were speakers and singers, city officials and friends from abroad, while close about the balustrade the shopmates of the resting workman grouped themselves with their women and children.

From his own marked-up bible the panegyric to love was read. From his wayworn and underscored copy of Whitman favorite lines were recited. Words of just, discriminating, appreciative friendship were spoken by a clergyman, a lawyer and a shopmate. Accompanied by the little piano, which had done hard duty in four political campaigns, songs were sung in his native Welsh, in words of his own heart and voice, and by the fellow workmen in his own shop whom he had trained to sing "Freedom's Day."

At the end of the long march to the distant cemetery thousands more were in waiting by the open grave. When friends were leaving it and it was being filled, a German singing society spontaneously broke out in a farewell song, and a broken voice in the tongue of the fatherland was heard saying good-by.

# Samuel M. Jones: The Mayor

By John B. Merrell

After a last farewell gaze was taken by thousands of his followers and fellow-citizens, the earthly remains of Samuel M. Jones, the Greatest of All American Mayors, was laid to rest in Woodlawn Cemetery, followed en masse by the people, who had learned to love and trust him as their truest friend.

His was a wonderful career, politically; coming to Toledo in 1892, almost a total stranger; elected to the office of mayor in 1897; reelected to his second term in 1899, with the greatest victory ever polled by any man; again, in 1901, the people clamored for "Golden Rule Jones," and two years later, in 1903, the man "without a party" was elected a fourth time to the highest office in our city, in spite of all the opposition that the Republican, Democratic and Socialistic parties could bring to bear against him.

But why, like a great meteor, sweeping across the sky and leaving a blazing pathway behind, has he come and gone? Did it just happen so, or did he discover and apply some law that the rest of us have not yet found; a law, which, if applied by any man, with the faith that he applied and lived it, will produce the same results?

Let us retrace his steps and see. Jones belonged to that part of the great body of humanity corresponding to the heart in the physical body. In their younger days such natures are very observing and notice everything that transpires around them; they are greatly affected by the mental and physical conditions of people about them, have an unusually fine, sensitive love nature and, in maturer years, are apt to become independent thinkers, and, on account of their fine, sensitive natures, are said to grasp the divine purposes a little in advance of their fellowmen. Their dispositions, therefore, are such as to lead them toward the unselfish life whose purpose is the highest good of all.

These characteristics were certainly true of Mayor Jones, for as we trace his life in boyhood—born into a poor man's

family; at the age of ten compelled to hustle for himself as a farm hand, working long and weary hours each day; later, as a young man in the oil fields of Pennsylvania, dead broke time and time again; endowed with a nature not easily kept down, he struggled on, studying what books he could night and day, as an oil well driller—a trade which he followed some years with average success, until 1886, when he moved to Lima, Ohio, and struck what was known as "the first large oil well" in Ohio. This "luck" was the beginning of investments which led to financial success. In 1892, having married Helen L. Beach, of our city, as his second wife, he moved his family here and became a citizen of Toledo. In 1894 he established the Acme Sucker Rod Company, now known as the "Golden Rule Factory" of the S. M. Jones Company. Jones was raised a strict church member, loved his Bible and knew how to use it. Soon after coming to Toledo he was elected to the directorship of the Y. M. C. A., and taught a large Bible class in Westminster Presbyterian Church.

## LIVED HIS RELIGION OF LOVE.

About this time depression was upon the country, labor troubles were becoming more general, the laboring classes were getting better organized, and the great question of labor and capital was being more generally discussed. Jones, with his sensitive nature, seemed to catch a message from on high, and his great, tender, loving heart, backed up by his own experience in life as a working boy and man, seemed to lead him out to the masses; and the religion which he had talked, and sung, and prayed about, must now be applied and lived; the same unselfish spirit that filled the life of the Nazarene found birth in him and took possession of him; he was "born again," as he often said.

His religion immediately grew to be a practical one. The Golden Rule was nailed up over his factory door; Golden Rule Park was laid out



and became, not only a playground for the children, but a free, open forum on Sunday for the discussion of any subject by any man, which might work for the uplifting of his fellow-beings. Free lecture courses were also established by him, to which all classes were invited and many a warm discussion took place, after lectures on vital questions of the day. Among the lecturers were Graham Taylor, George D. Herron, Washington Gladden and Jane Addams. As a result of his labors public sentiment was aroused and Jones was becoming well known.

#### FIRST TERM AS MAYOR.

In 1895 the Civic Federation was organized by the "better element" of our city and, as a result of that election in 1896, the church people gained a victory over the saloon element by electing a police commissioner. This encouraged them and the following spring, 1897, they became a prominent factor in Republican politics of the city and controlled a large number of votes in the Republican city convention. As a result, with a factional fight on between two prominent politicians, Jones was brought out as a "dark horse" and nominated on the fifth ballot. After one of the most bitter political battles ever fought in any city, with the Republican ticket backed largely by the church people and the Democratic ticket by the breweries and saloons, Jones was elected mayor by the small majority of 534, and that night sent out his famous message to Washington Gladden and others; "I am elected in spite of six hundred saloons, the street car company and the devil."

That term of office was one of wonderful growth to the mayor. With his heart and mind already wide open to truth. He was alive to the evils of the "Spoils System," then in power here, and the usurpation of the people's rights by the large corporations. With the door of his office ever open to all the people regardless of class, creed or color, the burdens of the poor and unfortunate began to pour in upon him; his contact with and study of crime

in our city courts; all this touched and pierced his great, loving heart to the core. He began to see that the people of the great city are all one; that none are saved, while others are lost; that none are good, while some are bad; it was one problem to him.

His faith in the law of love became strong; he began to "love his enemies," he poured forth the oil of kindness and it calmed the troubled waters in many a case. Acting often as police judge, instead of sending a man to the stone yard with a sentence he sent him out free with kind words; he appealed to the manhood in man and thereby started many a man and woman upward toward a better life.

His administration during that term was honest and efficient, but he was not popular with the politicians because he was opposed to the "Spoils System" and favored the civil service. His non-enforcement of the laws was distasteful to the church people and his views were also getting too liberal to suit them, and, no doubt, he was sometimes imposed on by the liberal element judging from the ordinary standpoint; so that, when he came up for reelection in the spring of 1899, he was notified by the members of the machine that they would not support him for a second term. The church people had, apparently, withdrawn their support, too, but strange to say, the liberal element and the people at large endorsed his administration and were for him. The masses had tried him and found him "true blue," watching their interests constantly; fearless as a lion, yet gentle and forgiving, unpurchasable and absolutely honest, commanding at least the confidence and respect of the business men, for he had given them a business administration.

#### ROBBED IN CONVENTION; TRIUMPHED AT POLLS.

After the request to hold the primaries under the Straight Baber Law had been turned down by the "Machine," the Jones people went out for delegates and came into that memorable convention on March 4, 1899, with a

slight majority, for, on first ballot for chairman of the convention, the Jones man received 126 votes and the "Machine" man 125 votes. However, it was held by the temporary chairman that there was no majority and, on the second ballot, the "Machine" man was declared elected. At the end of the third ballot the "Machine's" candidate for mayor was declared nominated, although there was no question but what Jones was fairly nominated and was counted out. Immediately, midst the greatest confusion, Jones mounted the platform and, with his whole being filled with a spirit seldom seen in any man, denounced the dishonesty of the convention and said he would appeal from its decision "to the people as a whole." This he did and, after one of the fiercest campaigns ever waged anywhere, winding up with a large mass meeting in Armory Hall at which 10,000 people were present, a large portion of whom were workingmen who tramped in a large parade through fifteen inches of heavy wet snow which was falling at the time and which was most emblematical of what was to happen to narrow partisanship in Toledo the next day, Jones was reelected, carrying every precinct in the city but one, and receiving over 70 per cent of the total vote cast, or 10,000 more votes than both the Republican and Democratic candidates received together.

The people turned out to vote for him just as they now have turned out to do honor to his memory. This was his first great "non-partisan" campaign, and after it was over the mayor declared that he would never again accept a party nomination, as his belief in party politics had disappeared.

In the fall of 1899 he ran as a "non-partisan" candidate for governor of Ohio and, with scarcely any organization behind him, received more than 100,000 votes, carrying both Toledo and Cleveland by large majorities, and even Mark Hanna's own precinct and ward; surely this was a glowing tribute to the man and the principles for which he stood.

In 1901 he was renominated by peti-

tion. The Democrats left the head of their city ticket blank. With the strongest candidate that the Republicans could produce—a very popular man and supported by many Democrats—Jones, without great effort, was reelected by about 3,000 votes.

#### MACHINE TRICKS DEFEATED.

During this term the "Machine" had a bill passed in the Legislature ousting the police board, of which Jones was chairman. The mayor, using his good common sense, with which he was blessed with a bountiful supply, "stood pat" and refused to be ousted. The new board was appointed by the governor of Ohio, were anxious to assume its duties, and demanded the mayor to "turn over the keys," but he still "stood pat." The matter was taken into the courts, and finally to the Supreme Court, which decided in favor of Jones, much to the chagrin of the politicians. This simply shows the good judgment which the man had and also his fearlessness, and was one of the many things which kept adding to his popularity and which, in spite of his so-called eccentricities, increased confidence in him on the part of the business men of the city.

Again, in 1903, although weary of the position of mayor and longing to have his time to work out economic problems with his own men, he listened to the cries coming from the masses and, when petitions, signed by thousands, were presented to him he accepted another nomination by petition from the hands of the people for the office of chief executive. This campaign was opened one night from a wagon in front of the postoffice, the mayor appealing to the people from the non-partisan platform. Not one daily paper in Toledo supported him, but with a few ardent speakers, the Golden Rule Band, from his own factory boys, and a colored quartette, the crowds and enthusiasm steadily increased at the various meetings until it could easily be seen that the people were still with the mayor.

At first, when Jones began to hold open-air meetings, the papers and politicians began to ridicule him, stating



that a mayor of a city of this size ought to be more dignified; but in less than ten days both parties saw that there was "something doing" and began to do the same thing, but it was of no avail; the people wanted Jones for a fourth term, and when the smoke of that battle had cleared away Jones was in the lead with a little less than 3,000 majority.

Not content with four successive drubbings, the "Machine" had a new city charter passed by the legislature this last winter, transferring considerable power which formerly belonged to the mayor to the governor of the state, the board of public service and the council, so that about the only power left him was the "veto," which he never failed to use when necessary to protect the rights of the people.

The machine thought that now they had Jones beaten and that he could never be reelected again. But even in this Jones is victor; kind Death has called him on. His last campaign is over, the crown is his. The people, whom he served so faithfully, gathered around his bier, voting with their presence kind remembrances and tears, that Sam Jones, the Mayor, was an honest, upright man, beloved by all.

#### LOVED HIS CITY: ITS PEOPLE LOVED HIM.

In our judgment he is the greatest American character since Lincoln's time, known the world over. What made him great? Simply the law of love and service; for the greatest in the Kingdom is the man who is the greatest servant.

Yes, he faithfully served Toledo. He loved Toledo, and longed to see it become a great city, great as described by Walt. Whitman, as we have often heard him read:

"The great city is that which has the greatest man or woman;

If it be a few ragged huts, it is still the greatest city in the whole world.

The place where the great city stands is not the place of stretch'd wharves, docks, manufactures, deposits of produce,

Nor the place of ceaseless salutes of newcomers, or the anchor-lifters of the departing,

Nor the place of the tallest and costliest buildings, or shops selling goods from the rest of the earth,  
Nor the place of the best libraries and schools—nor the place where money is plentiest,  
Nor the place of the most numerous population.

Where the city stands with the brawniest breed of orators and bards;

Where the city stands that is beloved by these, and loves them in return, and understands them;

Where no monuments exist to heroes, but in the common words and deeds;

Where thrift is in its place, and prudence is in its place;

Where the men and women think lightly of the laws;

Where the slave ceases, and the master of slaves ceases;

Where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons;

Where fierce men and women pour forth, as the sea to the whistle of death pours its sweeping and unript waves;

Where outside authority enters always after the precedence of inside authority;

Where the citizen is always the head and ideal—and President, Mayor, Governor, and what not, are agents for pay;

Where children are taught to be laws to themselves, and to depend upon themselves;

Where equanimity is illustrated in affairs;

Where speculations on the Soul are encouraged;

Where women walk in public processions in the streets, the same as the men;

Where they enter the public assembly and take their places the same as the men;

Where the city of the faithfulest friends stands;

Where the city of cleanliness of the sexes stands;

Where the city of the healthiest fathers stands;

Where the city of the best-bodied mothers stands,

There the great city stands.

Yes, dear Mayor, you tried to make Toledo, your city, truly great. Therefore, with the little girl, seven years old, who came all alone with her little bunch of five sweet peas, brushed away a tear from her eye and laid them on your casket; with the aged widow who trudged down at an early hour bringing her small bunch of flowers, tied with a little purple thread—all she had to offer; with the army of newsboys who knew you as their friend; with the unfortunate, to whom you had often extended the hand of encouragement and help-

fulness; with the army of workingmen who came to take a last, farewell look upon your well-known face; with fathers and mothers, bringing their little ones to see the man they would have them follow as an example; with the business man and employe; with Jew and Gentile; with saint and saloon-keeper; with priest and harlot, we join in saying that Sam Jones, the Mayor, was a great true man.

God give us men! A time like this demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and  
ready hands;

Men whom the lust of office does not kill;

Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who love honor—men who will not lie;  
Men who can stand before a demagogue  
And brave his treacherous flatterings without  
winking.

Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the  
fog

In public duty and in private thinking.

For while the rabble, with their thumb-  
worn creeds,

Their large professions, and their little deeds,  
Mingle in selfish strike, Lo! freedom

weeps,

Wrong rules the land, and waiting justice  
sleeps.

Such a man was he.

Toledo, Ohio.

## Campaigning With "Sam Jones"

By Brand Whitlock, Fellow Campaigner

"It was not 'Hurrah for Jones,'" said the Chicago Tribune, "it was not 'Down with the corporations'. If it had been, the experienced precinct captain could have understood it. The thing that made the experienced precinct captain rub his forehead was that the cheering sounded more like a day with Savonarola in Florence than a day with a candidate for mayor of Toledo." The Golden Rule and Brotherhood were to him inexplicable campaign cries. The canvass was more a religious evangelism of the Good in Man than anything else. To share in any of them was a spiritual privilege. Mr. Brand Whitlock, who was close to Mayor Jones through them all, contributes to THE COMMONS the following account of his personality in them:

Mayor Jones campaigned four times for mayor of Toledo. The first time he was the candidate of the Republican party. The second campaign Jones made as an independent, or non-partisan, as he preferred to say. All forces, apparently, were leagued against him. The newspapers entered into a conspiracy of silence, and from reading them no one would have known that a man by the name of Jones was running. There was not the slightest mention of

his candidacy or the events of his campaign. It was, however, one of the most exciting campaigns in American municipal history. He was elected by a majority over both the Republican and Democratic candidates. No less than 16,773 votes were polled for him, to 4,266 for the Republican and 3,135 for the Democrat. The Toledo Blade in comment the next day said: "They say the people have spoken, but they needn't have hollered so loud."

In the last campaign we had the Golden Rule Band, composed of men from his shop, and that was about all we did have. Everybody seemed to be against him—all the newspapers, all the parties, all the organizations, all the churches, all the wealth—everything except the people, the great common people whose voice he was.

He would have several meetings of an evening in different parts of the city, in halls when he could get halls, in a tent now and then, if not that, in the open air, which, he said, was the best place after all to sing the songs of freedom. Such meetings no one has ever seen. Politics were not talked much; these meetings were far above politics. Democracy, the American ideal, the people as a whole governing themselves without machine or bosses to replace the kings they thought they had got rid of



a century ago—these were the subjects, and the meetings were in the truest sense of the word religious. With Jones life and democracy were a religion. He lived everything he thought and believed and hoped.

I forgot one other thing that we had in the campaign, and that was old gray Molly. Hitched to the little open buggy with its terrible exposure, we would ride around in the raw spring nights and the crowd would seem to be waiting in the streets. From afar they would descry Molly and the big light felt hat which the Mayor wore so jauntily, and the cheering would begin. When he jumped out of the buggy and hitched the horse they would gather around him and greet him, and then the throng would sweep into the stuffy little hall.

I can see the Polish laborers dressed in the clothes they had brought from Europe, standing near the flaring lights, smoking their short pipes. I can hear the band playing and see Jones climb on the platform. One night he said to the Poles:

"What's the Polish word for freedom?"

They shouted something back at him. He listened attent, with a smile. "Say that again." Again they bawled the mysterious word back at him. "Well," he said, "I can't understand it, but it sounds like freedom to me—it sounds good."

He never said this more than once. This original man never did the same thing twice except to live his principles. And then he would go on and talk about liberty and make its meaning and its beauty very clear even to those who so imperfectly understood the language he was speaking.

With the sober, thinking working-men he was at home. He never coddled or flattered them, he never used soft words with them; he would argue with them freely without fear of hurting their feelings or losing their votes. For their votes he really didn't care; he did care for their feelings, of course, for he was the very soul of kindness, but the sense of cam-

aradie was so strong, the fellowship was so perfect, that it was never marred even by the thought of misunderstanding.

In the slums it was the same. Crowds of outcast men and women would listen while he talked to them of life and its real meaning. He seemed somehow to place them in touch with humanity, to connect them again with all they had lost. In all these meetings songs were sung to familiar tunes in words that Jones had written. A number of these songs were very beautiful, one of them set to an old Welsh tune is especially so, as those can testify who heard it sung by the men of his shop at the funeral the other day. In his speeches he did not say much about politics; now and then he discussed such issues as there were in the campaign—the street car franchises for instance—but generally his talk was of higher and greater things. He could take a phrase from the Declaration of Independence and make liberty seem a real thing, and always from his marvelous memory he quoted from Browning or Emerson or Epictetus or Lowell or Burns or Ruskin or William Morris, but oftenest from Walt Whitman and Jesus. And the people understood just as well as if they had been in salons or drawing rooms.

The greatest thing about Jones was that he refused to separate man into classes, just as he refused to separate himself into relations. He accepted and interpreted the teachings of Jesus and the Declaration of Independence literally. This is all there was of it and this is why his meetings were not political meetings so much as they were religious meetings; this is why he was not so much a campaigner as an evangelist; this is why he was not so much a politician as a prophet; this is why he could, with perfect sincerity, that last night of the campaign when we had that monster meeting in Memorial Hall, lay his hand on my shoulder and say, "It doesn't matter how the election goes, we cannot be defeated. We shall win even if we lose."

Toledo, Ohio.

# Samuel M. Jones as an Employer

By Allen A. Tanner, Shopmate

Nearly ten years ago he tacked up in the old sucker-rod shop the sign which gave him the name of "Golden Rule Jones." It was nothing but a plain piece of tin with the words of the Golden Rule printed upon it, but it was a striking contrast to the elaborate and dictatorial rules which disgrace most shops where human beings work.

It was the unanimous verdict of the men that the one who put up the sign obeyed the rule of the shop. The floral piece which they sent to the funeral told the whole story. It was a large rule made of golden flowers and marked by the simple words, "We Knew Him."

One of the first things he did in his own obedience to that rule was to establish the eight-hour day. At the entrance to the shop he wrote, "Every man who is willing to work has the right to live; divide the day and give him a chance."

This eight-hour day has been scrupulously followed, although, at the request of the men, the shops have for some time been running eight hours and three-quarters five days in the week, so as to give a Saturday half-holiday. The men are through with their work at 4:30 p. m. on other week days and at 11:15 a. m. every Saturday of the year.

Every summer the men in the shops, as well as in the office, are given a week's vacation with full pay. During the year they usually receive two or three other holidays on the same plan, and Christmas eve has always brought them a cash gift equal to five per cent of their year's wages.

The wages paid for skilled labor are not much higher than those paid elsewhere, but no man is allowed to work at starvation pay, whether he is skilled or not. He has a family to support. One dollar and eighty-five cents, \$2 and \$2.10 per day, according to length of service, are paid for work which elsewhere brings only \$1.25 and \$1.50.

The men are trusted implicitly. They make out their own time entirely and

have plenty of other unrestricted opportunity to cheat the establishment. My impression is that the losses in this respect are very, very slight in comparison with places where the men are "watched."

Meals which cost the company about 21 cents each are served to the men every noon for 10 cents, the men reporting every two weeks how many meals they have had. Every Friday noon during the winter was held a smoker at which the mayor furnished the cigars, and the time was spent in singing songs, listening to addresses and other forms of entertainment.

Golden Rule Hall and Golden Rule Park are always at the service of the men free of cost, for any social gathering. A band and a singing club have been kept up for several years without any expense to the men, the best of instruments and instruction being furnished. At the new factory there is considerable vacant land, which the men are invited to use, and every noon a large number of them may be seen hoeing their gardens. They have there also one of the best ball grounds in the city.

A few months ago Mr. Jones turned over to the men \$10,000 worth of stock to be used as seven trustees selected by themselves should direct. While he expressed the hope that they would keep the fund intact and would use the income from it in the spirit of the Golden Rule, he tied no strings whatever to the gift. The writer happens to know that if he was satisfied with the experiment it was his intention to multiply this "Golden Rule Trust" many fold.

But the way he gave things meant even more than the gifts themselves. He always treated the men as if he were their beneficiary, not their benefactor. Several years ago he remarked to a group of us out in Iowa: "Most manufacturers keep about eight out of every ten dollars which their employes earn for them. I keep only about seven and so they call me 'Golden Rule Jones.'"



The patience and gratitude of the laboring man are a continual marvel to me."

Did such frankness lead to discontent? No. It made his generosity doubly sweet. While he often made such remarks to the men, I never once heard them quoted by the men as any reason for lack of gratitude. People dislike to be patronized. If nothing else, his putting things that way was the finest delicacy. Personally, I believe that there was more than delicacy in these expressions and that the thoughtful workman yearns for the frank acknowledgment of such truth. When it is humbly confessed, then will he be infinitely patient.

The men certainly believed in Mr. Jones through and through. For eight months I worked side by side with them out in the shops, and my prime object was to get acquainted with their moods, thoughts and needs. I was and am one of them and they talked to me with perfect frankness. I have heard them say almost everything else imaginable, but never a single word derogatory to Mayor Jones. As for myself, after a very close touch with him, not only in office and shop, but also in home and in politics, it is very sweet to be able to say that I never once was disappointed in him.

But was not he on the "unfair list" of the trades unions when he died? Yes. The S. M. Jones Company saw fit to continue buying castings for a while of a firm which was on that list, and so was put there, too. A few hot-headed ones demanded it, the rest were over-loyal to a technicality and so sat still and let them have their way. Ashamed of it? Why, yes, of course they were. His name had to be put on the "blackboard," but somebody rubbed it off (I won't tell who, for that would render one of their leading officers liable to impeachment), and nobody had the heart to put it back. And the very organization which voted to put his name on the blackboard at the rear of the hall, voted in his honor to drape their charter at the front of the hall.

As for the mass of the workingmen, especially those in his own factories,

the unjust action toward him only made him the more popular. They knew who their real champion was and were not disturbed. Neither was Jones. He never allowed the mistakes of the laborer to obscure the justice of the laborer's cause. He realized that if society compels the laborer to fight for his rights, society should not be too critical about the means employed.

To those who are out of sympathy with the trades unions I would suggest that there is indeed something far better, namely, to do as Jones did. In fact, the only hope that I can see for the peaceful and satisfactory solution of the industrial problem is the infusion into it of many men like Samuel M. Jones. His fairness and humanity are needed by employers; his patience and charity by employees.

Only the other day he and I were talking about some inscriptions for the walls of the new factory. At noon today I tacked up two large pictures of himself, and thought as I did so that I was putting up the very best mottoes possible.

Toledo, O.

### "Of the Dear Love of Comrades"

By John Palmer Gavit.

The words will not come, to pen or to mind. Never before have words seemed to me so utterly futile in the presence of death. One of the multitude of the lovers of Sam Jones, I find myself dumb and palsied before the stunning, unbelievable fact that he is gone. Doubtless there are some who knew him better than I; there is none who loves him more. I can think of no man outside the innermost circle of my own home whose death could strike so deep into my own heart. His loss is one of those that shake a fellow's faith in the final Sanity of Things—it is so inexplicable, so premature, so crushing to all that he had in hand and heart.

It is only a few days since he wrote me that he had spent a half hour at the

door of my house in Albany, knocking vainly for admittance, and no one was at home. I shall never quite forgive the fate that led me away from home that last time the dear man set foot upon my doorstep.

"It would have done my heart good," he wrote me, "to come again for a little while into the dear fellowship of your home; to join again in the breaking of bread in that 'Institution of the Dear Love of Comrades.'"

The reference is to the phrase from Whitman, over the fireplace in my house. He noted it upon his first visit four years ago, when we lived in a little factory town in Western Pennsylvania, and every letter I had from him after that spoke of it, of the noble sentiment of Whitman's words, and of the fact that I had burned the motto upon the wood with my own hands.

Those two things were cardinal in his life, as I knew him—to recognize and

establish "the Institution of the Dear Love of Comrades," and to do something, however crudely, with his own hands. There will come a day when Jones's "Letters of Love and Labor" will be classic in the literature of industrial brotherhood. To me they belong in some sort in the canon of Holy Scripture. For are they not verily inspired of the Spirit of the Living God?

I would lay my tribute of sorrowing love upon his grave. What he has been to me I cannot find words to tell. I do not pretend to appraise the value of what he did or tried to do. Time will faithfully assess his work. But through my heart's tears I see him passing on to some better thing, some larger work, in the building up of the Kingdom which is and which was and which is to come—the universal, unending Institution of the Dear Love of Comrades.

Albany, N. Y.

## No Title is Higher Than Man

By Samuel M. Jones

"So God created man in His own image."

—Bible.

We speak the word patriotic,  
We sing the song of the free,  
And tell the tale of the new time,  
Of a world that will surely be,  
When men will live comrades and lovers,  
All rancor and hate under ban,  
And the highest and holiest title  
Will be that you're known as a man.

Chorus:  
No title is higher than man,  
No title is higher than man,  
And the highest and holiest title  
Will be that you're known as a man.

The days of the kings and the princes,  
Of titles from "ruler" to "boss,"  
Will then be only a memory;  
America will suffer no loss.  
The field will be broadening and widening  
For all who would serve as they can,  
The highest delight of a lifetime  
Will be just the thought—I'm a man.

Chorus:  
No title is higher than man,  
No title is higher than man,  
The highest delight of a lifetime  
Will be just the thought—I'm a man.

"Henceforth, I call you not servants,"

The message a Master thus gave,  
For "servant" or "menial" or "hireling"  
Degrades a dear friend to a slave.

Equality, brothers—the watchword  
America takes in the van;  
And here we are making a nation  
Where no title is higher than man.

Chorus:  
No title is higher than man,  
No title is higher than man,  
And here we are making a nation  
Where no title is higher than man.

A man fully grown in the image  
Divine, in which we are made;  
Dauntless, yet tender and loving,  
He's neither ashamed nor afraid.  
Oh, how shall we sing of the glory  
With America heeding love's plan;  
Then the stars will join in the chorus—  
No title is higher than man.

Chorus:  
No title is higher than man,  
No title is higher than man,  
Then the stars will join in the chorus—  
No title is higher than man.



# The Measure of His Stature

By Allan A. Tanner

Even those who realized what a hold he had upon the hearts of the poor are overwhelmed by the pathetic demonstration of their love. Probably nothing like it has occurred in any American city since Lincoln's death. The poor have loved Toledo's mayor almost as a Savior; but they loved him because he first loved them, and the reason why he loved them was because he really knew them. If we only knew one another, hate and indifference would vanish like mist before the morning sun.

Few people outside the ranks of the poor are really acquainted with the poor. Either they have never known the situation, or, having known it, have forgotten; not so with Jones. He knew what poverty was and he never forgot. He kept in constant and sympathetic touch with the poor. How often have I heard him quote Lowell's lines—

"Who gives himself with his alms feeds three—

Himself, his hungering neighbor and me."

On this precept he acted continuously.

Day and night during recent months, sick though he was, he has been pondering how, with his property and his life, he could most truly help his men, their wives and children; and not only them, but many more of you.

He knew more about economics than the rest of us. He realized that in the last analysis one man's want is mainly due to another man's luxury, one man's weariness to another man's idleness or useless labor. And so, with the irresistible logic of love, he came to abhor the things which others could not possess, or which cost others too much labor. Many times he wrote and uttered these memorable words, "I claim no privilege for myself which I am not doing my utmost to obtain for all others on equal terms."

And this stainless man understood the moral outcast better than the rest of us. That was what made him, like One of old, "the friend of publicans and sinners." He was not ashamed nor afraid to associate with them; he knew their regrets, their struggles.

He realized, too, that the vices of the so-called lower classes were no worse in the sight of God than the vices of those who volunteered to reform them. Over against the prostitution of the body there was the prostitution of the mind; over against the unearned profit of the gambler the unearned profit of many another not so classed; over against the apparent indifference of the saloonkeeper to human welfare the apparent indifference of nearly everybody

else; over against the intoxication of drink the intoxication of Pharisaic self-righteousness. And so he kept on repeating:

"In men whom men condemn as ill

I find so much of goodness still;

In men whom men esteem divine

I find so much of sin and blot,

I hesitate to draw the line

Between the two when God has not."

Is it any wonder that the outcasts kept on loving him, that the prisoners greeted him as their best friend, that those condemned to die, for whom he raised his voice in the last speech he ever made, wrote him letters full of loving tenderness!

Yes, he knew, better than the rest of us, the motives which really move men; he was not so foolish as to suppose that they would always and everywhere respond perfectly to the appeal of love, but he was sure that love was mightier far than hate, and that the failures of the loving method would be infinitesimal compared with the failures of the unloving method.

And, most important of all, Mayor Jones knew himself. Many a noble battle has he fought in the struggle for a livelihood, later in the arena of politics and last of all with the grim foe who has just won this empty victory. But his most heroic and persistent warfare was with himself. Charitable he was toward others, absolutely merciless toward himself. I have known him to mourn for weeks over the speaking of an angry word.

Dear as were his convictions to him, thoroughly as he wanted to test every method which promised good results, positive as he was in his expressions, he knew that nothing could take the place of loving kindness, and he never sacrificed that to anything else on earth. Sham and hypocrisy were as quickly detected in himself as in anyone else. If anyone ever hungered and thirsted after righteousness it was this incessant, triumphant soul.

By Rev. A. M. Hyde

The feeling of personal loss, and especially of the community's loss, is shared by men of every faith and men of every thought. While men live they are rivals; they are opponents, often. They seek similar ends by different methods and disagree. When men die, rivalry vanishes, opposition is quiet, and the limits of the city contain no man so narrow who is not glad to bring his meed of praise to him who loved his people, and with all his heart and mind endeavored to serve them. We are one in our sorrow, one in our love.

The cause of this universal love is to be

found in this man himself. Let us not wrong ourselves in a wrong perspective of this life. This man was one of the greatest men of our times. This life has been one of the marvels of our age. Think of it! Look upon it! Born in the lowliest place, unhelped by friend or fortune, this man has brushed aside almost every obstacle and grasped almost every treasure of material and intellectual and moral worth.

"His life was gentle and the elements  
So mixed in him that nature might stand up  
And say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"

I am well aware that leadership makes it impossible in our democratic communities for any man who is the leader to become universally popular. And in the strife of opinions there come to be personal estrangements, coldness, lack of sympathies.

But our vision of this life must lead us to a higher plane if we are to touch those things by which this man most deeply touched us, and by which he will longest live among the great and the good of the earth. The last time I met him for a familiar visit was a few weeks ago, at dinner at the Golden Rule Hall. There, with the greatest enthusiasm he sang the song he himself had composed, "No Title is Higher Than Man."

Here we get closest to the great moving principle of this life. He was the great democrat; the great-hearted and the true-hearted man. He cared not for riches and station; he rose far above distinctions and divisions. He was the friend and the brother of man. His heart was large enough for all the people. All property, all power, all privilege entrusted to him were used for the bringing in of that day, when

"For a' that and a' that,  
Their tinsel show and a' that,  
The honest man, tho' e'er sae poor,  
Is king o' men for a' that."

The friend of man, the friend of the weary and the worn, the weakest and the worst. I know no higher praise.

What a life! He has sent forth the whisperings of brotherhood to echo in the wicked ways of war, to sound their glad message among the anxious hosts of toil; to bring their new hope to the longing multitudes who watch and wait for the coming of the better day.

## By Brand Whitlock

I come this afternoon to try to say a few words for my friend. I shall not say much about his worldly career; I shall not linger on the picturesque story of his life—how he came to this country as a baby in the steerage of an emigrant ship, how he worked and grew rich, how at last he became famous. I do not think that his wealth was important, or that his fame was important, save as it served to bear his message to the world. I

know that he did not consider them important.

He looked out on the world with the vision of a seer and saw all the want and wrong that were there, the injustice and oppression, the despair of men in prison, and, more tragic still, he saw the hopelessly encumbered rich bereft of any real conception of life strangled in the enervating embrace of indolence and luxury, and he stood amazed and horrified. Then he turned his eyes backward and he saw the lowly Carpenter come out of Nazareth to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, the recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised. He pondered the life and the sayings of this man, and without waiting for the constructions of the theologians or the decrees of synods he gave his teachings a literal interpretation in his life.

And men laughed again; they called him a dreamer. But he was not to be denied. He was not to be deterred. In his passion for equality and for liberty, in his desire to see harmony and peace and joy and beauty in the world, he set about his business of erecting the "institution of the dear love of comrades," never doubting that it was to be attained through love alone. With him thereafter there could be no divisions, no separations, no distinctions. Rich or poor, high or low, good or bad, all were people, all were his brothers whom he could not deny without denying himself. With him religion, politics, business and life were one—he could not separate them nor distinguish them. He did not have one set of principles for private life and another for public life; to him Monday was as sacred as Sunday, his feet trod always on holy ground.

This same naive literalness which could see no distinctions in men, which could make no divisions in principles or morals, characterized his view of the official life in which he bore so dramatic and so brave a part. That being sitting on the woolsack in wig and gown was but a man to him and not a judge; the twelve persons in the box were not a jury to him; they were just twelve men. Mayors, governors, presidents, kings, priests, bishops or professors—no matter how many distinctions had been contrived, no matter how many ranks had been arranged, no matter how much power or authority had been vested in them—they were to him simply man and nothing more. Do not think that he thus sought to underrate or degrade them. It was not that. It was rather that he sought to elevate them, rather that his ideal of them was greater than their own, rather that his trust and faith in them were greater than their own; he was willing to trust them where they could not trust themselves. He believed as he sang that no title is higher than man, man made in the image of God, and that all the decorations and all the



symbols with which he might bedeck himself were but meaningless toys.

As a child he went a few weeks to a country school, and that was all. He never attended the academies or colleges or universities, and yet his education was complete. Life itself, to him, was but a school in which he was learning all the time.

He was essentially a poet, now and then in expression, but always in thought, in feeling, in sensitiveness and sympathy. He knew music, for it symbolized to him the harmony of the world. He knew art in the higher sense, the art that is the expression of a man's joy in his work, and he lived the real artistic life, a life of simplicity, a life of purity, a life like that of the flowers and the little children with whom he played. And then, as Walt Whitman says, there had come to him the divine power to use words; he had the ability to express his thought so clearly and so simply that none need misunderstand.

Out of this schooling there came to him real culture. I can almost hear him laugh at the word, and yet, when considered in its perfect sense, it is the right word, for real culture is but the possession of that high imagination which enables one to put one's self in another's place.

He was bound in brotherhood to every being in the world, he shared the joys and sorrows of them all, he shared their faults and their mistakes, he shared their weaknesses and their sins, and so drew close to the great throbbing heart of humanity, and came at last to a clear and positive conception of the interdependence of all people, of the relation of all men, of the solidarity of the race.

He saw that there were really no good people and no bad people in the world, but that there were people simply with good in all of them and bad in all of them, but always more good than bad.

As he went about preaching the gospel of love, which was so clear and so real to him, the common people heard him gladly, and yet like all the other natural saviors of the race who have gone before he was misunderstood. His sensitive spirit was torn by cruel, bitter taunts: He was reviled and rejected, and yet with faith undaunted and a trust that never faltered he reached the sublime height in the building of his character where it could be said of him that when he was reviled he reviled not again. Those who made themselves the enemies of the man who was an enemy to none were to him but souls that were as yet undeveloped.

Ah! that word love. Men used not to speak it before he came to town. If they spoke it at all it was as if they were ashamed, as if it were something silly and sentimental and weak. But he saw that in

the gentleness of love lay the mightiest power in the world, that it was the one great law of the universe. He learned the one law and the only law by which the race can be saved. "Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

This law was the guiding star of his life; it led him to the lofty character we contemplate to-day. By it he won to comradeship with all the poets, all the prophets, all the sages, all the liberators, all the dreamers of the world. They were his friends and intimates, he walked with them in the upper regions. But were they all? No; go to the darkest dungeon of the cruelest prison in Christendom, single out its most despised, abandoned and wretched culprit, and this man stoops and lifts him up and calls him "brother." And if you listen you will hear a whisper coming across the ages, "inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, My brethren, ye have done it unto Me."

What do you think now? Is the law of love practicable? Will it work? Could this lofty character have been wrought out if hatred and malice had had their way with it? Could this sweet and beautiful soul have been developed by any other process? Do these signs of mourning, these voices of sorrow, these crowds of weeping people mean anything? Are they significant at all of the possibilities of the life that yields itself to this single law?

My dear, dear friend, good-bye. Almost before we knew, before we could realize, you had waved your hand, cast your old smile back over your shoulder, and were gone. We might have known that such love as yours would soon outgrow the narrow limits of this life and demand a larger sphere. But it was all too sudden and too soon. You have left us standing confused amid the rush of memories—beautiful memories of the sound of your voice, of the glance of your eye, of the touch of your hand. We dare not think as yet of the future without you. We would linger still in the days when you were here. Perhaps a little later we can learn self-dependence and carry on the old cause. But this be our abiding consolation that never again after this revelation can we doubt the strength and power of Love. As old Walt said, we shall "publish your name and hang up your picture as that of the tenderest lover," and after awhile, when our voices no longer break with weeping, we shall try to sing to the old tune you first heard among your native hills, the words of your beautiful song—

"Ever growing,

Swiftly flowing,

Like a mighty river.

Sweeping on from shore to shore,  
Love will rule the wide world o'er."

# Songs of Labor

By Doctor Simeon Gilbert

"And they sang a new song."

Some time ago Miss Jane Addams and Prof. W. L. Tomlins, through the generosity of a Chicago merchant, Mr. H. N. Higinbotham, offered a tempting prize for the best labor song. Having had occasion to know the kind of songs sung at the meetings of the labor organizations—when any use at all was made of song—they had become painfully impressed with the urgency of a want that was not being met.

The announcement of the offer awakened widespread interest. In the competitive response nearly three thousand songs and pieces of music were sent in. One of the distinguished committee appointed to pass judgment upon them was Mr. John Vance Cheney, librarian of the Newberry Library, himself a poet. After earnest search through the whole number not one strikingly good production was found.

Possibly the committee misjudged. Anyway the result was felt to be a great deal more than a mere literary disappointment. For, certainly, nothing could befit a great new epoch like some great new song; a song which, kindling the imagination, seizing the heart of the people, instinct with conviction and sympathy and hope, should be as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way for the new era."

Now, as everyone is aware, what may be broadly termed the labor problem has become almost the supreme question in these recent years. The question is one which has to do not merely with the industrial and economic revolution now going on, but as well with the radically changing social conditions. Never before at so many centers of influence was so much thought, profoundly earnest and sympathetic, given to a new movement. And yet, where is there the new song, born of the occasion, fitted to embody the prophetic thought and strike force to the new movement?

It should not, however, be too quickly

concluded that we are not ever to have any true labor songs; songs that will show their quality by their power to inspire in the bruised heart of the toiling multitudes the new thought for the hour, the new sense of the sacredness of every human life, the new hope for the struggle—

"Those mighty hopes that make us men."

Only we are again reminded that heaven-born genius is not subject to any man's dictation or prediction; it comes where it lists and we hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it comes and whither it goes. The present fact, however, is nothing less than deeply pathetic—the almost universal songlessness of the labor assemblies of every sort, both in Great Britain and in America.

The saying about the songs of a people having more power than the laws even of the people, though too familiar to repeat, is too true to be forgotten. During our late—let us hope our last—civil war, there came into being and universal use certain songs, born out of the supreme hour and exigency of the great struggle, sung by the millions in mass meetings and on the march, which were as effective in their way, if not also as absolutely essential to the final victory, as was the military genius of Grant himself. Nor, by the way, should city parks, which adorn themselves with statues of the one, fail to make similarly monumental the people's gratefulness for the other. It should, moreover be borne in mind that perhaps the greatest value, after all, of such songs and hymns as were so in vogue during the war was in this, that they not only gave such power to the national cause—which was then but another and earlier phase of the still continuing labor cause—but that they did so much to humanize the struggle, and to save the character of the people from the brutalizing effects of the "hell of war."

It is no doubt true, as has been said,



that the songs of the English-speaking people are for the most part hymns; that for the vast majority of the people in America, as in England, their real minstrelsy is that of the hymn book. In other words, the form of lyrical utterance which seems best fitted at once to express and to enkindle their deeper desires, thoughts and impulses are those which appeal to the religious sentiment, the spiritual imagination. Songs of this character are innumerable; new ones are constantly being added to them, and some of them are among the most familiar of all household words. Extinguish the voice of song in church and Sunday school, and presently there would be no church or Sunday school. The dry intellect at top of the head is not all there is to a man. Any large movement involving the moral convictions and sentiments and social instincts of a people, and that wants the support of popular enthusiasm, must appeal to men on more than one side of their nature.

While, then, there are so many songs for other great causes and movements demanding impassioned and captivating expression such as can only be given in song, why is it that there has been this so remarkable absence of song in labor assemblies? And what is the effect of it? Are there not any such songs, struck out from the heart as sparks from the flint, born for the occasion and so exactly fitted for use in such gatherings? Or have the people not happened to think of it? Or, is it true in some peculiar way that the great movement for the betterment of the conditions of labor is too grim and pragmatismal to have use for poem and song? Of course, in any place where there prevailed a spirit of envy, or hatred and revenge, or of desperation and anarchy, it would not be strange if the exacting and self-restraining harmonies of music should seem distasteful. Nor is it strange that in groups of people where the ruling temper is that of materialistic atheism, they should take more readily to bitter and vehement harangue and denunciation, than to music and song. But there is now no

calling for the preachers of aimless discontent.

It is still only too true, as Jane Addams says, that right and wrong are most confusedly mixed; but it is equally true, as she also insists, that the danger to the labor movement is in making it a class measure; that it can never succeed until an all-embracing ideal is accepted; that it must include all men in its hopes; that it must have the communion of universal fellowship, and that any drop of gall in its cup is fatal. Such a movement, she says, must have a positive force, a driving and self-sustaining power; a moral revolution cannot be accomplished by men who are held together merely because they are all smarting under a sense of injury and injustice, although it may be begun by them. All this is true, and because it is true it emphasizes the need there is right here for the ministries of noble song.

Full of madness and frenzy as was the passion of the French people in the Revolution, it was by no means an aimless passion. It was a dynamic, popular impulse that rose up into resistless power in view of a great moral ideal; an ideal which found instant expression in those three tremendously pregnant catch-words, "Liberty—Equality—Fraternity." If it be said that was not a song, it was at any rate a refrain, which seemed to hold in its single grasp all the lightnings of heaven. The enormous influence of that three-worded popular utterance, not then only, but since then, it would be hard to overrate. And it is just because this total industrial movement means, first of all, a moral revolution, that there is the need to have given it some idealized expression of its true spirit and aim. As James Russell Lowell—who to-day stands perhaps nearer to the common people of England than to those of New England—puts it:

Is true freedom but to break  
Fetters for our own dear sake,  
And with leathern hearts forget  
That we owe mankind a debt!

Plainly enough the industrial movement has need to be humanized, sweet-

ened, broadened, made contagious and victorious by that power which fitting music and song would impart to it. And even now, despite the discordant clangor here and there, it may be said, in the words of Whittier, that

Through the harsh noises of our day  
A low sweet prelude finds its way.

In the preface to a little book published in London in 1892, "Chants of Labor—A Songbook for the People," the compiler, Edward Carpenter, referring to the confusion and despair incident to the break-up of the old forms of industrial and social life, declares that a fresh note of joy and anticipation is heard; society is itself in labor toward a new and glorious birth; and that the emancipation of the workers from world-old degradation and slavery is the signal for the first time in history of the advent on a large scale of the true life of the people, and of the realization of that more rational social order which has been looked for so long. As a contribution to this movement he offers his collection of songs. An examination of these "Chants of Labor" justifies what the editor says of them, that some are purely revolutionary, others are Christian in tone; some are merely materialistic in tendency, while many are of a highly ideal and visionary character. One of them, "A Hymn of the Proletariat," is by Johann Most:

Who hammers brass and stone?  
Who weaveth cloth and silk?  
Who tilleth wheat and vine?  
Who laboreth the rich to feed?  
Yet lives himself in sorest need?  
It is the men who toil,  
The Proletariat.

As to the kind of song wanted, it is not merely a question of poetic or other literary merit, but of fitness. The song must be suited to the occasion as a soul is fitted to its body. A true song for the hour expresses the thought of the hour. It does more, it expresses the sentiment which belongs with the thought. In Luther's hymn the soul of the Reformation found its own voice. To sing it was to hear a trumpet call to trust in God, no matter what the foe. To express such spiritual courage was

next thing to create the courage needed. To hear hundreds, to hear thousands singing it in unison, was a revelation. It showed a power in the human spirit unrealized before. This "Marsellaise of the Reformation," as Heine calls it, made the reformers seem as dauntless as God himself, and almost as invincible. So, too, when the world-wide missionary movement at the beginning of the last century was started, the so-called "Missionary Hymn," by Bishop Heber was itself one of the most effective contributions to that movement.

In the Italian revolution, which led to the "regeneration" of Italy, the famous Garibaldian hymn, which Mercantini struck off in some happy moment, and which caught so the popular impulse and spread like wildfire all over Italy, was little enough of a hymn in the ordinary meaning of that word; but in homeliest phrase and idiomatic terms it said what everyone thought, and set the people to singing it, and so made the doing of it as irresistible as destiny, the refrain being:

Get out of Italy, get out for it's time,  
Get out of Italy, O stranger!

In Greece, just a century ago, it was the songs of the poet Rhiga, fiery patriotic songs sung everywhere and with intensest feeling by the whole Greek race, which prepared the way for the Greek revolution. And he caught his inspiration from those terribly lyric outcries of the French Revolution.

The German legions in the Franco-German war never tired of singing "The Watch on the Rhine," the song given them for the hour by Max Schneckenbarger; and the song did what Von Moltke could not have done toward making their cause victorious. Rouget de Lisle may be remembered, if remembered at all, for having given the Marsellaise to the French; but with this he gave freedom to France. In our Revolution of '76, "Yankee Doodle" was certainly not a great song, and not in the least a hymn; and yet it served an immensely useful purpose in keeping up the courage, good cheer and elastic humor in those dark days which



tried men's souls. Washington urged the soldiers to keep up their courage by the singing of patriotic songs.

It is here a fact of interest that no other country has been so rich in national songs as our own. The British "God Save the Queen" is good in its way, as an expression of personal loyalty to royalty; but it is paltry in the sweep and glory of thought and sentiment as compared with that of our "America," or the "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

A really noble offset to "God Save the Queen," and one often used with striking effect in certain labor assemblies in England, is that democratic anthem which burst from the burning heart of Ebenezer Elliott, the Sheffield Corn-Law Rhymer, "God Save the People." It is the nearest approach, as Mr. Stead has remarked, to an English Marsellaise that a sense of social injustice has wrung from the heart of the oppressed. As Mr. Charles Garrett of Liverpool says, "This hymn rings in my mind like the cry of a nation on its knees." The song constitutes a kind of prelude revealing the fundamental theme of the sublime and still-continuing oratorio of the true labor cause:

Where wilt Thou save the people?  
O God of mercy, where?  
Not kings alone, but nations?  
Not thrones and crowns, but men!  
Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they  
Let them not pass like weeds away—  
Their heritage a sunless day,  
God save the people!

But it would be wrong not to acknowledge what the labor cause—the cause of the honest and hard-toiling millions of people in all lands—owes to such singers as Burns, Hood, Whittier, Lowell, Gerald Massey and others. Emerson says of Burns that "he made a mere provincial dialect classic." He made a good many other things classic; for one thing the true peerage of the social democracy based on "sense and worth,"

A man's a man for a'that!  
And as Massey says of Hood,  
How the bonny bird of God became  
And poured his heart in music for the poor.

Hood's "Song of the Shirt," another classic in the modern literature of labor, is one which the new age of pity can never forget so long as women,

With fingers weary and worn,  
With eyelids heavy and red,  
are left to struggle alone or in sweat-shops under the hard-hearted monsters of pitiless greed.

Gerald Massey was himself in his time a true poet laureate of labor's cause; one of those poets who "learn in suffering what they teach in song." For it was the bitterness of his own experience which first stung his genius into song. Speaking of certain of his earlier poems, he says: "Those verses do not adequately express what I think and feel now; yet they express what I thought and felt then, and what thousands think and feel now." He had himself no childhood, he said, having had to earn his own dear bread by the eternal cheapening of flesh and blood. From the time he was eight years old "I never knew what childhood meant; ever since I can remember I have had the aching fear of want throbbing in heart and brow."

Still all the day the iron wheels go onward,  
Grinding downward from its work  
And the children's souls, which God is calling  
ing sunward  
Spin on blindly in the dark.

Naturally, in his view, the "lower classes" were the idlers who live on the sweat of others; the "upper classes" were the people, who, with still unim-bittered spirit and unconquerable cheer, work for a living. And there is splendid lyric force in his song on "Labor's Chivalry.:"

Uprouse ye now, brave brother band,  
With honest heart and working hand!  
We are but few, toil-tried and true,  
Yet hearts beat high to dare and do,  
And who would not a champion be  
In Labor's lordlier chivalry?

O! there are hearts that ache to see,  
The day dawn of our victory,  
Eyes full of heart-break with us plead,  
And watchers weep and martyrs bleed,  
O! who would not a champion be,  
In Labor's lordlier chivalry?

Although in many of his earlier songs and poems Massey does little else

than shriek defiance at those who oppress the hireling in his wages, yet, when in others he turns to wife and child and home, he shows how sweet and sacred the passion of the purest love may be, even in the homes of the poorest. "I keep my political verses," he said, "as memorials of my past, as one might keep some wornout garment because he had passed through the furnace in it." They will know that I have suffered their sufferings, wept their tears, thought their thoughts, and they will trust me" Most of his utterances the world may soon willingly enough let die, but some notes of the pathetic songs he sang, we may be sure, will linger and be a power in other hearts for a great while to come, as a part of the "cry of the human," which, even though at first it may have been "nothing but a cry," yet, sure as that "God so loved the world," must yet be heard and heeded. For the song-poet, who, matching words and music, has the gift for saying "things too simple and too sweet for words," has the power not only

To hold possession of the height  
Of nameless pathos and delight,

but the power to move men to definite action.

But the time has come when the labor cause waits for the true labor song, of a kind differing from anything it has had hitherto.

People have long been calling for the "American novel," to "epitomize the nation." Perhaps the modern nation has become too great and too complex to admit of such a setting forth. Possibly, also, no single song could now epitomize the labor movement as it has grown to be, when Christian socialism in one form and another is already to such a degree in the air, and when the passion for religious ideals is turning its feet along so many lines to the cause of social amelioration. And yet it would be a strange thing, if this new condition of affairs should not, in some responsive soul, find expression in some great, sweet, tender, mighty song for the hour.

Always, indeed, there have been hum-

drum songs and melodies for the toilers; rhythmic modulations of voice and tone fitted to chord with and ease somewhat the dreary drudgery to which their lives were bound. At the least the dull, sore heart of labor finds some relief in this. At the best, that is, when the songs that sing themselves in their hearts are of the best, are noblest in meaning and music, the effect is inspiration. It transforms and recreates. It lifts toil out of drudgery. It puts the weary and heavy laden into companionship with the noble of the earth. It widens the workshop into the horizon of the world. Above the low-roofed limitations of squalid cares, it opens, to all alike, the mighty vistas and perspective of more than selfish, of more than earthly, hopes. It would do what, in a kindred art, Millais has shown in his "Angelus," where the two homely, youthful toilers, at the setting of the sun, stand transfigured at sound of the distant church bell, which, calling to prayer, instantly lifts their spirit up into conscious companionship with all things saintly and glorious. As Washington Gladden has it:

In work that keeps faith sweet and strong,  
In trust that triumphs over wrong,  
In hope that sends a shivering ray  
Far down the future's broadening way.

And so, how many a time has a deathly despair been broken by a song.

Of course, any labor song, to take strong hold of the people, must strike some deep note in the heart and appeal to what is most sacred in human aspiration and affection.

A "Song Book for Socialists," published in England, makes much use of William Morris' socialist songs. But it cannot be said that they are very effective. Though they may help somewhat to "swing our hopes along," they do not greatly inspire. Another collection, the "Labor Church Song Book," edited by John Trevor, the leader in the Labor Church movement, is of a much higher character, although the strained effort to seem unorthodox is quite a needless drawback to it.

An incomparably richer and stronger collection is that of the "Mansfield



House Song Book," London. These words of Browning are taken as the motto for the book:

Then sang they through their tears in strong triumph!

This little book, of 106 songs, as the editor says of it, was compiled "to supply a need that had been very greatly felt at our men's meetings. So far as possible the hymns have been of such a character as would suit men who feel keenly and strongly that Christ came to save society, as well as the individual." It is a surprisingly fine selection of genuine and impassioned lyric utterances, old and new, showing, for one thing, how firm a place the cause of those who toil and are burdened has always held in the heart and hopes of the best men. One of the oldest of these songs, more than a thousand years old, by the monk, Stephen, the Sabaite, begins:

Art thou weary, art thou languid, art thou  
sore distressed?  
Come to me saith One, and coming be at  
rest.

And this by Dr. Norman Macleod, not in the least a monk, Queen Victoria's favorite chaplain, but one whom all the poor people in his parish insisted on calling "Our Norman," sets the laborer to singing such cheery words as these:

Courage brother, do not stumble,  
Though thy path be dark as night;  
There's a star to guide the humble;  
Trust in God and do the right.

Though the road be long and dreary,  
And its ending out of sight;  
Foot it bravely, strong or weary:  
Trust in God, and do the right.

And there are such self-singing notes as these from Faber:

It is God; his love looks mighty,  
But is mightier than it seems;  
'Tis our Father; and his fondness  
Goes far out beyond our dreams.

And is not this precisely one of the things which the cause of labor, now often so prone to be full of wrath and wailing, especially needs; the power such as lives in true song to lift the spirit "far out beyond our dreams," where men, depressed with work and overwork, may get fresh wings for their hopes? Mere denunciation never reformed anything. Nothing is more barren of good than envy. And hatred stings itself with the pang of its own poison.

The new era is coming, however unobserved it may be at the moment of its advent. Some time, we may be sure, the singular and unhappy songlessness of the labor movement will pass away. Some time, some true song for the glorious labor cause will come; will come, because some true singer, musing till the fire burned, could not help but utter it. And when it does come, and come into use in labor and other assemblies, it will do more than almost anything else to bring home the cause of universal sympathy and make its rightful demands irresistible, its own best aspirations altogether practicable.

## Educational Problem of Foreign-born Convicts

What some are inconsiderately pleased to call our "vicious foreign element" is conveniently made the scapegoat for all sorts of evil conditions in the large cities where it is present in great numbers. It is time that less abuse was heaped upon those guilty of having been born in foreign lands. They are here with us and the question is, what are we going to do about it. Indiscriminate denunciation must give way to "coast-survey" work in social analysis such as some of the settlements are doing in the foreign colonies of our

cities. When the actual facts and conditions are known we can go to work intelligently to weld these "unspeakable foreigners" into the commonwealth as useful citizens.

Those who find their way into our prisons and jails, do so mainly because they are ignorant of our language, customs and principles of government, as Cornelius V. Collins, superintendent of state prisons in the state of New York, points out. His annual report contains an interesting account of what is being done in that state to instruct and

develop the foreigners who are confined in the prisons under his supervision, together with suggestions looking toward more efficient work along these lines. One thing at least ought not to bother those in charge of the educational process. The ones to be properly "developed and guided" in this case are not in a position to escape easily from the continuous and uninterrupted influence of the teachers and inculcators of the American spirit.

Superintendent Collins describes the situation and outlines the plans as follows:

"The reports show that at the close of the last fiscal year the foreign-born convicts in the three prisons numbered 941, or 28 per cent of the entire population. This percentage is fractionally higher than in any year since 1860, but it has fluctuated little in the last thirty years.

"The foreign convicts are of two classes. Those of the one class are educated and of fair, sometimes of superior intelligence. Those of the other and larger class are ignorant, many of them densely so. From such investigation of the cases of those of the latter class as the superintendent has been able to make, he has the opinion that many of them are more properly subjects for sympathy and assistance than for punishment. They have a fair degree of native mental ability but it is to a great extent dormant. They seem dulled by the shock of transfer to a strange country, and dazed by new surroundings and contact with people whose language they do not understand. They fail to comprehend the principles of the government in the United States or the customs and practices that prevail herein. They do not realize that the code of morality and honesty in the new country may, along certain lines, differ materially from that of the old. Handicapped by their ignorance they are arrested for some minor felony; they may or may not be consciously guilty. The issue is likely to be the same in either case; they do not understand how to defend themselves; they have little money and their friends are few, of their own class, and unable to assist them intelligently; so they get to prison, many of them pleading guilty in the hope that they may receive lighter sentences.

"The question is often asked whether it is for the best interest of the country to admit this class of immigrants. This the superintendent does not deem it in his province to discuss. Some men of the class are here and are in the prisons under his care and the practical problem presented to him is how shall he most promote the true welfare of these people and of the country by the fittest treatment while they are imprisoned.

"In the prisons they still labor under the

disadvantage of the lack of understanding, they have no aptitude for work on the industries and can only do such common labor as is found for them about the institution. The majority of them are well behaved prisoners, but when such of them as have indeterminate sentences come before the parole board, they only demonstrate the fact that they are unable to comprehend the conditions of the parole. Their situation excites the sympathy of the board, who cannot consistently parole them. They must therefore be held in prison until their maximum sentences expire.

"The prison officials are doing what they can lawfully for these men. They put them in prison schools and give them such limited educational advantages as they may afford, but these schools are not sufficient to their needs, and they can make too little progress in the period of their incarceration. They require to be taught a great deal; the time is short, and the prisons are not equipped to meet the demands thus made upon them by the needs of this class of men.

"The superintendent has watched the effect of these educational efforts with a good deal of care and with sympathy, and has been impressed by the great interest these men take in their studies, by their eagerness to learn and their pride in the knowledge which they acquire. He believes that many good and useful citizens can be made of such foreigners if they are properly developed and guided. Is it not for the interest of the State to train them by teaching them the English language and giving them a practical, rapid, educational course and to guide and equip them by instructing them as to the laws, practices and customs of the United States? This cannot be effectually done in the prisons. They are not so planned or constructed as to afford the necessary facilities, and the regular routine of the prison day would conflict with that of a school adapted to the wants of this class.

"Such of these foreigners as can be taught and instructed, together with such native illiterates as may be in confinement, might be taken from the several prisons and assembled for instruction in a place by themselves that is suitable. At a reasonable and moderate expense such a place can be provided by the partial rebuilding of the old "Female Prison" at Sing Sing. Dormitories can be provided at much less cost than cells and are preferable for this purpose. The work of reconstruction can be done almost entirely by convicts. A large appropriation is not required to provide a prison school, the lack of which is a weak spot in our prison system. The superintendent hopes that the legislature may, at its coming session, give this suggestion its favorable consideration and provide for such a school where there shall be competent teachers and instructors, where the course of instruction shall be practical and where the prisoners may be kept constantly at work at their books, at lectures and in learning some useful handicraft."



# The "Closed Shop:" Is it Illegal and Criminal?

The "closed shop" agreement, held by many labor unions as a *sine qua non* of their successful organization and the most practical and defensible instrument for opposing unjust discrimination and blacklisting by employers and the new "employment bureaus," was declared unlawful and inimical to public policy in a ruling made by Judge John C. Ludwig in the Milwaukee Superior Court, July 13. Following close upon the decision of Judge Adams of the Appellate Court for the First District of Illinois, in which a contract for the exclusive employment of members of a union was held in itself illegal and criminal, Judge Ludwig's decision will invoke a fresh storm of controversy. Rightfully recognizing that the tenability of the "closed shop" has a most profound bearing upon the method and trend of labor organization, the decision ranks as a leading issue of the day.

Although many great labor organizations, such as the Iron Molder's Union, described by Ethelbert Stewart in the July number of *THE COMMONS*, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, now on strike, and many others, have never found it necessary or advisable to seek "closed shop" agreements, a popular conception of the "open shop" as opposed to the "closed shop," is expressed by William English Walling in a recent number of the Independent, in the declaration that "the open shop means the destruction of the unions." And whether or not, as has been demonstrated in Chicago and other cities, closed-shop agreements render conspiracies possible by which employers and their workmen combine against the public and practice extortion; whether or not it is to the interests of the trades unionists themselves that the closed-shop principle shall not prevail, since the merit of their organization, not the monopoly it enjoys, should be the basis of appeal for men to join it, yet the "closed shop," as a part of the creed

of hundreds of thousands of unionists all over the country and as the favorite point of attack for those most bitterly hostile to trade and industrial organization, must be regarded as the *piece de resistance* in the present industrial struggle.

It is unfortunate, therefore, that neither in the Kellogg Switchboard and Supply Co. case, passed upon by Judge Adams, nor in the suit of the Milwaukee Customs Tailors' Union against Marnitz & Co. before Judge Ludwig, the strict question as to the legality or illegality of the "closed shop" was the main question considered. In both instances the general theory enunciated by the court, and not the conclusion in either particular case, meets the storm of opposition. The decision in the Kellogg Switchboard & Supply Co. case was "merely an application of the well established and sound rule that picketing, attended by intimidation and coercion, is unlawful and will be enjoined." Judge Adams, then, in ruling that a "contract made under duress is voidable" has been considered to have further gone out of his way "in the decision under discussion to render an unnecessary pronouncement against the principle of the union shop." In the Marnitz case, the Milwaukee Custom Tailors' Union had a contract with Marnitz & Co., which provided that no non-union men be employed by the company. When the company hired nonunion workers the union secured an injunction from a court commissioner restraining the company from breaking the contract, but the ruling of the court reversed the writ. Deciding against the union on the ground of lack of mutuality, as the contract bound the company to employ only union men, while it did not require the union to furnish the men needed, the court further declared the closed shop agreement as discriminating in favor of one class of men, excluding all others. Judge Ludwig says:

"The prohibition contained in the contract

strikes at the right of contract both on the part of the laborer and the employer. The agreements in question would tend to create a monopoly in favor of the different unions to the exclusion of the workmen not members of such unions, and are in this respect unlawful. Contracts tending to create a monopoly are void."

Regarding the "closed shop" agreement as "contrary to public policy and therefore void," it is noticeable that Judge Ludwig does not deny the right of workingmen to organize for their betterment. On the contrary, the court says:

"In the general consideration of the subject it must be said that the organization or co-operation of workingmen is not against any public policy. Indeed it must be regarded as having the sanction of the law when it is for legitimate purposes as that of obtaining an advance in the rate of wages or compensation, or of maintaining such rate, or any of the purposes stated in the plaintiff's complaint. It is proper and praiseworthy and falls within that view of human society which perceives an underlying law that men should unite to achieve that which each by himself cannot achieve, or can achieve less readily.

"But the social principle which justifies such organizations is departed from when they are extended in their operation as either to intend or to accomplish injury to others. Public policy and the interests of society favor the utmost freedom in the citizen to pursue his lawful trade or calling, and if the purpose of an organization or combination of workingmen be to hamper or to restrict that freedom, and through contract or arrangement with employers to coerce other workingmen to become members of the organization and to come under its rules and conditions under penalty of the loss of their positions and of deprivation of employment, then that purpose seems clearly unlawful and militates against the spirit of our government and the nature of our institutions. The effectuation of such a purpose would conflict with that principle of public policy which prohibits monopolies and exclusive privileges. It would tend to deprive the public of the services of men in useful employments and capacities."

Considering this ruling to be upon all important points as concurring with the previous one of Judge Adams, the critical symposium of expert opinions upon the decision of the Illinois Appellate Court in the July "Review of the National Civic Federation," is pertinent to that of Judge Ludwig also. The leading article is composed of the opinions, gathered from eminent lawyers and

publicists, upon the validity and effect of the decision bearing upon the legality of a contract for the closed shop.

Typical of the reasonings of those upholding the opinion of the Illinois Appellate Court, Mr. Levy Mayer (of Moran, Mayer and Meyer, lawyers, Chicago,) writes:

"All other economic and legal questions aside, it now becomes in this State (Illinois) a complete answer to the demand of the closed shop that the law stamps such an arrangement as a criminal conspiracy. It is elementary that the crime of conspiracy consists of a combination of two or more persons to effect an illegal purpose. It has been asserted over and over again by those advocating the closed shop that an agreement to employ only union labor is perfectly legal and binding.

"The courts have frequently heretofore held illegal an agreement among members of an association to withdraw their patronage from any one who sold to one who was not a member of the association or an agreement which permitted members of an association to make purchases only from such as sell exclusively to members of the association. I have never been able to appreciate the distinctions which some courts have endeavored to make between cases of the kind I have indicated, and cases where the right to employ nonunion labor was involved. There is no doubt that persons may combine for legitimate purposes and that an individual may refuse to deal with any particular person or class of persons and base such refusal upon mere whim or caprice, but it has been my opinion, and I am more than gratified to find it sustained by the appellate court, that a number of persons cannot combine with the object of compelling the adoption of a contract which prohibits the employer from employing nonunion labor.

"If such a contract is entered into it is illegal, and under the decision of the appellate court constitutes a criminal conspiracy, to which not only the union but the employer becomes a party and for which not only the employe but the employer is subject to fine or imprisonment in the penitentiary."

On the other hand, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis (of Brandeis, Dunbar and Nutter, lawyers, Boston) reviews the contentions that the "closed shop" agreement interferes with the employer's right of contract, discriminates in favor of one class, tends to create a monopoly and contravenes the Illinois statute prohibiting combinations for "the purpose of depriving the owner or possessor of property of its lawful use



and management." In denying these four contentions, he says in part:

"It does not interfere with the employer's right of contract to induce him to enter into a certain contract. Every contract which any person enters into interferes in some way with his future freedom of contract of other action. That is the very purpose of entering into a contract. The "right of contract" is the right to restrict one's freedom of action. This sacred right of contract is limited only by the requirements of public policy as expressed either in rules of the common law or of statutory prohibition.

"The privilege for which employers have most strenuously contended in the past is the right to employ, that is to contract with, whom they please—union or nonunion men. The employer exercises this privilege when he elects from day to day to employ union men. No sufficient reason suggests itself why he should not be permitted to agree in advance for a limited time, or until further notice, he will employ only union men.

"As to the second ground: It is not unjust discrimination against certain workmen, or an interference with their right to work, for a private employer to employ only persons of a certain class. Nor does an agreement to make his selection on such lines, however capricious or unreasonable, interfere with anyone's rights. A discrimination between two classes of workmen cannot be unjust unless there is a right not to be discriminated against, in other words, a right to equality of treatment. So far as relates to private employment, there is no such right. The right to work for a private employer is merely the right to be allowed to work if one can find a willing employer.

"As to the third ground: An agreement to employ union men undoubtedly tends in some degree to a monopoly, but the tendency ordinarily would be very slight and remote. It certainly is not the law that every contract which tends however slightly toward the creation of a monopoly is unlawful. If it were, no large manufacturer could contract to increase his plant, or contract for an exclusive right to a patent which would cheapen production, for such a course tends inevitably towards securing a larger share of the market, thereby driving out competition and to that extent tending toward a monopoly. . . . At all events it seems clear that, at the present time, the mere attempt to secure for a particular concern with \$500,000 capital and employing five or six hundred hands an agreement that only union men be employed cannot be said to tend so strongly and immediately to monopoly as to be held unlawful on that ground.

"As to the fourth ground: The effort to secure by a legally conducted strike the making of such an agreement cannot be said to deprive the property owner of its use and management unless,

(a) the union should control substantially all the labor; in which event there would be no occasion for the agreement; or,

(b) the right "to the use and management" of property should be held to include a right to compel people to work for the owner.

It certainly was not the purpose of the Illinois statute to inaugurate such a revolution of the social and industrial system."

Aside from further argument as to whether, when the right to employ union men in preference to nonunion men is not seriously questioned, it can be illegal to request or induce one to do what he has a perfect right to do, must come the question, how will Judge Adams' and similar decisions fare in a higher court?

Frederick H. Cooke, author of "The Law of Trade and Labor Combinations," New York, draws out a hint in the response to an interesting question covering a hypothetical case similar.

Q. Suppose the manufacturer of a certain brand of baking powder makes a grocer a discount, provided the grocer agrees to sell that brand exclusively—would such a contract be illegal or criminal?

A. If the decision in *Christensen v. People* be sound (Judge Adams' decision), it seems to follow that such a contract constitutes an illegal "discrimination in favor of one class" (i. e., those manufacturing such brand of powder), or is illegal as "tending to create a monopoly, in favor of" such manufacturers. It seems, however, that the law is, or had been supposed to be, well settled to the contrary. It is interesting to note that the Supreme Court of Illinois (which has general power to review the decisions of the Appellate Court) has passed upon the legality of what is substantially the precise situation described in the above query. That court saw nothing illegal in a contract by which a wholesale dealer in *Ætna* sewing machines agreed to sell them to retail dealers agreeing to deal exclusively in *Ætna* machines and to purchase their supplies from such wholesale dealer; the latter, on the other hand, agreeing to furnish them the machines at discount. The court said: "We see nothing in such a contract so in restraint of trade as to make it in that respect against public policy, and require that it should be adjudged void. We know of no warrant of authority therefor." And there is a long succession of decisions to the same effect.

William V. Rooker, a prominent Indianapolis lawyer, arguing as others that a closed shop agreement does not create or tend to create a monopoly per

se illegal or criminal, further looks upon the closed shop in a different light.

"The purpose of a contract for a closed shop is," he says, "only incidentally hostile to non-union labor. The object and intent are to give the union authority over the men employed to do certain work. The purpose is discipline. The object is to exact obedience to certain fixed scales of efficiency and decorum. The common law rule as to fellow servants makes employes responsible for the conduct of one another, to the extent of sacrificing limb and life. With so great a charge as this placed upon them, can it be said that there is or ought to be any moral or legal objection to employes exercising a voice in the selection of their fellow workmen—those for whose good conduct so great an indemnity in favor of the employer is by law exacted from the employee? To subordinate men and their individual interests so largely to the general welfare of the State, as Judge Adams appears inclined to do, would, it seems, bring us at once to the practical realization of socialism in its purest forms."

Judge Ludwig's decision is merely a ruling identical with but not confirming

Judge Adams' ruling in the Illinois Appellate Court. Many of us probably agree in believing that if the employer can limit employment in his business to a specified kind of laborers, for white laborers or non-union laborers, and refuse to hire colored laborers or unionists, then the correlative right must exist in laborers—members of a trade union—to work only for an employer who will recognize their union and refuse to work for him unless he will limit employment in his business to members of their union. However debatable the point, it is to be hoped that either the Illinois or the Wisconsin case, or some other in which the question of the closed shop can be authoritatively passed upon, will be carried to the highest court, that we may have a ruling as to whether agreements now binding thousands of men and their employers are criminal or not.

E. B.

## Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

### Enemies of the Republic

Lincoln Steffens, in McClure's for August.

"Political corruption is a force by which a representative democracy is transformed into an oligarchy representative of special interests, and the medium of revolution is the party." Not a single party, but either party which can serve the "special interests" in power. It was the Democratic party which furnished the "enemies of the republic," whom Mr. Steffens found in Missouri; it was the Republican party which furnished the "enemies of the republic," whom, in his current article, Mr. Steffens describes with their "operations" in Illinois.

We, who believe that the greater number of citizens are honest and honestly prefer good government, wonder sometimes why that greater number fail

to get honest administration and incorruptible officials oftener than they do. Mr. Steffens has gone to some pains to make it again doubly clear to us. The good citizens are divided, about equally, into two parties; the great body of good citizens "stick" not to one party and work together; half of them "stick" to one party and half to another, and so work against each other—or rather are pworked against each other by the "grafters," big and little, who know no party but either one which will best serve their purposes.

"Graft," says Mr. Steffens, "knows no politics, but the 'good citizen' does. To the grafter a party is but a tool of his trade, and the party to which a majority of the citizens belong is his party. He does not belong to it, it belongs to him. The result is that neither of our great parties truly represent us; both stand to-day for graft. They differ upon other unessential things; they are alike in this, that whichever party is in power is the grafter's party. Now wherever



we have gone, we have found that the biggest grafter is Big Business, and Big Business kept changing its party to the majority. After Missouri I visited three Republican states—Ohio, New York and Illinois. The railroad that took me into Illinois turned Republican at the state line. A trust which had dealt with the Democrats in Missouri appeared in New York with the Republicans. So with another trust—in Missouri a Democrat, at home in Ohio it is a Republican, and so it goes with national politics. Wall street, and all that "Wall Street" connotes, was Republican till President Roosevelt, refusing to acknowledge the privilege of capital, enforced the law against a combination of railroads. Then Wall street began plotting with the Republican leaders for the nomination of a "safe man" for president, and when that "safe man" died, looked to the Democrats—looked with its great campaign contribution for a bribe—and corrupt Democratic leaders, itching for the great financial graft, began search for a "safe man."

"If the good citizen would do as the corrupt politician and the corrupting business man do, shift freely from one party to the other as the change served his interest, then both parties would represent good citizenship. They would differ—more than they do now—on broad questions of public policy, but they would both stand as they do not now, for the public interest. But the good citizen is "loyal to party." Half the loyalty that is betrayed by parties would, if devoted to the state and the nation, save the country and the parties, too! Such independence, however, would mean non-partizanship in state and national politics, and the good citizen is only just learning, with many a qualm of conscience, to vote independently in municipal elections. In state and national politics he votes too constantly, not for his state and the United States, but for 'his party.' Hence his party can deliver his vote. Hence his party does deliver his vote in Ohio, New York, and Illinois, as in Missouri—to all comers with "pulls" and bribes."

It is a plain statement of general conditions, which, after tracing them in Democratic Missouri, Mr. Steffens finds again fully exemplified in Republican Illinois. In both states he shows how, after the struggle, public opinion has triumphed. In the rise of Deneen in Illinois, as in the rise of Folk in Missouri, Mr. Steffens records the restoration of the control of the party from the "special interests" to the people. Their rise is a reform which, he believes, "aims to make the government, municipal and state, represent not bribers, not corrupt politicians, not corrupting business men,

but the common interests of the state—the citizens and friends, not the enemies of the republic."

## A Waiters' Union Manages A Hotel of Its Own

Co-operation is assuming more and more extensive proportions in England, as the report of the recent congress at Stratford shows. New fields for its application are constantly being invaded and the general supposition that co-operative management stifles progressive enterprise is frequently shown to be erroneous. An example is to be seen in the fact that the Tudor Hotel, managed by a waiters' union, is about to open a roof garden cafe. Though these are well known in America and on the continent and are much appreciated in warm weather, London has been without them until this innovation was made by the waiters' union in its hotel. We reprint from an account in the London Daily News this description of the first experiment in co-operative hotel proprietorship by those who do the work:

The Tudor Hotel forms one of the most interesting experiments in co-operative ownership yet attempted. It is owned entirely by members of the International Society of Waiters, the Geneva Union. The majority of the shareholders are waiters working either in London or in the continental capitals. The minority are men who until recently were working either as waiters or chefs, or in some other capacity in connection with hotels or restaurants. The manager, the sub-manager, the head waiter, most of the waiters, the chef, the chief porter and most of the other employes at the hotel are shareholders and part proprietors in the business.

When the Tudor Hotel was for sale nine London waiters formed a syndicate and then a company. The shares were taken up by members of the Geneva Union, £11,000 in £1 shares and £12,500 in debentures. The lease of the hotel, with its furniture and stock as it stood, was bought for £22,500. There was left only £800 as working capital. But these old waiters were experts. They were not financiers; but there was nothing about a hotel which they needed teaching, though most of the chiefs of them came to London only ten or a dozen years ago as boys in boarding houses.

The members of the waiters' union are now anxious to start other hotels on a similar basis.

## Non-Union Strikes

Strikes by non-union men have recently been of frequent occurrence. The sheer futility of keeping the men from acting together is shown convincingly. The Parry Manufacturing Company of Indianapolis, the head of which has been so much to the fore in advocating "union smashing" tactics, and who has taken especial pride in the non-unionizing of his factories, has lately experienced an extensive strike. A "strike-breakers' strike" took place the other day at the Chicago packing houses. To those who see the solution of the labor problem in the employment of non-union men exclusively, and who regard the "scab" as the only working-man of truly heroic mold, we commend the following account, which we take from the Chicago Tribune's report of the great stockyards strike:

The 350 laborers employed at the Hammond plant struck in the morning for an increase in wages. They won.

The company has been paying its non-union men \$3 a day since the strike began. A rumor spread that the packers would be willing to pay more if forced to, and a strike was the result. The men threw down their work and informed the foremen that they must have more money.

A hurried conference was held and it was decided to give the men \$4 a day. Nearly half of the force went to work, while the others considered the offer. These men decided that \$5 would be as easily obtained as \$4, and held off.

In order that the work might not stop altogether, their demands were granted, and for fifteen minutes peace reigned throughout the plant.

Then the \$4 men found out that the others were receiving \$5, and they struck again. After a few more conferences all the men were sent back to their work with the understanding that all would receive \$5 a day so long as the strike lasts.

## World's Fair Trip for N. C. R. Employees

"We want you to go to the World's Fair because you will come back filled with new ideas. I have gone to every exposition that

I could and I learned something at each of them. We will back up our suggestion and invitation to go there by our money. The company is going to do this because it pays us to do it and we cannot afford not to do it," said John H. Patterson, president of the National Cash Register Company, when he called all his employes together recently to explain the plan.

Each head of department and his assistant, each foreman and assistant, and their wives, and each of the 600 girl employes are to be sent for a period of two weeks, with railroad and sleeping-car fare and admission to the grounds while in St. Louis, fully paid by the company. In addition to this Mr. Patterson has decided to close down the entire plant during the first two weeks in August in order to allow all of his 4,000 employes to visit the exposition, and he further announces that the time spent at the Fair will not be deducted from the annual vacations due to those entitled to them, although they will receive pay for the time while they are at the Fair.

## The People's Baths

"Not only as a gift, but as an expression of confidence in the self-respect of the poor," the people's baths at 325 and 327 East Thirty-eighth street, New York, were formally presented to the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. This new Milbank memorial, the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson, was built at a cost of approximately \$150,000. It has fifty-nine showers and three tubs for men and thirty-six showers and six tubs for women.

Two separate entrances lead directly into waiting rooms provided with benches in white birdseye maple. A small office connects with the waiting rooms, and from this the bath tickets and soap and towels are distributed and receipts for valuables given. The interior of the building is finished in Italian white marble. In the basement are two 135-horsepower engines, an electric motor and steam drying apparatus for the towels. Baths are free except when the association furnishes soap and towels. Then five cents is charged.

This year also a free public bathhouse was opened on Coles street, near Railroad avenue, Jersey City.



# College Settlement Association

Mytra L. Jones, Editor

## A Small Educational Venture

By Vida D. Scudder.

It is astonishing how many things we all think about on which academic classrooms and textbooks and lecturers have nothing to say. Sometimes it seems as if the topics that interested us most, and the questions that searched most deeply, had never got into the educational scheme at all. And this is true in a way, for the matters that most need thinking about are often the new issues that rise from life as it progresses and have not had time to enter accepted interpretations. In regard to these insistent matters we have to flounder along by ourselves; or else, and better, to get light by talking them over with our friends; or to find inspiration from the words of some unseen friend on whose book we happen to stumble.

People discovered, some generations ago, that the awful science of sociology had a concrete and human side; but we are realizing more and more every day the immense variety in the aspects of life which the new point of view shows to us. Interest in these aspects is growing more intense and more widely spread all the time. So many books and articles are written, so many lectures given, so many reform journals published, that one would suppose the public appetite on such subjects would be sated. But it is not. The demand increases constantly for guidance in common thought and study, especially in lines not treated by formal education.

The College Settlements Association is trying, through a modest new scheme, to offer a little of such guidance to any who may care for it. Many requests come to the association, from its own college chapters, from women's clubs, from settlements, and so on, for suggestions of short study courses that shall direct reading and discussion on social subjects. Accordingly, a committee of the association has prepared a series of short syllabi, free to members

of the association, sold at trifling charge to others, which it is hoped will meet the need.

The first set consists in three leaflet syllabi, of from four to eight pages each. Number one is entitled "Biographies of Social Leaders." "Few ways of studying social ideals," says the introductory note, "are more suggestive than that of learning to know the great men who have dedicated their lives to social ends. To enter their intimacy, and at the same time to study the movements with which they were identified, is to approach the history of social reform vitally and naturally." The syllabus, after a general reference, presents different groups of biographies arranged in each group in chronological order. First comes a group of philanthropists, from John Howard to Booker Washington; then a group of industrial reformers; then a group of socialists and political reformers, including such names as Mill, Mazzini, Kropotkin and Morris; and finally, a small group of social radicals inspired by religion. The biographies given have been very carefully selected, and each is characterized in a few lines, so that the student can judge a little of the appeal of the book for him.

The second syllabus is on Modern Philanthropy. It gives under a topical division suggestions of certain of the most modern and available books, with brief descriptions, showing the chief points of value.

The third syllabus deals with a matter which has agitated Christian folk for a long time, and is beginning to agitate all thoughtful people. "In eras of social awakening," says the introductory note, "the questions which gather around the subject of Luxury and Sacrifice always become vivid. This was the case in the days of St. Francis, when hundreds of men, forsaking not only luxury, but all private property, vowed themselves with joy to the service of Lady Poverty. It was again the case in the pre-revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century, when Rousseau

was but one among many to raise in an artificial society the cry of Simplification of Life. To-day the question of the right use and limits of personal property rises before us once more, illumined by the light of economic science, and brought vividly home by the social unrest of the times. No subject is more interesting to study, none of greater personal concern." The title given to this syllabus is "The Morals of Spending." It was a surprise to the compiler to find how much stimulating and vigorous thought had been given to this subject by men of types varying from extreme radical to extreme conservative, from artists to economists, from Christians to agnostics. The outlines mention a few of the more suggestive books, and conclude with a list of topics to be studied in connection with special reading: "What is Luxury?" "Is Voluntary Poverty a Modern Possibility?" "Fashion; How Far to be Observed by a Free Agent?" "Ideal Scope of Handicraft in the Modern World," "The Christian Attitude Toward Personal Possessions," and so on. Already a society scattered through the United States is studying on the lines of this bibliography, in preparation for a discussion of Simplicity of Life, to be held at a conference in August. Surely, joint study and discussion of a question of this kind, with the help of the best that has been written about it, is of immediate practical value.

In addition to these three short syl-

labi, a bibliography of twelve pages has been prepared on "Conditions of City Life," by Emily Greene Balch, associate professor of economics at Wellesley College. The references are grouped under the following heads: The Citizens, Housing, Health, Education, Recreation, Art in City Life, Municipal Functions. This bibliography was the basis of study for an interesting and interested class of social workers in Denison House last winter. Other settlements forming study classes might find the bibliography of practical help.

These are all the outlines that have been issued at present. As the demand may warrant issue others will appear. Two are already prepared on a fascinating scheme: "Social Ideals in English Letters," a study which, one almost ventures to say, presents English literature from a new viewpoint. Others are promised, one on "Organized Labor," giving the best and most suggestive things written on that great subject; another on "Social Fiction," presenting and classifying the best among the vast numbers of novels which from the time of "Oliver Twist" have pictured social wrongs and studied social remedies. This list could, if made welcome, be revised and re-issued with additions every year.

Any or all of these outlines, or information about them, can be obtained from the secretary of the association, Miss Sarah Graham Tomkins, 1904 Walnut street, Philadelphia.

## From Social Settlement Centers

*A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodlawn avenue, Chicago, Ill.*

### Forward Movement, Chicago

The outing work of the Forward Movement is being carried on extensively this year as usual on the wooded shores of Lake Michigan, near Saugatuck. Many new plans are under process of development and realization. Although tents provide the accommo-

dation to a large extent, there are a number of buildings on the grounds. A special laundry building has just been erected and the kitchen has been much enlarged. Heretofore the population has been made up for the most part of children from the great city who are able to pay nothing for their stay in the country. While these are the ones for



whom the place is primarily designed and will be maintained, an effort is being put forth to make it available and attractive for clerks and young working men and women who can pay a moderate amount for their summer outing. A large manufacturing plant in Chicago is considering the project of building on the grounds at Saugatuck to house employes to be sent from its factory. Dr. George W. Gray, head of the Forward Movement, is planning to add to the general work some Chautauqua features, and has the promise of lecturers to come and give their services.

### Westminster House, Buffalo

The annual report of this settlement lays especial emphasis, and deservedly, upon the value of the work of the visiting nurses in strengthening the bonds between the neighborhood and the settlement center. A visiting nurse is in continual residence and her ministrations are made of much additional value by the excellent diet kitchen maintained. A number of surgical appliances have recently been given and the nurse has had at her disposal flowers and delicacies which have from time to time been contributed.

### Browning Hall, London

Browning Hall profits by a significant decision of one of its oldest friends and best non-resident workers. Confronted by his physician with the choice of giving up either his commercial career or his settlement work, Mr. Cecil Rogerson decides to contribute his entire time to the sub-wardenship. Thus long needed relief is afforded the heavily over-burdened warden and an inspiring example is set which is deeply impressing all who know the man and what it means for him to devote himself to the public service.

### Chicago Commons

How the time element tells upon capably led settlement endeavor is strikingly illustrated in the educational and social success of the Choral Club. For six years the struggle to rally and effectively conduct an adult chorus was very indecisive. But at last the higher ideals possessed a growing nucleus with interest and enthusiasm, and for two years the club has been the most attractive, uplifting and unifying influence among the young people of the district. It numbers 70 members. Its rendering of "The Rose Maiden" was said to be one of the best choral effects ever heard in Elgin, Ill. The four days the club spent there at Camp Commons tested and demonstrated the rare spirit possessing the whole membership. Its financial support of the children's chorus and co-operation in settlement work for oth-

ers reach the high-water mark of self conquest yet attained among us.

Our summer force of residents numbers sixteen, five of whom are required constantly at camp. The day nursery, summer kindergarten, playground, bathing, milk distribution, rug weaving, embroidery class, library and outings keep the remainder hard at work. The steady demands of the neighborhood church work make heavy drafts on the residents.

### Mansfield House, London

Excursions to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were recently made by parties from Mansfield House. In the last number of the Mansfield House Magazine descriptions of the events are given by some of those who went along. Forty-six journeyed to Oxford in omnibuses, and that the day was enjoyed by all is evident from the enthusiastic accounts of the beauties of the place and the hospitality afforded them by the undergraduates who took them in charge on their arrival. Each of several small groups were piloted around by students, who explained the objects of interest and made an especial attempt to give their guests some idea of the college life and spirit. Before the day was over each guide took his party to his apartments for a little tea. The expedition to Cambridge was carried out in a similar way.

The Men's Club is prospering and 50 new members have joined since the beginning of the year, making the total membership 350 at present.

Mrs. Josefa Humpal-Zeman, a well-known settlement worker and Bohemian journalist, and whose article in *THE COMMONS* for July on "Bohemia: A Stir of Its Social Conscience" aroused much interest, has been honored by an invitation from Prague, Bohemia, having been offered the position of secretary of the progressive Bohemian Woman's Club. She left Chicago April 28, and, after a brief visit to London and Holland, took charge of the work. The club rooms are the meeting place of the successful National Woman's Council (Ustredni Spolek Ceskych Zen), the Teachers' Federation, Union of Women Telegraphers, the working women gathered in the National Socialists organization, the Social Democratic women's clubs, the Dámská Beseda (a pleasure club), and the University Women's Club—known as "Slavia." The rooms consist of a reading room, lecture hall, coffee-house and lodging rooms for women tourists. An information bureau is to be established and tourists from all parts of the world will be welcomed.

The club rooms are called "Zensky Kub," and are located in Jungman street No. 11, at the center of Prague. Mrs. Zeman took up her duties July 1.

Book Review

Common Sense of Municipal Trading.

The recent London County Council elections have elicited two campaign manifestoes which rank as literature and will be read everywhere English is spoken. Mr. Sidney Webb's little volume on London education illuminates the issues at stake under the dust and tumult of the unhallowed and divisive sectarian strife over the Education Act of 1902. Of Mr. Bernard Shaw's companion volume on "The Common Sense of Municipal Trading" (Constable & Co.), the London Daily News, in an advance notice, says: "The book is full of wisdom and insight and literally peppered with the criticisms of life and things that are expected of its author. These 120 pages show Mr. Shaw at his best. Something of the fundamental pity for lives stunted and trodden down and cast as rubbish on the dust heap, which illuminated all Mr. Shaw's earlier works, runs through all his pungent criticism of the shibboleths of a day. The platitude of 'The Times' attack on 'municipal socialism,' the futility of the civic ideals of the small tradesmen who control the 28 borough councils of London, the hollowness of the appeal for industrial freedom against municipal advance, are shown in their raw and ineffective dreariness. Behind the whole subject is the ideal of a possible civilization in the far future, even for London and the great cities of England."

The Age of Combat

By Katherine Elizabeth Dopp. Illustrated. Cloth. Square, 12mo; 160 pages. 45 cents. Rand, McNally & Co. Chicago.

This second volume in the Industrial and Social History Series, monthly, follows the interesting initial treatment of the Tree Dwellers. The author has a clear field and lead in her unique educational effort to make prehistoric life real to the child mind of the primary grades by simple story and interesting pictures.

American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty.

By Isador Ladoff. Charles H. Kerr & Co. 50 cents.

This is a sincere and impassioned treatment of some of the facts and figures of dependency and industry from the socialist point of view. There is a massing of statistics in convenient form from many well-known private and public sources, relieved by current concrete incidents illustrative of conditions or tendencies. Not enough careful discrimination is made in using either facts or figures. The worst phases of the child labor situation, for instance, are massed irrespective of date or place, and are unrelieved by the slowly bettering conditions due to the agitation akin to that of this volume. Conditions existing before stricter legislation improved them in northern states are said to be materially unchanged on account of

"Pillar'd around by everlasting hills,  
Robed in the drapery of descending floods."

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## Special Investigations of Social Conditions

"Social Aspects of the Saloon"

*The Commons for November, 1900*

"Juvenile Delinquency and the Juvenile Court"

*The Commons for February, 1901*

"School Children's Earnings, Spendings and Savings"

*The Commons for June, 1903*

"Boy Problem Number"

*The Commons for March, 1901*

"Hull House Labor Museum," Illustrated

*The Commons for May, 1902*

Orders for Extra Numbers will be filled by mail for five cents a copy.

the lawless child-labor of the South. While a true picture cannot be drawn without shadows, neither can it be true to fact if drawn wholly in shadow. Socialism is the author's one hope for the abolition of poverty, but it is treated by assumption without either proof or the hint of an evolutionary process. Yet such volumes have their value if sufficient allowance is made for strained vision and devotion to one ideal.

### The Still Hunter.

By Theodore S. Van Dyke. The Macmillan Company.

Systematic, minute and exhaustive in its analysis of the methods of still-hunting deer, this book is what it aims to be, more a text book for the already initiated than a picturesque treatment of interest to the general reader. In great detail the habits of the deer are portrayed, and instructions to the hunter how to act seem to cover almost every conceivable emergency. And yet we consider it a fair question if the sportsman does not find as much enjoyment in trying to learn in actual experience without the aid of a text-book of instructions as with it. Even if one blunders hopelessly at the start, he usually enjoys most in a sport the exercise of skill attained through his own patient thought and reasoning in adapting his actions to the conditions at hand. The ideal way no doubt is for the instruction and the practice to go hand in hand. We rather think that the sportsman who bases his skill upon his own experience enlightened by the wealth of suggestion by an authority like Mr. Van Dyke will come very near to getting the maximum of enjoyment out of his favorite sport if it be the still-hunting of the deer.

### Pagan vs. Christian Civilizations

By S. H. Comings. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

In these hundred pages the pagan scorn for labor is shown to obtain largely to-day.

By illustration from many sources the training of the hands is shown to be the basis of mental power.

The author sees the decay of our national life unless the creative impulse in man can be seen to be the only road to true moral and spiritual power.

Therefore he advocates a complete system of free, self-supporting industrial schools and colleges in every part of our country.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

#### The Anthracite Coal Communities.

By Peter Roberts, Ph. D. The Macmillan Company. An extended review of this book may be expected in *The Commons* for September.

#### The Better New York.

By Dr. W. H. Tolman and Charles Hemstreet. Afterward by Josiah Strong. Baker & Taylor Company, New York. Notice later.

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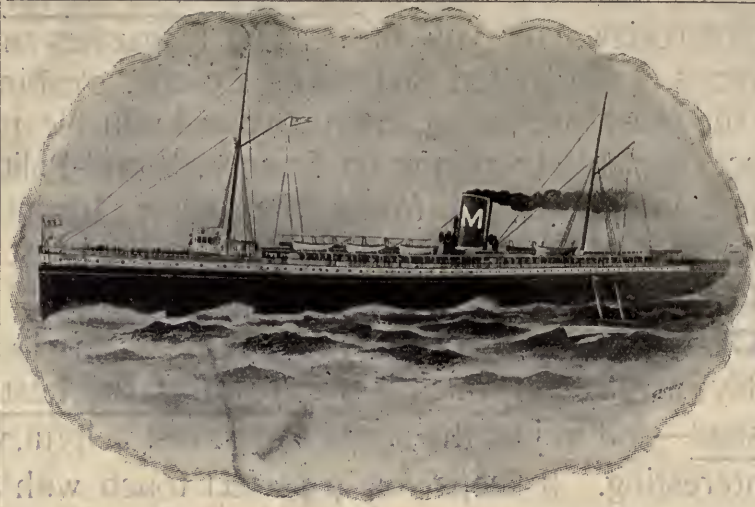
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# The Commons

SEPTEMBER, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer  
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

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# The Commons

Number 9—Vol. IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, September, 1904

## With The Editor

### The Crisis in Organized Labor.

It will be interesting to note how the Labor Day speakers, who really represent the unions, will regard the present crisis in Organized Labor. For there has been no such crucial crisis in the whole history of industrial relationship in America as that with which the country is now faced. It is a crisis which places the nation between the lines; lines of defense and aggressive action on which employers and employing capital are organizing, upon essentially the same basis for their own interests as those upon which trades unionism has organized the employes to protect and advance theirs. Will labor's spokesmen on the platform and in the labor press size up the situation to be as large as it really looms in fact upon the horizon of the history we are now making? Will the country-wide editorial comment called forth by Labor Day and its utterances take the situation seriously and sanely enough to measure up its momentous proportions?

Labor needs to take the largest view it can of its crisis. For the dramatic concurrence of two great facts has forced the tragedy upon which it has entered. The fact of the power of organized labor never really dawned upon the whole country until the Anthracite Coal Miners' union compelled the powerful mining and railway corporations of Pennsylvania to arbitrate their differences with them at the call of the

President of the United States. Then, for the first time, the power which had silently been gathering with comparatively little opposition or attention through all these years of its obscurity since the Civil War, suddenly surprised the public mind and won popular favor throughout the land. It is to be noted and emphasized that this greatest victory of organized labor crowned the most conspicuously peaceful stand it ever took for its rights.

Second to this national recognition of their power is the fact that labor organizations, at some of the greatest centers and in some most unfortunately conspicuous local crises, failed to have any adequate sense of their responsibility for the power which they unjustly and even recklessly wielded. Of course, "great" corporations and many employers had been known to abuse their power as badly and boldly. But the public had gotten more used to such conspiracies of the few to exploit the many. When the unions of New York City allowed a Sam Parks to levy such blackmail upon its industries, as those of San Francisco and Chicago have also suffered, even though it was aided and abetted everywhere by some employers and corrupt city officials, as District Attorney Jerome is about to prove, it marked a turn of the tide of popular sentiment against the unions. Then came the outbreaks of violence, here and there, chiefly against non-



union men, to force employers unwillingly to support the "closed-shop" policy. These irresponsible abuses culminated in the lawlessness of all parties to the Colorado situation, which pitted the Western Federation of Miners against the civic and military authorities of that state.

The reaction from popular favor to reserved judgment at best, and to bitter and even violent intolerance against unionism at worst, has been gathering great numbers and influence during the year. Its fury is spending itself in the Colorado type of "Citizens' Alliances" which cannot long survive the re-assertion of law and order. But Employers' Associations are the formidable defensive and aggressive forces which are left in the wake of the reaction for trades unions to reckon with for all time to come.

Yet this array of force and organization, so far from denying or ignoring the power of organized labor, is the most emphatic sort of a recognition that it, too, is to be reckoned with to the end. For they are being marshalled and massed for no other really practical purpose than to hold labor organizations responsible for the way they wield their great power.

But the trades unions have nothing to fear outside of their organization, nearly so dangerous to it or their cause as the failure of their own members and officers to appreciate how responsible they are and will sternly be held to be, for the use they make of the power they are conceded to have. Will they rise to regard it as the serious civic and social trust legitimately committed to them by their great constituencies? Will they accept and use it for the whole mass of wage-earners, more than for the exclusive benefit of their own

minority membership? Will they rely enough upon their power to resist the get-strong-quick temptation to violence and radicalism? Can they be patient and confident enough to await the legitimate growth which will keep pace with the real advantage their membership proves itself to be to every worker? Will they have enough public spirit and patriotism to regard unions not only as essential to the quality and prosperity of American industry, but as one of the strongest and best law-making, law-keeping forces in American society, strictly accountable alike to the courts and to public opinion?

This is the real and only crisis that organized labor faces in America—whether it can and will be loyal to its own high ideals and true to the conscience of its rank and file?

Nothing outside of itself can overthrow its power. Nothing will so surely defeat it and make sick the hearts of its adherents and friends with hope deferred, as irresponsibility toward the solemn trust of that power.

Judging from the past,—the longer past—the future is secure. For "the movement," as its best leaders are wont to call it when falling back from its excrescences to its essential sanction, has proved itself to be more than an organization. Fundamentally trades unionism is based on that sentiment of brotherhood whose movement from within has had a way of keeping its members from being drawn or driven apart either from each other or from the mass of their fellows by the rivalries or roughness of "the organization." In England, against far greater odds, "the movement" has lodged itself within the very law which for centuries proscribed it and is counted among the

forces depended upon to preserve public order, promote wise legislation and perpetuate the justice and beneficence of good government. Here in America, with the odds so much in its favor as to tempt it to be over confident of its ability, trades unionism can scarcely be so untrue to the promise of its past, as not to have enough of a "movement" upward and onward to rise above the wrong methods and move beyond the unworthy standards of all its organizations.

### **Will the Churches Help the Nation in the Industrial Crisis?**

If the crisis in our industrial situation lies fundamentally more in the moral than in the economic relations of the contestants, it raises the question, what help can the churches give the nation? We do not and ought not ask whether they can or will help either "side" in the controversy, for they ought not to "take sides." If they do, they can help neither of them, much less the nation. But they have to do with men, with these men who are on both sides of this fratricidal strife, every man of whom needs whatever help they have to give him under the strain and stress of the moral test by which every one of them, in the right or wrong, is being tried.

If they cannot help this hard-pressed man by being partisan, neither can they do so by being non-committal where right and wrong are clearly at stake.

The country expects the churches of Colorado for instance to stand for the right of every man to a trial by jury and against the mob-violence by which "Citizens' Alliances" are "deporting" men. The nation needs the help of these churches to re-assert the supremacy of law in their state. No compromise will stand the test of the right-

eousness they themselves profess. Perhaps they are helping to constitute the "new alliance" which is said to have taken its stand for justice and order between the "Citizens' Alliance" and "The Western Federation of Miners."

The censorship of the churches, however, is not needed so much as the higher ideal and more human fellow-feeling that have too largely disappeared from industrial relationship. Ecclesiastical as well as political proscription of economic theory—even if it be as radical as Socialism, is likely to react everywhere as in Wisconsin. The rejoinder of the State Federation of Labor to the declaration of war against Socialism by the Roman Catholic Church took the form of resolutions calling on "working men, including farmers and the masses in general" to "study the principles of Social Democracy and vote for the only party pledged to the emancipation of labor." While deprecating "every effort to inject religious issues into the labor movement," it avows its "earnest endeavor in the future as in the past not to antagonize religions of any kind." But it significantly added the warning, "at the same time we also expect that no religious denomination will antagonize the trades movement or interfere with it." The Bishop replies ex-cathedra: "The time has come when the Catholic Church must raise up its voice and denounce Socialism in no uncertain terms." So it has long been doing in Belgium, France and Germany and with what effect? But Bishop Mesmer carefully discriminated in favor of trades unions.

The Baptist City Missionary Society in New York City sets an example of another type. When the Tammany Board of Education cut off the appropriation for the well established and



highly appreciated "Vacation Schools" just as the people expected them to open to their children, this church society stepped in the breach and assumed the expense of opening a dozen or more school houses for the children of the working poor.

The nation needs the help of all its churches in holding up the standard of an unselfish life which all religions teach, and in exemplifying that blending of righteousness and brotherly love, at whatever "cross" of self-sacrifice, which is the distinctive law and glory of the Christian faith. The pronouncements of the Autumn ecclesiastical assemblies on the industrial crisis of the nation, will be awaited with expectancy by many, but with hopeless indifference by not a few. The Congregationalists have a Standing Committee on Labor, to whose report a whole session of their Triennial Council is to be devoted next month.

### **Responsibility for Prolonging the Packing Trade Strike.**

The question as to "who blundered away the Packers' pact?" which we had time only to raise last month, is answered by one who knows more of the facts than any one else, in his article in this issue on "The Community's Interest in the Stock Yards Strike." It clearly appears from the course of events, irrespective of this statement of them, that the opportunity to arbitrate this inhumanly prolonged struggle was lost by the employers' blunder, or worse, and the unjustifiable haste in which some of the union men precipitated the second strike before it was called by their officers. The appearance of the "discrimination," outlawed by the agreement of July 20, could have been avoided at all the packing houses, as

it was at three of them, by the exercise of the precautionary common sense urged upon the managers by the union's president, Mr. Donnelly. Foreseeing the trouble, which any one can imagine, in selecting between 22,000 applicants for the far fewer places ready for them, he requested that only so many be admitted to the yards each day as could be put to work that day. The firms that acceded to this reasonable suggestion had no trouble in putting their full force at work. But the largest of them ordered "all to return on the same day." And they did, only to "walk out" again, at this rough, but not ready, way of re-employing them "without discrimination." It is quite inconceivable that this blundering, methodless manner of doing what at best would have been a delicate and difficult thing to manage, could not have been avoided,—if, indeed, those charged with it cared to avoid trouble. It is equally extraordinary that the packers' statement to the Chicago public, made no allusion to this alleged breach of the pact which was the occasion for the second strike, but only charged the unions with breaking their agreement.

On the other hand there is nothing to prove that the union officers passed up their demand for an explanation of the discrimination, apparently shown in re-employing their men, over the foremen's heads to the principals with whom they had just made the pact. Indeed there is evidence that they had no chance to do so before some of the local unions farther West had already struck again, without waiting for orders from headquarters. This lack of discipline in their rank and file did not justify the national officers in hastily "calling" the men all out again either to cover their own lack of control over

those who had already gone out, or to punish all the employers for the breach that was charged up only to the foremen of some of them.

These provocations, given by each to the other, are too pitifully small to account for, much more to justify the assumption of the responsibility for the grave consequences involved in renewing and prolonging the inhuman struggle. But there is no room for doubt as to which of the two is now least desirous of ending the struggle by renewing negotiations for settlement or arbitration. The packers refuse to enter into any agreement with the union.

### Private Versus Public Cost of a Strike.

Such occasions as are referred to above in accounting for a struggle like the packing trades strike dwindle into painful insignificance when compared with the burden of cost and peril they entail upon the body politic. Of course both contestants are parts of that body, and an injury to either is sure sooner or later to be the concern of all. Chicago, for instance, cannot fail to feel very vitally the embarrassment of so large a part of its employing capital as is in the command of its chief industry, the packing trade.

But not only their great section of the town, but the city as a whole, is equally sensitive to the loss inflicted upon both, by the impoverishment, much more displacement, of so large a proportion of the entire, permanent working population as is numbered in the packing and allied trades. What suffering is entailed upon these 22,000 breadwinners and those dependent upon their earnings, is only hinted at even by Miss McDowell's graphic description, on another page, of the state of siege in

which her neighbors and the entire Packingtown district surrounding the University Settlement, is placed by the threat of permanently reducing their standard of living on the one hand and the temporary cutting off of their entire livelihood on the other hand.

But the local merchants and property owners have raised the alarm over the final peril facing them and the entire city from the strike-breakers, with whom the permanent laboring population is being replaced. Not only have train loads of unemployed negroes been hurried from the Southern States into the stockyards, but the slums of Chicago and other cities within reach have been drained into the yards. While no one expects such casual laborers to be either efficient or stable enough to answer more than the very temporary purpose of breaking the strike, many are inquiring, what if they should replace the displaced workers, as tenants, customers, neighbors and citizens? What will be the fate of either the outgoing or incoming people? Or, if discharged at the close of the strike, as they are likely to be, what will become of them? Can they return to their distant homes? If stranded, should county, city, neighborhood, or private charity bear the burden of their imported pauperism, crime or demoralization? If they should prove to be permanent and then be unionized, their importers would be the first to charge up their vices or violence to the unions at the very next strike, while now without any sense of responsibility for adding them to the already too large shiftless, if not dangerous population of the city.

Yet the cities have no such immigration quarantine, as the nation maintains at our ports of entry. Sooner or later, though, their citizens will wake up to



take their part, as the third and greatest party to every such industrial issue. And some way will be found of bringing public opinion to bear upon both contestants for the settlement of these differences before the entire community is faced with perils and burdened with loss incomparably greater than either side had at stake, or both together could have suffered by compromise.

### **To Be Hot in New York After Sept. 1.**

It is not fair to assume before his trial that Philip Weinseimer will be convicted as the "New Sam Parks" of the New York labor unions. If he is as guilty as that man was, District Attorney Jerome may be trusted to prove it and punish him for it. Mr. Jerome may also be expected to keep his promise to some building contractors. "Wait until the first of September and I'll make it hot for you people. You are no better than the employes." September first is the date on which the law comes into effect making it a criminal offense to bribe a representative of labor unions. In the April number of *THE COMMONS* Mr. Jerome explained the need of this law, which was passed by the legislature in the closing hour and signed by Governor Odell. Hot for bribery on both sides, is what the country expects its prosecutors to make the law. Let's hold up the thermometer!

### **Get to the Bottom in Colorado.**

The Colorado situation is now demonstrating the difficulty of getting at its bottom facts in order to fix the blame for it all. It proves the need both for the suspension of popular judgment and a thorough investigation, with a fearlessly authoritative report, by the Department of Commerce and Labor. To

learn even the little that we know, the "war correspondents" upon this field of action needed to come to it from far enough away not to be suspected of being in either camp. And yet when thoroughly independent men did try to find the facts and base an unbiased judgment upon them, they seemed to be so far from a first-hand knowledge of fact and so near those from whom they received reports at second hand, that they could not agree with each other. The directly contradictory conclusions gleaned from a variety of this war correspondence for another column, leave the reader no nearer the truth and perhaps even more perplexed than when at the mercy of the fragmentary press dispatches. When Ray Stannard Baker attributes the whole situation to the failure of the legislature to obey the law of the people's mandate which required the passage of an Eight-hour enactment, and Walter Wellman insists that the defeat of the Eight-hour legislation had nothing to do with the labor troubles, what is the man 2,000 miles away to think, except that he must await the patient disclosure of all the facts? Who can yet place the responsibility for this greatest failure of American law, civilization and religion to adjust an industrial difference, when one man who judged fairly of the Anthracite Coal struggle, holds the Western Federation of Miners solely responsible for all the wrongs that were done, and another equally experienced and competent witness declares that not a single charge, much more crime, has been proved against the union? So far forth the Scotch verdict must be accepted, and the nation, stirred to righteous indignation by the greatest outrage to its citizenship and free institutions, must await, with

what patience it can command, the grounds for its just judgment, which must be rendered all too long after the fact.

### **Full Trades Unionism Safer than Sectional Organization.**

One conclusion may, however, be safely drawn as to the trades union aspect of the Colorado situation. The danger to itself and to the community which the history of the Western Federation of Miners emphasizes, lies in the fact that it was not fully organized or run on regular trades union principles. It violated them by substituting the authority of the executive board for the referendum vote of all members of the local unions in declaring a general strike. It was a sectional organization with no national body to steady it, and no affiliation with the federated labor of the country to broaden its fellowship and sense of responsibility. Had they depended upon the ratification or support of the American Federation of Labor, the Colorado miners would never have been lined up as they were in that fateful struggle. Had they kept in their own hands the power to vote on calling their own strikes, they would never have voted as their executive board did.

The point that Colorado has sharpened so that it ought to stick forever in the memory of organized labor and the whole people is this—partial trades unionism is a dangerous thing; the tremendous power and responsibility of organized labor can only be safely assumed by nationally organized and affiliated trades unionism.

### **The International Peace Conference.**

The preparations being made in Boston and the Eastern States for this note-

worthy occasion in October, should awaken a strong desire in Chicago and other western cities to share some of the great things to be said there by the distinguished representatives from England, France, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Norway, Austria and other European States.

The Inter Parliamentary peace movement will be strongly represented. A conference which brings across the Atlantic such men as Sir John Macdonnell, Professor of International Law, University College, London, and member of The Hague Tribunal, Dr. Percival, the Bishop of Hereford and many other scholars and publicists of England; M. Jules Siegfried of the French Chamber of Deputies and President of the Musée Social, and Charles Wagner of Paris, author of "The Simple Life"; Senator La Fontaine of Belgium; John Lund of the Norwegian Parliament; Dr. Richter of Germany; Signor Moneta of Italy and equally well-known representatives of these and other countries, may well command the attention of America. Some of the speakers on the programme of the Congress may be available for peace meetings at other great centers both before and after the Boston occasion. A meeting is being arranged for at New York and it is hoped that Chicago may offer such an audience that Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who is managing the preparations for the Congress may be constrained to send us the best of the strong men at his command. Delegates worthily representative of our civic, social, industrial and religious life and fellowship should be sent from all our western centers. Correspondence with reference to the Congress or attendance upon it may be addressed to Mr. Edwin D. Mead, 20 Beacon street, Boston, Mass.



# On the Anvil of Human Pain

By Emma Playter Seabury

Strike, strike for the right,  
If life or if death must pay,  
With a hand that's gloved or a hand of might,  
It is ever the world old way.  
We must strike at the hearts of men,  
For the glint of God in the strain,  
And hammer truth over and over again  
On the anvil of human pain.

The stately and beautiful mast  
Was wrenched with a mighty stroke,  
And the friend that rode on the tempest's blast  
Ruined the heart of the giant oak.  
Men delve in a noisome hole  
Where danger and terrors swarm,  
And pick in dark, dank night for the coal  
That is keeping our winters warm.

The diamond gleams in the mine,  
But an eye that is skilled must find,  
And the midnight tapers must burn  
For a thought from a glowing mind.  
In a pang the pearl was born,  
And mysterious life must be  
A travail of suffering that is torn  
From the soul of Infinity.

Strike, strike for the right,  
No battle for good, no prize  
Has been fought in darkness, or won in light,  
But was steeped in sacrifice.  
Men cry "O Lord how long  
Must the spirits of right and good  
Be pitted a phalanx against the wrong,  
In the struggle for brotherhood?"

Strike, strike for the right,  
Whatever there is to pay,  
With a hand that's gloved, or a hand of might,  
It is ever the world old way.  
We must strike at the hearts of men  
For the glint of God in the strain  
And hammer truth over and over again  
On the anvil of human pain.

# At the Heart of the Packingtown Strike

## The Unions' Contributions Necessary to a Higher Standard of Living

By Mary E. McDowell

Head Resident of the University of Chicago Settlement

When on July 12 at half past eleven the "knockers" on the "killing beds" of the six great packing houses in the Union Stock Yards ceased stunning the cattle, and twenty-two thousand work-

"Do you think we will have another 'camp of soldiers at Whiskey Point?'" The old citizens told of the shooting at the corner of Ashland Avenue and 47th Street, and then began to prophesy



Michael Donnelly Addressing the Cattle Butchers.

ers stopped work, there was a hush of suspense in the stock yards district, for the strikes of '86 and '94 were too vividly remembered.

The wives who had suffered recalled the riots, the bloodshed and the burning of cars on the tracks that encompass Packingtown. They asked me,

what might be expected if the strike of 1904 was not settled at once. "In '94," one store-keeper said, "any group of walking delegates could give an order to walk out." To the surprise of every one the "walk-out" of 1904 was as orderly as the every-day leaving of work.



The orders issued by the Union, that every place must be left as clean as on Saturday night; that no material must be left to spoil; that the stock-handlers must feed and water stock until all were cared for so that the animals would not suffer, were obeyed to the letter. The women, who were always the hysterical ones in the past, who had during the last strike marched behind a red flag throughout the yards, came out as quietly as did the men. The superintendent of one of the largest plants said, "It is a remarkable experience for the stock yards. We have never had such a strike before."

The outsiders will ask, why this difference between the strikes of the past and this of 1904? In answer to this question I have been urged to give some of my observations of the changes in Packingtown.

At the close of the summer of '94, I came to live in Packingtown near the corner of Ashland Avenue and 47th Street, two blocks from Whiskey Point and three from the great packing houses.

The strike of '94 had left the community more hopeless than bitter, more conservative than radical, without courage or self-confidence. At my invitation to discuss social questions, they would invariably answer, "We dare not, we would lose our jobs." This superstition had taken such hold of them, that they seemed to us unmanly, and without self-respect. A few carpenters held a secret meeting which resulted in the discharge of the leaders.

Hearing of an organization of butchers, I invited the president to preside at a meeting where Miss Addams would speak, and then discovered that the organization was secret and the officers were quite disturbed at my discovery of them.

Packingtown as I then knew it, had many features of the frontier town, its vices as well as its possibilities. It was separated from the other side of town by forty-two railroad tracks, and one square mile of stock yards. On the north was the backwater of the Chicago River, where the carbonic acid gas

is so continuously breaking through the thick scum of impurities that the people have named it "Bubbly Creek." The streets were unpaved, the houses had no sewer connections, and the ditches were covered with a germ-breeding scum.

The political fate of the community was carried in the "vest pocket" of an alderman who gave jobs to the few, and neglected the many.

Parks, libraries, bathing facilities, all were far from Packingtown.

The city garbage dump was on the west (the receptacle for the garbage from the Lake Shore wards), in the vicinity of which the death rate for children during the summer months was five times as great as that of the Lake Shore.

The block of little homes facing the dump was ruined and deserted by their owners, because of the bad effect on their children.

The houses in Packingtown were not so old, but were cheaply and poorly constructed, while not the typical city tenement they were over-crowded. The sanitary conditions were worse than in the more congested part of the city. When the inspector from the Health Department was called to examine tenements owned by men with political pulls, he would laughingly belittle the condition by saying, "What does it matter, one smell more in this region?"

The vacant land near the "yards" was used as "hair fields," where the hair putrified in the process of drying, adding one more sickening odor to the already heavily laden atmosphere.

The capacity for schooling the children was inadequate. The primary grades held half-day sessions. Kindergartens and manual training were unknown. A humorous Irishman said one day, "Sure we ought to have kindergartens, for they are the high school for the poor man's children."

The children were put to work at 11 and 12 years, often working at night, sharing the irregular hours of their parents.

An affidavit as to the age of a child could be had from an unscrupulous notary for 25 cents, and needy as well

as greedy parents supplemented their insufficient incomes by working as many of their children as they could get into the yards. This was before the Child Labor law was passed in Illinois.

The little foreigners had an irregular school life, for they were taken from the third or fourth grade to be placed in the parochial school to prepare for first communion. After a year of religious instruction they went to work.

This irregular school and working life produced a class of vagrant boy gangs that lived on the streets, were tried in a police court before a vulgar audience, bailed out for a dollar, or sent to the Bridewell to be shut up with the older criminals coming back to Packing-town heroes of broader and more thrilling experiences than their fellows.

These conditions produced a class of rowdies that were ready for an opportunity for lawlessness—the same class that in some districts of the stock yards are at present the cause of the disturbance and disorder.

There was then, as now, a large body of surplus labor, from 3,000 to 5,000, waiting every morning at the stock yards for a job, and only giving up hope for the day when the policemen would drive them out. The foreign women, who still wore the shawl over the

worker said to me, "It is the club held above our heads at all times."

The irregularity of the work in the packing houses, and the large number of casual laborers always at hand, can only be compared to the conditions of the London dockers.

The belief seemed fixed in those days



Slav Women at the Yards.

that cattle could not be kept over night, and therefore the cattle butchers must keep on the "killing floor," as long as there were cattle to kill that would have to be fed, even if the day lengthened into sixteen hours.

The next day's work might be one or two hours long, but the men must report for work every morning.

Ten years ago the Slavs were beginning to come in large numbers. They were willing to work for less wages and could live on less because their standard of living was low. They would pack twelve in three rooms, the mattresses being piled away in the daytime, unless the night workers took the day workers' beds.

This foreign element might be roughly classified as those who are here only for a time; who return to the old country without having caught the spirit of the new, and that class who desire to learn English, who put the children to work and take in boarders that they may buy a home on monthly payments. This latter class joins a labor union, while the former buys passage back to the old country by the half-



Behind the Yards.

head, were helping to swell the ranks of the "casual laborers."

This element, which is perhaps useful to the packing business, is a menace to the community, and as one skilled



hundred every week during the summer.

It is the un-American foreigner who swells the mass of surplus labor, who can live on wages of 15 cents an hour, working on an average of three days a week, and who forms one of the dangerous elements in times of strike. It is only fair to say that of all the transplanted Slavs, the Bohemians more quickly than any others, become rooted in American soil.

The negroes were brought in after a small strike in one of the plants, adding another problem for the man who was to unify the different peoples.

The coming, four years ago, of Michael Donnelly into the stock yards, made us conscious of a renaissance, that, owing to many forces not in evidence until he organized the workers, made them as well as ourselves conscious of their social value.

Mr. Donnelly has himself told me of the obstacles he had to overcome in the beginning. He secured his first dozen cattle butchers by house-to-house visiting,—“The wives who had suffered most in '94 often showed me the door,” he said, but at last fifty men met on the prairie back of the yards, no two knowing that the others were to be there. Then was organized the Cattle Butchers Union, the first of the 27 locals, which form the Packing Trades Council.

Union meetings were no longer held in secret as of old. Men had the courage of their convictions, they had the dignity of men with an ideal higher than their work and were no longer afraid to frankly discuss social questions. They became a power envied by the politicians, and of great use to the social worker.

The Union not only gave to the people a free chance for social expression, but it established a fellowship of workers, it broke up a feud between blacks and whites, it broke down the barrier of prejudice between the different nationalities.

After a meeting of cattle butchers, where an Irish union girl and myself were guests, we witnessed an initiation of members. A colored man presented

for initiation the group composed of four nationalities, needing interpreters in the Polish, Bohemian and Lithuanian languages.

“Sure, we are all brothers and sisters now, it used to be different,” said the Irish girl to me, as we discussed the significance of the meeting.

One of the idealists, who believed in the “labor movement,” who had been an inspiration to the girls in the labeling rooms, and whose great desire was to see an organization of the women workers, died a victim of piece work and, just before she died, was made happy by seeing the first “woman’s union” of the packing trades grow, from the twelve members she had brought together, to over twelve hundred.

These women have overcome prejudices, and have learned self-control and self-government in the few years of their association. It was a dramatic moment when the Irish girl guarding the door announced, “A colored sister asks admission to our union, what shall I do?” The president, another Irish young woman (whose father five years before had left his place at Swift’s because a colored man was put to work with him), answered without reference to Robert’s Rules, “Admit her, of course, and let all of ye’s give her a hearty welcome.” As the fine looking, but frightened colored girl walked down the aisle, she was greeted by girls with shawls over their heads, as well as by those who wore the latest mode of head covering.

The Packing Trades Council was a strong factor in the child labor agitation that resulted in the present law, and today no child under sixteen works in the stock yards, because of the eight hour clause the working men insisted on inserting in the law, and more children are kept at school until they are fourteen.

The resolution passed two months ago condemning violence during strikes, has been made valid by the orders issued at the beginning of the present strike.

The Council also has a committee to

work for a County Emergency Hospital in the stock yards district, where the two hundred or more casualties a day may be cared for without the risk of a journey of seven miles to the County Hospital.

In '94, when Mr. P. D. Armour asked his men what they were striking for, they said, "We do not know." While in 1904, the strike order was not issued until a referendum vote was taken by every one of the 27 locals represented in the packing trades federation. Then, after the Packing Trades Council met and ratified the referendum vote, the international officers named the day and hour for the "walk-out."

The moral power of organization has been felt since the first. Every local has held a meeting each day. They have heard reports from conferences between their representatives and the packers, they have listened to calm and sane speeches. "Let this be a strike you can be proud of," said one leader. "Obey the laws, for every time we break one it reacts upon us, and no one is so much hurt as ourselves."

Michael Donnelly's order to "molest no person or property, and abide strictly by all the laws of our land" was printed on small white cards and placed in the hands of the members. The same order was printed in different languages and posted in public places.

The men were ordered to stay away from the saloons, "rushing the can" was prohibited, but fishing and excursions were advised. Recently there has been less drinking "back of the yards" than is usual in warm weather.

The points where the rowdy elements, that are below the level of the union membership, have caused disturbances are found to be where the community has not the forces working for law and order. The eagerness by the newspapers for feature stories and the magnifying of every-day occurrences—for instance, the description of a billboard as a stockade—has given a false impression to the public.

The corner at Ashland Avenue where the union has its headquarters, and where a crowd of strikers are neces-

sarily waiting all day long, the same corner where blood was shed in 1894, is now a peaceful corner. The community back of the yards has felt the combined force of the union, the settlement, the church and the socialist party, whose speakers have spoken strongly against violence and urged that all laws be obeyed. They all have pleaded for peace and condemned rowdyism and disorder.

The woman's local was organized, and has always met at the gymnasium of the University of Chicago Settlement, and during the strike its daily meetings have been in this large, attractive place. Here the young men have come also to meet their friends, to dance and listen to impromptu programs. Every day the women have been addressed by the men leaders and officers and members from the Women's Trades Union League.

University students have assisted in the entertainment, flowers have decorated the presiding officer's desk and an atmosphere of refinement has surrounded the girls and their young men friends.

The captain of police, who remembered the procession of girls in '94 who followed the red flag carried by a true hearted but hot-headed young Irish girl, said to one of our friends, "The girls of the yards are behaving with a dignity that I did not believe possible, they have generally been the hard element to control, and it is all owing to their organization, and the place in which they meet."

They are a distinct influence for order and sobriety. The union men have spoken to them, begging them to use their influence to keep the idle from drinking.

The old citizen, remembering 1894, says, "Yes, this is a remarkable strike, but can they keep this up?" Twenty thousand people out of work, a whole community throbbing with a common purpose, showing self-control and self-restraint, believing that they must have sufficient wages, regular hours and an organization that allows them to bargain for their own labor. The unions



have raised the laborer's average income from \$6.00 to \$7.40 a week; from 15 cents to 17½ cents an hour. The cattle butcher no longer works irregular hours; he has gained a ten hour day. Woman's work averages \$1.50 and not 75 cents a day, as it formerly did.

This the community feels must be maintained if it is to keep the standard of living it has gained in the last two years. And for this maintenance the 40 cent man—the skilled worker, who has “no kick coming”—went on a strike. One of these men said to me this week, “We have raised wages 20 per cent but manliness 50 per cent;” and now it is important that people should know that in this struggle Michael Domelly represents quite as valuable interests as does the packers.”

So much has been done by the businesslike negotiations between the employers and the representatives of the

organizations that it seems a great pity that this last difference could not have been settled by a manly, businesslike contest. For when war is declared peace ethics cease to be the standard of judgment, and we find ourselves confusing the fundamentals of the struggle with the accidentals that are easily seen by the superficial observer.

The whole community says with a weary mother, “We can't even live decently on 18 cents an hour working but three days a week, and then, there's the sickness, and the deaths.”

Eighteen cents an hour, ten hours a day, four days a week, seven in a family—this is the economic problem that Packingtown is trying to solve, and the question that is stirring them at present is, what can bring a peace that will leave the community with a standard of living higher, not lower; with a self-respect strengthened, not weakened?

# The Community's Interest in the Stock Yards Strike

## The Inside View of an Outsider

Early in May the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America submitted a scale of wages to their employers, the packers. No increase of wages was asked for skilled men. The original scale as submitted called for a minimum of 20 cents an hour for common labor. In conference, however, the union representatives receded from this and fixed upon 18½ cents as a minimum. Heretofore the wages of common labor had not been provided for in the agreements. The agreement of 1903 with the beef butchers ends with the statement that “all knife men” are to get 20 cents an hour. Practically one half of all the employes in the various centers received less than 18½ cents an hour.

The public has been regaled with the high wages paid cattle butchers in the yards, until many people believe that 50

cents an hour was the prevailing rate of wages for all. A cattle gang is composed of 180 men, and 2,250 bullocks per day is the number they must kill and dress. Of these there are but 24 men getting 50 cents an hour: two occupations only, that of floorsmen (or breast-skinners), and the splitters, getting this rate. The next high rate is that of back-skinners, 45 cents an hour, and there are but five of these in a killing gang. To be brief then, one half, or 15,000 men in the Chicago yards were receiving less than 18½ cents an hour for their labor, and getting an average of forty-two hours work per week; weekly earnings ranging from \$6.30 to \$7.85 the year around. The union, therefore, feeling that none were getting too much, and the common laborers not enough, asked that the agreement of 1904 should cover all, and

that the maximum paid to some laborers without agreement should become the minimum and extend to all by agreement. In reply the packers through their superintendent in conference proposed to reduce all labor to 16 cents. As stated above these conferences began in May. Twice a strike was ordered and the order recalled because of renewed negotiations.

The proposed reduction to 16 cents was referred to all members of the

Official notice of this strike, which the packers knew all along would happen, was sent them, and at 7 o'clock P. M. July 11 the packers sent the union a proposal to arbitrate. It is a long time from May 1 to 7 o'clock at night July 11; and it is not very long from 7 P. M. July 11 to noon July 12. The offer to arbitrate was intended for the public, not for the unions.

Students of the new science—"the psychology of the workingman"—know



Michael Donnelly.

unions and the referendum vote was almost unanimous for rejecting it. July 6 the packers took the matter out of the hands of their superintendents and agreed to meet the union officials themselves. Immediately Mr. Donnelly telegraphed to all points to hold strike order in abeyance as he was to meet the owners of the properties, the packers themselves. These negotiations were also broken off, and the strike order again made effective for noon July 12.

that to call the strike off for the third time would create the impression among the men that the union officials were being played with or worse, and disrupt the union; while to the public it could be played as a genuine offer of arbitration. That it was never intended as genuine is indicated by the preparation the packers had been making for a strike for weeks before.

The strike began July 12 against all the packers in the combine, at all points



where their plants are located. That is, the members of the Butcher Workmens' Union employed by Nelson Morris & Co., Armour & Co., Swift & Co., the National Packing Co., Schwarzschild & Sulzberger, Cudahy Packing Co. and Libby, McNeil & Libby, came out in Chicago and East St. Louis, Illinois, Omaha, St. Joseph, Kansas City, St. Paul, Fort Worth, Texas, and New York City. The number affected by this first strike was approximately 50,000 men. The packers immediately began to fill their places, using the negroes principally for this purpose, as they did in 1894. This went on for eight days when a conference was secured and the agreement of July 20 drawn up and signed. Few unions could survive such an agreement even had it been conscientiously carried out. July 21 the union officials asked that the men be taken back in relays, only such number going to the yards each day as could be taken on that day. The packers replied that all should return on the 22nd; and the union officials so ordered. The same day the packers published the letter signed by Mr. Tilden, putting their construction on the agreement.

Bad enough for the union at best, the agreement under this construction would disrupt any organization. On its face the letter was addressed to the public; to one who has heard professional students of "the psychology of working men" talk before, it seems addressed directly to those strikers who were to find themselves discriminated against the next day. Whether it was intended to do so or not, the publication of this letter simply exasperated the men. The men returned to work July 22, all being taken back at three plants; and the most flagrant discrimination occurring, it is alleged, at the others. Telegraphic reports of flagrant discrimination came to union headquarters from other packing centers; and here the men simply refused to return in the face of the conditions.

Within a few hours the second strike was called. At this time the allied trades in the yards came out, that is,

the teamsters, carpenters, coopers, car workers, etc., trades which have their own unions and were not involved in the first strike. A complete sympathetic strike at once occurred, and matters were worse than at first. At New York City the men all returned and were not again called out until August 9.

The position of the packers is that common labor must not be included in union agreements. This seems to be an attitude of many large employing corporations, that while they will meet with unions of skilled trades, and fix a minimum rate of pay for such, there must be no minimum for common labor, no limit to reduction of wages for those already getting the least. As soon as the union determined to include and make a demand for fair wages to unskilled labor the employers seem to have determined upon the destruction of the union. Every move seems to have been adroitly made for that purpose. A bevy of the best trained lawyers, men whose standard of intellectual greatness spells cunning, cute, trickiness and deception, were pitted against honest, earnest men who were foolish enough to think that the social righteousness of their cause would have some weight.

After the second walk-out of July 22 efforts to fill the plants with bums, and negroes, and tramps were renewed. The strike-breakers were housed in the plants, and prize-fights under police protection inaugurated to amuse the "new employes" in the evening. "Craps" and other gambling games, and every manner of vice runs riot if half that is said by those who have been through the plants at night be true. A police captain admits that the place is "a hell." The places of the common laborers have been largely refilled but not with a class of labor that can be permanently used. About five-sevenths of the normal number of unskilled male labor, and one-half the normal female labor has been secured. In Chicago nearly 18,000 negroes, imported from everywhere, have been employed. To a certain extent labor, especially female labor, has been brought here under false pretense. Numerous affidavits to

this effect have been secured by the University Settlement. The law of the State which prevented working people from being imposed upon in this way having been declared unconstitutional, there is now no way to prevent this imposture. To secure money under false pretenses is a penal offense, the constitutionality of the law making it so having never been doubted; to secure labor under false pretense is cunning, shrewd business and to interfere with it by legislation is to attack an inalienable right of capital. What wonder that Mr. Donnelly fears that one of the results of the strike will be an increase of socialism?

We come now to the public interests involved in the strike. The social degradation which must inevitably result from bringing in such numbers of such people as comprise the strike-breakers would be terrific in any neighborhood. But for a community burdened before with more than its share of the work of assimilating large numbers of the most impoverished and illiterate immigrants, Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks and Hungarians, to be suddenly burdened with a population equal to its own including its immigrants, of criminals from city slums, and the densest districts of the southern black-belts is to simply break down all the machinery for social uplift in the district. That rental and property values must go and the business prosperity of the section be destroyed was clearly understood by the business men who at a mass meeting held August 17 unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, The Beef Trust has brought into the midst of our community some 7,000 men and women of whom at least 5,000 are now being lodged in the packing houses; and

"Whereas, These men and women are Greeks and negroes, most of whom are brought from the vilest slums of the leading American cities, while hundreds are of the most ignorant immigrants brought here direct from Ellis Island; and

"Whereas, These men and women

are a menace to the city of Chicago, for to any reasonable man it is plain that such people cannot be permanently retained by the Trust, and hence must be all poured out upon the city at the beginning of the winter season. They are a menace as future paupers.

"Resolved, That as citizens of Chicago who have at heart not only the present safety of this neighborhood, but also the future well being of our city, we hereby protest to the Mayor of Chicago and demand that prompt and efficient measures be taken to destroy this outrage."

Strangely enough the daily papers, so eager for news of the strike that they cease to be over particular about the truth, could not find space for more than the merest reference to the business men's meeting.

The curse of the district no doubt is drink, and the system of paying wages by checks is one of the great sources of the drinking habit. Nearly every saloon has a sign "Pay Checks Cashd Here." Of course at least one drink must be taken in order to get the check cashed, and as one Lithuanian says in a recent issue of *The Independent*, "It is hard to take one drink." One of the union demands was that "wages be paid in cash and not by checks." Another source of social and industrial demoralization is the system of buying jobs of the police. A foreman will send a messenger to the timekeeper with a requisition for let us say ten men. The order is given to the police who pass along the line of men waiting to be hired and pick out the required number of men. The only way to insure selection is to "see" the policeman and then if after five or six weeks of work a man is discharged it becomes necessary to "see" the police again. One of the demands of the union is that "men shall be hired by the foreman, not the police."

Another demand which the packers say no one could concede and do business is that "Woman labor shall be abolished in the sausage departments." But before there was any great packers' combine, butchers throughout this land killed meat enough for all the peo-



ple, sold it very much cheaper than it is sold today, employed no women in slaughter-houses or sausage departments, debauched no public, imported no negroes, violated no laws or court injunctions, set up no opposition markets next door, and ruined no competitors by selling dressed meat for less than the price on foot until the competitor was conquered, and either promised to quit killing and buy dressed beef of them or was driven out of business. Nothing of all this was done before the days of these great "trust economies" which so cheapen the cost of production that they cannot do business without the cheap labor of women and children in the slaughter-houses. The independent packers can furnish the cities, the small cities and towns can re-establish their own home butchers and we can have more meat and more morals, at less price for meat and less cost for police and pauperism in the stock yard sections of the various cities.

Our meats are likely to cost too much when in addition to any price the combine may see fit to ask per pound we have to see society rot down; and the standard of living in large sections of our great cities reduced to the level of that of the lowest type of Southern negro, Lithuanian peasants and Greek tramps.

Already the packers have secured an injunction against the tardy efforts of the city authorities to enforce the law and abate the immoralities and dangers of the lodging system in the packing

houses; the undisturbed strike-breakers have already fired from trains into unmolested crowds of by-standers and killed and wounded people. If riots and bloodshed cannot be instigated by either incendiary newspapers, or unfair police, urged on by a would-be Bonfield who sees no chance for glory for himself unless he can get up a riot, it will be because the labor union has wonderful control of its men. There have been mistakes. It may be Mr. Donnelly ought to have accepted arbitration at any hour of any night; but admitted that some older union, some more experienced leader would have compelled the men to return under the agreement of July 22 and demanded arbitration of the discriminations and abuses as grievances, is the public therefore to be taxed for a decade of crime and pauperism in Packingtown, and the dives of Cincinnati and St. Louis to be scoured for street-walkers to ship to Chicago in the night to put up canned meats and sausage for all our daughters?

Before this strike the Irish and the Germans were the uplifting influences in the yards district. These lift the Poles and Lithuanians. If the strike fails, and these must go, leaving the criminal and negro population to become the base while the ignorant Lithuanian peasant and imported Greek becomes the only element of uplift, the social problems of the stock yards become at once hopeless.

The abattoirs of France are owned by the municipalities.

# The Public School: Its Neighborhood Use

## A Recreational and Social Center

By Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch

New England is the home not only of our educational methods, but also of our educational ideals. The old colonial man looked upon life primarily as a religious and theological problem, secondarily as an educational problem. It

is true that these ideas were to some extent fused. Life, being a term of probation, is that period when man must learn how to prepare himself to present on the Day of Account a good showing of his time spent, his deeds

done, his gifts developed. Yet, taken in the large, these two aspects of life are sharply divided. Religion is the necessity, education a desirable luxury.

Although the minister of religion held an aristocratic position superior to that of the teacher, his ministrations represented the democratic need of every man for his soul's salvation. Education helped in the understanding of religious problems, and was therefore the handmaid of religion, but by no means her equal. In other words,

based. It implied that learning is of two kinds, religious and profane; one to prepare for the world to come, the other for this world, unimportant, and unavailing at the Day of Reckoning.

With this dualistic psychology as the mental underpinning of the time, it is not hard to see that the school, though dignified, necessarily failed to present the imposing structural ideal that is beginning to dawn upon us. Nor, in fact, had a different conception of the real nature of education prevailed,



A Roof Playground.

neither religion nor education conceived of man as a whole. Education did not mean, as it is beginning to mean with us, the development of all the powers of man, nor did religion mean the co-ordination of those powers with the universe. The educational development therefore became pigeon-holed along certain definite lines. It meant reading, writing, arithmetic, the language, something of science and history. In other words, it was unconsciously a dualistic conception upon which the system of education was

would the actual course of events have been materially altered. For the economic structure of colonial life was so simple that much was then adequately developed within the home that in a more complicated society would be accomplished by other agencies. Even with a unified educational ideal there is no demand in the nature of things for a correspondingly unified educational system. What the ideal is depends upon a variety of psychological factors. What the form in which that ideal shapes itself is, depends upon the eco-



conomic status of society at the time. The completely educated man may indeed be educated without the medium of the school at all. The structural, the institutional, development becomes an economic not a logical necessity.

#### THE OLD METHODS.

The picture of education in our national past from which we are only now beginning to emerge is too vivid to us all to need portrayal. The physical life of the child was developed through work and free play in ample spaces. The varied life of the seasons on the farm, the long walks to school and church, snowballing, coasting, green apple fights, sugaring-off, swimming in the pond, walking up the brook—all these diversions created physical vigor. The intimate knowledge of birds and trees, the solemn moonrise, the hush of the early dawn, the lapping of water on the shore, these were the calls of Nature to the youthful soul deepening its insight and creating a mental content, which in later years meant power and depth. As the boy grew older and work more serious, the variety of training that every day brought to him was indeed manifold. How to plant the garden, get in the hay, build the barn, and in the long winter days, to make chests for the household linen—in fact, to know how to meet every difficulty that arose with efficiency, this is what the discipline of work meant. This method turned out handy men with the adaptability which has made us famous as a nation and which is one of the springs of our economic prosperity. The pleasant hours at singing-school (we say nothing of the walks home afterward), the exciting debate at the academy or lyceum, the church social, the warm winter evenings around the fire at home with nuts and apples and cider, this was the social life where the ideals of American manhood and womanhood were formed. The ethical outcome was a joint product of the religious and home life of the time.

#### THE NEW CONDITIONS.

If we turn from this picture to New York City life and ask ourselves how

far the old methods of education are adequate to deal with new conditions, we find changes so vast that we are bound to recognize that no theory is going to meet those changes adequately. Only experimentation will be able to determine how an education that is worth while can be obtained. Elements of weakness exist in the methods of dealing with the great immigrant population of New York both by the church and by the home. What the churches do to create high ethical standards is something, but I suppose no one will deny that in the complexity of life in New York, where people move from one place to another so frequently, where it is as easy to go to one church as to another, there is little of that feeling of stability which comes about in a village where everyone knows what everybody else is doing, and where practically everybody has some church connection. Public opinion also does not act so powerfully in the matter of church-going in the city as in a village. The churches then have to rely not upon any outer compulsion, but upon their own inherent strength to attract people to them.

As good preachers are rare, the tendency is constantly toward an increase in beauty of service and to what is known as institutional methods. Excellent as much of this is, there is certainly a note of weakness as well. If the great ethical object of beautiful services and of clubs and classes is not kept constantly in view, a sort of moral deterioration takes place. People are given a good time with no particular thought of how a good time is related to the rest of life. With the home the situation is far more important and difficult. The home of the great body of New York's residents is the tenement. To be able to make a home in such surroundings is a wonderful work which many thousands have accomplished by dint of perseverance and courage and ability. Not all, by any means have been able to withstand the disintegrating influences that infest the congested life of New York. If we may say that any one evil lies at the bottom of the diffi-

culties that New York has to meet, we may perhaps say it is *too-manyness*.

"TOO-MANYNESS."

The rooms are so small that most of the members of the family prefer to go out rather than stay in. Where are those pleasant evenings in the home where the man reads, the woman sews, the children play? They have gone, those pleasant evenings, and they are not likely to return. From all over the world New York has gathered in her

first hot rays of the sun. The ordinary order of events is often turned upside-down. Where the industrial life of the man is drawing to its close at forty, the child must be impressed into industrial service.

With the introduction of modern appliances into the household, the woman is freer to spend her time in industry. Co-operation has changed the course of life, and economy as well as common sense dictates the extension of these co-operative features to which we are so



Material for the "Teams."

big household. The habits of the old world soon disappear, native virtues have their bloom rubbed off very quickly, the traditions of the past suffer a rude shock, and in the transition from the old to the new, as is inevitable everywhere, great dramatic and disintegrating changes necessarily take place. The old self-reliance is broken down, and a new kind takes its place. Excitement and variety bring about a versatility which is a kind of self-reliance, but it is a crop raised on a sandy, shallow soil, likely to be burned up by the

slow to adjust our life and our thought. The result of these changes is that the old home has disappeared and the new home has not yet come into being.

#### THE BREAK BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW.

Where does the child get its physical education? Not on the farm, but in the street. Instead of the moonrise and the fragrant walks in the damp eventide by the edge of the wood, the boy goes to the theater for fifteen cents. This money he earns not by any occupation that is in any way educa-



tional, but in running errands or in blacking boots or selling papers. The older sister cannot comfortably see her young man in the crowded tenement, so she meets him at the corner, and very often he is quite unknown to her mother. The friends of the children are not the friends of the parents. In thousands and thousands of cases, grandparents and grandchildren cannot speak the same language. It may be that, taking it all in all, it is better that the break between the old and the new is as violent as it is. To bridge it over is perhaps a fanciful dream, but at least this is clear, that there must be some central and unified plan by which the strangers who come to our shores can learn what is good in American ways and ideals and can become as rapidly as possible part of our great national life. That means not only an educational plan in its academic sense, but it means, broadly speaking, an ethical plan by which a varied population living under highly specialized economic conditions can gain not only the ground lost in the changes that have taken place from village to city life, but can make use of those changes to create positive values which the village could never have understood. For with all the darker aspects of city life, with its homes turned into workshops, with the lack of privacy in the tenement house, with the crowds on the streets, with the inadequate accommodations for play, with the lack of opportunity to develop initiative, still there is an opportunity to develop manhood which perhaps country regions can never know. But to accomplish this means the development of a conscious purpose for that end, and not until it is the firm conviction of the majority of the citizens of New York that that is precisely what is the purpose of our educational system can we expect the best results.

#### THE FIRST START.

If the church and the home prove inadequate to supply that physical, social and ethical training which the village church and home afford, to what then shall we look? Private endeavor has

made a good start. The great and increasing interest in settlements, that is, in the idea of attacking problems first-hand, of living the life of the neighborhood in order to meet its needs, of sharing the opportunities which have come to some with those who have never had them, of acting upon discoveries made, both in the way of neighborhood service and in the way of getting larger changes effected, is worthy of notice. The settlement psychology has permeated institutional efforts of all sorts, and an inductive method of dealing with city problems as a whole is very promising. But however important centers for neighborhood improvement, conducted under private enterprise, may be, the settlements themselves are the very first to recognize their own limitations in adequately meeting the social and ethical needs of the communities in which they are situated. The settlement is primarily a group of interested persons, only secondarily and perforce of necessity an institution. It is therefore entirely the opinion of those at present engaged in neighborhood work that many of the activities at present carried on by them should be taken over eventually by the city.

#### THE PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATION.

One discovery the settlements have certainly made in common with the experience of others—that for the creation of proper ethical standards the development of a high sort of social intercourse is essential. We are in the main governed by public opinion, but public opinion is a big term; it is the father of a big family of a lot of little public opinions. As a member of a church I am judged in one way, as a member of a political club I am judged in another, as a member of a trades union in another, and in all these different organizations there are different standards of morality and behavior to which I find myself, whether I will or not, gradually conforming. Tell me about the organization in which you find yourself, and I will tell you what your ethics are. In other words, society and ethics are bound together by a marriage tie that

cannot be divorced. Your problem then for the creation of ethical standards of a high order is a problem of organization. As we have seen in the simpler economic life of the village, this group relationship may be the informal one of the home, or the loose ties of voluntary association. But how in New York are we to accomplish what we have indicated without a consciously developed centralized system of organization? We cannot. One instrument we have at hand which is adapted to this purpose admirably. It is our educational system. The opportunity is there, the power is there, the buildings are there, and whatever may be the present defects, in the carrying out of the social work of the public schools, the idea has taken root and the public interest already aroused will certainly see that the idea is not abandoned.

The social features of the public school system with which we are more immediately concerned are classified by the Board of Education under the head of vacation schools and playgrounds.

#### EVENING SCHOOLS.

But before we give our attention to the history and present status of these features, let us glance at what the board has been doing in other ways apart from the round of daily instruction. It was in 1849 that the evening schools were first opened. From a small beginning the work of the evening school was developed till this last year there was an average attendance (only 40 per cent of the registered attendance) of over 24,000. The total cost to the city for evening schoolwork was approximately half a million (\$477,240.71), making a per capita cost of \$19.16. Special attention has been given to the teaching of English. In 1849, when the evening schools were started, there was no such instruction, nor do we find any mention of the teaching of English until 1879, when there were 1,376 pupils. This number increased, till 1899 we find in the greater city 13,880 enrolled, and in 1903, 26,245 enrolled, with an average attendance of pupils learning English of 8,888; that is, one-third of the total average attendance.

#### FREE LECTURES.

It was in 1899 that the free lectures were established. During the first season 186 lectures were given at six public schools with an attendance of 22,149. The first year that Dr. Leipziger, the present supervisor, took hold of this work, the attendance increased 50,000, and last year there were a million and a quarter auditors (1,204,126) in all the boroughs of the city, at a cost of about \$60,000 to the city; the average attendance at each lecture was about 250. One hundred and seventeen lecture centers are maintained with a lecture staff of 500. The lecturer is paid but \$10 an evening, with \$3 when a stereopticon is used, and \$3 honorarium to the local district superintendent. Notwithstanding the fees paid the lecturers are very small, the ablest lecturers have been employed, so that the system which Dr. Leipziger has built up can be truthfully called the best university extension system in this country. Special legislation was necessary to accomplish this result. In 1888 the legislature provided for the system and in 1891 the legislature authorized the Board of Education to hire halls where the school accommodations were not already adequate.

The subjects covered by the lectures are varied in range. "Physiology and Hygiene," "First Aid to the Injured," "Home Nursing and Care of Children," "The Prevention of Consumption," "Volcanoes," "Earthquakes," "A Lump of Coal and Its History," "Travels in a Swamp," "How to Know the Common Trees," "The Wonders of a Beehive," "The New York Aquarium," "Incandescent Electric Lighting," "Wireless Telegraphy," "X-Rays," "Age of the Automobile," "Liquefaction of Gases," "Compressed Air," "The Life-Saving Service," "The Making of a Newspaper," "The Planet Mars, Is It Inhabited?" "Life and Labors of the Earl of Shaftsbury," "Trusts, Why They Came, What They Do," "Child Labor in the South," "The Street Cleaning Department," Lectures on Shakespeare and Great Writers of the Nineteenth Century; Seven Courses of Lectures on American History; Lectures on Music



and Art; these are samples of what this lecture course has undertaken to do. Nor are the lectures uncorrelated. They are now arranged in courses for which there is a growing demand, and there is getting to be a steady attendance of the same people who really want to get a thorough acquaintance with the course as a whole. In connection with the lectures bibliographies are given out and arrangements are made with adjacent stations of the public library by which special conveniences can be of-

also held in Italian and Yiddish on Sundays, and at two schools Sunday lectures on musical and ethical subjects were maintained. During the year another Sunday experiment was tried apart from the free lecture system, by the Public Education Association, which obtained permission under the supervisory control of the Board of Education to hold concerts in one of the school buildings. The opening of the schools on Sunday has created, as is natural, much discussion, but that



A "Playground" in the River.

fered those who wish to read up between lectures.

This last year also saw the inauguration of lectures given in Yiddish and in Italian as well as in French. These lectures were, naturally, especially for recently arrived immigrants, and stress was laid upon the rights of a citizen, and the duties of foreigners in their new country. Illustrated lectures were given on the countries from which the auditors had so recently come. Lectures in Italian were held at three schools, and in Yiddish at three schools. Lectures were

such opening is inevitable is the generally received opinion.

#### BATHS.

Other new features carried on by the board are the introduction of baths in the public schools in 1901. There are, however, at present only two school buildings in Greater New York where baths have been installed. The very active use of these baths would certainly indicate the usefulness of their introduction into practically all the schools. One school reported 1,125 baths in one afternoon. There are no

laundry bills in connection with these baths, as a paper towel is used; an economical and sanitary method. Swimming baths are also maintained at five piers. They are classed as vacation playgrounds, but it may be interesting to notice them separately. The cost for swimming teachers in the greater city of New York last year was \$3,754; for supplies, \$49.95; making a total cost of \$3,803.95. One thousand six hundred and fifty-two boys and girls really learned how to swim in the fifteen swimming pools.

under their competent treatment the children have been returned to their class work much earlier than hitherto. The salaries of the nurses are paid by the Department of Health, the supplies by the Board of Education. The health and morale of the children have been further looked after by the formation of the Public School Athletic League during the past year. This association is a private body, but the moving spirit and secretary of the league is Dr. Gulick, director of physical training in the Department of Education.



Nursing the Sick at School.

In 1892 libraries were established in the schools in connection with the state, the expense to the city being from \$42,000 to \$46,000 per year.

The Department of Health has co-operated with the Department of Education by establishing nurses in the public schools who have greatly brought up the daily attendance by caring for children who have hitherto been excluded principally for eye infection. The nurses have treated pupils both at school and in the homes, and

The object of the league, as expressed in its articles of incorporation, is "to promote useful athletics and gymnastics among the attendants in the public schools of the city of New York, and in connection therewith to co-operate and support school athletic associations, provide athletic grounds and teachers, organize games, offer prizes and conduct competitions." The league recognizes as athletic members all public school boys, members of elementary and high schools, and the College of the City



of New York, to take part in athletic competitions that are given under the sanction of the league. Contestants must be amateurs; entrance fees are 25 cents for each event.

Athletics is the great medium for getting boys to feel and think and act together. The establishment of matches, outdoor and indoor meets, and the healthy rivalry which results from these contests, cannot but prove of great importance. The idea has already spread very extensively and is likely to prove a natural development which will need no fostering from above.

#### VACATION SCHOOLS.

Vacation schools were established by the Board of Education in 1899. Previous to that time, however, for four years vacation schools were maintained by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, which borrowed two schools on the lower East Side from the Board of Education to carry on the experimental work.

These schools lay emphasis upon other features than those of the day school. We find kindergartens, nature study, clay modeling, charcoal drawing, water-coloring, sewing, wood work, iron work, and story-telling, the principal features of these schools. They serve a double purpose, both caring for the children in the summer and giving them a fresh mental interest, and also indicating where these features can be most satisfactorily introduced into the day schools system. In 1903 fifty-four school buildings failed to meet the demand for these popular vacation schools. The average attendance was 18,927, the total cost to the city \$122,121.30, the per capita cost being \$6.45. It was in 1898 that the vacation playgrounds were opened. They have grown till last summer the attendance was 68,598, the total cost \$106,830.32, the per capita cost being \$1.56.

#### RECREATION CENTERS.

The opening of the recreation center was, perhaps, a more radical departure than the vacation features. On petition of the Public Education Association the Board of Education allowed the as-

sociation the use of two school buildings in 1898, for the establishment of evening boys' and girls' clubs. The following year the city took over this work and has maintained an increasing number of recreation centers till in 1903 twenty-one centers are open with an attendance of 6,154 at a total cost to the city of \$56,834, or a per capita cost of \$9.24.

To sum up. The total annual cost of the public school system in New York is about \$26,000,000. The per capita cost, exclusive of the "vacation schools and playgrounds" (including recreation centers), is about \$41. The per capita cost of these additional features is about \$3, the total cost being \$285,785.60. The establishment of these new features was not undertaken without considerable opposition, and serious doubt was expressed as to whether the Board of Education had the legal right to extend its operations so widely. This matter was, however, definitely settled in 1898 by an act of the legislature amending the charter and giving the Board of Education control of school property for purposes of "public education, recreation and other public uses." This is a liberal statement, and it leaves the Board of Education free to interpret its functions as broadly as it may find it useful to do so.

#### GENERAL VIEW.

Exhibitions of the vacation school work have shown a delightful quality of freedom and creative spirit which quite differentiates this work from the mechanical quality too often observed in the day schools. The reactive effect upon academic training in general has been strikingly noticeable. Variety and freedom have been the keynote of the vacation school. Vacation playgrounds have also been on the whole successful. The term "playground" generally means the basement of a public school building, where gymnastic apparatus has been installed in a large number of the schools. Quiet games are provided, basketry and clay-modeling have also been introduced, tournaments were held where amateur athletes contested for the city cham-

pionship, clubs were formed, children's magazines and papers were distributed as well as books for the library. Where outdoor lots were utilized by the Board of Education, athletics naturally developed more rapidly; swings and sand-boxes were in use and kindergartens also maintained, roof gardens open from half past seven till ten in the evening, the other playgrounds from one to six p. m. Music was furnished on the roof playgrounds. Playgrounds were also maintained on the recreation piers by the Board of Education. It is interesting to note that simultaneously with the development of playgrounds under the Board of Education a similar movement has gone on in connection with the park department. The number therefore of vacation playgrounds maintained by the Board of Education by no means indicates the total number of playgrounds for children in New York City. For the first time in the history of New York City, the park department in 1903 maintained in the public parks, public playgrounds for the children of the city.

Both the vacation schools and the vacation playgrounds are necessities in our crowded quarters. They are fundamentally similar, both laying stress on freedom in work and freedom in play, nevertheless being purposeful in character. In the vacation school the end sought is good quality in the individual's work; in the vacation playground the end desired is the development of fairness of spirit in group play, as well as the inculcation of a healthful spirit of competition. The vacation schools and playgrounds are especially necessary for children between twelve and fourteen, for under our present child labor law, children are not allowed to go to work during vacation till they reach the age of fourteen (that is, there are no special vacation work certificates, as heretofore), and there is practically no provision by the fresh air agencies for giving boys a holiday who are over twelve. The Children's Aid Society is an exception. It is the clear duty of the city to provide children of that age, who are not allowed to go to work and not

able to go to the country, with rational work and play in the vacation schools and playgrounds.

The recreation centers are in operation nine months of the year. These centers occupy the basement and one or two rooms on the first floor. Some are for boys and some for girls. Both sections do not attend the same school. The sessions begin at 7:30 and close at 10 in the evening. Children under 14 are supposed to be excluded, although this is not always the case. Gymnastics and athletic sports, quiet games, literary and social clubs, distribution of literary books, and study rooms form the principal features of the recreation centers. There are twenty-three such centers at present, fourteen for men and boys, and nine for women and girls.

The larger per capita cost of the recreation centers would indicate either that there is extravagance in their management, or that the experiment has not yet been worked out satisfactorily. The salaries paid are relatively speaking high, the principal or person in charge getting \$4 per night. On an average of twenty-five nights per month, this gives the principal a salary of \$100 per month. Teachers are paid \$2.50; assistant teachers \$1.50; librarians \$2.00, and pianists \$2.00. These salaries are somewhat higher in proportion than those received by regular teachers in the day schools. We face the dilemma that either the recreation centers are really schools, in which case the salaries, the number of pupils to a teacher, should correspond to the day schools, or are neighborhood centers where social work similar to that carried on in the settlement is maintained, and where expert and highly paid work would be suitable. In that case the qualifications for the workers, who should not be thought of as teachers at all, should be quite different from those necessary for the day school teachers. But neighborhood work involves a knowledge of neighborhood as a whole—of the families from which the club members come, and the conditions of life in general under which these young people work and live. As a matter of fact, the clubs



of the recreation centers are by no means as yet free from an academic day-school flavor.

#### PROBLEM FOR THE BOARD.

The Board of Education has a big piece of work ahead of it in making of these recreation centers real centers for neighborhood work. It is difficult to get good leaders for such work, it is difficult to arrange in the school buildings, as they are at present constructed, for attractive club rooms; but these are diffi-

should be built for this purpose, but also the educational system ought to have incorporated within it this idea of neighborhood work. If once these recreation centers become in truth social centers and not schools, not only will the centers themselves be of untold value, but also the reaction upon the whole system of education ought to prove effective. The centers have been criticised, not only by their enemies but also by their friends, and yet very little has been suggested by those who ought



Nature Study Class.

culties which can be surmounted in time, and they should be met inside of the educational system rather than outside of it. A bill was introduced in the last session of the legislature providing for municipal club houses for boys to be entirely outside the jurisdiction of the Board of Education. There was much truth in the implied criticism of the board. Schools are not club houses and teachers are not necessarily club leaders. Nevertheless not only economy dictates that the public school buildings should be used rather than new buildings

to be most deeply acquainted with neighborhood work of a constructive kind. I would venture to suggest that an advisory committee be formed to act in conjunction with the committee on special schools, which is the committee in charge of all this new form of education work, this advisory committee to be composed not of teachers but of those intimately conversant with neighborhood work. This committee should have no official position whatever, and of course would be unsalaried, but it should make a monthly

report to the committee on special schools of the committee's inspection, criticism and constructive plans.

#### SCHOOL OF THE FUTURE.

With all these new features adopted by the public school system, it is clear that we have only begun to appreciate what the school of the future will be. If education means the development of all the powers of man, and if democracy means, in order to be triumphantly successful, that every person shall have access to such an education, we must provide in a more liberal way for this development than we have in the past. If the parents of the children have to go to work at 7, the school building should be open at 7 to receive into its playground those who have no place to go till school begins. The health of the child is first to be considered. The sterilized milk stations provided by Mr. Strauss at four of the vacation playgrounds last year proved very useful. Penny milk stations in almost all the public schools would be most useful. The growing feeling of parents that the school is their school as well as the children's, and that they are welcome there for instruction, for amusement and for social pleasure, is to be encouraged.

A very interesting experiment will be inaugurated in October of the coming year, when a school teachers' settlement under the direction of a district superintendent on the lower East Side, Miss Julia Richman, will be opened. The settlement itself will be the home of the workers, and a center for all the teachers in the district who wish to thresh out the problems of neighborhood life which form the background of their academic work. The institutional activities of the settlement, that is, the club and class work, will be carried on in the neighboring public schools entirely. The underlying thought of this plan is the creation of a social spirit among the school teachers themselves, and the emphasis upon the idea of the school as a neighborhood center.

In conclusion, we may say that there is a certain sense in which the work of religion, of the home and of the school is one. The development of persons is

that task. We have seen the elements of weakness in both the religious and home life of a big city and how doubly necessary it is therefore to emphasize this enlarged conception of education. The work of the New York schools is not so much to create students as to make men, and this thought of developing the whole child and seeing him in his relation to his family and his neighborhood and his industrial environment makes of the school a bigger and a more important thing than it has ever been in the past. If the social life of the home be too restricted by the physical necessities of the case, then the home should make of the school its nursery, its playroom, its library; if the moral ideals and civic responsibilities that religion might well inculcate are often neglected by the churches, the school should be called in to aid. If the clubs and classes of settlements be truly useful, how much vaster the possibility of club and class work in the schools which reach every quarter of our city. What an entertaining job the architect of a modern school building has before him! He has to have in mind the gymnasium, the lecture hall, social club rooms, rooms for manual training and for play.

And if the architect of the building has an occupation so interesting, how much more fascinating is the development of the educational system itself. For this task is needed the highest ability and the deepest devotion.

*Greenwich House, New York City.*

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A finely illustrated special number of *Charities*, for August, is devoted to "Ocean Beaches, and the Social Significance of the Park Movement." The recent very rapid development and improvement of the ocean beaches in the vicinity of New York and Boston through municipal endeavor is described in detail and the pictures show results and their contrast with earlier conditions most vividly. Other articles follow on park and playground extension in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Chicago, while Clinton Rogers Woodruff writes on the objects and work of the American Civic Association which has recently been formed through the merging of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association and the American League for Civic Improvement.



# Boston's Tenement House Conditions

By Anne Withington

The report of the commission appointed by Mayor Collins, last year, to investigate tenement-house conditions in Boston, has just made its appearance in print. The commission wastes no space on the point that things in Boston are not as bad as they are in New York, but sapiently intimates that in its opinion the best is none too good and we are yet far from our goal.

Nor does the commission take up the obviously closely related question of rapid and cheap transit which will, when all is said, solve the tenement house problem by abolishing the *raison d'être* of the tenement house. The publication is not so much a report of conditions as a draft of proposed legislation prepared after many deliberations, visits to New York and New Jersey, careful investigation of the data of the health department and examination of the multitudinous laws governing the construction of buildings in Boston.

Ever since the great fire of 1872 building laws have been passed from time to time of such stringency that today the construction of modern tenements within the fire limits for low rental is practically at a standstill. Added to this state of things is the further difficulty of forcing owners of old one-family residences to alter these in conformity with the laws, as they are technically dwelling houses and not tenements. In the proposed act, the commission codifies the many regulations and restrictions passed within the last thirty years and modifies some of the requirements in order to make it possible to convert these older buildings into modern tenements. For instance, the use of incombustible materials under the present law is prescribed for all four-story apartment houses "throughout," but the commission suggests that if the halls and stairways be constructed of these incombustible materials, the rooms all properly lighted and venti-

lated and the open space about the house be sufficient to the demands, there will be no increase of danger from fire.

There are many suggestions in the report which must appeal to all who are familiar with the deplorable surroundings in which so many of our fellow beings spend their lives. One of these is the requirement that access to any room in any four-room apartment shall be had without passing through any bedroom, thus insuring some degree of privacy to the occupants. Another is the prohibition of basement dwellings of a too familiar kind, in reality cellars, sunless, damp, contracted.

Another suggestion which will meet the approval of every settlement worker in Boston is that the city gradually take possession of the many private alleys. These have long been a source of trouble to owner and city official alike. Most of them are in wretched condition, uncared for by public or private effort. As a preliminary step the commission recommends that these alleys be cleaned in the same manner as the public streets and at the expense of the city.

It is not proposed to establish a separate tenement house department to meet the present situation, but the recommendation is made that the force of inspectors for tenement houses be provided by the board of health and that some of them be women. Of the notable efficiency of women in New York, for instance, in this capacity mention is made.

It is illustrative of the cumbersome and wasteful way in which we arrive at the point of action that the Massachusetts legislature now threatens to make another investigation of tenement house conditions in Boston, thus duplicating the work done by Boston itself and postponing legislative action indefinitely.

# The Present Status of Woman in the Profession of Teaching

By Mrs. Andrew Macleish

Turning to the report of the United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. W. T. Harris, we find that the total number of women employed in the state school systems of the United States was, in 1902, 317,204; that of men, 122,392. In 1870, 59 per cent. of the teachers in the public school systems of the United States were women; in 1880, 57.2 per cent; in 1890, 65.5 per cent; in 1900, 70.1 per cent; in 1902, 72.2 per cent. In the cities the proportion is even more startling. In Chicago, for instance, only 6 per cent of the teachers are men. This was the situation in 1890. In general, men hold the executive positions; women do the direct teaching.

Considering the United States territorially, we find that the percentage of women teachers is largest in the north Atlantic states and smallest in the South, while the percentage in the West lies between these two. In 1902 the percentage of women teaching in the public schools of the north Atlantic section was 83.3 per cent; in the south Atlantic states, 61 per cent; in the south central states, 52.2 per cent; in the north central states, 74.4 per cent; in the West, 77.8 per cent.

This condition bids fair to continue in the immediate future, if one may judge from the proportions of men and women in preparation for teaching. In the report from normal schools for 1902 we find the total number of normal students in the public normal schools of the country is 49,403, of whom 12,209 are men and 37,194 women; again 75 per cent are women. In the private normal schools the ratio changes somewhat; 48 per cent are men and 52 per cent women. In the colored normal schools the same fact holds, 57 per cent being women.

Passing to a consideration of salaries, the report for 1902 shows that throughout the United States the average monthly salaries for men are \$49.05, those for women \$39.77. Looking at

this question territorially: In the north Atlantic section men receive \$59.01, women \$40.17; in the south Atlantic section, men \$30.50, women \$28.60; in the south central division, men \$44.28, women \$36.88; in the north central division, men \$50.85, women \$39.60; in the western division, men \$65.90, women \$53.70.

In the consideration of this question of salaries, the difference in the character of the positions must be kept in mind. In general men occupy the executive positions, women the class-room positions, so that this last tabulation is not simply a comparison between the salaries of men and women teachers, *per se*, but largely a comparison between executive and teaching positions.

Passing now to the status of women with respect to the direction of public education, we find that women may vote for school officers and are eligible for the same to a greater or less extent in all the states and territories except the south Atlantic states, from Delaware to Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and New Mexico. As a rule women are eligible to school boards in all northern and western cities. In 1900-1901 the state superintendents of Colorado and Idaho were women. The report of that year also shows that in twelve cities, running from Southington, Conn., to San Bernardino, Cal., the city superintendents were women, while 22 states returned a certain number of women among their county superintendents.

It is, of course, in elementary education that women have so largely usurped the field. As we rise toward the higher education the percentage of women teachers drops very rapidly. In the public high schools of the United States the women teachers in 1899-1900 numbered 50 per cent; in the private high schools the proportion was 57.74 per cent. In the colleges for women the rate of women teachers was 71.3 per cent. In the colleges for men and for



both sexes there were in the preparatory departments 29.67 per cent of women teachers; in the colleges themselves only 10.44 per cent of women.

An effort has been made to study the question of woman's relation to the higher education. The following questions were prepared and sent out to presidents of co-educational and of women's colleges, and to others who are broadly interested in educational problems and have had opportunities to form conclusions:

1. Why, in your judgment, do not women fill a larger number of higher educational positions, in coeducational colleges, for instance? What has been your experience with women in such positions?

2. Do women in the higher positions receive salaries more nearly equal to those of men?

3. Are the salaries of the higher educational positions sufficiently large to induce men to exclude women from them?

The answers to the first question were the most varied and the most interesting. The reasons given were as follows:

Chancellor Andrews of Nebraska University says: "Much prejudice still exists against women for these positions. At the same time it must be admitted that comparatively few women have as good qualifications for such positions as can easily be commanded by men. My impressions of women's efficiency are most favorable."

Prof. Earl Barnes: "In my judgment, women do not fill higher educational positions because they are not fitted for them. During all the centuries that lie behind us the resources of civilization have been used to train men and not women. If we had not produced a difference then education would be futile. I have seen two or three cases where college presidents have tried hard to introduce women into their faculties. One is surprised to see how narrow the range of choice is when you seek a woman for a university post. Women who have the training and talent are more apt to be tied up by maternal or other obligations

so as not to be available for university positions."

President Eliot says: "They are not so available as men."

President Hall, Clark University, says: "Women do not fill more of these positions because they lack special training. Woman is constitutionally less prone to this than men. She is more humanistic and is more liable to do violence to her nature by focusing upon one single topic, as professors must. For instance, she excels in general knowledge of literature, but very rarely takes to minute philology. She loves to study general biology, but the numbers of memoirs and theses that attempt original contributions in this, as in every other topic, are few. Another reason is that young men, and, I am inclined to think, young women, of college grade are less impressed by women than by men teachers, even if intellectual equipment is the same. Young men unquestionably have a strong feeling, whether rightly or wrongly, that it is less manly to be apprenticed to a woman than to a man professor, and even young women of this grade have something of the same feeling."

Dr. Harper says: "Women do not fill a larger number of the higher educational positions in part because they have not made the preparation; in part because such positions involve the supervision of men, and as a rule men refuse to have their work supervised by women; in part because there is always an element of uncertainty about a woman's future."

President Thwing says: "The reason is primarily that many women prefer to be heads of homes rather than heads of departments in colleges."

President King of Oberlin: "The situation, I suppose, is partly due to the fact that until quite recently a much smaller number of women have prepared themselves by extended graduate study. Another reason, I suppose, has been that in co-educational colleges it has been often felt that for the sake of attracting men, who are only too likely in the long run to be outnumbered by the women students, it is desirable to

keep the majority of the teaching force men. The situation, also, I suppose, is partly simply the continuance of an early situation, necessary at the start, but not so necessary now."

President Jordan, Leland Stanford University: "Assuming equality of ability and training, men are more satisfactory in the higher work. They can do outside things better, they bear criticism better, they take more objective views of things, measuring progress by actual achievement rather than by subjective feeling. They handle classes better and are more patient, less likely to be lonely and emotional. To all this there are individual exceptions, but in all higher work, especially in teaching men, men are preferable as teachers, other things being equal."

President Taylor of Vassar hesitates to express an opinion regarding women on the faculties of coeducational colleges, but says: "In our own institution we have both men and women in our faculty, and the women have been able to do their work with power and growth equal to that shown by the men. Of course, I speak of classes, not of specific individuals."

President Seelye of Smith: "Women are filling, every year, higher educational positions and occupy in women's colleges as high positions as men do. One reason why they are not engaged as much as men in co-educational colleges is that the traditions of the colleges are against them, and marriage makes their position much more uncertain. Where women remain unmarried and are well trained for the position their instruction is as satisfactory as men's."

President Thomas of Bryn Mawr: "Women do not at present fill more positions in co-educational colleges and universities because there is a very decided, though not always openly acknowledged, opposition on the part of men teaching in college faculties to the appointment of women professors, and also because the boards of trustees of co-educational colleges are composed almost wholly of men who naturally are not particularly interested in

employing women. Women in such positions succeed exceedingly well. There is every reason to believe that women have the same gift in teaching higher subjects in colleges that they have shown in more elementary subjects in schools."

Among other interesting suggestions are these: That the deep-rooted objection of young men to being taught by women is due in part to the fact that women have so much less of practical experience with life than men, at some points much less than the men whom they are to teach; that as men in a faculty have a wider market, they possess a greater advertising value to a college than women; that as women must exert a social as well as an educational influence, the standard of personal and social qualifications is higher than for men."

As to the question of salaries, there is nearly a consensus of opinion that in the higher positions there is practically no difference between the salaries of men and women; the position carries the salary. Also the replies agree that competition does not enter to any large extent into the filling of these places. Individuals are selected upon their merits. The salaries must be high enough to hold the individuals best qualified for the work. These at the present time are usually men. One reply suggests that the ablest women frequently marry these ablest educators. President Eliot's is the one dissenting voice. He says: "No. In the interest of women equal compensation with men's should never be advocated except for piece-work." President Thomas reports a curious situation. "It is a fixed policy of Bryn Mawr College, and of many other colleges, to pay the same salary to college instructors holding similar positions. In point of fact, at Bryn Mawr it is easier for us to appoint for a low salary men than women, because there are so many more men than women fitted to hold any given post that men are willing to come for a materially lower salary than women of the same grade of academic preparation."

Coming to the question, "Why are



not men more largely represented in elementary and secondary schools?" The responses agree upon two points: First, the salaries of these positions are so small that men with families to support cannot live upon them. Women who have only themselves to support can and do accept these positions with the salaries. The result is that better equipped teachers for elementary and secondary positions can be had from among women than from among men. As Earl Barnes puts it, "There are so few men in elementary and secondary education because we have a great number of well-educated women on this plane who have few avenues of activity. A six-hundred-dollar post will command a six-hundred-dollar man and a two-thousand-dollar woman." The second reason given is that women are by nature better fitted to sympathize with and understand young children; they can enter more truly into the child's life. As one reply puts it, "the maternal element is more important than the paternal in the earlier years." There is, however, a very widely expressed regret that there are not more men in the upper grades of the elementary and in the secondary schools. The need of them there is keenly felt.

Our last question was, "How is woman's education affected by industrialism?" The replies indicate quite different points of view as to the question. President Eliot says that woman's education has been improved, given definite aims and prolonged. President Andrews: "The effect is, on the whole, deleterious, although women forced into industry receive from the experience itself a species of education often quite valuable." President Seelye says that industrialism has tended to make woman's education more practical and to train her for specific employment. President Jordan: "With those women who look directly to earning a living, as most ought to, the education is affected by industrial demands. This appears most distinctly in preparation for teaching in college. The demands of journalism and medicine, if all these be included in industrialism, also affect education." President Thomas says: "Women's education has been and will

be in the future very much benefited by women's entrance into the money-making occupations. There can, I think, be no question that the large increase of women studying in colleges and universities is due in part, at least, to the fact that so many women are engaged in high school work where a college degree is a very decided commercial advantage." President Hall says: "I cannot answer the question because I think the answer is so long, and I have just finished writing it down in a book on adolescence about to appear from Appleton's press." Mr. Earl Barnes says: "I think woman's education is being affected by industrialism indirectly. Men are turning so strongly to commercialism that the fields of pure scholarship, except in the higher reaches, are being left almost exclusively to women. To-day the women up to the grade of junior university standing are superior to the men all over the country. A foreigner wishing to gain information touching literature, the drama or social activity could get better results from talking with American women than from men. If this were to continue long enough the higher fields would also belong to women, but I anticipate reactions." One able and liberally educated woman, not herself an educator, but in close touch with the work, suggests that "in lower economic grades the period of education is shortened by the desire to get girls to work. In the higher grades, to prepare for teaching, etc., the period is lengthened and technical training is added. In the lower grades more directly practical training would probably keep girls for a longer period in school."

Several other college presidents agree in thinking that education during the college period has not been greatly affected by the demands of industrialism. The fact probably is that the last suggestion cited points the way toward the general truth of the matter. The influence of industrialism is felt more in the grades below the college and in graduate or university work. The college, whose function it is to provide a liberal, non-specialized education, feels the pressure of preparation for self-

maintenance less than the secondary school or the university. If data upon this point could be collected from the high schools of the country the results would probably be most interesting. When we come to the consideration of the graduate work, which women are doing in our universities, we have to reckon with a factor quite different from those presented by industrialism,

and that is the love of pure scholarship. Probably that is quite as strong an element in the minds of those devoting themselves to scholarly pursuits as the fact that the higher education confers an income-producing power. The difficulty of separating these two motives in the minds of individuals makes it impossible to measure the effect of industrialism upon the higher education.

## Profit in Child Victims to Cocaine

Greed for profits has led to crimes of every description, on the part of both individuals and large corporation interests, but few have been more diabolical than the deliberate and designing plot to enslave young boys in the horrible toils of the cocaine habit. It is almost unbelievable that anyone in his senses could be guilty of such a thing, but it is disclosed that regularly certified pharmacists, who must be fully aware of the ruin and wreck to body and mind alike entailed, have actually made a practise of selling the drug without a label to small boys in the neighborhood of Hull House, Chicago. More than that, the habit has been encouraged by first giving away the stuff until the craving developed, and in the recent cases it was found that money for the purchase of it was gotten not infrequently by theft or the sale of stolen junk.

All honor is due to Miss Julia C. Lathrop and Dr. Alice Hamilton, of Hull House, who inspired a thorough investigation of the matter and themselves procured much of the evidence. One druggist has already been convicted, and another has been brought to trial from whom it is learned that the traffic is not carried on by a few but that its prevalence is alarming. He promises to implicate others in the abominable business.

In this connection it would be well to institute an enquiry as to whether it is a common practise of druggists, in the Hull House neighborhood or any other, to promote the sale of patent medicines which contain large proportions of cocaine or other drugs that may

be used to advantage under the advice and discretion of a good and responsible physician, but that are exceedingly dangerous and insidious when taken in large quantities and with frequency. It is disputed by scarcely anyone conversant with the facts that great harm is done through the sale of such "specifics," which are guaranteed to cure almost everything from pulmonary tuberculosis to encroaching baldness.

The large power of the concerns that make them is used often in ways most unscrupulous. It is next to impossible to find a state legislature that will enact even the most innocent law in defense of the public if it would appreciably injure the sales of one of these "popular remedies." And it is a matter of common notoriety that each season the introduction of such measures is regarded with levity by the grafters who scorn such a time-worn and hackneyed method of making a "strike." A bill was introduced last winter in the New York state legislature to require the publication of the formula of each patented or proprietary medicine on any packages containing it. The motive of the introduction was at once suspected and made the subject of jest. We do not say that the imputation of motive was incorrect. Nor do we judge the wisdom, justice or efficacy of the measure. A condition is indicated, however, that naturally discourages a man who values his reputation, proves a handicap to a disinterested effort toward dealing with the problem, and affords an illuminating side-light upon the methods of legislation in general.



# "Violent" Newspapers and The Strike

By Edwin Balmer

"Who have committed the most violence during the strike? The strikers? The strike breakers?"

"Neither. The newspapers."

"Violence to what?"

"To the truth, of course."

The questions are general; the answers mine, but not entirely original.

I was talking to a policeman on special duty at one of the west gates of the yards.

"Much disorder this morning?"

"Man beat up on Ashland; nigger strike breaker scared to death on Halsted. Shot into a bunch of strikers. Nobody hurt. They say another 'breaker'—or perhaps 'twas a striker—was doused in Bubbly Creek. That's all."

"Expect much more violence?"

The patrolman looked me over a moment before replying and, smiling a little, glanced at his watch. It was about eleven in the morning.

"Sure," he said. "Unless the 'dope' gives out there'll be the h—ll of a riot in about an hour."

"Where?"

"Oh," he replied easily, "in the afternoon papers. It's just the day for a riot."

"I was not 'easy' enough to ask why, so he went on unencouraged.

"There's no new train wreck, is there? Didn't the morning papers have all about the last fall of Port Arthur? Won't there *have* to be a strike this afternoon?"

I understood, of course, but still I waited to watch the most "dangerous" spots. Four non-union laborers coming out of the yards toward Ashland avenue were met by a single union picket. Two of them stood meekly like tame animals to get a cuffing. They got only slaps, but sound ones I heard fifty feet away. The lone picket took the hats of those two and tossed them toward the yard fence. They ran after the hats and kept right on after picking them up.

The other two made a bolder resist-

ance after their companions fled. But a cross cut on the jaw for one and a stomach blow for the other, a directing kick as they turned, and the second pair of strike breakers was returned to the yards. Stopping about a hundred feet away, however, as a union official ran up hurriedly they contributed a few punctuation remarks to the "calling down" the picket received from his brother unionist. Perhaps the "calling down" was not sincere. It was, at least, unpurgated.

## MAKING A STORY.

Besides the principals mentioned, I was the only one near at the time. I don't believe the picket or the petty official told the story. I didn't. The strike breakers, as they returned to the yards, must have given it out. They had to explain why they had to return so suddenly. To save their "face" they probably, as the saying is, "helped the story along." Finally it got to a foreman or one of the agents from whom the reporters get their "stories." He knows the reporter wants a "good" story and gives him one. The reporter knows "the office" wants a better story and 'phones it in. The writer "taking the story" from the telephone knows the public has been trained to expect violence; will be pleasantly and easily entertained by violence and, what is the real point with some papers, most readily will pay their pennies for "bloody riots" and "many lives lost" stories.

Perhaps the editor of the at least saffron one o'clock extra wanted to save his "many lives lost" head for a later edition. I discovered, therefore, from that paper that what I had seen was merely a bloody riot. Homer, I believe, says that Achilles before Troy was worth a score or so of men. Journalism has improved and become more concise since his day. Comparative values are omitted. Solitary picket aforesaid was a score, I had become a large hooting crowd of jeering sympathizers and the

union official also had become quite a rabble.

#### WHAT IS A NEWSPAPER.

What is the institution which we blame?

A newspaper is merely a dealer in news. It buys the special styles, sizes and qualities of news which it thinks it can sell to its patrons. It is business, and as with all other business concerns, the business policy varies with the classes of buyers to which the newspapers, as the department stores, can best appeal. It is business which puts cheap, gaudy and shoddy goods in one department store which has an immense patronage; it is business which puts reliable "all wool and a yard wide fabric" in another department store which may have an equally large number of patrons. It is also business which supplies one newspaper with sensational, unfounded "fake" stories, exaggerations and imaginations displayed in large showy type and it is also business which makes it good policy for another paper to buy wholesale, for retail purposes, calm, moderate, reliable accounts and reports at least preferring the truth,—other things being equal.

#### THE AFTERNOON PHENOMENON.

Most of the violence and by far the most serious disorders "occur" in the afternoon papers. Police "blotters" usually show the greatest number of arrests and the greatest amount of disorders in the very hours for which, besides their reviews of the preceding day, the morning papers are essentially a record. The phenomenon mentioned, therefore, can not be classed as entirely natural. In the little incident of the afternoon paper "story" treated above, I have given part of the explanation of it. In "The Story of a News-story" written by James Keeley, publisher of the Chicago Tribune (the Saturday Evening Post, October 3, 1903,) we can see the rest. In a paragraph sub-headed "The Personal Equation" he says:

#### A CLUE TO IT.

"Let half a dozen men see an accident, or a foot-ball play, or any other

incident in which there is action; let each of these men describe what he saw. I will venture to state that no two will agree on what really happened. And yet each will insist on the correctness of his version. And many times a newspaper story is based on stories told by witnesses of the occurrence. Fiction to the contrary notwithstanding, the reporter is rarely 'on the spot.' He has to depend on what someone else saw and is often the victim of the inaccuracy of a well-intentioned but poor observer."

This statement is confirmed in almost every newspaper story dealing with the strike and accentuated by the obvious condition that the "observers" from whom, as Mr. Keeley says, the reporters get their stories second hand, are biased and prejudiced. The "well-intentioned observers" are well-intentioned to which ever side they happen to be on and distort their statements accordingly. They are average individuals and, as Mr. Keeley says:

"The average individual is naturally an exaggerator. The long bow is his favorite weapon. He likes to tell a little bigger story than the man who told it to him. This gratifies his self-importance."

As a fair instance Mr. Keeley writes:

"There was an accident at a foot-ball game on Marshall Field. The first report which reached The Tribune office said that twenty-five people were killed. These reports came from people who saw the accident. What were the facts? No one was killed on the field, though one boy died three or four days afterwards."

The facts The Tribune had both the time and inclination to verify before setting up a head line. The afternoon papers, however, which issue hourly editions and extras have not time for such verification, and it is extremely doubtful in some instances whether they have the inclination. The competitive desire for a story, a big story, a bigger story than the next fellow applies to the papers as well as the individuals who do the greatest harm before having or taking time to consider, verify and cool down before talking. And no matter



how careful, how desirous of the truth and nothing but the truth an editor and his staff may be, "in the hurry of getting out in eight hours a 70,000 word picture of what has occurred in twenty-four hours," the publisher of the Chicago Tribune goes on, "it is absurd to imagine that in the 20,000 statements of fact in these 70,000 words there should not be mistake." If this is true of the decidedly non-yellow Tribune with a day between editions and for which most of the local news is written up in the office by the staff correspondents originally gathering it, how is it with the hourly "screamers" run off the presses as soon as a rumor unverified, unexamined but exaggerated and sensational enough can be "taken from the 'phone" and further exaggerated by the writer in the office, who has no direct personal knowledge of conditions?

#### THE "SLANT" OF A STORY.

A new reporter, not yet having learned the ethics, or lack of ethics, of the yellow newspaper story, brings into his newspaper office an account of the things as he saw them. His eyes not yet trained to squint only along the bias of the paper's "policy," saw those things too nearly as they were. The city editor reads the story over and hands it back.

"Change the 'slant'," he says and the "slant" is changed until the story tells the tale which, in the opinions of the editors, will most readily sell the paper. The truth may be incidentally considered and a little of the personal opinions of the writer may appear; both, however, are prostituted to what the public wants—or more exactly, what it will buy repeatedly. It must be emphasized that the policy, the bias, the partisanship of a newspaper is not determined by that of its editors or publishers but by that of the constituency it reaches or desires to reach. Does the public, then, force the publishers to publish sensational scandal and riot stories partly against their will?

#### A NOTABLE "FAKE" STORY.

Mr. Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* some months ago

told in "World's Work," "Why People Disbelieve the Newspapers." He records the case of the newspaper-notorious "scandal" in the royal family of the Netherlands. Queen Wilhelmina was reported to have been insulted, seriously maltreated, and alternately neglected and beaten by her consort. It was excellent "first page stuff" and worked up and worked over again for "all it was worth." Mr. Bok, having learned from an excellent and reliable source that the newspaper accounts published in this country were absolutely unfounded, went to the editor of a newspaper which had been dealing in the "scandal" and furnished him proof that the scandal stories were false. At the same time the London correspondent of the same newspaper, who had been sending in the scandal stories, wired that the previous dispatches were false and unfounded and that the Wilhelmina matter was "dead." The public, however, expected more of it, wanted more of it, would pay for more of it. Therefore it got more of it. The Wilhelmina matter was "kept alive." The editor knew that what he continued to print was absolutely and entirely false; in fact he wired the unwilling correspondent to send in stories which both knew had no foundation; but the scandal was kept alive until the public tired and would no longer be attracted by the fiction.

The paper, Mr. Bok says, was not a "yellow" one. Obviously not. If it had been the editor would not have gone to the trouble to have his London correspondent continue the reports. The foreign news would have been written up right in the home office. As it was all false, what did it matter where it was written?

During the present stock yards strike, so general has a similar popular demand for exciting "news" become that a similar method of supply responds. The public, as I said, has been expecting violence, they have wanted to read about violence and been willing to pay to read about violence. Hence they got "violence." During the first few weeks of the strike it was amusing to see how one decidedly "yellow" paper continu-

ally and persistently denied, editorially, the existence of serious disorder, while each day, almost each hour, it sold special extras through its "bloody riot" headings and first page stories. Standing by the union cause staunchly, if insincerely, in their editorials, that paper obviously was forced to the publication of the "sluggings" and "riots" by the consideration of what the public wanted, or rather, would pay for.

#### PADDING AND "FAKING."

A newspaper story often—I may say usually—depends for its conception upon something which may have occurred; for the strength or weakness, the exaggeration or underration and for all distortions of statement it is dependent directly upon what the public will be interested in and therefore pay for. This is quite as true of "strike news" as of "war news." All newspapers, I believe, "pad" some stories and "fake" others, directly or indirectly. It is unavoidable. Not always having original sources of information, newspapers copy from others which seem to have. Often the sources of information of the copied story are very original—the mind of the correspondent, for instance. The first paper purposely and wilfully publishes the "fake" story. The public can not tell, at once, that the story is a "fake." If it is well written it shows up like good news. A competing paper, forced to have the news, and more willing to risk an untruth than a "scoop" at the hands of the first paper, copies the "fake" story. After the paper once prints a story it "stands for it." Hence what you read in two or three papers maybe as little likely to be true as what appears in but one.

It is notorious that much of our "war" news is "home made." A few lines of bona fide news comes on the cable from the Associated Press or from an original source. It is a most common practice not only to "pad" the bona fide report publication but also "fake up" or fabricate and invent columns and sometimes pages of other "war" news to accompany, confirm and explain the few lines of real news. The story may have been a

"fake" or highly erroneous report at the start; after a few columns of original, home made matter is made up upon the first few lines of foreign rumor or misstatement, the result is startling. But, as the Irishman said, "That's the intintion." It sells the paper.

The man who reads over the few lines of real war dispatches, pads them out, "confirming them from Chefoo and adding the details," has been very busy during the stock yards strike. He writes the special matter for the afternoon extras and so must stay in his newspaper office. There are, however, several reporters at "the yards" carefully drilled to know what is wanted, and to rush it in whether it is there or not.

The police fire a few revolver shots into the air to frighten and disperse a crowd. No one is hurt, no one was even aimed at. A reporter for an afternoon paper rushes to the nearest telephone. He was not upon the spot of the shooting. He heard the shots, however. Perhaps five shots were fired.

"Hello," he calls the office. "Riot. Mob attacks police. Five or ten shots fired."

"How many?"

"Oh, ten or twenty. Big mob down by Ashland and 47th."

"Twenty shots? Ten hurt you say?"

"May be. Will find out."

Having sent in his "bulletin" to the office, reporter number one rushes off to find how many persons will agree that they have been killed, hurt or just escaped being shot in the disturbance. Reporter number two, having heard of the shots from some violent sympathizers with one side or the other, rushes to another phone. He puts the mob at Ashland and 45th and the number of shots at fifty. The writer taking the story from the office telephone knows very well that the two varying reports reaching him probably record the same disturbance. He is "wise," however, and gives the public readiness to pay for a "good" story the benefit of the doubt. He adds the number of shots and the distance over which the disturbance spread. "Twenty shots and fifty shots make seventy. Seventy-five



sounds better and why not an even hundred? If the mob spread from 47th and Ashland to 45th and Ashland, why wouldn't it spread elsewhere? The reader of the newspaper probably finds that it did.

The addition of a few more reporters, not on the spot, but sending into the office the best story they had, would have necessitated a battle and made the whole south side the battle ground.

#### BOTH SIDES SUFFER.

Both sides have suffered from the newspapers.

Carpenters erecting an advertising bill-board are not strikers erecting a stockade. Two hundred boys and young rowdies chasing and pelting a few stray steers do not compose a mob of four thousand starving men trying to stampee a herd and almost eat it off the hoof, as papers have stated. The union is not made up entirely of ruffians and desperadoes who have been able to live well and comfortably for \$7 a week and whose present object is to rob and domineer capital and slug every non-union wearer of overalls.

On the other hand, the packers are not heartless, soulless Frankensteins created and made great by men of labor whom "they now seek to destroy." The strike-breakers, though not all heroes, are not villains and blackguards without right to work for whom and for what they please. "The streams of vice and immoral corruption" which have been reported flowing from the lodgings in the yards, have risen no higher than their sources. The packers gave their "guests" for entertainment just what those "guests" had been accustomed to.

Some of the union officials probably, by more or less childish and vexatious meddlings and through a human desire to assert "authority," had made the packers suffer impairment to the efficiency of their business. The principles upon which the labor leaders have acted have been, for the most part, right; their impulses, unfortunately, less so. The union, as a combination of units to improve and raise the price and standard of labor, should not, therefore,

be destroyed. Why are those working to improve and raise the standard and price of machines and mechanical equipment business men, but those working to improve and raise the standard and price of men and human equipment variously designated as "robbers"?

#### ANTAGONISM NOT PUGILISM.

I believe that the packers as buyers and the union as sellers of labor must have interests antagonistic; but not necessarily pugilistic. There has been violence at the stock yards—it is undeniable, inexcusable. But it is certainly and indubitably far, far less than has been reported in the newspapers. Death has resulted from one disturbance; but, if I am not misinformed, non-union men fired the shots and it was the union which suffered.

I believe that it would have been extremely wise and advisable, whether or not the circumstances seemed then to warrant it, had President Donnelly made every effort to call off or delay the strike until the tardy "bluff" of the packers to arbitrate—if bluff it was—could be "called." I believe that before the second strike was called, President Donnelly owed it to himself and the public, if not to the packers, most fully to investigate the truth, the reasons and the source of the alleged discrimination. I believe that the unions, in common with the packers, have made many mistakes, issued many statements, condoned many conditions and performed acts which may be only partly excused by the exigencies of industrial war. I believe that this issue—other issues, magnified for the moment, being laid aside—is whether the unions can maintain or raise the standard of life and whether the packers can maintain or raise the amount of profit. Both objects are legal and legitimate. The packers argue very plausibly that all that pertains to the packing industry is strictly business: the unions are trying the balance of "competitive wages and the right to live."

#### THE AFTERMATH.

Whatever the outcome, we will have to reap an undesirable aftermath. If

the strike-breakers, many of whom have been gathered from the levees and undesirable sections of various cities, are turned loose suddenly, the increase of Chicago's crime and vice will show it. Already the municipal lodging house has encountered the undesirables who have soon tired of the hard work involved in strike breaking at the yards. If, on the other hand, the union is destroyed and the workers, who must return, must return as non-union men, past experiences shows the formation of a new union to be inevitable. As the Chicago Tribune asks in the course of an extremely able editorial expression:—Is it better to have a new union clandestine, resentful, inexperienced, or an old one, chastened, mature, and increasingly reasonable?

These are the considerations which should underlie the consideration of news.

But, as I have repeated, newspapers

are engaged primarily in the buying and selling of news. It has been said that there must be *some* basis for everything printed. Perhaps there is; for when I see one of the usual accounts of a lively hour at the stock yards I know if the principals named in the account have not been victimized others have. Truth, I am sure, has been slugged, Accuracy knocked out and Veracity thrown into the river.

What paper has not nobly and enthusiastically offered the full strength of its editorial staff to settle the strike? How many newspapers have had, or even endeavored to have had, published unbiased, unexaggerated news—the calm, moderate statement of conditions and issues instead of the exaggerated sensationalism which helps to sell papers but also contributes to the widening of the breach between the two classes which are and must be necessary to each other?

## The Strangers

"For he said: 'I have been a stranger in a strange land.'"—Exodus ii., 22.

All day the human current beats;

Men hurry up and down,

Cross and recross familiar streets

In their familiar town.

A thousand men go on this way

And pass a thousand more,

Yet none will know another day

He saw these men before.

(And over the mountains and over the sea  
A-many and many strange lands there be.)

Men walk; they wait, they sail, and ride

Together everywhere;

They stand unknowing side by side,

Together on they fare;

Each day they meet and pass the same,

Each ignorant of each,

And no man knows another's name

Or hears another's speech.

(Yet over the mountains and seas afar

A-many and many strange lands there are.)

And none of all these understands

He has no need to roam;

That strangest of all stranger lands

Is this that he calls home—

Is this where go a thousand men

And meet a thousand more,

And know not when they meet again

That they have met before.

(But over the seas and the mountains high

A-many and many strange lands there lie.)

—Chicago Tribune.



# Educational Movement for Social Training.

By Graham Taylor.

The schools, arising at the great centers to offer both general courses and technical training in the theory, history and practice of what deserve to be called the arts of social and philanthropic service, mark a very distinct and important educational movement. Their announcements for the next season indicate a very decided advance in the standard, method, and both scientific and practical value of the teaching and training they offer.

The London School of Sociology and Social Economics, in title and scope claims the province that in this country the universities have preoccupied by their departments of Sociology, which are as yet unknown to the curriculum abroad. But as it has enlisted the Charity Organization Society and the Woman's University Settlement workers, works in co-operation with the University of London and the School of Economics, and can count upon the helpful influence of the new "Sociological Society" and the still more recent "Institute of Social Service," its curriculum is sure to combine the practical purpose with the academic spirit and method.

In New York, the successful summer school, conducted by the Charity Organization Society for several seasons, has evolved "The School of Philanthropy," which in its second announcement schedules a very full curriculum for the whole academic year with distinguished instructors and the best clinical advantages. It, too, has the active co-operation of the Columbia University faculty and the Association of Neighborhood Workers, both of which independently offer some courses of instruction.

In Boston the study class of the Charity Organization Society has been the pioneer effort, which is now to be supplemented by Harvard University and Simmons College for women. Under the directorship of Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, himself a Harvard man of

wide experience and expert authority in handling philanthropic work, and Miss Zilpha Smith, one of the most efficient and best-informed charity administrators in Boston, this high-grade "Training School for Social Workers" will from its opening day in October take rank worthy of its academic origin and registration requirements.

The provisional course of instruction offered last winter at Chicago under university extension auspices tested the demand to be such as to warrant the more permanent administration and more thorough curriculum announced officially on the next page. Both are made possible only by the equally generous co-operation of experts most busily engaged in practical administrative work and specialists under the heavy exactions of university professorships.

Recognizing the demand for instruction and training for the betterment of industrial and civic conditions and relationships, as well as for efficiency in philanthropic work, the university groups these courses under the broader title of "Department of Social Science and Arts." While the departments, libraries and statistical laboratory at the University of Chicago are open to its students, the school is located at the center of the city in connection with the downtown University College and within easy reach of the varied clinics and field work afforded by the city charities, settlements, labor-union halls, juvenile court, and the Crerar library, which specializes in economic and administrative literature.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction did well, in view of these and other similar developments, to add a "Standing Committee on Training for Social Workers," which will not only chronicle from year to year the achievement registered by these schools, but will be the clearing house for the interchange of their experience and suggestions and a bond of fellowship and co-operation between them.

# Courses in Social Science and Arts

## Training for Philanthropic and Social Work

### University College, University of Chicago

#### INSTRUCTORS.

Charles Richmond Henderson, professor of sociology, University of Chicago; Alexander Johnson, secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and associate director of the School of Philanthropy, New York City; Hastings H. Hart, superintendent of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society; Julia C. Lathrop, Hull House, and recently of the Illinois State Board of Public Charities; Frederick H. Wines, president of the National Prison Association, and assistant director of the twelfth U. S. census; Ernest P. Bicknell, superintendent of the Chicago Bureau of Charities; John Cummings, professor of political economy, University of Chicago; Graham Taylor, professor of sociology, Chicago Theological Seminary, resident warden of Chicago Commons and Director of the courses.

#### PURPOSE OF THE COURSES.

The courses of study and practical training in social and philanthropic work, offered through this school, by the University of Chicago and the specialists co-operating with it, are aimed to meet and increase the demand for efficient helpers in charitable and reformatory service, both public and private, and in all endeavors to improve industrial and social conditions and relationships. The intention is not only to provide a basis of general knowledge for intelligent interest and participation in whatever promotes the welfare of the community, but also to offer a more technical preparation for professional and volunteer service in specific lines of organized effort.

The demand for trained helpers is being widely increased by the extension of the civil service law of merit appointments to public, charitable and reformatory institutions, and to city and state inspectorships; and by the growing opportunities and exactions of child helping agencies, boys' and girls' clubs, and probation officers of juvenile courts; the management and operation of voluntary philanthropic institutions and associated charities; the organized movements for civic betterment; the welfare work of industrial establishments; social settlement service and the neighborhood extension of the public schools; and the diversified institutional and educational ministries of the churches and their missions.

Training in these directions is made possible not only through the instruction of those who are at the head of several specialized agencies and departments of knowledge, but by the courses of University College, the School of Education and its manual training,

the Department of Sociology and all other advantages offered by the University.

#### LABORATORY FOR STATISTICAL RESEARCH WORK.

The University has equipped this laboratory in which students are given training in the collection and tabulation of statistical data, as well as in the scientific construction of charts, diagrams, etc. The object of this work is to familiarize students with practical methods employed in government bureaus, municipal, state and federal, in the United States and in other countries, and in private agencies of sociological and economic investigation. Students are trained to enter the service of such bureaus or agencies of social betterment as statisticians, capable of undertaking any work requiring expert statistical service. The departments of Political Economy and of Sociology co-operate in the direction of statistical investigations.

#### LIBRARY FACILITIES.

The John Crerar Library, located near the school, contains the most valuable collection of economic and sociological literature in this country, and is open to the free use of the students. The Chicago Public Library and the Newberry Library are also close at hand and the library privileges of the University are at the disposal of the students.

#### FIELD WORK.

Charitable, correctional and social institutions, both public and private in Chicago and vicinity will be open to visitation and study under the supervision of the director, who will hold personal conferences with each student over studies, observation of methods and participation in the practical work of the city. Assignments will be made to friendly visiting under the supervision of the charity bureaus, social settlement service, co-operation with probation officers, personal effort for discharged prisoners, etc.

A limited number of students may apply, through the director, for temporary residence at social settlements in Chicago.

#### TO WHOM THE WORK IS OPEN.

The courses of study and training are open to:

- (1) Graduates of high schools, or those giving evidence of equivalent qualifications, who wish to prepare themselves for social, philanthropic and religious work, professionally or as volunteers.
- (2) Those now engaged in the service or management of such public or private institutions and efforts, who seek



to attain higher efficiency and are judged capable of taking the proffered courses.

- (3) Those duly registered as students in colleges, universities, professional schools, theological and lay seminaries, who apply to take one or more courses or attend the open lectures.

#### REQUIREMENTS AND TUITION.

The minimum work leading to a certificate for the satisfactory completion of the year's full curriculum will consist of six courses of twenty-four lecture-studies each. Special students may register for single courses or any group of them, for which credit will be given. Individual assignments to field work are requisite to each course taken. Applicants for certificates will be required to take courses in elementary psychology, political economy and ethics, unless they have previously pursued these studies. These subjects are offered by University College. When the work in these courses meets full University requirements, credit will also be given toward degrees.

Registration for 6 courses of 24 lecture-studies and all open lectures, \$30.00; single courses of 24 lecture-studies, \$5.00; open lecture course by specialists, \$5.00.

#### COURSES OF INSTRUCTION.

The first quarter, beginning October 3, Prof. Henderson, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bicknell on Dependency and Charities (Thursday, 7:30 P. M.); Dr. Hart and Mr. Johnson on Care of Dependent, Defective and Delinquent Children (Wednesday, 7:30 P. M.); Professors Taylor and Cummings on History of Industrial Relationships and Present Issues in the Labor Movement

(Tuesday, 7:30 P. M.); open lectures by the best available specialists on their specialties (Monday, 8 P. M.)

Winter quarter, beginning January 1, Miss Lathrop, Mr. Johnson and others on Public Charities (Thursday, 7:30 P. M.); Dr. Wines, Mr. Bicknell and Prof. Henderson on Correctional and Reformatory Measures (Wednesday, 7:30 P. M.); Professors Cummings and Taylor on History of Industrial Relationships and Present Issues in the Labor Movement (Tuesday, 7:30 P. M.); Prof. Henderson on Domestic Institutions; Open Lectures by specialists on economic, social, industrial and administrative subjects (Monday, 7:30 P. M.).

In addition to this special curriculum students are recommended to take the following courses offered by University College as preparatory or supplementary thereto:—Associate Professor Moore: Modern Idealism, and its bearings on scientific, social and religious questions (autumn quarter, Friday, 4:30); Dr. Watson: Introductory Psychology (autumn and winter quarters, Saturday, 8:30); Advance Psychology (winter quarter, Tuesday, Thursday, 4:30); Assistant Professor Gore: educational Psychology (autumn quarter, Saturday, 10:30); this course is given at Blaine Hall, where students can use the large educational library of the School of Education; Assistant Professors Hill and Cummings: Principles of Political Economy, including the discussion of trusts, monopolies, and labor problems (autumn and winter quarters, Monday, Thursday, 7:30).

Schedule of courses and open lectures and all other information will be furnished on application to Professor Graham Taylor, University College Office, 203 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

## College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

### A Philippine Island Social Settlement.

BY MARGARET P. WATERMAN.

**EDITOR'S NOTE**—Miss Margaret P. Waterman, after wide settlement experience in this country, including residence in the College Settlement, New York City, and Denison House, Boston, has been in charge of the Church Settlement House in Manila for nearly two years.

The prospect of starting a settlement in the Philippine Islands was an exhilarating one, although even this new, far-away life seemed hardly more strange and adventurous than did the first experience of settlement life on the East Side of New York, thirteen years earlier. There was the same delightful sense of going into the unknown, and beginning life again under

new and unfamiliar conditions. Although methods tried and approved in America may not be at once (if ever) applied here, yet there has been a happy repetition of experience, the same appeal and the same response of friendship. A house had just been secured for the settlement, when the two pioneer residents arrived from America, in October, 1902. This, a fine old Spanish house, one of the best in Manila, stands in a thickly-settled *nipa* district. It has proved to be admirably adapted to our needs, and to find such a house in such a neighborhood was most auspicious. The House was formally opened on the 30th of December, 1902.



The Philippine Settlement.

The weeks previous had been spent in furnishing and settling the house, learning the neighborhood, and making friends with the neighbors. As usual, in the early days of a settlement, our first friends were the children. We used to speak to them as they passed the gate, or communicated without words, for we did not know their language then nor they ours, and Spanish is not of much use with children.

We used to ask them to come in, but they chose their own time for this, and their first response to the invitation was a very polite evening call from a little group of boys and girls and babies, led by a bright little Chinese — Mestizo. They came the next night (with a present of peanuts) and the next, each time bringing friends, and soon the evening visits became a fixed habit. We sang American songs, which are taught in public schools, and played games that required no lan-

guage, and for several weeks were very happy in this way. Then it seemed best to sort and separate the children, giving boys and girls regular and distinct times for coming, and so in course of time four clubs came into being.

Their progress has had various checks. The difficulty of getting outside help is far greater than in the

States, owing to the shifting character of the American population, the distance of the settlement from their homes, and the constant problem of transportation. So the clubs have suffered from changes and want of steady care, as well as from a serious interruption caused by a great fire in Trozo, which destroyed hundreds of homes and scattered our children.

At present we have the "Rizal Club" for boys, the "Santa Rosa" sewing-class for girls, very popular, and having considerable stability and character, and a small writing-class for little girls.



"The Neighborhood."



So far, games and spelling-matches have been the chief occupations for the boys, but we have the prospect of a manual training class in the near future, with an expert teacher and fine equipment.

The children are very docile and sweet-tempered, and play together with very little friction. This is a conspicuous thing, as is also the fact that the girls are far more wild and noisy than the boys.

This cultivation of the children's friendship was about all we could undertake, until the necessary arrangements were completed for opening the Dispensary and Kindergarten.

In January, 1903, the Dispensary was opened, with a staff of twelve visiting physicians, American and native, and one resident nurse. The work has been most satisfactory, and has grown steadily, ministering to the great needs about us.

In July came our resident physician, Dr. Johnson, whose constant attendance is, of course, of the greatest value to the work. Miss Osgood, an experienced kindergartner from Pittsburg, opened the "Kindergarten of the Holy Child," in February, and has brought to these little Orientals all the delight and good that the Kindergarten offers elsewhere. This has been one of the pleasantest and best features of the settlement life.

This is the outline of the first settlement work in the Philippines. It has been necessary to go on slowly, and learn the ways of these people, and let them become accustomed to us, before undertaking much definite work. They cannot, and ought not to be pushed, but they are responsive. The Tagalog language is difficult to acquire, but is absolutely necessary to any real sharing of interests, the manifest pleasure of the people at our attempts to speak their tongue is a great encouragement to effort.

## From Social Settlement Centers

*A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.*

### Cambridge House, London

Cambridge House Magazine, which heretofore has chronicled monthly the events at Cambridge House social settlement in London, announces in its July issue a radical change in aim and publication. As a record of doings more or less similar from month to month, which are of interest to few beyond those directly concerned in them, it feels that it is rather dull reading for others and of value merely as a reference for years to come. It therefore purposes to contain "articles on our problems, discussed from various points of view and by those who see our problems in other lands than England, in other towns than London." To allow more space for the furtherance of this scheme it will henceforth be issued in larger size and become a quarterly, "giving as usual a record of events at the House, but adding articles upon the social problems which press upon us in these days." The new series will start with the next number, which therefore will not be published until October.

Cambridge House has been strenuously

opposing the Government Licensing Bill which has aroused such spirited disapproval among so many classes and especially those interested in abating the evils of intemperance. Public meetings have been held at the House and the co-operation of many agencies has been brought about. All shades of opinion, religious and political, have united, and condemnatory resolutions were passed at a combined meeting of the clergy and ministers of the Church of England, of the Roman Catholic church, and of all the free churches in the district.

### Forward Movement, Chicago

Fifty-five crippled children from Chicago were gathered together at the Forward Movement summer outing encampment at Saugatuck, Michigan. A vacation school was carried on for them and seven special teachers and attendants accompanied the children, some of whom had to be carried, and remained with them until they were returned safely to their homes again after the outing. The vacation school for crippled children maintained by the Board of Education was not held this summer, but instead the

# Collier's

## Collier's

The National Weekly

The spokesman of no class and of no party.

The organ of neither Capital nor Labor.

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Clean—but not “namby-pamby.”

A sane exponent of American public opinion.

A believer in the best no matter what it costs.

## ITS POSITION

“What are you anyway?” cries one more subscriber, who is merely the latest of a multitude. He wants it in black and white—Republican or Democratic.

Many letters wish to know why we are against the President, and as many more wish to know why we are for him. Some complain of our attacking Mr. Bryan, and others complain of our applauding him. We are called alternately plutocrat and demagogue.

It is not enough for us to say that Mr. Roosevelt is a good President, who has made some errors and some compromises; that Mr. Bryan represents some just ideals and some dangerous heresies; that Mr. Cleveland is a powerful figure, who has no great sympathy with the masses; that the Republicans have usually been plutocratic and the Democrats idiotic, and so on through the list of our opinions.

The average man dearly loves a label. Intellectually, he wishes to get somebody's collar on his neck.

It may be a limitation of our temperament, but we have no intention of giving our free thought into the charge of any party, or any faction of any party. We shall treat the President, Judge Parker, the Republicans, the Democrats, the East, the West, the South, exactly as may be called for by developments of the moment.

There is truth on every side, and falsehood, and our function is to expose falsehood and expound truth, wherever it may be, as far as we are able.—*Editorial, July 30, 1904.*



money usually appropriated for it by the Board was given toward the work at Saugatuck. Thirty-five of the pupils were those who would have attended the school in Chicago, and they were joined by twenty more drawn from all parts of the city.

A large central tent, 60x35 feet, was devoted to school and kindergarten uses, and in it was a pile of sand where play could continue no matter how bad the weather. Pets of all descriptions; chickens, rabbits, turtles, and small creatures found by the youngsters, occupied cages and boxes, while in the center of the tent was a little tree surrounded by a wire netting in which no less than twenty canary birds kept each other company to the delight of the tots. Sleeping quarters were had in two large "sanitary houses," made by stretching canvas over a regular frame for a small cottage. The floor was well built and raised well off the ground, while the roof was made double, the top piece of taut canvas being several inches above the inner roof of the same sort. This arrangement was found to induce a good circulation of air between the two roofs, thus obviating much of the heat of an ordinary tent. One of the triumphs of the outing was the rapid improvement, which has now resulted in almost the complete recovery of a little boy so ill with tuberculosis of the joints and lungs, that the physicians declared when he left Chicago he could live only a day or so. After a few days with no treatment whatever except lying in one of these houses, the sides of which were raised (they are constructed with hinges for the purpose), he was able to join the rest of the children in short rambles, and now plays on the beach with nearly as much vigor as the best of them.

The total cost of the entire school and outing, including transportation to and from the city, for which special rates were secured, amounted to less than \$800, and its duration was one month. Plans are already being made for next year, when a larger number will be brought over and the stay will be eight weeks.

### Chicago Commons

It was the first birthday of the father of the family since he entered into life. Those who sorrowed thought of others to whose less privileged lives he delighted to add joy and opportunity. To the scant home equipment and advantages of the family life near his place of business he had helped to add the evening attraction of the public school which had gathered hundreds of its neighbors,—little folk and large—to enjoy and profit by them. Through the settlement near by, an invitation was sent to twenty-five boys to spend his birthday with the family at their suburban home.

No sooner were the invitations "out" than seventy boys clamorously presented themselves in advance acceptance. But only the

twenty-five first selected could go. On their march from the suburban station and arrival at the house under the escort of its head, their decorum took the form of unwonted quiet. But their reception at the gateway "broke the ice" at once before it had a chance to freeze, for there stood the lady of the house waiting to welcome them. The very first thing they were off to the lake for a swim with their suit and towel in hand. Then came dinner on the broad piazza with fun and frolic for hosts and guests as good as the goodies. And it was eaten with the souvenir knife, fork and spoon, which were taken home for a keepsake. The lawn became the arena for potato sack and obstacle races galore. But the prizes faded away from the eager contestants' vision at the appearance of a neighbor's auto with seats for eight at a time. To "be first" or wait your turn tested the youngster's "settlement" spirit and discipline, but none "got left." Enthusiasm reached the boiling-over point when the farm wagon, lined with new-mown hay, drove up. The boys pitched themselves in, without the aid of a pitchfork, but followed by a box of candy, a league baseball and bat, a flag and a tin horn. Such a suburban concession to the city-boys' own ways completed the capture of their hearts. And the whole country-side became aware of the fact as the hay-wagon became a megaphone on wheels and awoke the widest echoes ever heard in the annals of that quiet neighborhood. The triumphal way home and the entry to their own citadel capped the climax of the happy day. From those who might well have "speeded the parting guests" to startled passengers and hurrying street crowds, all along the long way every one heard, if they did not see, the conquering heroes come. For they marched to their own music, tooting in unison and banging their bats in marching rhythm, until with their own "Camp Commons yell" they passed through the settlement's flowering gateway reviewed by the residents and every available neighbor and passerby.

Such an occasion never dies with its day. Its results live on in every one of the lives it touches. Its "free-masonry" interprets to each other those separated by circumstances more than by nature or will. Into every life which shared this birthday passed more of his spirit whose brotherly good-citizenship has left many another sign of civic loyalty upon the city he loved to serve.

### College Settlement, Philadelphia

Growth, as to play space, and neighborhood activity also, attends the Philadelphia College Settlement as the report of its head worker indicates.

In addition to the altering and occupying of 429 Christian street, the small unsanitary dwelling in its rear was torn down,

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making possible, by the aid of a sufficient gift, the play ground, a most satisfactory addition to the Christian street plant. Since the publication of the report, the building at 435 Christian street, which had been given to the Settlement, has been torn down and a new play yard will soon be ready for use at the Front street house, too. Additional space was acquired by the renting of two extra basement rooms used during the winter for club purposes and furnishing opportunity for table games, gymnastics and basket ball. When the Front street house closes, near the first of July, the Country Club at Frankford opens, with its opportunities for the "country week" and out-door work and pleasure.

The Settlement has had in residence during the year two probation officers, who have been "at home" to their young clients one evening in each week. The head worker in concluding her report emphasizes the necessity of development on the side of gymnastics, sports and manual training for these and other boys not actually under probation, making a special appeal for a person who shall lead in these directions, who shall be, as it were, the "social side of the probation officers, bringing to its proper fruition their work with the children and their parents."

### Hampton, Va.

Fourteen years ago, Mr. and Mrs. Harris Barrett, both Hampton graduates, settled in the town of Hampton in a neighborhood inhabited chiefly by others of their race. Beginning in a simple, small way in their own home, a social settlement work has developed which is effective for the uplift of the neighborhood and retains in high degree the charm of personal service unencumbered with too much institutionalism. An interesting account of it is to be found in the "Southern Workman" for July.

Mrs. Barrett began by asking a few girls to her house for an afternoon a week, and by forming a little sewing class. That these girls might learn good housekeeping by seeing it done, they were often asked to come individually or in small groups to the house, on Monday when the family washing was being done, or Tuesday when Mrs. Barrett herself did the ironing. Sometimes they remained to dinner or to supper and learned how to set the table and how to conduct themselves thereat. No change was made in the daily routine when these girls were present; it was the every-day home life of a refined man and woman which they saw and of which they were in a measure a part.

Through the industry of this "Tuesday Class" in making and selling small articles of clothing an annual picnic known as "Baby Day" has been held. This began by taking twenty-five children with their mothers to a neighboring beach for the afternoon, providing them with a simple lunch and a wonderfully happy time in the bracing sea air. Last year more than 800 children and mothers attended this picnic. The guests now contribute a part of the lunch themselves.

With little loss of the distinctly personal relation, the influence of a home on the other homes about it, the social center has broadened out to include many of the customary settlement activities, especially along the line of industrial classes. A successful woman's club has also been started. So much so has this been a movement of the people themselves that much of the expense of carrying it on has been borne by them. Recently, however, Mrs. Barrett realized that the work was greatly limited by lack of suitable quarters, and money was secured with which a small club house was erected nearby. A committee of Hampton Institute teachers and associates pledges the rent and fuel and Mrs. Barrett raises the rest of the money needed.

## Labor Issues in Current Thought

The editor of *The World Today* looks in vain within the party platforms for the issue that is found in the hearts of men everywhere else. "Shall the conditions of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the United States be set by the representatives of the people, or by the directors of corporations?" is "the issue behind the platforms" as he sees it? Even though he admits that "there is no genuinely political issue before the American people," he does not think we are ready to make this social question the basis for political grouping, and thus the dividing line of a class struggle between socialists and anti-socialists." His conclusion is that "we do not want to vote on it, but we do want it met and settled by the men for whom we vote." To neglect

it, to scorn it, to dodge it, to play the demagogue with it, will mean a new alignment on the political field, and if that alignment is ever made, the United States will face a situation more critical than it has faced since 1860."

However, in the same issue, Ernest Poole asserts the public to be "disappearing" between the alignments of the employing and employed classes now actually face to face with each other. "The strike is becoming the class struggle." But so far, the lines have surely not been drawn hard and fast enough either to align or keep in line anywhere nearly all the people. The public is sufficiently in evidence to claim to be the third and greatest party to most industrial disputes. It will yet find a way to have its

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## ***Announcement***

A change of management has brought a new spirit into **CURRENT LITERATURE**. Dr. Charles B. Spahr, formerly of The Outlook, and well known for his work on economic and social topics, has assumed editorial charge, and under his control many new features have been introduced and a spirit that renders it of great importance to all interested in social problems. A department of Current Discussion has been opened, in which both sides of every important question will be stated fairly and impartially—a feature that will be of especial interest during the coming presidential campaign.

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rights recognized and respected, which will probably prove to be the fairest way of settling the inevitable issues between the parties of the first and second part with the least injustice. Mr. Poole's previous article in the same magazine on "How a Labor Machine Held Up Chicago" proves this young writer to be an original observer.

The North American Review presents two timely and incisive insights into the all too little known ethical and religious attitude of organized labor. Although of course outside of all labor organizations, Miss Jane Addams states "the present crisis in trades union morals" more nearly as the trades unionist feels it than perhaps anyone else can do it, not excepting any union man that we happen to know. In so doing she emphasizes none too strongly the difficulty of judging aright a movement so extraordinarily complicated, so swiftly developing, so vexed by sharp transitions, and so mercilessly misunderstood. She parallels its deplorable mistakes with the equally serious errors of other organizations at similar periods of rapid growth, when raw recruits are hard to manage and yet are in the majority at critical times and places. She points out the tragedy within trades unionism, which no one has yet graphically enough depicted, of the struggle between loyalty to its lofty and unifying brotherhood ideals and fidelity to the business contracts which, with scarcely any experience or training, its craft groups find themselves compelled to make under the economic necessity to bargain collectively. "The fact that the American trades unions are receiving their first lessons in business at a moment of unusual business corruption, also tends to make the present time for them one of unusual crisis." Not only partaking of, but participating in, political as well as commercial corruption so prevalent in all our great cities and in most of our large towns, the human nature organized in the labor unions, cannot reasonably be expected to escape, or justly be censured more than others for sharing the contamination which we are shamed into admitting to be all too common to us all.

In the same review for June, Prof. Thomas C. Hall of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, writes most suggestively of "Socialism as a rival of organized Christianity." After noting some similarities between the social conditions which farthered the spread of organized and dogmatic Christianity in the Roman world, and those which now facilitate the socialist propaganda in the international industrial world, he points out "some of the strange and striking analogies that should make every student of primitive Christianity an earnest student of socialism." The uplifting vision of a world conquering idealism gives socialism an incalculable advantage over trades unionism as an organizing faith. He thinks this is due to the fact that it is "not simply a political economy, nor yet even a philosophy of society, nor a scheme

of reform," but "is a religious faith and is being embodied in a religious organization." As such, the Catholic church has been painfully awakened to it in France, Belgium and Italy. But "Protestantism awaits its awakening to its most formidable rival," of which it is "woefully ignorant." His conclusion is that "if the existing order is to maintain itself, then it must find some more zeal-inspiring dream than any yet on the horizon of either feudal Romanism or individualistic Protestantism." "Perhaps," he adds, "we too might do well to learn again the lessons of success and failure written in the pages of the gradual transformation of primitive Christianity into the Old Catholic Church."

Lincoln Steffens in McClure's Magazine for August has again put Chicago, Illinois, and the whole country under obligation to him for another just judgment upon the commercial corruption of politics, more mercifully true to the facts as to personal and corporate responsibility than anyone else has dared to give. The power of his appeal to common honesty and civic patriotism lies in the fact that he and his publishers do not hesitate to state the truth of what they print about the men and corporations they name upon all the risks of libel suits which they manfully assume. None who know the strictly bi-partisan character of each of these conspirators, of their bi-partisan "bank" for the deposit of public funds held by their henchmen in either party, or have read their newspaper, (the Chicago Cameleon) could honestly think otherwise of them than Lincoln Steffens writes. But he and the McClures only have dared name and brand them as "enemies of the Republic," although the newspaper proprietor and bank president need not be reminded of the public pillory in which the Chicago Tribune previously put him.

#### THE COLORADO SITUATION.

The literature of the Colorado situation, worthy of filing for reference and comparison, begins with Ray Stannard Baker's leader in McClure's Magazine for May, which lodges responsibility primarily upon the failure of the legislature to enact the eight hour law at the mandatory vote of the people. For this failure he holds the lobby of the operators accountable. Washington Gladden followed in three articles written from Colorado for a Columbus, Ohio, paper, with an equally severe arraignment of the lawless corruption in the state legislature, among the mining and smelting corporations and in the Western Federation of Miners. Walter Wellman, special correspondent of the Chicago Record-Herald, in a series of extended reports from Colorado, completed August 14, graphically sketched the situation and told the "stories" of the men who figured most notoriously in them. His conclusion was an unreserved and unmitigated condemnation of the Western Federation of Miners, and an arraignment of

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its president and secretary by name, as "the men who are to be held morally responsible for this crime against organized labor, this offense against our civilization." And he offers "to convict them before a jury composed of the leaders of the decent, honorable labor organizations of the country." Moreover, he has unqualifiedly justified the use, and even extenuated the abuse of the military power of the state. While he did not doubt the charge to be true that "the corporations used money corruptly to defeat the eight hour legislation," and had "no language strong enough adequately to condemn such crimes by the rich," he insisted that "the eight hour defeat had nothing to do with bringing on the recent troubles. To say that it had is a pretext, an afterthought."

Directly to the contrary, William English Walling writes from Cripple Creek, in his article to the Independent for August 18, on "The Labor 'Rebellion' in Colorado." Mr. Walling was a factory inspector in Illinois, is a resident of the University Settlement in New York City and is said by the editor of the Independent to have made a careful investigation of the troubles in Colorado. "There is being fought out in Colorado today the most momentous issue that has ever faced the working people of this country: is a labor strike a rebellion?" Such is his first sentence. In his last paragraph he asserts "there will be only one political issue before the working people of Colorado: is the machinery of government to be used to crush the unions?" Employers in other states, he thinks, will try the Colorado experiment and fight out the same issue if the Colorado administration is ratified at the polls. If on the contrary the unions, by entering into politics in Colorado, succeed in routing their enemies, the unions of other states will follow their example. And he claims "the union feeling is bitter and the union spirit unbroken." All in between these first and last utterances he insists that "there has been no lawlessness proven against the miners' union since the strike began. There have been no mobs and no riots except those of the Citizens' Alliance. Neither the Federation nor its officers have been convicted of any of the innumerable offenses with which they have been charged." As to the policy pursued by the authorities, he says, "Revolution, not lawlessness, is the word for the actions of the ruling powers in Cripple Creek \* \* \* not only military rule in place of civil government, but a civil revolution approved by the military powers. \* \* \* The Mine Owners' Association and Citizens' Alliance have not disobeyed the officers of the law, they have replaced them."

In the same issue of the Independent, Rev. Charles M. Sheldon briefly sums up the present conditions in the Cripple Creek district in an article written from Trinidad, Colorado. Among his twelve points are the following: The miners have no grievance as to wages;

as a class they live well; every act of physical violence recorded since the beginning of the trouble has been the act of union against non-union men; the aggressors have been, in overwhelming majority, members of the Western Federation; the feeling against the Western Federation is shared by the business men, the churches, the average citizen, and by large numbers of former members of the Federation; the fact most distinct of all seems to be the fact of incompetent, unwise, arrogant, and unauthorized leadership in the Western Federation; unionism is impossible at the present moment so far as the Cripple Creek district is concerned. He makes no attempt to discuss the action of the Citizens' Alliance nor to defend the state in its military occupation of the district. While open to discussion as connected with the facts in the case, their relation to the tragedy "does not and cannot change the facts themselves."

#### THE STOCK YARDS STRIKE.

From the very heart of "the front" in the Stock Yards struggle Mr. Ernest Poole wrote in the Independent for July 28, a fair and descriptive statement of the issues on which the lines of battle are drawn. In collaboration with William Hard, of the Chicago Tribune's editorial staff, he follows this up in the Outlook for August 13 with an article on "Competitive Wages and the Right to Live." It goes to the bottom of the phrasing in which the statements and counter statements of the contestants are couched, and roots the real question at issue in the "right to live" versus "the law of supply and demand." This issue is best stated by the Polish doctor in Packingtown, who is quoted as saying, "Any man who has a family of little children here simply cannot keep it alive on the un-American wage of \$6 or \$7 a week, especially since the cost of living is rising so high. \* \* \* With no money for wholesome recreation, and with the home so overcrowded with boarders, it is natural enough that drinking is so heavy, and that in many cases immigrant wives and daughters grow inured to sexual immorality—or rather unmorality. \* \* \* I have never had a child come to me for treatment who has not had enlarged glands of the neck. These glands are meant to absorb poisonous matter. These little children live in homes so foul and overcrowded, they take in so much poison that their glands are overworked. They suffer too from under-feeding and hence anaemia. In the blood of a healthy person the 'count' should be between 85 and 95. Among my patients I rejoice at finding a count of 50. I have found it as low as 28." The authors of this article contend that "arbitration cannot become a science until it has done something to reconcile decent living conditions on the part of employes with the financial condition of the employers in a determination of wages. They conclude that "the disposition on the part of the people of Packingtown to 'buck

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the fundamental law of supply and demand' for the benefit of those who will come after them, represents their contribution to the science of arbitration."

The contributions of Miss Mary E. McDowell, of the University of Chicago Settlement at the heart of the Stock Yards, to the Chicago papers describing the conditions

under which her neighbor's family life has been and is being lived, is affecting public opinion. Her article with its pictures and the strong analysis of the situation anonymously contributed, both of which appear in this number of THE COMMONS, cannot fail to be counted among the original sources of information concerning this historic and pathetic struggle.

## Anthracite Coal Communities\*

With a thorough-going exactness betokening infinite patience, with an eye so sharp that not the smallest fact escapes its scrutiny, and with an orderly precision leaving nothing it treats beclouded with the slightest indefiniteness and indicating careful thought, Mr. Roberts has furnished us with a picture of just what the standard of living prevalent in the anthracite coal fields means. Most clearly is shown how that standard differs when set by the family of an American miner, or, upon the same income, by the family of the Slav. And of great interest is the measurement of the influence exerted by the former type upon the latter.

Starting with the fact that the Slav has been displacing the Anglo-Saxon in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, there is first described the sort of life the Slav leaves in his native country, and we are told that bad as his condition in this country may seem to us, it nevertheless is a distinct improvement upon his former existence. The Slav is given credit for many individual virtues such as thrift, efficiency as a miner when well directed, and a disposition to cling to the best of the old customs he brings from the fatherland. His worst sins are intemperance and, what is greatly aggravated by intemperance, an exceeding irritability of temper.

Against the background of his industrious and rather simple home life are portrayed the faults of which he at first knows nothing, but which are very noticeable in the American families. They are an extravagance which leads to spending more than one's income, not through a desire for more refined living, but through an indulgence in useless luxuries of table and dress, a pride in these false economies, and an inclination to ease. The latter is evident not only in an aversion to doing themselves the small chores around the house to save a little, but in the far more serious sin of using illegitimate means to restrict the birth rate; they do not wish the bother of raising a large family and would rather expend upon their foibles and finery every possible penny they do not need for bare subsistence. In marked contrast are the large families of the Slavs. But that the latter are learning to imitate, is to be

noted in many ways, from the adoption by the women of gaudy headgear to the proficiency the men are attaining in political corruption, for which it may in candor be said that Pennsylvania furnishes no inconspicuous example.

The dwelling houses and their inexcusably delapidated condition are no inconsiderable factor for demoralization, and although the rents are shown to be small, from \$2 to \$9 a month, the companies have been receiving a steady income of 30 per cent. and have scarcely ever done a thing to put them in repair. The evil consequent upon inadequate room is a blunting of all sense of decency and modesty; and ill repair and lack of sanitary arrangements create a terrible rate of infant mortality from disease, not only, but from actual impossibility of keeping out the cold of winter. Mr. Roberts censures with no uncertain terms the failure of the coal companies to improve this situation.

Educational facilities are neither ample nor worthy. The schools suffer from the tender mercies of gross political mismanagement and the only saving grace is the sacrificial personal service of some of the teachers. The records of attendance indicate the proportions of the child labor evil, and as Mr. Roberts says, the coal breaker is the place "where most boys graduate." Sunday papers constitute the main literary interest, and the churches have little effect on the people. Although the Slav attends his Roman Catholic or Greek church fairly regularly, it does not seem to influence the manner in which he spends his Sabbath, which is mainly devoted to drinking and carousal, much less that of his week day life.

The saloon evil is appalling and crime is shown to be much more prevalent than in the average community. The people save a good deal and there is much organization for sick benefits. A great need, however, is for systematic accident insurance which the companies should be made to support, for there is practically no recompense to the worker for the greater risks than other employments involve. Politically, the worst of conditions are found. Aside from the ruin which attends many of the aspirants for political honors, through expenditure of large

\* Anthracite Coal Communities. By Peter Roberts, Ph. D. A Study of the Demography, the Social Educational and Moral Life of the Anthracite Regions. 8vo. 384 pp. \$3.50 net. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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sums of money in the hope of getting "the prize," and the consequent debauchery of the electors, corruption honeycombs everything from legislation at Harrisburg to the health board of the smallest towns.

After summing up the ills, Mr. Roberts discusses "the way to health." This he finds may lead through Harrisburg, through personal service, and through the church. The first of these he would depend upon only for the most urgent palliative measures such as the enforcement of better sanitary laws, compelling the companies to furnish better houses, making more strict the child labor regulations, affording better school opportunities especially along technical lines, and in some way dealing with the saloon evil. He does not set much faith by legislative action under any circumstances, but urges the immense amount of good that can be accomplished by personal effort along such lines as social settlements, by a better regard on the employers' part for the conditions under which their employes work and live, and by helping every endeavor the people themselves make for self-improvement. The church also can become very much more effective, both in the neighborhood life and in holding aloft the ethical standards of the New Testament.

The thing that strikes the reader most forcibly as he lays this book down is the fact that the United Mine Workers' organization is mentioned in a bare half dozen places, and then only in a casual way, and the fact that John Mitchell's name appears but once. It is indeed a wonderfully comprehensive description of how the miner's family lives and an accurate statement of just what it has to live upon, but we venture to say that one of the first questions the public at large wants answered is, how does the union affect this income and this standard of living, what has it done to improve them both, and what may be expected from it? We have here a reference to the educative value of union organization, a suggestion there that if the union is to hold together it must insist more strongly than at present upon abstinence from the drink habit, but as for any consecutive appreciation of the value of the

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union to the community, or its injury as the case may be, it is lacking. We know that the book is called Anthracite Coal Communities and no doubt was designed to describe their life. But we are constrained to ask, is not the miners' union a part of the life of an anthracite coal community?

Are we to infer, too, after all the struggle and hardships endured during the great strike, when the patience of the public and the resources of the men were strained to the utmost, that the union is not to be reckoned among the "ways to health" or the influences to better conditions? Yet no mention of it is to be found in discussion of them.

There seems to be also a little too much stress upon the thrift and saving habits of the Slav. No doubt in many ways that is better than running into hopeless debt. But we find that the Slav will start housekeeping in a three-room house, expend a maximum of \$50 on the furnishings, and then take in boarders, while at the same time he puts money in the bank. We are told on the other hand that the American miner takes a six-room house, gets \$150 worth of furnishings, paying \$35 down, and has a long struggle to overcome his indebtedness. There manifestly is no excuse for buying fancy furniture when at the most the annual income is \$600, but it does seem as if the other extreme is about as bad. No doubt the desideratum is that the Slav should spend his savings toward a real betterment of his standard of living.

A note of paternalism is struck in the tone of the discussion. The failure to consider their unions, which are the chief effort of the men to help themselves, lends strength to this. Legislation is felt not to be worth much, and in Pennsylvania there no doubt is much to give one this opinion. The point is, however, that the legislative channel at least is one where the demand for better conditions is a demand not for charity but for justice. Although the demands of the men for "a wage sufficient to enable them to meet their social and spiritual wants beyond the necessity of keeping body and soul together is just," the emphasis is put in the last chapter upon the personal service way of improving conditions. The companies are urged on the charity plea to improve conditions, and there is the suggestion that the sons of wealth and ease can find an excellent field for their philanthropic enterprises.

But underneath it all is found the earnest plea for these men who have come to this country, endured hardships and bitter hatred, and have proven themselves worthy to be made citizens. "The fact that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth' should never be lost sight of."

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OCTOBER, 1904

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# The Commons

Number 10—Vol. IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, October, 1904

## With The Editor

### The New Internationalism

#### Labor Organizing Across Frontiers

In hailing the new movements for international relationships, which are the most significant signs of the new times, let us not forget the old ones which groped toward the light through a darkness that could be felt,—at least by those in a vanguard leading the forlorn hope—"The Internationals" used to scare the world. It was not only because those social theorists, who tried to drive the thick end of the wedge in first, were thought to be destructive conspirators against the established order of things. It was more because of the mere suggestion they gave of organizing common human interests across national frontiers. If workingmen were allowed to organize in international unions, argued the patriots of every land, what would become of patriotism?

Nevertheless national labor unions are naturally, and with no loss to their own or their country's patriotism, growing international in their interests, scope and fellowship. American and Canadian fellow-craftsmen find it as necessary to treat with each other for "reciprocity," as Congress and the Do-

minion Parliament to discuss commercial treaties.

The exchange of fraternal delegates by the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor, and such international conventions as the miners of the two continents have recently held in Paris, bid fair to grow into a world organization of labor. Its solidarity may transcend the international trusts of capital. Dealing with men more than with money, it will be better able to control competitive divisiveness within and across national boundaries. Its component parts consisting of large masses of fellow-craftsmen, it would unite them on the basis of an international association of national units. They will never be able to expatriate themselves as does so much of the world's capital which owns no flag, but sails its bottoms under any one that it pays best to float.

The socialists at their international Congress in Brussels rallied delegates not only from the continental countries but many from Great Britain and the United States, and some even from Argentine for the discussion of such broadly common interests as "Militarism," "Protection and Free Trade," "Housing of the People," "International Solidarity and Arbitration."



## Capital Becoming a Hostage for the World's Peace

There can be little doubt of the fact, so widely commented upon, that politics are widely becoming commercialized. Commercial men and interests dominate political parties and governmental policies, as never before,—except when the people are sufficiently concerned to have their own way, as they always can when they really want to enough to unite. There is more than a suspicion that governments become tools and national interests are ruthlessly sacrificed to wage commercial wars, such as the Amsterdam and London mining syndicates forced upon the Boer and British peoples. But the “soul of good” in “things evil” begins to evolve even from a menace so threatening as this has been to the fairest hopes and noblest passions of the race.

For vested interests are rapidly becoming so international in character and so incalculably valuable to “the powers” on both sides of all lines; that they promise to range selfishness itself on the side of peace. When the commercial world becomes somewhat more of a joint-stock company armies and navies may be little more than an international police.

## Association of the Peoples

No contemporary movement is more significant than the Interparliamentary Union which recently held its twelfth session at the St. Louis Exposition. Its 250 representatives of practically every constitutional government are the guests of the United States Government on their visit to the principal cities between New York and Denver. Congress extended the hospitality of the country by appropriating \$50,000 for

their traveling expenses and entertainment. Started in 1888 at Paris by members of the French Chamber of Deputies and of the British Parliament, the Interparliamentary Union has held eleven sessions at the great centers of the world including besides Paris, London, Rome, Berne, The Hague, Brussels and Buda-Pest and Vienna. A year ago at the latter city 600 delegates represented every constitutional government in Europe. Turkey and Russia, being ruled by autocrats, were not among them. But the Czar had a personal representative at Buda-Pest six years ago and issued his call soon afterwards for the international conference which secured the establishment of The Hague Court of Arbitration. Members of Congress, led by Representative Bartholdt of Missouri, formed an American branch of the Union only last year. It already has a bill before Congress authorizing the President to issue an invitation to the governments of the world for a conference “to devise plans looking to the negotiation of arbitration treaties between the United States and the different nations, and also to discuss the advisability of, and, if possible, agree upon, a gradual reduction of armaments.” The purpose of the Union is wholly in line with practical parliamentary action.

Men are organizing locally as well as internationally to promote arbitration, who have never been within reach of the avowed “Peace Societies.” Had it not been, however, for the International Peace Congress, which honors our country for the second time by convening at Boston, for its thirteenth session, the great cause which it is leading would not now have attained a pace of progress which steadily gains upon that of war.

But never is it to be forgotten that at the head of the very mixed multitudes which are lining up under the banners of peace to command the arbitration of international differences and promote the brotherhood of the race, marches the little, yet potent, "Society of Friends" whose benignant presence has kept the heart of the modern world warmer and its hope of peace alive.

Thus the cause of "God and the People," which was not brought to its triumph by the *imperium in imperio* of an ecclesiastical Holy Roman Empire, nor yet by "The International" which sought to dissolve nations into a world of individuals, grows apace through what Mazzini summoned all men to enter—"The Association of the Peoples."

### Heroism of Conviction a Basis for Reconciliation

These war times in industry are indeed to be dreaded. But like all great crises that turn the course of history or personal experience they, too, are heroic. Their strikes and lockouts are no more mere personal quarrels than were the great sectional issues which brought on the "irrepressible conflict" in Congress and on the fateful fields of fratricidal strife. There were deep-seated, long-grown convictions as to sectional interests and constitutional rights behind that struggle north and south of Mason and Dixon's line before and during the war, just as there are the instinct of self-preservation and the claim to equality before the law in this much more complicated and far more dangerous struggle between the industrial classes, who can neither get on without each other nor with each other, and therefore cannot secede and let each other alone, even if they both wanted to.

To recognize the heroism of real conviction on either side of the economic line of battle will give to each that respect for the other which at least relieves modern warfare of personal hatred and its grosser inhumanities.

But that does not go far toward a peaceful solution of differences thus found to be outstanding mere personal feeling. It may even prolong and make more determined the struggle for the principles found to be at stake. At best this respect for the consciences and heroisms arrayed against each other can only help the contestants and the public to come closer to the root of what is really at issue.

### Common Ground for Both to Stand On

Here where we start to look at both sides, we begin to question our own knowledge of the situation, our own "side" of the case, even our own standard of judgment. We are not so sure we know it all or that we are all right. It sometimes seems when we try to put ourselves in the others' place as though there were actually two rights in hateful and hopeless conflict. We are forced to say to ourselves in secret: "If I were in the other fellow's place I would stand for what he does. I could not help fighting for my family's standard of living. However differently I would wage the war for the protection of my home and its loved ones, we who live and work under the same conditions would have to stand together or fall one by one."

Any one who has gone thus far toward the other's point of view has already got where he can at least see common ground for both to stand on.

But it will be new ground. Some old positions, behind which we have barri-



caded ourselves and fought for dear life, will prove hopelessly untenable.

### Why Not Recognize the Virtue of Necessity on Both Sides

Have we felt the necessity to combine our capital or industry for the sake of economy, safety and profits and even resist to its defeat or evasion the legislation ignorantly or unjustly aimed to force those to compete whose interest it is to combine? How, then, can we continue to deny the same right to the great mass of our fellow men and by law, or "the necessity that knows no law," force them to bargain singly when they can make their best bargains together; to bargain singly with us when we cannot do business at all except as partners, stockholders, corporations in national and even international combination? If at this age of the world business must be combined to succeed, why force these competitors of ours to do their business as though they lived in that former age of the world when each one could mind his own business without any one's else interference? Why? Is not the real reason because it is to our own interest or convenience to hold others to the old and less advantageous way, while free to take advantage of the new way ourselves? Is not all this concern for the "freedom of contract" of the skilled workman, the non-union workman, the working woman restricted by law from contracting for more than for certain hours, the working child whose childhood and schooling are legally protected, a bit inconsistent if not insincere? Why not equal concern for the little tradesman, manufacturer, railroad or other corporation, whose freedom of contract is as ruthlessly ignored or overborne by the majorities, or more often

by the minorities, who happen to have the power to coerce, peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must? Two wrongs don't make a right. But why is the wrong against personal liberty and public interest so much worse on one side than upon the other?

### Old Standards Tested by New Times

To take a still higher point of view to test our souls by: Have we not, until now, been teaching, drilling, disciplining our men, women and children at home, school and church, by their loyalty to family, party, patriotism and religion, to sacrifice self and stand together for interests common to all or any part of them? Have we not invested with patriotic and even religious sanctity those who sacrificed themselves for "their own" folk, or country or faith? How, then, do these virtues suddenly become vices, these heroes and heroines all at once become sordid conspirators, these martyrs nothing less than murderers when they combine, stake everything dear to each, risk all, and stop short of the loss of nothing, in "sympathetic" action to save their own or their fellow workers' standard of living? It may not be wise, it may even be unjust, but we submit that what is by common consent considered wholly meritorious in every other sphere for self-sacrifice cannot be wholly reprehensible in that of industrial relationship, where it is hardest and costliest to exercise it. What is attributed to the very best in men elsewhere cannot be attributed to the very worst in them here.

It looks, then, as though some of us were being tried and found wanting. Our morals may be good as far as they go, but they do not go far enough to apply to others with whom we have to

do. We want others to do unto us as we are not yet willing to do unto them. The industrial world has outgrown our moral sense. We are making our profits under the modern factory system, but deal with our fellow workers or want them to deal with us, rather, as though they were living under the old outworn and discarded "domestic system" of individual industry.

Our "souls" therefore need to catch up with these "times" which try them. Our morals, born of the "good old times," need to be adjusted, or perhaps only to be extended, so that they cover the life we are now living, the working world we are now at work in, the men, women and children now working with us.

It is at this point that our souls are tried and need to be, for their own sakes, as well as to make progress possible.

Of "times that try men's souls" we speak as though they were to be dreaded and yet belong to the "heroic" age. But when we look back upon them from some safe distance we are generally forced to confess that the "times" were not more out of joint than that the "souls"—our own or others'—needed to be tried.

### Where Labor, Law and the Nation are One

Labor Day is to be counted among our most distinctively "American institutions." The country owes it to the public spirit and wise legislative influence of organized labor. Its establishment by law as a national holiday is an impressive proof of the respect for trades unionism shown by Congress and most of our State legislatures. As the joint product of these two forces, Labor Day stands as the sign of that relation-

ship between the labor movement and the public, which is vital to the interests of both. There is a sentiment in certain quarters that organized labor is self-sufficient, and needs no help from public opinion. The very existence of the public as a third party to the disputes between employes and employers is denied, first by one and then by the other of the contestants, but rarely by both in the same struggle.

The history of trades unionism in England and America so far has never proven this claim to independence to be the fact. When has labor ever attained even its legal rights without the pressure of public opinion? Surely not in the whole six centuries of English labor legislation. What great issue has ever been won by it without appeal to or help from those outside its own ranks?

These questions do not imply that rights or progress have been or could be won for any class of people by others, without their own supreme effort. It may be doubted whether liberty, or any real progress, has ever been superimposed, much less forced upon any people by others. Nevertheless, no sectional or class movement, unaided and alone has ever won out in this country. Without making good its claim to be a part of the common life and the community's interest, no "cause" has triumphed here.

The value of Labor Day may not be estimated in days' wages, but it is an invaluable working capital to the whole labor cause. It is like "preferred stock" which the whole nation takes with its holiday once a year, a share apiece. Nowhere else on earth is a whole working day set apart by law to the interests of labor as a national holiday. But to have it dedicated to the



glory of work, as rated not in dollars and cents, but in human values, not in "goods" produced or sold, but in the good of the producers, handlers and sellers, as well as consumers—that is what gives Labor Day a value all its own.

Labor Day is therefore one of the chief assets of labor not only, but of the whole American people. Not to be apart from, but a part of the greater body politic, is the only way for organized labor to "come to its own."

### The Loss of Charles B. Spahr

At just this juncture in our industrial relationships, American economic literature has lost an influence all too rare in the death of Charles B. Spahr. While he had that sadly exceptional capacity which could see and weigh both sides of a situation, as a writer he never hesitated to judge between them. There was a decisive weight of emphasis which he was wont to throw in the scale that helped the popular verdict to tilt the beam in the direction it ought to go. From the columns of the "Outlook," which so long carried the force of his conviction upon industrial issues into the judgment of independent readers, the clear and ringing notes he struck have been sorely missed since he withdrew from its staff. In "Current Literature" under his editorial management much was expected. "The Working People of America," of whose trade achievements and relationships he wrote so justly yet appreciatively, had good reason to anticipate further service from him such as few men could render them. His well-grounded and fearlessly outspoken volume on "The Present Distribution of wealth in the United States" was a permanently valuable contribution to our economic literature, which showed his capacity for thorough work and the caliber of his high courage. The open-mindedness which gave reasonableness

to his cogent contributions, added charm to his manly personality. For the balance of his years, which seemed to be due his work a long while yet, the country stands in unrequited need.

### Finale and Aftermath

Our contention for the necessity of mediation in settling the stock yards strike has been amply justified by the facts reported in other columns. For the conciliation which men were not manly enough to make the community has two women to thank, Miss Mary E. McDowell and Dr. Cornelia DeBey. The expected aftermath of crime, already reported by the police, is charged up by them to the importation of those elements among the strike breakers which we predicted would become a burden and a menace to property and life in Chicago.

### A Triumph of Aggressive Honesty

A legal victory has consummated the long struggle of the Chicago school teachers led by Miss Haley and Miss Goggin against arbitrary reduction of salaries during the school year. Judge Dunne has recently held that the original fixing of salaries and the subsequent election of teachers and their performance of work constitute a contract that the Board of Education cannot abrogate. But congratulations are in order not so much upon the actual attainment of the end sought as upon the tremendous obstacles that were surmounted in the process. In this respect a great service has been rendered to the tax-paying public in general. For in getting at the real reasons for reductions it was disclosed that the contracted conditions of the city treasury was due to the non-collection of a large class of taxes systematically ignored by the tax collecting officials. Large corporation tax-dodgers were brought to book by the unconquerable determination of these two women whose only weapon was a persistence in ferretting out and bringing to public notice the truth of the situation.

# Social Tendencies of the Industrial Revolution

A Review of the Century for the Department of Social Science, St. Louis Exposition Congress of Arts and Science

By Graham Taylor

The Industrial Revolution, during the initial stage of which the nineteenth century dawned, dates and characterizes our contemporary conditions and order of life. The political revolutions of the eighteenth century were the expiring struggles of the dissolving feudal solidarity, rather than the travail attending the birth of the present age.

The individualism, which intervened between the mediævalism ending with the French Revolution and the modern industrial era inaugurated by the introduction of machinery and the factory system, is proving to be more transitional than persistent. Its phenomenal achievements and forceful individuals are exceptional enough to claim an age of their own. But they were destined to fulfil the higher function of preparing a way for, and making possible the still farther reaching development which is only now evolving its form and order. The social disintegration intervening between these most distinct eras allowed, if it did not compel, the evolution of the individual as the new unit of society. No sooner had the type of this individualized unit been fairly and firmly set, than the process of reintegration set in. The forces resident in, or centered about machine production and the subdivision of labor began to assert their superiority to the domination of the individual who created and, until recently, controlled them. This reintegration of social units, more independent than had ever existed before or can ever exist on the same scale again while present tendencies last, is the phenomenon that dis-

tinguishes the close of the nineteenth and opening of the twentieth century.

The tendency of these times in all spheres of life has been from individual independence to the interdependence of man upon man, craft upon craft, class upon class, nation upon nation; from unrestricted competition to a combination of capital and labor, as inevitable and involuntary as the pull of the force of gravity; from the personal maintenance of the freedom of contract to the only possible exercise of that right among increasing multitudes by collective bargaining; from local political autonomy and state rights to national and international consolidations; from racial populations to a cosmopolitan, composite citizenship. That is, the irresistible ground swell and tidal movement of the present quarter century has been away from individualism toward a new solidarity. While the individual instead of the kindred group is its primary, constituent, unit, yet, as has been none too strikingly said, we are "struggling with this preposterous initial fact of the individual,—the only possible social unit and no longer a thinkable possibility, the only real presence and never present." But the synthesis of these elusive factors of the social problem, never more contradictory than now, was seen to be fundamentally inherent in human nature in the vision of a poet, who long antedated our era, and sang of it thus:

"Man is all symmetry,  
Full of proportions, one limb to another,  
And all to all the world beside.  
Each part may call the farthest brother,  
For head with foot hath private amity,  
And both with moons and tides."



## The Social Pull of the Economic Force of Gravity

The tendencies of modern industrialism have been most determinative, of course, in the industrial group. The freedom of contract, conceded to be the inalienable right of the individual, is no longer protected or effectively guaranteed by the law alone. Combination on either side controls the market and leaves the unorganized individual to accept what is offered with no alternative. To bargain freely with combined capital, the individual laborer has found it an economic necessity to organize his craft, even at the expense of abridging his personal liberty. The collective trade-agreement, on one or both sides, is inevitably superseding the individual contract in the labor market. The form of organization developed by labor to meet this requirement, left the individual employer or corporation as helplessly at the dictation of the united employes, as ever the laborer had found himself at the mercy of his employer in dealing single handed and alone with organized capital. Employers' associations became as much of an economic necessity as labor unions. Both are organized on essentially the same basis of an instinctive class-conscious impulse for self-preservation. Each obliges the other to conform the type and tactics of its organization to virtually the same model. Swiftly and inevitably both constituents in the industrial group are adjusting their business methods and relationships to these inexorable conditions of modern industry.

Beneath all the overlying turmoil and friction injustice and menace attending this rapid and radical readjustment, there is to be clearly discerned the evolution of a larger liberty, at least for the class, a rising standard of living for the mass, a stronger defense against the aggression of one class upon another, and a firmer basis and more authoritative power to make and maintain peaceful and permanent settlements of industrial differences. More slowly, yet surely, there are developing legal forms and sanctions, which not only

make for justice and peace between the parties of the first and second parts, but for the recognition of the rights and the final authority of that third and greatest party to every industrial interest and difference—the Public.

## Emancipation of Cities from Commercialized Politics

Urban conditions most persistently deteriorated under the most persistent neglect through the whole period of the abnormal growth and complexity of city populations attending the establishment of the factory system. But they have fairly begun to show the hopeful and widespread indications of reorganization, of a constructive policy and of a more democratic intelligence, interest and control. Most conspicuous of the movements for civic betterment and fundamental to the success of all others is the rescue of municipal administration from partisan political control. The seizure of the balance of power between parties, by voters who thus declare their independence of national issues in municipal action, has proved to be the only hope of emancipating urban life from exploitation for party spoils.

In Great Britain it has broken new lines of cleavage upon which the citizens divide upon local issues according to their predilections and ideals. The marvelous rise of civic enterprise and administration out of the degraded corruption in which English cities were sunk prior to the middle of the last century is largely due to exchanging the names and issues of "Tories" and "Liberals" for those of "Moderates" and "Progressives" in policies and politics. In this country the redemption of our second largest city from the most avowedly debased control of thoroughly commercialized partisan politics is the most marked achievement in the American municipal reform movement, that is destined to set the type of method by which only other cities are likely to attain their freedom and progress. Chicago's Municipal Voters' League has proved to be the simplest, and most

effective organization of independent citizens for the information, co-operation, and perpetuation of an electorate loyal to civic patriotism, as well as for the restraint and purification of the management of political parties in cities.

More efficient departmental administration quickly follows every real gain in political regeneration. Such improvement in housing conditions as promise well nigh to abolish the slums in Glasgow, Liverpool and London; the hygienic development of bathing beaches, baths and gymnasiums by the city of Boston; the inspection, licensing and regulation of manufacturing in New York tenement houses, which may yet restore the home to the family from the usurpations of trade; the almost unobserved, yet marvelous, development of the South Park system in Chicago, with its playgrounds and rooms, its outdoor and indoor swimming pools and gymnasiums, and its park houses for neighborhood social centers; the steady rise of a more scientific official and semi-official literature reporting civic conditions and the ways of bettering them, such as have been issued by the London County Council and the first commissioner of the New York City Tenement House Department—these public achievements, prompted or assisted by such voluntary associated efforts as local improvement societies and social settlements, are making possible the collective ownership and operation of municipal enterprises to supplement or supersede inadequate private initiative or management.

Thus may yet be fulfilled the ideal of the "Ancient City" which has never been realized in fact, namely, a federation of families for the uplift and unification of the common life, formed under the sanction of a fundamentally religious faith in each other, and in the obligations and privileges of the brotherhood of all men.

### Transformation of Rural Conditions Redistributing Population

Scarcely less pronounced, if of more gradual growth, are the changes which

are transforming the conditions of rural life. The interurban electric railways for freight and passengers, the telephone and rural mail service, the better roadways for bicycles and automobiles, the traveling libraries and permanent centers for educational and social interchange are rapidly relieving the monotony of country life, lightening some of its drudgery, furthering better educational privileges by the union of school districts, making accessible the high school, college and university centers, bringing farmers' institutes and academic associations of economists together for joint sessions, developing the extension work of agricultural colleges, rallying the grange movement; all these things combine to hold out the first hope which has dawned upon the tendency to the excessive density of urban population, and that promises a redistribution of the people which will make possible more normal life both in country and town.

### Fate of the Family Under Modern Industrialism

The family has suffered an invasion of its community of interests from many directions. The unity of its kinship has been attenuated by the prevailing influence of excessive individualism, from which none of its relationships have wholly escaped. Among the disintegrating forces directly and powerfully brought to bear against it throughout this industrial age, the first to be reckoned with is the changed economic status of women. Although the woman has always done her full share, if not more, of the world's work upon which the family has depended for its existence and well being, it has been hitherto for the most part done at the heart of the home and the center of the family circle. The domestic system of industry, however, was never ideal, and one of the way-marks of modern industrial progress is undoubtedly to be noted in the separation of the shop from the house and the restoration of the home to the family. But the family has never been subjected to such a



strain as by the increasing industrial necessity for the wife and mother to do so much of her work out of the house and away from her home and children.

#### ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND THRALDOM OF WOMEN.

The growing economic independence of women may partially compensate for this loss to individual homes by benefiting the institution of marriage in general. For, the abject dependence of so large a proportion of women upon marriage for their livelihood did not previously tend to purify the marital relation, or put the wife in her rightful place on an equality with her husband in the family circle. Capacity for economic independence cannot fail to admit both the man and the woman to the marriage contract on more equal terms and establish the status which it involves, upon a freer and more ingenuous basis.

But great as is the gain of this more just and moral economic independence of woman it is attended with serious disadvantage, not necessarily inherent in it, yet so far closely involved with it. The dependence of the family upon the wife for support is at a fearful cost to childhood and home life, and in a large proportion of cases undermines the self-respect and dependableness of the husband. Those forms or methods of industrialism which have ignored the humanities of sex and age stand, at the judgment seat of the medical profession, the school teacher's experience, the government's statistics and all child labor legislation, convicted of deteriorating the very stock of the race.

#### CRISIS OF EMIGRATION TO FAMILY LIFE.

Wholesale emigration is for one or two generations a more serious crisis in family life than is generally known. Especially among the less assimilable races, and where a primitive peasant folk are precipitated into the heart of the great and terrible city wilderness, the effect is well nigh destructive not only to family relationships, but to individual character. The man who was seldom or never away from home in the

old country must wander far and wide in search of work or stay away for months to keep it. The woman, if not overworked in industry, is idle as never before in the crowded tenement house. The children, without knowledge of or confidence in the ways of the new world, to compensate for the loss of their restraint and familiarity in the old home land, disobey their parents before learning self-control, have too little schooling before they begin work, and too fragmentary employment to give them the discipline of the shop or the acquisition of a trade. Thus among the many immigrant families who strike root and bear the best fruitage grown on American soil at least, there are not a few which despite the best intent, become the most dangerous sources of pauperism and crime, as do not a few native families removing from country to city.

#### THE IGNORED FACTOR IN MODERN LIFE.

The precariousness of livelihood, and the enforced mobility of labor, are also a resistless undertow which undermines and sweeps away the very foundation of family life. It is the occasion of much of the desertion and divorce which so seriously menace the marriage relation.

Bad housing conditions are so seriously inimical to the very existence of a family worthy of the name, that in self-defense as well as for humanity's sake, great municipalities like those of Glasgow and Liverpool are amply justified in providing workingmen's dwellings for lowest paid laborers, reserving whole blocks of them for widows with their children, and erecting lodging houses for widowers, with special nursery and kindergarten provisions for their motherless little ones.

The way in which family unity is ruthlessly disrupted by sectarian rivalry, the order of home life disregarded by stated public appointments, the separate recreations provided for men and women, younger and older apart, while little or nothing is offered the family group which all its members can enjoy together; these and many

other tendencies of the age denote the family to be the greatest ignored factor of modern life.

But most promptly and hopefully does it respond to the better conditions for its maintenance and development as they supersede the worst, at all these points of resistance.

### Industrial Types of Vagrants and Criminals

The tendency thus affecting the groups already considered, by virtue of that fact have very direct bearings upon dependency and delinquency. The type and ratio of both are modified and intensified by the conformity of increasing multitudes to these moulds of character and conditions of life. The legal and philanthropic measures dealing with them are equally conditioned by the same causes.

While, for instance, the tramping of farmer families is noted by Sir Thomas More when sheep ranches first displaced agriculture in England; while landless serfs followed in the wake of the Black Death; yet the modern "tramp" is a distinct species and the exclusive product of our industrial age. He is a terminal of a tendency which gradually evolved him, not indeed without a certain inclination of his own, but far more, in most cases, by reason of forces, for which society was more responsible than he, though almost as powerless as he to control them. Intermittent work in shorter runs and longer hours, intervening idleness and going afield for a job, temporary employment on the Dakota wheat fields or some remote railway extension, discharge at a point too distant, measured by dollars, to get back home without "taking to the road" or "beating his way"; such are some of the short cuts from an industrious life to a career of vagrancy or crime.

The Labor Colony of Germany, the municipal lodging houses of England and America, with state employment bureaus and the necessity to make work, now and then, here and there, to keep the army of the unemployed from

starving; these surely are signs of the new times.

### CHILD HELPING LEGISLATION GAINING ON ABUSES.

At no point is legislation gaining at so good a pace upon the wasteful abuses of industrialism, than in the provision for compulsory education, the strict regulation of child labor, the maintenance of juvenile courts and probation officers to deal with delinquent and dependent children, and in furthering and safeguarding the placing out of those who are wards of the state.

### Specializing the Social Arts

The tendencies to specialize, combine and democratize the public and private administration of charities and correction are as characteristic of the industrial age as any of its developments. Indeed the whole modern conception, method and movement of philanthropy are hardly conceivable prior to or apart from our present point of view. But only within the last few years has this conformity to those economies and concentrations which are distinctive of industrialism, been so marked. At no previous time has the socially well informed person been expected to know, not something of everything, but everything of something. Specialties have narrowed down and also broadened so that it is more possible to meet this requirement, and yet in so doing find scope for the best academic discipline and culture. Every branch of philanthropy has long since shown the practical value in this specializing accuracy of observation and administration. Never before have more people of strong caliber and large personal equipment been in the social service, professionally and as volunteers. Teachers trained for professorships find satisfaction and reputation as superintendents of reformatories. Men of recognized talent and attainment, both in scholarly and business pursuits, are found in the wardenships of prisons, at the head of child-saving institutions, serving as chiefs of departments in city governments and in secretariats of State



Boards of Charities. Their service, as well as their literature, is receiving deserved, though belated, academic recognition as of scientific value. Their specialties are taking rightful place among the arts.

The economy of personal and financial resource in combining the same and allied interests results, in the largest output for the least expenditure in philanthropy as in business. The Charity Organization Society has become as much of an economic necessity and as essential a part of the equipment of cities and towns as the clearing house of the banks.

### **The Democratic Spirit Modifying Charities and Correction**

But this and such kindred developments as State Boards of Charities, State Charities Aid Societies, and State and National Conferences of Charities and Correction are not more expressive of an economic instinct than of a democratic spirit. Indeed all these more representative associations arose coincident with and to meet the demands of the people's assumption of the control of their own affairs. Local autonomy in a district became co-ordinate yet co-operative with the centralizing, yet exclusive headquarters which formerly claimed the whole field. Paid official positions became all the more indispensable and honorable, when under the supervision of the unpaid representatives of the public. The salaried expert was recognized to be all the more a leader when there were voluntary workers and friendly visitors to be had. The few and select donors of large gifts who not without reason have sometimes been suspected of monopolizing the "Lady Bountiful" type of benevolence, have found neither their legitimate influence nor the scope of their giving curtailed by sharing the democratic spirit which now supersedes whatever exclusiveness there used to be in philanthropy.

Moreover this spirit has begun to save the loss of individuality suffered by those in the dependent and delinquent groups who have been massed

impersonally and indiscriminately together under the congregate system of institutional administration. The reversion to the more normal type of individual life in smaller family- or household groups is the belated recognition of the democratic right of each to personal consideration, which all are bound to respect in the care of the dependent, the defective and the delinquent. In respecting this right the community equally regards its own welfare by taking the most direct means of restoring to self help and rightful place among men, those whose capacity for self-control and usefulness is weakened, if not destroyed, by treatment, not less a violation of nature, than it is inimical to public interests. In line with the same farther sighted humanitarian economy is the enlistment of whole populations, through their city governments, to grapple with their social situation as a whole. The Elberfeld policy toward dependency, the public control of the liquor traffic as in Scandinavia, the marshalling of the legislative authority, resources of taxation and a constructive civic program for the abolition of the slums and the equalizing of privilege and opportunity, as the borough and county councils of England are doing it; the regulation of industrial forces in the interest of the whole people, as in Australia and New Zealand; such attempts to reach a saner social order and realize a more human ideal of collective life are impressive way-marks of progress such as only the whole community can achieve for itself.

### **Reawakening of the Religious Social Consciousness**

The personal and community interests we have been considering are so permeated by the ideals and influence of the religious group that our review would be conspicuously deficient if we did not note its tendencies in the same direction. Slowly but surely the religious social consciousness is dawning again. Its appearance, now as before, is identified with the world view and movement of the churches. Its social and even industrial expression has al-

ready begun to be worthily chronicled from original sources, with scientific spirit and historical perspective, notably in Dennis' three massive volumes bearing the significant title, "Christian Missions and Social Progress." This first work of its kind deserves to be classed with Ulhorn's "Charity in the Primitive Church," Schmidt's "Social Results of Early Christianity," and Brace's "Gesta Christi." The exigencies of missionary work on foreign fields, which is represented by this author, has not allowed the dualistic separation of religion from life, and has necessitated a closer identification of the common faith with the domestic, industrial and community interests of the common life. Especially marked is this in some of the exceptionally successful work among the subject races and abject classes. No more expert work has been done by government, or under scientific, educational auspices than in some Christian missions and schools among the islanders of the Pacific, the negroes of Zululand, and in the American black belt by the American Missionary Association and under Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, with the Indians at Hampton and Carlisle and on some of the reservations.

#### SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCHES.

The condition of life especially in the cities of Christendom are developing church agencies, which though still far from adequate to meet the religious situation or the ethical need, promise much development. Typical among them are the Inner Mission and also Naumann's social propaganda in Germany, Christian social movements in the established and Free Churches of England and the Adult Schools of the English Friends; the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association, with their physical, educational, railway and shop departments and equipment, the institutional type of church work, especially that of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York and the Wesleyans in London, and the reawakening among the sodalities and institutions of the American Roman Catholic

Church to contemporary needs and methods.

These church activities are already having their formative influence upon the worship, thought and legislation of ecclesiastical bodies. Hymns of social feeling and ideal are finding their place in authorized collections, hitherto almost exclusively individualistic. Christian ethics, and even dogmatic theologies are placing new emphasis upon their bearings on the collective life. The policy of every church is becoming more democratic. The religious sentiment is being humanized. And last, and we fear least, but ultimately most inevitable of all the movements within religious bodies, is to be noted the pressure, chiefly exerted from without, toward federating with each other for purposes of defense and co-operative effort, though not for the organic unity of government, creed or ritual. The most conspicuously valuable results yet attained in this direction are recorded in the sociological census taken by the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers of the City of New York.

#### Social Tendencies of Education

We have yet to trace the reciprocal influence of the social tendencies of this industrial age and contemporary educational movements upon each other.

About the middle of the last century the need of a new nomenclature to designate these new movements of thought and action began to be met. In 1830 August Comte coined the term "sociology" to include the group of sciences, which he designated "Social Physics." Very slowly, however, is the terminology thus initiated, finding its way into anything like accepted usage. The first title page in American periodical literature, bearing a sociological term and scope, is that of Simon Stern's "Social Science Review," which appeared in 1865. It discovered its *raison d'être* in the Civil War, which it predicted "will probably produce many changes in our social and political institutions," so that "it has become of the utmost importance that we should at this period, more especially, render our-



selves familiar with the natural laws which govern mankind in its social state, and that public opinion and legislation may be in accordance with, and not in contravention of, those natural laws." But the prospectus was so far removed from any scientific definition as to construct out of the single term sociology a veritable omnibus, into which with our all too familiar tendency to overcrowding, it packed about all the political, economic, domestic and moral issues then before the American people.

#### HERBERT SPENCER AND CHARLES BOOTH.

The new point of view required a re-investigation and re-classification of the old and additional phenomena attending the tendency to such a gregarious, yet segregated life, such a subdivided and interdependent labor as the world had never known before. In the tables of his "Descriptive Sociology," Herbert Spencer suggested, if he did not determine, a scientific classification of at least historical and literary data, which stimulated research and encouraged the application of the inductive method.

It was not until twenty years ago that any attempt, to be compared with it, was made to classify and summarize contemporary data. All England was then startled by the "bitter cry of out-cast London," which was piteously but sternly raised by some Christian mission workers in the then all too little known East End. Amidst the clamor of protesting or appealing voices, over the mute sufferings of poverty stricken thousands and the growing discontent at the neglect of such conditions, one man went silently to work to get at the root of the problem. He stood almost alone in his insistent and persistent self-exaction to ascertain accurately the facts of the actual situation. The opening years of the twentieth century have registered no greater achievement than the completion of Mr. Charles Booth's "Life and Labor in London," at the close of the nineteenth. The worth of this work, not only in London, but to all the cities of the world can scarcely be overestimated. Its collaboration of

the hitherto unco-ordinate facts of official inquiry, departmental reports, and government census, is even more valuable in setting a standard of scientific exaction and method, than in its great direct results. It supplies a practical classification and method, which by a consensus of opinion, are already widely recognized and used. Its conclusions are models of tested accuracy, cautious conservatism, and the fearless facing of ascertained facts. Its permanent reference value is assured by well nigh perfect tabulations, abstract of contents, and full indices. Already the type of scientific investigations set by this colossal work of London's great shipper is reproducing itself in books of other thoroughly original investigators which deserve to be classed with it. It is a pleasure thus to rate Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree's "Poverty: a Study of Town Life" in York, the report on the housing conditions of Manchester by Mr. T. H. Marr, and the London Daily News' investigation of "Religious Life in London," edited by Mr. R. Mudie-Smith.

#### CENTERS FOR ARCHIVE AND RESEARCH.

The endowment and equipment of the "Musée Social" in Paris furnishes and suggests a provision for perpetuating such efforts, preserving their data and publishing their results, which is sure to create similar centers for archive and research. With far too little resource, and therefore on a less exhaustive scale, the Institute of Social Service in New York is gathering a valuable collection of clippings, pamphlets, photographs, official reports and books bearing particularly upon the welfare work of industrial establishments and municipal departments. The "Museum of Security" in Amsterdam by its permanent exhibition of appliances for protecting and saving life has established a center of unique interest and far reaching practical value. Great libraries, notably the Crerar Library in Chicago, have begun to specialize in these departments on a scale which promises to locate at several great centers, not only exhaustive collections of

their literature but also original data, which will open new sources to research.

The rise of university departments of sociology and social economics, so fully reported in the proceedings of the International Conference of Charities and Correction and Philanthropy held at Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition in 1893, has been followed by a steady and apparently permanent institutional development, almost exclusively confined, however, to American institutions. The practical knowledge for living and working together has begun to be directly inculcated in the teaching of our technical and public schools.

The co-operative societies for social reasearch, discussion and publication have differentiated along the lines of their theoretical and practical specialties. While the Social Science Association continues to cover its very general field, the American Statistical Association, the American Economic Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science have added greatly to the expert personnel and equipment of their several departments of research. The recent organization in London of the "Sociological Society" for the study of social theory, and the "Institute of Social Service," suggested by and modeled after the practical purpose and methods of the society bearing the same name in New York, assures needed reinforcement at the great centers of observation and scientific resource in the Old World.

#### TRAINING FOR THE SOCIAL ARTS.

The most natural and timely sequels of these industrial and social movements are the schools which are arising at the greatest centers of activity to offer both general courses and technical training in the theory, history and practice of what deserve to be called the social arts. The demand for trained helpers is being widely increased, not only by the growing opportunities and exactions of these manifold agencies, but also by the extension of the civil service law to cover positions in public

charitable and reformatory institutions. But the offer of the supply of trained helpers is the surest way to create the demand for them where it does not exist.

One of the earliest initiatives in this direction was taken by Miss Helen Gladstone at the London Woman's University settlement, in conducting a small training class from year to year, the graduates of which immediately found positions of trust and usefulness throughout the kingdom. The Charity Organization Society of that city has recently brought about the co-operation of this class which the "School of Economics," some departments of the University of London and its own expert force, to establish a "School of Sociology and Social Economics," which is in the second year of successful operation. In New York City a well patronized summer school, conducted for several years by the Charity Organization Society, has evolved the "School of Philanthropy." In its very full curriculum, covering the whole academic year, it has the co-operation of the Columbia University faculty, and the Association of Neighborhood Workers, both of which, independently, offer some courses of similar instruction. In Boston the study class of the Charity Organization Society has been the pioneer effort, which is now to be supplemented by the "Training School for Social Workers," jointly conducted by Harvard University and Simmons College for Women.

In connection with its University College in the center of the city, the University of Chicago has opened "The Institute of Social Science and Arts," aided by experts at the head of several specialized agencies and branches of knowledge, supplemented also by the allied departments at the University, together with "the laboratory for statistical research work." It has also announced a four years' course at the University in the new department of Religious and Social Science leading to an academic degree. At all these schools the great centers at which they are located are used as laboratories in



which the students are assigned to carefully supervised and progressive field-work which constitutes a principal part of their training. The appointment of a standing committee by the National Conference of Charities and Correction will greatly promote the progress, co-operation and unity of these courses.

### Industrial Tendencies to Internationalism

Perhaps more significant than all the tendencies of industrialism which we have noted is that which sets irresistably toward international relationships. Beneath the sinister influence, which commercial interests have had upon politics, there may be a larger good evolving. But the very elements which have been creating internal strife and provoking foreign wars may soon become so international in their proportion as to be the chief impediment to war and mainstay of the world's peace. Organized workingmen who were the first to frighten the world by ignoring national boundaries, are, without the loss of

their patriotism, naturally developing international unions out of their national organizations. These great craft brotherhoods by stretching hearts and hands across seas to organize for their common interests across every frontier, bid fair by their refusal to fight each other to command the world's peace. Among the world's congresses convening at this Exposition, none registers a higher water mark of human progress than the "Interparliamentary Union," with its imposing delegation representing practically all the constitutional governments of the world. The twelfth session of this Union is immediately followed by the Thirteenth International Peace Conference at Boston, with a personnel and prestige which more than keeps pace with the progress of war.

With the possibility of this climax in sight and in view of the profound changes in social condition which it has already wrought, the Industrial Revolution is making good its claim to be the most radical transformation through which civilization has ever passed.

## Boston's Municipal Gymnasiums

By William R. Woodbury, M. D.,

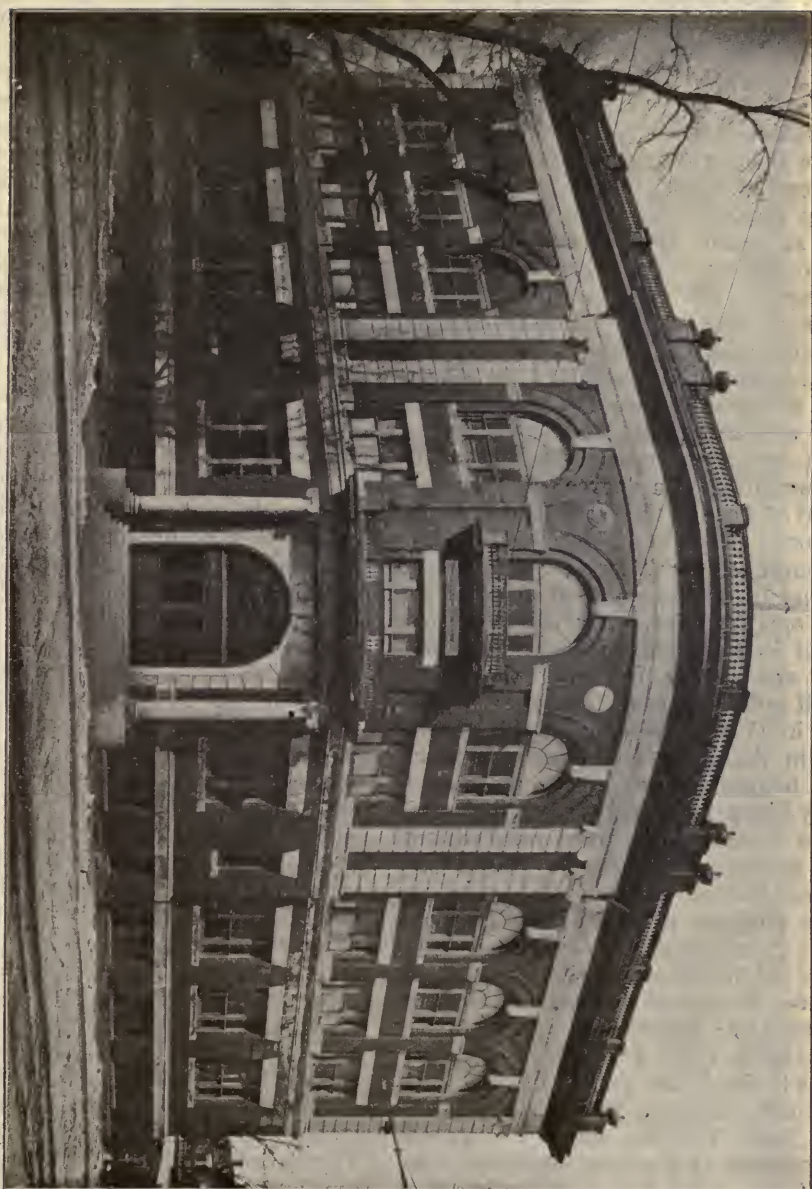
Medical Director

In 1897 a public spirited woman, Mrs. Daniel Ahl, purchased a building in East Boston which originally was a skating rink, enlarged it, equipped it as a combination gymnasium and bath, and presented it to the city. This was the first free indoor gymnasium in this country. The East Boston Gymnasium was placed in charge of the Bath Department, a new city department created in 1898 by Mayor Tinney, and administered by seven unpaid trustees, two of them being women, appointed by the Mayor for terms of five years each.

A thoroughly trained instructor was appointed; regular and progressive class work for men, women and children was arranged; and the gymnasium

was opened to the general public free of charge. Two days in the week the entire building was reserved for the exclusive use of the women and girls. Almost immediately the attendance became so large, especially afternoons and evenings, that the capacity of the gymnasium was taxed to the utmost. And substantial testimony came from the master of the Lyman School and the police captain of the East Boston station in corroboration of the physical and moral benefits the gymnasium was working particularly among the children. Certainly the municipal gymnasium idea as it developed appeared to be an undertaking about which there could be no reasonable doubt as to its usefulness and success. Encouraged

By the opening of the new gymnasium, the city has secured a new and important addition to its public buildings. The new building, which is now under construction, will be a fine example of modern architecture and will be a credit to the city.



A CITY'S WELFARE BUILDING

Columbia Road, Boston, containing Gymnasium, Baths, Swimming Pool and Assembly Halls

The new building, which is now under construction, will be a fine example of modern architecture and will be a credit to the city. It will be a credit to the city and will be a credit to the city.



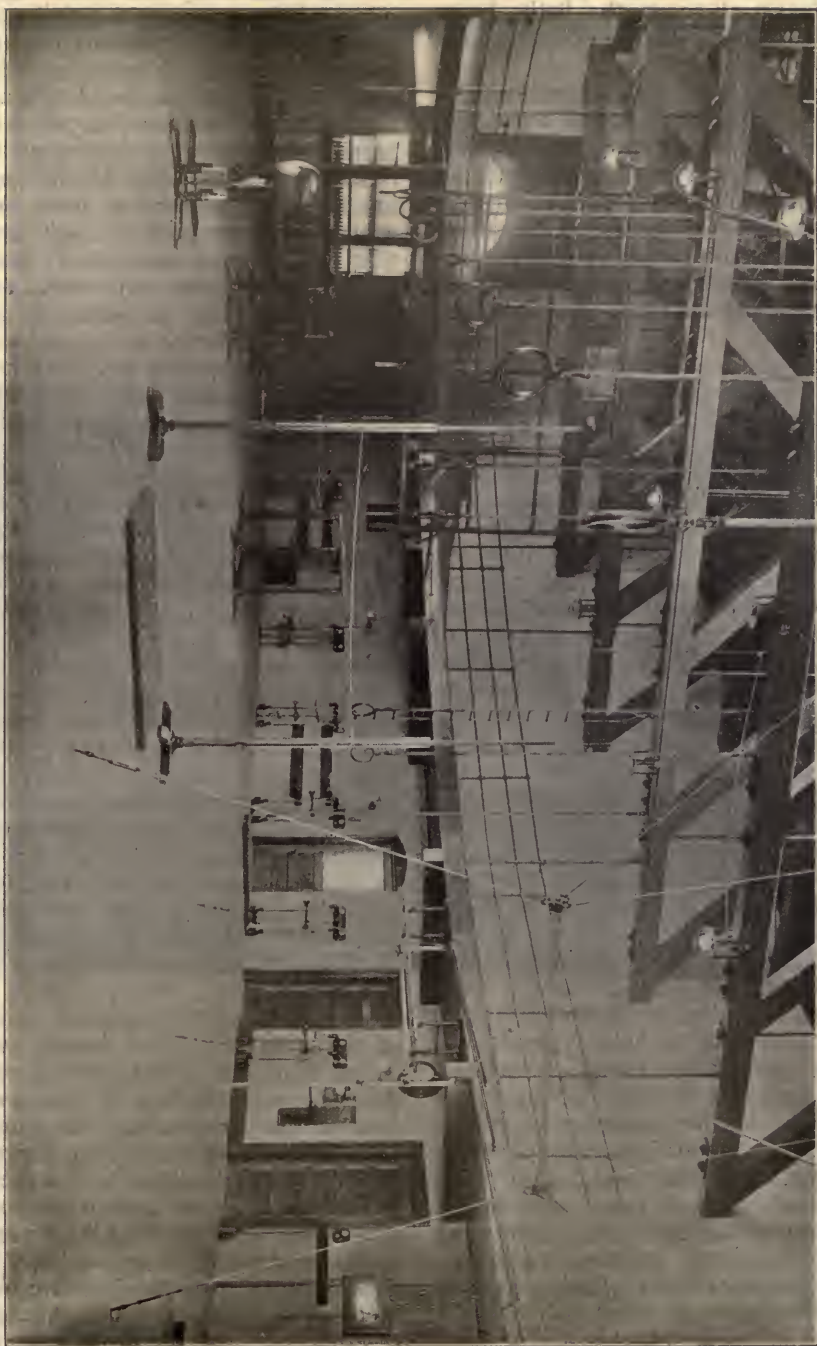
by this success the city government voted an appropriation for a new public gymnasium, the first to be built by the city, on D Street, South Boston, upon land owned by the state; and in the winter of 1899 the Fourth Boston Gymnasium was opened to the public. It is admirably lighted, thoroughly ventilated, and well equipped; and in every particular it is a model gymnasium. It has a floor space 98 feet in length and 68 feet in width; locker and dressing-room space for men, 52 feet in length and 24 feet in width; locker and dressing-room space for women 88 feet in length and 17 feet in width; bath-room space, 20 feet by 13 feet, including 300 lockers and 20 shower baths. The gymnasium is furnished with all the best forms of apparatus and has a gallery with a running track.

In only a few months the new gymnasium attained a degree of success—equal to that of the East Boston Gymnasium. This new success, in turn, encouraged the Bath Department to extend to other congested parts of the city opportunities similar to those provided in East Boston and South Boston, and in the following year three small public gymnasiums were opened, one in Ward 9, one in Ward 19, and one in Ward 7. The Ward 9 building was bought by the city at an exceedingly low price. In Ward 19 the ward-room is used; baths were installed, and the gymnasium apparatus was so arranged that the room could be used for other purposes when needed. In Ward 7 the gymnasium was established originally by the College Settlements Association, as part of the work of Denison House; this gymnasium is now under lease to the city for a term of ten years.

As to the future growth of the indoor gymnasium system throughout the city the Bath Trustees strongly urge the importance of constructing large gymnasiums, designed to meet the needs of an entire district rather than small ones for each ward. The small gymnasiums which are now being maintained were provided through arrangements and appropriations to which the trustees were given no satisfactory alternative.

A gymnasium should have a large floor space, about 125 by 60 feet, generous air space, and large enough dimensions for a running track. And it is better not to have a city gymnasium too closely identified with a single neighborhood, but to make it, in some sense, a public center, to which people will come from many different streets. The fact, too, that it costs practically as much for the wages of attendants and instructors in a small gymnasium as in a large one is another important consideration. Besides, the large gymnasium affords ample room and opportunity for hand ball, basket ball, and other competitive games and sports. It is the hope of the Bath Trustees that within the next few years the public facilities for physical recreation and training may be extended so that every closely populated district of the city will have adequate gymnasium accommodations. During the past year a gymnasium with baths and a swimming pool in the new municipal building in Ward 16 was completed, and will be opened within a few weeks. The coming season a new gymnasium and bath, including a large swimming tank, costing \$100,000, in Ward 18 will be completed and opened to the public. And the city government has voted an appropriation of \$90,000 for a gymnasium and bath at the North End.

The municipal gymnasiums are kept open all the year. Eight months in the year, from the first of October to the first of June, a thoroughly trained and experienced instructor is on duty in each gymnasium. He conducts the class work, gives individual instruction when it is needed, and directs the games and sports of the children. Separate classes are conducted for the men, boys, working women, married women, and girls; and two days in every week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, the gymnasiums and baths are for the exclusive use of the women and girls. The school girl's classes are in the afternoon, and the women's in the evening; and on Thursday forenoon there is a married women's class which has a large and enthusiastic attendance.



A BOSTON PUBLIC GYMNASIUM



On the women's days a matron is in attendance; and each person has her individual bath-room, the baths being made separate by the use of rubber curtains.

All the work in the gymnasiums is under the general charge of a physical director; and a uniform system of class work is used, a system which includes and combines the best forms of physical exercise and gymnastics. Pains-taking care is taken to provide a system which will meet satisfactorily the needs of both sexes and all ages. And convincing evidence of its success in meeting these general needs is the fact that the classes tax the capacity of the gymnasium buildings. The class work is made an important feature. It consists of drills in free movement, and with dumb-bells, swords, Indian-clubs, and light apparatus; and the principle of change and progression is carefully observed in these drills, thus insuring advancement and the absence of monotony. Particular attention is given to the children's classes. The exercises are simple and elementary, and take up but a small part of the time. For the children the gymnasiums are made to serve more as a playground than as a gymnastic school, a place where they can indulge their own natural impulses for childish sport; and they are constrained by discipline which is wholesome, but never excessive. The recreative feature of the class work is augmented by a piano accompaniment. Special and individual corrective exercise and training is given for such physical defects as hollow chests, depressed shoulders, spinal curvatures, and asymmetrical development. The attendance at the municipal gymnasiums the past year was 7,000 a week. This includes men, women and children; and they all came, voluntarily, for healthful recreation, and with some purpose to attain hygienic righteousness. From the first of June to the first of October most of those who visit the gymnasiums come for the sake of bathing; but the gymnasium privileges are available if desired.

A corps of medical examiners, in

charge of a medical director, is provided, to give those who avail themselves of the gymnasium privileges the opportunity of a thorough physical examination, and advice as to the kind and amount of exercise and training most needed; and, also, to prevent any harm from the misuse, through ignorance or excessive zeal, of the apparatus. Two physicians, a man and a woman, are assigned to each gymnasium as medical examiners; and at stated times, twice each week, during the indoor gymnasium season the examiner is in attendance at the gymnasium office to examine and advise the members. The medical examiner's office in each gymnasium is equipped with the apparatus necessary for making a complete and thorough physical and anthropometrical examination; and the measurements, strength tests, and condition of each person examined is accurately recorded. These records are made upon cards which are arranged alphabetically and kept by the medical director for reference and data. To encourage the gymnasium members to meet the medical examiners a prescription card is made over and given to each person at the time of the examination. The card bears a record of the member's measurements and physical condition—a copy of the record is kept by the examiner; useful suggestions and advice as to bathing, exercise, and good care of the body; and instruction as to the character and amount of exercise best suited to that particular individual. There is gratifying evidence of the general public benefit which comes from the free municipal indoor gymnasiums in Boston. In a recent report of the Institutions Registration Department it is stated that during the past ten years there has been a decrease of from 12 to 20 per cent in the number of juvenile arrests. And the report ascribes this improvement as due, in a considerable degree, to the manifold efforts which are being made throughout the city to turn youthful energy and spirit into healthful and wholesome channels. Truly the public gymnasiums are a material help in that direc-

tion. From careful observers in the districts where the gymnasiums and baths are located come striking testimony as to a higher standard of physical alertness and cleanliness which is easily apparent among a large proportion of the children and young people. And this gospel of physical well-being and cleanliness is spreading; women of mature years and having home responsibilities are beginning to take the time to come to the gymnasiums. In East Boston a class of these women numbering 115 members has been formed.

nasium began to provide this training, the physical poor standard for appointments in the eligible list of these two arms of the city's service has been advanced more than fifteen per cent.

The success of this undertaking has led to the introduction of gymnasiums and baths in some of the public school buildings recently erected; and during the past winter the public gymnasium privileges of the city poor have increased considerably by the opening of the school gymnasiums in the evenings, in connection with the evening schools



**Saturday Morning at the Dover Street Bath House**

Another worthy benefit of these gymnasiums and an interesting aspect of their educational work is that they assist in training young men who are ambitious to enter the city's service as policemen and firemen. The Massachusetts Civil Service Convention requires of candidates for the municipal police and fire departments a physical and a mental examination; and in the public gymnasiums an opportunity is given the young men to train themselves to meet the requirements of the physical test. Since the municipal gym-

nasium began to provide this training, the physical poor standard for appointments in the eligible list of these two arms of the city's service has been advanced more than fifteen per cent.

The municipal gymnasiums are merely public institutions. They promote the physical health and the moral and mental vigor of a large number of people. By increasing the total production capacity of the people of the city they are a good investment—an investment which each year will bring to the city increasing financial returns. And into the lives of many they help to bring a little more usefulness, happiness, and content.



# More Light in Dark Places

By Henry Raymond Mussey

In the July number of *THE COMMONS* the story was told of the manner in which the telephone and lighting monopolies of New York, by virtue of their control of the electrical subways, are able to dictate the rates and conditions of service for these two important public utilities in that city. A few further facts may not be without interest. For these facts, so far as they relate to the subways, I am again indebted to the *Evening Post*.

The charter of the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway company and that of the Empire City Subway Company provide that all net earnings above ten per cent on the capital must be paid to the city. The subway companies are required each year by the terms of their franchise to submit reports to the city comptroller showing what their actual cash capital, the cost of constructing, equipping, maintaining and operating the conduits, and the annual net profits. In case the companies fail to carry out these and all other provisions of their franchise, then it is provided that the city may enter into possession of the subways, subject to any valid outstanding mortgages or liens not exceeding fifty per cent of the actual cost of the subways; and all leases or contracts then existing forfeit their interest and the subway companies must "quietly and peaceably surrender possession of the subways to the city."

The city has never received one cent under the ten per cent provision. As the privileges of the companies are known to be immensely valuable, the reader may judge how well that provision has been carried out. As to reports, the companies have made them each year, ostensibly conforming to the legal requirements. How far they do so conform we will now try to judge.

Along with the other good things for which the city has to thank the Low administration was an investigation of the affairs of the subway companies. As

a result of such investigation, suit was begun against them, the city in its complaint alleging that the annual reports were "false, fraudulent, untrue, and made in bad faith." These reports have invariably shown a far lower percentage of earnings on costs of construction than ten per cent, and the city alleged that in so far as they purported to set forth the annual net profits after the necessary expense of constructing, equipping, maintaining and operating the conduits, they were fraudulent. It claimed that a large amount of money was due the city, believed to reach several million dollars. It therefore demanded a judicial accounting of the gross and net earnings of the companies; of their rentals and charges; of the facts of all payments of every kind, in order that it might be determined whether these amounts stated by the companies were properly charged to construction and maintenance. To this complaint the Empire City Subway Company interposed a demurrer, and, in the Supreme Court on the 20th of June last, Justice Scott on technical grounds sustained the demurrer. Thus the city is again defeated in its efforts to free itself from the grip of this monopoly, and though the attorney who prepared the original complaint says it is entirely possible for the city to proceed under an amended bill, yet to an outsider the relations between the present administration and the lighting monopoly appear to be such as to render further action doubtful until New York has another spasm of reform and again gives Tammany a vacation.

As to the merits of the present controversy, one may judge somewhat from the sworn testimony of William J. Sefton, secretary of the Consolidated Subway Company, before the Mazet commission in 1899: "We have now about 800 miles of single duct subway. About sixty-seven per cent is unoccupied (when the Peoples' Telephone Corporation wanted room for its wires

the ducts were full). The average cost per mile is between \$6,000 and \$7,000. This is the average cost of the whole construction, not of each duct. Our average rental for a duct is \$900 a year." The Bank of New Amsterdam paid \$220 a year rent for two wires in the subway for a distance of ten blocks. Of course no man of common sense believes that with rates such as these profits have been less than ten per cent on the actual capital invested, yet these honorable gentlemen come into court and with solemn faces try to make us believe that such is the case. On being assured that we know they are not telling the truth, they brighten up, and like their eminent predecessor in public plunder, the lamented Boss Tweed, inquire, "What are you going to do about it?"

The amazing effrontery of the corporations that hold New York bound and gagged can be realized, however, only when one remembers that the Empire City Subway Company is but a branch of the Consolidated Gas Company and then recalls the recent action of that great monopoly. The Remsen East River Gas Bill, it will be remembered, was pushed through the legislature at its last session, which enjoys the distinction of being the worst session a New York legislature ever held, an orgy of corruption. The lure held out to induce the mayor to sign this tainted measure was the removal of all the gas plants from Manhattan to Astoria—and the mayor signed the bill, but the governor vetoed it. And now comes the amusing feature of the situation. The *Times* of August 2nd contains the announcement that the Consolidated Gas Company will move its plants to Astoria whether or no. Why? Some envious persons have suggested that taxes are so much lower on Long Island that the gas combine will save money by the move, inasmuch as it pays taxes on \$50,000,000 worth of property in Manhattan. Evidently the mayor forgot this fact in his anxiety to have the scenery of Manhattan improved by the removal of the gas plants.

In order to effect this removal, the Consolidated will construct a new tunnel under the East river, and through one of its auxiliaries, the East River Gas Company, it has obtained the appointment of a commission to condemn city and state property for that purpose. On August 1st Justice McCall in the Supreme Court handed down the names of three prominent Tammany men as commissioners, Senator Thomas F. Grady, Peter J. Dooling and Thomas Byrnes. According to the newspaper account, this was done "without comment" by the Justice. It is difficult for an onlooker to refrain from comment. The proposed tunnel may be as the gas company's attorneys argued, a public necessity, but what shall be said as to the policy of turning over the control of such a great public utility to a band of brigands like the Consolidated Gas Company, who have demonstrated their ability and their willingness for just one thing, systematic and organized plunder of the city and its people?

And now the point of the Remsen Bill becomes plain. The charter of the East River Gas Company has but seventeen years to run; the Remsen Bill, if the writer is correctly informed, would have made this charter perpetual. Small wonder the Consolidated wanted the bill passed before it began building its tunnel, but what shall be said of the action of the mayor who signed the bill, or of those reputable lawyers who advised him to do so? This is a dark place, indeed, and more light is badly needed.

The story of the Consolidated Gas Company and its constituent corporations is one continuing tale of unblushing extortion, of poor service, of legislative corruption, of executive inefficiency, of confusion worse confounded in the relations between a great municipality and one of its supposed creatures, a corporation not only soulless but conscienceless, a corporation that boldly says, "We will rob you of your money, we will throw dust in the eyes of your elected officers, we will purchase legislators, we will



despise your laws." As one listens he is almost tempted to ask with the ancient prophet, "Lord, how long?" And as he hears the story he is almost tempted to believe the reply will be the same, "Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate."

## The House by the Side of the Road

By Sam Walter Foss

EDITOR'S NOTE: This poem was republished in THE COMMONS for August, 1897, after its first printing in THE INDEPENDENT. During the past few months we have received so many requests for the back number of THE COMMONS containing it, that we are sure our present subscribers and friends, both those who will remember it and those to whom it comes as new, will be glad to greet its second appearance in THE COMMONS.

"He was a friend to man and he lived in a house by the side of the road."—*Homer*.

There are hermit souls that live withdrawn  
In the place of their self content;  
There are souls, like stars, that dwell apart,  
In a fellowless firmament;  
There are pioneer souls that blaze their paths  
Where highways never ran—  
But let me live by the side of the road  
And be a friend to man.

Let me live in a house by the side of the road,  
Where the race of men go by—  
The men who are good and the men who are bad,  
As good and as bad as I.  
I would not sit in the scorner's seat,  
Or hurl the cynic's ban—  
Let me live in a house by the side of the road  
And be a friend to man.

I see from my house by the side of the road  
By the side of the highway of life,  
The men who press with the ardor of hope,  
The men who are faint with the strife.  
But I turn not away from their smiles nor their tears—  
Both parts of an infinite plan—  
Let me live in my house by the side of the road  
And be a friend to man.

I know there are brook-gladdened meadows ahead,  
And mountains of wearisome height;  
That the road passes on through the long afternoon  
And stretches away to the night.  
But still I rejoice when the travelers rejoice,  
And weep with the strangers that moan,  
Nor live in my house by the side of the road  
Like a man who dwells alone.

Let me live in my house by the side of the road  
Where the race of men go by—  
They are good, they are bad, they are weak, they are strong,  
Wise, foolish—so am I.  
Then why should I sit in the scorner's seat  
Or hurl the cynic's ban?  
Let me live in my house by the side of the road  
And be a friend to man.

# Wanted: One More Standing Committee

By Florence Kelley

In days when everyone is distraught by the demands of organizations and committees it requires courage to suggest the formation of still another Large Standing Committee. The need is, however, urgent for one more large and efficient standing committee of effective persons, both men and women, on the Children Who Fail of Promotion in the Public Schools.

The very large numbers of such children were brought to light in the City of New York, last year when the new child labor law and compulsory education law took effect which require that every child under the age of sixteen years must, before going to work, complete a stipulated amount of the work of the curriculum of the public schools. This required work would normally be accomplished by the twelfth birthday in the case of a child who entered school at the age of six years and was duly promoted without failures. The facts are, however, that thousands of children fail of so many promotions that when they reach the legal age for beginning to work—the fourteenth birthday—they have not nearly completed the school work which they are supposed to have done at the age of twelve and are required to do before they can legally leave school.

One division superintendent of the schools of New York had a canvass made of all the school children under her care—in the lower east side—and found that several thousand children were in this predicament who had been born in New York, or brought thither so young as to have entered school at the age of six years. Since they appeared to be exactly the poorest children, whose parents most needed their help at the earliest possible moment, this was a very serious matter.

Why do thousands of children fail of promotion? The final answer to this question can be ascertained only by the Standing Committee here proposed.

Meanwhile there are certain obvious partial answers, namely:

1. Children who attend school only half a day are at a disadvantage and are tempted to truancy.

2. Children in classes of fifty or more cannot receive sufficient attention from the teacher to get them forward 'with normal speed.'

3. Unruly children who are suspended or expelled, waste time unless they are immediately committed to a school whose curriculum is the same as that of the public schools.

4. For want of adequate hospital accommodations for the care of contagious disease, scarlet fever, measles, and other diseases of childhood, are permitted to be nursed in the tenements, and well children in nominal quarantine lose weeks and months in playing in the streets and homes, and fail of promotion through no fault of their own.

All these are causes removable and under the control of the municipal administration which can, however, be greatly aided in so doing by a standing committee of influential citizens.

There are also other causes not directly within the control of the city.

1. Some of the children smoke cigarettes and are stupefied by them. (Judge Stubbs of the Juvenile Court of Indianapolis considers this the most ruinous influence to which boys of school age are subjected).

2. Other children have poor eyes or ears; thousands of children are so ill-fed that they cannot learn (not always because too little money is spent for food, but because pickles, candy, bananas, and beer, tea and coffee are no suitable food for school children).

Adenoids and congenital dullness or slowness, the result of diseases of childhood, call for some special care or even an altogether different disposition of the child, perhaps in a special school or an institution.



All these cases call for prolonged care and oversight beyond what can be given either by the school physician who visits the school, examines and excludes the children; or by the nurse who attends to many minor affections but cannot always induce mothers to take children regularly to the oculist, the aurist, the surgeon, or the orthopedist. It is in co-operating with the school-physicians, school-nurses and the dispensaries that the members of the proposed standing committee would find, perhaps, their most fruitful field of strictly personal work with individuals and families, analogous to that of the Charity Organization Society's friendly visitor. Included in this branch of their work would be the task of finding a substitute for the school-children when there is illness (non-contagious) in the family, and they are now kept at home to make pitiful attempts at nursing.

Aside from the derelictions of Boards of Education, and physical disqualifications of the children themselves, there are still other causes of their failure to make promotions duly. Among these are the work of taking care of younger children while the mother works (the father being ill, or dead, or deserted, or out of work); fetching and carrying for sweatshops; and finally that fatigue which dulls the faculties of children wearied by delivering bread and rolls for bakers, baskets for grocers, and papers in the early morning before school; and by crying papers to all hours of the night on the streets.

The sum-total is an army of children belated in their school work, many of whom fall out of school and become truants out of discouragement; and from truancy the step is a short one to the juvenile court and the institutions; or to the factory in defiance of the compulsory education law and the child labor law.

The proposed committee would, of course, not supersede any existing child saving or child helping institution; it would complement them all and co-operate with them. It would be the nat-

ural ally of the teachers and attendance agents.

It is doubtless as true in other cities as it has been shown to be true in New York that thousands of children not only do not complete the work of eight years in the space of eight years, but do *not even complete the work of five years in the space of eight years*. This waste of time in the lives of the children, to say nothing of the waste of teaching, seating accommodations and general cost to the school-system, should make the help of the proposed committee most welcome to the Boards of Education.

Wherever the compulsory attendance law requires that the children remain at school until they reach the fourteenth birthday, the ordinary citizen naturally assumes that the children are moving steadily forward from class to class, getting the benefit of the schools. So far from being universally true is this cheerful assumption, that only two states, so far as the writer has been able to learn, stipulate any amount of school work as required before a child may go out of school to enter upon the life of wage-earning. These two states are Colorado and New York. Colorado requires children to attend school until the sixteenth birthday *unless the county judge and the superintendent of schools unite in excepting a child who has finished the work of eight years of the school curriculum*. Such a child is, however, kept on the records of the schools until the sixteenth birthday, and his place of employment and all the conditions attending it are of record.

In New York, a child before beginning to work, must both reach the fourteenth birthday and finish the work of five years of the school curriculum receiving instruction in "reading, writing, geography, English grammar, and the fundamental operations of arithmetic, up to and including fractions."

The proposed committee would take up a child when it first failed of a promotion, and was entering upon the process of losing its best opportunity for education by sitting, year after year, in the same grade, or falling out of school

in discouragement, and would make such a child the object of its especial friendly solicitude until the reason for the failure was removed if this proved possible. There is little doubt that many children would thus be saved later acquaintance with the juvenile court and the probation officers.

It is the conviction of the writer that the work of the proposed committee would prove a most interesting as well as a most useful task. There can be little doubt that many of the causes of failure of the children would melt away in the presence of an intelligent and persistent committee, devoting continuous attention to each belated child. Where, however, the causes of failure proved permanent or recurring (such as insufficient nutrition whether due to the lack of skill or care on the part of the mother, or to poverty arising from the death, absence, disability, desertion or insufficient wage of the father) the mere bringing to light of the facts would be of the highest social value.

Nothing so promotes the effective enforcement of factory laws, child labor laws, and compulsory education laws, as the *organized* good will and co-operation of the community. And if an effective committee persistently inquired after each child that failed of promotion, how long could a Board of Education fail to supply adequate school-rooms, competent teachers and *enough of them?*

It may be objected that there are not enough friendly visitors available for the work that is already undertaken; that judicious personal work is a difficult thing to secure. But however loath people may be to undertake work with grown folks, there is a much more widespread willingness to do things for children and with them—even arduous and difficult things.

Nothing has been said of the difficulties caused by sordid parents who wish to exploit their children. But Judge Lindsey of the Denver court, by his enforcement of the unique statute of Colorado which holds a parent responsible for the delinquency of the child, has blazed the way for dealing with offenders of this character; and they may be found after all to be few and insignificant in comparison with the social influences which now cause the failures of the children.

Under the stress of competition to which children are submitted immediately upon leaving school, the completion of five years work as arranged in the curriculum is the very least equipment with which any American child can be sent into the industrial world without incurring danger of speedily forgetting the slender share of learning that he has acquired. To expedite their school work is to strengthen in a most practical manner a multitude of deserving but not fortunate children.

## Conciliation Winning Its Way

By Graham Romeyn Taylor

Belligerency has ever inflicted its strident bluster upon a long suffering vast majority of folk who are content with peace so long as it is compatible with honor and a maintenance of their rock-bottomed principles. So simple are the most of us that we actually enjoy the happiness of friendly feeling

and neighborly relationships more than the glory of martial exploits. We have borne with fortitude the ear-splitting clamor of our strenuous brethren whose scent of the conflict is so keen that they needs must indulge in vocal rehearsings of its din. And we have received with meekness the disdainful contempt of



the imperious for the "weak," though it has not infrequently afforded the "weak" an amusement dangerously destructive to the haughty dignity of the imperious.

#### PEOPLE WEARY OF BLUSTER.

Turn to whatever field we will, the same hullabaloo and commotion by the really insignificant handful of warlike spirits oppresses us. The jingo in national affairs is having a continual conception fit over some "insufferable outrage," and we never have time to acquaint ourselves with the real trouble at issue before there is another distressing attack of his blatant hysterics over a fresh discovery of some "terrible menace" to our very existence as a nation. In an extraordinary manner this is disposed of or becomes quiescent before the tornado-like onrush of an "omnious war cloud" from some other quarter, very probably a brave young army or navy officer's inventive genius subsidized by an enterprising newspaper publisher. We have subdued our hair so many times that now we exhibit a disquieting and unpatriotic indifference whenever we are excitedly commanded to stand it on end again. But it has taught us at least the significant fact that the most of us are content with the even tenor of the peaceful way.

Or, observe the same thing in the smaller realm of intercollegiate sport. The undergraduates of one university are worked up to fever heat by the "atrocious unfairness and unsportsmanlike conduct" of the rival team or athletic management at a sister university. We hear that "athletic relations are broken off" and no games are to be played between the two. Each crowd of undergraduates sulks and stews in its own continually exaggerated feeling of how it has been "ungentlemanly treated by the other side" until—what happens? Suddenly those in each crowd find that the other set of fellows is composed of college men not essentially different from themselves. Neither side is really happy in the quarrel and the two become aware that both are being robbed of an important and interesting annual

contest. One gives some slight evidence of repentance, the other admits that it judged too harshly, and we are gravely informed that "athletic relations between such and such universities have been resumed." The majority of the undergraduates have at heart been sorry the squabble ever took place; a lesson has been learned—the chances are that it will not be repeated; and the public indulges a little chuckle at the silliness of it all, which is disconcerting to no one but the dignified editors of the rival college newspapers who have spent some of their most valuable time in excogitating new anathemas and choice sarcasms for the edification of their opponents.

The religious world is perennially called upon to endure an avalanche of ponderous arguments and weighty words from those vociferous defenders of the faith whose theology is nothing if not polemic and whose Christian brotherliness does not extend to a world of warring sects. But it does not take long for the mass of believers to move up and on, if not to a basis of agreement, to enough of a kindly feeling for a hearty co-operation in methods and work—Christian social service draws not the line of creed—leaving the disputants far behind in the blinding dust of their own arena. A weariness of strife and a spirit of harmony underneath all permeates even the mass of Christians.

Politics, the law, medicine, education, none is exempt from its own coterie of controversialists whose cantankerous bickering over the trivial things annoy their brethren if not themselves. Yet occasionally our eyes are permitted to behold a genuine "political love feast": among lawyers we are glad to discover a constantly increasing number who care more to settle fights than make them; the doctors we find united when human suffering is at stake; and, although a year ago we witnessed in New York State as acrimonious a controversy among educators as we have seen in any set of men, we are inspired by the self-sacrificing loyalty to lofty ideals, the common fidelity to the main

purpose and fellowship in working it out, that pervades the great army of the nation's teachers.

#### INDUSTRIAL BELLIGERENTS.

Agreed it must be, however, that the field of industrial relations furnishes the most intolerable belligerency of all. The shriekings of the jingo rarely disturb us beyond the outlandish newspaper headings which all of us have learned to discount; and the other blusterers are practically harmless but for their noise. But in the industrial struggle with its desperate crises coming one almost on the heels of another all the time, those bellowing forth the war-cry on both sides are more likely to influence action and make the lines increasingly taut, to the very real inconvenience of the non-combatants and their consequent exasperation. The "smash the unions" employers' associations it is needless to dwell upon; our ear-drums ache with their eternal racket and the boastings of their shouting secretaries. In all the propaganda of radical social theories there is no literature more rampant, and divisive and incendiary, none more bent upon arraying class against class, than the official organ of the "Parryites" with its bitter, mean interpretations and misrepresentations of trade unionists' acts and utterances, and its continual harping on the worst it can find or bring itself to believe of their faults and blunders. Scarcely more endurable is the bragging unionist who is always proclaiming the omnipotence of his organization and who hardly opens his mouth without frothing a threat of how he is going to make some manufacturers accede to his demands or "drive them out of business." The general public is as out of patience with their stubbornness as it is with the insufferable conceit of the would-be dictators among the employers.

But we believe implicitly that this arrogant and loud mouthed set of blatherskites constitutes but a bare handful on either side. We are more and more convinced of the fairmindedness and desire at heart for peace of the

large majority of employers and the general run of trade unionists. They are not so self-assertive but their influence is none the less felt. Upon the trade union side, however, it must be said that this larger number of peaceably inclined has means, increasingly extensive, for curbing the penchant of the few for strife. The referendum is being used well nigh universally to decide such matters as the calling of strikes.

The cause of international peace is certainly strengthened by more or less selfishness in the carrying out of huge commercial projects. No doubt industrial peace is similarly bolstered up by a vivid realization of the enormous cost of industrial war to both sides. And the public is flattering itself to believe that its frequently expressed wrath at needlessly provoked and prolonged labor troubles is instilling a wholesome fear in the warring camps.

#### CONCILIATION TO THE FORE.

Very recently we have been favored with conspicuous advances in the progress of conciliation as a way of settlement for industrial disputes. There has been played the same game of bluff; both sides have felt compelled to "put up a front," make a respectable show of strength, and impress bystanders and awe opponents with magnificent exhibitions of muscle available for backing up claims and enforcing rock ribbed ultimatums. But the enjoyment of the glorious conflict either actual or anticipated has not been so keen as the bellicose generalissimos on each side have tried to make their followers believe. In cases where the fighting point has not been reached there has been a noticeable trembling and quaking the nearer its approach; and the real warfare has justified such timorous feelings. The best of the union leaders, however, have striven earnestly and sincerely for peace at all times, and have received the hearty support of the vast majority of the rank and file. Later if not sooner, too, the employers have evidenced fairmindedness, reasonableness, and recognition of others' rights.



## IN NEW YORK'S RAPID TRANSIT.

Perhaps the most notable recent instance of the triumph of the conciliatory spirit is to be seen in the settlement of differences between the elevated railroad employers and employes in New York City. The controversy arose over the wages to be paid motormen in the subway and the length of the working day. The agreement reached provides that \$3.50 shall be paid an experienced man for a day's work, this being determined after substantial concessions by the company, and that the working day shall be ten hours, the men having receded from their firm stand for a nine-hour day. It will be remembered that when the motive power was changed on the elevated roads from steam locomotives to electricity the engineers, who were and are members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, refused to listen to the proposal to reduce their wages below the standard maintained by the Brotherhood. In the course of changing some men from elevated to subway service, it apparently was thought by the company that a convenient time had arrived in which to reduce the high wages obtaining. The strength of the union has been able to prevail again, however, as it did before. Other features of the agreement are that preference shall be given to elevated engineers, to the extent of half their number, when the company engages subway employes; that they shall have some preference in the selection of runs; and that the agreement shall be for three years.

The discussion preceding the satisfactory settlement of the difficulty has on the whole been animated by reasonableness and a sincere desire for peace. The men on neither side have taken an "unalterable position" from which they would consider it an impossible disgrace to "back down." It has been seen that an arbitrary stand by either, an absolute refusal by the union to consider anything short of their entire demand, or a haughty declaration on the the employers' part that "we shall

let no one dictate to us concerning the management of our business," is the height of absurdity as compared with the conciliatory method of reaching and maintaining industrial peace. Too often both sides, when adopting the stubborn frame of mind are actuated by a feeling that "we have the other fellow in a hole" and we mean to "force the issue." They are too conscious of their power. The foolishness of this arbitrary sort of attitude is that in the mere act of assuming it there slips away from either side which thus displays its arrogance, the very thing which time after time has been the deciding factor in a labor difficulty—public sympathy and support.

## BETTER THAN FIGHTING IT OUT.

Bitter lessons have been necessary to impress this upon both sides. But when learned with sufficient thoroughness to abide in the memory of both sides and control their spirit and actions the next time hostilities seem imminent, not only is the public immensely the gainer but also in extraordinary measure the two parties concerned. Else, how are we to consider the calculations of enormous losses tabulated by the daily press in terms of forfeited wages and unearned profits every time a strike of magnitude occurs? Think a moment upon the New York situation. Suppose the trouble had been hurried by wild and high-handed recklessness on both sides or either into a prolonged strike. The loss of profits would have amounted to more than many years' payment of the difference between the higher and the lower wage; the shorter work day would have been a paltry compensation for the immense sum of abandoned wages; both sides would have had all the worry of keeping their forces in line, their tempers from lawlessness and their causes popular with the public. And what of the last named portion of the community? It would have had to put up with all the patience trying inconveniences of interrupted traffic, perhaps with no small degree of danger from unskilled and inexperienced labor in exceedingly re-

sponsible positions. Friction between the two disputants would have been further confused and intensified by popular indignation rightly and wrongly expressed and brought to bear.

In place of all this what do we have as the fruits of this victory for peace. The public is not made, for the thousandth time, the bearer of a cost which it did not contract and against which it could have protested in vain. It has the satisfaction of knowing that there has been some regard in this case for its rights. And it can ride with a feeling of security that its life has been entrusted to a cool headed, sensible and thoroughly competent man, who is not only ready in an emergency to fill the breach with the courage that any true man would display and with a skill and judgment born of long experience and careful training, but one whose foresight will be used to the utmost to prevent that emergency from arising. And it can feel that in return for this careful and conscientious service the intelligent engineer is receiving a proportionately generous remuneration as wages go. Employers and employes alike, not only in the present crisis but for a period of three years, are relieved of the stress and strain of a possible deperate struggle. The pecuniary losses are saved to both. And we are believers enough in the elemental good in men to be persuaded that both sides must have a feeling of happiness that instead of adding to the flame of strife and hate, already sufficiently alarming in the industrial relationship, they have contributed materially to the general fund of brotherliness.

#### IN THE ANTHRACITE REGION.

The same good sense, reasonableness and desire for fair play to themselves, the other side and the public has characterized the situation in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. The operators have at times seemed to forget that their "divine right" was vetoed by the People, but their memorable lesson has come back to them in good season. They have chafed under some of the detailed provisions of the agreement but

the actual appeal to force has been avoided. The unions kept their temper well when the operators tried to go back of the findings of Umpire Wright favorable to the unions in the check-weighman issue. Their acquiescence in submitting the question to another decision was a notable example of generous good will which some of them might with considerable excuse have been tempted to think a weak-kneed subservience to gross imposition. It bespeaks much for the confidence of both sides in the wisdom and fairness of Judge Gray. The United Mine Workers' Journal expresses this editorially and adds:

"We believe that the petty bickerings and turmoil which the operators have kept up for over a year will cease. They ought to cease. There ought to be the utmost harmony and cordial business relations between the anthracite mine worker and operator. There will be if the operator desires it and he will not have to surrender one iota of his control over the mines to secure it. Let him act upon the theory that the mine worker is a party of the second part in a mutual contract and live up to the provisions of that contract and a long term of years free from industrial strife will ensue."

And a week later it was entirely justified in saying:

"The skill with which the mine workers' officials in the anthracite region have handled the case has, we believe, removed all danger of a suspension. The anthracite operators ought to be convinced by this time that the United Mine Workers is not a 'striking machine.' Consider the ample provocation for strikes the men have had during the past fifteen months and consider how conservatively they have acted. Surely men who could contain themselves under such conditions can be depended upon to act honorably at all times with their employers and can be trusted in business transactions.... There is no reason why the past with all its folly and strife should not be forgotten and an era of peace and good will take its place. There is no reason why the anthracite region should be the scene of turmoil."

And not content with this it adds its expression of confidence that the operators will cordially meet them half way in support of a policy which will bring business advantage and better morals to all concerned. The rabid "smash the union" employers' and manufacturers' associations would do well to reflect upon and take to heart some of the fair-



mindfulness of the miners, their freedom from bitterness, and their friendly efforts for peace.

#### WITH THE IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.

No less significant is the success and good feeling all around in the case of the arbitration of a proposed reduction in wages paid by the Republic Iron and Steel Company to its 20,000 skilled union employes at Ashtabula, Ohio, and elsewhere from Newcastle, Pennsylvania, to Birmingham, Alabama. The 1904 contract has contained provision for a sliding scale of wages with a stipulated base. Owing to an alleged reduction in business and large expenditures on new plants, the company claimed it was not justified in continuing the scale in force. They therefore sought to reduce the base wage scales from five to fifteen per cent., according as the labor is unskilled or skilled. As provided in the working agreement which has been in force since 1901, conference committees from the company and the unions having failed to agree on an adjustment of wages, the matter was left to a board of conciliation. This met in Chicago in September and was composed of a representative of the company, a representative of the unions and a third agreed upon by these two. Against the claims of the company, the men contended that the number of employes had been reduced in several plants, thus comparatively lightening expenses. Reductions of the base wage in certain trades was conceded by the workers provided the sliding scale was maintained. The company agreed to this latter provision. The award of the conciliation board on the amount of the reductions was more favorable to the employers than to the workers but the reductions ordered are not quite so severe as was first desired by the company. The wage cut for the most unskilled classes of labor will amount to about two per cent., while in the case of the most skilled, it will result in the payment of but \$7.15 per ton to the "finishers" in place of the \$8.50 they have been receiving, a cut of about thirteen per cent.

#### BOTH SIDES SATISFIED.

Both parties to the settlement are satisfied and both regard it as a great improvement over fighting it out on the old lines of force. James H. Nutt, head of the labor department of the Republic Company declared, "It is a great step in advance in the settling of disputes between capital and labor. I prophesy that it always will be employed by our company and our workmen to adjust wage questions." And the good grace of the employes in accepting the adverse award is shown in the statement of Secretary John Williams of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers: "The meeting just ended has been a great success. It worked to the satisfaction of both sides, and while we are sorry to have received an adverse award, we believe that the plan is the only sensible way of avoiding strikes and shut-downs in great industries." This is the spirit we would commend to the attention of those who have "nothing to arbitrate." Its practical results form a most instructive object lesson to those who will "run their own businesses" if they have to go into bankruptcy with strikes and lock-outs, and who refuse with surliness to make a plain statement of the reasons for wage reductions and other affairs of shop management to their "unthinking workmen who are devoid of ability to comprehend business affairs and unreasonable enough to be utterly heedless of economic law."

To give credit to those who blaze the way, however, it should be recalled that for years the bituminous miners and operators at their annual Indianapolis convention have regularly arrived at a satisfactory agreement to the practical abolition of strikes and other labor difficulties. And for eighteen years the Boston brick layers and masons and the master builders' association have been absolutely free from friction thanks to an annual meeting to adjust any differences and sign contracts for the ensuing year. In that length of time the umpire provided by their agreements in case a dispute cannot be settled by con-

ference has only been called upon three times. New York might well give heed to the ways of Boston.

#### AT THE CLOSE OF THE STOCK YARDS STRIKE.

And lastly, come to the lesson of conciliation to be learned from Chicago's great packing trade struggle. Here was tried out to its last extreme of bitterness the policy of defiance. Here was shown the last degree of stubbornness. And here was played to its thinnest disguise of pretense the game of bluff. The story of the beginning and most of the history of the struggle is familiar to the readers of *THE COMMONS* through the intensely absorbing and authoritative accounts in the September number by those who were in positions to know the whole story. The merits of the opposing contentions were there made clear, so far as broad justice is concerned and petty acts and utterances ignored, to any one whose mind was open. We are sure where our sympathies lay and feel that they were not misplaced. For the present purpose, then, we shall not discuss those merits. We do believe, however, that in the negotiations preceding the strike Michael Donnelly made every effort for peace consistent with the generous motives of the butcher workmen, which lay far deeper than a mere insistence upon a matter of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per hour, which meant the altruistic determination of the skilled workmen to stand by their more defenceless unskilled brethren. But regardless of all this, when once the strike was on in earnest both sides seemed to fling all thought of peace to the winds. The men indulged in boastings of their power to compel the packers to come to their terms; suspicion ill concealed and querulous was directed toward every move the packers made, and, as was pointed out in the editorial columns of *THE COMMONS*, precipitate haste waiting not to carry the matter of the apparent discrimination up from foreman to principals, sent the men out the second time to the destruction of the peace spirit of the pact.

The packers then took their turn at heaping additional obstacles in the way of conciliation and an almost puerile display of "never speak to you again" temper characterized their absolute declaration and they "never more would hold conferences with the butcher workmen." And all the time they knew in their innermost minds that despite their promise to retain in permanent employ the strike breakers, sooner or later, when the strike was ended, they would need the skilled help of those same butcher workmen. But the "front" had to be maintained and on and on they went ever making more and more ridiculous claims until the last ultimatum to have nothing to do with the men was met on the union side by the absurd declaration of a boycott on all meat in any form whatsoever.

#### CONCILIATION LATER IF NOT SOONER.

Then what happened? After resorting to every extreme on the fight basis short of deliberately planned violence—it is creditable to both sides and the city of Chicago that the stock yards strike was the most orderly of all recent large industrial struggles—back they came to conciliation. The force method was tried in its every form and found wanting. The sway of warfare and the strong arm, although it battered and bruised both sides into a tractable frame of mind, did not complete the final subjection of either one and failed to achieve the actual settlement. Offers of mediation were accepted, the "impossible" conference was arranged, and it turned out to be conciliation after all that drew the curtain over the hideous spectacle of fratricidal strife.

To some it may appear that a real spirit of conciliation was not present in such a one-sided settlement, so hopelessly lost was the union cause. On the contrary, its presence in these circumstances indicates the true magnitude of its triumph over the spirit of hate. It was easy enough for the conquering packers to exhibit a condescending charity. We shall, however, give them every credit for sincerity and fairmindedness in their expressed assurances given to the union leaders that



they are not hostile to the union; and we accept in good faith their announced intention to change the system of operating their plants so as to make more steady work for what men they do employ in their crews instead of intermittent work for a larger number.

But it was a high quality of manliness that in the face of stinging defeat could banish all thought of bitterness and enmity. "Our men have been chastened," Donnelly is reported to have said the very day after the strike ended, "and union labor will benefit from salutary lessons taught by the strike. It has been a losing fight for us, but I believe the final results will be for good. Our men have learned that they were not omnipotent; that they could be beaten. From now on they will be more conservative. There will be less of the spirit of dictation that has appeared, we all know too well, from time to time. The packers, too, I believe, are wiser than when the strike began. On both sides there is a feeling, I am sure, that the mistakes of the past are not to be repeated in the future." And he backs this up with the promise that in the management of the plants burdensome impositions formerly insisted upon by the unions will be removed and that continual complaint over trivial matters will cease. This is to be brought about by a reorganization of the unions which will replace the scores of "stewards" and business agents, who bothered the busy superintendents with every imaginable petty grievance, by a single representative of the executive board in each packing center who in a way will be responsible for the good conduct of the men and to whom the workers are to report all grievances. A permanent arbitration board to pass on all controversies that cannot be settled otherwise is favored by Mr. Donnelly. "We want to make the union," said he, "an organization that can do business with the packers to the benefit of both sides."

Why was not the conciliation which did credit to both sides at the framing of the first pact, and was so miserably rejected, and to which resource had to be made after all, not entirely possible at any time during the preliminary negotiations or at any turn in the long struggle? Why did they go on until no less than \$2,680,000 was lost in wages and a much vaster sum in profits, to say nothing of the constant violation of good sense and good fellowship? All the time there was no valid reason why a little more even of ordinary courtesy might not have brought peace and better feeling by the same method to which eventually both had to come.

How much longer must we make such costly sacrifices on the hellish altar of hate? Is it worth all this suffering and terrible trampling under foot of brotherliness and the spirit of peace just to "put up a front," to play in all its foolishness the "game of bluff" that would shame a schoolboy? Do we gain so much more of happiness by making a "show of strength" in a bitter conflict than we would in using that strength to guard securely and sacredly a friendship between men who ought to be friends? Do we prefer to look into the sullen face of anger rather than into the clear and sunny eye of comradeship? It passes belief. The spirit of love abides deep down in the heart of the common folk, and exists, however feebly, in the most stony of men. Else, how did the multitude these few weeks ago with wrenched hearts and eyes all moist follow to his grave a golden rule man. The aspiration of the race *must* be satisfied, its dream of brotherhood realized. How better, then, can the present age seek its longed-for contentment than by doing its share in the opportunities at hand to bring a few steps nearer the "morning of that glorious freedom day" when "Love will rule the wide world o'er."

# Fair Points for Foreign Criticism

By Charles G. Price

EDITOR'S NOTE—For these appreciative criticisms of some phases of American life and labor, first given to his Edinburgh fellow citizens, we are indebted to Mr. Charles G. Price, who is setting a worthy example in retiring from business to devote himself to public affairs

Chicago, that terrible city which is supposed to contain samples of every evil under the sun, and which has been the subject of ridicule and contempt, also contains some of the finest and choicest spirits in America.

The second largest city in America, it is the most marvelous for growth and enterprise. Chicago is scarcely the kind of place anyone would wish to retire to, as there is not the slightest sense of repose about it; but if anyone is interested in business and political problems, there is no city in America, or perhaps in the world, where they can be studied to such advantage.

All nationalities flock to Chicago, and of the two millions of people living there it is estimated that not more than 350,000 are native-born Americans. In such a conglomeration of people, can you wonder at the excesses which sometimes take place (including "hold-ups," when men are robbed in the open street), which tax the energies of its rulers? But in spite of much in it which is to be condemned, I consider that of late years the best of its citizens have been straining every nerve to grapple with its problems.

Apart from its gigantic industries, I may mention, as an indication of the enterprise of the city, that the grade of the whole city was raised seven feet above its natural level, while its fairly large river (something like, if not larger than the Clyde at Glasgow) was made to run in the opposite direction from that which nature decreed it should. The port of Chicago, on Lake Michigan (an inland lake), has a larger tonnage of shipping than our own great seaport of Liverpool, while all the railways of America seem to converge there.

## IN THE MAKING.

Of all cities in America it can best

be described as "a city in the making." It has the greatest mixture of fine features and bad qualities. It has some really magnificent streets, excellent parks and long boulevards connecting the latter with each other. In anticipation of its enormous possible growth, for miles and miles, right into the country, street after street has been laid out, with nothing but wooden plank pavements, slightly raised from the ground. This is a common description of all new towns in America, which, with the wooden houses erected in the suburbs, give a somewhat slipshod or temporary appearance. The municipal authorities are not free to pave these streets as quickly as ours, for they have to get the consent of the proprietors before they can proceed with paving. The result is that Chicago has the most badly paved streets in the world. Woe betide you if you wish to travel in any of the side streets in a conveyance. Chicago was the first city to adopt the enormous buildings known as skyscrapers, although, strange to say, the first building was designed by a London architect. In the center of the city, great strides have been made to give it the appearance of a solid, well-built city, not without some features of beauty.

## POLITICAL ASSEMBLIES.

While there I was invited to attend a meeting of the city council—sitting among its members, and was introduced to the mayor and several councillors. Poles, Germans and other nationalities were represented in the council, which was not the most orderly assembly I have attended. Smoking is allowed during the sitting, and when one of the speakers was interrupted by another, the retort came, "Now, Uncle John, no interruption from you." Sometimes one of the councillors would address the mayor, who took not the



slightest notice of him, as he was paying attention to another councillor, who was addressing him at the same time.

The pile of buildings associated with the university is extraordinary, all built within the last ten or eleven years. The best men are secured as professors that money can tempt to its classrooms.

While in Chicago I had an opportunity of attending two political party conventions—one of the Democratic party and the other of the Republican. The latter was called to make a choice of candidates for the State Legislature. The Republican convention, to which I was taken by one of the local judges, contained a large element of colored voters—in fact, the chairman of the convention was a colored man and one or two of the speakers were of that race. As usual, I was asked to speak, when I declared I did not know which party I should join if I came to live in America, but that I should inquire which party represented “peace, retrenchment and reform,” and with that party I should ally myself. Immediately I sat down I was told I was Republican.

Later on I attended the Democratic convention, when the subject of discussion was the right of the city and state treasurers to personally receive and benefit by the interest allowed upon all the money which they paid into the bank. In each case the interest upon these funds goes into the pockets of the treasurer, whose office is therefore a tempting one to occupy. I was surprised to hear some speakers declare that it was against human nature to expect any man to occupy this and similar positions without gaining some personal benefit. I was more than surprised to find a man bearing a good, honored Scotch name speaking in this way. Strange to say, the man who presided over this conference was considered the greatest boodler, or the most corrupt man, in the city council.

As usual, without a moment's warning, I was called upon to speak, and when I informed the meeting that men occupied similar offices in our country without remuneration they expressed

the greatest surprise. There I met men who were described as politicians only—that is, they made public service their business and lived by it.

Although America is perhaps one of the freest from snobbery of any country in the world, there is, nevertheless, great pride in descent, especially in belonging to such societies as “The Daughters of the Revolution,” restricted to those descended from soldiers who won American independence.

It was gratifying in the extreme to find in these circles how cordially they endorsed every allusion to the bonds of friendship binding the two countries.

#### PITILESS HASTE TO BE RICH.

The most disappointing feature of the city of Chicago is the haste to be rich or accomplish something. If a man does not succeed in Chicago, I was told, it is his own fault and he should retire from it. Business men have no toleration or sympathy for a man who cannot succeed, and if he fails in one trade he must try another. I have spoken to men who have engaged in four or five entirely different trades.

There is something almost pitiless toward man and beast in the driving force of Chicago. “Heedless if a few be crushed, as some are ever” in the race for wealth. I saw more horses in Chicago with their eyes blurred or knocked out than I have seen in all my life put together. There is a rough, slipshod way of driving through things which jars upon the nerves until you can brace yourself for it; but to a man who loves a life of activity and has the desire to accomplish something, Chicago has many attractions. It is perhaps destined to be the largest city in America. At present it is growing at the rate of about 90,000 per annum, and its position is so commanding that, apart from its own industries, it will remain the greatest distributing center in the world. Although there are some terrible elements in the life of Chicago and tremendous business, social and political problems to solve, yet, bearing in mind what has and is being done, I have not the slightest doubt that her best

citizens will be able to grapple with them.

#### BUSINESS MEN ALOOF FROM POLITICS.

To me one of the saddest features in America was the way in which ordinary business men held themselves aloof from municipal life, with the result that corruption exists to an appalling extent. Men are engaged in business or politics. In fact, the danger in America is in getting absorbed in business to the exclusion of everything else. The object in every department of life seems to be "making money" or "advancing your position." For this reason even the government of the country, municipal, state or national, is frequently used with this end in view. In New York I was introduced to a gentleman by a friend of mine, when the following conversation took place:

"Mr. Blank tells me you are retired from business." "Yes." "You are a young man to retire from business. What do you propose doing to fill in your time?" I replied that I had not yet decided what I should do, but it was more than likely I should go into public life, possibly Parliament, if an opportunity opens. My friend then said: "Excuse me, Mr. Price, but if you tell anybody else that in this country, he will come to the conclusion you have failed in business and that you are going into public life as a last resort."

The devotion of disinterested men to public life as well as business is of rare occurrence in America. In fact, it is this very aloofness from the government of the country of its best people, which is the chief reason of so much corruption in public life. When things get past endurance, some of the best citizens combine and form a committee, with the object of turning out the powers that be. Chicago was the first city in which a few respectable citizens combined and formed the "Municipal Voters' League," with the object of purifying its government. Prior to an election, this committee takes into consideration the life and antecedents of the respective candidates for the various offices. Immediately before the elec-

tion the league issues a statement recommending certain candidates, and they publish without the slightest hesitation a record of the charges they prefer against those they oppose, and in no single instance has the committee yet been prosecuted for libel.

In New York a similar "Citizen Association" was formed, and in November, 1901, elected Mr. Seth Low mayor. He is a man of the highest ability and integrity, and very soon produced remarkable results, abolishing sinecure offices, purifying the police and securing honest dealing in government contracts.

On almost every occasion I referred to this deplorable condition of municipal and political life in America, when men frankly acknowledged I had put my finger on their weakest spot.

#### LESS ORGANIZATION OF LABOR.

Broadly speaking, there is not anything like the same trade organization in America as there is in this country. The last coal strike was the greatest effort of modern times to completely crush the power of trades unions. In America capital is very much better organized than labor. In a conversation I had with one of the managers of a great corporation I asked him whether he had any difficulties with his workers, when I found that the organization was so complete that if any agitator was found in their works he was immediately discharged. Detectives were constantly going through these works, discovering such men. The same detectives visited other works of the trust, and when a known agitator was discovered he was immediately discharged. At the same time it is well to admit that the general condition of labor in America is more satisfactory than with us. You never see the poverty and squalor associated with some of our cities, and there is a greater air of independence through the whole people. The demand for labor is so great that there is no difficulty in getting employment, and men are able to exercise a spirit of independence.



## LONGER HOURS, HIGHER SPEED.

All the same, they work very much harder than we do. Nearly all the public works go on till 4 or 5 o'clock on Saturday afternoons, and while they are employed they seem to work at a very much greater speed than with us. In this connection perhaps I should mention a few particulars regarding the laying of bricks. There it is no uncommon thing for a man to lay 1,800 bricks in a day, while with us 700 is an exceptionally large number. An American firm a short time ago received a contract to build one of our largest hotels and brought over several representative men to "set the pace." Our trades union only allowed as a maximum 700 bricks to be laid in a day by one man, but in order to get over this difficulty the contractor offered twopence (2d.) per hour over the standard wage, on condition that the men should lay as many bricks as possible, with the result that in a short time our men laid 2,000 and 2,200 per man per day. From several managers I inquired whether there was any difficulty in the way of introducing labor-saving machines, and in all instances the reply was, "Certainly not." America, however, has during the last few years had such prosperous times and wages have been so high that men have not had the time or felt the necessity to organize themselves into unions. But a change is coming over the country and America will have to face a terrible conflict between capital and labor.

Perhaps I should say that, speaking generally, America does not make quite so fine a class of goods as we can produce in this country. In the shops I visited I found that many of the best class of goods, such as china, leather cases, jewelry, linen and cotton, as well as woollen goods, were all of British manufacture. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. America for a time outstripped us in the manufacture of boots—the average price for a good pair being about 12 shillings or 14 shillings per pair. Their lasts and machinery were superior to ours.

Speaking generally, I have been

greatly impressed with the terrible competitor America is likely to be to this country. Men work harder and there is no stigma, such as there is in this country, attached to labor. All classes, irrespective of wealth, qualify themselves for their business. The wealthiest manufacturer sends his son to college and technical schools, so that he is perfectly competent to take his share in the business. Here men seem anxious to purchase estates and forget their traditions. In America there is no such feeling. Another advantage America has, or gives its citizens, is that brains and character alone are the only necessary qualifications for success. In New York I asked an old Edinburgh friend what he thought of America. His reply was, "It is a grand country—a democratic country. Here they never ask how a man starts; but how he finishes." There you have no social barriers to fight, but simply to bend all your energies and ability to accomplish the object you have in view, and no questions will be asked as to your progenitors.

## AMERICAN INVASION OF ENGLAND.

Looking at the subject without prejudice, I have no hesitation in saying America deserves to succeed to a greater extent than we do, because she works harder and uses her brains and resources to the utmost extent. The result is, she is flooding our markets in all directions with her products. The first thing you meet in the office of my late firm is an American time-checker. Second, the American roller-top desk. Third, the American typewriter. Fourth, the American letter-files and drawers. Fifth, the American letter-copying press. Sixth, the American figure column calculator. The result is that almost every appliance in use in the office, excepting books, pens and ink, were American inventions and manufactures. The same thing applies to printing works. I visited one the other day where almost every machine of the best class was American. These things raise several serious problems. Are we doing our

utmost to meet such competition? Honestly, I think not. It is not that we are without brains, energy and ambition, but that our people have been content to rest on their oars. We have passed through such prosperous times that we have been content to accept things as they are, quite forgetting that meantime America is forging ahead with tremendous speed and strides. At the head of that nation there is at the present time a man of tremendous energy and lofty ambition. From the last address of the President to Congress you find what a martial ring there was running through it. To me there is also a certain sadness in it, inasmuch as America has, as President Roosevelt says, during the last four or five years, departed from its traditional policy. On all sides I find Americans desirous of becoming an imperial race. There is a feeling that they are born to rule the world. The same spirit runs right through Mr. Carnegie's addresses. To those of us who believe in the Gospel of Peace, the defection of America from this policy is a serious matter for the races of the world. Twenty or twenty-five years ago we used to discuss the question of disarmament, and America was referred to as a magnificent example of a people whose sole energies were devoted to the interests of industry and peace. A great change has come over her people. Professor Goldwin Smith has pointed out in a book recently published, "The Commonwealth and Empire," the dividing of the ways. Some of her legislators and senators, such as Senator Hoar, constantly rise to protest against the new trend of things, but all in vain. There is a new spirit in the people, a spirit which I confess I look upon with great misgiving. The only consolation is that the American people themselves are little

inclined to give their own energies to the arts of war. Tempting offers are made in vain to secure men for the army and navy. For so long as people are highly paid for their labor, it will not be possible to tempt them from industries by such a wage as the American nation will care to pay for its army and navy.

#### TO BE FIT TO COMPETE.

So far as we are concerned, it would be madness to attempt to keep pace with America if she desires to become a great military nation. Our sole security is in the sobriety and industry of our people. And in order to make us fit competitors with this and other nations, we shall have to put our own house in order. Every time I return to this country from abroad, I am painfully struck with the drinking habits of the people. I do not wish to speak in any bigoted way, but something should be done to prevent the gross drunkenness we frequently witness on the street.

We must qualify ourselves from an educational point of view, as well as give closer application to other means and methods in our arts and industries. I have absolute faith in the vitality of the British race. Some think the old country is doomed—and unless we "wake up" it may become so—but for my part I believe it is only necessary to arouse her to her immense advantages and opportunities, when she will be able to give a good account of herself in the product of the best class of articles for the highest form of civilization. In any case it will remain to us, whatever be our destiny, so to conduct ourselves in the healthy contest among the nations as to retain our old proud title of a Christian, a noble and a liberty-loving people.



# The International Peace Congress at Boston

The preliminary program of the International Peace Congress has just been issued by the Congress Committee. The Congress opens on Monday, October 3. On Sunday, the previous day, the services in the leading Boston churches will be devoted to the Peace cause. In the afternoon a special meeting will be held in Tremont Temple, with addresses by leading European and American ministers, emphasizing the duties of the churches and religious men in the Peace cause. In the evening there will be a musical prelude or consecration service at Symphony Hall. The Handel and Haydn Society will sing, and there will be a full orchestra. Dr. Hale, who has been well called the Nestor of the Peace cause in America, will conduct the responsive reading; and there will be a brief address by Dr. Percival, the Bishop of Hereford. In the distribution of tickets for this service, which are free, preference will be given to those coming to the Congress from outside Boston. Early application by mail to the Peace Congress Committee, 20 Beacon Street, Boston, will be necessary to secure seats.

On Monday, at Tremont Temple, the Congress will be welcomed by Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, in behalf of the National Government, Hon. John L. Bates, Governor of Massachusetts, and Hon. Patrick A. Collins, Mayor of Boston.

The deliberative meetings of the Congress will be held at Tremont Temple every forenoon during the week, beginning Tuesday. At Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening the meeting will be devoted to the Work and Influence of the Hague Tribunal. Hon. Andrew D. White, chairman of the United States delegation at The Hague Conference will preside; and there will be addresses by M. Gustave Hubbard, member of the French Chamber of Deputies and editor of *La Justice Internationale*, the French review devoted to the work of the Hague Tribunal, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, one of the United States members of the Hague Tribunal, Hon. William I. Buchanan, chairman of the American delegation at the late Pan-American Congress, and others.

At Park Street Church on Tuesday evening there will be a mass meeting of the Christian Endeavor Societies, which are making the Peace and Arbitration cause a leading feature of their work at this time.

On Wednesday evening, at Tremont Temple, the meeting will be devoted to the special interest and duties of business men in the Peace cause. There will be addresses by Dr. John Lund, former president of the Norwegian parliament, Mr. Walter Hazell, the eminent London publisher, Herr Georg Arnhold, a member of the leading banking house in Dresden, Mr. A. B. Farquhar of the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Frederick H. Jackson, president of the Providence Chamber of Commerce and others. Hon. John W. Foster will preside at this

meeting or at one of the meetings the next day.

At Faneuil Hall, on Wednesday evening, will be held the Working-men's mass meeting, preceded by a reception of the European labor delegates at the Revere House. Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, will preside at the Faneuil Hall meeting, and there will be addresses by Mr. Herbert Burrows of London, representing the Social Democratic Federation, Mr. Pete Curran, representing the General Federation of English Trade Unions, M. Claude Gignoux, representing the Co-partnership Societies of France, M. Henri La Fontaine of the Belgian Senate, Mr. George E. McNeill and Mr. Frank K. Foster of Boston, and others.

On the same evening at Park Street Church, will be held the special mass meeting for women. Mrs. May Wright Sewall of Indianapolis, chairman of the Peace Committee of the International Council of Women, will preside; and among others who will speak are the Baroness von Suttner of Austria, author of "Lay down Your Arms," Miss Sophia Sturge of Birmingham, Mrs. W. P. Byles of Manchester, Frau Selenka of Munich, Miss Sheriff Bain of New Zealand, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and Miss Jane Addams.

On Thursday evening will be held the meetings devoted to Education and the Reduction of National Armaments. The list of speakers will be given in the program issued in a few days. Among the speakers at the later meeting will be General Nelson A. Miles.

On Friday afternoon will be held meetings devoted to the Mutual Relations of Races and to the Progress of the Peace Movement in Europe. Among the speakers at the former will be Dr. Yamei Kin, the scholarly Chinese woman now visiting this country, Mr. E. D. Morel of England, representing the Aborigines' Protection Society, and Rev. W. M. Morrison, for five years a missionary in Congo. Among the speakers at the latter will be William Randall Cremer, M. P., founder of the Interparliamentary Union, J. G. Alexander, Esq., of London, secretary of the International Law Association, Mr. G. H. Perris of London, secretary of the Cobden Club, and Professor Th. Ruysen of Aix, president of the Association de la paix le Droit.

On Friday evening will come the dinner at Horticultural Hall, open to any friend of the cause on payment of \$2, with brief after-dinner speeches by many leading members of the Congress.

The Mayor will receive the members of the Congress on Wednesday afternoon, from 4 to 6, at the Public Library. The Twentieth Century Club will give a reception to the foreign delegates on Monday afternoon; and the Economic Club will entertain them at luncheon on Tuesday.



# Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

## Congressional Candidates to be Questioned and Pledged on Labor Issues

An elaborate plan of questioning candidates for congress upon matters of popular and labor interest is being pushed by the American Federation of Labor in co-operation with various non-partisan organizations. A special number of the American Federationist was recently issued to call the attention of all trade unionists to the scheme and urge action by local unions. It describes the system as placing the campaign emphasis on "measures, not men," characterizes its method of securing legislation as "the trade union system as distinguished from party politics," and after outlining its inception and gradual development through actions by the Federation during the last twenty-five years, declares that an epoch making advance has occurred in the two years just past.

It has been found that a systematic questioning of candidates of all parties and publication of replies prevents the sidetracking of live issues by party managers. The questioning in each district is by a committee or committees of the trade unions in the district, working in unison throughout the country. \* \* \* The national measures to which this system is to be applied in this year's campaign are anti-injunction, eight-hour day in government contract work, and more power in the people through the initiative and referendum.

Bills on these topics are printed in the form in which they will probably be introduced, arguments in their favor are presented, and the system for questioning candidates outlined in detail.

Working in harmony with this movement are a large number of persons especially interested in the initiative and referendum and who therefore lay all their stress on that issue. A "People's Sovereignty League" is being organized with state, county and township branches. Two questions will be submitted to each candidate for congress, by answering which in the affirmative he will pledge himself first, to vote "to immediately establish in the nation an efficient system

whereby the people may instruct their national representatives, the system to consist of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum until a constitutional amendment can be brought forward under this people's initiative and acted upon," and second, "if the people of this district select me as their agent in the House of Representatives, to vote as they by referendum ballot may instruct."

The forms of questions used by the People's Sovereignty League will be identical with those used by the American Federation of Labor and the National Grange. The latter organization is planning to agitate upon this issue and certain others in which it is especially interested.

## Socialism in Colorado

### Opinion of the Springfield Republican

The Springfield Republican dissents emphatically from the opinions expressed by most newspapers of the conservative type that the avowedly socialistic tendency of the Western Federation of Miners is partly responsible for lawlessness in Colorado and justifies extreme measures to crush the Federation. The Republican takes a view which we have not seen held publicly hitherto. It contends that the very fact that the Federation is so definitely socialistic "tends to weaken rather than to strengthen the charges of organized criminality." To quote:

It was a serious mistake, tending greatly to weaken its position before people of intelligence in the contest for the crushing of the Western Federation of miners, for the Colorado mine operators' association to include the following in its published indictment of the federation:—

That this organization, having formally and officially espoused the cause of the so-called socialist party, is opposed to our present form of government and is aiming at its overthrow, together with the abrogation of the present condition.

And this is held up, on a parity with the alleged lawless and highly criminal record of the federation, as the justification of the resort to military rule and mob violence for ridding the state of these federationists.

As a matter of fact this charge, if true, tends to weaken rather than to strengthen the other charges of organized criminality. There isn't much hope of anything better



than disorderly and violent methods from a labor union which makes of its own particular efforts, through strikes and otherwise, to gain better wages and hours and other conditions of employment—which makes of such efforts a finality in the working out of the labor problem. But there is hope of something better from a labor union which is able to perceive the insufficient and temporary character of such a line of effort, if not its intolerability when disorder becomes an essential agency for even a temporary success, and which looks to changes through the orderly processes of lawful enactment, change even of a socialistic nature, to establish for the wage classes that share in the industrial product which justly belongs to them and which they claim not now to enjoy in full measure.

It is folly or ignorance to assert that socialistic demands are opposed to our form of government, or that those who make them are aiming at the overthrow of this government and its constitution. Nothing of the sort. Not a line need be changed in most of our constitutions to enable the government, state or national, to enter upon large schemes of public ownership, and the essential principles of the American government would not be shaken at all by the adoption of such projects as the public ownership of railroads or of mines, any more than it is by municipal ownership of electric light plants. It is a question simply of expediency; not of fundamental republican principles. If the Western Federation of Miners is able to entertain ideals of a lawful and peaceable adjustment of the labor problem, be the said ideas ever so radical or illusory, it cannot be entirely devoted to that conspiracy of violence and crime which is charged against it.

## The Closed Shop in the New York Building Trades

Mr. Hayes Robbins, in an editorial in the Boston Transcript, makes some startling pungent remarks anent the closed shop issue. Commenting upon the troubles in the New York building trades where the closed shop has been maintained to all intents and purposes he says:

The closed shop represents the extreme outpost of trade union demand, and here they have it in lavish measure....In the New York case practically all that was asked of the unions was that any dispute that might arise should be referred to the joint arbitration committee provided for, and no strikes declared....The employers make no issue on the closed shop situation—on the contrary prefer it; but they insist naturally, that the labor end of the contract must be lived up to....It was the closed shop that was going to enable trade unions to guaran-

tee responsible service and strict fidelity to the terms of all agreements with employers.

In view of the recent disturbances he asks, "What is the trouble? Is the closed shop no final panacea after all?" For the answer we must await authoritative accounts of the grievances and course of events in the disgraceful row which is now going on. We shall not be surprised to find that both sides are more or less at fault."

A step of importance and good sense was taken by the International Typographical Union at its recent St. Louis convention when it upheld the action of a foreman in discharging a workman for incompetency.

## Cause of Strikes

The statement made by E. F. DuBrul, commissioner of the National Metal Trades Association, before the National Association of Manufacturers, that "eighty per cent. of the strikes in this country are the fault of the employer" is repeated by him together with the following explanation, in the "Boston Transcript":

Strikes and labor troubles are the fault of the employer to a very large extent because the employers, whom one would naturally expect to be more intelligent than their workmen and therefore more familiar with industrial conditions, have not studied questions of labor. They are too busy to read things about labor, and too busy to bother about many things that go on in their own shops. It is the employer's fault if he has a foreman or superintendent who treats the men unfairly, thereby giving an excuse for the agitator to come in and work on the prejudices of the workmen, drawing away their loyalty from the employer to the organization. His fault is probably one of omission rather than of commission. Many strikes in their last analysis are demands for better shop management, and it is a fact that shop management is being reduced to a science; the abuses where they have existed in the piece-work system are caused by a lack of definite knowledge on the part of both employers and employes as to how long a job should take, and so, too, with many other things. It is the employers' fault that employers' associations were not formed long ago to control strikes.

## John Mitchell's Influence at the Miners' Congress

Editorial in United Mine Workers' Journal.

One of the incidents of the Mining Congress at Paris, to which President Mitchell and Secretary Dodds of District 5 are dele-



gates, was the offering of a resolution that when a strike occurred in Europe among the miners a sympathetic strike should be started in the United States or vice versa. It is hard to comprehend the state of mind which could evolve such a phantasm. It was the pinnacle of folly. Suppose that a strike occurred in Austria, Belgium or Wales, what justification would that be for the miners of the United States to break their contracts? It would, as urged, "show that the miners were a world power," and it would also show that reason had been dethroned and folly had usurped its place. It would have been more to the point to have entered upon a scheme to render mutual financial aid. It was due to the eloquence and sound reasons advanced by Messrs. Mitchell and Dodds that this chimera was side-tracked. The two have won renown for themselves and shed lustre upon their organization, for the sensible, manly and wise course they have pursued upon all questions discussed.

## Ethelbert Stewart to the Employers

### Says They Dictate Character of Trade Union Membership

[At a "smoker" in Chicago, a few days since, Mr. Ethelbert Stewart was called on for a three-minute rejoinder to what had amounted to a running fire of criticism of the make-up and conduct of trades unions, by a body of employers and their attorneys, especially the latter. The general trend of discussion can be easily seen by the nature of Mr. Stewart's remarks, which are here reproduced.]

The "rabble" will learn how to use or abuse power as he sees it used or abused. The teamsters in the Chicago Teamsters Union are the same teamsters who have been in the business here for years, abused, mistreated, under-paid, over-worked, treated like dogs by their employers, the police, the street car companies, and the public. They were not a "high-handed lot of brigands," else why did the respectable gentlemen employ them?

The unions unionize the men they find in the industry or the occupation.

Mitchell unionizes the men he finds in the mines; the coal operators, not Mitchell, dictate the membership of the Miners' Union and fix its character by the character of the men they hire. The waiters in Chicago were represented as "the very stettin's of hell" when they became unionized; they were the same waiters the restaurants and hotels have been employing for years. Jere Sullivan never selected one of them. But you say that they are all right till they get the power that unionism gives them. The ignorant imitate; they use power as they see it used; abuse it as they see it abused.

If you are wise, learned and respectable want to see power used wisely by the rabble, set one, just one, but for God's sake, set one example. Besides, since it is you, the employers, who dictate the membership of trades unions by your selection of employees, had you not better give a thought to that when you employ? The unions have no connection with steamship companies, no entangling alliances with Ellis Island or New York padrones; no trade union leaders since time began ever sent word to a saloon-keeping employment agency to "ship us four hundred members to join our local today." But employers get this shipment installed in an industry, and when it becomes essential to organize this industry all those fellows you had shipped in cattle cars must in the very nature of things be taken into the union, because you have got them in the industry. The union has no choice in this matter; it simply must.

Now, if your employees, your industry, is to be unionized, and the character of that union membership is ultimately dictated by you as employers, ought you not have a little thought for the future in this matter of employment?

You are building this Frankenstein yourselves, gentlemen. You are constructing it bone and blood and flesh tissue. The union gives it life, and that the American working-man must do to prevent it from killing him. —Coopers International Journal.

## New York's Municipal Exhibit

In the New York City Building on the Model Street at the St. Louis Exposition are a number of exhibits instructive to all who are interested in municipal improvement. Here are to be found models of the great works and buildings which have cost the city millions to erect.

Two of New York's great undertakings are represented in aluminum models, each about thirty-four feet long, of the Brooklyn and Williamsburg suspension bridges, perfect in every detail. Both bridges represent distinct styles of bridge construction, the piers of the former being built of masonry and the latter of steel. Photographs showing the entire bridge system of Greater New York are part of this exhibit.

A most interesting exhibit is that of the Department of Street Cleaning of New York, prepared under the supervision of Major John McGaw Woodbury, the head of that department. This consists of full-size models of the single and double ash and garbage wagons, and the artillery-shaped wagon for removing the steel cans containing street sweepings.

The most interesting, however, of Major Woodbury's exhibits are the models of the incinerating plants for the burning of dry



rubbish and garbage. The former model is a working one, operated by a direct 110-volt motor, and an efficient demonstrator explains how the city, which formerly paid 80 cents per cubic yard to remove this class of rubbish, now disposes of it at a profit of about \$130,000 per year, derived from a contractor who pays this sum for the privilege of sorting the rubbish and obtaining anything of value contained therein.

Expensive models are displayed of the new public library known as the Astor-Tilden-Lenox. New York City's greatest undertaking—the Underground Rapid Transit Railway tunnel—is represented by a costly model that is perfect in every detail.—St. Louis Republic.

## Released Prisoners Take Pride in Repaying Loans

Eleven women have been released from the bridewell this month by having their fines paid from the fund which Mrs. Emily Fabyan established for that purpose. Nine of these either have returned in full the money advanced to them or promptly have met the installments as they fell due. The two in default owe \$1 apiece—one week's installment in each case and they promise to pay this as soon as they can.

Such is the report which Supt. Sloan made yesterday of the first month's history of a charity which experts derided as a waste of money. They figuratively are taking off their hats to the superior wisdom of Mrs. Fabyan.

Mr. Sloan, who has had charge of the fund, was one of the doubters. When Mrs. Fabyan gave him \$100 and told him to use it in paying the fines of such girl prisoners as he might select—they to repay the money at fixed times and in agreed sums—he said he would do the best he could, but he did not believe the fund would last long. He was of the opinion that as soon as the girls were released they would forget their good resolutions, and that little if any money would come back to replenish the fund.

But Mrs. Fabyan had another opinion.

"Put them on honor" she said to the superintendent, "and they will pay it back. Most of them could be earning an honest living if they were out of here, and they should have the opportunity to do it."

"It took practically all of the original \$100 to pay the fines of the eleven girls released," said the superintendent. "With what has been paid back in full and the regularity with which the installments are being met as they fall due, the fund can be said to be fully replenished. All that is really owing is \$2, and I believe we will get that. The promptness with which the money has been returned would delight any business man with a lot of outstanding credits. I doubt if there is a business house in the city which can make an equal showing in its collection department."

"One girl whose fine was \$6 came back with all the money the third day after she had been released. It was not yet due, but she explained: 'I have a chance to go to another city, where I can live decently, and I wanted to pay this debt before I left.' The plan certainly has proved a success."—Chicago Tribune.

## Crerar Library Gets Valuable Collection of Books on Economics

A collection of \$33,000 volumes on economics and finance, valued at \$100,000 and considered the most complete in the world, collected after long and patient labor in Europe by Clement W. Andrews, were received in Chicago for the Crerar library. Modern and ancient publications were fairly ransacked by the librarian in his efforts to gain for Chicago a collection of works on this subject that should surpass anything of the sort in this country and even in the world, and in this it is believed he has succeeded.

Shortly after reaching Europe on his mission, Mr. Andrews learned that the Norwegian government was about to make a similar collection. Immediate and energetic action was the need, and Mr. Andrews was equal to the demand. He set to work and had the market on works on economics fairly cornered before the Norwegian government ever knew that he was a competitor. Most of the books are in English, but the German, French and Italian philosophers who have written on the subject are given a thorough representation. Rare manuscripts and documents from Germany form a prominent part of the collection. Truelove, the famous English collector, rendered Mr. Andrews material assistance in his work.

The greater part of the works will be sent to the Newberry library, there to remain till the Crerar library is ready to take charge of them.—Chicago Chronicle.

## National Consumers' League

The fifth annual report of the National Consumers' League is notable chiefly for announcing the greatest achievement the league has ever recorded—the passage of the amendment to the labor law in relation to tenement-made articles. It was drafted at the league's request by Dr. Lawrence Veiller, who was the first deputy commissioner of the tenement house department of the city of New York, under Mayor Low. Besides the text of the law, the report has an analytical exposition of its far-reaching and effective provisions, already described in *The Commons*. Perhaps the next most important of the many interesting features of the secretary's report is the discussion of the factories maintained in public institutions without permitting

state factory inspection. The league properly withholds its label from the products of these subsidized needle trades, there being no guarantee that the state factory requirements as to the age of beginning work and the length of the working day are complied with. The growth of this consumers' movement in the number of its adherents, the extent of territory represented—twenty-one states having fifty-eight leagues—and its increasing efficiency in disclosing conditions and effecting remedial legislation, assures large fruition from very toilful and patient seed sowing.

The proper goal of the co-operative movements is, according to J. Bruce Wallace, Percy Alden's able successor at the Mansfield House Settlement, to offer "to the willing workers of the country, and even of the world, an opportunity of livelihood under fraternal arrangements."

## Municipal Electric Lighting in Chicago

Chicago's experience with municipal electric lighting for public purposes will be a hard nut for corporation statisticians to crack. According to the report of the city authorities the total cost of the average number of arc lights in 1903—4,827—was \$262,888. Under the system of renting from private corporations these lights would have cost \$559,936. The saving, therefore, was \$297,048. Yet the city paid in wages from 15 to 33 per cent more than the private corporations. To have rented these lights for the 16 years of municipal ownership and operation would have cost \$3,895,812, and the city would now have nothing to show for it all except a package of vouchers and a memory of street lights that had glimmered in the past. But under municipal ownership and operation, in spite of high wages and incidental grafting, the city has spent only \$3,720,099 (\$175,713 less than the rentals would have aggregated), and has to show for it besides a memory of lighted streets a lighting plant of its own, which has increased from a system of 103 lamps in 1887 to one of 4,827 in 1903.—Louis F. Post in *The Public*.

## Italian Immigration into Canada

Italian immigration, which has been so noticeably on the increase to all the large centers in this country during recent months, is now being felt in Canada. The *Labor Gazette* for July, issued by the Department of Labor of the Dominion of Canada, estimates that via Montreal during the past year no less than from 6,000 to 8,000 Italian laborers have come to Canada either direct from Italy or from the United States. "During the months of May and June the number of these Italians without employment in the

City of Montreal was such as to occasion considerable discontent among the Canadian workmen of that city, and also considerable hardship among the Italians themselves."

This state of affairs led to an investigation by a deputy minister of labor whose report urged a further enquiry under oath and a commissioner is now about to conduct this concerning "the circumstances which have induced Italian laborers to come to the city of Montreal from other countries during the present year, the persons engaged directly or indirectly in promoting their immigration, and the means and methods adopted in bringing about such immigration."

## A Village Labor Day

Labor Day is celebrated locally at Morgan Park, Illinois, in a way to give impetus to plans and efforts for village improvement. The Morgan Park Improvement Society is one of the oldest if not the oldest organization of its kind in the west. Through the unselfish public spirit of its members much has been accomplished in beautifying and rendering attractive this favored suburb of Chicago.

This year the program for the Labor Day celebration included addresses, music by a band, field sports, a flower parade of carriages, and chorus singing. The two addresses were confined to matters meant to inspire in the hearts of the citizens a spirit of civic pride. The popularity of these annual meetings has been steadily increasing and this year the gathering numbered over three thousand. Many Chicago people avail themselves regularly of this opportunity to escape the noise and dirt of the great city by visiting this highest elevation in Cook County with its graceful lawns and shade trees, and its country surroundings.

## Chicago's Experiment in Social Redemption

The extensive plans of Chicago's South Park Board form the material for an exceedingly interesting article in *The Independent* for September 15, by George L. McNutt entitled "Chicago's Ten-Million Dollar Experiment in Social Redemption." The social features of the enlarged park system of the South Side, such as public baths and swimming pools, neighborhood park houses for the assembly and recreational use of the people, and many additional playgrounds are all described and the designs displayed. It will be recalled by readers of *THE COMMONS* that its June number contained illustrations and an admirable statement of these various accomplishments and proposals of the South Park Board from the pen of Mr. J. J. Foster, its superintendent to whose painstaking care much of the success will be due. He is a



man of large vision for the city's welfare and he knows how to bring his dreams to realization. Mr. McNutt aptly quotes someone as saying that "Foster is a million dollar man; million dollar men may be worth more to a city than millionaires."

Mr. McNutt is a good, and long time friend of THE COMMONS and some of his contributions to our columns will be remembered by regular subscribers. His experiences as day laborer, for which calling he left the pastoral ministry, have given him rare insight into the social movements of the day and have endowed him with a vital and intensely interesting way of presenting to the people his message of Christian brotherhood.

## Notes of British Philanthropy

In the July number of Social Service, published quarterly by Elliott Stock of London, the Rev. J. B. Grant of Glasgow tells of the progress made in that city by a philanthropy that is businesslike enough to be paying four per cent. Through the Central Public House Trust Association and the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company Mr. Grant shows how incentive to greed has been removed and private conscience has triumphed over legal conscience. "Wherever it (the Public House Trust) has had a fair chance it has demonstrated the possibility of retaining the tavern as a social exchange, while at the same time reducing the terrific forces of evil inherent in it to very much modified power." Mr. Grant is hopeful that this combination of philanthropy and business may in the near future attack the "finance of poverty," so that the poor man shall no longer give up fifteen cents for the use of fifty cents for a year instead of two cents for which the rich man may get the same loan. Conscience and capital, Mr. Grant thinks, are surely not incompatible.

In "Killing by the Community" the following story gives the key to the way out: "A friend of George Eliot's has told how, while they were talking together, she had occasion to save by an instinctive movement a mantelpiece ornament which had been shaken, and in replacing it said: 'I hope that the time will come when we shall instinctively hold up the man or woman who begins to fall as naturally and unconsciously as we arrest a piece of furniture or an ornament.'"

In "Children's Courts" the writer looks forward hopefully to the time when England and Scotland will follow Ireland in its recent action as regards the establishment of a system of juvenile courts, so well known in this country, with an attendant probation system. The need may be realized when we consider that for the state of Michigan "there is only one dependent or delinquent child to every 12,000 of the population, whereas it is calculated that the proportion in London is one in 200 and in Ireland

one in 100. By the way, Chicago's probation officers number less than half the ninety-six stated in this article.

The announcement by McClure's that Charles Wagner, author of "The Simple Life," is to visit America for the purpose of lecturing, and studying our institutions suggests the possibility of some painful paradoxes and perplexing contradictions which this apostle of simplicity is likely to encounter in America. He will find his book applauded by ladies in silk trains and costly tailor-made dresses, and his message commended by club men as they clink their champagne glasses at banquet tables elaborately given in his honor; he will find his book in the hands of teachers and pupils who belong to schools so highly elaborated that all parties connected therewith are ever hanging on the boundary line of nervous prostration from artificial conceits; he will find preachers trying to embellish his gospel of simplicity with all the decorations of elaborate ritual, complicated creed and social exclusiveness, all of which goes to show how much easier it is to commend the simple life than to live it. To endorse simplicity is easy; to realize it is the last achievement of the saint and the final test of the sage. —Unity.

Tree planting is to be encouraged in Chicago by a society organized for that purpose. It especially hopes to increase the number of trees planted along the streets between the sidewalk and the curb. Literature has been disseminated setting forth the advantages of health and beauty afforded by good trees, giving instruction about the care of them, the kinds best suited to city life and the untoward conditions of smoke and dirt, instruction about transplanting, care and cost involved, and suggestions about unity of action by groups of people living in the same immediate vicinity or on the same block.

## Reduced Fares for Wage Earners in London

The parliamentary returns on London railways just issued give the following facts as to the advantage taken of reduced fares issued to the working people making their early morning trips to the city centers.

On the Central London Railway, the total length of whose lines is 5.77 miles, a uniform fare of 2d. is in force, but up to 7:30 in the morning a return ticket is sold to passengers for 2d. The number of workmen's tickets issued in the year 1902 was 2,732,909, these being return tickets, representing 5,465,818 passengers. The number of passengers availing themselves of the workmen's privileges is about 7 per cent of the total carried, and averages 20,000 per diem. Every-

one who travels on the railway before 7:30 a. m., irrespective of sex or position, purchases the 2d. return ticket. The privilege is not confined to workmen in the strict sense of the word.

On the City and South London Railway in 1902 as many as 4,731,612 workmen's tickets were issued.

On the Great Eastern line during the same period 15,305,558 workmen's tickets were issued, of which 577,885 were at penny fare and 6,312,595 at twopence for the return journey.

Other companies issued tickets as follows: London, Brighton, and South Coast, 3,779,525; Metropolitan, 7,106,172; District, 5,208,990; Midland, 54,467, and South-Eastern and Chatham Railway, nearly 7,000,000.

## Improving Homes of the Poor

The New Jersey Tenement House Commission has begun a crusade for the betterment of sanitary conditions in the thickly settled parts of the state's large cities.

The ten new inspectors, armed with authority from the state to enter any and all tenements, will have no difficulty in obtaining all information desired.

In order that the executive officer, sitting in his office in Newark, can see at a glance what the inspector has found, the latter makes a drawing of the house, giving the ground plan of building and yard, showing location of fire-escapes, pumps, cesspools, etc., and fills in answers to printed questions. All data is placed on a card and filed away for reference.

## More Improved Homes for Wage Earners

For the purpose of increasing the number of model tenements, the City and Suburban Homes Company of New York has decided to issue \$1,000,000 additional capital stock, the amount outstanding now being \$1,730,000.

Organized in July, 1896, to provide improved homes for wageearners at current rates of rental, the company now owns three large groups of buildings for white people and a smaller model tenement for colored people, accommodating in all 1,238 families, and it has a thirty-two acre estate called Homewood, in Brooklyn, on which are 112 houses and two stores with apartments. The amount invested in these properties is \$2,-

712,735.52 and the assets of the company are \$3,046,540.76.

The company proposes to develop unimproved property which it now owns and to acquire and develop two or three new sites. The demand for model tenements is shown by the fact that the vacancies in all the company's buildings average only 1½ per cent of the available apartments, and the company houses about 6,000 people.

The shares are of a par value of \$10 each, the idea being to afford an opportunity to small investors and to thrifty wageearners to at once secure safe investments in 4 per cent stock and to aid in improving the condition of their less fortunate brothers.

London has \$100,000,000 invested in model tenements, and it is the hope of the City and Suburban Homes Company to make the investment in such properties in this city approximate more nearly to this amount, as the need for improved living quarters is even greater here than in the British capital.

## Everyday Warfare Against Tuberculosis

To the Editor of *The Commons*:—In the valuable January number of *The Commons* appeared an article entitled "The Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis in New York City." I trust that your readers will be interested in a supplementary mention of certain everyday features of the warfare against tuberculosis, attention to which details will necessarily be the measure of efficiency of the efforts made in any community to stamp out tuberculosis. In and about New York city there are approximately 1,000 beds available for tubercular patients, or one to every twenty patients who would profit from hospital treatment. It is hardly conceivable that even the most liberal generosity can in our day provide 20,000 beds for the treatment of tuberculosis. It is obvious, therefore, that the warfare must be pushed into the tenement homes themselves. In addition to the general educational work which has already achieved such splendid results the teachers must be armed with the means to provide the diet and the sanitary quarters exhorted by their circulars.

How the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has undertaken to supplement its teachings by material adjuncts to precept may be gathered from the following statement: For over two years the association has had on its list of families needing material relief an average of over 300 families owing their distress entirely or in part to tuberculosis. At the present time this number has risen to 350. For the six weeks following the first of January the expenditure for material relief for these families amounted to about \$1,000, more than half having been expended for special food supplies, milk, eggs, preparations of cod liver oil, etc., which are indispensable in building



up the weakened constitution and enabling it to battle with the disease. This sum, \$1,000, does not include expenses of administration, salaries of nurses, visitors and visiting cleaners, nor does it include second-hand garments, or furniture, or medicines, nursing and medical attention received from dispensaries at our request.

Not only food and medicines are required if we are to secure good results by treating tuberculosis in the homes. The association has given away fifteen beds to enable tubercular patients to sleep apart from other members of the family; moving expenses have been paid to better and lighter rooms, oftentimes entailing higher rents, which the association has borne; dental bills have been paid to enable the patient to masticate properly; clothing and bedding of every description have been given, special attention being paid to the need of underwear; several patients

have been removed from city homes and boarded in the country, in many cases the co-operation of relatives and even their hospitality having been secured; new and second-hand stoves have been provided to increase living accommodations by heating rooms which would otherwise be closed up on account of the cold, while coal in liberal quantities has been furnished; special shoes and braces for children suffering with tubercular bones, and sanitary appliances, such as spitum cups and disinfectants, are often necessary. Finally, we have a staff of four visiting cleaners who have gone among these families where the mother was ill, and in some cases where the mother was careless, to insure every precaution in the way of cleanliness and to teach other members of the family that cleanliness is the best preventive of infection.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN,  
General Agent New York Association for  
Improving the Condition of the Poor.

## College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

### A Study in Contrasts

The Chalkley Hall Country Club of the Philadelphia College Settlement is a study in contrasts. No Country Club could be less "country" and maintain its character, even in the minds of the partial. The tale of its days is punctuated by the screams of the factory whistles; of its nights by the plunging and panting and shrieking of trains. Two minutes' walk from its front doors brings you up against the embankment of the Atlantic City Bridge Line of the Pennsylvania R. R.; two minutes from the back door and you reach the fence from which you survey the wide lying tracks of the New York line of the same system at the point known locally as "dead man's curve." Beyond the tracks rise the walls of the Vici leather works whose hum and rattle are insistently audible at Chalkley Hall until custom has dulled perception. The tracks hold the Club grounds in a V-shaped pocket. The ugliness of the industrial city is conquering the country and it is the last moments of a besieged stronghold soon to fall which we are utilizing to our great pleasure and benefit. Many there be who would not choose our Club as a

summer resort, but many again are ready to testify that much that does not glitter is pure gold, when the question turns upon the value of Chalkley Hall and its attractions. Let me give a picture, taken from the middle distance of our three years use of the place, the summer of 1903.

In round numbers 2,600 visits were paid to the Club. Some individuals made but one visit. Some few spent the whole summer and formed the responsible nucleus of the constantly changing household. The majority came again and again, for the Saturday half-holiday, for a week's stay, or for a day or two when work was slack. Sometimes whole families came, the men going daily to their work in town, and having their evenings and nights at the Club. In every way the effort was made to keep the use of the Club as informal and free as might be, with the maintenance of a system and order that would make livable comfort.

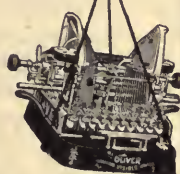
The regular household ranged in numbers from seven to forty, averaging about twenty-five. Picnic parties were numerous, falling sometimes as thickly as three per day, and presenting the greatest contrasts. About ten were



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family and neighborhood parties—tenants of the same tenement, or groups of relatives; one gave us a whole orphan asylum; one brought, in the same party, a three months' infant and a white haired grandfather who thought it "mighty unlikely he'd be here to get here another year."

A little old woman, who lives alone in an attic, found time to come only one day, she "had so much to do to keep things right at home." About forty-five picnics were entertained, and some fifteen "one night stands" of boys who came out and lodged, boy fashion, in a room with many cots, at ten cents a piece. One night five boys applied for a Saturday night "stand." Their spokesman said: "There's five of us but we only want three beds."

"That's absurd," said the manager, "you need five cots." "But we've only got thirty cents, Max and Dutch is shy their dimes."

"Well, you'll have to pay by the boy, not by the cot, and some of you that are flush must lend Max and Dutch their dimes."

With a little argument the loan was negotiated and there were no misfits of cots and boys.

Beside the daytime picnics many evenings were made times of special enjoyment. Saturday night was reception night and was always the equivalent of a party. Other nights brought birthday parties or wedding anniversaries or callers from town. Now and again there came a really quiet evening of a more simple domestic kind—better perhaps than the livelier ones.

All the labor of house and grounds and garden, except the cooking, was performed by the residents and visitors. Scrubbing, dishwashing, table setting, digging and hoeing, sweeping, bed-making, dusting, gathering vegetables and fruit—an endless round of occupations of utility to be worked off before one came to the ping pong, tennis, ball, swimming, boating, etc.—the occupations of leisure and frivolity.

The Club becomes a school of domestic science for boys and girls, its sessions varied with recesses filled with the

joys of out-of-doors and of friendly human intercourse. It is also a school of ethics, its constant necessary interchange of service furnishing the finest concrete matter for instruction in the noble art, of thinking not too highly of one's self and of looking not only on one's own things, but also on the things of others.

What did this cost? \$798.69.

Where did the money come from?

Board of Residents and visitors .....	\$450.21
Board paid by Country Week Association and specials for board and picnics .....	102.00
Contributions from clubs of the Settlement raised through plays or special effort .....	150.00
Other sources, through the Treasurer .....	96.48

\$798.69

While not stated in money terms, the gift of the use of the place is of course the most generous and effective of all gifts, being the foundation of all. No words can express our gratification at the spirit of perfect understanding and courtesy in this kindness on the part of the owners and the farmer in charge of the place. It has eliminated much of the possible care and anxiety in the management of such an undertaking. So true is this, that many episodes which have reasonably occasioned friction, have served rather to increase friendliness.

It is not easy to find a sharp line of demarcation between one season and the next at Chalkley Hall. The last picnic of 1903 was on November 15, when by special grace of the thermometer dinner was eaten out of doors. The season of 1904 may be considered to have opened in February. One stormy afternoon Miss Davis stood on the steps of 502 South Front street fumbling for her key. A child's head was thrust under her umbrella, held low to ward off the driving rain and snow, and an energetic young feminine voice said shrilly: "When will it open?" "When I can find my key," she responded shortly. "Aw, I don't

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mean the door, I mean the Country Club." "Oh, do you? Well, if the weather changes in time it will open late in June." "All right; I just wanted to tell you I was comin' when it opens, and Mrs. Kelly wants to know how much it 'ud be fur her and the baby. How much shall I tell her?"

A month later regular excursions were begun. Each year the demand comes for a longer summer and occasionally some one tells a dream of co-operative winter housekeeping.

From every respect it is delightful that this fine old colonial house with its grounds and gardens should have, up to the very end of its existence, such beautiful usefulness to human life. Its end will be an apotheosis in the hearts of its many children and lovers.

## "Ridge Farm," a Resort of the East Side

BY L. M. A. LIGGETT

A few years ago Mt. Ivy was a lonely little stop on the Haverstraw branch of the Erie R. R. The traveler found on arrival, a red station, in charge of a middle-aged woman who was also post-mistress, express-agent and baggage-master; a dusty country road, apparently leading nowhere, and on the western horizon a range of beautiful mountains, the Ramapo. It took courage and imagination to think it a possible spot for the excitable East Side child, who, after the first visit, returned with wonder to his mother, and told of a country where "there was but one house on the block." But this one house, placed on a high ridge, with eighty acres of land surrounding it, has proved more and more of an attraction. Under its hospitable roof the College Settlement has entertained hundreds of city friends, camps have been put up for the young men and boys, and gradually the farm houses in the valley have been filled with boarders who could not be accommodated at Ridge Farm. The road to the station is still dusty but no longer deserted, the quiet peace of the station has been rudely broken, and on holidays

and Sundays it presents a distracting scene of confusion to the post-mistress, for the East Side has claimed Mt. Ivy for its own, the charms of Coney Island seem to pale before the freedom of its country roads and wild mountains. Their appreciation of the place is sometimes expressed, however, rather singularly, as when a little girl exclaimed: "Oh! I like this place, it smells just like fresh eggs," or a boy driving on a winding road wanted to know if all roads at Mt. Ivy were full of steers like that one," meaning the curves, or when a little girl shouted to her friends to "come and see the Guinea-hen who talked Italian"—but if unusual their appreciation is none the less genuine and the valley has become the happy land of pure delight for the neighborhood beyond the Bowery.

The first year of camp life was a rough experience for the boys, who had never slept or cooked out of doors. The night sounds were depressing, the rain a misery, and the cooking a torment, but with experience has come real enjoyment. The situation was well summed up by a camper as we lounged on the ground after a hot meal, served in a decent, clean fashion out of doors: "I don't believe," he said, "the millionaires in the Adirondacks get any more fun out of their camps than we do."

With the new camps have come men and boys, and gradually the simple life of a few women devoting themselves to a group of twenty children, which was the condition at first, has changed, and Ridge Farm has developed into a community life of young and old. At evening in the big hall it would be easy to imagine yourself in Ludlow Street, for the East Side brings its atmosphere with it, but instead of confusion, dirt and noise just outside, there are the stars, the black stillness of night, and the sweet scent of clover; instead of the narrow city there is the wide country.

It is the stillness of the country that impresses the children more than any thing else. This summer two small boys were put to bed in a room by themselves; a resident went in later to see if they were asleep; it was twilight

# Methods of Industrial Peace

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This new volume by Professor Gilman, published in April, 1904, and already in its second edition, is dedicated to President Roosevelt "in admiration of his maintenance of American principles in labor matters." It is the most important and comprehensive treatment of this vital subject in the English language. (Earlier discussions were much briefer, and the most recent of them is now ten years old.) Its wide range may be seen from the chapter titles: *I. Association in Modern Industry; II. Combination of Employees; III. Combination of Employers; IV. Collective Bargaining; V. The Sliding Scale; VI. The Incorporation of Industrial Unions; VII. Aims and Methods of Trade Unionism; VIII. Industrial War (Strikes and Lockouts; the Blacklist and the Boycott); IX. Some Rights and Duties of the Public; X. Conciliation in Labor Disputes; XI. Trade Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration; XII. State Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration in the United States; XIII. Legal Regulation of Labor Disputes in Monopolistic Industries; XIV. Legal Regulation of Labor Disputes in New Zealand; XV. The Case for Legal Regulation; XVI. Essential Conditions of Industrial Peace.*

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and the house was very quiet. "Oh! teacher," one of the boys said, sitting up in bed, "I just asked Sam if he didn't wish he was a girl so he could have a fraid, and he said he wished he could be one for an hour." It was probably the first experience the children had had of quiet and no wonder it was awesome and mysterious to them. At first even grown men would not go out alone after dark, and now after many visits, the big girls are timid to venture even with a crowd. A prize-fighter was horribly frightened by a calf while walking from the farm-house to the house and could not be persuaded to venture out again after dark for fear "some wild creature might attack him."

There is one club that has outgrown the big house, the matrons, whose family circle is yearly enlarging, and it is this club that needs the vacation most. The problem now before the College Settlement is how to get a separate house for this club where the babies can

live for many weeks each summer in the country.

A young mother sat looking out across the valley at the mountains, blue and purple with the passing cloud shadows. "To think of leaving this for a tenement where my little girl can play only in a kitchen full of soap suds or in a street full of diseases." There is the hopefulness and tragedy of evolution in this. The mother of that woman preferred the tenement to the mountain and was contented to let her children live as best they could in the street. To this younger generation has been given the longing for better things and the tragic inability to obtain them. There are many like this young mother among the friends of the Settlement and to them the house especially wants to give aid and encouragement in their struggle toward decent living and honest citizenship, for "in the fell clutch of circumstance they have not winced or cried aloud" and it is from such as these will come the salvation of the city.

## From Social Settlement Centers

*A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.*

### University of Chicago Settlement

Situated at the center of the Stock Yards district, this settlement has been at the very heart of the great strike. On the same block with the headquarters of the striking unions, the residents have been in constant communication with the leaders and the rank and file. The head resident, Miss Mary E. McDowell, has resided there for over ten years. She did not hesitate to bear her testimony in the public press regarding the improvement in the conditions of the neighborhood since the organization of the packing trades unions in contrast with the demoralization and lack of community feeling which characterized the district when the workers were unorganized. The gymnasium of the settlement was freely at the disposal of the people during their enforced idleness for recreative and deliberative purposes. When the pressure for sub-

sistence began to pinch many families, milk was supplied for the children at reduced rate. Time and again Miss McDowell in public address and personal conference counseled with the thousands of striking workmen and women. When the final crisis came and the feeling grew more bitter, she did not hesitate to advise that the strike be called off.

To her and to another woman closely associated with the settlement work, Dr. Cornelia De Bey, were publicly attributed the personal effort with the leading packer which brought about his final conference with the leader of the strike that issued in its immediate settlement. Some noted students of social conditions came from a distance for temporary residence at the settlement in order to gain first hand knowledge of the situation. The attitude of Miss McDowell and her fellow residents demonstrates anew the possibility of maintaining the settlement's loyalty to the people of its neighborhood with-

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out forfeiting its advantageous position to  
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## Whittier House, Jersey City

One of the striking things about the first decade of Whittier House is the progress in neighborhood improvement as shown by the lines of work abandoned by the settlement. Following out the policy so well pursued by South End House, Boston, Whittier House has encouraged municipal enterprise, and as soon as the city has enlarged its function sufficiently to minister to neighborhood needs the settlement has been glad indeed to discontinue its provision for their satisfaction. In this way there are no more classes in French, German, Latin, Higher Mathematics and English; a good night school is doing the work. The kindergarten, "for four years the only free kindergarten in Jersey City and for nine years one of our pet departments" has been discontinued that we might the better help with one which has been started on our street by the public school authorities." The dispensary has been closed because the municipal ones, better equipped, "are doing better work than we could in ours."

Surely this is a condition of affairs toward which every settlement should bend energy. Manifestly anything that can be done to extend municipal government functions toward the better satisfaction of the neighborhood needs is a way to "help people to help themselves" in line with a faith in our republican institutions, a faith we all most loudly profess, but which too many of us hedge upon when anything is to be entrusted to them. May the settlements lead in showing that genuine faith which hands over to the people in their organized capacity the things the people want done for themselves, and which, instead of railing at the incapacity of the people's management, sets about sincerely and honestly to co-operate with fellow citizens in the spirit of democracy to make what we profess to believe in realize our best hopes for its usefulness and success.

The head resident, Miss Bradford, reports cooperation with the state consumers league and with the organized store clerks for better conditions in the stores and a weekly half holiday.

Miss Bradford also calls attention once more to the wretched state of affairs so far as child labor is concerned in the glass bottle blowing industry. The conditions she describes after personal visits to the region in southern New Jersey and talks with employees and employers. Manufacturers and foremen were frank in confessing that they would not want their children working at night or in the health destroying transitions between greatly varying temperatures. She has always brought to bear all the influence of Whittier House for better legislation on the subject of child labor.

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The newly organized "Neighborhood Council" is perhaps one of the most interesting developments in the settlement's relations. This is composed of men in the neighborhood and made up of varying ages, denominations and occupations. It is for the purpose of helping in an intelligent and systematic manner the head worker and the house. It meets with the head worker once a month and will meet with the Board of Directors twice a year.

## Moulton House Settlement, London

Magnificent new buildings were recently dedicated for the use of this settlement which works in connection with the Leysian Mission, both being under the auspices of the Wesleyans. The plant far exceeds anything before erected for social settlement purposes and marks the greatest development yet seen in institutionalized settlement work. The hall seats 2,000 people comfortably. Excellent and ample gymnasium facilities are provided for both sexes and all ages. An interesting feature is a roof garden, with an area of about 300 square feet, for open air preaching, lectures and concerts. This is accessible not only through the building, but also by a stairway from the street. The cost of the buildings amounts to about \$560,000.

An idea of the magnitude of the proposed work is gathered from the large provision for residents. It is expected that there will be no less than 60 residents giving their leisure to the social work of the settlement and these will be made up of students, business men, women workers and others. The Mansfield House Magazine, from which we gather the information concerning this extraordinary undertaking, says in comment that "if the spiritual power and effectiveness of this great new center of religious and social activity is at all proportionate to its size and to the financial expenditure upon it, there ought to be a vast change effected in the character of the district in which it is being established."

## Chicago Commons

The College Settlement Association committee has assigned the incumbent of its scholarship, Miss Clara S. More, to residence at Chicago Commons for the first half of her scholarship year. The second half of it she will spend at the Association's settlements in New York and Boston.

For the eighth year the settlement fellowship maintained at the University of Michigan by the Students' Christian Association and a cooperating committee of the faculty is represented by a student of the University who will report to the sociological department her observations of the recreative life of an industrial community.



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The residents also welcome to their household life and neighborhood work Miss Florence A. Fensham, who for years has served with conspicuous ability in the faculty of the American College for Girls at Constantinople.

The Choral Club, as a memorial to a member whom they have recently lost by death, have organized almost their entire body into a guild of song for service at the call of the district visiting nurse.

The settlement will co-operate with the "Institute of Social Science and Arts" in helping to supply the students with field work and opportunities to observe philanthropic institutions and social movements of the city and vicinity.

**Mansfield House, London**

The annual Flower Show was even more successful this year than last in point of attendance, exhibits in the hall and attendance, and also so far as beautified back yards are concerned. Some of the more enthusiastic were able to work wonders in making a little paradise out of what was formerly either bare hard ground or a litter of rubbish. Prizes were given, for individual plants, groupings of flowers and plants, flowering plants, foliage plants, drawings of flowers, window boxes and gardens in back yards.

The vacation school is appearing in England. As yet, however, it is entirely the result of private initiative. A couple of years ago Mrs. Humphrey Ward started one in connection with the Passmore Edwards Settlement, and this last summer in the neighborhood of Mansfield House another has been in successful existence. Manual training was the chief indoor occupation and the attendance numbered 250 which was all that could be accommodated.

**Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago**

The Council of the Northwestern University Settlement has adopted the proposal of its head resident to discontinue the office for a year and leave the entire policy of the settlement to be controlled by the "House Meeting" of the residents one of whom Mr. Robins continues to be.

**Neighborhood House, Denver**

A very small beginning and a year of hard struggle led Neighborhood House to larger growth and the acquisition of a larger building. In this the activities have developed rapidly and become broader. The coming year seems bright in prospect and trained helpers are being secured to head up the work and increase its efficiency. The present building, which had been used by a medical college, is much transformed and has taken on the air of home life and all the accompanying cheeriness. Fifteen churches co-operate in the support of the settlement and its work is entirely undenominational. In

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addition to this maintenance a number of special gifts were received such as a library, the fitting up of the Woman's Club room and the completion of the gymnasium. A day nursery, kitchen garden, and other ordinary features of settlement work are carried on.

## Book Review

### The Better New York

By Dr. Wm. H. Tolman and Charles Hemstreet. 320 pp. \$2.00, net. Baker and Taylor Company, New York.

A more complete guide book to the social activities of New York City than this contribution from the American Institute of Social Service is difficult to imagine. Systematically the city has been gone over and with thoroughness everything of interest has been noted down for the convenience of any one who might wish to make a tour of inspection. Nothing either of public enterprise or private initiative for social betterment seems to have escaped the compilers, from a description of the lunch wagons of the Church Temperance Society to a list of the more celebrated paintings at the Metropolitan Museum. The city is divided into eleven districts for classification and the arrangement is so made that the investigator will be able to go the rounds without retracing a step. The work does not pretend to be a description of the Better New York, although one reading it to get a knowledge of the wide range of philanthropic activity would come near to accomplishing his purpose. Its great value lies in the fact that it gives one just enough of an insight to make him want to see for himself. One of the charms of the book is its carefulness to include the historical interest in its ramblings through the city, and the brief accounts of the development of a neighborhood as the life about it changed, throw an illuminative light on present conditions. After a reading of the book, one can readily appreciate the remark of Dr. Josiah Strong in the Afterword, that The Better New York has been a revelation "even to those who knew the best side of their city."

A small pamphlet issued under the same auspices and with the same object in view on a more limited scale, is entitled "One Week of Sight Seeing in New York."

## Books Received

### The American City

By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D., 423 pp. \$1.25 net. The Citizen's Library, The Macmillan Company, New York.

### The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children

By Homer Folks. 251 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York.



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# The Commons

NOVEMBER, 1904

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# The Commons

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Ninth Year

Chicago, November, 1904

## With The Editor

### The Impending Vote of Protest

Never in American politics have there been such premonitory evidences of a heavy vote across old party lines. It is being prepared in silence to be silently cast. It has been a remarkably still campaign. No "whirlwind" tours have heralded it. Neither mass meetings, nor oratory, rally or measure it. However effective or ineffective campaign policies may have been, the bulk of the socialist vote at least will be cast by men who do not belong to any socialist organization, who have not attended socialist meetings, who have read little or no socialist literature, and who have said little or nothing about how they were going to vote. For it will be a vote of protest that will be registered by these silent voters of the populist or socialist tickets. In Colorado it will include both the democratic and socialist votes at issue with lawless measures to suppress lawlessness. Whatever the result, the strength of the protest will be registered only in the combined strength of both these tickets, which being antagonistic to each other may so divide the vote as to give the election to the party in power. But not a few votes will be cast for that party protestingly, under the constraint of voting for legalized authority against what seems to some to be mob rule.

Although nowhere else is there such a completely divisive issue, yet everywhere a vote of protest will bank up at various points of industrial antagonism. In democratic strongholds it will protest against the overthrow of the more radical Bryan majority among the working class voters, who will divide between the socialist and populist candidates. "Frenzied Finance," in its recently disclosed bearings upon party management, will register in the republican columns not a few votes of protesting middle class democrats. But the influence of such revelations as Mr. Lawson has scattered broadcast through *Everybody's Magazine*, and Miss Ida Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens have even more influentially disseminated through *McClure's*, and the United States Supreme Court has recorded in its decision in the Northern Securities' case,—these and innumerable other evidences of the attempted capture of government by conspiracies of certain capitalists are shaking many voters of all classes loose from their former party affiliations and arraying more and more of the wage earners among them in the party, which goes to the opposite extreme in fighting for the capture of industry by government.

Very many of the new recruits to be claimed by these parties of protest have



by no means donned the party badge yet. They simply mean, as many of them have said to the writer, to "plump a socialist vote this time anyway." But it will not be hard to ally them to the party which seems to them to be their only port of entry when all others seem closed against them.

It will take only a little more lining up of "Citizen's Alliances" and Employer's Associations of the Parry type with some more local politicians, to stampede the majorities of trade unionists, now strongly conservative, to the more uncompromising radicalism of the political socialists. The manifesto of the Colorado Law Enforcement League urging that Governor Peabody's administration be ratified at the polls in November because it has "established precedents" which will be useful to employing classes elsewhere as in Colorado, has only to be accepted and acted upon at a few other points to precipitate such a struggle for the control of our state legislatures and administrations as few of the employing class seem even yet to have imagined to be possible.

The "discontented totals" are bound to be far larger than ever in the returns of the impending election, but whether they will mark the end or the beginning of political class conflict, it is still within the power of the conservative yet American majority to decide.

### Base Line and Sky Line

Industry and religion are the two greatest factors in the problem of human life. Industry is the base line, the rootage, the very condition of existence. Religion is the sky-line, the atmosphere, the horizon, which makes life more than meat and the body than raiment. Be-

tween industry and religion stands the Church, never more needed by both than now, to mediate between the industry which provides our living and the religion which is our very life. None the less is it needed to give religion its earthly foothold, put soul back into our work for daily bread, and make our way of earning a living the way of life.

That we may realize this new ministry of interpretation and mediation to which the churches are called of God alike by the spiritual impoverishment of the work-a-day life, and the all too little influence which the churchly forms of religion have upon the working world, we should see the need which industry has for what religion is and does, and the power over life which religion may find in industry. In being the medium of this exchange of values may not the church find the rejuvenation of its vital power, the re-kindling of its altar fires?

### Justice Persistently Demanded of the Church

Christianity is inextricably identified with these human factors of the industrial problem. The destiny of the church is inevitably involved in the irresistible tendencies toward industrial democracy. Not for the first time is the power of christianity being tested by its ability to solve the problems it has raised. The Christian evangel has all along been the ideal overhead and the dynamic within the heart which have inspired a divine discontent. Every now and then the Gospel strikes the earth under the feet of the common man and he rises up and demands to be counted as one. Old John Wycliffe voiced his categorical imperative "Father he bade us all him call, masters we have none." Many another labor movement has inscribed no more or less upon

its banners than the Swabian peasants had upon theirs, a serf, kneeling at the cross with the legend, "Nothing but God's justice." The progress of the democracy has often halted in passing the church and listened at its oracles to hear whether it could express christian principles in terms of industrial relationship, whether it would let the worker be the man its free gospel and its free school have taught him to know himself to be.

Protestant Christianity has from its very birth been persistently faced with the demand for the economic justice and industrial peace promised by the prophets and proclaimed by the Christ. In culminating in the correction of theological errors and ecclesiastical abuses the Reformation of the 16th century must be admitted to have fallen short, however excusably, of the great moral and social results which would have been its legitimate consummation if its splendid beginnings could have been carried on and out. For it was made possible more perhaps than by anything else by the social discontent of the oppressed peasantry. Luther's protest found its most fertile soil in the oppressive industrial conditions under which people had been robbed and beaten to the point of revolt. The economic side of the great reformation is yet to be written. So far it has received due emphasis only in the radical literature of avowedly writers inimical to christianity.

At the rise of the evangelical movement in the 18th century the Wesley's had no sooner raised that standard of reality in religion than they found themselves face to face with this same imperative industrial problem. The Methodist chapels and class meeting trained both the leaders and the mass of

the working people for their trade union movement, which was one of the incidental and most far reaching results of the revival in England. The rise of the great middle classes to their activity in social reforms is due to this same Evangel which brought the sunrise of a new day out of the leaden skies of 18th century England. Further, the rise of the factory system suddenly put to the test of its supreme crisis the christianity of the 19th century, but it was the evangel of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, of Frederick Denison Maurice and of Charles Kingsley, which more than the Duke of Wellington's battalions, saved England from the revolution threatened by the Chartist movement to the evolution of her sane and sure municipal and social progress.

The idealism of religion hovers like the ghost of the working world's discontented spirit, theoretically near yet tauntingly out of reach. Can the church apply its ideal of religion to work-a-day life? If not, will not both the religious and working world have to find some form of churchly ministration that can really apply the ideal to the common life?

### Church Overtures and Labor's Response

The appointment of standing committees on labor by several of the national ecclesiastical bodies is a significant sign of the times. It is an official recognition of the Church's consciousness of, concern for, and relation to the critical industrial situation. It comes none too early for the sake of the churches, to say nothing of the situation.

Abroad, the awakening within the



church to its industrial duty and opportunity, although it long preceded the stir of conscience here at home, was all too late to stem the tide of the working people's thought, feeling and action which has so long been away from all churchly affiliation and influence. Neither the conservative court preacher, Stocker, nor the radical Social Democrat, Dr. Nauman, have very perceptibly stayed the flow of that tide in Germany toward political socialism. The Roman Catholic hierarchy presented a more formidable front, yet its direct antagonism and its church labor unions retarded but little the national movement of the German working people. In England, despite the "Social Union" of the Established Church, and the many political and civic affiliations of the Free Churches with the trades unionists, "the bulk of the regular wage earning class," is reported by Charles Booth and Mr. Mudie-Smith, in their careful analyses of the population of London, to stand "untouched, apart from all forms of religion," and "while atheism is rare secularism not powerful, and disbelief is small, the sense of detachment is great."

In this country, although the chasm between organized labor and organized religion is not nearly so deep or wide, yet like every other tendency in American public life the breach may develop far more rapidly. These overtures of the churches are, therefore, somewhat in advance of a ruder awakening which might have awaited them had they been delayed much longer. The Protestant Episcopal Church led the way several years ago with its Christian Social Union. By the effective publications and public meetings of this organization some of its clergy and laity have been more or less leavened with broader

and more tolerant views. Its "Church Association for the advancement of the Interests of Labor," including both employers and employes, is capable of such effective utterance as we publish in another column. But its conciliatory influence upon the industrial classes has been exerted far more by the mediating personalities of a very few bishops and priests whose just and fearless attitude at critical times has done more than anything else to win for it public confidence and favor. The Presbyterian board of Home Missions has taken the most official action yet ventured in appointing Rev. Charles Stelzle, formerly a machinist, and still carrying the membership card of the Machinist's Union, to represent it throughout the country in the interests of workingmen. His statement in our next number of what he is attempting will be awaited with interest. Lately there has been a significant influence exerted by Roman Catholic authorities in some dioceses which is sending the working men of that faith more largely than ever into the trades union membership.

The latest and perhaps most significant church action relative to the labor situation has just been taken at the National Council of the Congregational Churches in triennial session at Des Moines, Iowa. A whole evening was devoted to the program of the labor committee which rallied great audiences in the two largest churches of the city.

The report of the Committee on Labor, which follows, was supported in able papers by members of the Council, and Mr. E. E. Clark, of the Railway Conductors' Union, who served on the Anthracite Coal Miner's Strike Committee, read the very effective plea

which we are privileged to present on another page. We prefer to let the report speak for itself, demurring only to the inconsistency between its statements that "the industrial difficulty lies more in the moral than in the economic order" and "that no amount of religious activity or of practical religious helpfulness can solve it." For if "nothing short of justice can reach the case," as is still further asserted, then the moral order can be effective only in correcting the fundamental faults inherent in the present economic system.

Unexpected response was given to all these overtures from this great church by the local Trades and Labor Assembly. Not only did it delegate representatives to attend the sessions of the Council, who took creditable part in the discussions of the report, but it took still more spontaneous and significant action. The writer was requested to address a mass meeting of employers and employes under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Assembly, which widely advertised the occasion throughout the city and crowded the seating ca-

capacity and standing room of its large hall all Sunday afternoon. Many distinguished members of the council, including influential employers, mingled with the great throng of working people. The address upon "The human interests at stake in industry" immediately elicited the attack of the socialists, especially upon the contention that the public is the great third party to every labor interest and dispute, whose rights are bound to be respected. Then the trades unionists repudiated the extremes to which the socialists had gone. Members of the Council and of the Trades Assembly vied with each other in cordial recognition of the service which organized labor and organized religion could render each other and the cause of human progress. Each seemed almost gleefully surprised at how well disposed the other was toward it. The occasion, both by its spontaneity and fraternal interchange of good fellowship, produced a profound impression upon the widely representative council, and was publicly declared to mark an epoch in the history of its entire development.

## Report of the Labor Committee, National Congregational Council

The existence of the Labor Committee of the National Council is one of many similar proofs given by various Christian denominations in America of a growing social responsibility among the Churches, for within the last three years several denominations have appointed committees on the Industrial situation, or have taken other action in regard to it.

The Chairman of your Labor Committee had the honor of suggesting to the committee on Labor Organization of the Massachusetts General Association that a Labor Committee ought to be appointed by the National Council, and he was authorized to present this suggestion to the Business Committee of the last National Council then in session at Portland, Me. By that body it was heartily adopted, and a committee was nominated.

Your committee has held several meetings, and has carried on quite a large correspondence in the fulfillment of its works of which it now gives account and presents also a brief statement of its duties as it sees them, together with a brief resume of industrial

conditions. A few recommendations and several bibliographies of the labor question, one from Mr. John Mitchell, another from Hon. Carroll D. Wright, and others from the more than twenty specialists on modern industrialism whose help we asked, are added in conclusion. It may be interesting to you to know, that a representative of your committee has attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and of the Civic Federation; that we have corresponded with representative Labor officials; and that two members of our committee have been sent by journals to study industrial strife on the field, and to report the same in print, one in Colorado, and one in Fall River, Mass.

### THE FUNCTION OF A CHURCH LABOR COMMITTEE.

Because the Labor problem has many phases economic, social, moral, many agencies have arisen to help in its solution. The General Government has its Department of Labor and Commerce, and from time to time



appoints special industrial commissions. Several states have Bureaus of Labor Statistics, and Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, and nearly all of the states doubtless, have legislative committees on labor to which proposed legislation is at first referred. Groups of interested citizens, such as make up the efficient Industrial Department of the National Civic Federation have formed among the people, and are largely helping to better the relationships of the world of industry. Legislative action has resulted in a body of statutory and common law, which has been highly serviceable in promoting the industrial uplift. With these agencies should be included the organizations of employees and of employers. It is therefore evident that the existence of these other forms of social effort and the nature and purpose of the church limit its activities primarily to the social and moral phases of the labor question. In view, however, of the prevalent relations of organized Christianity and organized labor, the churches' first service should be with itself—to get information on the subject and to stimulate interest therein.

#### THE METHOD EMPLOYED.

Naturally what your committee has done, has been dictated largely by its conception of its place and duties. About one and one-half years ago, therefore, we sent a letter to each of our state associations, in which we asked for the appointment of a Labor Committee that should be auxiliary to the Labor Committee of the National Council, to help toward a better knowledge of industrial conditions, and of the spirit of the churches, especially in its own locality: to come into sympathetic relations as far as possible with labor organized and unorganized: to help just and wise movements among workmen, which mean physical, social and moral betterment: to seek affiliation with humanitarian and religious bodies having similar ends in view, and to keep the Labor Committee of the National Council informed as to the conditions found and the efforts made to promote the well-being of the industrial part of the community.

Some other religious bodies have committees that have worked upon lines different from ours, e. g., by seeking, (as in one instance) to approach the wage worker at first by the agency of some form of religious service chiefly of the evangelistic type, and, as in another instance, by endeavoring to promote the interests of workmen through the formation of a society within a particular denomination.

We believe it better because more in harmony with the democratic polity of our churches, and because it encourages some interest from the many rather than the special interest of the few, that we should try to produce a larger and deeper interest among our people in this phase of the social question through committees of the state associations that should be thoroughly re-

presentative of all our churches. The results already gained have justified our theory, for we have been notified that many of our state organizations have adopted our suggestions.

Doubtless committees have been appointed and some work done in other states besides those from which we have officially heard. We make grateful mention of the proffered assistance and genuine help of the committees of several states, especially those of Massachusetts, Illinois and Colorado, three commonwealths in which the student of social conditions will find at present much to interest him.

As far as possible, your committee has done what it asked the state committees to do, and we report that we have found the officers of humanitarian and industrial bodies quite as responsive to our requests for information and help as were the committees of some of the Christian denominations.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION.

The economic features of the present industrial situation are so widely published in books and periodicals, that the people are generally familiar with them. For this reason, and because in general these economic features do not come within the scope of this report, we omit any special mention of them. We have a labor problem because we have large freedom, education, democracy, in which aggressive and acquisitive human beings are struggling for personal and social expression and betterment. The deep tendencies and the surface conditions of modern industry result in that consolidation of the forces of the employed, and the forces of the employer, that express themselves in the former instance in unionism and in the latter, in the various types of employers' associations. Apparently unionism is something more than that valuable phase of present day industry, collective bargaining, for unionism stands for the introduction of democracy into industry, the right of representation in the conduct of business. More fundamental than any other practical question, such as the closed shop or freedom of contract is this underlying demand of representation in the conduct of industrial enterprises. To achieve it, is the core of intelligent unionism which seems fast passing into industrialism, and to resist it is the purpose of much of the counter organization of employers. The result appears on the surface in suspicion, resistance, lawlessness, violence — the common hard features of much of the present industrial struggle. It is not our part to discuss this phase of the question. We simply state it, as a primary and inevitable element in the present contest. We believe that organization of labor and organizations of capital are inevitable, and that these forces are to be dealt with intelligently and humanely, and that any policy that means the utter subversion of one force to that of the other is certain to result immediately in intensifying the

already ominous tendency to class division and class warfare. Constructive policies under the forms of law and tempered by the justly critical force of public opinion, are being framed by conservative leaders on both sides, and for these results we can hopefully wait.

We urge upon trades unionists and upon employers in the meantime the right use of power, and the cultivation of such a sense of responsibility as will conserve social well-being for the present and the future. The spirit of the marauder by whomever shown should be checked, and industrial organizations both of employees and employers, should become as they may become, strong forces in behalf of law and order.

The Christian church is certainly one of the most powerful agencies in the promotion of human well-being. It has, therefore, a high social duty to fulfill in emphasizing goodwill, justice and brotherhood: in teaching restraint and patience; in embodying the religious spirit in democratic forms; and in holding up the highest personal and social ideals of life. Our churches and ministers should remember that the value of organized Christianity in the present industrial struggle is not dependent upon partisanship but rather upon the spirit in which it stands for righteous principles and for that moral insight that requires every man and every group of men to treat each and all, not as "ways of behaviour" but as personalities having similar duties and privileges one with another.

We have been sharply criticized by a very few for saying that there is widespread indifference on the part of workingmen and the church each to the other, and that occasionally the attitude towards the church on the part of workingmen is one of alienation or hostility. We do not refer to this criticism for the purpose of rejoinder, but merely to re-affirm our position. It has been confirmed by our correspondence and conference with labor leaders, as it is sustained by the experience of social workers generally. If by "workingman" is meant anyone who works in any way, it is easy to show that the churches are made up quite exclusively of laborers, but if, as in our use of the term, manual wage-earners are meant, e. g., mechanics, mill and shop operatives and unskilled laborers, their number especially in Protestant churches is small, and relatively to other social elements is growing smaller. We believe that the industrial difficulty lies more in the moral than in the economic order, hence our emphasis upon moral forces and aims and our belief that the church should lead in producing a new spirit in industrial relationships. In the past, some of the most intelligent friends of workingmen have been found in the ranks of the Christian church, its laymen and clergymen, and notwithstanding all assertions and beliefs to the contrary, the same is true today. Kingsley, Maurice, and Toynbee, of

a past generation in England, and several in America among the living whose names will readily recur to you are rightly regarded as the friends of the workers.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS.

Recognizing that the need and the right to work are fundamental in human society, and that much remains to be done to establish just relationships in the industrial order, we urge our churches to take a deeper interest in the labor question, and to get a more intelligent understanding of the aims of organized labor. This can be done through fraternal personal contact with the workers, and by reading the best publications of those who have a right to speak on industrial subjects. As helps by this latter method, your committee has secured from several sources labor bibliographies, which cannot fail to be highly suggestive to everyone who wishes to get theoretic information on this subject. These bibliographies we hope to have published in the Minutes of this Council, as an addendum to this report. Our thanks are hereby extended to the American Institute of Social Service, and to those gentlemen who have put their suggestions at our disposal, for their help.

We recommend further, that the National Council continue the appointment of a Labor Committee.

That this Council through its Secretary ask each state body in our fellowship to appoint a Labor Committee which shall be auxiliary to the National Council's Labor Committee for the purpose of information and suggestion through correspondence and conference, as well as for such service locally as may be rendered.

That the Council instruct its Labor Committee to seek affiliation with kindred committees of other denominations, and with non-ecclesiastical bodies that work for industrial betterment.

That the Labor Committee try to get such expression from workingmen's and employers' organizations and leaders, as shall, in its judgment, best promote social welfare.

Finally, your committee has a two-fold conviction out of which issues an inference vital to the spiritual problem of our churches:

First, That this question has come to stay; that it cannot be blinked or waved aside; that no amount of religious activity or of practical religious helpfulness can solve it; that nothing short of justice—justice by and justice to capital and labor alike—can reach the case. But, on the other hand, and—

Second, That only by the principles of the Gospel—its ethics, its love, its law of respect for every human soul as a Son of God, and a brother of Jesus Christ, and its foundation stone of sacrifice—can the ends properly sought by all true employers and workers be attained.

In these circumstances, since hearts must



be reached and the inmost man changed in order to supply any adequate motive for all this, one crowning inference follows, namely, that the present industrial-economic crisis constitutes a supreme motive for that fundamental Revival of Religion in all our church-

es for which the hearts of our people are looking, and longing, and praying.

*Signed, David N. Beach, Washington Gladden, William J. Tucker, William A. Knight, Sec.*

*Frank W. Merrick, Chairman.*

## Report of the Episcopal Labor Committee

The unionist who has no toleration for the faults of the capitalist, the capitalist who condones no shortcoming of the unionist and the churchman who withholds absolution for industrial sin from both employer and employé, will read with interest and with advantage the report recently presented to the Episcopal Church by its able labor committee headed by Bishop Potter.

"We are agreed," the report says, "in the conviction that the cases of the violence of the past three years in Pennsylvania, in Colorado and in Illinois are not so much economical as moral. The strike commonly begins in distrust. The reason at the heart of it is that the master has as little confidence in the good will of the men as the men have in the good faith of the master. Where distrust and antagonism are well founded there is nothing for it, so far as the church is concerned, except conversion. They who are at fault are to be admonished, on the one side, against prejudice and passion, and on the other side against covetousness and the sins which proceed from the inordinate love of riches. The capitalist and the laborer are alike sons of the church. There is as much loyalty to the church and to the divine head of the church in the one class as in the other. The church helps to remove the moral causes of industrial strife when she brings these different members of her family into better acquaintance.

"We perceive among our clergy and laity alike much ignorance (frankly confessed and deplored) as to the principles which are involved in the conflicts of the industrial world. Every industrial dispute involves three parties—the employer, the employed and the public; and the public eventually casts the deciding vote. Thus a serious social responsibility rests upon every Christian citizen and, more especially, upon the Christian minister. We call attention to the analogy between certain officers of the union and like officers, past or present, of both the capitalist and the churchman. Thus the employers' blacklist corresponds to the union's boycott, and both are akin to the major excommunication. The lockout and the strike are of the same nature. The question of the closed shop is like the question of the

closed state. Men whose Puritan ancestors strove to maintain a state whose privileges should belong only to members of the church, ought to be able to understand the struggle of their brethren to maintain a shop in which no man shall serve except a member of the union.

"They may not agree with these brethren but they ought to appreciate their self sacrifice. The laborer has learned from the capitalist to despise order and break law. He has learned from the churchman to pursue the dissenter with menace and violence. The recent tragedies in Colorado do not follow at a far distance the massacres which in the sixteenth century ensued upon the withdrawal of Holland from the ecclesiastical union.

"While, then, we condemn the tyranny and turbulence of the labor union and call upon the law to preserve the liberty of every citizen to employ whom he will and to work for whom he will, we deprecate the hasty temper, which, in condemning the errors of the unions, condemns at the same time the whole movement with which they are connected. The offenses of the union are as distinct from the cause for which the organization of labor stands, as the inquisition is distinct from the gospel.

"In the face of a prejudice and an hostility for which there are serious reasons, we are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. Its purpose is to maintain such a standard of wages, hours, and conditions as shall afford every man an opportunity to grow in mind and in heart. Without organization the standard cannot be maintained in the midst of our present commercial conditions.

"This report is designedly general in its terms, but there is one matter which we are constrained to commend in particular to the consciences of Christian people. The employment of children in factories and mills depresses wages, destroys homes and depreciates the human stock. Whatever interferes with the proper nurture and education of a child contradicts the best interests of the nation. We call, then, on Christian employers and on Christian parents to endeavor after such betterment of the local and general laws as shall make the labor of children impossible in this Christian country."

The report is signed by Henry C. Potter, William Lawrence, Charles P. Anderson, R. H. McKim, George M. Hodges, C. D. Williams, Samuel Mather and Jacob Riis.

# Ethics of Christianity Reflected in the Labor Movement

By E. E. Clark

*Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, and one of the men appointed by President Roosevelt to form the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission*

Christianity is a science far reaching enough to extend to the uttermost parts of the earth and broad enough in its principles to afford room in its plan of salvation for all mankind. The

But, broad, comprehensive, exhaustive and far reaching as the science and ethics of Christianity are, the whole may be concisely and correctly summed up in the statement that the purpose is



E. E. CLARK

ethics of Christianity are so comprehensive as to apply themselves to every phase and every incident of human life. They involve so many branches of thought as to make it impossible ever to exhaust the profitable discussion of them.

to lead mankind to better and happier lives here and hereafter, through development of the higher instincts and the better sides of human nature.

The labor movement is not a campaign against law and order, led on by agitators and enemies of peace, as



some would represent it to be. On the contrary, it is the tangible evidence of the desire for better things on part of the masses who, in accord with divine edict, bring the sweat of labor to their brows in order that they may eat bread. It is the overflow or safety valve for the ever present, irresistible longing for greater liberties and better conditions of life. It is reflective of the same spirit which led the children of Israel to refuse to make bricks without straw, which buoyed them up in their pilgrimage in search of the promised land, which brought the Pilgrim Fathers to the newly found West, which has performed so important a part in the development of the new world, which is behind the march of civilization, and without which progress would be impossible.

#### CHRISTIANITY AND LABOR ADVANCING TOGETHER.

Like all great movements or reforms it has had its authors, its disciples, its apostles, its missionaries and its martyrs. Its aim is to make mankind better, more comfortable and happier here, and this of necessity, leads them nearer to a probable happy hereafter. The work of the church will not be done until the millennium shall have dawned; and until that day the labor movement will be found pressing on side by side or hand in hand with it. People talk glibly about solving the labor problem. The cause of Christianity will not have completely triumphed so long as there are sinners outside of the fold, and the labor problem will not be solved so long as hope of better things springs up in the hearts and minds of men. We shall steadily approach the goals which we seek. Some day they will be reached.

For the purpose of this discussion we can only give brief consideration to a few of the ethics of Christianity which are involved in, or, I prefer to say, which are reflected in, the labor movement. And so I shall call attention to some few of the many incidents in the life and teachings of the man Christ which seem to apply most aptly

and opportunely to the practical life of man in this twentieth century.

Before going further, and to avoid possible misapprehension or misunderstanding, it is proper for me to say — which I suppose I should be ashamed to admit — that I am not a member of any church and that I do not profess to be a Christian. I, however, believe in Christianity. I hope that while neglecting many of its teachings — all of which are good and none of which ever brought harm to any man — I consistently follow others of them, more especially those to which I shall particularly refer.

Christ came to earth as the messenger of God to all mankind. He did not go into the temple and from there proclaim his mission but he went about among the poor and lowly, the masses of the people, teaching and preaching of better things for them. He announced one of the eternal ethics of Christianity when he bade them bear one another's burdens. And that is one of the ethics of Christianity which is deeply involved in the labor movement. The labor movement as we know it in this age is a combined effort on part of the many to rid each other of some of the burdens which are borne in their individual capacities; and to make life better, brighter, happier for all. It seeks to secure for the industrious man compensation for his services, and hours of labor, which will afford comfort for himself and family and opportunity to develop and cultivate a taste for a higher life physically, morally and spiritually. If Christianity means anything it means that all men are God's children, and, whether it be right or wrong to view it in that light, it is certain that the word and promises of God preached to a hungry man or to the man whose days know nothing but a ceaseless grind of labor for a bare existence and whose nights know nothing but the sleep of physical exhaustion will fall in barren soil.

#### BOTH MAKING FOR HIGHER CIVILIZATION.

Christianity makes steadily for a

higher civilization and if I were asked to point out one, and only one, evidence of the fact that the labor movement of this day involves many of the ethics of Christianity I would without hesitation call attention to the fact that the labor movement is strongest and thrives best in those countries where Christianity is most strongly entrenched and most generally accepted. There is no labor movement in idolatrous India. Neither Christianity nor its practical ethics give the masses there hope for better and higher things and so, instead of hustling and striving as does the trade unionist in Christianized America, that native quietly and tamely succumbs to starvation, saying, "It is fate."

God saw to it that the widow's bin of meal and cruse of oil did not become empty. Christ said "Suffer little children to come unto me." The two principles thus laid down have been embraced and faithfully followed by the leading organizations in the labor movement. By the establishment of out of work funds, fraternal insurance, and widows' and orphans' funds, to which the individual members contribute liberally from their hard earned means, the widows and orphans are kept in meal and oil.

By earnest and energetic efforts the labor unions have, to a large degree, checked the coining of infant health, life and limb into money for the coffers of those whose conception of business is the employment of children of tender years for long hours at arduous labor, and for the merest pittance, thus mortgaging beyond the possibility of redemption the health, morals and welfare of generations yet unborn.

The Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, in its investigation of conditions in the anthracite region, found that within a few years numbers of silk mills had been located in that region with no apparent inducement for such location except the opportunity there found for the employment of little girls. It was shown that hundreds of such little ones of tender years were working from six o'clock in the morn-

ing until six o'clock at night, or from six o'clock at night until six o'clock in the morning, and for wages as low as three cents per hour.

It was argued on one side that these were the children of workingmen and if their parents did not permit it the conditions could not exist. This was answered by the assertion that the conditions under which the parents worked were such as to compel every member of the family to contribute every cent that could be earned no matter what the cost might be in health or morals. The miners argued for higher wages and better conditions for themselves so that the young children would not be required to assist in earning the necessities of life, and so that the few inhuman parents who perhaps would drive their offsprings to such labor would not have the excuse of spurring necessity.

#### THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL WAGE.

I desire to here digress far enough to call attention to the fact that a fair inquiry into the sociological conditions among any class or group of workers must take into consideration both the economic wage and the sociological wage. It may be said that in a certain employment three dollars per day is a good wage, and so far as it goes, the statement may be true. But if the employed must be ready for service at all times and is thus prevented from devoting part of his time and attention to other employment, and is not given employment for more than half the days in the year, the results at the end of the year are no better, even if as good, than if he had been steadily employed at a dollar and a half a day. That is, the sum of his earnings available for support of his family and which constitutes his sociological wage is equivalent to a year's work at one-half the economic wage actually paid.

What would your Sunday Schools amount to, or what would they accomplish if all the children were required to work at steady, exacting employment for twelve hours out of every



twenty-four through the week? Would there be much opportunity to hope that the little children would come to Christ as he bade them do?

Much has been accomplished in this work but it is far from being finished. Let me repeat that wherever an effort has been made to restrict child labor it has had more loyal and earnest support from the labor unions than from others, while most such movements have been originated by the unions. This is a work in which the church can well give its active and energetic assistance.

Christ chose disciples and bade them go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. What was the gospel which he directed them to preach? Was it an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth? Was it a gospel of fear, illustrated with vivid word pictures of the imaginary heat and torture in store for all those who did not accept it? Was it composed of theological discussions? No. It was the simple gospel of love. Love of the Father for the Son. Love of the Son for mankind and the beautiful commandment that ye, we, love one another.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS AND THE GREAT COMMANDMENT.

What commandment could more aptly fit the present condition of industry and society? Deceit, desertion of trust, scandal and crime are rife and are found in high places as well as in lowly places. The man who, holding a position of trust, either public or private, takes advantage of the opportunity to rob those who have placed confidence in him has no love for his neighbors or for society. If the love for one another of which the Savior spoke had been entertained by the leading spirits on either side of the recent regrettable conflicts in portions of the State of Colorado, our page of civilization would not have borne the ineffaceable blot which has been put upon it by a seeming effort to make a right out of two wrongs. If we demand respect

for law and for the right from others we must in all consistency be willing to respect the law and the right ourselves. Wrong is wrong and defiance of law is defiance of law whether perpetrated by those in authority or by others. If we expect consideration from others we must give consideration. If we claim rights we must recognize and shoulder responsibilities. If we demand privileges we must assume obligations. If we want to be loved we must love.

#### LABOR HAS ITS PETERS AND JUDASES.

The labor movement has its disciples going about among the people encouraging them to higher purposes and ideals, teaching the precepts of organizations whose principles are enunciated in their mottoes, "Fidelity, Justice and Charity," "Benevolence, Sobriety and Industry," "Brotherly Love," etc. Ah! I hear some one say that some of these disciples of labor preach discontent and strife and do more harm than good. Perhaps that is true. I am sorry to be obliged to admit it. But it must be remembered that nineteen centuries ago the Savior of mankind selected twelve men whom he thought he could tie to, and among the twelve he later found Peter, who denied him, and Judas, who betrayed him. I presume the percentage of deceit, disloyalty, moral cowardice and treachery holds good in this twentieth century. The labor movement can not be justly denounced because of mistakes, evil acts or even crimes perpetrated by some of its emissaries or members any more than the church can be justly denounced because occasionally a human wolf is found in the clerical garb or because of the backsliding of an occasional member.

Some emissaries of labor have taught the doctrine of class hatred, distrust of fellow man and repudiation of the common obligations of citizenship. Some clergymen have helped such propaganda along by extreme expressions condemnatory of all organized labor because of mistakes or wrongs committed in its name and

which were probably sincerely regretted by the great majority of its members.

Such expressions do not represent the ethics of either the labor movement or of Christianity. They hurt and hinder the great beneficent work of the labor movement and of the church. They show that all good causes are retarded by over enthusiastic adherents whose judgment is out of balance.

#### THE INDUSTRIAL MILLENNIUM.

The Christian looks forward with hope and confidence for the coming of the millennium, when all men shall know Christ and serve him. The earnest advocate of trades unionism looks with hope and confidence for the dawning of an industrial millennium when all men shall know and have opportunity to enjoy a higher, nobler, better life. Scoffers and unbelievers scout the possibility of either and call us, who believe that these things will be, visionaries. I, for one, would rather be a visionary, with hope in the future and with some of the milk of human kindness in my veins than to be a cold blooded cynic, unable to find pleasure in present associations or encouragement in future prospects.

But let us not lose sight of this fact: The church can not save sinners and the labor unions can not give its full benefits to the individual except through the efforts of the individual sinner or workman. No sinner can declare himself to be a part of the church and be saved through vicarious atonement. No workman can hope to enjoy the benefits secured by the labor movement unless he is willing to work for them. And both may depend upon it that the portions of permanent good which they receive, either spiritual or material, will be in direct ratio with their personal efforts. The theory of universal salvation without regard to personal worth and the theory of socialism, under which each shall work when and at what he chooses, are alike impossible and impracticable.

Christ came to earth with a message of peace on earth, good will to man, and in appreciation of his efforts the populace crucified him. The message of peace and good will has, however, echoed down the halls of the centuries and I am optimistic enough to believe that despite the seething caldrons of industrial and international strife which are now observed in some places, there is, in proportion to the population, more of that spirit in the hearts of men today than ever before. Men prominent in industrial and in national affairs are actively employing their time, their energies and their influence in the direction and causes of industrial and of international peace.

#### NOT A PEACE BUT A JUST PEACE.

The desirability of peace in any walk or condition of life needs no discussion; but peace, in order to be lasting and in order to be a blessing, must be established in right ways and on right and just lines. I would hail with glad acclaim industrial peace so inaugurated; but I want no industrial peace which can not be had without dishonor. I would not wish to see peace established by a complete surrender on part of the workers for that would mean simply serfdom. I would not want to see peace come through an unconditional capitulation on part of the employers for that would soon bring actual anarchy. No peace enthroned under either of those conditions would be permanent or beneficial. Harmony is a thing greatly to be desired but it is not desirable that either side should furnish all the harmony. The disposition of the members of trades unions in the direction of industrial peace is best shown in their ready and steadily increasing subscriptions to the principle of arbitration.

One of the cardinal virtues of Christianity is charity and that beautiful spirit is one of those most generally accepted, taught and practiced among those who make up the organized labor movement. It is not too much to say that, considering their means, they give more liberally to the aid of unfortunate



or distressed fellows than do any others. They spread the mantle of charity over the shortcomings and faults of their associates and of others. They have big hearts and willing hands in the hour of trouble. Individual acts of unselfish devotion and of kindness could be recited almost without end. In one sad instance in the coal fields of Pennsylvania the mother of a little babe lay sick in bed. The father was brought home a corpse, the victim of an accident in the mine. The funeral was held and upon returning from the cemetery the friends who were doing all that human hands could do in such an hour found the wife and mother dead in her bed. What became of the little one? Did it find its way to an orphan asylum? No. A roughly clad, rough spoken and rough looking miner picked it up and carried it to his humble home where there were already a wife and eight children depending upon his slender earnings, and there the baby found a welcome and a home, and there to this day it still enjoys its share of whatever of comfort that home can furnish.

#### RECIPROCAL RIGHTS AND THE GOLDEN RULE.

And now a brief reference to the principle laid down by Christ in his most comprehensive command to men. This command that man shall do to others as he would that they should do to him embraces all the ethics of Christianity and contains all the directions necessary for a beautiful Christian life. It does not mean that we shall surrender our convictions and beliefs, or that we shall give way in all things to others. It means that in our thoughts and actions we shall give careful consideration to the rights, wishes and opinions of others and then govern our acts by what our consciences tell us is right, just and fair; that we shall do by them as we would believe it to be fair and right that they should do by us if our conditions and positions were reversed.

This principle is being advocated and taught and practiced by a continually

increasing number of trades unionists and trades unions. Its importance and the disastrous effects of ignoring it have been clearly demonstrated in the labor world. More and more men are becoming convinced that in order to achieve lasting success the movement must be both morally and economically right.

If we govern ourselves by this rule, so aptly termed the Golden Rule, we will bring into our daily lives all of the Christian virtues; we will broaden our natures; will have performed our share in bringing happiness to mankind; will have done our full part in the dissemination of peace on earth and have practiced good will to man.

You who hear me are disciples of Christianity or of the labor movement. I would urge you who are disciples of Christianity to preach the lessons of love, devotion, loyalty and all the other virtues which are to be drawn from the life of Christ, as applicable to life as it is lived today. The men of this day admit the fact and the personality of God, the Father, and of Christ, the Son, and do not care for theological dissertations intended to prove such fact or personality. To the disciples of the labor movement I would say: If you are teaching strife, discord and hatred you are doing harm to the cause, as well as to those who may follow your teachings. It is your duty to encourage men to strive to be the best workmen in their crafts, to be honest with themselves and all with whom they are associated or with whom they deal, to each do his part in his union and to teach the mission of the union to be the securing of the highest compensation, the shortest hours of labor and the best conditions of employment possible to secure within the limits of right, reason and justice.

To all I say: Put your hearts into your work. Dare to follow the dictates of your consciences. Have the courage of your convictions. Be, in fact, ambassadors for Christ or for the labor movement, or, better yet, for both, and remember that there is at

all times a cloud of witnesses around to be helped or hindered, benefited or harmed by your expressions and your examples.

Neither the emissary of labor nor the minister of the gospel can accomplish the best work or the fullest measure of success if he fails to realize the importance, on the one hand, of mixing the ethics of Christianity with his work on behalf of the toilers, and, on the other hand, of giving attention to the

practical side of life as represented in the ever present necessities of those who must work today in order that want may not be felt tomorrow.

Neither Christianity nor the labor movement can afford to have as disciples opportunists or extremists. Both movements are founded in eternal truth and we should bear ever in mind the spirit of the principles which we believe and teach rather than the letter of any text which we may select.

## New York's Comedy of the Water Wagon

By Robert E. Rinehart

*Contributed through the Association of Neighborhood Workers, New York City*

During the tropical months, July and August, when the Broadway playhouses were dark and silent, those unfortunate New Yorkers, who for one reason and another remained in town, derived considerable amusement from the polemic skit, in which Commissioner Woodbury, head of the New York street cleaning department, and the Street Sprinkling Association struggled to determine which had the better right to throw water on the thoroughfares of the metropolis. It was the hit of the season. There were ominous mutterings of all sorts of litigation; such scorching words as bribes, intimidations, crookedness, mingled with courts, decisions, and injunctions, flew fast and furious, and at one time the interested spectators were treated to the highly diverting situation of a city official threatened with an injunction restraining him from performing the duties of his office. The street sprinkling association, as the heavy villain, hung this dire menace over the head of the street cleaning department, and facetiously proposed to secure its injunction against the city's official on the strength of a concession that in the beginning was given gratis by the city. The essence of the comedy was that this injunction was all but granted. There was a pretty duel, in which nothing thicker than water flowed, that

ended with honors even and with conditions practically the same as at the outset—except the education.

Commissioner Woodbury, through a rash resolution to keep New York's thoroughfares clean, stirred up the whole rumpus. As head of the street cleaning department, he may perhaps be pardoned for showing a slight disposition to perform a few of the duties for which he was appointed; but he went too far. Not satisfied with the efficiency of his "white wings" and street cleaning apparatus, the commissioner permitted his house-cleaning ambition to lead to the use of water. He began a systematic flushing of the street pavements in various portions of the city. There was no particular misdemeanor in his action, save that it cut in on the receipts of the Street Cleaning Association.

### SPRINKLING AND ITS REVENUE.

A long time ago, in the dark ages of New York municipal history, or to be more explicit, before 1892, the watering of the city's unutterable thoroughfares of that period was in the hands of petty parties, small concerns or owners of single sprinkling carts. The same conditions prevailed which now continue in small cities and towns about the country. A man possessing a sprinkling wagon and a team of horses,



would secure the privilege of sprinkling the streets from the city and then proceed to get together a route of customers exactly after the fashion of a newsboy. In rare instances a man owned and operated several carts. Later on, to facilitate matters certain districts were allotted to certain men. Then some genius for monopoly, conceiving that it would be a paying venture to band all the individual owners of sprinkling carts into one concern, thereby controlling all the city sprinkling, organized the Street Sprinkling Association and in 1892 incorporated it under the laws of West Virginia to operate in New York City..

Since that time all New York street sprinkling has been under the control of this association. Beyond paying \$28,000 to the city for the water used in its business, it has not, so far as is known, given the municipal government any remuneration whatsoever for its immense concession. A little computing will demonstrate the great value of this grant. A charge of twenty-five cents a week for every twenty-foot frontage was made to each abutting property owner or resident who desired to have street sprinkling done. It will readily be seen that routes along streets lined with apartment houses and office buildings paid enormous returns. A single office building such as the Flat Iron Building was a veritable gold mine, for each tenant on every floor came in for his share of the obligations to the watering wagon. The association very naturally grew wealthy and powerful. Its officers were prominent men in the machines of both parties. Moreover it grew to believe that it held a lease on the New York streets, especially the principal thoroughfares.

#### WASHING VS. SPRINKLING.

When Commissioner Woodbury began his street washing operations somewhere back in the spring as soon as the temperature became mild enough, there was no objection from the street autocrat, the street sprinkling association. Every morning between 1 and 3 o'clock the street cleaning gangs flushed the

pavements, so that New York, in spite of a Tammany administration, was scrupulously clean in some portion at least. This would have been all well and good so far as the sprinkling company was concerned, if nothing further had arisen. But something did.

When the warm months came around and the sprinkling company prepared for its annual harvest, it was aghast to find itself confronted with a shrinkage in its sprinkling routes. The old time customers along Fifth Avenue and analogous streets, noting that the thoroughfares were clean every morning and that no dust remained for the sprinkling carts to lay, could not see any reason why they should pay out money for something they did not need. Consequently they abandoned the sprinkling routes in swarms. Moreover, to add to the unpleasantness of the company's feelings, the little sprinkling that took place was looked upon with disfavor by pedestrians and drivers, because it made the streets slippery and disagreeable for travel. People complained to the street cleaning department. Commissioner Woodbury heard their objections and with singular activity at once ordered the sprinkling carts to refrain from watering the streets that were being cleaned by flushing. Here was a pretty todo—the sprinkling association, which since 1892 had held undisputed sway over completed streets, ordered off those streets. At once those wires to the City Hall, which run beneath the city far lower than the subways, were set in motion. It was not long before Commissioner Woodbury's ukase was revoked by a mandate from the board of aldermen. The sprinkling company was restored to its rights.

But the company, thirsting for revenge, determined to remove the man that had menaced it, so it began steps toward enjoining Woodbury from flushing the streets, averring that he was infringing upon the charter given it in 1892 when he threw any water at all on the pavement. The fact that its charter had expired in 1902 and had not been renewed did not seem to make

Woodbury's infringement: any less illegal. The board of aldermen is said to have wagged its many heads doubtfully over Woodbury's flushing. It looked as though the flushing would have to cease until the courts could be heard from, when a corporation lawyer came to the rescue and pointed out that flushing was not street sprinkling at all, but a street cleaning process. So the commissioner's pet system of street cleaning was saved by this subtle distinction. Thus ended the comedy of the water wagon.

It may have been that Commissioner Woodbury persecuted the street sprinkling association; he has always, since his tenure of office, been a sworn foe of that company. He has the startling opinion that perhaps street sprinkling possesses something in common with street cleaning and for that reason should come within the province of the city street cleaning department. He even went so far as to say that because the street sprinkling could be done better and cheaper by his department, it is the duty of the city to take it in hand.

#### THE "HEART" OF THE MATTER.

Much in favor of the commissioner's view might be discovered without very great investigation. He has, however, no sense of the propriety of tradition, whatever, and because a corporation is reputed to be without a conscience or a soul, he seems to take it for granted that it has no heart. This is an egregious mistake. A corporation has a heart. Place the corporation on the dissecting table, and a heart mixed up with its interior organs will be found somewhere close to its dividends. A careful anatomical research will probably reveal the heart bound up, artery like, by the dividends. Strike at the dividends of a corporation and hear the wail of anguish.

This is exactly what Commissioner Woodbury did when he put his flushing scheme in operation. It is not certain that the commissioner began his work with malice prepense against the street sprinkling company, but it may be well to note that in his desire to

give Gotham clean streets, he did not deluge the highways and byways of the Ghetto, where all the flushing he might have poured forth would scarcely have accomplished the cleansing needed, but preferred to flood diligently Fifth Avenue, the gold field of the sprinkling cart. Fairness forbids accusing the commissioner of malice prepense but the same fairness demands that he be accorded the utmost admiration for his adroit, though perhaps unconscious, rapierlike thrust at the heart of the street sprinkling corporation. Had he flushed the streets in the Mulberry Bend neighborhood until the countrymen of Columbus were forced to take to rafts and navigate in search of new worlds, the sprinkling association would have remained as meek as a millennium lion, for a sprinkling cart in that locality would do about as good business as an iceman at the north pole. That he should, however, assail the territory from which the company drew its most lucrative proceeds, was another and very serious matter.

Whether or not the commissioner made a deliberate attack upon the street sprinkling association when he began his street flushing is a matter of conjecture, but he now has it in mind to put that company out of commission. Once he attempted to have the street sprinkling given over to the street cleaning department by the passage of a measure at Albany. A bill to that effect was introduced in the last legislature and got lost in the mysteries of the committee. He will try again.

Common sense hopes to see the commissioner win his point. Flushing, whether it legally is sprinkling or cleaning, is the most effective method of freeing the streets of a large city from that gummy substance that forms on the top of hard pavements. Brushing and sweeping fails; and sprinkling renders it filthy. In the congested localities of the city, where push carts abound, flushing is the only way by which the streets can be made tolerable. If the street sprinkling association is going to be able, some time in the future, to secure an injunction



against flushing—which it must do if it expects to survive—the sooner sprinkling is given into the hands of the street cleaning department, the better for the city. If again, street sprinkling is going to prove a nuisance, as it did on Fifth Avenue and Broadway, it is time for some department to determine where it can be put to some service, and excluded from localities where it is obnoxious.

It is somewhat difficult to specify just what resulted from the first set-to between the street cleaning department and the street sprinkling association. Things ended where they began. The streets were flushed and the streets were sprinkled. The association has got to declare that its summer was as profitable as previous years. After all, it was probably a drawn battle—save for the education.

## Chicago's Infirmary Transformed A Year's Achievement

By Henry G. Foreman

*President of the Board of County Commissioners of Cook County*

EDITORIAL NOTE: "The Reform of a City Poor House," was graphically narrated by Miss Julia C. Lathrop in THE COMMONS for February, as well under way in Chicago. Beginning with a tragedy, it has steadily proceeded through the exceptional efficiency of the Board of County Commissioners, the co-operation of an able advisory committee, the backing of the County Civil Service Law, the considerably discreet support of the city press, the abandonment of cruel economies and the expenditure of \$500,000, the care and forethought of County Architect Watson in designing well adapted buildings, the appointment of a general superintendent who was at once a well qualified physician and an expert institutional administrator, and last, but by no means least, through the high ideals and business capacity of President Foreman. It was with justifiable pride that he addressed the Board and some 200 citizens, after they had inspected the marvelously transformed little city of 3,100 insane, dependent and consumptive inhabitants, in the words which he contributes to our columns. With the following brief sentences, he introduced his businesslike statement of the great results achieved in fulfillment of the promising policy entered upon only a year ago: "At a meeting of this Board one year ago, you were advised of plans for new buildings and of proposed changes in the administrative policy of these institutions, to enlarge the capacity and to improve the charity service afforded here. Today we have shown you the new buildings, and you have seen evidence of the new administrative policy in operation."

The new County Buildings at Dunning were constructed after consultation with medical experts and other Chicago men and women interested in public institutions, and the Building Committee and the architects availed themselves of many valuable suggestions. The combined result is that our buildings present the newest and most approved ideas of sanitary science and furnish the most humane and most satisfactory provisions for the care of the insane and of consumptives.

### PURPOSE AND CAPACITY OF NEW BUILDINGS.

The new buildings may be summarized briefly as follows:

A group of three cottages with a capacity of 160 patients and 20 employes. These cottages are occupied by the milder class of female patients.

The Farm Ward with a capacity of 55 patients and ten employes.

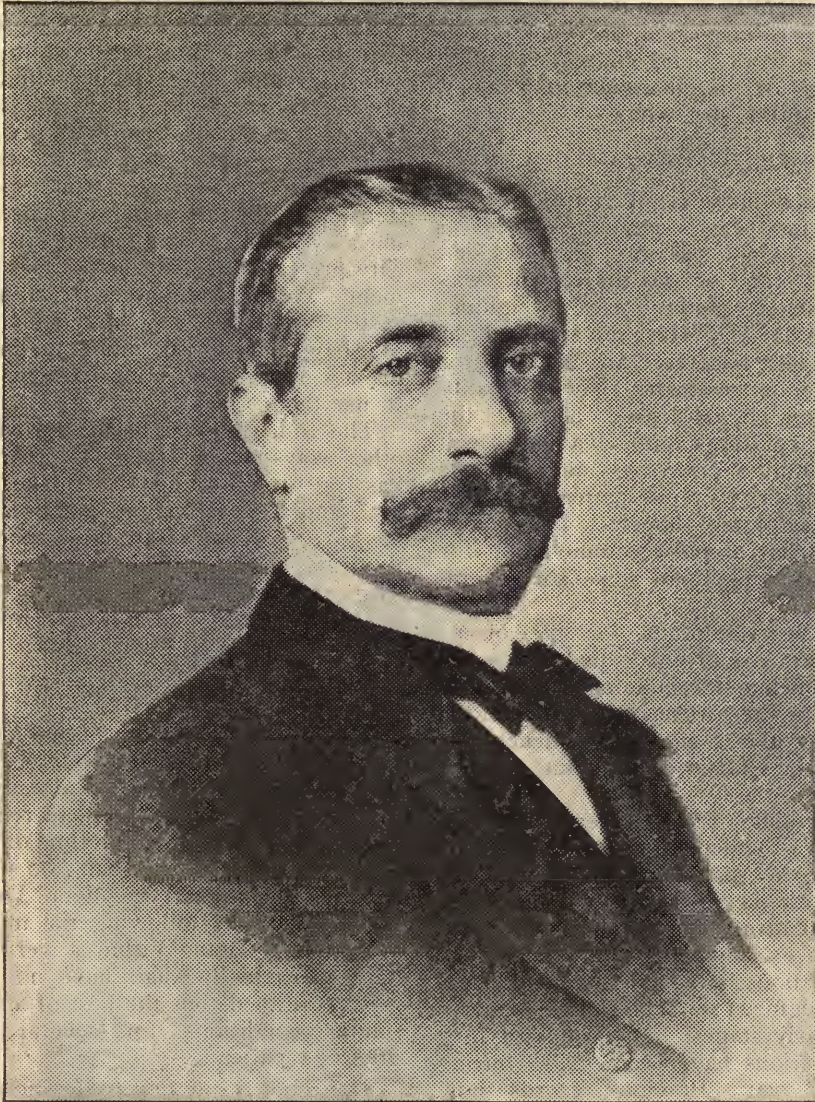
The Hospital Ward for Insane Patients (the reconstructed modern building formerly used for consumptives) which will be ready for occupancy in a short time. The capacity is 326 patients and 14 employes. This hospital is provided with improved plumbing, ventilating, lighting and operative service and with safeguards for patients with suicidal or homicidal tendencies. It is one of the world's best general hospitals for sick insane.



A Pavilion Building for Male Insane with a capacity for 160 patients.

A combined Morgue and Pathological building, which affords considerable

A new home for the cure of Tuberculosis, comprising four separate wards and an administration building, with total capacity for 220 patients and



HENRY G. FOREMAN

care for the bodies of the claimed dead and furnishes a small amphitheatre and a few rooms for the study of diseases and their causes. There also are rooms and an office for the clerk.

quarters for all nurses and physicians employed there.

The new buildings give good return for their cost as shown by the following table of per capitas:



## PER CAPITA COST OF EACH BUILDING.

Five Consumptive Cottages...\$ 182.18  
 Three Insane Cottages.....\$ 440.45  
 One Farm Building.....\$ 423.80  
 Three Pavilion Buildings for..

Insane .....\$ 331.86

The Building Committee, when making tours of inspection, previous to construction work found the cost of public buildings of this character to be from \$500 to \$1000 per capita.

## FACILITIES NEW AND OLD.

The new home for the cure of tuberculosis has been occupied for several months. One of the first decided changes noted among the patients was the marked diminution of coughing. An abundance of fresh air and sunlight is afforded; and there are facilities for the outdoor treatment. The mortality remains high, of course, because the best of buildings and advantages will not rebuild a destroyed lung and the great majority of our patients still are of the absolutely hopeless type. This hospital has ample accommodation for all patients likely to come for several years.

The new buildings for the insane give that class of unfortunates cheerful and homelike surroundings. The farm ward, for the patients who work on the farm, is like a modern residence. It has modern facilities, including shower baths.

The public little understands and therefore underestimates the importance of the pathological department. The work includes not only the search for the causes of diseases by post-mortem examinations but laboratory examinations by which serious ailments are recognized quickly and certainly in their early stages. Thousands of such examinations have been made during the last year. Previous records show only a few individual efforts of this character here. While the Infirmary has fair accommodations for the poor, it is not a satisfactory building. Our bond issue for \$500,000 with which the new structures, here and at the County Hospital, were erected, did not permit of replacing old structures more than

two stories high and not fireproof with fireproof buildings. The great demand was to provide enough room to care for the sick and injured poor of this great County.

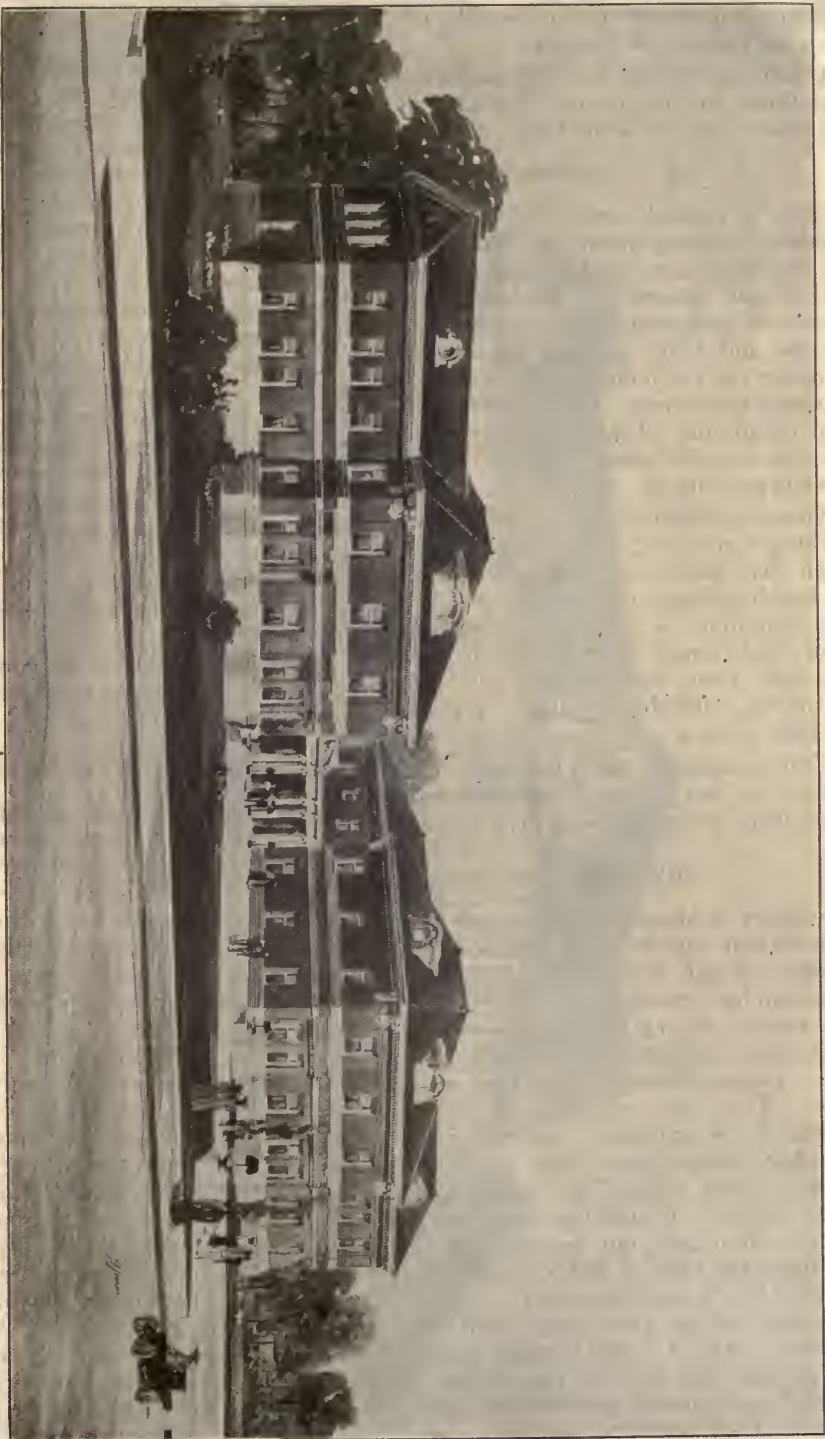
However, I recommended in my last annual message to the County Board, and again later in a special message, that steps be taken to tear down this old Infirmary and other County buildings, not fireproof and more than two stories high, and to replace them with fireproof buildings. Such a step would remove the old style prison-like structures still in use here for the insane. We are taking all possible precautions against fire. City fire captains drill our local department. We have a new electrical alarm system and other new fire equipment. We have put canvas chutes in the Infirmary and instructed our patients how to use them.

The Infirmary has been improved in other ways during the last year. It has lost the objectionable "smoker's alley" and the smoking population now has a very decent, clean, large room for its use. The operating room and the surgical wards have been given special consideration and now are in very fair and useful condition.

## RELIEF OF THE CONGESTION.

The departments for insane which you found at the time of your visit last year seriously overcrowded already are much relieved and a complete relief is within easy reach. At the time of your visit there were more than 300 insane patients sleeping on the floor. During the few months following the number increased to 360. Within a very few days we actually shall have not only good clean beds but the best of air and sanitary conditions for several hundred new patients.

The relief is due first to the increased capacity afforded by the new buildings and secondly to the fact that Cook County's quotas in the several state hospitals for the insane have been increased at our request by about 650. Of these 50 new patients have been sent to Watertown and 50 more to Bartonville. The Kankakee and Elgin hos-



NEW GROUP OF BUILDINGS FOR INSANE



pitals have been enlarging their quotas by increasing the number of weekly admissions from Cook County.

I assume, on the basis of statistics, that there will be no overcrowding of the insane here for some time.

#### CHANGES IN EQUIPMENT.

After a careful survey of the old buildings and equipment, it was apparent that there was need of new plumbing, a new system of heating, new electrical equipment and a less expensive and more satisfactory method of firing for the boilers. But we were cramped for money. We could not afford to provide all that was needed so we have supplied what seemed to be the most urgent needs.

The old electrical light plant was of the single unit and, there being no gas, when that went wrong as it did once, the buildings were left in darkness. We are installing a duplicate electrical plant, 150 kilowatt close connected unit. We light from one central plant, and, of course, with the duplicate system, are safe against emergencies.

Chain grates are being put under the boilers, as they are more efficient than hand firing and promise to save money.

#### THE FARM.

Another evidence of a business administration here is to be found in the records of our farm. For years the farm had been run at a loss. The county has had to buy potatoes and canned vegetables, although we have 267 acres here, of which about 200 acres are farm land. This year we put in a civil service truck gardener, and the farm flourished like a green bay tree. The patients have reveled in fresh vegetable dinners. I shall not endeavor to go into the details, but the value of our products for 1904 is \$12,000 against a varying loss in previous years.

Aside from the green stuff eaten here and sent to the County hospital during the summer, we have 10,150 gallons of pickled and canned produce and large quantities of potatoes, cabbage, etc., laid by for winter use.

#### REORGANIZATION OF THE MEDICAL STAFF.

The administrative policy for the professional side of the work involved a radical change in the medical staff. The old system of eight assistant physicians was insufficient and unsatisfactory. The present system includes five senior physicians acting as responsible medical heads of the various departments. Under the personal direction of the senior physicians five male and three female internes attend to the medical work, making a total, including the General Superintendent, of fourteen resident physicians against nine under the former arrangement.

In addition there is a consulting staff of five expert physicians and surgeons residing in Chicago, who give their services when required.

The medical service in all departments has been decidedly benefited by the new policy.

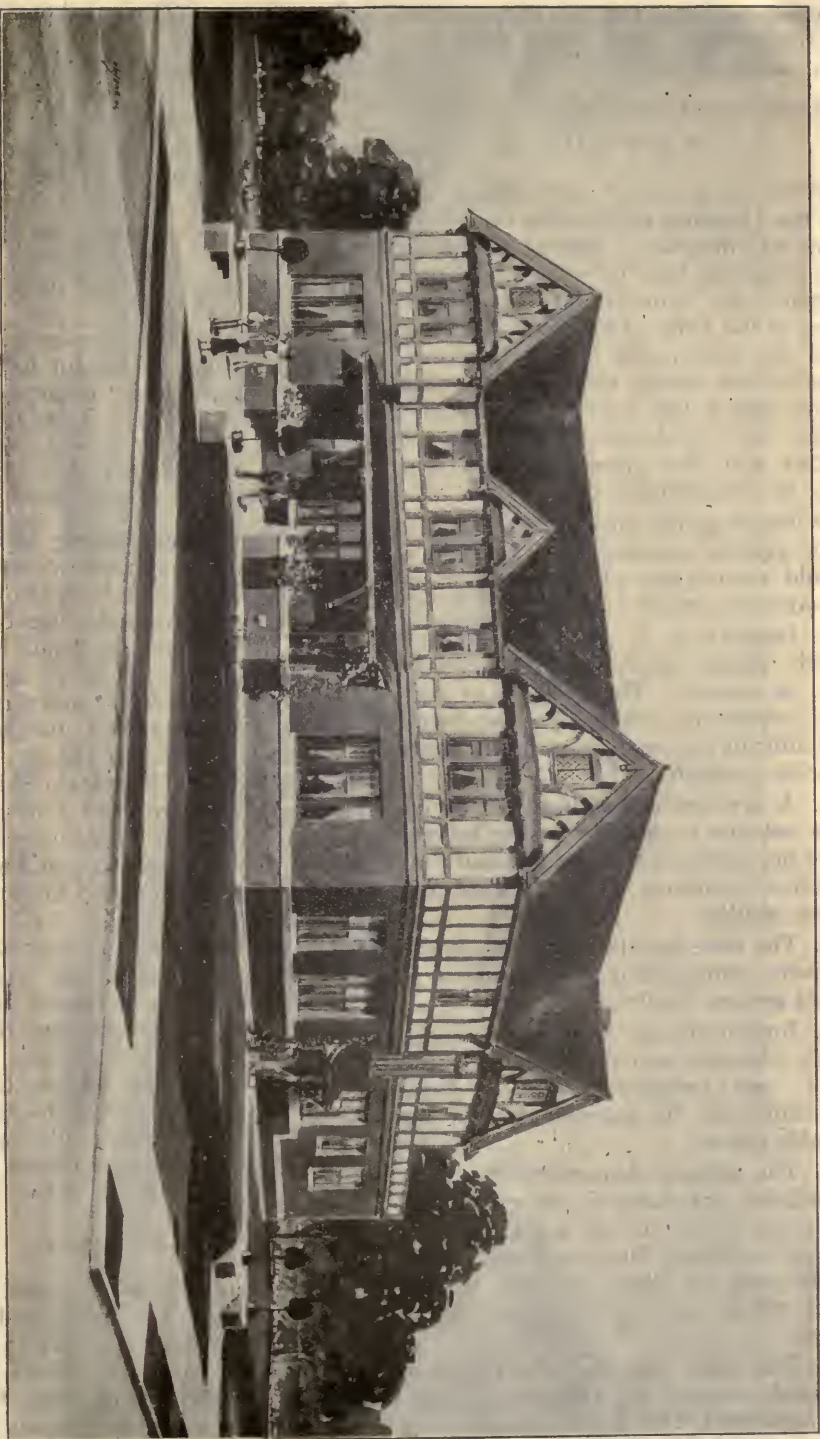
The classification of patients in the department for insane is improving as the congestion is relieved.

#### IMPROVEMENT IN NURSING SERVICE.

The nurses and attendants are under the charge of a superintendent of nurses, who is a trained nurse with special experience. She is assisted by six head nurses, who also have had training school experience and who are in charge of various departments. One innovation is the service of women nurses in the care of insane men. It has achieved the best results.

The training school for nurses and attendants completed its first year in June last. From the class there were selected eight most promising nurses who now are being detailed for second year training, which will be given them in the Hospital ward for the insane and at the Infirmary. This will mean to them genuine bedside instruction.

Thanks to generous friends we have been able to provide our patients with amusement and music. This service has been greatly appreciated by the patients and has been of distinct value in their treatment. A committee of your Board



FARM COTTAGE FOR WORKING PATIENTS



handled the fund for this purpose and by some magic made every \$100 buy \$200 worth of goods.

PROPOSED TRANSFER OF THE INSANE  
TO THE STATE.

While the present County Board has put the Dunning Institutions on a high plane of efficiency, I believe the problem presented here is to be solved permanently by transferring this equipment to the State of Illinois for a Hospital for the insane. I have recommended this radical step to the County Board and it has instructed the Committee on Legislation to take up the matter with the proper officials and urge its consummation.

Without going into details let me state general reasons why the State should assume care of all the insane in its various counties:

1. Insanity is a public misfortune which reaches far beyond the village, city, or county. The problem of correct control and treatment is too broad and difficult for small government units to solve properly.

2. A far better classification of insane patients is possible among several state institutions than in one county institution, resulting in better care and better results.

3. The state has the means of a more uniform management and treatment in broad general outlines.

4. Improvements are much more easily obtained and maintained by the state; and supplies bought in large quantities can be secured at most favorable prices.

5. The restless element in the state population gravitates to the great city, acquiring often only an actual and not a legal residence, thus entitling them to public care, if they become insane. They continuously are residents of the state.

6. The state can obtain a complete hospital, situated on 267 acres of land, and equipped with buildings, many of them erected this year, modern and up-to-date, with an uncrowded capacity of

1870 patients. The new home for consumptives easily could be made into shops for the employment of the insane, thus rounding out the equipment for a state institution, with room for expansion; Or, should the state start a colony of consumptives, here would be a modern, well equipped nucleus to start with. The county, in my judgment, can well afford to turn over all this property to the state without charge.

7. An institution, under state management, situated adjacent to Chicago, would be a decided advantage to the people of the state. Even Elgin and Kankakee are too far from Chicago.

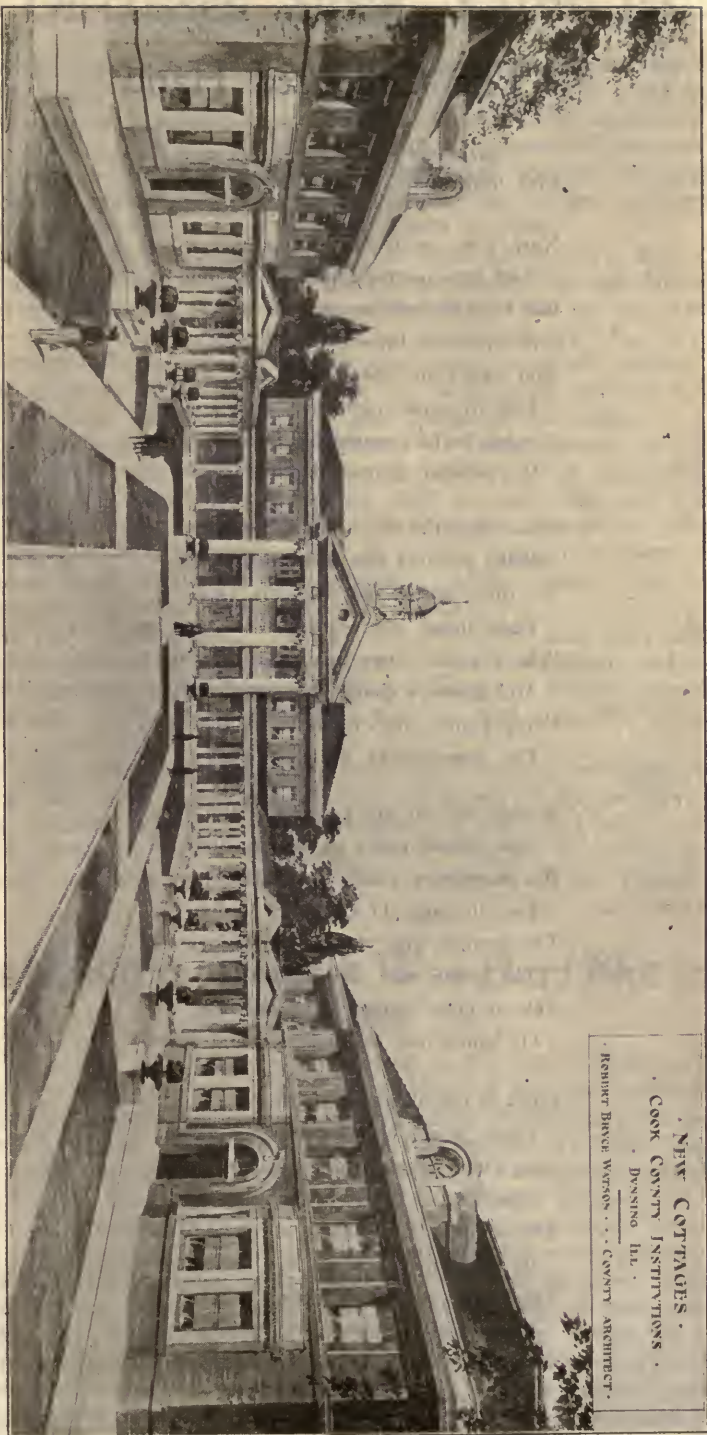
FOR A NEW INFIRMARY.

While the insane belong to the state the infirmary population certainly belongs to the counties. Should the state take over this property, we could secure a large tract of land in Cook County remote from street car service to the city and erect an infirmary there. The present infirmary is too near Chicago, for the good of the city and for the good of the inmates. Should the state not desire to start a hospital for consumptives, we could erect a new hospital on the land bought for the infirmary site and move our tubercular patients to it.

On the basis of the foregoing, I respectfully recommend that this Advisory Board, if your judgment approves, endorse the plan to transfer the Dunning property to the state and that the Advisory Board also send to the State Board of Charities and to the next General Assembly a petition to take over those institutions and maintain them as a State hospital for the insane.

WORDS OF THANKS.

In closing I desire to take this occasion to thank, for myself and for the County Board, the members of the Advisory Board, and the officers and the employes of these institutions, from the General Superintendent down, for the efficient and faithful assistance in the great charity work performed here.



NEW COTTAGES.  
COOK COUNTY INSTITUTIONS.  
DENSING, ILL.  
ROBERT BRUCE WATSON, COUNTY ARCHITECT.

NEW COTTAGES FOR INSANE



## The Calloused Hand

*"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."—Ecclesiastes 9:10.*

Now, some write books of empty words,  
And some weave fancies into song—  
But he who toils among the shreds,  
Barehanded, brown of face, and strong,  
And clears the place where shall arise  
The structure that shall long endure,  
Though he be counted far from wise  
His portion of reward is sure.

Some, with the brush and many hues,  
Make pictures that men rush to see—  
Yet there are no more worthy views  
Than those where many workmen be,  
Where chisel rings against the stone  
And hammer clangs upon the steel,  
For peasant's hut or monarch's throne  
The fingermarks of toil reveal.

Words writ in ink grow dim and fade,  
The canvas turns to dust in time,  
But structures which bare hands have made  
Last through the centuries sublime;  
The bridge, the temple, and the street,  
The castle wall and city gate  
Tell of men braving cold and heat,  
Of hands that builded high and great.

Clear in the harmony of life  
There is one chord that rings alone  
And which with surging strength is rife—  
The hum of toil is in its tone,  
The sounds of tools that blend and blur  
In harmony from all the lands,  
The hymn of the artificer.

The world owes much to calloused hands.

—W. D. N., in the *Chicago Tribune*.

# Labor Discusses Stock Yards Issues

The following discussion of the stock yards strike issues by two earnest and well posted trades unionists, not personally involved, is a good instance of the independence and manful contention for individual conviction within trades union ranks. So much is ignorantly asserted and believed as to the alleged invariable despotism of labor leaders that our readers will appreciate the frank and fearless way in which this discussion was at first conducted on the platform of a public meeting, and now appears in print.

The contention over the "democracy" involved arose over Mr. Grant's insistence that after a strike had been declared by a full, free and fair vote of the unions it could only be successfully conducted by the one or very few chosen to have charge of it. At this point and some others Mr. Fitzpatrick presses Mr. Grant's friendly criticisms beyond their original intent, which never raised the question as to the latter's loyalty to the true interests of trades unionism with which he has been so long and honorably identified.

One thing is made plain by this discussion. It is the answer to the question we raised at the beginning of the second strike, "Who blundered away the packers' pact?" It was the headstrong men in the rank and file, who really went out before they were ordered. But in the opinion of other seasoned labor leaders, if Mr. Donnelley had as firmly refused to issue the call for it, as he stood alone in his effort to call it off, there would have been no second strike and the situation would have been saved.

But all was by no means lost. For, as Mr. Donnelley was man enough to declare, the unions learned a long needed lesson in self discipline and moderation; and, as the packers have shown by their subsequent action, some of the causes of complaint needed to be rectified for the best interests of all concerned.

As to the imported strike breakers, they were, as we predicted, for the most part left to take care of themselves or to be cared for by the city, just as soon as the experienced workmen were available for their old jobs.

So our last word on the needlessly wasteful struggle is one of hope for better relations between the packers and their employes in the future.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

## I. Labor's Mistakes Where it Was Hard Not to Err By Luke Grant

There have been few struggles between employers and employes in recent years which have furnished as many valuable lessons to the student as the recent stockyards strike. There the beneficial effects of trades unionism were seen to a most remarkable degree. There also the excesses to which new and inexperienced unions, flushed with success, sometimes run were likewise painfully evident.

Before the organization of the men in the stockyards the packers were wont to regard their workmen as mere machines. Pacemakers were employed to see that those machines were kept

running to the full limit of endurance. Little attention was paid to the comfort or well-being of the wage workers. In order to increase dividends men were required to work overtime one day and to find themselves without any work the next. To keep stock over night meant an expense to the packers, which they believed of greater importance than the well-being of their workers.

The intermittent nature of employment had a demoralizing effect on the workmen. I know of no condition as likely to make men indolent, careless and improvident as a condition like this where the uncertainty of employment



was ever present. Because of that and other conditions it may be said that the standard of life among the stockyards workers was as low as anywhere in America, certainly much lower than is commensurate with our ideas of American citizenship.

#### INTOXICATION OF POWER.

With the organization of the men these conditions were materially changed. Through the successful work of Michael Donnelly the packers were forced to make one concession after another. Wages were increased, overtime was abolished in many instances and work became less irregular. These successes brought about without a strike turned the heads of the workmen. They became intoxicated with power. They had reached that stage in their career where success was to them more dangerous than defeat.

What is the next development we find following this betterment of working conditions and this raising of the standard of life? That the standard of life among the workmen had been raised through organization was evident to the most casual observer. Confident in the strength which comes with organization and still smarting under the old pacemaking system, the workmen resorted to that most dangerous of all trade union mistakes, the limitation of output.

It has always been contended by the advocates of trades unionism that organization brings about a higher standard of life among the workers and that with this higher standard of life comes a greater degree of efficiency. There is plenty of proof that this contention is correct. The standard of life among American workmen is higher than anywhere else in the world and the American workman is the most efficient under the sun.

#### DANGERS OF LIMITATION.

But at the stockyards this natural order was reversed. Instead of the volume of production being increased through the greater efficiency which we

hold comes with a higher standard of life, we find the production decreased, not slightly which might have been permissible, but to an extent that fair-minded men must condemn whether trades unionists or not.

It should be said to the credit of Mr. Donnelly and some of the other leaders who were able to see beyond the square mile of territory embracing the Chicago stockyards, that they protested against this limitation. But their protests were unavailing and I am satisfied now that this limitation of output had more to do with causing the strike than the desire of the packers to hire unskilled labor at what they termed the market price, which was in their estimation lower than they were paying their laborers.

It is not necessary to dwell on the danger of a trade union making a demand on employers which stipulates the amount of work which shall be performed in a day. The trades unions of the country have for years battled to do away with the piece-work system and have accomplished it in most trades, and where a union specifies the amount of work to be performed in a day, I cannot see that it differs materially from the piece-work system, except that in some respects it is worse. This I consider one of the most serious mistakes by the workmen, although it was only a natural reaction from the conditions imposed by the packers previous to the organization of the men.

The calling of the first strike in the face of an offer of arbitration was technically a mistake. No union whose members are engaged in an industry where the cessation of work so materially affects the comfort of the public can afford to refuse arbitration. Many unions in the past have fought hard battles to win such a concession as arbitration, which even with all its shortcomings is preferable to a strike in a quasi-public industry such as the packing house business.

#### VALUE OF EXPERIENCE.

But before condemning President Donnelly for refusing arbitration offered at the eleventh hour by the

packers, it would be well to consider the peculiar conditions existing at the stockyards. As has already been said success had turned the heads of the men. They did not want arbitration. They wanted to fight because they felt confident of victory. I believe Donnelly gauged the sentiment among them correctly. If he had countermanded the strike order it would have brought about a revolution. The men would have walked out without orders. They had to have the experience which comes with a set-back and now that they have got it I feel it will be better for them.

It is a pity that one union will not profit by the mistakes and experiences of other unions, but they will not do it and this applies especially to new unions which have formed an exalted opinion of their own importance. After a severe setback they begin to take their own measure correctly. They begin to realize that there are two sides to the labor question as there are to other questions and they proceed more cautiously and consequently more successfully after a hard fight.

That is one reason why a great strike is never entirely lost. It teaches valuable lessons to both sides that they could not learn in any other way. It brings both sides to a realization of the fact that abuse of power will react. It proves that sane and reasonable methods must be used by both sides if industrial harmony is to prevail.

The second strike at the stockyards must be set down as one of the biggest blunders ever made in an industrial conflict, no matter how we may try to excuse it. It is true that the strike was actually in progress, called by the men themselves an hour before it was sanctioned by Donnelly. Even then it should not have been sanctioned.

#### BLUNDER DUE TO INEXPERIENCE.

But again that blunder may be laid to inexperience, not so much on the part of the executive officers as on the part of the rank and file. They had not yet been sufficiently chastened to be able to see conditions as they actually were. The experience had to be

dearly bought, but all experience that is worth anything is costly.

In my opinion at the time of the first settlement the packers actually were beaten, but immediately after the second strike was called, they realized that it must be a fight to the finish unless they were prepared to turn over the entire management of their business to shop committees and business agents. Had the unions been successful there is no saying to what extent they might have gone in making new rules, and without attempting to defend the packers, it must be said that some of the old rules were exacting and irritating enough. The packers knew this condition very well and it may have been noticed that after the negotiations following the second strike were broken off, the packers never deviated one inch from the position they assumed at that time, namely, that they had to whip the unions to the point where they would make no agreement with them whatever. That does not necessarily mean that no agreements will be made with the unions in the stockyards in future, in fact I feel certain that agreements will be made again and that before many months if the butcher workmen have sense enough to stand by their organization. The future rests with the workmen themselves.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE UNSKILLED.

Another interesting point which the stockyards strike brought out is the question of whether unskilled laborers so-called, can be successfully organized into trade unions. This is a question on which there are wide differences of opinions today. It is generally agreed among the most advanced thinkers in the union ranks that it is not only possible to organize laborers successfully, but it is absolutely essential to do so for the protection of the skilled workmen. Some, however, still maintain that if laborers are to be organized they should be kept in unions by themselves and not allowed to mix with skilled mechanics.

The truth of the matter is that the



division of labor under our modern industrial system has made the skilled artisan a thing of the past and we are fast becoming a nation of specialists rather than skilled mechanics. In this specialization of industry, each plays his little part and the unskilled man is quite as necessary as the man requiring a greater degree of skill. I know of no clearer illustration of this fact than the stockyards strike. It proved that the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen is organized on the right lines when it aims to control every person engaged in the butcher business whether he is the skilled butcher making 50 cents an hour or the humble laborer in the hide cellar making from 15 to 20 cents.

Doubtless you all noticed that when the packers resumed work with non-union men the cattle-killing departments were the first to start up! The cattle butchers are supposed to be the aristocrats among the butcher workmen. They are the men who make 50 cents an hour and require skill. Still the slaughtering of cattle went along every day, the output being gradually increased, while the by-products handled by the so-called unskilled men were allowed to go to waste because the packers could not find experienced laborers to care for them. The strike was in progress some six weeks before the packers were able to open their smokehouses where the men are supposed to be unskilled, while by that time the slaughtering of cattle had been brought up almost to normal.

#### SKILLED MEN MOST EASILY SECURED DURING STRIKE.

What are we to take from this fact, except that it was easier to procure skilled men than men with experience to do work that is classed as unskilled? It may be true that the packers made greater efforts to keep their killing departments in operation, but the fact remains, staring us in the face, that the cattle butchers with all their skill were the easiest class of men to supplant with strike-breakers.

This fact in itself should be suf-

ficient to dissuade the cattle butchers from the foolish step they are now contemplating, that is breaking away from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters to form an independent union of their own, composed entirely of skilled cattle butchers.

In the conduct of the strike each side might have taken more advantage of the other than was actually the case. It has been said that the packers were determined to crush out unionism in the stockyards. I do not believe that such was the case, not that the packers might not have wanted to be free from the domination (as they termed it) of business agents and shop stewards, but I am satisfied that they were never foolish enough to seriously think they could crush out unionism.

The packers made their strong plea on the insincerity of the men in breaking the first agreement after it had been signed. It is true that that plea had its effect on the public, but if the packers had played their strongest card they would have caused to be published the demands of the men made upon them in full. If I had been conducting the strike for the packers I would have inserted a full-page advertisement in every newspaper in the city, showing what the actual demands of the men were. Had this been done, the fact that a limitation was placed on the amount of work to be done in every single department would have been the most damaging argument that could have been brought out against the workmen. It would have swayed the minds of the public as no other argument could have done and where it would have hurt most was in the fact that it was true.

A good deal was said during the strike that the struggle had broadened out until it was not merely a fight between the packers and the butcher workmen, but a fight between organized labor and organized capital.

#### UNIONISM INDESTRUCTABLE.

That is one of the mistakes which are frequently made. Leaders of organized labor in public speeches de-

clare that if this or that fight is lost it means the death of trades unionism. This is absurd. There is no fight that comes up in any industry which means the death of trades unionism no matter what the result of the fight may be. Unions may now and then meet with a crushing defeat but it does not mean the death of unionism. Unionism cannot be killed. As long as there is economic injustice there will be some force to combat that injustice, whether it goes under the name of trade unionism or some other. This idea of putting the life of trades unionism in the balance every time a big industrial battle is on is not only absurd but it is impolitic in that it gives our adversaries a chance to rejoice should the advantage be on their side at the end.

#### LITTLE VIOLENCE.

I cannot close this discussion of the conduct of the strike without referring to the gratifying fact that there was so little violence. Considering the location of the trouble, the character of the men and the general morale of the neighborhood where fist fights and wife-beatings are every-day occurrences, the absence of violence is a glowing tribute to the discipline of the Butcher's union without which a union would be no more than a mob. Too much credit cannot be given the union men and their executive officers for this pleasing condition.

#### THE SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.

As to the wisdom of the sympathetic strike of all the trades in the stockyards there is room for a difference of opinion. One thing appears certain that the sympathetic strike did not materially change the final results, while on the other hand it had the effect of complicating the situation by dividing the executive power where centralization of power should have been aimed at.

I am a believer in sympathetic strikes only to a certain extent. I think that the stockyards situation was one where the sympathetic strike was permissible, and it may be advisable, because the

members of all the unions were employed by the same corporations and where such is the case I do not believe it is unionism for members of one craft to remain at work for a firm while that firm is engaged in trying to defeat the members of another craft. Beyond that, however, I believe that sympathetic strike is a dangerous weapon. It is a two-edged sword that is likely to hurt the wielder more than his antagonist.

#### TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY.

After the sympathetic strike was called and the executive power passed into the hands of a large committee the same weakness which has been present among the butchers in the yards for the past two years became painfully evident. This weakness of which I speak is in too much democracy. That may appear a startling statement to some of you who are stanch believers in democracy but it is true nevertheless. In the various departments in the stockyards there were the shop stewards, then the shop committees, then the business agent of the union, then an officer of the national union and so on. There was altogether too much division of executive power, there was too much democracy. The proof of this can be seen in the proposed reconstruction of the union through which it is proposed to place one officer of the union at each packing center and allow him to have full executive power.

I believe in democracy, I believe in the referendum vote in labor unions, more because I know of nothing now to take its place, than because I believe that the voice of the majority is always correct. It is possible, however, to have a referendum system where the rank and file of the unions can express itself and still have more centralization of executive power in the hands of one man or at least of a small committee.

Had there been less of this conflict of authority in the stockyards, had there been a responsible head intrusted with authority to deal with the packers for every man in the union, it is pos-



sible the strike would not have occurred. The danger of one-man power in labor unions is largely fanciful and sentimental so long as the members have the right to remove that man if he fails in his duty.

All during the six weeks which the fight lasted after the other unions in the stockyards joined with the butchers this conflict of authority was plainly seen. Each representative of a union involved thought he was as much entitled to be the real strike leader as was President Donnelly and this proved the greatest weakness of the strike and was responsible for many of the blunders. It simply was a case of its being everybody's fight and consequently nobody's fight. On the other hand in the first ten days of the strike when the butchers alone were involved the conduct of the strike received the marked approbation of the public. Public sentiment was largely with the strikers during that time, Donnelly was lauded as a leader of great ability. It is true that the fatal blunder of calling the second strike had much to do with changing public opinion, but that was but the beginning of a series of mistakes that were made daily by the allied trades' committee after it assumed the management of the struggle.

#### THE FUTURE.

In closing I wish to say a word relative to the future. That the strike was not lost in the true sense is best seen from the present conditions in the stockyards. The men are working more steadily and consequently earn-

ing more money than they ever did before. The packers are evidently trying to carry out their promises made during the strike to have the shipments of stock more evenly distributed throughout the week so that steadier employment could be given the men at work.

It is true that a few of the men employed during the strike have been retained, a greater number, perhaps, than we would wish to see. But there is a good reason for that. While I have never spoken with any of the packers on that subject, I believe the object in keeping a few strike-breakers at work is to eliminate the system of limitation of output. If the non-union men can do more than the union permitted under the old rules, it is a standing rebuke to this system of limitation. It gives the packer the opportunity to point to it and say that the union encourages laziness.

With this limitation of output abolished, with the little petty exactions of shop stewards and business agents eliminated, with executive authority vested in one responsible man to deal with the packers in all disputes that may arise, I believe the Butcher Workmen will grow stronger and be a greater power for the betterment of the conditions of its members than it has ever been. It has seen some of its mistakes and if it will but profit by the experience gained during the strike, it will go on in its work of uplifting its membership on broader and better lines. It will turn its seeming defeat into a great victory and will have made one great step forward on the road to industrial emancipation.

## II. Defence of the Strike Policy

By John Fitzpatrick

*Organizer for the Chicago Federation of Labor*

It will be remembered that the Allied Trades Council, whose relation to the management of the Stock Yards Strike is so severely criticised by Mr. Grant,

was brought into existence at the time of the strike. The Mechanics' Trade and Labor Council resolved itself into the Allied Trades Council to permit the

Butcher Workmen. to be represented there. In view of Mr. Grant's criticisms, the Mechanics Trade and Labor Council, at its meeting October 17, 1904, instructed me to formulate an answer.

As causing the loss of the strike Mr. Grant makes the following charges against the position of the unions and concerning alleged defects in the management of the strike:

1. That the unions tried to enforce an extreme limitation of output.
2. That the packers had no difficulty in employing skilled workmen during the strike.
3. That it was a mistake to sanction the second strike.
4. That all mistakes during the strike were caused by the Allied Trades Council.
5. That there was too much democracy in the management of the strike.

Taking these up in order let us first consider the

#### LIMITATION OF OUTPUT.

As one of the reasons why the strike was lost Bro. Grant attempts to prove that it was because the Unions in the Stock Yards tried to limit the output, or in other words they decreased the volume of business of each department. Let us see what the actual conditions are and then determine who is responsible. The Packers have a right to employ just as few or just as many employees as they can use. The Union does not insist nor does it ask the Packers to keep an employee one moment longer than they need him. The Union never insisted that a certain individual be employed to perform a certain amount of work. The Packers have the right to secure the most competent employees. The Union never asked the Packers to keep an inefficient hand when a more skillful or better workman could be had. The Packers and the Union did agree on a proposition and this is probably what Brother Grant construes as limiting the output. The proposition was to the effect that where there was a certain number of hours to be worked, or a certain amount of work to be performed, that it would be di-

vided as equally as possible among those employed to perform that work. If Brother Grant can show us any injustice in that either to the Packers, the public or the workers, we will be thankful to him. We are at a loss to know how organized labor employed in Packing Houses can limit the output, and how the charges can be applied to the Local Unions in the Stock Yards. He fails to specify one single case, or department, or even one instance where it happened. The best proof that the union did not limit the output is in the fact that there is not a single department that had to employ extra help simply, because the department became unionized. The volume of business done by the Packers has increased rather than decreased in the past three years, and the number of employees in proportion has decreased rather than increased. It is an admitted fact that union workmen perform more and better work in a shorter space of time than unorganized workmen.

There is a limitation of output in the Stock Yards; but organized labor pleads not guilty, and if organized labor had its say it would quickly be ended. That is the limitation of output as operated by the Packers. Here is how they do it. They will kill 1000 or 5000 animals a day, just enough to keep the price of meat where they want it. It is a well known fact that the Packers can carry an eight month's supply of fresh meat but do they do it? No, they carry only a few weeks' supply, thereby limiting the output and maintaining a system of plundering the American Beef Eaters by extortionate prices. In order to evade prison bars they charge the limitation of output up to the workers because they think the workers are unable to defend themselves against the charge. The newspapers being controlled by the trusts have to lend their columns to assist this outrage.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF SKILLED WORKMEN DURING THE STRIKE.

Brother Grant then takes up the matter of skilled and unskilled workmen and says that it was easier for the Pack-



ers to secure skilled cattle butchers than it was to secure non-union unskilled workmen and to prove the above he says that in a few weeks after the strike started that business was normal. The cattle butchers were not so easily replaced as Mr. Grant would have us believe, and the number of non-union cattle butchers that were practical workmen could be counted upon your fingers. But the Packers did secure practical skilled butchers. Brother Grant does not say where they were secured from, and fair play should induce him to tell. It is well known that Swift & Co., maintain about 300 branch houses throughout the country; these branch houses are superintended by practical butchers. The other large Packers have a similar number of branch houses managed in same way. When the strike started the various branch house managers were brought to Chicago and put to work killing, and there is no doubt that they could dress a beef just as well if not better than the ordinary help. These branch house managers were concentrated in one plant and business resumed, but never reached anything like normal. It is also known that butchers were transferred from one plant to another in order to increase the number of animals killed in that plant, and make it appear that business was normal; but it was only normal in that plant and at that time when all the killing forces controlled by the Packers were concentrated there. But how about the sheep and hog killing departments? Did they reach normal or anything like it? No. Then the forces of the Packers were in a very unsatisfactory condition. The true state of affairs as existing in the Packing Houses during the strike was furnished to the press daily by the labor organizations, but the press dared not publish such facts; they could only publish that which was handed them by the Press agent of the Packers.

#### MISTAKE TO SANCTION THE SECOND STRIKE.

Now we come to the third proposition in which Brother Grant holds

that it was fatal to sanction the second strike. He states that the first strike was well managed and that public opinion was largely on the strikers' side, and that Brother Donnelly was lauded as a great leader, but he will not admit there was any reason for the second strike. We agree with what he says about Brother Donnelly but we cannot agree with him when he refers to public opinion. We would first have to decide what portion of public opinion he refers to. If he means the part controlled by the so-called public press, then he is right, but if he refers to the great portion of public opinion as represented by organized labor, then we take issue with him, because that portion was with the strikers to the end. This can easily be proven by the aid given the strikers by all organized labor, by the Stock Yard Businessmen's Strikers' Aid society, by reform, fraternal, religious, and benevolent societies, and by disinterested people all over the city. Some of our most prominent business men who stand on the side of justice, unsolicited made large daily donations to maintain the strikers.

Any person who was watching the actions of the Packers closely and had any interest in the welfare of the Unions could easily see what the Packers attempted on the morning of the second strike, and it is useless to try to defend the Packers by saying that the trouble was caused by zealous superintendents or foremen. The Packers acted upon the supposition that when the men were ordered back to work, that they were so anxious to get back that neither President Donnelly nor any one else could get them to walk out again. The Packers believing this laid a deep plot and thought to disrupt the unions through humiliation. They left the stewards, delegates and officers of the Union standing in line and picked out men known as "loval" and sent them in to work. The Packers never dreamed of a second strike; they thought their plan would work, that the officers of the locals would be humiliated, the rank and file would lose confidence in the union and the unions would be destroyed.

But the pit-fall failed to work and the plan of the Packers fell through. When President Donnelly and his associates were made aware of what the Packers were attempting they immediately sanctioned the second strike. Brother Grant makes the point that the men were out two hours before President Donnelly sanctioned their actions. That is true. President Donnelly did not act until he satisfied himself that the men were taking the right course, and then to his credit he did what any honest executive would have done, and not to sanction the second strike in face of the evidence at hand, would have been nothing short of criminal.

ALL MISTAKES MADE DURING THE  
STRIKE WERE CAUSED BY THE AL-  
LIED TRADES COUNCIL.

Now we come to the portion of Brother Grant's address where he blames the Allied Trades Council for all the mistakes made during the strike. He would not admit that even the least of the actions of the Council was not a mistake. But Brother Grant does not seem to have inside information as to how the Allied Trades Council was formed or what it was formed for. He charges that, instead of one executive managing the strike, the Allied Trades Council took matters in hand and instead of there being one head to the strike there were fifty, and they were running into one another. The truth of the matter is that the Council was formed at the suggestion of President Donnelly and was not executive in its sphere. It was advisory and assisted in managing the details. In picketing, relief, raising funds, strengthening weak points and in matters of that kind the Allied Trades Council did its share. President Donnelly would not make an important move without first consulting and getting the advice of the Council, and justly so because all the people involved in the strike were represented in the Council. It was their interests that were at stake and it was no more than right that they should be consulted on all important matters. The Council never tried to usurp the

authority of President Donnelly. When he asked their advice it was gladly given, and then he acted as he thought best. There is one thing that Brother Grant seems not to know, and that is that the Allied Trades Council never disagreed with Brother Donnelly on any proposition during the many weeks of the strike. Every proposition brought in by Brother Donnelly was agreed to and supported loyally by that body. They only disagreed with him once and that was on the Wednesday after Labor Day, Sept. 7th. President Donnelly brought in a proposition to declare the strike off. The proposition was voted down by every delegate present, except President Donnelly; he voted in favor of the motion and asked to be recorded as voting so. That was the first and only time that President Donnelly was not upheld by the Allied Trades Council. Then the Executive Board of the Butcher Workmen notified the Council that they would declare the strike off so far as they were concerned and in order to protect the interests of the skilled trades the Allied Trades Council passed a motion that they believed that Butcher Workmen would be justified in accepting the proposition of the Packers, and any one can see why that motion was passed.

As a matter of fact, Brother Grant cannot point out one action of the Allied Trades Council that won't bear the closest scrutiny and when weighed in the balance by men who understand conditions in the Stock Yards will be admitted to be the only Trade Union-like action to take.

TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY IN STRIKE  
MANAGEMENT.

This answer could not be concluded unless we would express our sentiment on one point which Brother Grant makes by which he attempts to prove the reason why so many mistakes were made. He says the cause was too much Democracy, that too many minds were active in directing the strike. And this in America! Brother Grant would



have us proclaim that one head is better than two. For our part we will accept all the intelligence, all the knowledge, all the ability, and all the best minds among us in shaping and directing our course, and we hope to see the day in the Stock Yards when that Democracy which he complains of will not be exercised alone by a few elected officers.

We hope the day is not far distant when that Democracy will be spread broadcast among us. Then each individual will do his own thinking; then that Democracy will cause men to stand together for right and for the sake of human kind, and strikes will not be declared off on the flimsy plea of saving an organization.

## Grand Rapids Votes "Go Ahead" in Water Conspiracy Prosecutions

By Delos F. Wilcox

EDITOR'S NOTE: Painstaking and trustworthy has been the prosecution of the men indicted for complicity in the "Water Deal" concerning which THE COMMONS for March published a statement laying bare with thoroughness the workings of that disgraceful piracy of "respectable citizens." The Civic Club of Grand Rapids has supported the fight against corruption, insisting that the officers who have so far conducted it shall be sustained in their struggle to bring to book all guilty of treason to their city. In this work Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, secretary of the Civic Club, an author of note and authority upon municipal affairs, has shown that his interest is far from being solely academic. In THE COMMONS for June, Dr. Wilcox said, "There is nothing in the general condition of municipal affairs in the United States to offer a crumb of comfort to any citizen who is not doing his level best for his own city."

His books on "The American City" and "The Municipal Program" attest his thorough study of the subjects and Grand Rapids has unhappily afforded a field for the practice of his precepts.

### THE NEWSPAPERS.

No adequate account of the recent primary campaign in Grand Rapids and Kent County can be given without a brief description of the newspaper situation here. Grand Rapids supports three daily papers. The "Evening Press" is a penny paper owned by the Scripps interests of Detroit. It claims a circulation of about 44,000. Its general manager is Mr. Chas. S. Burch, one of the foremost men of the city in philanthropic and humanitarian movements. The "Press" is an independent Republican paper, and reaches the masses of the people. Under ordinary circumstances, this paper could be expected to give at least nominal support to any movement that appeared to be for the public good. At the same time, it is a money-making institution and has to be run with an eye to dividends. It would hardly be expected to publish the records of candidates for office or say

anything that would seriously affect the interests of the public service corporations.

The "Grand Rapids Herald" is a two cent morning paper. It is the leading partisan Republican paper of Western Michigan. Its circulation is said to be about 28,000. Congressman Wm. Alden Smith is president of the Herald company, but the owner of the controlling interest in the paper is Mr. Eugene D. Conger, former member of the United States Industrial Commission. Mr. Conger publishes the paper himself and is responsible for its business and editorial policy. The "Herald" is closely identified with the business interests of the city and Mr. Conger himself is very active in the "Board of Trade," which in Grand Rapids is the same as the Chamber of Commerce in many cities. Mr. Conger has also had the reputation of being almost a "boss" in local Republican politics.

The third paper, the "Evening Post," formerly the "Grand Rapids Democrat" is credited with about 17,000 circulation, and has for many years led a rather precarious existence. It is the regular Democratic organ and was at the time of the "Water Deal" the mouth-piece of Mr. Salsbury and the Perry administration. At that time Mr. J. Clark Sproat owned a controlling interest in the paper and was its editor and publisher. A couple of years ago, however, Mr. Sproat sold out his interest, and the control of the paper passed to Mr. Wm. F. McKnight, prominent attorney and leading Democratic politician. Mr. McKnight was once the Democratic candidate for attorney general of the state, and he carries the Kent County Democracy around in his pocket whenever the better class of Democrats go to sleep.

Grand Rapids is a city of 95,000 population. Kent County has 138,000 in all, so that more than two-thirds of all are in the city. On Sept. 13, of this year, direct primaries were held for the nomination of candidates for all county and legislative offices. This county is normally Republican, and consequently it is among the Republicans that there was a scramble for the nominations. In fact, a committee of the Democratic Club, appointed for the purpose, had some difficulty in getting even one man to stand for each office. The Democratic candidates were, therefore, as good as nominated when their names were filed with the county clerk ten days before the primaries.

#### THE SYSTEM OF PRIMARIES.

This was to be the first trial of the direct nominating system for county officers. Under the law all parties hold their primaries on the same day under regular election officers. Any legal voter is entitled to receive the party ballot that he calls for, but if he is commonly known to be a member of the opposite party he may be challenged, and in that case he must make oath that he intends to vote at the ensuing election with the party whose ticket he has called for at the primary. In practice

there are few challenges, and where Democrats have any object in calling for Republican primary ballots they are generally allowed to do so. As a matter of fact there were nearly 13,000 Republican votes and only about 500 Democratic votes cast at the September primaries. The Republican vote was something like 2,000 in excess of the total vote of that party at the election two years ago.

Under the primary law all candidates are required to file affidavits of their candidacy at least ten days before the date of the primary. Up to that time any voter has the privilege of entering the race for the nomination by his party for any local office to be filled at the election. A fee ranging from \$5.00 to \$15.00 is the only price of his ambition. The names of all candidates are printed on the official ballots without expense to them other than the fee just mentioned. The man who gets the largest vote, whether a majority or not, is nominated.

As a matter of fact there was strong competition among the Republicans for most of the offices, there being five candidates for county treasurer, five for sheriff, five for clerk and four for prosecuting attorney. All of these contests were lively, and in some, important issues were involved, but the bitterest fight of all was for prosecuting attorney. Mr. Wm. B. Brown, the present incumbent has held the office for two terms, and asked for a third on the plea that the water deal cases were not yet finished and that he should be retained to finish them. The third-term movement is contrary to the traditions of Kent County politics, but under the new system of making nominations two or three other officials besides Mr. Brown concluded to try for a third term. Mr. Brown is a lawyer of only moderate professional attainments, but he has had reasonable success in handling the ordinary criminal business of the county. As official advisor to his brother politicians he has been a rather "weak sister," having a soft spot in his heart for the politician officeholder class.



## ATTORNEY WARD AND THE WATER DEAL TRIALS.

For the prosecution of the water cases he has had the good sense to employ Mr. Chas. E. Ward, his law partner, an able and experienced attorney who has won the confidence of the people by his careful and fearless conduct of the prosecutions. It is no small matter for a prosecuting officer to keep his nerve and be resolute in the face of such a complex situation as is presented in Grand Rapids now. The defendants in the water cases are a Big Bunch in politics, in business, and to a certain extent, socially. A Detroit newspaper man said to me during one of the trials last spring: "The people of Kent County don't appreciate what they've got in that man Ward. He's a wonder." Still, some of them did. One man said: "The work he has done is equal to any of Folk's."

On the other hand there was a lot of complaining among the people because the cases were not being disposed of more rapidly, because the prosecution had been so expensive and because the reputation of the town was being ruined. There was a general weakening of the support given to the prosecution by the business community. The friends of the indicted men were talking, and many citizens who believed all the accused to be guilty nevertheless thought they couldn't be convicted and the disgrace they had suffered was punishment enough. Just a little slackening of the vigor and vigilance of the prosecution would bring the people's cases to an inglorious end and let the men whom the people believed to be guilty go free. Already one jury which had been left at large during the trial had acquitted a man to the great astonishment of the public who had followed the reports of the testimony published in newspapers friendly to the defense. Another jury had disagreed. Still Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Ward stood firm, an omen of evil to those awaiting trial. To get rid of Ward would be a promise of freedom to the

indicted men. But Ward, for personal reasons, would not himself make the race for prosecutor. And so the issue had to be met indirectly, and the question came to be how the various candidates stood on retaining Mr. Ward to conduct the water deal cases.

## NEWSPAPERS INVOLVED.

Primary reform without an untrammelled newspaper is a doubtful proposition under any circumstances. How much more doubtful here in Grand Rapids! "The town is bottled up," as President Hyde of the Civic Club puts it. Mr. Burch of the "Evening Press" is awaiting trial for conspiracy, on the charge of having received \$5,000 of the water deal money from Salsbury four years ago. Mr. Conger of the "Herald" is awaiting his second trial on the charge of having received \$10,000 from the same source. Mr. Sproat, formerly of the "Democrat," owned up on the stand to having received in the neighborhood of \$17,000 of this money. His successor in the control of that paper, Mr. McKnight, is now awaiting trial for attempted subornation of perjury in the defense of Salsbury three years ago. And it is upon the newspapers controlled by these men that the people of Grand Rapids have to depend for their knowledge of all municipal affairs, to say nothing of the evidence in the water cases themselves and the records of candidates for office. The situation from the standpoint of the people is almost equally bad whether these newspaper men are innocent or guilty—it is simply intolerable.

## PLOT TO SHELVE WARD.

Early in July the rumor came to the officers of the Civic Club that Mr. John S. McDonald was to be given the Republican nomination for prosecuting attorney if the plans of the indicted men and their friends did not fail, with the understanding that he would drop Mr. Ward, if elected. Mr. McDonald had been one of the attorneys for Salsbury in his trial for bribery three years ago. Aside from this and certain rather doubtful political associations, Mr. Mc-

Donald bore an excellent reputation, and for character and ability taken together would have been picked out as the best qualified of the four candidates for prosecuting attorney. But when the Secretary of the Civic Club interviewed him as to whether he would retain Mr. Ward or vigorously prosecute the water cases, he declined to make any pledges or any public statement in the matter, and said that he was "in politics" and wanted to get the votes of the people who were opposed to Mr. Brown, including the men awaiting trial and their friends. He denied having any agreement with these men however. His account of himself was very unsatisfactory to the men who were anxious to see Mr. Ward retained in the water cases.

#### "LIVE ISSUES."

Between forty and fifty such citizens clubbed together and subscribed a fund for the publication of a special political newspaper during the primary campaign. The Civic Club assumed responsibility for the paper which was published under the title "Live Issues in Kent County." This paper in its first number gave a summary of the evidence in the Conger trial, reviewed the history of the water cases, and attacked Mr. McDonald's candidacy for prosecutor both on the ground that having been attorney for Salsbury and some of the other defendants who had pleaded guilty he could not consistently change sides and prosecute the cases involving the same facts, and on the ground that his refusal to make any public statement of his policy in the matter rendered him unfit for the office. The Civic Club asked all the candidates for prosecutor whether they thought the remaining water cases should be vigorously prosecuted and whether they thought Mr. Ward should be retained. All the candidates except Mr. McDonald answered both these questions in the affirmative, but McDonald refused to answer them. "Live Issues" continued to press the main issue and urge McDonald's defeat. He took up the cudgels and bitterly at-

tacked the officers of the Civic Club in his speeches. All of the daily papers opened their columns for lengthy reports of his attacks, and finally Mr. Burch, of the "Evening Press," assailed the Club in his editorial columns. In all the campaign the attacks on the Civic Club were aimed directly at President Hyde and Secretary Wilcox. A defense of the latter written by a prominent lawyer of the city was kept by Mr. Burch until after the primaries, and later published. The same article was refused by the "Evening Post" also, before the primaries. The "Herald" refused to give or sell an inch of space to Prosecuting Attorney Brown in which to answer McDonald's charges against him. But the Civic Club kept putting forth "Live Issues." Five numbers and an aggregate of over 70,000 copies were distributed about the city and county. The paper did not confine itself to the water deal question and the prosecuting attorney fight, but exposed abuses in the sheriff's office, and put candidates for most of the offices on record.

#### THE OUTCOME.

Toward the end of the campaign the main issue came to be McDonald against the Civic Club. He appealed to the voters to say to the Civic Club: "Go away back and sit down; there is no place for you in American politics!" McDonald was beaten; and Brown was renominated by a safe though small plurality in both city and townships.

On the Democratic side, Mr. Jesse F. Orton, a prominent young attorney who had served for two years on the executive committee of the Civic Club, was nominated. The primaries left the friends of the prosecutions in undisputed possession of the field. Both candidates can be trusted on the question of prosecuting the water deal cases.

The results were not so good on all of the other offices, but on the whole the friends of better government have reason to feel encouraged. What Grand Rapids needs most is a newspaper.



# The Fight for Subsistence at Fall River

By Anne Withington

The casual visitor at Fall River finds the outer aspect of things in the mill town surprisingly cheerful and devoid of spectacular interest. The clamming parties, the berrying parties, the crowded trolleys, lend an almost festive air and the gay little gardens about some of the houses of operatives betray no hint of the life and death struggle in which these same operatives are enlisted—for it is nothing less than that—this bloodless battle; no violence, no vain boasting, no threats of vengeance, but a deep conviction in the minds of all who toil within the mill walls and of those dependent on that toil, that a compulsory gift of 12½ per cent of their wages to the owners would mean a drop below the life line for them. "We may as well starve outside the mills as inside," say they—unionists and non-unionists alike—and starvation is no figure of speech as one can too readily see by visiting the daily bestowing of food upon more than a thousand little children through the Salvation Army. As one watches these babies devour their soup, and—a more pitiful sight—carefully pour some of it into pail or pan for some one at home, one wonders what iota of good dividends got at such a price can bring.

This is no leaders' strike. The movement was a spontaneous and democratic one. One cut down has followed another in quick succession. First came a ten per cent reduction last fall; then weavers were forced to run twelve looms in place of ten or ten in place of eight, and they insist that thereby a virtual reduction was achieved because the physical strain is such that the output per operative is actually reduced. Girls who run ten looms sometimes require three days out of a week to recoup their exhausted bodies.

The leaders flout the contention that wages were reduced to meet southern competition. Indeed the public has come to share their conviction that this bogey of competition in the South,

is but another form of the resistance of the northern mill owner to modern factory legislation. There is by no means unanimity of opinion among New England mill owners. The president of their association in his annual address showed himself an ardent believer in the living wage as a requisite for the public welfare and side by side with the silent mills in Fall River today, stand the factories of the one "independent" where the workers are still earning their old wage.

The truth is rather more elusive than usual in this contest, but one or two facts loom clearly through the befogged discussion. The first is that a virtual trust exists, made up of the majority of owners of stock; and this ring, which is a species of nepotism, regardless of the wishes of individual stock-owners, can dictate to any dissenting official whether or no his mill shall make cloth. No president, no treasurer, can decide for himself, so entangled are the affairs of the mill, the money-lending banks and even the domestic relationships of mill officials. The leaders assert that this last complication has involved the continuance of incompetent managers in office with the inevitable result of a poor financial showing in such instances.

The second fact is that against this combination is lined up the whole body of workers, unionists and non-unionists. There is no question of open shop involved. The non-unionists receive help regularly from the union's treasuries. In truth the most cheering remembrance one brings away from the stricken city is one of the feeling of fellowship which exists among these English, Irish, French, Polish, Portuguese and American toilers. And here again we see what has been so often declared by its friends, that the trades union is practically doing what no other agency, not even the church attempts, the inculcating of ideals of solidarity in welfare. There is

no higher type of trade union leaders in America today than these Fall River men. One recalls in talking with them that most of them have the best traditions of one of the earliest of the organized trades in England, but too many of their following look upon the union as a kind of mutual benefit society only of use in time of need. The importance of a campaign of education among the women operatives is evident. As in most other trades the work of women is being used to displace that of men. The Women's Trades Union League is making direct contribution to the cause of the strikers by securing domestic service

positions for the younger women of the mills who can thus temporarily, at least, withdraw from the field.

One of the most suggestive things I saw in Fall River was a confirmation of my belief that there can be no industrial security for the landless workingman. The unskilled Portuguese were really relatively far better off than their higher paid neighbors because they had not forsaken the agricultural pursuits of their ancestors. Their little plots of land hired outside the town were keeping them alive and I would that every union man would follow their intelligent custom. He would be better equipped for his next industrial war if he would.

## Chicago Still "Fighting On"

Chicago's choice collection of scallawags, thieves and dead beats, the old "gray wolves" who formerly made up 58 out of the 68 members of the city council, whose infamy brought scorn and derision upon the name of the city, and whose outrageous cupidity inflicted grievous injury and untold cost to the welfare of the whole people and to each individual, have for the most part been forced to relinquish their strangle hold. The story of their ousting from the city's hall of legislation, after years of persistent effort by the Municipal Voter's League, and through the patriotic independence of the electorate, is familiar to most of the readers of THE COMMONS.

Not a few of these defeated tricksters have left town. It has not, however, been a case of "leaving their city for their city's good." Their trail has led to the state capital. Humiliating enough it was to have them in our midst, but at least it was the citizens who were responsible for their power that had to endure their malignant presence. Under the present conditions their effrontery is exhibited and has become a menace to the people

of the whole state. Little wonder that Illinois has felt that it had next to nothing in common with Chicago! Among the up-state legislators are many whose villainous schemes were part and parcel of the legislative brigandage that has so beset Chicago, whose intrigues have included the worst of Chicago's representatives, and who have been "counted in" when their help was needed by the latter to carry out some piece of rascality, but the better men in the legislature came almost exclusively from the region outside of Chicago. The great city sent scarcely a man entitled to the respect of an honest citizen.

Chicago is hot on their trail. They may have abandoned their losing fight against the popular uprising in the city with the notion that down at Springfield a safe distance would separate them from the wrath which drove them out of the council. Perhaps they feel themselves beyond the searching vigilance that laid bare their city records. They will find themselves mistaken. The warfare is following close upon their heels. Chicago would rather put up with their odious but impotent presence at home than indulge itself in their absence from the city if their departure



takes them to a place where they can do the city harm.

Vigorous in leading the crusade against these "honorables" is the Legislative Voter's League, which has adopted the same methods of making records public, recommending good candidates and working aggressively to elect them, that Chicago's Municipal Voter's League has so successfully pursued. The former seeks to accomplish in Chicago's legislative representation what the latter has done for the City Council. And the crusade is no spasmodic effort; like that of the Municipal Voter's League it never sleeps; between elections as well as at elections it is ever alert and fighting for every inch.

The situation in the present campaign to put it in a nut-shell, is shown by the fact that with 57 members of the lower house to be elected from Chicago's 19 districts, the republicans and democrats together have nominated only 59 men. In other words, the bosses of the two old parties have fixed things so, that barring the contingency of the election of minor party candidates or independents, only two of all the republican and democratic candidates can possibly lose. Will anyone ask more convincing evidence of deals and dickers between the old party bosses?

To combat this brazen scheme of the bosses, the Legislative Voters' League is aggressively supporting one of the minor candidates or an independent in each of the 17 districts where the old party managers have "fixed" the thing to their mutual advantage.

A typical state of affairs is to be found in the 21st senatorial district, comprising three wards, one being the 17th, in which Chicago Commons is situated. For the three places to be filled the republicans nominated two men and the democrats one. The district, although republican, has enough democratic votes to make the republicans believe that the democrats can elect one candidate if every democrat lumps his three votes upon that man. It may be stated, for the benefit of those not conversant with the situation, that

Illinois in her legislative elections has put into practice that scheme of encouraging minority representation which gives to each voter three votes. These he may divide among the candidates, or place all on one. By adopting the latter alternative a party or group hopelessly in the minority may frequently secure the election of one man where there are three offices to be filled. Under these circumstances it is easy to see the advantage to the bosses of the two old parties in making the allotment of nominations above described.

Two years ago in the 21st district an independent candidate was elected over the joint opposition of both party managements. It was a strenuous campaign and in doubt until the last minute. But the balance of power held by the Seventeenth Ward Community Club, a body of independent minded citizens, with headquarters at Chicago Commons, together with other like organizations in the district, won out in the seventeenth ward and so carried the election which turned upon the vote in that ward.

This year it is of great importance that men should be sent to Springfield who will vote and work for a new charter and for a Direct Primary Law. Chicago sadly needs both, and she is determined to get them. The democrats, presumably by collusion with the republicans, nominated only one man, "Benny" Mitchell, as he is "affectionately known among the men whom he has elevated to positions on the street car lines." The report of the Legislative Voter's League says of him: "Previous record long and bad, but he has gone a great way toward fulfilling his pledge to make a good record during the last session." "In fact," says the *Chicago Tribune*, "Mitchell may be said to be making a fight as a reform candidate on the platform that reform begins at home. His election is conceded . . . There are enough straight democrats in the 21st district to send him to Springfield."

Of the two republican nominees the record of one, Erickson, has not a single mitigating feature to relieve its

monotony of viciousness. His presence at Springfield and his every vote have been an insult to the people of this city. While introducing the most brazen of "hold up" legislation, in which he has deceived no one by the bills "to regulate" various monopolies, his influence has consistently been with those who have no interest in Chicago except to plunder her. His nomination in the teeth of popular protest, and against the majority vote of the delegation from his own ward in the convention, shows the defiance which the bosses have flung at the people's will. His outrageous betrayal of trust was instanced in the republican state convention. The primaries had instructed him explicitly to vote for Charles S. Deneen, whose strenuous fight against the "system" has been described by Lincoln Steffens, as the nominee for governor; disregarding these instructions from the first, he steadily gave his vote to another man. Such is the way that Erickson "represents" his constituents.

The candidacy of the other, Troyer, while unexceptionable, should in no way be allowed to interfere with the election of the independent candidate nominated expressly to defeat Erickson.

A three times president of the Seventeenth Ward Community Club, Walter Elphinstone, is that independent candidate. Here is his ringing platform:

I believe:

1. In citizenship and not partisanship.
2. That the use of public office for private gain is *treason*.
3. That a free state is entitled to the unselfish fidelity of every free man; and that the war for civic honesty demands the enlistment of *all patriots*.

A thorough, well organized campaign is in progress which will leave no stone unturned to elect Elphinstone and rebuke the man whose pernicious and flagrant abuse of his commission from the people has long escaped the summary treatment it deserved. It will be a public calamity if national policies or personal preferences for presidential

candidates are allowed to confuse the local issues which so sorely need attention. "Independent voting for legislative candidates is now as essential to the most vital interests of both city and state as it ever has been in municipal elections," said the editor of THE COMMONS in one of his weekly contributions to the editorial page of *The Chicago Daily News*. And going on to comment upon the situation he declared, "All that is needed is a straight appeal to the intelligence and civic patriotism of our citizens. They can be depended upon to do the rest. For the citizens of Chicago, irrespective of parties, are tired enough of having its great interests made a football—or worse, the spoils—of factional state politics to be at the striking point. And all Illinois is disgusted enough with the type of men with whose vulgar venality Chicago has disgraced the state legislature to join with decent representatives in giving us the new charter we need and to all its citizens the right to nominate, as well as elect, candidates of their own choice."

What is true of the situation in the 21st senatorial district is also true in many another throughout Chicago. The very men who were turned out in disgrace from the city council have comfortably seated themselves as the people's representatives in the state legislature. There ought to be no resting by the citizens until these precious "servants" of the people are once more put to rout.

G. R. T.

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The Seventh Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction will bring together a representative gathering of the different classes of workers interested. Among those upon the program we note Prof. Isaac A. Loos, of the State University of Iowa, Judge George W. Wakefield, discussing "The Juvenile Court Act and Juvenile Courts," and Miss Flora Dunlap, Head Resident of Roadside House, Des Moines, who will speak for "Social Settlements."

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No less than 2,149,194 bottles of pasteurized milk were distributed during the past summer in New York by the Nathan Straus pasteurized milk depots. More than 800,000 glasses were drunk from the depots in the parks and on the recreation piers.



# Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

## French Government Sends Workingmen to Visit America

As at the time of the Centennial Exposition and again at the Chicago World's Fair, the French Government sent to the St. Louis Exposition a delegation of workmen representing the workmen's productive and co-operative societies of France. Under the leadership of Professor Metin, of the University of Paris, the only one in the party conversant with the English language, a group of fourteen have spent several weeks in this country, and are now on their way back via Canada. Among them are workmen from the following trades: painters and decorators, five different sorts of engineers, musical instrument makers, textile workers, shoemakers, employees of the postal and telegraph, and also of the railway service. All of them are socialists, as indeed the French trade union and trade society movements are practically co-extensive with the socialist party in France. But it was as workmen and members of the societies that the Government commissioned them. They are to report officially to the Government upon their return. The report will be published.

No less than eighty of these workmen co-operative and productive associations are taking part in the St. Louis exposition. They are thorough believers in educational schemes and maintain in France manual training schools and other institutions for the purpose of bettering their condition. Their political action takes expression in the Socialist Party, but actual co-operative production has been started and kept up in some cases now for several years, with remarkable success. The house painters and decorators association, for example, controls absolutely the work of that trade in the city of Paris. All that is done is through the

workmen of that organization, and orders are placed directly with the officers and business representatives of the men themselves. The "boss" has been entirely eliminated.

After arriving in this country the delegation was received by President Roosevelt, and the itinerary has included New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Dayton, Ohio, where the National Cash Register works were examined, Chicago, Montreal, Quebec, and Boston, from which latter point they will depart. While in Chicago the party attended the meeting at Hull House, at which the Stock Yards Strike was discussed in retrospect by Miss Mary McDowell, Mr. Luke Grant, and President Donnelly of the Butcher Workmen. After the meeting an informal conference was held with many of the trade union leaders and social settlement people of Chicago who were in attendance.

## Plans of the National Child Labor Committee

With the services of two experienced observers and investigators, and under the expert direction of its exceptionally capable secretary, together with the personal interest and attention of its acting chairman, Mr. Homer Folks, the National Child Labor Committee is starting in on what will undoubtedly prove to be a year of the most valuable service. Dr. Samuel M. Lindsay, who has resigned his work as Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, to accept the secretaryship of this committee, reports that much preliminary work has been accomplished since the organization of the committee last summer. Permanent headquarters have been established in the United Charities Building, New York; an extensive bibliography on the subject of child labor has been collected; correspondence has been opened

with organizations and people interested in child labor reform throughout the country; and the committee is now ready to co-operate with any local movement for the improvement of child labor conditions.

The two assistant secretaries appointed are A. J. McKelway of Charlotte, N. C., for special work in the southern states, and Owen R. Lovejoy of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., for special work in the north. Mr. McKelway has for some years been one of the most effective journalists of the south, having a large knowledge of affairs and a large acquaintance throughout the southern states. He has been for some time editor of the *Daily News*, Charlotte, N. C., and also editor of the *Presbyterian Standard*.

Mr. Lovejoy was for six years pastor of the First Congregational Church of Mt. Vernon. During the Anthracite Coal Strike he was sent by the citizens of Mt. Vernon to make an investigation of the conditions in the strike region. He spent the summer just passed in a preliminary investigation of conditions in the mining, textile and other industries of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It was conducted for the purpose of gaining a general impression of conditions, and to test various methods of gathering information, rather than for the collection of specific data. He was, however, able to make a somewhat thorough examination of conditions in several localities, and his report contains a study of the operation of the child labor law in both these states, with suggestions as to needed amendments and possible plans for the proper enforcement of the law.

"Child Labor and the Law" is the title under which in the October magazine number of *Charities*, Mr. Homer Folks discusses at length the problems before the committee and the scope of its work so far as legislation is concerned. The effective co-operation of all the widely scattered members of the committee will go a long way in his estimation to get around the difficulties arising from the large number of separate states which have so far been disposed to act independently of each other upon a matter which demands unity of action throughout the nation. He sees a hopeful attempt to formulate a national program in the resolutions adopted by the General Federation of Women's Clubs at its convention held last May in St. Louis. The relation of compulsory education laws to child labor legislation is touched upon and Mr. Folks emphatically says that, although they should be adjusted one to the other, the compulsory attendance laws should follow rather than precede.

He points out that the cause of uniform legislation will best be served not by trying to make the law for each state meet special

conditions existing in that state, but by formulating a broad law with reference to the degree of development which *all* children must attain before they can be expected to perform steady labor without injury to their physical and mental development. Upon this line the movement will be "broader, sounder, more comprehensive in form, in proceeding, not against particular employers in certain localities, but for the purpose of securing a minimum of protection for all children in all parts of the country. Without attempting to count the numbers or forecast the location of the prospective opponents, their fire will be developed soon enough; the friends of protective legislation may be the stronger if they do not seem to be the attacking party."

## Farm Camps for Delinquent Boys

The Denver Juvenile Court, under the direction of its progressive Judge Lindsey, has tried with success the experiment of sending delinquent boys out to work in the beet fields which are contributory to the Colorado sugar industry. An interesting description of the workings of the scheme is to be found in a recent number of the *Juvenile Court Record*.

Summer before last a group was sent out and placed under the authority only of the farmer for whom they worked. This plan did not work well owing to the fact that the farmer had no legal right to enforce his commands. The "gang" played and scrapped most of the time in the fields and eventually had to be discharged. This year, however, the boys were sent out in groups of 10 to 20 each in charge of a capable man, vested by the court with full authority as a probation officer. A regular camp is conducted with a firm but reasonable discipline, which however, does not prevent the officer from treating the boys kindly. Provision for recreation after the day's work included games after supper until dark which usually found all the young workers sound asleep.

"Two men cooks were sent with the Greeley camp. These cooks furnished all cooking utensils, supplies and food and were reimbursed by each boy paying \$3 a week to them for board. The cooks became careless and began to cut down the table supplies. The boys called a meeting, with Mr. Withers as chairman, to discuss the state of affairs. They estimated that their board was costing each at the rate of 44 cents a day. One of the boys offered to do the cooking provided he was given credit for the time spent in doing it. His offer was accepted



and the cooks were dismissed. Since then the boys have been "baching," each taking turn preparing vegetables and washing dishes. They have kept a careful account of their expenditures and find that the daily board of each amounts to 23 cents, this included paying Mrs. Rogers, a neighbor, for baking their bread."

Officer Withers has handled as many as 300 boys at a time in the fruit packing business. A contract is made with the officer in charge, and to him the employer pays the earnings of the camp. As soon as the contract is finished the officer apportions the wages equally among the boys.

## The Peace Congress Delegates in New York

A New York Committee entertained the Peace Congress delegates after their meetings in Boston with a three-day program in New York. The delegates arrived on Monday night, Oct. 10, and a reception was held in their honor at the Park Avenue Hotel. On Tuesday morning—visits were made to the lower east side to see settlements, playgrounds and public schools. At 12:30 a luncheon was tendered the Congress by the

Board of Trade at the New Astor. Addresses were made by Mr. Oscar Strauss, President of the Board of Trade, by Mayor McClellan, by the Baroness von Suttner, Dr. Yamei Kim of China and others.

The party was then automobilized through the Park and to Teachers' College where Miss Dodge gave a tea at which the delegates met President Sutter of Columbia and various numbers of the faculty. In the evening a meeting was held at the Ethical Society's new building and addresses were made by Mr. Herbert Burrows, Prof. Quiddle of Munich, Signor Moulta, and Dr. Felix Adler and others. On Wednesday the Monmouth chartered for the purpose took the delegates up the Hudson to Dobbs Ferry where a luncheon was given by Mrs. Henry Villard at Thorwood. In the evening a mass meeting was held at Cooper Union. Among the speakers was Mr. Pete Curran, the well known English trade unionist now running for Parliament.

Thursday morning the Commissioner of Health took the delegates to Ellis Island and from there the boat visited Blackwell's Island and luncheon was served at North Brother Island. Various meetings were held in schools and elsewhere during the stay of the delegates in the interests of international peace.

## "The Problem of the Children and How Colorado Cares for Them"

A Review by Mrs. Florence Kelley

It is impossible to overstate the value to the children of this Nation of the report of the Juvenile Court of Denver, issued under the title "The Problem of the Children and How the State of Colorado cares for Them." In the brief space of 222 pages Judge Lindsey has condensed the theory and practice of the most progressive court dealing with juvenile offenders. The circumstance which makes that court, like its report, of unique and immeasurable value to the Nation's children, is its embodying a new and saving principle.

Never before has a state enacted, in so many words, the principle that he who contributes to the delinquency of a child is himself a delinquent, and is to be punished. Never before has a judge been in a position in which that principle could be brought home to *all* the people who tempt children.

The juvenile court in Denver is not merely a place in which punishment is meted out to children who have broken the law and must expiate an offence against the community. First and last and always it is a place where citizens are assured of their rights. And what right of childhood is more sacred than

the right to freedom from being tempted by older persons?

In thousands of communities, for generations past, cigarette dealers, barkeepers, junk-dealers, men who conduct low theatres, telegraph operators sending boys to infamous places to deliver messages, one and all have profited by tempting children. And when the children have become offenders, they and not their tempters have had to pay the penalty. In Denver these adult tempters are now held to the strictest accountability for every child who finds his way to the juvenile court through any participation of theirs.

### RESPONSIBILITY OF "ADULT DELINQUENTS."

It was a long step forward when the principle was recognized in the truancy laws of several states that the parents are accountable for the actions of their children. But there was bitter hardship involved in holding a widowed mother responsible for the offenses of a wayward boy who succumbed to temptations from which she would gladly have shielded him, had that been in her power, while the man who tempted the boy for sordid gain went free. That hardship is re-

moved by the wise provision of the Colorado law which holds not alone the child and the parents responsible, but *every* person who contributes to the delinquency of a child.

Of negligent parents Judge Lindsey says: "A warning and notice to the parents by the probation officers of their responsibility to correct the child in the home is effective in a great many cases, without further action."

Of the sordid tempters of boys the author says: "We have sent men to jail for selling cigarettes or liquor to boys under this law. We have imposed heavy fines upon a great many men, but in many such cases we have placed the parents and the citizens upon probation, as well as the children. They have reported and, in doing so, have become friends and co-workers of the court. Some of the best friends we have, who have helped us most to stop the selling of liquor to boys in certain neighborhoods, have been saloon-keepers and bar-keepers who had originally violated the law, but who had really never stopped to think what they were doing and did not really intend to harm the child. There are big-hearted men in this class, and more success can sometimes be gained, in proper cases, by getting them to fight with you instead of against you. I know an intelligent liquor dealer who told me in open court that he never realized how crime commenced and how it spread, and what his responsibility was for the boy whom he wanted to arrest for stealing; that he had his first lesson in the Juvenile Court and he stood ready to help punish any man who would sell a child liquor.

"After the enactment of the Adult Delinquent Law, we notified the various telegraph and messenger companies that boys under 16 on duty, going to saloons, gambling houses and other evil resorts (the mere visiting or entering of which placed them in the class known as delinquents) would be prosecuted. The managers of the Western Union, the Postal and the A. D. T. with their counsel, held a consultation with the Judge of the Juvenile Court and after the law became effective agreed to obey it in letter and spirit and promised that, for the evening and night service, no boy under 16 should be employed, and that boys under 16 upon day service would not be called upon to answer calls to any of the places mentioned. So far they have obeyed the law.

"I believe a most fruitful cause of weakness and waywardness is the messenger service in cities. Boys are sent to places where they see men violating the laws, engaged in immorality, and they soon become callous and indifferent, their conscience ceases to respond to nobler things, and because men do these things, why not boys? The fact that the boy sees men or women engaged in those things which we would caution him against makes it more difficult to bring him through the period of adolescence to a clean, decent and wholesome manhood. I am perfectly

aware that some of our best men have gone through the fire of these things in boyhood, but they are the exception rather than the rule. They have become good men, not because of such environment, but in spite of it — because in their lives the good overcame the evil. Thousands of these children, not so fortunate, go down to destruction every year in the cities of this nation. I know that most messenger boys, as well as newsboys, in cities are (compared with what their child life should be, and what any decent parent would want it to be) impure and unclean. I have listened to their talk in the alleys and about the newspaper offices. They have confided to me the very worst side of their lives, and I know whereof I speak. It is no discredit to the boys. The discredit is to those who are responsible for them during the sacred period of adolescence. Their weakness, if it be such, is rather misfortune than crime. No responsible father or mother would want their boy or girl brought up in a home where there is swearing, drinking, licentiousness, deception and fraud all around them, yet this is the environment and the life into which thousands of our city boys are thrust every year, largely because of their work on the streets."

#### RADICAL EFFECT OF THE LAW.

What a revolution will be wrought in the lives of the children of Chicago when this principle of the responsibility of adults is fully adopted by the legislature of Illinois and fully applied by the Juvenile Court of Chicago! Then the conductor who permits children to steal rides on the coal train, will be as sternly punished as the father or mother who encourages a boy or girl to gather coal on the railroad tracks. The bar-keeper who sells beer to a child will go to court with the mother who sends a child to "rush the growler;" and the telegraph operator who sends a boy or girl to deliver a message at the door of a disreputable resort will be in danger of a heavy penalty. The Juvenile Court will then be even more completely a place for the protection and help as well as the correction of offending children.

Instead of being crowded with children, the Juvenile Court should really be filled with the adults who are the sources of their troubles; and the institutions for children might, in many cases, give place to institutions for the correction of adults. But both will probably be greatly diminished when the profits which now accrue from the debauching of children are transformed into the payment of heavy money penalties by the sordid men and women whom we have been all too slow to hold responsible for the gravest of offenses, the soiling of the souls of children.

One of the most cheering aspects of Judge Lindsey's work is the help derived for the Court from the children themselves. "In one



year the boys brought to the Juvenile Court by officers for offenses have themselves not only been successfully corrected, but in addition thereto have become helpers to smash *causes*. They have, for instance, prosecuted, convicted and sent to jail through the Juvenile Court more men for violating such laws for the protection of children as those forbidding the sale of cigarettes, tobacco, and liquor, immoral literature, dangerous fire-arms etc. and for permitting children to enter saloons and immoral places, than have all the combined forces of the sheriff's and police departments in all the courts in any ten years in Denver's history."

"The court is now conducted under an elaborate set of laws prepared November 1902, and passed by the Legislature in January 1903. With the exception of the substitution of the detention school for the jail and the law holding parents, *and all other citizens*, to a rigid liability for any faults of children to which they may contribute, no other substantial changes have been made in the juvenile laws of Colorado. The administrative work has always been of infinitely more importance than the statutes."

"Out of more than two thousand cases against both parents and children brought to the Juvenile Court in more than three years, in only two cases have lawyers ever appeared to defend, and no exceptions have ever been taken to the disposition of any case, although several hundred parents and others have been fined or sent to jail and a considerable number of children have been committed to institutions. Among these have been children and parents of very wealthy families as well as very poor people."

#### FUTURE CITIZENSHIP CONCERNED.

"The state is simply devising methods of dealing with its wards not as criminals but as misguided and misdirected; as those who might become criminals some day, but in childhood are not yet responsible, and still in the formative period; and as needing care, help and cherishing of the State rather

than punishment. The state deals, in other words, with the morals of the child, on much the same basis that it would with the financial welfare of a minor, who is not considered sufficiently responsible to handle his dollars or dispose of his property until he arrives at the age of twenty one years. Surely if the state can distinguish between individuals under twenty-one in dealing with their property and money, regarding them as entitled to different treatment and a different application of rules and laws than adults, there is more reason why a different course should be pursued by the State when it comes to the question of the moral welfare of its children. The value of the future citizen to the state depends a great deal more upon how well and how carefully his morals are guarded than how wisely his money is spent."

It is one thing to place an excellent statute for the punishment of adult offenders and the safeguarding of children upon the statute book, and an entirely different thing to enforce that statute without being retired from office by the influence of the offenders who may be politicians and are almost always voters. How then is it to be accounted for that Judge Lindsey is continued in office? He was renominated in May 1904 for Judge of the County and Juvenile Court by every political convention (seven in all) but the Socialists. At the election he received all the 56,000 votes cast, except less than one thousand cast for the Socialist candidate.

When the corrupt democratic machine proposed not to nominate Judge Lindsey, the women of Denver notified the democratic politicians that it was their intention to have him re-elected. The democratic politicians were finally convinced that the women of Denver were united on this point; and the nomination was made. After that, it was the best of politics for all the other parties to endorse the nomination. It is to the voting women of Denver that the children owe the presence on the bench of that wise and tender friend of tempted childhood.

## College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

### The Octavia Hill Association, Philadelphia

By Hannah Fox

#### PHILANTHROPY AND PERCENTAGE.

The housing of the poor as a matter of philanthropy and expediency admits of no discussion, but the method

for accomplishing the greatest benefits is a subject worthy of careful study.

The point of attack varies much in the different cities and is governed by their populations, their land area and the buildings already in use for dwellings of the poor and working classes.

In Philadelphia most of the poor and very poor live in houses built for

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private homes, which have degenerated into composite dwellings sheltering from three to six families, while the workman who can pay from 10 to 15 dollars a month for rent lives in a one family house.

There is but little menace from the large tenements, but it is from these smaller adapted houses, in which our foreign populations center, that sanitary and social evils chiefly emanate, and where restriction and supervision, either from the city or the landlord, is needed.

The Octavia Hill Association was incorporated in 1896 as a stock company to own and manage, on a paying basis, in a more personal way such small houses as it should purchase, and to act as agent for other owners, combining agent and friendly visitors in its rent collectors who should visit each family, at stated times, in their rooms to collect the rent due, and by their visit become acquainted with the family as a unit.

#### BUSINESS BASIS.

The Association owns only 35 houses, the largest of which accommodates but 4 families. All of its stock has not been taken as it is only sold in small amounts, in order that more people may be interested.

It acts as agent for 18 people, managing for them 59 houses. Many of these are larger than those belonging to the Association, several accommodating from ten to fifteen families, one being a very well built modern tenement, accommodating 33 families.

Four and a half per cent dividends have been paid during seven years on association stock, and a small reserve fund put aside. The agency properties vary in their returns from 3 per cent to 8 per cent.

The work was begun in the section of the city which is the center of negro immigration sheltering the lowest elements of this race in such numbers that it is hard for those with better aspirations to live up to their own higher standards, and seeming to offer no incentive for them to rise above them.

Most of the Association's property is still in this district, and it is the hardest district in which it works, as there is so much to contend with in the low standard of comfort and decency represented by the neighboring properties, over which there is but little oversight, by either owner or police.

One phase of the work of the Octavia Hill Association may be illustrated by a court which contained nine houses opening on a well-lighted and well ventilated court, as it has been a typical and difficult one and one with gratifying results.

There was a common yard with toilet apparatus in the center of the row, and the only hydrant was at the street end; reconstruction was impossible but radical repairs were made, including the demolition of one house to increase the yard space. For more than a year the financial returns from this court were unsatisfactory and there was continued disappointment caused by the fact that respectable people shunned the court and would not apply for rooms while disreputable ones continued to come and were sometimes given a house through error, only to cause trouble and be warned out. The tone was raised gradually and now it is a paying property, requiring very little oversight. This, however, was not accomplished until the group of rear houses—a blind alley, or pocket, whose nearest egress to the street was through the court—was bought and placed under the association's charge.

Small blocks of properties such as these are most satisfactory to control, because *esprit de corps* is awakened and the influence on the neighborhood is stronger; but reforms are only accomplished by continual watchfulness and *work*, on the part of the collector who must be on the alert to detect wrong and prompt to punish it.

When an evil is detected which does not annoy the neighbors it is the Association's policy to bear with it for a time while trying to overcome it, and if no desire for better living is evidenced, it is felt best to have the tenants leave,

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EDWARD T. DEVINE, Ph. D., Editor

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#### BUSINESS AND FRIENDSHIP.

The work is conducted first on business principles, prompt fulfillment of the duties of tenants in payment of rent, and of those of the landlord in regard to repairs and improvements, for the rest the relations are those of a friendly visitor, who, while advising, has the power to dictate and to enforce conditions under which continued tenancy will be permitted. Stamp savings are collected, doctors and nurses are procured, work is found, and sometimes money is loaned to tide over the tight places which may lead to the Abyss. Whenever practicable, pleasures are turned in the tenants' way, picnics are given in small groups, or summer rest procured and yet they are in no way almoners, rarely turning to the Association for help.

The payment of rent is a debt, to be met as any other debt, and one soon realizes the justice of but little leniency if the property stands as an investment; and it is as a business enterprise that growth is most probable and most healthy. To effect this either the rents must be scheduled low and collected, or scheduled high and losses permitted. This latter means that the paying tenants must give a little more than their share in order to meet the amounts due from bad debt cases, which is manifestly unjust.

In acting as agent for private owners, certain standards of comfort are required before the Association accepts a property, but no elaborate comforts nor conveniences are added which would necessitate an increase in the rental value.

A small group of houses recently handed to the Association to manage shows how owners may lose their rents through a neighbor's nuisance, over which they have no control. In one house of the block which has been usually vacant during six years, it is found that the yard is shared in common with a much larger house on the main street. Of this latter the cellar wall

has caved in and the cellar is the receptacle for all kinds of refuse coming from no one knows where. On opening the back door of the little house one seems to be on the edge of a cavern! In the small house is neither water nor toilet accommodation. They are in a detached yard two houses away. With these points in mind it is not strange that the house is unlet, yet it is a good house in a good neighborhood. The Association is trying to find the owner of the larger house, which has been untenanted for years and obtain the agency for it, and so be neighbor to itself. Possibly the house is part of an estate and it has an absentee landlord, who either does not need his money or does not sense the situation.

The Association's properties are continually inspected and small repairs made, in order to avoid large expenditures from time to time. The returns from the Association's own properties have not been large because they are in the section of the city where ground is high, but where reform is needed. This is however not the case with the agency properties. They are scattered in many directions and house many nationalities, Russians, Poles, Negroes, Italians and that mixed population which calls itself American. The returns from these vary from 3 to 8 per cent, as stated above. The owners often take personal interest in their properties, authorizing or withholding their consent to larger repairs and improvements.

#### THOROUGH SUPERVISION.

The charges of the Association for supervision are from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 10 per cent; it is the same work which is done by most agents for 5 per cent, but the Association is convinced that the greater thoroughness of its work justifies the increased remuneration and that the owner is eventually better paid than with the smaller charge which means less supervision.

Much of the property in the older sections of our cities have come through inheritance to their present owners, who are often annoyed and ashamed of the asset, and know noth-

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ing of the properties. Absentee landlordism is hardly worse in Ireland than in the older, more debased sections of our cities.

The working force of the Association is two collectors and a clerk supplemented by volunteer visitors, but the strength of it lies in the work given by the members of the board and their knowledge of the needs of the poor.

This article is offered with the thought of the many inquiries from individual philanthropists, from societies for social betterment, from mill owners and others as to what can be done to improve living conditions.

The work of the Octavia Hill Association is small as yet, but it has the possibility of unlimited growth with-

out increase of capital, through its agency work, which indeed, is looked upon as its chief work, the stock company being formed chiefly as a nucleus from other branches.

Anyone conversant with the work of Miss Octavia Hill, of London, will realize the possibilities of this work under a capable leader, even with no association, either in name or fact, but as such leadership is rare, a small stock company is a simple method to approach the same end.

Further information may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association, Mrs. E. B. Kirkbride, 1506 Spruce street, or from the writer of this article, at Foxburg, Penn.

## From Social Settlement Centers

*A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.*

### Kingsley House, Pittsburg

As at most settlements, the work at Kingsley House has given way to country outing work through the summer. The house at Valencia with its nearby fields and woods have echoed and re-echoed with the romps of the crowds of children who have been taken there on two weeks outing trips. The accommodations at the Home were very much enlarged this year and this permitted of a large increase in the number of persons to receive the advantage of a vacation in it.

No less than 2102 were entertained during the summer. Of these 706 spent two weeks each, 269 one week each, 25 came for over Sunday, and 1102 for one day each. The total number for the summer of 1903 was only 1148. Many of the vacationers were not residents of the immediate locality in which Kingsley House is located. By invitation the privileges of the Home were extended to persons connected with many of the churches and other institutions of Pittsburg.

Mothers, the bread winners of their families, have been returned to their daily toil with new strength and courage. To them the two weeks of rest meant much. Of all results, however, that most precious is the strength of new friendships formed in the close companionship of daily living together,

friendships that shall make the life of the coming winter and the future years larger and sweeter.

### Chicago Commons

"Camp reunion" has now become an annual celebration at Chicago Commons and a gala time it is for all the boys and girls whose summer included two weeks of holiday at Camp Commons on the Fox River near Elgin, Illinois. That "golden age" is lived over again with happy memories of all the joyousness that was packed into fourteen red-letter days. And from the shouts of all together you would think it was a contest in which each set tried to prove the superior joys of its own two weeks. On Saturday night, October 22, this year's reunion was held. The songs and popular choruses that used to make the very trees rock around the camp fire were all sung over again, Willie did his jigs and shuffles as long as the pianist could recall from his repertoire tunes of the exact sort our proficient young "artiste" required to show his envied skill—a performance which was greeted with most tumultuous expressions of enthusiastic approval. The "pieces" of wonderful rhyme and rhythm, with most tragic import or hilarious comedy, again were spoken and accompanied with impressive dramatic embellishments, and re-

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ceived with the same rapt attention or whoops of laughter that met their recital when all that kept at bay the encroachments of the "terrible dark" encircling the white tents, or combated its awful stillness and mysterious noises, was the camp bonfire with its shafts of light and its reassuring crackling.

Then the stereopticon helped them to live over the events which required no conjuring to bring to mind. "There's me" cried Mamie as she saw herself seated at the table ready to enjoy a long drink of milk such as never was found in the city. "Aw, look at Fillette," came in unison from a group of boys who suddenly beheld a slim youth in swimming trunks about to dive into the midst of the splashing crowd in the swimming pool. The picture of an exciting base ball game brought the cheers of victory from one side and yells of awakened defiance from the other, while both looked forward to the time when they might again struggle for the honors of victory. But all joined together in one overwhelming, ear-splitting "Camp Commons Yell," when the last of the pictures was shown and the 1904 reunion became a part of history. The clubs and other winter organizations are now running in full blast and with prospects of marking the highwater success of all the years the settlement has been a part of the neighborhood life.

The trustees held a meeting on the same night as the camp reunion and after getting through with their discussions of some of the various problems that now confront the settlement, enjoyed a glimpse of the "camp reunion" almost as much as the boys and girls did the whole affair. The board this year is composed of Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Otto Matz, Miss Susan Wood, David Fales, Frank H. McCullagh, Edwin Burritt Smith, Alexander B. Scully, J. H. George, Edward L. Ryerson, F. F. Peabody and Graham Taylor. Miss Wood is a newly elected member.

The settlement is now in the midst of a political campaign of great importance. The significance of the situation and a detailed account of it are to be found on page 557 of this number.

## Hiram House, Cleveland

We have hardly begun to realize the possibilities enveloped in our new philanthropy, The Summer Camp. For many years we have been working to get the children out to the country because it brought them into closer contact with God and Nature; because it was a stimulus for the best development of health and character; because it was a prevention many times of disease and long-protracted sickness. No one questions that these are great and beneficial results and that these results would be full recompense for the effort expended; but as the work enlarges it is developing into more than a health preserver, into a true and lasting character builder, and into a real acquaintanceship with God and Nature.

One of the advantages of the work is that the children are in more continuous personal relations with residents than is possible in the city.

With the right kind of a director for the Summer Camp there ought to be considerable progress made in giving the children an understanding of the right of property, and the necessity for individual work by each one in the camp. We had some very unusual experiences this summer showing that with the proper person in charge some of the fundamental principles of life could be established in the minds of the children which possibly could not be instilled under other conditions. It is one of the rules of the Camp that everybody shall do his part of the work. The boys and girls all share in making the work light and in making it possible for all to have time off for enjoyment. Some of the boys felt that they were working too long (although not more than two hours a day was asked from anyone) and a spirit gradually developed among them to resist. For two or three days the whole gang of boys were on a strike. If it had not been for the exceedingly tactful leadership of Mr. Frank Van Cleef a great opportunity for teaching the boys the necessity of work would have been lost. But by his strong

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personality and influence over the boys he finally won the leader of the gang and then all the other boys to his position. From that time on there was no strike and no desire on the part of the worst in the company not to work. It was a great victory for every boy and was an experience that will assist him in all future decisions.

It seems to be a natural thing for the children when they go out to Camp to have no regard for the right of the farmer, no idea of property rights. All that grows, all that can be found in the field they think belongs to anyone who happens to find it. But this is not so different from the conviction of the adults who have lived in the city. Hunters trespass upon property, pillage and destroy without any apparent idea that the farmer has his rights, and when asked to leave private property they become insolent and abusive. It is not always a desire to be malicious but a failure to appreciate the rights of others. Last summer a company of girls found a duck's nest and robbed the nest of the eggs. It took a long discussion to make the children understand that the eggs were not theirs but belonged to another, and only the other day when one of the young girls who found the eggs was discussing the situation at Hiram House she said, "I can't feel yet but that those eggs were mine." One of the residents asked the young lady if she would feel at liberty to go into a neighboring grocery store and take eggs. "Why of course not," she replied, "that would be stealing." This illustration seemed to make clear to her mind the rights of the farmer. It has been a constant effort with those in charge to teach the children the difference between wild berries and cultivated berries; to show that the apples growing upon the trees belong to the man who cares for them, who planted the trees and protects them from destruction. If the children can be taught some of the rights of property at the time when they are susceptible to the inculcation of principles of justice, it may greatly help toward solving some of the problems of their work in the future.

Another good result from the Camp work is the development of a love for the country. How many of our grown-up neighbors prefer the city to the country! They feel, as has been said, "Peoples is more company than stumps." It is impossible for the adults, considering their environments and their past, to want to move into the country, but we believe it is possible to overcome this prejudice against the country by early instilling in the minds of the children a love for Nature. And we are led to believe that these same children who have been going to the various fresh air camps all over the country will select different homes than those found in the congested portions of our cities.

Thus as this great movement for service

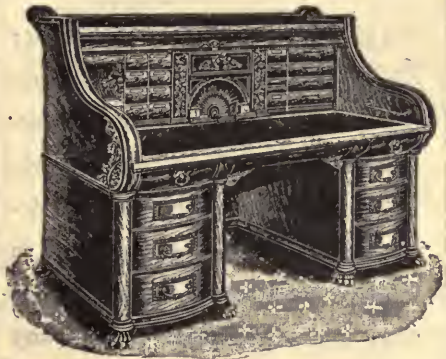
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**Dinner to Professor Conrad by the  
Association of Neighborhood  
Workers, New York City**

The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers gave a dinner to Professor J. Conrad of Halle, on Thursday evening, October 6th, at Clinton Hall. Gaylord S. White, President of the Association and Headworker of Union Settlement, presided and several of Professor Conrad's old pupils were among those who at this time extended a very warm welcome to him. Professor Conrad stands in the forefront as the instructor of more American professors of economy than any other European economist.

The first address of the evening was made by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University, who spoke of the relation of the university to the settlement. Professor Seligman said that to-day the relationship between the universities and the people is growing ever closer; he noted the contrast between the present condition and the situation of two centuries ago.

Mrs. Florence Kelley was the next speaker and she emphasized the fact that it is the problem of congestion with which the social workers have to deal. Mrs. Kelley was followed by Dr. Jane Robbins, formerly headworker of the College Settlement and the Alumnae House. Edward T. Devine, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society, spoke of Dr. Conrad as the personal friend of the students with whom he comes in contact. District Attorney Jerome was the last of the preliminary speakers. He said, among other things, that there was a time when he thought that settlement work was like sprinkling rose water on the Bowery but now his ideas have changed.

Professor Conrad was very enthusiastically received in response to his introduction and after a few words of greeting spoken in English, he delivered his address in German. He spoke of the progress made by this country along lines of social welfare since his visit of eight years ago and said that he was particularly impressed with the fact that so many women are engaged in social work here. He contrasted the social and industrial conditions in Germany and America

and made special reference to the social-democratic party in Germany. Prof. Conrad showed his deep sympathy with the settlement movement, the beginnings of which are just becoming evident in Germany.

## Book Review

### **The American City: A Problem in Democracy**

By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D. 423 pp. \$1.25 net. The Citizen's Library, The MacMillan Company, New York.

Dr. Wilcox gives us in this book a broad minded and comprehensive view of the present status of the problem of the American city. His disposition to look at all the facts and not at merely a portion which bolster up some pet theory is an attitude of mind that many municipal reformers would do well to cultivate. It is the first essential for genuinely practical work toward the solution of the problem both in its national aspects and in its local urgency. But while Dr. Wilcox rides no hobby and takes into account the wide range of effort for progress in our municipal sphere, he shows further his practical turn of mind by bearing down hard in the last chapter upon certain "fundamental planks in the program of civic reform" which are in the nature of "next steps" and which he has happily formulated in a way to fit local conditions in no one city but in all. He significantly points out that, while abroad the problem of the city is one mainly of business policy, in this country it means that democracy is on trial. This truth he forces home with an insistence that ought to bring to a realizing sense of his duty in the matter every citizen who is capable of feeling that he has himself no small share of responsibility. To the rising generation the book should prove of inestimable educational value, for it has that highest of educative qualities — the power to make one think, and strive to put his best thoughts into action. How Dr. Wilcox bends his own energies toward carrying out his own principles may be gathered from his interesting article on another page describing the issues of a local situation.

## Books Received

### **Principles of Economics. With Applications to Practical Problems**

By Frank A. Fetter, Ph. D.  
The Century Company, New York.

### **The Principles of Relief**

By Edward T. Devine, Ph. D.  
The MacMillan Company, New York.

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# The Commons

DECEMBER, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer  
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

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# The Commons

Number 12—Vol. IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, December, 1904

## With The Editor

### The Social Incarnation

Belief in "the incarnation" is slowly but surely coming out of faith into fact, out of theology into experience, out of creed into deed, out of the character of individuals into their human relationships one with another in community life. This movement of personal religious ideals toward social realization is not in itself new, however recent some of its tendencies may be. The high tides of every faith have democratized religion. Time and again the reviving of the old Jewish genius for religion expressed itself at some sacred feast in joyous comradeship, in new neighborhood, and in national unity unattained before. Even when the mythology of pagan Rome had strongest hold upon the personal and public life of the empire, it made of the home its shrine, of kinship its bond, of birth, marriage and death its sacraments, and of the very fireplace its altar. Among our Aryan ancestors, "the ancient city" was not "a collection of houses built by contract for investment, where children are not wanted or provided for." It was a religious compact between families and tribes which discovered that they had more to unite than to divide them. And so they built a central altar which became their "citadel," surrounded it by a moat into which they cast the soil from their na-

tive heaths, and passing through light brush fires to consume everything that could separate them, they founded "the city" of their brotherhood.

Of the birth hour of the Christian church, when the spirit of the Son of Man is said to have "filled" all his disciples, it is written;—"The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul," "were together," "neither said any of them that aught of the things he possessed was his own, but they had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need," "neither was there any among them that lacked." These social results of primitive Christianity seem to have been attended with an increase of the religious power which produced them. For, it follows that "with great power gave the apostles their witness and great grace was upon them all." The religious communion and the social fellowship, which thus sprung from a common source, indistinguishably flowed on and out in the mighty stream of the common life. And so this Christian folk are described as "continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people." And it is significantly noted,



"The Lord added unto them day by day such as were being saved."

Whenever the successors of these primitive Christians, however remote from them in type, have been re-filled with the spirit of the Son of Man, some such social results have always attended every new Pentecost. The forms of relationship and action in which the divine spirit has found human expression have varied, as they ever will, but they have never failed to effect a result closely akin to, if not identical with, that which at first caused the outside world to exclaim in wonder, "What meaneth this?"

Among the Franciscans in Italy or the Wesleyans in England, or whoever else were filled by that same spirit, the new life has been surely seen practically spiritualizing the physical, sanctifying the secular, fraternizing business, Christianizing the state, evangelizing society and humanizing religion.

As religion becomes more human, it will be seen to be no less divine, even as many have been constrained to recognize Him to be "Son of God," who called Himself, and more really than any other was, "Son of Man." It may not be so exclusively ecclesiastical, but it will be no less a personal faith for being translated into communal terms. "Incarnation" is breaking through the boundaries of dogma into the domain of life. The conscientious believer in it as a cardinal tenet cannot honestly fail to carry it out into the corollaries of daily action. It must and will more and more find expression in terms of economic values and of industrial relationship at whatever cost of personal profits, or of change in the social order. It will yet free enough voters from blind allegiance to a pagan partisanship to make possible a "City of God."

## Federation of Labor versus the Socialist Vote.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the meeting of the American Federation of labor at San Francisco was the fact that its delegates were unmoved in maintaining the attitude of trades unions toward socialism by the remarkable increase of the socialist vote throughout the country. That they were not confronted by the socialistic resolutions usually submitted as a test of strength, is also significant. Evidently the socialist party did not care to offset its increased strength at the polls with its weakness in the Federation. But when the lines were partially drawn on the convention's loyalty to the straight trade union leadership of Samuel Gompers and the executive board, the unanimity and enthusiasm with which they were re-elected were decisive enough to put at rest for the present at least both the hopes of the socialists and the fears of the enemies of trade unionism that the American labor movement even tends to be radical.

But the warning to employers cannot be too often or emphatically reiterated that such may not always be the case. One of their number, Mr. Edward A. Filene, of Boston, in a recent address in that city so completely voiced the conviction of THE COMMONS on this point that we are tempted to back up our repeated expression of it with his pointed argument. In case the employers cause a reaction against this conservative tendency in the ranks of labor by their opposition to trades unionism, Mr. Filene thinks they will "be forced to endeavor to weaken the unions in every way, and many years of struggle and loss to both sides must



pass before we can again place ourselves and the unions in the favorable position we are in today." Admitting that the present policy toward the existence of trades unions "is at best not more than neutral," he concludes with this significant appeal: "I urge with all my power that the time has come to change this policy to one of definite purpose to make the unions better by encouraging our best and most valuable employees to join them and to become active workers in them." Rare sanity this, not only in view of present tendencies but of the industrial history of the past!

### A Crucial Issue with Organized Labor

Some local labor unions at Chicago and elsewhere have long been testing their strength with the American Federation of Labor over the issue whether trades unions should be wholly or partially organized. Wherever else it has been tested by events, the verdict has not been uncertain. How dangerous a thing it is, both to labor and the community, for a sectional trades organization to be independent of the national body has been quite sufficiently demonstrated in Colorado. What a nuisance both to employers and employes local unions can be when not within immediate reach of a competent appellate authority, is proved by every jurisdictional dispute between them. The courageous determination of the American Federation's executive board and convention representatives to drag all the way in or drive all the way out the "go-as-you-please" constituent bodies has been asserted none too soon to save the respect for and loyalty to trade unionism. The San Francisco convention reinspired confidence within

and without its membership by the way it brought to its bar for judgment recalcitrant bodies as formidable as the Chicago Federation of Labor itself.

### Ebb and Flow in Illinois

The suggestion that the state of Illinois should assume care of all the insane within its borders, which was made by County Commissioner Foreman in the last number of *THE COMMONS*, has borne fruit already. The "sense" of the Illinois Conference of Charities was voted to be that "the state should at the coming session of the Legislature provide measures to give state care to all the insane of Illinois whether confined in county alms houses or maintained in private families."

The superintendent of compulsory education in Chicago laid startling emphasis upon divorce as chief among the conditions leading to juvenile delinquency. "I speak advisedly when I say that incompatibility, intemperance and immorality among parents is the cause of 75 per cent of the juvenile truancy and delinquency in Chicago." To this charge he added this stinging rebuke, "The social conditions among parents in Chicago, revealed by the enforcement of the Compulsory Education Law is a disgrace to modern civilization. The country has gone divorce crazy." The results, as he computed them, are "that thousands of children are half orphaned by court decisions, and their futures are imperilled. Desertion is the poor man's divorce, and there are thousands of men who desert their wives and families to leave them at the mercy of the world." "This," he adds, "is the real American peril."

The plans submitted to the same body by the Federated Women's Clubs to aid in the enactment and enforcement of legislation regulating town, county and state institutions will be furnished to our readers in *THE COMMONS* for January by the author of their committee's report. The



women of the state have rallied to the rescue of its county institutions none too soon. For, the reports of the local auxiliary committee of the States Board of Charities, which are said to be surprisingly unbiased and intelligent, warranted the chairman of another committee in declaring their position to be "the skeleton in the closet of our domestic commonwealth."

Those, who successfully urged the enactment of the new child labor law against the bitterest opposition of the glass manufactures in the state, took great satisfaction in the report of the chief state factory inspector, Mr. Edgar T. Davies, respecting the effect of the law upon this industry. Contrary to the claim advanced during the hearing upon the bill, that the law would force the immediate removal of the glass factories from the state, the inspector showed that not only had none of the old glass factories prepared to remove, but that two new glass factories had moved into the state. The decision of the state court of appeals, against which the mining operators had strenuously contended, applies the child labor law to the coal mines of the state, liberating many hundreds of children from working in the dark to attend the public schools. The children in the sweat shops have been reduced from 14.9 per cent to 8.2 per cent of all these shop workers since the law went into operation less than two years ago. In Chicago alone the increase of 8,000 school attendants, over and above what should be attributed to the growth in population, is due to the operation of the law.

### The First Endowed School of Philanthropy

One hardly knows whether to extend the heartiest congratulations to the whole cause of philanthropy, or to the city of New York or to Mr. John S. Kennedy. His endowment of the School of Philanthropy with the munificent income of \$10,000 a year, added to his former gift of the first "United Charities Building" makes him twice

over a most uniquely original giver. It is a great thing for a man to be credited with two such first gifts, that so fundamentally underlie all other giving. New York city can now also boast of possessing in the School of Philanthropy the only equipped and endowed educational institution of its kind in the world, which, however, London, Boston, and Chicago are struggling hard to duplicate. The whole cause of philanthropic, social, civic, and industrial betterment will more and more depend upon the thoroughness, not only of the general, but of the technical training of those who are in its administrative leadership and subordinate executive positions.

### Types of Settlements in Print and Picture

We begin in this number a series of carefully prepared and liberally illustrated articles descriptive of typical social settlements in this country and abroad. It perhaps needs no apology that we lead off with Chicago Commons, because, through all the years in which it bore alone the almost unrequited burden of publishing THE COMMONS, before it could be placed upon its present business basis, the December number of the magazine has been largely devoted to the year's work of this settlement. This presentation, however, is confined to the general aspects of its work, the details of which are reserved for an illustrated pamphlet, which will soon be issued to those known to be especially interested or on application. Through at least twelve numbers our readers may expect this series of articles to be continued by the most capable head workers found to be available on both sides of the water.

*We call the attention of our readers to the complete and serviceable index at the end of this number. Through its use we trust that the contents of The Commons for 1904 will have an accessibility to which its value entitles it, and which will give a wider usefulness to its store of information and comment.*

# A Social Center for Civic Co-operation

## Chicago Commons

By Graham Taylor, Resident Warden

America needs discovering over again. A new America is coming to be. It is being made of all the old



peoples, but in combination so new that their life together is almost as unknown and strange as the land was to the discoverers. Ships were not more necessary to the explorers in finding the new world, than centers of population were to the colonists in founding the new nation. At the geographical centers of their original towns our New England forefathers forged three links of association for the common interest. Their "center" church was like the flag staff of the commonwealth which kept floating high over the heads of all their ideals of life, individual and social. Closely allied with it was the free school, the bulwark of the state and the buckler to the citizen, in being a common possession to which all had more equal right than to anything except the village green. Under-girding both and representing the whole community was the Town Meeting, where freemen met on an equality never realized before.

But our populations no sooner became diverse in race and religion and subdivided in industrial occupations and interests, than they began to lose these centers of association. The churches continued to hold up the common ideals of religion and generate the power for self-sacrificing service. But as they themselves were divided more and more by the very intensity of religious conviction, they became less and less able to rally the whole community for united action. The towns fast and far outgrew the political possibilities of the Town Meeting. But the more effective party caucus, primary and convention were sorry and divisive substitutes for its social cooperation. The public school remains not only all that it was planned to be, but with far more possibilities of neighborhood helpfulness than was even dreamed of until very recently.

Meanwhile in America as no where



*From sunny Italy to eight below zero.*

else in the world a common denominator is needed to solve the problem of our increasingly cosmopolitan population and complicated life. The lesson



of living and working together which our forefathers learned so well under their simple conditions, we must learn over again in a complexity of life hitherto unequalled in any land or age. To recover some sort of a center and bond of fellowship and co-operation, under the changed conditions of life and labor in all our cities, many of our smaller towns and even in country places, has become more and more of a social, political and moral, not to say human, necessity. For it is just those populations which have lost or never had their centers of neighborly and patriotic co-operation that have been the worst prey of corrupt politics and the boss, of class distinction and the demagogue, and of a sectarianism suicidal to religion. To restore the spirit and bond of neighborhood is the need of the hour. To beget the consciousness of each other, a respect for each other's characteristic differences, and enough of a give-and-take good fellowship to live and work with each other has be-

come as imperative as the instinct of self-preservation.



*First View of Lake Michigan.*

This call out of the great deep of the common life was answered out of the depth of some individual lives. A heart



*The landscape where there are 60,000 people to the square mile.*



*Chicago Commons*

hunger for a larger share of the race life, a greater part in real things, a conscious identity with the common life sprung up here and there among those who, for one reason or another, felt more or less apart from human kind. So, more by an instinctive impulse than by any concerted movement, groups of men and women, at first only from the universities, but more and more from other and equally adequate sources of supply, took up their residence among and became a part of the residential population in the industrial districts of the cities.

Thus social settlements arose almost spontaneously, just where the density of population and complexity of life most lacked and demanded the ideal, the initiative and the common ground which, in part at least, are supplied at these co-operative centers. We, who are at Chicago Commons to share the common lot, choose to live, for our own and others' sake, where we seem to be most needed, rather than where

the neighborhood is supposed to offer the most of social privilege or prestige. We are here to be all we can to the people and to receive all they are to us as friends and neighbors. We assume the full obligations and claim all the rights of citizenship in a community with whose interests we identify ourselves, whose conditions we share and for whose home happiness, material welfare, political freedom and social privilege and progress we try to do our



*Kindergarten gets its first look at the milk supply.*





*Opening Day at the Playground.*

part. When in order to be entrusted with, and legally hold the tenure of a building and its equipment for neighborhood service, a few friends of the settlement and its community were incorporated under the laws of Illinois into the very informally organized Chicago Commons Association, its purpose was formulated for the articles of incorporation thus: "The object for

But in the fellowship of its work Chicago Commons is as little of an organization and as much of a personal relationship as it can be made. It seeks to unify and help all other organizations and people in the neighborhood that make for righteousness and brotherhood. It is not a church, but is a helper of all the churches and is in active co-operation with the only English speaking congregation among them. It is not a charity, but aids in the organization and mutual helpfulness of all charitable agencies. It is not a school, but is in tributary sympathy and action with the public schools to which it will give up any part of its work that they will take up. It is non-partisan, but has been a rallying point whence the balance of political power has been effectively wielded in aldermanic and legislative elections for nearly a decade. It is not an exclusive social circle, but aspires to be a center and source of the best social life and the highest civic patriotism. It is not a "class conscious" group, but refusing



*Breathing Drill at Camp.*

which it is formed is to provide a center of a higher civic and social life, to initiate and maintain religious, educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago."



*Distance permits of only an occasional visit to the parks.*

to be classified, strives to interpret classes to each other and to mediate for a just industrial peace.

Long before there was any organization or any property or equipment to require it, the Chicago Commons household became a center for the simple and natural interchange of personal values. Representatives of most of the twenty or more nationalities constituting the very cosmopolitan population, for the first time met on common ground, and found in each other so much to interest, respect and attract, that a new bond of neighborly relationship and co-operation was naturally formed. For ten years this good fellowship has deepened and spread. Parents were re-introduced both to their children and to each other, and, from the natural "freemasonry" of their boys and girls, became "hale fellows well met." A new neighborliness spontaneously sprang up around the common center, which has always had a family at the heart of it. An unfailing succession of capable and unpaid resident and non-resident workers have



*Where parks are needed.*



given and received character values and help to self help in equal proportions with the neighbors. A still larger number of those, differing from each other in circumstances, in views and in personal interests, were here interpreted to one another. Employers and employees, suburban residents and tenement dwellers, radicals and conservatives, partisans and sectarians, exclusives and common folk came to be to each other by turns nothing more or

held secondary, and even incidental, to their primary and most effective social aim. While the Choral Club, for instance, has steadily raised its standard of musical taste and achievement, it has grown up around the rare spirit of fraternity and service which characterizes it. Its "Guild of Song for the Suffering" in co-operation with work of the district visiting nurse makes music a medium of higher worth than the study of it for its own sake could ever



*"Story Hour" at Camp Commons.*

less than men and women. And so fellow citizens became friends.

Out of these personal affiliations there gradually arose a series of social clubs with varying aims and methods. Their educational value has always been real and designed. But the educational purpose and method have always been

be. The programs of the Woman's Club have intellectually developed every one of its many members who have participated in them, but the glorious good fellowship of its membership, and its enlistment of personal interest and help in an ever widening range of neighborhood, civic and social



*At the Day Nursery.*

co-operation has far more developed the nature, broadened the life and increased the practical efficiency of every woman. While the results of educational effort could not be more direct than those attained in the manual training and in the domestic science depart-

first-hand contact with life that Chicago Commons has come to be an inter-academic center whose advantages are so widely sought that a waiting list of applicants for residence affords us a wider range of choice. A settlement fellowship has been maintained here by the students and professors of the University of Michigan for the past eight years. The Fellow of the College Settlements Association is now in residence. Whole classes, with their instructors are frequently in attendance upon regular or special occasions. Initiative was given by this settlement to the Institute of Social Science and Arts, the training school for philanthropic and social service, which has recently been established in this city by the co-operation of experts at the head of specialized agencies with the University of Chicago. In addition to directing these departments of instruction at the University of Chicago, the Chicago Theological Seminary and the settlement, the warden during the ten years of his residence, has so constantly responded to widely scattered calls for popular teaching that an extension lectureship has informally developed with more regularly recurring opportunities



*Dish-washing at Camp.*

ments, for instance, yet the reflexive influence of settlement life and service is educationally as effective and even wider reaching. Here students of neighboring universities and professional schools have found such valuable



for brief courses at educational and other centers throughout the country than can possibly be taken advantage of.

By a more direct medium of exchange than money, industrial values



*And 960,000 people in Chicago have no bathing facilities.*

have been interchanged at Chicago Commons. Without fear or favor men have expressed themselves, and have been interpreted to each other across the lines of industrial cleavage and class antagonism. Extreme radicalism has well nigh disappeared through the safety valve of free speech. The "free-floor" discussions, having fulfilled their function in establishing respect for individual convictions and freedom of personal expression, has been superseded by a club of neighborhood men, for social fellowship in the study and practice of good citizenship. Such has been the confidence inspired by the sometimes costly impartiality of the settlement's independent attitude, that the services of its warden are sought for the arbitration of industrial disputes.

The contrast between the politics of the ward and its representatives in the City Council before and after the balance of political began to be wielded by its independent vote, emphasizes as nothing else can the value of such centers for promoting and perpetuating good citizenship. For years this ward regularly furnished its full quota to the "gang" majority in the council chamber,

which numbered fifty-eight over against an honest minority of only ten. After eight years of struggle, in which the Community Club became the live-wire of the Municipal Voter's League, its aldermen have been among the ablest and most aggressive constituents of an honest majority of fifty-five easily controlling the remnant of fifteen "gray wolves" still surviving the killing-off of the pack. The judge presiding over the election commissioners declares that in as many years of service he has never known the voters of a district better to understand the election law and more fearlessly and independently to enforce it. The citizens thus emancipated, take more intelligent interest in the departments of city administration and their work in the ward, in the

progress of the schools over whose public occasions their aldermen now preside, and in the municipal policy with reference to street railways and other questions of common concern.

These wider aspects of the settlement work, although of most interest to the



*Wash Day at Camp Commons.*

general reader, do not even indicate the influence of the house as a neighborhood center upon individual character, home life, and the social relationships of the community. The few pictures,



*Camp Commons, near Elgin, Ill.*

to which limited space confines our description, can only faintly suggest the ways in which personal ideals are lifted, tastes are cultivated, pleasures are purified, labor is lightened, friendships are deepened as they are formed about higher interests, and the religion of relationship to the divine and the human is realized.

The intellectual, manual, recreative, civic, ethical and religious work with the multitude of small groups, centering at and managed by the house, indoors, on playground in park, museum and "Camp Commons," by no means measures its influence. For, outside organizations using its facilities in their own or neighborhood interests are as effective as anything attempted by the residents. The gymnasium is at the daily disposal of the neighboring Montefiore public school, whose building is pitifully inadequate for the neediest children to be found in the city. Alumni associations of three public schools regularly meet here, as does the "Sisters'" School

Club of St. Stephen's Roman Catholic parish. The Armenian colony unites its diverse interests under our roof; the nationalists, the old Gregorian church and the Protestant mission, meeting separately and sometimes together. The alumni and other associations of Lutheran churches, and also a Catholic temperance order are equally at home in this common ground. Pleasure clubs, athletic associations, private



*A Corner of the Cooking School.*

musical and elocution classes share the hospitality of the house.

The telephone exchange girls through a self-governing club supply



other settlement organizations with entertainment programs and assist in other features of the work.

Public school teachers and district nurses come to it for their noon day rest. The *Chicago Daily News* free public lecture course, for the adult constituency of the school district, is held in our auditorium. All political parties hold their mass meetings there. The Tabernacle Church has the use of the whole new building reared on its old corner for its services, Sunday-school, Children's Club and weekly appointments, which are independent of and distinct from settlement occasions.

The fire-light-story evening in the club room, the Saturday night socials around the open-hearth of the neighborhood parlor, and the "family resort" provided at the Pleasant Sunday Afternoons in the auditorium cheerily round out the equipment for household pleasure and profit which is added to every home by this neighborhood house. The response of the neighbors to the advantages thus offered is partly measured by the numbers using the house, and by the share they bear of the cost of maintenance. The permanent settlement groups include 2,500 regular attendants. The weekly attendance in the Tabernacle Church groups number over 700. The total number of those thus regularly coming to the house is over 3,200. Some weeks the outside groups and special occasions add from 500 to 1,000 more people using the building.

The financial co-operation of the neighborhood groups yields about \$1,500 per annum toward maintenance, to which all of them contribute something. But some of them give liberally to the common cause in ways not registered upon settlement accounts.

The values entering into individual lives and becoming a part of community interests transcend those which are to be calculated by the use of the center whence they emanate. Facts and figures, groups and occasions, cannot tell the whole story. For the larger and better part of it lies in the hidden history of human hearts, and in those pervasive influences which go forth not only directly, nor through co-operation with the district nurse, the charity bureau, the department of health, the building and street inspectors, the juvenile court and the police station house, the aldermen of the ward, the public schools, the universities, the labor unions, employer's associations and the churches, but also by that more subtle uplift and unification of the common life imparted by the mere existence and success of such an effort.

Estimated by the cost of the building, and its equipment, \$72,000, (on which \$9,175 remain to be paid) and the \$9,500 required to maintain it and the work the dividend declared, in the gratuitous service of the resident and non-resident workers and in the steadily rising personal, neighborhood, civic, and still wider social values, rates the investment among preferred public securities.



# The First Election of the New Era

By William Hard

## PROGRESS

DISRUPTION

STAGNATION

REFORM

EFFICIENCY

This angle of forces is for those who will not take it too seriously and who are not so ungrateful as to ride a helpful and amiable analogy to death.

The left leg is Reform. If traveled without respite it is likely to lead to Disruption. Many of those who sportively canter along it are eager that new things should be done, but have not yet shown that they can do the old things well. Others are Men of Ultimate Vision who can see through mountains and who naturally believe that the mountains do not exist. Mr. Bryan is both a Sportive Canterer and a Man of Ultimate Vision. He wants thirteen or fourteen administrative changes at once although his own administrative experience is of the most meager and he can see the day of all these changes straight through successive mountains of human nature. He bears just about the same relation to Progress that a fertilizer does to a flower. If he were made president tomorrow he would insist, as he himself has lately said, on withdrawal from the Philippines, on the election of postmasters by popular vote, on the speedy creation of forty-five different railway systems owned by the several States, on the institution of an income tax, on the election of United States senators by the people, on the reduction of our navy to the point of impotence, on the reduction of our army almost to the point of disappearance and on a few other things. This is the kind of Reform which in agitation entitles a man of Mr. Bryan's intel-

lectual and moral activity to a great deal of respect, but which in practice would lead to Disruption.

The second leg of the angle is Efficiency. It is traveled by men, whose eyes are always in focus and never filmy with dreams. These men know how to do the things that are done now. And as they are the masters of those things they see no reason why new things should be introduced. They are for the most part Business Men. They call themselves proudly and superciliously "just plain Business Men." They sneer at the scholar because by reason of his studies he thinks that he knows how the nation should be governed. They call the scholar academic. Yet they themselves are more academic than the scholar. They think that because of their knowledge of the art of buying and selling they are capable of practicing the art of politics. They clamor for a Business Administration and believe that the head of a mercantile house would almost necessarily make a good mayor. Their protagonist is D. M. Parry. Their ideal is efficient routine. Their view of social justice meets its horizon in clean streets and promptly removed garbage. The fundamental demand of the age that wealth shall not swell into industrial and political despotism is unintelligible to them.

If the laborious and painstaking reader will now look back at the angle of forces at the head of this article he will see midway between Reform and



Efficiency and drawing strength and direction from both a line labeled Progress. That line is the last election and Theodore Roosevelt.

#### THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Roosevelt is efficient. With Mr. Bryan, with Mr. Hearst, with Mr. Watson and with Mr. Debs compare a man who has been state legislator, United States civil service commissioner, city police commissioner, assistant secretary of the navy, cavalry colonel and state governor.

Yet Mr. Roosevelt, though efficient, has eyes to see. He knows that industrial despotism is growing up in the nation and that it will in the fullness of time bring forth political despotism unless it is controlled. Every message that he has sent to congress has started off with a demand for an enlarged federal control of big combinations of capital. In speech after speech he has exhibited the truth that when an industry achieves a national monopoly the only power that can rule it is the nation. The Department of Commerce, the publicity law, the anti-rebate law and the expedition-of-anti-trust-cases law were all of them fruits of his big stick. That stick does not typify destructive and sterile war. It is like Aaron's rod that budded. If Mr. Roosevelt's future has a logical continuity with his past the election of 1908 will not dawn upon a country in which the dalliance between the transportation interests and the industrial trusts is as wanton and as unashamed as at present. At the least the gas will have been turned up.

The laborious and painstaking reader now has another task to perform with regard to the angle of forces. He will kindly and absolutely forget it. The picture about to be urged upon him for the next few paragraphs is one in which Mr. Roosevelt, the champion of national power, is represented winning his victory over Judge Parker, the champion of national impotence, and thereby inaugurating the new era.

#### NATIONAL POWER VS. NATIONAL IMPOTENCE.

To Judge Parker the national gov-

ernment is a tenuous, timorous affair. It is rather surprising that he should have been willing to stretch out his hands toward so thin a bubble.

He was shocked to think that Mr. Roosevelt, as president, should puff across the borders of the sovereign State of Pennsylvania and settle a coal strike. He was equally shocked to think that the United States, as a nation, should govern the Philippines as a national possession. He recoiled from the suggestion that the national government should lift up its hand against the trust. It was much better constitutional manners, he thought, to leave the trusts in the hands of the common law which in turn is in the hands of the states and not of the nation. The prospect of further federal legislation with regard to trusts disconcerted him. He was for encouraging the national government to let as many things alone as it could find time to. Then that government would become simply a big policeman, but not too big, defending the states with dignity, though not with armies and navies, against the aggressions of foreign powers.

It was spectacularly fortunate that this individualistic political philosophy went down with such a man as Parker at the helm. It couldn't have had a captain more rigorously consistent. Yet he now lies "full fathom five" and his party is

"Suffering a sea change

Into something rich and strange."

Mr. Roosevelt's philosophy is quite different from Judge Parker's. It draws its life from the living fact that when industry has achieved a national monopoly the national government must take notice of it. Mr. Roosevelt does not recoil from the federal control of trusts. He welcomes it. He sees industry transcending the states. He sees it growing to the dimensions of the national domain. He sees it overcoming its internal competitive dissensions and presenting a united monopolistic front to the consumer. The theory that the state should not interfere in industry and should confine itself to

maintaining law and order was based on the hypothesis that industrial despotism would be checked by competition. When competition dies it bequeaths its duties to the nation. It can have no other heir. Mr. Roosevelt's philosophy therefore does not see in the national government a policeman charged simply with maintaining law and order. On the contrary he sees in it the people themselves taking such measures as are necessary to meet new situations. It is for this reason that Mr. Roosevelt's election may be said to usher in the era of national power. Unless there is an extraordinary reaction Judge Parker is likely to occupy the position in American history of having been the last champion of national impotence.

#### THE SOCIALISTS.

But the socialists? Will they not tread on the heels and gall the kibes of Mr. Roosevelt and his followers and even of Mr. Bryan and his followers? Will they not say: "You are moving in our direction with your plans for controlling the trusts, but we discovered this route and you are faint-hearted and knock-kneed. Get out of the way?" Will they not gain converts to their idea that it is useless for the nation to control the trusts as long as the working class does not control the nation? They will. And they will continue to be as cock-sure and as diverting as they are at present.

They will continue to express the wine of life from the husks of a philosophy of history. They will continue to show that the only way to interpret history is by its economic development. They will continue to prove that this economic development was produced by struggles between classes. They will continue to outline the present division of society into the two classes of investors and wage-earners. And they will continue to bump into the inevitable conclusion that the wage-earners must fight the investors, subjugate them and erect on their corpses the fabric of the co-operative commonwealth in which the only class will be that of the work-

ers. Thus they will unceasingly loop their logical loop. Thus they will unerringly discover the future in the magic crystal of their philosophy. No fortune teller could have a more unescapable method.

Meanwhile they will continue also to be among the most intelligent and valuable members of modern society.

Intelligent and wrong?

#### PTOLEMAIC ECONOMISTS?

Well, that is the case in which Ptolemy with his astronomical theories now finds himself. Ptolemy's intelligence is conceded. It is easier than to read his works. Like him in the latter respect, may not Karl Marx turn out to be like him also in the former?

Besides, I do not here give it out for certain that the socialists are wrong. Though long associated with socialists, I still love to hold fast both to the adventurous thought that the science of history is uncertain and to the exciting prospect that the future may contain unexpected revelations. If the socialists turn out to be right, I will congratulate myself that my humble and accommodating philosophy was prepared to endure any affront.

And yet it is just here that I seem to myself to find one of the reasons why the growth of the socialist party may not be so rapid as is sometimes anticipated. The socialists have worked out the puzzle of human history and are sure that the inevitable will happen. Perhaps it will. But a great rival of the inevitable is the unexpected. Look at Massachusetts. In that state the socialist vote this year was much smaller than it was two years ago. Mr. Douglas, the democratic candidate for governor, said openly in the streets that the tariff ought to be meddled with. He also intimated that Mr. Bates, the republican governor, had made a mistake in vetoing certain labor bills. Straightway the laboring people of Massachusetts forgot that according to the economic class-struggle interpretation of history labor bills must be enacted by the laboring class. They wanted labor bills at once. They



couldn't wait for the accomplishment of the solidarity of the working class. They believed that if they got a few things now they would become richer and stronger and would be able to get more things later on. They couldn't be persuaded to remain poor and weak until by becoming a majority they could gain control of the state and give it a government by the poor and weak. They were afraid also that if they didn't vote for Douglas they would elect Bates. So they voted for Douglas. The inevitable did not happen. Class-consciousness did not prevent proletarians from voting for a bourgeois. And when the Massachusetts situation comes to be duplicated in the nation, when a progressive is running against a reactionary, the fear of electing the reactionary will drive the workingmen (from whom the socialists expect to get their converts) into the arms of the progressive.

#### SOCIALISM'S ENEMIES.

Here is socialism's first enemy—the workingman who might vote for a class-conscious working-class candidate if the other candidates offered him nothing, but who will always prefer an immediate eight-hour law to an indefinitely distant and imperfectly visualized working-class state.

The second enemy is even more powerful than the first. He is the farmer. The farmer will be hard to wean from private ownership. He loves to look out over a few acres, though preferably over many, and to call them his own domineeringly and exclusively. The nationalization of land does not appeal to him. Neither does the working class state. To him the working class means farm hands. A state governed by workingmen will not get his vote. But no party can elect a president without getting the farmer's vote. A national ticket in order to be successful must appeal to the rural communities as well as to the industrial centers. Public ownership of railways might seem to the farmers who do not own Illinois Central stock to be a sagacious measure. So might public ownership of mines.

But what sagacity can there be in public ownership of the "south forty" or of the "back pasture?"

Useful, therefore, as socialism may be in developing a sense of the potential injustice of industrial autocracy, the nation can in the immediate future be carried only by a party which does not insist on a whole new workingman's commonwealth and which is willing to conciliate the back pasture. If every workingman in the country voted for socialism, the farmers would still be able to defeat it. National success will come only to an alliance between the factory and the field.

The socialist party cannot consistently consummate this alliance. Men who hope for immediate progress must look either to the republican or to the democratic party.

#### A CRAB CONVENTION.

The last republican national convention had about the same capacity for progress—and in the same direction—as a crab. Its demeanor on nominating Roosevelt was worth observing. Warm hands. Icy eyes. Eyes are harder to control than hands. Roosevelt was nominated because the people would have no one else. But the ideal statesmen of the convention were obviously Platt, Payne and the other members of the old guard. The only bursts of real enthusiasm came when La Follette of Wisconsin was thrown out and when a delegate from California made an impartial attack on trade unionism, socialism and anarchy.

Can a party which produced such a convention be a party of progress? It can if men like Roosevelt continue to grow up within it and to leaven it. It seems indubitably destined to be the more conservative of the two parties. But that does not mean that it cannot at the same time be a party of progress.

In Wisconsin under La Follette it is a party of progress. In the person of Theodore Roosevelt it is today nationally a party of progress. In 1908, unless the old guard is too strong for him, Roosevelt will be able to show the country that certain progressive meas-

ures have been adopted. If La Follette and men approximating to his principles are then able to control the presidential convention and to guarantee a continuance of Roosevelt's policy the republican party will still be a party of progress.

It will carry a cargo of reactionaries in its hold and will have several of them on deck, but they will consent to spread their sails to the breeze of reform for fear of being left becalmed.

#### THE RADICAL REFORMERS.

Meanwhile what of Bryan, Hearst and Watson?

Their opportunity will come if the republican party ceases to be a party of progress and if they themselves can find something to reform less extensive and more easily handled than all out doors.

Their opportunity may also come anyway if the republican party insists on loving the Southern negro so copiously. With a South, which is naturally conservative, going solidly radical because of the negro, and with a North, which is industrially developed, going partially radical because of its large factory population, the time would be ripe for a progressive federal administration so precipitously progressive as perhaps to fall all over itself.

It is the hope of many republicans that they may not be obliged to choose between a wild-eyed radical and a wall-

eyed reactionary. They would like to see both the great parties progressive. The defeat of Parker makes it almost certain that reaction will be checked in the democratic national organization. The election of Roosevelt holds out a similar prospect with regard to the republican organization. If both parties work toward enlarged national control of monopolistic industries at varying speeds the voter can choose between them according to his conception of the rate of speed which is desirable. Certainly after Parker's defeat the man who would maintain that no kind of national control was desirable would be a man without selfish political ambitions.

This is the reason why the election of 1904 may turn out to be a pivotal one. We have seen a reactionary downed and a progressive raised to the presidential office. We have perhaps heard the last gasps—at least, on a national scale—of the philosophy of national impotence. We have over us a president who believes in national power and who is inclined to see to it that no industry becomes more powerful than the people. From present indications he may well be merely the first of a long line of such presidents. In that case a beginning has been made with the industrial question, which is the greatest question since slavery, and the phrase "new era" is not too pretentious for the outlook.

## The Future

Oh, doubt not, wrong, oppression and violence and tears,

The ignorance and anguish and folly of the years,

Must pass and leave a mind,

More sane, a soul more kind,

As the slow ages shall evolve a loftier mankind,

When over lust and carnage the great white peace appears.

For surely, very surely, will come the Prince of Peace

To still the shrieking shrapnel and bid the Maxims cease;

Not as invaders come

With gun-wheel and with drum,

But with the tranquil joyance of lovers going home

Through the scented summer twilight when the spirit has release.

BLISS CARMAN.





*CHARLES H. HACKLEY.*

# A Citizen's Tribute to His City

The opening of the Hackley Hospital in the little city of Muskegon, Michigan, is of far more than local interest. It has a country wide significance, for these reasons. It is a citizen's tribute to a city, an honest, modest man's recognition of what he owes to the town in which he has lived his laborious life and earned his clean money. It rounds out a civic equipment which, in successive gifts, has enriched for every citizen a widening range of human interest. Everyone is richer for such riches. At the points of personal contact with the greater world where his own opportunities were limited, this man of democratic vision has provided an equality of opportunity, unlimited except by incapacity to take advantage of it. His gem of a public library, beautifully built, generously endowed, well furnished not only with necessary, but rare books, became the intellectual center of the city sixteen years ago. Around it he clustered remarkably varied provisions for culture, pleasure, beauty, and safety. To the city's public school equipment, he added not only its finest grade-school building, but one of the most complete manual training schools in the country. By the gift of a gymnasium and athletic field, he supplied others with the recreation which he has always denied himself in his long years of all too unremitting application to business. The civic pride and confidence, which thus committed these large investments to public ownership and care, blossomed also in a public park, like the old village green, yet adorned with artistic monuments to the hero patriots of the nation and the town. An endowment for the Home of the Friendless included the lowliest unfortunates within the care of his kindly spirit. In entrusting to the Congregational Church the appointment of the Hospital trustees, he recognized religion to be the cure of the soul and committed it to the care of the body. Yet so far from leaving any room for sectarian or class distinction, the Hackley Hospital provides equally for all its patients the necessities and comforts requisite to their healing and good cheer. No difference between the free and pay beds is made. Much of his working capital has been distributed in local interests with which fellow townsmen have been associated instead of being massed in monopolizing enterprises. Thus has this plain, strong, yet gentle man wrought his spirit into all the other forces which have united to transform what had become commercially a "decadent lumber town" into a hive of humming industries and one of the most attractive places of residence among our smaller cities. Mr. Hackley's tribute to his own city was not more happily voiced by the President of the University of Michigan, than the city's tribute to its loyal citizen was by the editor of "The Muskegon Daily Chronicle."

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

## A Modern Hospital: A Gauge of Human Progress

By President Angell of the University of Michigan\*

This fair city of Muskegon is conspicuous among all the cities of Michigan by the generous gifts which it has received. The enlargement of its educational foundations by timely aid to the high school, by the founding and

furnishing of the manual training school, and by the purchase of the athletic field, the erection and endowment of its well furnished library, the securing of its beautiful park, the endowment of the Home for the Friendless,

\*From his address at the dedication of the Hackley Hospital.



the patriotic recognition by fitting monuments of great and good men who rendered extraordinary services to the country in its hours of need, and now the construction and endowment of this hospital, whose completion we have met with glad and grateful hearts to celebrate, these munificent gifts, representing in the aggregate, I am informed, the sum of nearly a million and a half of dollars, have turned hither the eyes, not only of your fellow citizens of this state, but of a much larger public beyond the boundaries of Michigan.

#### FROM GENEROSITY OF ONE CITIZEN.

And when they have learned that all this good fortune has come to you from the spontaneous and unsolicited generosity of a single one of your citizens, who has not sought, but rather has modestly shrunk, from all public offices and honors which have been pressed upon him, and has lavishly poured out his treasures not for self-indulgence or vain glory, but solely for the good of the public, they have wished with all their heart to congratulate you and to congratulate him. Happy as you all are, he has a right to be happier than you.

With all his modesty we ask him to permit us today to express the hope that such is the fact, and also to express the hope that the citizens of Michigan will ever show such an appreciation of the efforts he has made to be of service to them and their children that he shall never see occasion to regret any of his generous acts.

#### DUE TO SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY.

The hospital, as we know it, owes its development, if not its origin, to the spirit of Christianity. Though men of humane temper have here and there, in lands where the example of our Lord was unknown, attempted to secure public relief for disease, naturally enough it is chiefly in nations that have with reverent love endeavored to imitate the Great Physician that hospitals have multiplied and flourished. And perhaps in no work have good men come so near to walking in the footsteps of

our Lord as in founding institutions in which the lame have been made to walk, the blind to see, and those suffering with all manner of diseases to find relief.

Hence hospitals have often been established by the Christian church as a part of its legitimate work, or when established by the benevolence of large hearted individuals have received the blessing and support of the church. If there is any work of human hands on which we may confidently believe that the divine benediction rests, surely it is such a work as that on which we invoke the favor of man and the blessing of God today.

#### FIRST THOUGHT FOR THE POOR.

Through centuries and until recently the hospital has received support and commendation, because it brought its blessing to the poor who otherwise could not have received medical and surgical aid, if at all, under so helpful conditions. And this was and still continues to be its chief honor and glory.

As John the Baptist was commissioned to report, as the climax of his message of joy from the Master, that to the poor the good news was preached, so the splendid feature of the records of the hospitals which have so blessed the world is that to the poor they have brought their evangel of mercy. The rich who were ailing might journey to health-giving climates or might at whatever cost bring eminent physicians and surgeons from afar, if need be, to minister to them. But the poor must have help brought to them and almost without cost, if they were to have it at all.

Hence the first thought that the mention of the hospital awakens in us is that of a place which benevolence has provided for the help of the poor. And it is to be hoped that the world will never lose this blessed association which so links it to the work of our Lord.

#### A CHARITY FOR RICH AS WELL AS POOR.

But it is worth while to notice that as now the gospel of Christ is seen to be not alone for the poor, but also for



HACKLEY HOSPITAL—Dedicated Nov. 17, 1904



the rich, who need it quite as much, so in our days the rich as well as the poor repair to the hospitals, because under present conditions they can there be much better treated in many cases than in the most luxurious homes. These institutions are thus a charity to all classes.

There is now no class of men, women or children who do not reap directly the advantages afforded by our well appointed hospitals. Therefore there is no class that should not be grateful for the establishment of them, and no class that should not be willing according to its means to aid in their maintenance.

Again, let us observe that not only is the number of persons who are the recipients of the aid of hospitals greater than formerly, because they are drawn from all classes, but the benefits conferred upon patients are of far greater service than they were formerly. Not one of the great and famous hospitals of London or Paris could a hundred years ago have approached the efficiency which will be attained by the Hackley hospital of Muskegon.

This is said without any lack of appreciation of the great physicians and surgeons of those ancient hospitals. But the important discoveries, which have been made within the memory of not a few of us here present, justify my claim for this institution.

#### EFFECTS OF GREAT DISCOVERIES.

The greatest of these discoveries, perhaps, all things considered, the discovery of the highest value to the human race of any in the last century, is that of anaesthetics, by which the patient is kept in a state of insensibility to pain during long and severe operations.

Then there is the discovery of asepsis, which is only less valuable by the safeguards which it furnishes against fatal results in serious operations. Add to these the discovery of antitoxins, which rescue our children from diphtheria and save us all from so many other ailments, which but for these would resist all efforts of the most skillful physician.

#### GRAVE OPERATIONS NOW PAINLESS.

Not to name any others, these helps unknown to the fathers have lent to the modern hospital a power of rescue from pain and from death to which the most renowned operators and physicians were strangers only a few years ago. Not only are grave operations comparatively painless, but many operations are easily performed which formerly were impossible. And science is constantly bringing some new aids to the practitioner of our time so that we may confidently look for yet greater blessings, no one can say how much greater, to be brought by this hospital to the sick and the suffering.

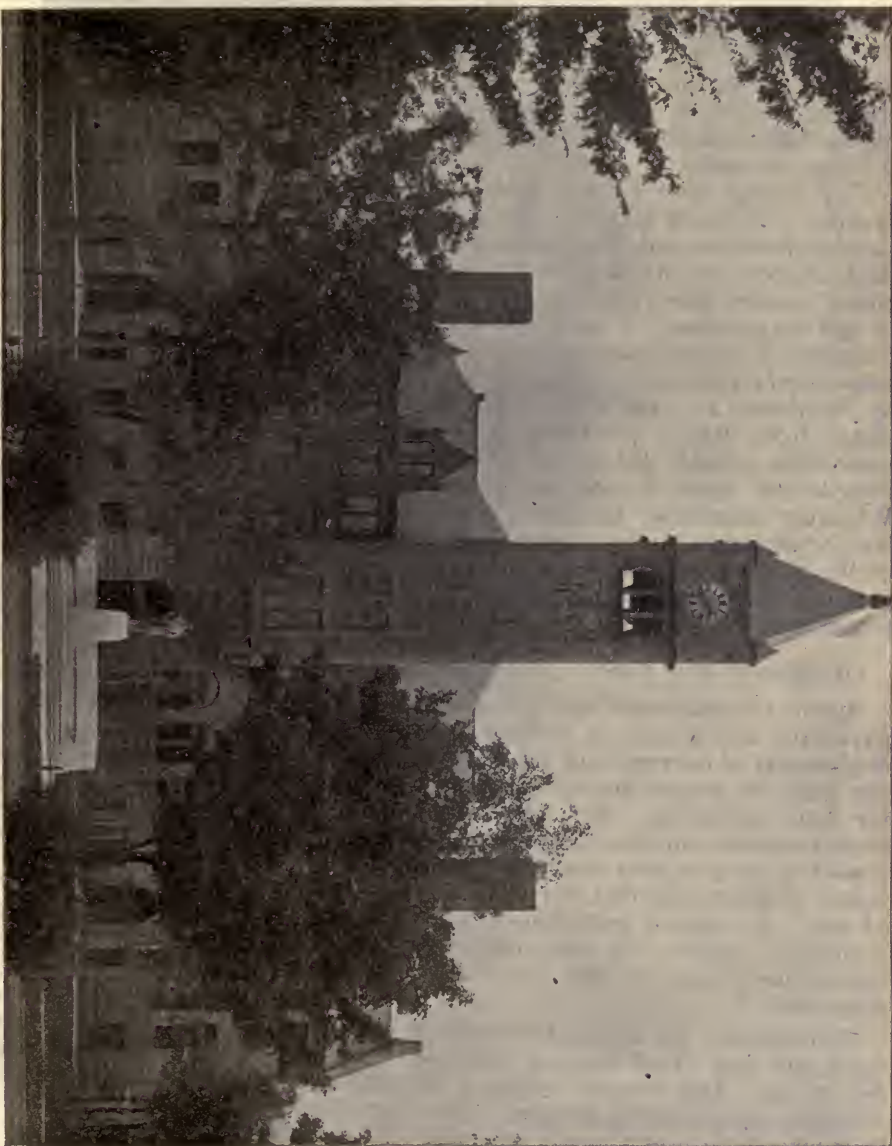
In consequence of the recent discoveries named, the progress of surgery has been of late years most extraordinary. Official statistics are said to show that at the close of the eighteenth century three out of five major operations or sixty per cent. proved fatal. The records of 7,000 such operations in the University Hospital at Ann Arbor show a mortality of only 1.75 per cent.

At the former date two out of three sufferers from compound fractures were lost. The number in the University Hospital is now two in one hundred.

#### DEATHS IN TWO WARS.

In our Civil war it is said that 14.3 per cent. of the wounded died; in our Spanish war only 6 per cent. One has only to look around upon the circle of his acquaintances to see how many have been saved by successful operations for appendicitis, who a few years ago would have nearly all died from what would have been supposed to be peritonitis. More accurate diagnosis and timely and skillful surgery explain the difference.

So daring and so successful is modern surgery in exploring the lungs, stomach, intestines and even the heart and brain that one of our most distinguished surgeons has wittily said that we may almost aver that all our internal organs save the heart are to be classed as luxuries rather than necessities. Surprising as has been the pro-





gress during the last fifty years in many of the sciences and the arts dependent on them, certainly in none has it been more signal and beneficent than in those of medicine and surgery.

#### INDIRECT BENEFITS FROM HOSPITALS.

But besides the inestimable direct blessings which the modern hospital confers, we must not overlook the highly important indirect benefits which it brings to society.

First among these we may name the fact that it draws to its service the most skillful physicians and surgeons, and by its equipment and its large and varied clinics renders them more skillful. It is making constantly a most valuable contribution to medical education. It keeps careful records of all its cases and so furnishes a great store house of facts from which practitioners can make most valuable deductions. These records are open to the profession. Whatever discoveries are made in the large experience of the administrators of the hospital are guarded by no patents, but are freely made the common property of the world.

#### PHYSICIANS AND NURSES TRAINED.

Again, a considerable staff of young physicians are always in residence in the hospital as internes, and are receiving there the largest and best training for their profession. We have thus always coming onto the stage of action a reserve force of men, ready for help in any exigency like that, for instance, of war. As isolated practitioners they could not possibly be prepared for varied emergencies as they may be in a hospital.

Furthermore, the hospital is necessarily the best of all training schools for nurses. The nurses' school is a necessary adjunct of the hospital. Not to speak of the useful career which is thus opened for so many women who have natural aptitudes for it, what a blessing it is to the sick that now it is possible to bring to their homes nurses so apt and so helpful that their aid is hardly less indispensable than that of the physician or surgeon.

Who does not recall many cases of friends who, although attended by excellent physicians, suffered and languished and died because competent nurses could not be secured at any cost? Not the least of the great services of our hospitals is rendered to the public by providing our nurses.

#### SEAT FOR STUDY OF DISEASE.

We must also call to mind the important fact that the careful study of disease in our hospitals has enabled the medical profession to adopt the most efficient measures for the prevention of disease. Some one has well said that in performing this useful function the medical profession is the only one which is laboring to make its own services unnecessary. From them have come the suggestions of the best methods of public sanitation. It is they who move our legislatures to take the action needed to prevent the spread of contagion and appeal to our people to obey the laws of hygiene.

Look where you will to see who are active in this kind of beneficent work, and you will find conspicuous among them the men who, ministering to the patients that crowd the hospitals, are compelled to see daily the sad results of the unhealthy conditions of the lives of so many of our citizens. It is they who are most zealous in urging the public to practice those precautions so needed to prevent the spread of epidemics. But it is they also who, when loathsome and dangerous epidemics come, do not hesitate at the risk of their lives to go into the contagious wards of the hospital or the wretched pest-house which is found in some of our cities or into the private house where the smallpox or the bubonic plague is encountered, and dare anything to save the life of the poorest victim of the dread disease.

#### TRUEST HEROES LEAST LAUDED.

To do this brave thing in the quiet and unostentatious manner of the good physician, with no sound of bugle to fire his zeal or announce his heroism to the world, requires a loftier courage



*Hackley Manual Training School.*



than to charge in the excitement of battle amid the shouts of comrades and with the blare of the trumpet up to the cannon's mouth. Yet these good men who are to serve you in this hospital are doing this every year. And unhappily experience shows that they are far less likely to be lauded for their heroism than they are to be censured by some county supervisor for asking a modest fee in the case where the service is not rendered in a hospital. Let us who do not belong to the profession, but who profit by their services to us, appreciate more highly the fact that in no class of men do we find nobler instances of self-denying and even dangerous devotion to duty.

While then in dedicating this hospital today to its service of blessed ministrations, we have first in mind the inestimable value of the relief it will bring to the sufferers—poor and rich—of this neighborhood, we gladly permit ourselves to think of its wider beneficent influence, which like the waves of light may flow out to the ends of the earth.

We cannot undertake to measure the value of an institution like this, which we trust is to endure forever. Nothing in this commonwealth can more strongly and more permanently appeal to all good men for support, if aid in its support shall ever be needed. Some of the hospitals in Europe are among the most venerable foundations in existence.

Our prayer is that this may be so wisely administered and so justly appreciated through all the coming generations that it shall fulfill the most sanguine hopes of its generous founder and of all of us, his fellow citizens, who with gratitude to him rejoice with him today. May he see the fulfillment of the poet's prophecy—

"A poor man served by thee shall make thee rich;  
A sick man helped by thee shall make thee strong;  
Thou shalt be served thyself by every sense  
Of service which thou renderest."

## "To Charles H. Hackley"

[Editorial in the Muskegon Daily Chronicle]

Muskegon, as one man, today acknowledges its debt to you, Mr. Hackley. You have not waited until after your death to do good with your wealth; and so your fellow citizens will not wait till you are gone before telling you that they are grateful.

You have today crowned the long series of your gifts with an institution that in beauty, dignity and utility is unsurpassed in this part of the world. With characteristic modesty, liberality and foresight, you have reached a climax in the great series of your good deeds to our city. For a period of sixteen years you have been doing these great things for the people with whom, and the place where, you have lived for nearly half a century and made your fortune and your fame and friends; and it is right that you should know that both you and your gifts are appreciated.

You have done two great things. You have revealed the splendid ministry of wealth to the higher life of a community, and you have redeemed our city. By converting money into books and reading rooms and school rooms and works of art and improved taste and trained hands and eyes and brains, and, we may now add, by changing money into health and relief and happiness for the sick and suffering you have shown the high ministry of money to the best life of a people.

You have put a new face on Muskegon and so have saved it. You have changed it from a decedent lumber town, with struggling industries, shabby streets and dis-spiriting atmosphere to a bright, ambitious, enterprising, beautiful city with institutions that equal, if not excel, anything of the kind in the country, and make this city not

only a delightful place to live in, but a unique and envied place of residence.

This you have done not only by your gifts, but by your faith in Muskegon, and your courage and energy in helping the business enterprises that are the basis of the New Muskegon.

It was a happy day for this place when you came hither nearly fifty years ago a dollarless youth, and began to make your fortune.

It was a great thing for Muskegon when you began to use your wealth for the public benefit.

It goes without saying that the people of Muskegon wish you many years of life and health and enjoyment of the better conditions that have come to this city. Today is another Hackley Day for Muskegon, but as a matter of fact every day is Hackley Day for this city. Long live Charles H. Hackley.

## Woman's Lack of Self Appreciation

By Mrs. Ethelbert Stewart

One of the questions asked by the Conference of Woman's Clubs held in Chicago, was, "What effect would the recognition of woman's economic and financial value as housekeeper have on the status of the home?" There were many replies to this question, mostly by men; but it seems to me none were at all satisfactory. To my thinking, a recognition of her real value in the home, from an economic, financial and social standpoint would completely revolutionize society in the United States and postpone the rapidly approaching industrial crisis for many years to come.

Throughout the history of the human race, woman has been content to be looked upon, and has looked upon herself, as "the tender clinging vine." Here and there along the centuries, an Hypatia or a Joan of Arc, recognized the power within her and rose to command, but it was left for the latter half of the 19th Century in America, for womankind in general, to begin to have faint glimmerings of their birth-right, and their real value to the world. When Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and their co-workers tried to show woman the duty she owed herself, she caught only the shadow, not the substance of the cry; and failing to do her duty to herself when the opportunity came, has brought upon herself

the greatest responsibility of the ages. As "Cowards father cowards, and base things sire base," she could not get far enough away from the self abasement of her grandmothers, to assert her whole rights, and was content to take them by piecemeal, thereby ignorantly bringing upon her head whole mountains of future anguish. If, like the great women who led that crusade, she had written, talked, lectured, preached, taught, and studied, but still remained what God meant she should ever be, Queen of the home and fireside, all would be well with the world.

Woman should have remained in the home and demanded a recognition of her rights there as man's equal, knowing her intellectual, moral, social and financial value to the world was as great as his, instead of rebelling against the domestic life that had heretofore been the sign of her abasement, and going out into the industrial world, taking man's job by offering to do his work for less money. She had the right to do his kind of work, if she preferred it to her home work, and could get work like his at like pay, but she did not have the right to do what she did, when, by undervaluing herself, she took his work from him, thereby lowering its value. She had so long held the thought that man was the bread winner while she was only the bread eater,



that the native independence that had not been crushed throughout the ages, but was only slumbering, asserted itself, and through her great desire to be independent, she burst the bonds of domestic life, rushed into the shops and factories, and blindly exchanged seeming dependence on husband or father, for actual dependence on her employer. The great mistake came in assuming that she was a dependent, if she was doing her duty in the home, as bread maker.

Nothing is of so great value to a nation as its healthy, happy, well ordered homes. In fact, for their peace and preservation the Nation itself exists. Since the home is the center, the unit of civilization, why should man, or much less woman herself, undervalue the importance of the woman's part, in conserving and well-ordering that home? For it, factories, shops, markets, all that goes to make up the industrial world, exist. Without it society would become chaotic. Why was woman considered lacking in intellectual importance, while she was attending only to the thousand and one duties that go to build a comfortable and happy home? Why is she recognized as filling a more valuable place in the world, as doctor, lawyer, preacher, author, business woman or even clerk, than the woman who helps to keep the home clean and wholesome and healthy for its inmates? Because not only man but woman herself has placed a false valuation on domestic work and thereby on domestic life. Not only does the incessant physical exertion necessary to keep a house clean and wholesome and the meals prepared for the family compare very well with the toil of the laborer in field or factory, but the intellectual ability required to plan and execute the work of the establishment, from the making of baby Nell's little underwaists, on through all the garments necessary to keep her clean and pretty, up to the most elaborate evening gown for the eldest daughter of the household, the palatable meals for the family, and the artistic arrangement of the whole

thing, equals the generalship necessary to manage a mighty business or command an army. The intellectual capacity to wisely expend the money earned by the man is not less and should never have been admitted to have been less than that required to earn it. It is woman's own lack of respect for that part of the work of the world that is pre-eminently her share, that has brought about the deplorable state of affairs, that sociologists say is owing to "woman in industry."

The women and children are doing a large share of the outside work of the world, while men are toiling for half pay, and the homes are going to pieces for want of women enough to keep them in existence. Only last week I read in a New York paper that 40,000 homes in New York alone were on the verge of dissolution for want of servant girls to take care of them, and that the families were breaking up housekeeping and going into the hotels and boarding houses to live. This is a deplorable state of affairs, in a land where the home has meant so much throughout its past, but if the American home should eventually become a thing of the past altogether, woman may blame herself alone, as she has it in her power to avert that catastrophe. In the first place every house-wife should have sufficient respect for, and appreciation of, the value of the work, to do all that lies in her power, toward keeping up the home herself. In the second place, she should have enough of the same respect and appreciation, to place the right valuation on the work and the personality of those who help her to keep her home a "thing of beauty and a joy forever."

Of all the various phases of this mighty labor problem with which the modern world is dealing, no other is so surely settling itself as the servant girl problem, and why? Not because, as a rule the servant girl does not get better pay than the girls in almost any other line of labor, but because there are still, much as we worship the almighty dol-

lar, other things we value more. While the average woman in the upper walks of life, takes to a profession, goes into business, or breaks up housekeeping and goes into a boarding house, because her efforts to maintain a home are not appreciated, she in turn, when she succeeds in getting a servant girl, fails to place the right valuation on her work, and thereby loses her for the same reason that she herself rebelled. It is natural for every human being to want to be appreciated, and to have their life work, which indeed represents themselves, appreciated. True appreciation cannot be expressed in dollars and cents, in the home especially. Now that we have drifted so long in the wrong direction, that the factory girl and the shop girl have become a fixture, and the servant girl is becoming almost extinct; it is high time for woman to pause and ask herself why this is so.

The shop girl, no matter how poor may be her pay, still has some of the true wine of life, to keep her heart warm and her life blood flowing, in the sympathy and association of the other shop girls, and in the love and appreciation of her labors she knows await her in her home when she gets there every night. She also has the comradeship of her friends and neighbors, some of whom she meets every night and every Sunday, and this social intercourse with many, on an equal footing with herself, makes the foreman's frown, or the boss's profanity endurable, and sweetens an otherwise bitter cup of life.

The servant girl, on the other hand, may have better wages and better clothes, but she has two afternoons in the week to see her friends, who very often are too far from her place of work to be seen at all, and with no place to receive calls; and as to any other social life, or recognition of her as simply one more human being, she does not have it. The mistress may be ever so kind when she speaks to her, make her work as light as possible, and pay her good wages, but so long as the door is closed between her

and the home life, so long as she sees a social life going on in which she has no share, so long as she sees in the most democratic homes in which she serves, even the clerk girls and business women of the world, brought up and introduced to the more honored guests of the household, while she remains a silent waiter at the feast, no more recognized than an automaton, so long will she rebel against such servitude and join the ranks of the more favored ones, until our whole nation becomes one of factory, shop and boarding house. Why should women, who themselves have felt the pangs of lack of appreciation, in their turn fail to appreciate the woman who is doing the very work against which they have rebelled.

"All service is the same with God —  
With God, whose puppets, best and

worst,  
Are we; there is no last nor first."

"A wretched soul, bruised with ad-

versity,  
We bid be quiet when we hear it cry;  
But were we burdened with like

weight of pains,  
As much, or more, we should ourselves  
complain."

Whenever woman comes into a full realization of her value to herself, to man, and to the world, she will take her rightful place under the shelter of the home tree, reign there the queen she was meant to be, a self appreciated and appreciating child of God; joint heir with man to all the good of human life, and all the bright promises of celestial life, with no doubt in her mind as to the real value of her side of life's duties, and her share of its work. Then will the social status of the home be changed, and through the purification of the home the regeneration of the Nation; for doubt it not,

"One moral's plain — without more  
fuss;

Man's social happiness all rests on us:  
Through all the drama — whether

damn'd or not —  
Love gilds the scene, and women guide  
the plot."



# The Social Incarnation

By George Howard Gibson

*First printed in abbreviated form by "The Independent," and here published in full through the courtesy of the author.*

Mother of Jesus, thou wert still a woman,  
A common mother of a common man;  
And they exalt thee who declare thee human,  
A normal mother in great Nature's plan.

A common man is the divinest being  
That God begets and mother-love con-  
ceives;

A common woman, so with God agreeing,  
Can give him sons to-day, if she believes.

Brood lovingly and labor, blessed mothers,  
In hope of other sons of God-like kind;  
Jesus the elder must have many brothers  
Before the incarnate glory is defined.

Think not of God revealed in one, most  
human,  
And since withdrawn; in natural life he  
lives,  
In every babe of every loving woman  
Who reaches after good and, God-like,  
gives.

"Give only good, give greatness in gestation;  
Give breadth of vision to the opening mind;  
Have faith as Mary in ideal creation,  
And link the unfolding life with all its  
kind.

A son of God is one whose heart connects  
him,  
And toil relates him to all human lives, —  
Who feels with all, so that their need directs  
him  
As for the greatest good he thinks and  
strives.

How mean are lords of labor, feeling  
elateness,  
Compared with one who rightly lifts the  
hod!

A commoner in spirit reaches greatness  
Of universal good, of very God.

Despised was Jesus—numbered with the  
masses  
Of landless workers, robbed of rights in  
earth;

A carpenter—he led against the classes  
The mighty union seen before his birth.

Out of the pit of poverty sang Mary  
The world's Magnificat of love and power;  
For all the oppressed, whose heart and flesh  
are weary,  
She saw a time when tyrannies must  
cower.

Tho tarrying long, the kingdom comes, --  
believe it;  
By unexpected means, by worker's worth,  
By common men united to retrieve it,  
The meek shall soon hold title to the  
earth.

Stronger and stronger grow the federations  
Of those who toil, whose labor still is  
priced;  
Nearer and nearer comes the dream of na-  
tions  
Ruled by the people's voice—the people's  
Christ.

---

## Industrial Education for Negroes

By Henry Bruere

Industrial education in the South is devised to meet a two-fold need, one primarily social, and the other individual. In the first place, the South needs artisans and skilled workers who are ready to live under southern conditions, and will accept less wages than the workmen brought from the North. Burdened with a slowly developing race foreign to them, the whites of the South are eager to find some solution

of the many problems arising from the existence of a large number of blacks amongst them, who cannot be raised by a process of assimilation, that great principle of development upon which, in the face of the constant wave of immigration of uneducated and largely unskilled people from the lower strata of European civilization, the maintenance of American methods of life and thought are dependent. To find the

principle of self-development for the negro is the aim of the leaders of the black race, and its discovery is the growing concern of those southern whites who do not believe that the welfare of the South hangs upon keeping the blacks in condition of dependent inferiority.

The old idea of educators was that illiteracy and ignorance of any form of culture was the largest difference between the people who had attained economic proficiency under slavery and the representative white men who had taught them habits of industry. In an agricultural country such as the South, mere application and steady work develops sufficient skill for the raising of successful harvests, and where labor is abundant as it is in the South, no special need exists for the training of agricultural laborers. If the negro could be taught to read and write, and the elements of Christianity, it was thought, he would find opened to him the opportunity for a fuller development of whatever powers he might possess, and on the other hand, in a state of freedom, he was less likely, educated, to prove a danger and menace to southern civilization.

Education had become a fetish which, especially in the North, was supposed to be the great panacea for social difficulties. What kind of education was not the question, *education* was enough, to read and write, to know this or that truth or half-truth; while to necessity and competition was relegated the task of training men for economic service. The humanitarian and public-spirited northern whites regarded education as the great need of the ex-slaves and their children, and made generous sacrifices to provide them with schools and colleges.

In the second place, the negro looked upon education as the barrier between him and his white neighbor. He saw that the educated man was not likely to work, or if he worked he received special emoluments and distinction as a member of the professional or mercantile classes. If the negro were ambitious, and not resigned to a servile con-

dition by long years of comfortable slavery, he sought freedom from drudgery or entrance into the professional ranks by means of acquiring the magic power of reading and writing. The result was that schools that had been devised for a race of men, and a condition of civilization, in which every child was to be given an equal chance for attaining the highest social or economic positions in the community, were established for the negro. The negro was to be given "an equal chance" to make *his* way, and so, wherever the South acquiesced, or money could be provided, schools were opened. This education failed to meet the expectations of its devotees. There are still a few persons in the South, the greater part of whom are negroes, who believe in the efficacy of literacy as an instrument of civilization. But where faith in education remains, it is in education of a new order, in educative training to a definite end rather than in an educative process which seeks, merely, to awaken intelligent interest in a comparatively wide range of information—a mere educative process which informs but does not develop aptitudes nor awaken them.

Almost accidentally, in the effort to make negroes valuable members of the body politic, the educators of the South have discovered a new principle of education, from which a reformation of the general Northern idea of the purpose and ideal of our educational system is likely to follow. It is a singular fact that while we zealously devote our energies and lives to economic practices, our education has been of a nature which primarily aims to relieve a man of work as such, that is, which in its origin assumed that educated men would find in their knowledge a full occupation of their powers, that men who were learned would use their knowledge as a means of livelihood, or because of the possession of an education would be suffered to exist as economic parasites.

Before the Renaissance education set men apart from the common mass and, to the common man, the life of the learned was the kind of life for a man



to seek. On the awakening of a democratic spirit which reached down to the middle class, the educated man, half coerced, half from motives of philanthropy, devised means of letting the vulgar into their precincts, as far as the vulgar could afford to come. With the increase of numbers within the ranks of the educated, there naturally resulted a compromise with the common necessity for labor. Society could no longer afford to allow every educated, or partly educated man, to spend his days in the pursuit and delight of knowledge. Learning and labor were made to co-exist. This was a concession on the part of learning, but a necessity for the sake of living.

Mankind has never thoroughly awakened from the half illusion that education means happiness. Where we are civilized, there every child is made to acquire at least a modicum of learning which, until recently, was merely book-learning. We take our education and turn to toil, usually as an escape from the stupid routine of the common school.

The negroes repeated the error of the whites but they are recovering themselves from their mistake. They are learning that mere education, in itself, does not furnish a man with a living wage, and that to secure a living wage a man must render indispensable serv-

ice to the community in which he lives. While he is at school he must be taught to do those things for which the community is willing to give him wages in return. For the negro in the South it is necessary that he learn how to use his hands in a skillful fashion, because the white does not wish the service of the negro in the learned professions nor, to any great extent, in a clerical capacity. These facts bear upon the lives of the black men in an important way because it is to the white employer or landlord that the negro must look for an opportunity to exercise his skill. The South wishes to employ the negro as a mechanic or farmer, and if he can render skilled service in positions of this character it will reward him adequately. The negro has learned that he cannot foist himself upon the older race, simply because he can read or write as well as his white neighbor, but that he must be prepared to yield the community such service as it demands of him. In order that he may do this successfully schools have been established for his industrial training, and the results which they have produced in raising the tone of the negroes whom they have trained, and in equipping them for useful careers as artisans and substantial citizens, have won for them, both the confidence of the black race and the respect and support of the whites.

## Civic Day at the St. Louis Exposition

The sessions of Civic Day at the St. Louis Exposition proved more successful than even the most sanguine advocates of the enterprise ventured to hope, and the large audience was composed in part of the best class of city officials. Through the efforts of the committee of arrangements representative members of several active national organizations devoted to civic progress and development, were induced to prepare and read able, definitive papers, explaining the aims and accomplished work of their several associations. The Na-

tional Municipal League, the League of American Municipalities, the American Civic Association, and the American Society of Municipal Improvements were thus represented, and an exchange of views was brought about between influential national bodies.

This is extremely important in the direction of larger conceptions and broader sympathies and efforts than are possible in any single organization, however wide the scope of its work may be. The character of the definitive papers was so high that Civic Day

would have been eminently useful if its purpose had been fulfilled by their presentation; but the program comprised an additional series of papers discussing the general civic problem from sociological, civil service, legal, religious, administrative and improvement points of view. These papers were prepared by men of recognized ability and national reputation. They contributed greatly to the value of the sessions, and if the proceedings are published in book form, as they should be, they will be found to possess an educational value of the highest order. One of the practical features of the program was the Civic Itinerary, prepared and very clearly explained by Mrs. Conde-Hamlin, which contemplated a careful inspection of the great municipal exhibits of American cities and those of Germany, France and other European countries.

Unfortunately few availed themselves of the unusual opportunity, but there is reason to believe that the

various municipal exhibits will be assembled in one of our large cities, possibly Chicago, for future examination, and it is confidently hoped that an American Municipal Exposition will eventually result from the interest now developing in the subject. In itself Civic Day may lead to no immediate concrete results, but the meeting of representatives of so many influential bodies is none the less a point of departure, an indication of mutual sympathies and aims, a bond of union and a significant sign of the times. The idea of holding the Civic Day sessions is believed to have been originated by Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary of the National Municipal League and members of the American Civic Federation, and the arrangement of the program and sessions was entrusted to a joint committee consisting of Mr. John A. Butler of Milwaukee, President James of the Northwestern University, now president of the State University of Illinois, and Mr. John Davis of Detroit.

## Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

### A Trade Union Educational Experiment

Free University extension lectures under the auspices of a trades and labor assembly in a spacious municipal auditorium built by the city for the use of all its citizens—such is the happy combination of forces at work in Springfield, Ohio. It is a sad commentary upon the relations, or lack of relations between municipal enterprise, educational influences and the labor movement that we must hail this instance as unique. It is a harbinger we trust of a general co-operation that will be at work in many another locality and that will be regarded by all classes of citizens as belonging to the natural order of things.

An account of the Springfield arrangement is to be found in a recent number of the "University Record," published by the University of Chicago and containing material of exceptional interest concerning the remarkable and far reaching system of university extension work carried on by that university. The lectures at Springfield under the auspices of the labor organization have been running three years. Prof. Charles Zeublin gave the first course upon "Phases of British Municipal Life," with stereopticon illustrations. The average attendance at these lectures was over eight hundred. The next season Prof. Zeublin again was secured and an average of over one thousand came to each of six lectures upon "American Municipal Progress." Last Year Dr. Ira W. Howerth gave a course on "Our Country" and the attendance taxed the capacity of the auditorium which seats 1,400. This year Dr. Howerth is to speak on "Phases of the Labor Movement." The Trades and Labor Assembly bears the entire cost of the lectures and opens



them free of charge to the public. The expense is reduced to the minimum of lecturer's fees, traveling and hotel bills, the city asking nothing for the use of its auditorium, and the newspapers very generously contributing much advertising. The money expended by the Assembly was derived from its Labor Day celebrations and other entertainments. The value of the stereopticon in popularizing this educational work was appreciated so deeply that the Assembly purchased one of its own. The press of the city congratulates the Trades and Labor Assembly most cordially upon the success of the work. "It was particularly fortunate that he (Professor Howerth) should have been brought here by the Trades and Labor Assembly. This fact alone assured him of a hearing by a class of citizens which would have been conspicuous by its absence if the same course had been given under other auspices."

The President and Secretary of the Assembly, in commenting upon the effect of the enterprise said:

"The University Extension lectures in no way interfere with the educational work constantly carried on by the trade unions, nor do they exclude from the platform the able leaders of the movement. On the contrary, they stimulate the study of industrial and economic questions, and gain for the representatives of organized labor large audiences and respectful hearings. In conclusion, we may say that the Assembly is convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that its experience with University Extension work is the best investment it has ever made. It therefore urges central bodies and trades assemblies to consider carefully its merits as an instrument of pressing forward the fundamental principle of organized labor—education."

## Household Work: Its Conditions to be Systematically Studied

The extraordinary revelation of the evils connected with the employment agencies made by Miss Frances A. Kellor, fellow of the College Settlement Association, stirred people of influence to action. Those who read the article in THE COMMONS for last May, in which Miss Myrta L. Jones outlined the results of Miss Kellor's investigation, will remember that a bill to remedy the situation in the large cities of New York state was introduced and passed at the last session of the legislature of that state. That it became a law was due almost entirely to the tireless ef-

forts of Miss Kellor and her friends in the College Settlement Association and the Women's Municipal League of New York in repeatedly coming to Albany to urge its passage.

A far reaching development of this study by Miss Kellor is the formation of an Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research, representing the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The first volume appearing under the auspices of this committee will contain the report on the Intelligence offices. The book will be entitled "Out of Work" and will be written by Miss Kellor.

To get at the fundamental facts of conditions of domestic service is the purpose of this committee. It hopes thus to make a basis for future efforts toward a solution of some perplexing problems. The need for co-operation is emphasized and request is made for suggestions, criticisms or information. An association has been formed in New York with a membership fee of one dollar, and with the following objects: to study the existing phases of household work, to aid in securing fair conditions for the employer and employee and to place their relations on a sound business basis.

The following prospectus is of interest:

The Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research, representing the three cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia, announces that it will open in each city Bureaus of Information, for the purpose of studying the conditions of household work. The organizations represented in this movement are: The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, with its bureau at 264 Boylston St.; The New York Association for Household Research, with its bureau at 111 East 23rd St., in charge of its Secretary, Miss Elizabeth M. Rhodes; the Housekeepers' Alliance and Civic Club of Philadelphia, with offices at 1325 Walnut St. The members of the Inter-Municipal Committee are: Mrs. Mary Morton Kehew, Boston, President of the Educational Union; Miss Margaret D. Dreier, New York, President of the New York Association; Mrs. Wilbur F. Hamilton, Vice-President of the Housekeepers' Alliance; Mrs. Wm. Lybrand, Chairman of the Social Science Department of the Civic Club, and Miss Frances A. Kellor, Fellow of the College Settlements Association, General Sec'y.

This Committee will start simultaneously from its bureaus, in each city, the investigation of the various phases of household work and will render educational and practical service to employers and employees. The work in the three cities will be uniform, representative and comparative. The details of the work will be carried out by the local organization in each city. In Boston this is by the Domestic Reform League of the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union; in New York, by a new Association for Household Research, interested members of which includes: Mrs. Seth Low, Mrs. Lyman Abbot, Mrs. Felix Adler, Miss Grace H. Dodge, Mrs. Russell Sage, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Miss Virginia Potter, Mrs. Treman J. Backus, Mrs. Chas. Cuthbert Hall, Mrs. S. Ollesheimer, Mrs. Charles N. Judson, Mrs. Barclay Hazard, Miss Rose Sommerfeld, Miss Elizabeth Williams, Miss Leonora O'Reilly, Miss Margaret L. Chandler and Miss Margaret D. Dreier; in Philadelphia by the Housekeepers' Alliance, of which Mrs. John H. Converse is President, and the Civic Club of which Mrs. Mathew Baird is President.

The objects of these bureaus will be:

First: To study at first hand, the conditions surrounding household work, in a conservative, impartial way so as to place the most reliable information possible before employers and employees.

Second: To be of practical service to employers and employees: (a) by furnishing lists of recommended, approved and reliable employment agencies; (b) information about training schools for household workers; (c) lists of reliable lodging houses for employees; (d) information which will enable employers to secure day-workers, daily service employees, nurses, and other household workers; (e) suggestions for advantageous advertising for employers and employees; (f) special investigations of value to individual employers and employees; — in fact, all lines of information which affect this problem of household work. This information will be on file in the office, and will be gathered by the bureaus' own investigators, by means of interviews, schedules of questions, and by the co-operation of householders and others interested in furthering this work by giving their criticism, suggestions, experiences, and experiments, which will be of value to others.

Aside from the bureau which is open to all, the Inter-Municipal Committee will publish a monthly bulletin containing the best information it can gather along all lines of household work, and from all sources and sections of the country.

Third: It hopes to co-operate with newspapers and magazines and furnish them with the best material it can command, in order that a genuine interest may be awakened in the broad general subject. For this part of

the work it is hoped to have the bureau freely used.

Fourth: To co-operate with universities or colleges giving courses which touch this problem; to encourage conferences and other methods by which employers will co-operate and place their individual knowledge at the disposal of all; to further all interchange of opinions and experiments upon this subject; and to aid in placing housework upon a sound industrial basis.

This movement is not an employment agency, it is not competitive with any existing business. It advocates no reforms, it has no theories whatever to prove, and it charges no fees whatever for any information or publication. Its work is entirely co-operative and educational and it seeks not to solve any problem, for solutions lie only with the employer and employe, but only to place the situation clearly before them, and to do the little it can to advise and direct employers and employees to the sources which may meet their needs.

### Three Noteworthy Articles in the Labor Bureau Bulletin

Profusely illustrated and comprehensive to a remarkable degree, the September number of the Bulletin of the National Bureau of Labor, recently published, contains an invaluable fund of material on three special topics, "Housing of the Working People in the United States by Employers," "Public Baths in the United States," and "Trade and Technical Education in the United States." No less than 168 exceedingly interesting pictures show the wonderful development along these three lines and nearly half of the 500 or more pages in the bulletin are devoted to the three articles. To attempt an adequate review of their contents is useless in small space; no one at all interested in any one of the subjects can afford to miss obtaining a copy of the bulletin for his immediate perusal and future reference. A few descriptive notes, however, will serve to show the great value and thoroughness of the information placed at disposal.

"Housing of the Working People in the United States by Employers" deals with the achievements of 14 large corporations which have expended much care and money in this direction. Among them are such well known ones as the N. O. Nelson Manufacturing



Company, Plymouth Cordage Company, Westinghouse Air Brake Company, American Waltham Watch Company, Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, and the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates. The plates show dwellings, street and back yard views, detailed plans and grouping, company clubhouses for employes, schoolhouses, hospitals, libraries, and inns are all pictured and described. Details of management are included together with accounts of the use and regulations of the club houses and other buildings for general use.

"Public Baths in the United States" show what has been done in 37 cities by municipal action and authority, and in 5 cities where nonmunicipal public baths are run. The illustrations accompanying this article give representations of exteriors, plans, locations and surroundings, showing in some cases how river, lake, harbor or sea fronts are utilized, and a wide range of interior views. The latter afford a good idea of fixtures, showers, swimming tanks, and laundry facilities.

"Trade and Technical Education in the United States" describes state and privately supported and endowed institutions not only, but schools that have been established by large employing interests such as, for instance, the Lowell Textile School. Quite as interesting as the accounts of mechanical trade schools are the descriptions of the dairy schools maintained by the states of Wisconsin and Iowa at their state universities, and of those at such institutions as Tuskegee. Three schools for women, teaching such arts as dressmaking, needle work, cooking, cooking for invalids, millinery, and domestic branches those of the Young Women's Christian Association at Boston and New York, and the Women's Training School at St. Louis, are given attention. Among the institutions to which considerable space is devoted are the New York Trade School, California School of Mechanical Arts, Pratt Institute, Hampton, and Tuskegee.

## The Labor Press on Weinseimer's Conviction

After the exposure and summary punishment of Sam Parks for the crime of extortion, it would seem that an example had been made that ought to have deterred any official representative of labor from pursuing a similar course. And the denunciation from labor's own lips of such traitorous betrayal of labor's good name was quite as severe a reproach to any man with the slightest sense of honor left as the criminal conviction. The fear of neither was felt by Weinseimer. His

brazen words which he used when he compelled Essig, the master plumber, to pay \$2,700 to have a strike called off, "I am in the labor business for money. You've got that job, and it is worth \$3,000 to me. They won't catch me as they did Parks," show this man Weinseimer to be utterly devoid of honor or of even a decent regard for the men who extended their confidence to him when they chose him for their leader and entrusted him with their interest and reputation. The labor press is fully as sensitive to the reprehensible character of Weinseimer's offence and as outspoken in denunciation as any one, and we quote from an editorial that recently appeared in *The Railway Conductor*, whose able editor, Mr. E. E. Clark, contributed to the last number of *THE COMMONS* the widely noticed article on "The Ethics of Christianity Reflected in the Labor Movement":

The conviction of Phillip Weinseimer of blackmail is one for which organized labor in general and the New York Building Trades Alliance in particular, of which he was President, should render thanks to the authorities of New York City for ridding it of one of its worst kind of enemies. The worst kind of an enemy because such men have no natural bond of sympathy or feeling for the laboring man, but are at heart grafters and blackmailers, who get and use the power delegated to them for the sole purpose of using the office to further the filling of their own pockets.

Weinseimer committed the rankest kind of a crime, not only against organized labor in general, but against society at large, to say nothing of the baseness of his treachery toward those who placed almost the very life and usefulness of their organization in his hands. We realize, of course, that sensible and fair-minded people will not charge against organized labor the sins committed by any single individual, be his name Parks or Weinseimer or he who will next go wrong. And we think that organized labor should rejoice whenever one who has been a traitor to it and a disgrace to his country and humanity is brought to justice. The members of organized labor should be taught to think that a crime committed by one of their members against the moral or statute laws of the land, is a more heinous one, at least to them, than if committed by one who is not a member of organized labor.

We do not believe that organized labor is on the downward path either morally or physically, and the Parks, Weinseimers

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*of our first  
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On the eve  
of the great football  
game between Oxford and  
Cambridge the "star" player of  
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## **Sherlock Holmes**

the peer of all detectives, deciphered the hieroglyphics on this blotter. With this clew he traced and found the lost member. The Household Number of

# **Collier's**

for December, issued November 26th, contains the story. It is called "The Adventure of the Missing Three-Quarter." At all news-stands ten cents.

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and others of their ilk are but excrecences—ulcers upon its body politic. The crisis in the organized labor movement has long since passed and it has for some time been one of the upbuilders of much of the present industrial advancement.

## A Municipal Museum for Chicago

After the great interest aroused by the German Municipal Exposition, the detailed and copiously illustrated reports of which are now eliciting the admiration of numbers of students of municipal affairs in this country, and the unique collection of municipal exhibits at the St. Louis Exposition, it is a source of gratification to Chicago to announce the establishment of a permanent Municipal Museum. The preliminary work has been done during the last few weeks, and a fund of \$15,000 is now required to complete the project. The directors include a list of representative citizens, with Mayor Harrison as *Honorary President, ex-officio*; John W. Eckhart, President of the Chicago Library, as *Honorary Vice-President, ex-officio*; Professor George E. Vincent of the University of Chicago, *President*; Charles L. Hutchinson, President of the Art Institute, *Treasurer*, and George E. Hooker, Secretary of the City Club, *Secretary*. We quote from the first official announcement:

Some of the most important municipal

exhibits at St. Louis will have to be purchased, and their purchase will probably induce the gift of others to the Museum on a sufficient showing as to its substantial character. Prospective donors, however, and especially representatives of foreign governments, must be shown that its scope and resources warrant their making it the repository of valuable exhibition material. It is expected that the Public Library Board will tender the use of vacant rooms in the Library Building for installing the Museum, so that it will be located at the heart of the city and in a monumental, fire-proof public building.

The idea that municipal progress may be exhibited by plans, charts and models, is comparatively new. The World's Fair at Chicago contained no such exhibits, and the first attempts in this direction, made at the Paris Exposition in 1900, were naturally much less complete than those at St. Louis. Even at St. Louis their experimental character is evidenced by the fact that the very valuable and carefully prepared municipal exhibits are scattered through numerous buildings, having been classified under Social Economy, Transportation, Municipal Art, Hygiene, Liberal Arts, and several other heads.

The great success of the German Municipal Exposition at Dresden last year, and its tonic influence in Germany upon the whole field of municipal art and administration, indicate something of the value which would be realized from a permanent exhibit on these subjects in Chicago. It would not only stimulate popular interest in city improvements and furnish a place where school children, as well as adults, could study such matters, but its graphic and comparative showing of what other great cities are accomplishing in the work of city-building would also furnish valuable information to Council committees and to the administrative officers of the city.

## College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

The regular autumn meeting of the Electoral Board of the College Settlement Association was held on October 29 at the Philadelphia Settlement, 433 Christian Street. Miss Katharine Coman, president of the Association, occupied the chair. The morning was devoted to the regular business, the reports of committees and college chapters and included a review of the educational work of the Association by Miss Vida Scudder. The fellowship

scheme, reported as a plan last year, is now in successful operation. Under the action of the Electoral Board, establishing joint fellowships with the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and with Smith, Wellesley and Swarthmore, several appointments have been made, Miss Frances H. Kellor continuing her timely and important study of the Problem of Domestic Service, as joint fellow of the A. C. A. and the C. S. A.

Wellesley has joined us in a scholar-



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ship, the holder of which, Miss Clara More of the class of 1904, is to be first in residence at the Chicago Commons and later at the New York College Settlement. Miss More will, in connection with her more practical work, study the facilities for rational recreation available for wage-earners.

Miss Mary Gore Smith is to be the fellow on the Smith College foundation, and is spending her year at Denison House in Boston, engaged in a study of the conditions, good and bad, which surround our new Italian immigrants. Miss Dudley, in her report as head worker at Denison House, reminds us that it is but a scant glimpse of the attractive side of American life which the foreigner, coming to our shores, is able to command. An Italian woman who began to come to the Settlement was asked how long she had been in this country.

"Twelve years," was her reply. "How does it happen, then, that you speak so little English?" asked the new friend, to which the answer was, "What would you? I have lived all the time in Boston, and in Boston, you know, one has no opportunity to hear the English spoken."

Miss Williams reports that in the New York Settlement it is necessary to conduct the Mothers' Meetings in German or Yiddish, and it is a common experience to find that the parent feels that the normal influence of life in America is bad for the child. "I can do nothing with him," one mother complains; "he was born in America."

For the Publication Committee Miss Scudder reported that they had never been more full of vitality than during the past year. "They feel," she said, "that the enlightenment of the social conscience is as important as the direct activities of the Association's several Settlements. The new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements," in preparation by our ex-president, Mrs. F. H. Montgomery, is well under way and will soon enable us to retrace the recent milestones in the progress of the Settlement movement.

The Publication Committee has brought out during the year a series of short syllabi or study courses, which it hopes to sell to Women's Clubs or other groups of people who may care for the study of social questions and they will continue to issue such syllabi as they find a demand for them.

Miss Coman, in a brief address after the intermission, during which a delightful luncheon was served by the Philadelphia Committee, spoke of the value of the College Settlements Association, in that it offers a special appeal to the college constituencies. It endeavors to bring all college women within the scope of a common purpose and a common work and to inspire them with a common ideal—to these cloistered communities the Association tries to present its work, tries to say to each freshman, "You are entering upon a great privilege. Do you not owe something to those who are deprived of your opportunities, will you not join yourself to a movement, three thousand strong, which is endeavoring to quicken the social conscience?"

"Our Association as a whole," predicts Miss Scudder, "is to constitute a body of people ever more consecrated to faith in the Democracy. This faith was once, and not so very long ago, an impulse, or at best a reasoned theory; it is becoming a true religion with a rapidly developing code of conduct; a code of which we gladly watch the expansion and which it is our privilege and aim to extend through all social classes."

The exercises of the day were concluded by the reading of the interesting reports of the head workers of the New York, Boston and Philadelphia Settlements, Miss Williams, Miss Dudley and Miss Davies. Each presented in an attractive form, the work she represents. Space forbids my giving anything like an adequate impression of these reports, but from that of Miss Davies I have selected her account of the life of a scholar in the Philadelphia Settlement as likely to prove of general interest to all Settlements which have



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adopted or which intend to adopt this method of training workers.

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The Settlement scholarships should receive more attention, locally, than has been given them. The Association has shown its appreciation of their value by adding Association scholarships to those already mentioned by its several Settlements. It has also established fellowships, which are more directly in the line of academic life, standing for investigation of specific problems and the presentation of results in published form. The scholarship may represent rather the trade-school life. The scholar is the social apprentice, conquering her ignorance and subduing her ineptitude, storing up knowledge and skill in the use of tools and materials, in the laboratory of daily experience. The scholarship is usually held by a college graduate and thus it represents the culmination in the most concrete form of an extended general training. In the Philadelphia Settlement, the full "scholar's course" is two years in length. In the first year an extremely varied activity under direct supervision is prescribed. In the second year, time is allowed for two courses at the University of Pennsylvania and at the Settlement more scope is given to the capacity for initiative, for skill in organization and for the exercise of disciplinary and managerial talent. The scholar at the end of her two years' course should be as well fitted to occupy a responsible position in some line of social service work as is the graduate student of the university when he takes his second degree, to assume a parallel responsibility in the academic world. It would seem self-evident that the same educational theory and interest which maintain scholarships and fellowships in colleges and universities, might be counted upon for the support of scholarships in Settlements. In fact, however, interest has not been turned in large degree into this channel, probably because knowledge of the opportunity has not been made sufficiently general.

The scholarship fund is not so picturesque in its appeal as is, for example, the playground and gymnasium fund or the summer outing fund. Energize the imagination but a little, however, and it takes on its true character as the foundation of the most varied pleasure and profit for large numbers. I quote at some length from a description of the scholar's life given by a former incumbent of the scholarship at the Philadelphia House, not only to illustrate the nature of the scholarship, but also to present a fair average picture of a large part of the Settlement living, so far as it concerns itself with the daily detail of immediate service, rather than with specific and defined lines of work.

From another Settlement House comes the story of a prosperous looking visitor, who swept in, announced her desire to see the House, passed the whole plant in hasty review while her carriage waited at the door and then swept out with the remark, "Well, I'm sure this is a great and noble work you are doing, whatever it is!" Should this sketch of the occupations of one resident meet the eye of uncertainty and of inquiry, it may help to clear the haze before it.

"The scholar's work," writes Miss X, "has shown a tendency to greater specialization especially during the second year of residence; but the purpose of the scholarship, which is to train a woman for general Settlement work, precludes a classified, or indeed, a systematized arrangement of her day. Her position in a Settlement where there is much to be done and too few people to do it, is that of a woman-of-all-work rather than that of a resident following some favorite line of experiment or accomplishment. At the beginning of her first year, her first definite responsibility lay among the complexities of play-ground ethics. She was banker six nights a week; in the morning she took the youngest resident to the nursery and at night she brought him home; she played the piano for gymnastics, dancing and the children's operettas. She substituted when the

# Small Parks and The Death Rate

There is a fascinating relation between the decrease in the death rate from tuberculosis, the tenement house law and the increase in small parks in New York City. The three are linked as closely as the departments of the Charity Organization Society which fostered them.

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English characters did not arrive and a little later in the year she organized a boys' club. During the winter and spring she was in charge of the "study room," open three evenings a week, and tried to keep in touch with the regular teachers of the children who studied under her eye. She ran errands, attended teas and lectures and a few meetings with civic and industrial programs. She washed, repaired and re-catalogued the circulating library of pictures. It was her duty to do general policing during sewing school, to thread the needle for the tiniest hands and strictly to evict the persistently obstreperous.

The first year helps the scholar to find herself socially and subjectively. The second does, or ought, to point the way toward her greatest objective utility. The second year opened with three weeks at the Country Club. The climax of this experience was a record-breaking feat as an accompanist for Moody and Sankey hymns. Without once rising from the piano the scholar played one Sunday afternoon for two hours and twenty minutes,

while a score of Scotch and North-of-Ireland husbands, wives and bairns went through the hymnal. Compensation for the wear of nerves and muscles came with the appreciative remarks of Mr. MacP—— at the close of the exercise. "You are the Lord's messenger," he said. "I was sair grieved the morn that I wasna' in the house of God, till this afternoon. He was far nearer to me than he maistly is."

The second year brought also the benefit of two courses in the Graduate School of the University and enough time was set free from the detail of the activities at the Settlement House for gathering material for a study of the amusements offered by the theaters, dance halls, dramatic and educational gayeties of the foreign-born communities near the Settlement.

Toward these actual and more or less formal studies, Settlement thought seems to be tending and this yields another reason for the preparatory training which a scholarship furnishes to a woman looking toward Settlement life."

## From Social Settlement Centers

*A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.*

### The Volksheim. Hamburg

EDITOR'S NOTE: For this exceedingly interesting account of the social settlement in Hamburg we are indebted to one of its residents, Dr. Fr. Schomerus. At present Dr. Schomerus is traveling in this country to observe industrial conditions, and employers' welfare work especially. Concerning this he is collecting data for a large manufacturer in Hamburg who employs no less than 6,000 men. It is significant that the particular point upon which Dr. Schomerus is most desirous to gather information is the working out of a democratic spirit in the methods of industrial welfare work.

It will interest many settlement people to know that Baron Albert Von Westenholz, who spent much time a couple of years ago in visiting settlements in this country, is at present engaged in the work of the "Volks-

heim" and is just now exerting influence upon the Hamburg legislature to provide public playgrounds for the city. In urging this course of action he is making use of much descriptive material concerning the playground movement in American cities.

It is not generally known, that the Settlement movement has spread over to Germany and is represented in that country by the so-called "Volksheim" in Hamburg, founded in July, 1901. The rented rooms of the Volksheim are located in the Southeast of Hamburg, near the docks, a district inhabited throughout by a working class population. The purposes of the settlement are to create a natural place, where members of the well-to-do and educated classes may become acquainted by free intercourse with the life, the views and wants of the workmen, to educate them to a better understand-

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ing of the labor-movement and the needs of modern society and to fit them for the work of social reform. At the same time the founders hope that their practical work and personal relationship with members of the working-classes will help a little to lift up and brighten the life in these districts.

A settlement in Germany has to face perhaps greater difficulties than in any other country. The German industrial workman, at least the thinking one, believes in Socialism and the doctrines of Karl Marx, has a strong class-feeling against everything which does not come through the channels of his political party, and every movement and effort, started by the upper classes or the church, is suspected as a means to draw the thought of the people away from the socialistic party. As there has been much wicked and stupid fighting against this party, the workman is to a certain extent justified in having that suspicion, and it was no wonder that he distrusted us too. So we had to win his confidence that we did not have our meetings, discussion, workmen-clubs, clubs of apprentices, etc., to fight the party, but that we did our work as broad minded men with a good will for the common welfare and without any political or class-prejudice at all. It is surprising, how soon the people understand you, if you meet them in the right spirit and with an open heart. The number of workmen, who came within the influence of the settlement, increased from month to month, from year to year, and now after three years of extensive work the Volksheim is deep-rooted in the minds of the people and identified with the population of the district which includes about 35,000 inhabitants.

There are lectures with discussion every Thursday night in the winter and entertainments of high artistic nature every Sunday afternoon. In these the works or compositions of only one artist are given each afternoon, so that the hearer gets a comprehensive idea of the character, life, works and individuality of one artist at a time. Among those studied have been Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, Mendelsohn, Bartholdy, Brahms, Lowe, Gottfried Keller and Schiller. On two nights a week two or three lawyers or judges give advice in legal matters and everyday affairs of life. This institution has proved to be a most necessary and useful one in a workman-district. As the Volksheim is still young, only four workmen-clubs have been formed on natural science, social science, dress and the Low-German language, in each of which about 20 workmen and college-bred men come together.

Besides these clubs there exist nine flourishing so-called "Yugendvereinen," 5 for male apprentices of 15-18 years of age (each 30-110 members), two for girls of the same age and two for male adults of 18 years and older. The boys and girls elect a governing body of their own, but the leader is always a member of the Volksheim, who is assisted by from 6 to 10 helpers. These "Vereine"

meet generally once a week, but have special classes and clubs for languages, literature, history, football, gymnastic exercises and so on for those who are especially interested in these things. As there are no meetings and entertainments in the summer, the Volksheim arranged instead of them Sunday-excursions and exhibitions of reproduced pictures. To give the workman a chance to get pictures of artistic value for his home, different from those he gets in the furniture-shop, the Volksheim offered the exhibited pictures and copies of them for sale and sold 360 the first summer, 280 the second.

For all these purposes larger and better equipped rooms have become necessary and after sufficient money was provided by several public-spirited people, the Volksheim went on to erect a building, which will probably be finished in the spring of 1905. There is one great point of difference from all the English and American settlements. There are residents, and the executive committee urges upon the workers to become residents, but they do not live together in the Volksheim nor are rooms provided for them in the new building. They live as lodgers in different private workmen-families of the district so as to share in this way the care and joy of a single family and to get closer connections with other families.

The recently published annual report with interesting descriptions of the settlement and its activities will be forwarded freely to anyone interested in the work if a letter is addressed to "Das Volksheim, Hamburg 27, Germany."

### Lawrence House, Baltimore

For several years the headquarters of the settlement activity have been at 816 West Lombard street. Within the last few months the place has been enlarged by the addition of the adjoining house, 814, and during the summer both houses were put in thorough repair, 816 having been put in order for club purposes and the newer acquisition having been attractively fitted up and furnished as a home for the residents.

There will be eight of the latter this season instead of only two, as in former years, and all of these, with one exception, will give all of their time to the settlement work. Miss Alice E. Robbins, who has had experience in settlement work in New York and London and who has been in charge at Lawrence House for the past two years, remains as head resident, and associated with her are Miss Ehrhart, who comes from Pennsylvania and who is in charge of the kindergarten; Miss May de Hart, of New Jersey, the assistant kindergartner; Miss Katherine Wiley, of Fredonia, N. Y., who is a graduate of the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, and who has charge of the domestic science clubs and the classes in cookery; Miss Maud Dobie, of Plattsburg, N. Y.; Mrs. Hammond and her daughter, Miss Juliet Hammond, of St.



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Other contributors to this number are: Robert Grant, F. Hopkinson Smith, Alice Brown, Elmore Elliott Peake, Mary Stewart Cutting, L. Frank Baum, the author of “The Wizard of Oz,” etc., Julia Magruder, Albert Bigelow Paine, Grace MacGowan Cooke, Gustav Kobbé, Lillie Hamilton French, Dr. Grace Peckham Murray, Florence Earle Coates, Aloysius Coll, Carolyn Wells, Jennie Pendleton Ewing. This issue contains superb illustrations in color and in black and white, by J. C. Leyendecker, Martin Justice, L. D’Emo, Paul J. Meylan, S. Werner, Christine S. Bredin, Herbert Paus, Harry Stacey Benton, F. Richardson, R. Emmett Owen and Harry A. Linnell.

## FASHION PLATES IN COLORS

The midwinter fashions are shown in profusion in full color and in black and white. Better this month than ever—as we promised they would be. Getting nearer to perfection with each issue—the styles shown this month are simply temptations—the best way to overcome them is to yield to them.



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Louis, and Miss Jean Cassard, who was formerly a resident at Whittier House, Jersey City.

## University Settlement, Manchester, Eng.

An art Museum designed to be of the utmost practical interest and usefulness to the large working class population round about Ancoats Hall, as the old mansion in which the settlement is housed is known, makes an unique feature of the University Settlement in Manchester, Eng. It was planned especially to be of value in teaching and much care was used in its collection and arrangement to this end. Thus is brought before the minds of those whose lives are confined in unwholesome streets and dreary rows of cottages what is beautiful in Nature, and great in the history of the race. The number of people who visited the Museum last year was 65,000; and 14,000 elementary school children were brought in during school hours, and taught systematically by the help of the Museum collections in history, geography and nature study.

Many of these school children are taken on summer outings in the country. Especial attention is also devoted in this particular to about 200 crippled children who are visited regularly. In addition to the usual run of settlement clubs and classes there are six young lawyers who give some of their time for gratuitous advice. They held about 1,200 interviews last year.

The Association of Neighborhood Workers of New York City has announced two normal classes for social workers. They are to be held at Hartley House, 413 West Forty-sixth street, on ten Wednesdays from November 16 to February 1. One course, meeting at 10 A. M., is in Handwork, including Basketry, Weaving, Raffia and Cord work. Miss Anna M. Cooley, of the Teachers' College, is in charge. The other course will be given at 11 o'clock by Miss Marie Hofer, also of Teachers' College, in Folk Songs and Dances.

The Home Gardening Association of Cleveland, Ohio, has made a great success of its work among the school children, in selling flower seed, put up at the Goodrich House, in packages which are sold at a penny a package. It has experimented with the flowers until it has found which will grow most successfully under adverse conditions. The committee on potted plants of the National Plant Flower and Fruit Guild, tried the experiment last winter, putting up 70 lbs. of seeds. But the stumbling block came in the law of New York state preventing any money from being raised in the public schools. The seeds were therefore given away. After the children had ordered them, it was decided that this work could most

successfully be carried on by the settlements, and any settlement-workers who feel that they care to try this line of work will be furnished with information and suggestions. It has been tested far enough to show that the children and parents are eager for it. Mrs. Fannie Griscom Parsons, 29 West 56th St., New York City, the chairman of the committee, will be glad to meet or correspond with any settlement people who are interested.

## Book Review

### The Woman Who Spends

By Mrs. Ellen T. Richards 147 pp. \$1.00 net. The Whitcomb and Barrows Company, Boston.

This suggestive little book carries with it the assurance of a wide and careful reading by reason of its spirited introduction from the pen of Mrs. Ellen T. Richards of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The thoughtful reader will doubtless regret the gratuitous attack (on p. 139) upon those of us who are striving to add political power to the economic power which women already exercise in their capacity as spenders of money. And farther experience will teach the author how difficult is the path of the conscientious purchaser for want of political power whereby to enforce in short order reforms in the hours of labor, the ventilation of factories, the education of working children, and numerous other excellent things for which we now strive in vain.

To give leisure and power of spending money to a disfranchised class and to leave the duty of voting exclusively to the money getting class seems an unreasonable assignment of parts and works out in an unsatisfactory manner. In any case, why should the advocate of a more intelligent spending of money antagonize those of her readers who have shown that they possess the moral zeal requisite for adopting an unpopular cause, and the sense of responsibility necessary to desire to perform new and burdensome duties?

A serious error of fact has crept into the text at page 141 where the foundation of the Consumers' League is represented as following upon the recognition of the danger antailed upon purchasers by sweatshop conditions. Historically, the Consumers' League was first established in New York City in 1890, as a philanthropy intended to protect clerks and cash children in department stores from overwork, underpay, fines and premature entrance upon the wage-earning career. These are not primarily sanitary considerations, nor chiefly for the benefit of the purchaser except so far as they may tend to secure the peace of an easy conscience.

It was not until 1899, after nine years of successful educational work which it still continues, that the New York League joined the Leagues of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania



and Illinois to form the National Consumers' League which entered upon the wider field of investigation of manufacture.

Experience has shown that it is not the appeal to fear which secure the allegiance of the shopping public; but rather to the intelligence, sense of justice, fair play and sympathy for the workers.

These explanations and reservations being made, however, the fact remains that The Woman Who Spends is a valuable contribution to the scant popular literature of the economics of consumption, well worth the time required to read its 147 pages.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

### **The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children**

By Homer Folks, Secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association; ex-Commissioner of Public Charities of the City of New York, 251 pp. \$1.00 net. The MacMillan Company, New York.

Mr. Folks' book deserves to rank as a Classic in sociological literature. In a compact volume of 246 pages he has given the essential history of the child saving movement in America, and has discussed clearly and intelligibly the chief problems involved. The history of child saving work prior to 1800 is covered by the first 42 pages, in which Mr. Folks shows the history of almshouse care and the indenture system in the 18th century.

The third chapter relates the interesting story of the development of private charities from 1801 to 1875, giving a list of the 77 private institutions for children created in the first half of the 19th century. It is interesting to note the order in which orphan asylums were created in the different states: Louisiana, 1727; Georgia, 1728; New York, 1797; Pennsylvania, 1798; Maryland, 1799; Massachusetts, 1800; District of Columbia, 1815; Mississippi, 1816; Maine, 1828; Connecticut, 1833; Ohio, 1833; Rhode Island, 1835; Alabama, 1838; Virginia, 1844; Tennessee, 1845; New Jersey, 1848; Illinois, 1849; Kentucky, 1849; California, 1850. Of the first 19 states in which orphan asylums were established, 8 were Southern states. The discussion of the work of children's aid societies and children's home societies, including the "placing out" system, covers only about 14 pages. This seems an inade-

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quate discussion of these large and growing institutions. The beginning of the juvenile court and probation system is briefly considered. The explanation of that system during the past two years would afford material for another interesting chapter. One of the most interesting portions of the book is that devoted to the discussion of the subsidy, or contract system. Mr. Folks presents fairly on pages 145 to 148 the advantages and disadvantages of the subsidy system of appropriations of public funds to private institutions.

The advantages are (a) "it removes the whole matter from the influence of partisan politics." (b) "It enlists the interests of public spirited and benevolent citizens as managers." (c) "It saves the children from being known in the community as pauper children." (d) "It is economical."

The objections are: (a) "It encourages parents to throw children upon the public for support." (b) "It removes all incentive for keeping the number in institutions small, especially under the per capita system," if liberal. (c) It "makes proper classification of children difficult."

Mr. Folks does not add the very important objection of creating "institutionalism" and deprives the children of initiative and independence; nor does he point out in this connection the expensiveness of the subsidy plan, which calls forth appropriations from the California State Treasury to the amount of over \$400,000 per year, and which contributes from state, county and municipal treasuries in New York nearly \$3,000,000 per year to private institutions and societies for children.

In view of these facts we are inclined to question Mr. Folks' conclusion, that "while the net results of the operations of the various systems until very recently would seem to favor the Michigan plan" (i. e., the plan of temporary state care in a state school for dependent children, with speedy placement in family homes, under supervision of a state agent), "it does not by any means follow that it would be wise for the states now having the contract system to abolish it and adopt the state system. On the contrary, it is much better, especially in New York, that the present promising efforts to overcome the earlier defects of the contract system, should be encouraged and given the fullest and fairest trial."

This admirable handbook is indispensable to every student of charitable methods and should form a part of every reference library.

HASTINGS H. HART.

### Books Received

#### Poverty

By Robert Hunter, 328 pp. \$1.50 Net. The MacMillan Company, New York.



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