

WILSON GREENE

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ROBINSON CRUSOE, SOCIAL
ENGINEER

“Robinson Crusoe, a fairy tale to the child, a book of adventure to the young, is a work on social philosophy to the mature. It is a picture of civilization. The essential moral attributes of man, his innate impulses as a social being, his absolute dependence on society, even as a solitary individual, his subjection to the physical world, and his alliance with the animal world, the statical elements of social philosophy, and the germs of man’s historical evolution have never been touched with more sagacity, and, assuredly, have never been idealized with such magical simplicity and truth.”

—FREDERIC HARRISON

ROBINSON CRUSOE SOCIAL ENGINEER

HOW THE DISCOVERY OF ROBINSON CRUSOE SOLVES
THE LABOR PROBLEM AND OPENS THE PATH
TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE

BY

HENRY E. JACKSON

AUTHOR OF "THE NEW CHIVALRY," "A COMMUNITY CENTER," ETC.
PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL COMMUNITY BOARD



Robinson Crusoe is the epic of self-help.

—JOHN MORLEY.

NEW YORK
E. P. DUTTON & COMPANY
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PRINTED IN THE UNITED
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Dedicated

TO ALL WHO LABOR IN MODERN INDUSTRY, BOTH MANAGERS AND MEN, IN THE HOPE THAT THROUGH THE NEW SCIENCE OF HUMAN ECONOMY THEY WILL DISCOVER THAT THEY ARE NOT RIVALS BUT ALLIES IN A COMMON ENTERPRISE.



FOREWORD

IN remote recesses of lonely mountain sides travelers frequently have found the skeleton remains of two animals lying side by side, as if they had perished together by mutual consent. It is a curious phenomenon.

It means that two buck deer had engaged in mortal combat and locked horns in a war of extermination, from which the only escape was by slow starvation. It was a peace without victory for either. It was the peace of death. Neither could entangle the other without entangling himself. You cannot hold another man down in the gutter without remaining down in the gutter with him.

The tragedy of the horn-locked deer aptly exhibits the condition of capitalists and laborers during the past one hundred and fifty years. They, too, as in the case of the deer, have like interests. These like interests are common interests. Industrial conflicts are, therefore, civil wars. Mutual hatred, as with the deer, has blinded them to this fact and produced tragic results.

The aim of this book is to state, in popular and picturesque fashion, what the discovery of a community of interest would mean to modern industry. The

author believes that a policy built on this discovery is the path to industrial peace, and that there is no other. He also believes that this principle has the creative power to build a New Industrial America.

HENRY E. JACKSON.

Washington, D.C.

September, 1922.

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PART I

THE SECRET OF ROBINSON CRUSOE'S
POPULARITY



“Robinson Crusoe” contains, not for boys but for men, more religion, more philosophy, more political economy, more anthropology, than are found in many elaborate treatises on these special subjects.

—FREDERICK HARRISON.



PART I

THE SECRET OF ROBINSON CRUSOE'S POPULARITY

CHAPTER I

AN UNDISCOVERED BOOK

THAT "Robinson Crusoe" challenges modern industry on the foundation of its structure and also offers the solution of its problem which, if operated, guarantees to open the path to permanent industrial peace, is the audacious proposition which this book undertakes to demonstrate. It looks like a big contract. It is. But the writer believes that it is not only not an impossible task, but will reveal the obvious and only solution of industrial unrest.

Inasmuch as the obvious is always the last thing discovered, it will be necessary, for the sake of clarity, to take the reader on a quest for the secret of the amazing popularity of "Robinson Crusoe." When this secret is made apparent, it will lead us by an unmistakable path to the heart of our question. As compensation to the reader for the delay in coming to grips with the subject, the romantic

4. ROBINSON CRUSOE, SOCIAL ENGINEER

story of this remarkable book will entertain him sufficiently while he journeys toward the application of its secret to the labor problem.

It is rare pleasure to a writer or speaker, when he feels that he is introducing his audience to a subject new and fresh. It is likewise a pleasure to his audience. Such a pleasure is now ours, for my subject is: "The life and strange, surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner, who lived eight and twenty years all alone in an uninhabited island off the coast of America, near the mouth of the great river Aroonogue; having been cast on shore by shipwreck, wherein all the men perished but himself. With an account how he was at last as strangely delivered by pirates. Written by himself."

The title page here quoted undoubtedly has a familiar sound and carries us far back across the years to the days of fresh delight, when as boys we joined Crusoe in our imagination in those strange adventures out into the big world, and often wished we might have done so in reality. For almost every boy and girl has entertained the secret desire and purpose to run away from home, because they find the world of adulthood too tame and too oppressive. To that mood in a boy's life, Crusoe makes an irresistible appeal and also supplies a soothing antidote. At least he can make his adventure by proxy and enjoy the thrill of it vicariously.

How then can it be said that a book is new and

fresh which has been read by every boy and girl in the English-speaking world for the past two hundred years? No kind of subject is so difficult to understand the inner meaning of as is the thing we think we already know. The significance of the commonplace eludes us just because it is regarded as commonplace. It is handicapped by too much superficial familiarity. Every one, for example, is quite sure that he knows the color of apple blossoms or the meaning of the Lord's Prayer, whereas a few test questions disclose the fact that it is rare to find anyone who understands either of them.

In order to learn the true nature of familiar things, it is necessary to go through the process of unlearning the false. But to unlearn is a painful process, especially if the process runs counter to self-interest, or to childhood impressions. Both of these influences have delayed the discovery of the real "Robinson Crusoe." It may serve to awaken us to the value of this undiscovered book, if we observe the curious use made of it by one of the characters in Wilkie Collins' "*Moonstone*."

In this story, the old servant, Gabriel Betteredge, has a superstitious reverence for "Robinson Crusoe." The book is his Bible. "I have read," he says, "a heap of books in my time; I am a scholar in my own way. Though turned seventy, I possess an active memory, and legs to correspond. You are not to take it, if you please, as the saying of an ignorant man, when I express my opinion that such

a book as 'Robinson Crusoe' never was written before, and never will be written again.

"I have tried that book for years—generally in combination with a pipe of tobacco—and I have found it my friend in need in all the necessities of this mortal life. When my spirits are bad—'Robinson Crusoe.' When I want advice—'Robinson Crusoe.' In past times, when my wife plagued me; in present times, when I have had a drop too much—'Robinson Crusoe.'

"I have worn out six stout Robinson Crusoes with hard work in my service. On my lady's last birthday she gave me a seventh. I took a drop too much on the strength of it; and 'Robinson Crusoe' put me right again. Price four shillings and sixpence, bound in blue, with a picture into the bargain."

Betteredge consulted the book frequently for prophetic warning and counsel. On one occasion, for example, he was trying to dissuade Dr. Jennings from a certain medical experiment he was trying. "Mr. Jennings, do you happen to be acquainted with 'Robinson Crusoe'?" I answered that I had read "Robinson Crusoe" when I was a child. "Not since then?" inquired Betteredge. "Not since then." He fell back a few steps, and looked at me with an expression of compassionate curiosity, tempered by superstitious awe. "He has not read 'Robinson Crusoe' since he was a child," said Betteredge, speaking to himself—not to me. "Let's try how 'Robinson Crusoe' strikes him now!"

“When the work-people are gone, my feelings as a man get the better of my duty as a servant. Very good. Last night, Mr. Jennings, it was borne in powerfully on my mind that this new medical enterprise of yours would end badly. If I had yielded to that secret Dictate, I should have put all the furniture away again with my own hands, and have warned the workmen off the premises when they came the next morning.”

“I am glad to find, from what I have seen upstairs,” I said, “that you resisted the secret Dictate.” “Resisted isn’t the word,” answered Betteredge. “Wrosted is the word. I wrosted sir, between the silent orders in my bosom pulling me one way, and the written orders in my pocket-book pushing me the other, until, saving your presence, I was in a cold sweat. In that dreadful perturbation of mind and laxity of body, to what remedy did I apply? To the remedy, sir, which has never failed me yet for the last thirty years and more—to This Book!

“What did I find here,” pursued Betteredge, “at the first page I opened? This awful bit, sir, page one hundred and seventy-eight, as follows: ‘Upon these, and many like Reflections, I afterward made it a certain rule with me, That whenever I found those secret Hints or Pressings of my Mind, to doing, or not doing any Thing that presented; or to going this Way, or that Way, I never failed to obey the secret Dictate.’ As I live by bread, Mr.

Jennings, those were the first words that met my eye, exactly at the time when I myself was setting the secret Dictate at defiance! You don't see any thing at all out of the common in that, do you sir?"

"I see a coincidence—nothing more." "You don't feel at all shaken, Mr. Jennings, in respect to this medical enterprise of yours?" "Not the least in the world." Betteredge stared hard at me, in dead silence. He closed the book with great deliberation; he locked it up again in the cupboard with extraordinary care; he wheeled round, and stared hard at me once more. Then he spoke. "Sir," he said, gravely, "there are great allowances to be made for a man who has not read 'Robinson Crusoe' since he was a child. I wish you good-morning."

The supreme place assigned to "Robinson Crusoe" in this old man's affections may seem to some too exalted, but his fine scorn of the man who has not read it since he was a boy is a point well taken. The book may be enjoyed by a boy; it can only be known by a thoughtful man.

CHAPTER II

A BOOK CAPTURED BY BOYS

WITH no desire to indulge in unseemly boasting, but simply to point out an interesting fact, I venture the assertion that I have accomplished a task which has not been performed by one man in a thousand; I have read the whole of "Robinson Crusoe." Not that this is especially a praiseworthy performance, but it shows how little is generally known of "Robinson Crusoe," beyond the story of his shipwreck and island life. There are three parts to "Robinson Crusoe." First the story of the shipwreck and the lonely island life,—known to almost all. Second, the story of his second visit to the island and his journey to the Far East, returning through China and Siberia,—known to a few. Third, the Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe,—known to almost none.

The first part of Robinson Crusoe became so immediately and universally popular and was found to be so rich a vein of gold that Defoe could not resist working it still further by producing a second and even a third part. He realized the danger of weakening his first success by trying to add to it, for in his preface to the second part he says, "The

second part, if the editor's opinion may pass, is (contrary to the usage of second parts) every way as entertaining as the first." The world has not agreed with the editor.

The most the majority of men know of "Robinson Crusoe" is half of the first part. I say half of the first part, because when a boy reads it, as all boys do, the serious and moral reflections, which it contains, are neither a comfort nor discomfort to him. He just plods through them. They mean nothing to him, and since few read the book, when they become men, the thing which they remember, as men, is the story only.

It is a significant fact that the part of "Robinson Crusoe," which Defoe regarded as subordinate and which he half apologized for, is the part which the world has chiefly prized, and the part which he chiefly prized, the world has mostly neglected. In the preface to the second part, he says of the first part, "The just application of every incident, the religious and useful inferences drawn from every part are so many testimonies to the good design of making it public and must legitimate all the parts that may be called invention or parable in the story."

He even becomes pugnacious in his further remark that, "Abridging this work is as scandalous as it is knavish and ridiculous; seeing while to shorten the book they may seem to reduce the value, they strip it of all those reflections which, as

well religious as moral, are not only the greatest beauties of the work, but are calculated for the infinite advantage of the reader."

Defoe felt that the moral reflections were the real beauties of the work, and that the story needed them to make its use legitimate. But the world has completely reversed his judgment. And for good reason. The eighteenth century novelists were essentially preachers. Richardson and Fielding preach quite as much as Defoe. They were like Stevenson, who said that he "would rise from the dead to preach." But none of them had learned, as Stevenson did, that it adds nothing but weakness to a story to tag it with a moral, that every good story does its own preaching more effectively than any moral tag can do.

Moreover as a work of art, "Robinson Crusoe" ends when he leaves the island, although the second part contains many passages of real interest. The third part is well worth reading on its own account. It is in fact a collection of six moral essays on such subjects as "Solitude," "Honesty," "Conversation," the point of departure in each essay being some point of contact with the experience of Crusoe. They are quite worth reading. Yet the second and third parts add nothing to the first as a work of art. When Crusoe ceases to be a solitary and is brought into touch with civilization, the dramatic interest in the story, as well as its significance, ceases, so far as his own day was concerned. But the dramatic

interest and significance have been given rebirth by the English Industrial Revolution which occurred since Defoe wrote. A second part could not have been written with success in his day; it can now.

Defoe ran a real risk in attempting to prolong his first success, a risk which the fate of the second and third parts abundantly shows. It is a striking confirmation from literature of the great principle in Hesiod's apparent paradox that the half is more than the whole. It is like the story of the young gentleman who wished to signalize the birthday of his lady love by sending her twenty roses, one for each year of her life. He had been lavish in his expenditure at the florist shop and that worthy, on receiving an order to send the finest roses, regardless of expense, bettered his instructions and sent the young lady thirty roses. The result may be imagined. Twenty roses were an appropriate gift; thirty were an insult. One old horseshoe is good luck; a wagon load of them is junk. It was undoubtedly to the first part that Dr. Johnson applied his remark when he asked, "Was there ever anything written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers excepting 'Don Quixote,' 'Robinson Crusoe,' and the 'Pilgrim's Progress?'" If no one can read the first part without wishing it longer, Defoe ought not to be blamed too severely for yielding to this desire and making it longer.

When the first part is considered alone it is not quite fair to Defoe to say that he tagged a moral to

his story. The fact is, he tagged the story to the moral. The fable is always made for the moral, he says, not the moral for the fable. That is to say, his purpose was to write a serious philosophical book and he used the story to illustrate his moral principles. He distinctly says in the preface, "The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with a religious application of events, to the uses to which wise men always apply them, namely, to the instruction of others, and the editor thinks, without further compliment to the world, he does them a great service in the publication."

The use which the old servant in Wilkie Collins' "*Moonstone*" made of it, as a practical moral guide-book, although whimsical, was nevertheless the use which Defoe intended should be made of it. The fact about the book, to which I call particular attention—a fact very frequently overlooked—is that "Robinson Crusoe" is primarily a deeply religious and philosophical book. It, therefore, is enjoyed by two classes of people: by the boy for the sake of the story; by the man for the sake of the philosophy. It is good story-telling and good philosophy both in one. But the philosophy was first in Defoe's mind. This fact has, of course, been frequently recognized. At one time during the period of the French Revolution the book was excluded from the public schools of France on the ground that it was too religious. Such men as Franklin and Lincoln have left it on record that "Robinson Crusoe" was one of

the few books that influenced them permanently for good. Their judgment is trustworthy for they were not surfeited by too many books. Someone made the brilliant remark that Lincoln was raised on five books and consequently he grew up with "an unlettered mind."

It is one of the curious accidents of literary history that the best boys' book ever written was never intended to be such at all. It was not written for boys; it was captured by them. "Robinson Crusoe" was not written for children, because at the time Defoe wrote it, there were no children; there were only grown-ups. The little people were not treated as children, or educated, or written for, or read to as children. The discovery of childhood is a comparatively recent discovery. The adaptation of material for children, however, should not lead us to suppose that it must be weakened. Children are fortunately different from adults, but not inferior. Quite the contrary. It is the commonest of mistakes to underrate them. It has helped us to discover the capacity and seriousness of children to notice that the best books for boys are books not primarily written for them. "Robinson Crusoe" is the outstanding illustration of this fact. Defoe was doubtless totally unaware that he had written one of the few immortal books in the English language and the best boys' book ever produced. Emerson once remarked to Thoreau: "Who would not like to write something which all can read, like 'Robinson Cru-

soe?" " Defoe did not consciously try to write something that all could read. He did not write down to children. What happened was that the romantic and philosophic interest in his story was discovered to be so universal as to appeal to boys and men alike.

CHAPTER III

A JOKE ON THE BRITISH NATION

THE origin of the book is quite as astonishing as the book itself. It is a real romance in the history of literature. It was on this wise: Defoe had been a favorite with King William, because of the publication of a pamphlet in rhyme, called, "The True-Born Englishman." Its object was to show that those, who found fault with King William, because he was a foreigner, had no ground for their criticism, for the whole population of England was made up of the mingling of different nationalities and every man ought to be judged, therefore, by his devotion to the interests of Britain, not by his race or birth. After showing that the true-born Englishman is a myth, because the English are a hopelessly mixed race, he proceeds:

From this amphibious ill-born mob began
That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman.
These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much,
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived;
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,
Who ransacked kingdoms and dispeopled towns,
The Pict and painted Briton, treacherous Scot,

By hunger, theft and rapine hither brought;
 Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
 Whose red-haired offspring everywhere remains,
 Who, joined with Norman-French, compound the breed
 From whence your true-born Englishmen proceed.

The poem was read by everybody and a great wave of laughter passed over London. Defoe had ridiculed out of the country the unreasoning prejudice against the foreigner. The poem did King William immense service and Defoe made a thousand pounds by its sale. But the verse was not of a high order. It began with the well-known lines:

Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
 The Devil always builds a chapel there:
 And 't will be found upon examination,
 The latter has the largest congregation.

Defoe was the first rhymer of this old proverb and the rider to it is his own. He was very proud of his poetry. He entertained the opinion that this poem was a better bid for fame than was "Robinson Crusoe."

When King William died suddenly from an accident, Defoe's fortunes changed. The High Church party came back into power with Queen Anne. A bill was introduced in Parliament against occasional conformity, that is, the device by which dissenters managed to hold public office, by kneeling now and then at the altars of the established Church and receiving the Communion. The discussions on this

subject led to one of the most striking episodes in Defoe's life. He had himself written against the practice of occasional conformity as an insincere act, and had angered his own party, the dissenters, by his plain speech. But he now flew to their rescue, when the High Church party, intoxicated by their newly acquired power, began to bluster out threats against them.

It occurred to Defoe that the most effective weapon to employ against the wild threats of the high-fliers was ridicule, and he used it remorselessly. He published his pamphlet, "The Shortest Way to Deal with Dissenters." It was an elaborate and serious statement of the violent talk of the high-fliers. He carried out these extreme views to their logical issue and reduced them to a practical proposal, the proposal, namely, that all dissenting ministers should be hanged and their congregations broken up and outlawed. He supported this thesis with historical and logical reasons in such a masterly manner that no one suspected that it was only a boyish prank. In writing it Defoe never winked an eye. In making his proposal he was as serious as was Swift, when he proposed to utilize the superabundant babies of the poor by eating them. Defoe's pamphlet is an amusing exhibit of the fact that one can be entirely logical and entirely wrong at the same time, just as Whately, in his carefully elaborated document, demonstrated that no such person as Napoleon Bonaparte ever existed.

When Defoe's pamphlet appeared the wildest excitement arose. The dissenters were thrown into a panic and the high-fliers began to applaud it, especially those in Cambridge and Oxford. He had exposed the real sentiments of the high-fliers and they were stupid enough to own up to it. Every one took it for genuine. The joke had to be explained to the entire British public. When it was explained, a double storm broke on Defoe's head, so that he had to go into hiding. Both dissenters and high-fliers attacked him. The dissenters because of the fear he had inspired in them, the high-fliers because of the ridicule to which he had subjected them.

The government took charge of the case and offered fifty pounds for Defoe's discovery. The description of the fugitive, which appeared in connection with this advertisement, is the only extant record of his personal appearance. It says, "He is a middle-sized, spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion and dark brown coloured hair; but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, and a large mole near his mouth: was born in London and is now owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury Fort in Essex." The portrait prefixed to his collected works faithfully reproduces the mole. Defoe felt as Lincoln did, when he said to his portrait-painter, "When you paint my portrait don't omit the wart."

When the printer and bookseller of this remark-

able pamphlet were arrested, then Defoe came out of hiding and gave himself up, so that they might not suffer on his behalf. His pamphlet was ordered to be burned by the "common hangman," and the punishment inflicted on Defoe himself was very heavy. He was sentenced to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure, to pay two hundred marks, and to find sureties of his good behaviour for seven years. Not only this, but he was condemned to stand in the pillory three times, before the Royal Exchange, at Cheapside and at Temple Bar.

But, contrary to the gentle custom of the day, he received no insults or rotten eggs. Garlands of flowers decked the pillory and refreshments were brought to the victim. This personal triumph was achieved partly by a poem, which Defoe had written a few days before, called a "Hymn to the Pillory," published on the very day of his exposure and bought with enthusiasm by the crowd. Its spirit is shown in the familiar lines,

Tell 'em the men that placed him here
Are scandals to the times,
Are at a loss to find his guilt
And can't commit his crimes.

Defoe's pluck had won the day, and turned his punishment into a reflection upon those who had inflicted it.

CHAPTER IV

JOURNALISM BORN IN A GAOL

IT is of particular interest to modern journalism, that during his imprisonment, Defoe did what perhaps no man before or after him has done: he originated, wrote and published a newspaper. It was called "A Review of the Affairs of France." It was a brilliant and graphic commentary on the political affairs of Europe, a dialogue between the imprisoned spectator of life and the busy world outside. The newspaper of that day was not like that of today, a huge sheet made up of paragraphs written by many anonymous persons. Defoe's paper at the start was limited to eight and then four small quarto pages but written entirely by himself, and he continued to write it three times a week for nine years, in the midst of a vast variety of political activities.

This newspaper was the first of its kind. There were other news sheets at the time Defoe started his, but they were for the most part taken up with personal scandals. Defoe realized the popularity of this kind of news. He knew, he said, that people liked to be amused. He supplied this want in one section of his paper, under the title, "Advice from

the Scandalous Club, being a weekly history of nonsense, impertinence, vice and debauchery." In contrasting Defoe's with a modern newspaper, it is to be observed that only a minor section of his paper was given up to such stuff, and further that the label boldly attached to this section was an honest warning to the reader as to what he may expect to find in it.

It is interesting to note that from this section of Defoe's paper came to Richard Steele the first suggestion of the "Tatler," and from the "Tatler" came Addison's "Spectator." In the serious part of Defoe's paper, we have the foundation of English journalism. It was as Defoe put it, the history of Europe written sheet by sheet and letting the world see it as it went on. We owe to him the inauguration of modern journalism which has played a critically important rôle in the modern world, an institution big with consequences both for good and evil, and which today constitutes the most complex and crucial of public problems in its bearing on the transportation of ideas and the moulding of public opinion.

Thus did Defoe, as did Bunyan, Voltaire, and many more, transform the gaol into a hall of fame.

CHAPTER V

LYING LIKE THE TRUTH

WHEN Defoe came out of prison, he found his fortunes ruined. But he had made a great discovery. He had paid a big price for it, but it was worth it. He had discovered a new literary method and the bent of his own genius. The stupidity of the public, which mistook his pamphlet for genuine, revealed to Defoe his capacity to play with perfect fidelity the part he had set himself. Thus he hit on the primary principle of modern fiction. He had learned to lie like the truth. As he himself said, "Lies are not worth a farthing if they are not calculated for the effectual deceiving of the people they are designed to deceive." He had deceived the whole country, and both political parties, by his pamphlet. He now saw that his true field was realistic fiction, so told that people will accept it as true.

He made good use of his discovery. On April 25, 1719, he produced "Robinson Crusoe." He was then fifty-eight years old. It frequently takes a man a long time to discover himself. The manuscript was offered to the whole round of the publishing trade and refused, until one William Taylor

of the Ship, Paternoster Row, was induced to accept it. He became the most envied publisher of his day, for out of this single book he made his financial fortune.

The greatness of a book may be measured by the criticism it receives. "Crusoe" was no exception to this rule. As early as September of the year of its publication, bitter attacks were made upon it. Critics made merry over the trifling inconsistencies of the story. How, for example, they asked, could Crusoe have stuffed his pockets with biscuits, when he had taken off all his clothes before swimming to the wreck? How could he have been at such a loss for clothes, after those he had put off were washed away by the rising tide, when he had the ship's stores to choose from? How could he have seen the goat's eyes in the cave when it was pitch dark? How could the Spaniards give Friday's father an agreement in writing, when they had neither paper nor ink? How did Friday come to know so intimately the habits of bears, the bear not being a denizen of the West Indian Islands?

Defoe yielded to this attack so far as to let his hero wear breeches in later editions. But such trifling criticisms are as wide of the mark as that of George Cruikshank, one of Crusoe's illustrators, who had become rabid in his teetotalism and objected to the use of rum in the story. Dickens made a protest against introducing crotchets of any kind into fairyland, in his article in *Household Words*

entitled "Frauds on the Fairies." "Imagine," he says, "a total abstinence edition of 'Robinson Crusoe' with the rum left out. Imagine a peace edition, with the gunpowder left out and the rum left in. Imagine a vegetarian edition, with the goats' flesh left out. Imagine a Kentucky edition to introduce a flogging of that 'tarnal nigger,' Friday, twice a week. Imagine an Aborigines Protection Society edition to deny the cannibalism and make Robinson embrace the amiable savages whenever they landed. 'Robinson Crusoe' would be edited out of his island in a hundred years, and the island would be swallowed up in the editorial ocean—a misfortune which happily has not yet come to pass." "Crusoe" as it stands needs no apology.

The stock criticism, which has now settled down into a general impression is that Defoe stole his story from Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman from Largo, who was marooned for four years on the island of Juan Fernandez, which is off the coast of Chile, in South America. This impression was deepened by the poem, in which Cowper supposes Selkirk to record his feelings, and which begins with the well-known lines,

I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute.

In the island of Juan Fernandez on the height, which Selkirk called his "look-out," two thousand feet above sea-level, a handsome tablet commemo-

rates Selkirk, and yet the island is called Crusoe's Island. Excursion boats are advertised to run to Crusoe's Island and post-cards, showing its natural features, all bear Crusoe's name. And yet the scene of Crusoe's exile was not laid in Juan Fernandez. Defoe's introduction distinctly says that the island was at the mouth of the great river Aroonogue and anyone who reads the book sees that Crusoe was going from the Brazils to Africa, when his boat was shipwrecked.

The truth probably is, that Juan Fernandez, is the island which Defoe describes, but with a storyteller's license, he changed its location. For the long, low beach, the cave on the side of a rising hill, and the high lookout, are seen in the island today just as Defoe described them, and Robinson Crusoe is still the best guide to the island. It is now inhabited by ninety-three persons with an educated European for governor, who is a citizen of Chile. Its one industry is a canning factory to preserve the codfish and lobsters with which the waters abound.

There is no doubt that the germ of Defoe's book was suggested by Selkirk's experience. The story was told in Woodes Rogers' "Voyage Around the World" and occupied about the space of a newspaper column. Afterwards Richard Steele met Selkirk and described his adventure in the twenty-sixth number of the "Englishman." The story was common property for several years. Anyone could

have used the bare facts to build a story on, but nobody did, until the genius of Defoe created his great masterpiece. Defoe could not have stolen his Crusoe from Selkirk any more than a man could steal a silver dining service out of pewter plate.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST MODERN NOVEL

“**R**OBINSON CRUSOE” is a novel. It is a novel of incident. It is the first English novel, in distinction from the old romances. Defoe is the father of modern fiction. Brander Matthews remarks that there are four stages in the development of fiction: “First from the Impossible to the Improbable, thence to the Probable and finally to the Inevitable.” Defoe ushered in the stage of the Probable.

No book ever published was more extremely and immediately popular than Crusoe. A second edition was published May 12, a third on June 6, a spurious one on August 7, and a fifth on the following day. Five editions in four months is a rare achievement. It is one of the very few books that ever ran through a newspaper as a serial, after it had been published in book form.

The same year of its publication it was translated into German and French. Since then it has been translated not only into every living language of Europe, but also into the classical languages of Greece and Rome. The traveler Burckhardt found it translated into Arabic and heard it read aloud

among the wandering tribes in the cool of the evening. I have seen editions of it both in Chinese and Japanese. In addition to its universal popularity, the influential impression it made on eminent men would form a suggestive chapter in the biography of the book. It occupied a prominent place in the little library that nourished Lincoln's mental life.

For almost two hundred years it has been a living book and still is. There are in America alone today forty-seven different editions to be had, and to this large number the Houghton Mifflin Company recently thought it worth while to add a new and beautiful edition. A striking testimony to the influence and popularity of "Robinson Crusoe" is the great number of books which have been written in imitation of it. There are too many to name. The best known of these imitations are, "Peter Wilkins," "Gulliver's Travels" and "Swiss Family Robinson."

Defoe wrote many other books. His output was over two hundred books in all, some of them of great merit. Some indeed think that his "Journal of the Great London Plague" is a better work of art than "Crusoe." His book on "Projects" also is a notable book, dealing with such subjects, as "Banks," "Insurance," "Stock-Gambling," and "Higher Education for Women." In it he was far in advance of his times and anticipated many future developments. Benjamin Franklin set a high value on this book. He said, "I found a work of Defoe's

entitled 'An Essay on Projects,' from which perhaps I derived impressions that have since influenced some of the principal events of my life."

However good these books are, it is as the author of "Robinson Crusoe" that Defoe is known. In the non-conformist burial ground at Bunhill Fields in London, where stand monuments to John Bunyan and Isaac Watts, there is also a monument to Defoe. On the flat stone, which formerly covered his grave, now stands a marble obelisk with this inscription:

DANIEL DEFOE

Born 1661

Died 1731

Author of Robinson Crusoe

This monument is the result of an appeal in the "Christian World" to the boys and girls of England for a fund to place a suitable monument on the grave of Daniel Defoe. It represents the united contributions of seventeen hundred persons, September, 1870.

CHAPTER VII

ROMANCE WITHOUT A LOVE STORY

A BOOK, which occupies the place in the world's literature which "Robinson Crusoe" has occupied for almost two hundred years and still retains, must hold a secret calculated to intrigue one's curiosity and challenge investigation. What is it? In searching for the secret of its popularity one is surprised to discover the absence of some elements, which he might naturally expect to find. The element of love, which plays so large a part in fiction as we have come to know it, is wholly absent from Crusoe. No modern novel and no film story would dare to risk the omission of a triangle love-complex, but Crusoe is a romance without any love story at all. You nowhere in it hear the consoling voice of woman or the prattle of little children. There is no poetic description of scenery. There is no pathos and no humor in it. "You remember," says Dickens, writing to his friend Forster, "my saying to you some time ago, how curious I thought it that 'Robinson Crusoe' should be the only instance of an universally popular book, that could make no one laugh and could make no one cry." There is little else but a conscious choice of commonplaces and all

told in a simple matter-of-fact way. Its secret certainly does not lie on the surface.

Of course it is well written. It is well worth reading for its simple pure English alone. His "natural infirmity of homely plain writing," is the way Defoe humorously described it. The charm and force of simple idiomatic English is as apparent in *Crusoe*, as in "Pilgrim's Progress." This is doubtless where Defoe learned its use. If so, he learned his lesson well. It has been said that in conversation with any woman, if that conversation is two or three times renewed, you can tell whether she has read "*Robinson Crusoe*" or not by her skill in expressing herself well or her failure to do so.

Its pure English is an attractive feature, but this does not, of course, account for its popularity. There is one feature of its composition however, which does account very largely for its charm. This is its realism, using realism in its technical and best sense, as opposed to romanticism. It is the attempt to describe commonplace things, to depict things as they are, and to give them a new meaning and spiritual significance.

It is Defoe's aim to produce the sense of reality and illusion of truth. For this purpose he uses the best means to produce it, namely, current memoirs with the accompaniment of a diary. He says in the preface that he is only the editor of a private man's adventures, and then he adds confidentially

that he believes the thing to be a just history of fact, "at least there is no *appearance* of fiction in it." He has written it so realistically that the fiction is hidden and the reader deceived.

Defoe had a marvelous power of graphic detailed narrative. There is nothing on Crusoe's island, which we do not know and see as well as if we had dwelt on the island ourselves. Defoe's love of accurate, detailed description is indicated by the remark that Crusoe is the only novel in which the characters get hungry three times a day. The story was immediately accepted as a true story of a real experience. It is still believed by many to be so. No child ever doubts its reality. It is a striking testimony to the life-likeness of Defoe's description that the invented story of Crusoe seems quite as probable as the real story of Selkirk. To grown men, Crusoe's island seems much more true and real than half of the actual islands they read about in history. We feel that Crusoe's experiences are, or could have been, our own, while we read them.

Everything seems so natural and probable. A small boy once said to Edward Everett Hale, "I like 'Robinson Crusoe' because he doesn't succeed in everything. It is not, like most children's books, where the good boy makes everything come out right." This boy had an observing eye. For instance, Crusoe cannot make ink. It is long before he succeeds well in his pottery. He built a boat out of such heavy timber, and so far from the

water, that he could not possibly launch it after it was built. He is constantly beginning things in the wrong way and has to work himself out the right way. He is not a prig. He is human.

I once tested the naturalness of the story by reading it to a little ten-year old boy. He constantly interrupted the reading with questions, as to how certain situations came about, or why Crusoe did certain things the way he did. I often stopped to try to answer his questions, but always discovered that it was labor lost, because Defoe had anticipated every question that the little fellow asked, and answered it in the next paragraph, following the one which had raised the question in his mind. Defoe has a genius for circumstantial invention, which is the rarest of gifts. It means, as William Minto points out, that it was necessary that Crusoe's perplexities should be unexpected and his expedients for meeting them unexpected; yet both perplexities and expedients were so life-like that when we were told them, we should wonder we had not thought of them before.

This graphic, detailed description of the concrete experience of a flesh and blood man is one of the great elements of power in the new literary method, which Defoe had discovered, and of which he was a master. It is this feature in Crusoe that holds the boy entranced with its pages. The advantage of concreteness to a work of art may be illustrated by two little poems, both written on

the battle of Culloden. One written by Collins for the English victors:

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest
 By all their country's wishes blest!
 When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
 Returns to deck their hallowed mold,
 She there shall dress a sweeter sod
 Than Fancy's feet have ever trod.
 By fairy hands their knell is rung,
 By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
 There Honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
 To bless the turf that wraps their clay,
 And freedom shall awhile repair,
 To dwell a weeping hermit there!

This is fine poetry, but the figures of speech used, although beautiful, are general and therefore they do not move us deeply.

The other poem was written by Burns, for the vanquished Scotch:

The lovely lass of Inverness,
 Nae joy nor pleasure can she see;
 From e'en and morn she cries, alas!
 And ay the saut tear blin's her e'e:
 Drumossie moor, Drumossie day—
 A waefu' day it was to me!
 For there I lost my father dear,
 My father dear, and brethren three,

Their winding-sheet the bluidy clay
 Their graves are growin' green to see,
 And by them lies the dearest lad
 That ever blest a woman's e'e.

Now wae to thee, thou cruel lord,
A bluidy man I trow thou be,
For monie a heart thou has made sair
That ne'er did wrang to thine or thee!

This makes much the stronger appeal, because it states the case in terms of an individual lassie's heart and her actual sorrow. This same element of concreteness is an outstanding characteristic of Crusoe and largely accounts for its fascination. Defoe's thought is not handicapped with artificial rhetoric, but is stated naked and unadorned. He wrote not language, but meaning. Unless he had acquired the rare habit of saying clearly what he meant, his book never would have become so popular with children who are embarrassingly honest in the demands they make on adults. But Defoe's art in realistic description is after all a question of method and it is not sufficient to account for the permanent favor which Crusoe has won in the world.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHARM OF UNCERTAINTY

FOR the real secret of the book we must look deeper. We must look for some fundamental and universal human interest, which it exhibits, and on the basis of which its appeal is made.

Every great work of art is built upon and controlled by some one central idea, which becomes its organizing principle of life, and accounts for its vitality. Is there such a principle and, if so, what is it? The formative principle around which *Crusoe* was organized, is, I take it, the uncertainty of life. This is the dominating idea of the book. In the preface Defoe says, "The wonders of this man's life exceed all that is to be found extant; the life of one man being scarcely capable of a greater variety." It was the variety and uncertainty of his fortune, which Defoe regarded as the main feature of *Crusoe's* life.

In the preface to the "Serious Reflections," he makes this still more clear. He says "I, *Robinson Crusoe*, being at this time in perfect and sound mind and memory, thanks be to God therefor, do hereby declare that the story, though allegorical, is also historical; and that it is the beautiful representation

of a life of unexampled misfortunes, and of a variety not to be met with in the world, sincerely adapted to and intended for the common good of mankind." Defoe here clearly intimates that Crusoe exhibited the dangers and vicissitudes of his own life. His own experience accounts for the striking sympathy, with which he followed the fortunes of his hero. There is in it an autobiographical note and this leads a man to speak from greater depth of feeling than any imaginary story could do.

No principle is more calculated to make a universal appeal than is the principle of uncertainty. "Leave the metaphysics of the question on the table for the present," says Van Dyke in his "Fisherman's Luck"; "as a matter of fact, it is plain that our human nature is adapted to conditions variable, undetermined, and hidden from our view. We are not fitted to live in a world where $a + b$ always equals c , and there is nothing more to follow. The interest of life's equation arrives with the appearance of x , the unknown quantity. A settled, unchangeable, clearly foreseeable order of things does not suit our constitution. It tends to melancholy and a fatty heart. Creatures of habit we are undoubtedly; but it is one of our most fixed habits to be fond of variety. The man, who is never surprised, does not know the taste of happiness, and unless the unexpected sometimes happens to us, we are most grievously disappointed. Much of the tediousness of highly civilized life comes from its smoothness

and regularity." "Robinson Crusoe" lives because it is organized on this principle, which is as broad and lasting as life itself, and because Defoe works it out like an artist.

CHAPTER IX

ROMANTICIZING THE COMMONPLACE

IT is the principle of uncertainty, which romanticized the commonplace and gave charm to Defoe's description of it. The element of adventure makes commonplace things uncommon. Adventure is the charm for which all men are searching. Emerson says, "Man dreams of palaces and ends by building a woodshed." Very true, but only half the truth. Is it not worth while to build an honest woodshed? "Robinson Crusoe's" chief merit lies in its ability to make the building of a woodshed seem like a worth while and poetic performance. It is both original and commonplace. Defoe had the rare and great faculty to detect and depict the poetic elements in common life. In "Robinson Crusoe" Defoe made the same achievement which Thomas Gray made in his "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," that Dr. Johnson said embodied a sentiment never before expressed in literature.

A bill of particulars showing how the principle of uncertainty romanticizes the commonplace is readily furnished by Crusoe's experience. It is his un-

certain and varying fortunes that give him a true perspective on the relative value of things. This is the distinguishing doctrine in his philosophy of life and appears repeatedly in the record of his adventures.

It is exhibited, for example, in his soliloquy over the money he had taken from the ship and whose value had become zero in his island prison. He unexpectedly found himself in a situation in which money ceased to have any value. To him an orange was worth more than a twenty dollar gold piece and a few kind words would have been worth a score of twenty dollar gold pieces. He, therefore, was led to inquire, how much is money worth? How much is a man worth when he has lost all his money? The idea so stimulated him that he expressed himself with fine scorn as he smiled at the money, "Oh, drug! What art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me—no, not the taking off the ground; one of these knives is worth all this heap; I have no manner of use for thee; e'en remain where thou art, and go to the bottom, as a creature whose life is not worth saving." "However, upon second thoughts, I took it away."

This is a prose poem, not on money, however, but on the discovery that apart from society, money has no value. In point of fact no constructive poem on money has ever been written and for good reason. It cannot be done. You can write a poem on real things like work, or love, or courage, or

freedom. But money is not a real thing, it is only a symbol, an artificial social tool. Crusoe, through the memory of the worship commonly paid to this tool, was betrayed into almost spoiling his soliloquy by adding a touch of human weakness, relieved somewhat by its humor, "However, upon second thoughts, I took it away."

The same principle is exhibited in the episode of saving the things from the wreck, which Crusoe sorely needed for his comfort. This is the most thrilling episode in the book, excepting the finding of the footprint on the sand. Through it he learned the value of common tools and supplies, because of the ever present possibility that they might be lost. The uncertainty of securing them from the ship, adds to their charm and value, as a recent writer expresses it, "Every kitchen tool becomes ideal, because Crusoe might have dropped it in the sea."

The social significance of this episode cannot be overstated. It is the dramatic statement of what is typical of the entire book and one of its chief contributions. The difficulty Crusoe had in making ink, in making a boat, in making cooking utensils, revealed to him their undiscovered value. The decisive part played in human evolution by the invention of tools is one of the big romances of history. Its value in human evolution is pointedly stated by Clarence Day, Jr., in his suggestive study of "This Simian World." He says: "A tool, in the most primitive sense, is any object, lying around,

that can obviously be used as an instrument for this or that purpose. Many creatures use objects as *materials*, as birds use twigs for nests. But the step that no animal takes is learning freely to use things as instruments. We ourselves, who are so good at it now, were slow enough in beginning. Think of the long epochs that passed before it entered our heads. The lesson to be learned was simple: the reward was the rule of a planet. Yet only one species, our own, has ever had that much brains."

The power of mastery over nature added to the human hand, which itself is the best of tools, by the invention of other tools, cannot be calculated. We take for granted what it took slow and painful centuries of effort to produce. Centuries of discomfort passed before we enjoyed a glass window in the house. The story of a house would be a thrilling story if it were written. Common tools would be romanticized for any one who comes to know their history. It is quite worth while to read "Robinson Crusoe" for this reason alone, because the best way to acquire a true perspective on the real value of things is to imagine them absent.

The same principle is still more effectively exhibited by Crusoe's effort to stimulate in himself the feeling of gratitude. In order to comfort himself, and have something to distinguish his case from a worse one, he set the good against the evil and stated it impartially, like debtor and creditor,

the comfort he enjoyed, against the miseries he suffered. For example:

EVIL

I am cast upon a horrible, desolate island; void of all hope of recovery.

I am divided from mankind, a solitary; one banished from human society.

I am without any defence, or means to resist any violence of man or beast.

I have no clothes to cover me.

GOOD

But I am alive; and not drowned, as all my ship's company was.

But I am not starved, and perishing on a barren place, affording no substance.

But I am cast on an island, where I see no wild beast to hurt me.

But I am in a hot climate, where if I had clothes I could hardly wear them.

"Thus I learned," he says, "to look on the bright side of my condition and consider what I enjoyed rather than what I wanted." Then follows one of those illuminating bits of philosophy, with which the reader of Crusoe is frequently rewarded: "All our discontent about what we want appeared to me to spring from the want of thankfulness for what we have."

No finer statement of the philosophy of gratitude has ever been made. It ranks with Carlyle's, that "the fraction of life can be increased in value not so much by increasing your numerator as by lessening your denominator." Crusoe demonstrated Carlyle's contention that happiness grows not by increas-

ing one's desires, but by decreasing one's wants. It is a question of the relative value of the things one has and the things one wants. A man, who through the adventure of uncertainty, acquires the capacity to distinguish between the big and the little, and the courage to act on this knowledge, is in a fair way to become every inch a man.

CHAPTER X

EVERY INCH A MAN

THAT is what happened to Crusoe; that is how it happened, and that is the reason why the world fell in love with this open-minded manly mariner of York. He is not a man given to the "luxury of grieving." He does not stand and cry. He spends no time bemoaning his misfortunes. Had he given himself up to self-pity, he would have been ruined. Of course, he was not without fear and discouragement. But this is nothing against his courage, but rather in its favor. For there could be no courage if fear were not present. Courage does not mean the absence of fear, but the conquest of it. The absence of emotion and sentiment in the book only serves to heighten the effect of Crusoe's courage.

It is the indomitable courage of the man under desperate circumstances, which is the first thing that charms us in reading the book. He faces the future without guarantees of any kind, and this is the essence of courage. He is not the type of man who consults fortune-tellers to pry into his future. He understands to begin with, that they know nothing

whatever about his future. He also understands that even if they did, it would damage him if they told him. If it were possible for a man to know his future, that knowledge would at once transform his future into a past and paralyze his will for present achievement. This is why Dante in his "Inferno" punishes fortune-tellers by twisting their heads squarely around on their bodies, so that as they walk forward they look backward. That is the poet's picturesque way of saying that a man who knows his future has no future but only a past and incapacitates himself for making effective progress in the present. Crusoe is typically Anglo-Saxon in his patient acceptance of fate, and his effort to make the best of it. Crusoe's gospel is the same as that of Kipling. It is the gospel of work and the gospel of courage. He faces heat, cold, hardship, sickness and peril, which would have shattered the mind of any man of less sturdy fiber, but which leave him unshaken and unafraid, ready always for the next duty, which lies at hand.

His courage led him to take the world "as is"; not to run away from it, but come to grips with it. He blames no one but himself; a rare habit. Usually when a man succeeds he takes the credit to himself; when he fails, he puts the blame on others. Crusoe blamed himself for his failure and thereby discovered both its cause and cure. He does not face dangers with a grumble, but with an honest smile. When it was reported to Carlyle that Mar-

garet Fuller said she had decided to accept the universe, the great Scotchman remarked, "Gad, she better." Crusoe accepted the universe, not in a spirit of weak acquiescence with it, but because he knew that this attitude is the secret of progress as well as of personal happiness, for if you want to get anywhere you have to start from where you are. There are plenty of things to find fault with, especially if a man begins with himself, but to face life in the protesting attitude is weakness. To be so enamored with a perfect condition of things, that one can neither enjoy nor co-operate with the present imperfect one, is a malady Crusoe did not have. He saw the wisdom of making honorable compromise with the world, and then trying to re-fashion it as best he could with patience and good humor.

This is the key to a correct analysis of Crusoe's character, and explains the universal verdict of admiration for him. His courage constitutes one of the chief grounds of the book's appeal, for it is an appeal to a fundamental instinct in all men. However much or little of courage a man may himself possess, he always admires it in others. There is doubtless no character in fiction more than Crusoe, who has a better right to quote the great lines of Henley, as descriptive of his own mental attitude:

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Beneath the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody but unbow'd.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the Horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds and shall find me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.

It is this conscious attitude of courage, which equipped Crusoe to capitalize his experience and acquire internal resources. It is the vast fertility of resource, developed in him by his brave effort to meet the difficulties of his uncertain fortunes, which constitute the biggest by-product of his experience, and, as sometimes happens, it is more valuable than the main product. His perplexities were very various. The expedients he devised for meeting them developed him into a self-reliant sturdy, all-round man. He was sailor, farmer, mechanic, hunter, cook, business man and philosopher all in one.

This is Robinson Crusoe, the type of man he was, and the secret of his popularity. The kind of life Crusoe led, with its effect on Crusoe himself, is rich in meaning and challenge for our day, because of its contrast to present social and economic con-

ditions. Very frequently I have tested the men in my city audiences by asking the question: How many men in this audience do now, or have in the past, harbored the secret desire to quit your city life, acquire a farm and lead a free and self-sufficient existence? Invariably over ninety per cent of the men raise their hands. "Robinson Crusoe" enables them to indulge this desire vicariously and this explains why new editions of the book continue to come from the press. It is the unique expression of an irrepressible instinct which all normal men feel, and most men have throttled,—the instinct urging a man to reject the restraints and complexities of civilization and seek a mode of life natural and true. When this instinct surges up sufficiently to disturb his acquired peace of mind, he reads a book like Carpenter's "Civilization, Its Cause and Cure," and then he resigns himself to his fate with the remark, "What's the use?"

Crusoe thus raises an inescapable question. He represents the type of man produced in England previous to the English Industrial Revolution; what type of man are modern industrial conditions producing, and how can industry be so organized as to prevent the denaturization of a worker's manhood? The meaning of Crusoe's challenge to civilization is the subject for consideration in the next Part.

PART II

ROBINSON CRUSOE'S CHALLENGE TO
MODERN INDUSTRY

Yards of cotton, tons of coal, ingots of metal are not measures of civilization. Men and women ARE, and if you tell me the method we are about introducing, or hoping to introduce, would strike down capital to one-half of the amount employed today, but would lift men and women of Massachusetts forty per cent. above their present level, I would say all hail to this change. This is a true civilization.

—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

PART II

ROBINSON CRUSOE'S CHALLENGE TO MODERN INDUSTRY

CHAPTER I

GREATNESS UNAWARES

AMONG the few men who have appreciated the contribution of an indispensable and disregarded element, which "Robinson Crusoe" makes to the serious study of economics, was Frederic Harrison, who said of the book: "'Robinson Crusoe,' which is a fairy tale to the child, a book of adventure to the young, is a work on social philosophy to the mature. It is a picture of civilization. The essential moral attributes of man, his innate impulses as a social being, his absolute dependence on society, even as a solitary individual, his subjection to the physical world, and his alliance with the animal world, the statical elements of social philosophy, and the germs of man's historical evolution have never been touched with more sagacity, and, assuredly, have never been idealized with such magical simplicity and truth."

It is, of course, not to be supposed that Defoe consciously aimed to write a book on sociology, and Mr. Harrison did not intend to convey this impression. But it frequently happens that the author of a great work of art will say more to succeeding generations than to his own, not because others read new meaning into it, but because new conditions invest it with new significance. So it has happened to "Robinson Crusoe." The book has acquired new greatness unawares. It enjoys the unearned increment of a fresh greatness, acquired by subsequent industrial events, which it did not anticipate but which it challenges. The fact that its contribution to sociology is unconscious gives it enhanced value. It is not Defoe, who challenges modern industry; it is "Robinson Crusoe." The challenge lies in the fact itself, for which he stands. The book taken by itself, as Mr. Harrison suggests, has a profound meaning for sociology, because it isolates the basic elements of society, and dramatically portrays their significance. But when the book is read in the light of what has happened since it was written, its enlarged meaning seems like a new and fresh discovery.

What happened since it was written, and made this work of art to be also a big human story with a challenge, is *The Industrial Revolution*. Crusoe is the typical human product of industrial conditions in England previous to this revolution. No thoughtful man today can read the book without comparing

Crusoe to the type of man produced by modern industry. Herein lies its challenge. If we place Ruth's sickle along side of a McCormick reaper, it is quite obvious that we have made very commendable progress indeed in this line of manufacture; but if we stand Ruth herself beside the young women who attended the modern reaper in a recent world's fair, is it at all obvious that we have made any progress in this line of manufacture? And yet the making of men is the mission of modern democracies and the acid test of their success. Crusoe's challenge concerns the human factor in industry, which is its heart.

CHAPTER II

CRUSOE AS A RIP VAN WINKLE

CRUSOE was marooned on his island twenty-eight years, and absent from England thirty-five. It is not without significance that Crusoe landed on this island in September 1659, the month in which the English Commonwealth ended, and returned to England in June 1687, the month in which the Convention Parliament met to establish William III. It is the exact period during which the second Stuart reign defiled the English Government, and during which Crusoe, had he been free to choose, would have preferred to be absent, setting up a country of his own, in which he was king over himself.

When Crusoe returned to England after his enforced absence, as he is represented as doing, he found things in the nation, apart from the Government, just about as he had left them. His homecoming occasioned no shock or thrill except as his personal feelings were stirred by his effort to discover whether his parents were still alive and by his joy in revisiting the scenes of his childhood. The social and industrial conditions continued unchanged. There are many short and some long

periods of history, in which society has remained static, because human nature, left to itself, resists change. To such periods one may apply the opening remark of Mark Twain in his commencement address on "Methuselah," to the effect that, "Methuselah lived to be 969 years old, but he might as well have lived to be a thousand years old, because nothing was doing."

But if Crusoe had been a Rip Van Winkle and returned to England one hundred years after his story was written in 1719, he would have been as shocked as though he had emigrated to another planet. He would have discovered that the England of his boyhood had ceased to exist, except in his memory, that in its place had arisen a new England, more changed than it had been during many previous centuries.

During the last half of the century of Crusoe's supposed absence, there occurred two revolutions, more influential than any in human history and big with consequences for human welfare. The first of these revolutions was political. It is called the American Revolutionary War. It opened a new road to freedom and inaugurated the greatest experiment in democracy on a large scale, which had yet been tried. It was the brave assertion of an equality of opportunity for the self-development of all men. It had its beginning in a band of courageous pioneers who, a little more than a hundred and fifty years previously, had adventured into a

newly discovered continent to establish "a government without a king and a church without a prelate," but the movement fruited into fact in the Revolution. It was a boon not only to America, but to England also and to all mankind as well, the significance of which is still an unfinished story.

Its inner meaning for modern industry is critically important and has never been more accurately stated than in the brief, dynamic words, uttered by President Lincoln, in our most sacred building, the plain brick building in Philadelphia, in which the Republic was born. "I have often pondered," said our typical American, "over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here, and who formed and adopted the Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils of the officers and soldiers who achieved that independence. I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of the separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration, which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men." The same sentiment which six months later he thus expressed: "This is essentially a people's contest . . . for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading objects is to elevate the condition of men, to lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all, to afford all

an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

Simultaneously with this Revolution, occurred another far less dramatic, but far more drastic in its effect on the modern world. It is "the industrial revolution," which is still in progress. It was an astounding triumph of science and invention and produced a swift transformation in the whole aspect of the modern world. Its real significance is as yet only slightly appreciated. Lothrop Stoddard merely states the plain facts when he says: "This transformation was, indeed, absolutely unprecedented in the world's history. Hitherto man's material progress had been a gradual evolution. With the exception of gunpowder, he had tapped no new sources of material energy since very ancient times. The horse-drawn mail-coach of our great-grandfathers was merely a logical elaboration of the horse-drawn Egyptian chariot; the wind-driven clipper-ship traced its line unbroken to Ulysses's lateen bark before Troy; while industry still relied on the brawn of man and beast or upon the simple action of wind and waterfall. Suddenly all was changed. Steam, electricity, petrol and Hertzian wave, harnessed Nature's hidden powers, conquered distance, and shrunk the terrestrial globe to the measure of human hands. Man entered a new material world, differing not merely in degree but in kind from that of previous generations."

After Crusoe saw what had happened, he no

doubt had the impulse, in his rôle as Rip Van Winkle, to take the next boat back to his uninhabited island, for with these two revolutions there arose also a fierce controversy whose end is not yet. The two revolutions stood for ideals diametrically opposed. The Revolutionary War changed the political status of man from that of a servant to that of a freeman. The industrial revolution changed his status from that of a freeman to that of a slave. It inaugurated an irrepressible conflict. The debate is not less but more alive than ever before and will not end until a reconciling principle is discovered and put into operation. Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right. The principle on which it can be settled right we are on the verge of discovering, although we are unexcusably late in doing so. To state this discovery is the aim of this book.

CHAPTER III

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

LOOKED at in the large, the industrial revolution seems to have occurred swiftly and all at once. It did occur more suddenly than any other big event of its kind. But nothing is wholly unconnected with the past or unrelated to the future. The principle of Emerson's great poem, "Each and All," may be accepted as a universal law:

All are needed by each one;
Nothing is fair or good alone.

The industrial revolution was no exception to this law. Every event, like every man, has a past. In the year that *Crusoe* was written, 1719, the first factory in the modern sense was started. That is, a factory in which the motive power was supplied from outside, human fingers were replaced by machinery, and men worked exclusively for wages. It was the silk "throwing mill," erected by the Lombe Brothers in Derbyshire. The name implies that it was imported from Italy, as it was. How John Lombe, at the risk of his life, stole the knowledge of the new machinery, is a thrilling and typical chapter in the pioneer story of the factory system.

This was one among several heralds of the coming change. But the real beginning of the industrial revolution, the thing which gave to England her nickname "the workshop of the world," occurred and became effective fifty years later, around the period of the American Revolutionary War. It centers in particular about the inventions of four men: Kay, Hargreaves, Cartwright and Watt.

John Kay invented a new shuttle for the loom. It was mechanically propelled, reducing the weaver's labor and doubling his output. It made possible the weaving of cloth wider than the distance between the outstretched arms of one operator. It not only dispensed with one worker at the loom, but enabled one weaver to handle the material supplied by six spinners. By Kay's invention, as Carlyle expressed it: "The shuttle drops from the fingers of the weaver and falls into iron hands that ply it faster."

James Hargreaves invented a new spinning wheel and, in honor of his wife, named it the "spinning-jenny." She deserved it. He was a poor weaver and while waiting for a supply of weft from his wife's one-thread wheel an accident occurred. Her machine was suddenly thrown into an upright position, but wheel and spindle did not cease to revolve. This flashed on his mind the possibility of driving several spindles with one wheel. He at once contrived a machine, which produced the same amount of yarn in the same time as had hitherto been furnished by eight machines. His sense

of humor and fair play supplied the nickname, "spinning-jenny." This invention was built on the previous invention of John Wyatt, who made a machine able to spin a thread of cotton for the first time unaided by human fingers. It was in turn built on and improved by Richard Arkwright, a barber, whose machine produced yarn of greater strength; and also by Samuel Crompton a poor weaver, whose "spinning mule" produced yarn of finer quality, which could be made into materials like muslin.

Edward Cartwright, a country clergyman, invented the power loom, which was not patented. He believed in the free use of ideas. The weaving process had been six times faster than the spinning process. But Hargreaves' invention reversed this order and made weaving to be the lagger. It was now necessary to increase the speed of weaving. The alluring principle of "keeping up with Lizzie" applies to machines as well as to people. The required speed was supplied by Cartwright's power loom, which made possible the use of horses and of running water.

James Watt, the son of a shipwright, invented the double-acting steam engine. He first discovered that steam could be used to work a pump. But in the engine at first contrived, only the upward stroke of the piston was acted on by the steam. Watt then made his marvelous invention of a double-acting engine, in which the steam that forced the piston

up was condensed, and another jet of steam forced the piston down. Watt's genius more than met the indispensable need for mechanical power. England went "steam-mill mad." Boulton, Watt's rich partner, who characteristically took the lion's share of the profits, remarked to King George III: "I sell, Sire, what all the world desires—power."

It will be observed that these inventions were made by workingmen, not by bankers. They came not from the financial but from the engineering department of industry, a fact highly significant when we come to consider the demand of workingmen for an opportunity to use their initiative and play a larger part in their own enterprise. The spiritual contribution, both for good and evil, made by mechanical inventions to the evolution of society and the progress of democracy is a story which never yet has been told effectively.

Watt soon contrived steam-engines capable of operating all kinds of machines and in 1785, about the close of the American Revolutionary War, steam was used to drive the machinery of a cotton factory. It was the application of steam to machinery, which in real fashion inaugurated the industrial revolution, whose second and great period, roughly speaking, ran from 1762 to 1840. It swiftly transformed the face of things.

The five decisive inventions, which have contributed most to the creation of modern civilization are the compass, lens, gunpowder, printing press and

steam engine. These are the big five, the giants which have revolutionized the social life of the world, but the most potent, both for good and evil, is the steam engine.

The advantages of the revolution were obvious. Machinery lowered the price of manufactured goods. It made comforts possible for the many, which once were the privilege of the few. It made the necessities of life cheaper, provided one had the means to purchase them. It increased the wages of labor. It developed a higher degree of skill of a certain type, because machinery can act, but cannot think. Modern machinery is not the triumph of matter, but the triumph of mind.

The disadvantages of the revolution were equally obvious and in some respects much greater. The machine compelled people to settle around it. It created the modern city. It spoiled the beautiful landscapes of England by its ugly, brutalizing buildings. It crowded the workers into factory towns and increased the diseases that come through crowding. It lengthened the hours of labor. It made goods so fast that it glutted the market and created a new kind of famine, the famine for work. Whately Cooke Taylor says: "It vulgarizes the product, it stultifies the workman, it deteriorates public taste." If this statement is true, the machine's chief gospel seems to be the gospel of cheapness. It is a challenging paradox that machinery multiplied wealth enormously and at the same

time multiplied poverty. From 1760 to 1818 the population of England increased 70 per cent. and the poor relief increased five hundred thirty per cent. Wealth and pauperism grew side by side. The system of producing wealth had been greatly changed; the system of its distribution had not. It is not difficult to understand why a good and great man like John Stuart Mill, who saw and studied the industrial revolution at first hand, could go so far as to say: "It is questionable, if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." Sad, indeed, if true; still sadder if it is permitted to remain true. Was not machinery designed to harness the powers of Nature for the purpose of relieving man of back-breaking toil?

CHAPTER IV

THE DESERTED VILLAGE

WHEN Crusoe left England as a youth, seeking adventure, the prevailing type of manufacture was the system of cottage industry. It was chiefly handicraft, stimulating the worker's initiative and expressing his personality. It was free, each member of the household being at liberty to play what part in industry he liked. It was self-respecting, the workers associating with each other as equals, joined by bonds of affection and tradition rather than by bonds whose responsibility was limited to barter and exchange. It was production guided by the family spirit, production first for use; second for profit.

At this period the work was entirely domestic and its different branches widely scattered. As described by Mr. James, the manufacturer traveled on horseback to secure raw material among the farmers. It was distributed to sorters, then to combers, and then taken into the country to be spun. Here at each village he had his agents, who received the wool, distributed it among the peasantry, and received it back as yarn. The machine employed was still the old one-thread wheel and in summer weather

on many a village green might be seen the housewives plying their busy trade, and furnishing to the poet the vision of Contentment spinning at the cottage door.

It is a pleasant picture. One feature of it is interestingly described by Defoe in his "Tour of England." "The land near Halifax," he says, "was divided into small enclosures, from two acres to six or seven each, seldom more. Every three or four pieces of land had a house belonging to them . . . hardly a house standing out of a speaking distance from another. . . . We could see at every house a tenter, and on almost every tenter a piece of cloth. . . . At every considerable house was a manufactory. . . . Every clothier keeps one horse at least to carry his manufactures to the market; and generally a cow or two for his family. . . . The houses are full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the looms, others dressing the cloths; the women and children carding and spinning, being all employed from the youngest to the oldest. . . . Not a beggar to be seen, nor an idle person."

Another feature of this picture is described by Thorold Rogers in his "Six Centuries of Work and Wages." "Each master of a handicraft, with his family and a few apprentices and journeymen about him, plied his trade in his home, owner of his simple tools and master of his profits. His workmen ate at his table, married his daughters, and hoped to become masters themselves when their time of edu-

cation was over. He worked for customers whom he knew and honest work was good policy. He supplied a definite demand. The rules of his guild and the laws of his city barred out alien or reckless competition which would undermine his trade. So men lived simply and rudely. They had no hope of millions to lure them, nor the fear of poverty to haunt them. They lacked many of the luxuries accessible even to the poor today, but they had a large degree of security, independence and hope. And man liveth not by cake alone."

Had Crusoe returned to England as Rip Van Winkle, he would have discovered that the domestic system had been destroyed by its deadly enemy, the capitalistic form of production. Cottage industry was gone. The factory system replaced it. The village was coming to be the deserted village. The farm laborer was "divorced from the soil," as well as the factory worker from his work. Status was changed to contract, and personal relations were replaced by "business" relations. The workman's personal interest in his work was killed. Whole classes of laborers, both in agriculture and manufacture were thrown out of work by the new machine industry. The factory system spread everywhere, and with it spread dissatisfaction.

The change from the old system to the new was bitterly resisted. The new inventions which made the factory system possible were savagely attacked and the machines destroyed. Kay, the inventor of

the new shuttle, was mobbed and his life threatened. He was driven from England to France, where he died in poverty. Hargreaves, the inventor of the spinning-jenny, was driven from his native town, and wherever the jenny was used serious riots occurred. So common became the destruction of machinery that Parliament passed a law fixing the death penalty as the punishment for its destruction.

This action of the workmen seems stupid. They, like the rest of us, sometimes do stupid things. That the invention of machinery, which would vastly multiply wealth, make comforts available for all, and lift the burden of back-breaking toil, should have been greeted with bitter destructive protest instead of being hailed with celebrations of joy, is an appalling and puzzling fact. It is an indictment against society's intelligence. But so far as the workmen were concerned, their stupidity is only apparent.

For the workman's action there's a reason. Benefits of the new machines went first to the owner and then to the consumer, but the unemployed wage-laborer is not embraced in either class. Hungry stomachs sometimes do not think, but sometimes they do. The issue is much more profound than the surface facts would indicate. Workmen instinctively and clearly perceived the meaning of the change. They were fighting against the degradation of their position from that of a self-supporting to that of a wage-earning class. They wanted to

preserve their status as free men, the chance to use their initiative, the joy that comes from personal relation to their work and among fellow workers. They would have been willing to use machinery as an aid to their labor, but they protested against becoming slaves to the machinery. In the old system the human element was supreme; in the new the machine was supreme. Their bitter protest was, therefore, not merely to the economic damage done by the new factory system, but to the domestic, moral, and intellectual damage as well. They rebelled against being converted from men into "hands." They wanted to be the kind of man Crusoe was, a man capable of writing a journal, and engaged in the kind of work worth writing about.

The same kind of emphatic protest, which greeted the introduction of the factory system into England, is today greeting its introduction into India. Under the leadership of the saintly Gandhi, ten million of his followers have organized the non-cooperation movement, whose central policy is non-violence. This is only incidentally a political movement to secure self-government. At heart it is an organized protest against Western civilization. The flag of the movement, very significantly, is a spinning wheel on a background of red, white and green. This is the symbolic expression of the people's conviction that the modern factory is a menace. They are urged to boycott foreign cloth and erect a spindle

in each home. Incessant bonfires of foreign cloth have marked the movement, not because they are opposed to new ideas, but opposed to Western civilization on fundamental and to them rational grounds. That our industrial civilization, which we have painfully created, is thus resisted as an evil instead of welcomed as a blessing is disturbing to Western pride. It will do no good to attempt to force machine-made cloth on people who for spiritual reasons prefer to make it with their own hands. The challenge will be more wisely met if we inquire whether our industrial system is as good as we had supposed it to be and whether it may not need some reconstruction.

The damage to society and to manhood from the new factory system is effectively described by the genius of Oliver Goldsmith in his "Deserted Village." The workmen no doubt chiefly resisted a damage to themselves, but Goldsmith makes it clear that the damage went deeper, and was a profound concern not to workmen only, but to the whole nation, for

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
 Where wealth accumulates, and men decay:
 Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade—
 A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
 But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
 When once destroy'd can never be supplied.

CHAPTER V

THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN

THE factory system was affected profoundly, and injuriously by two notable events, which not only blocked reform, but also opened the door to frightful evils. One was the French Revolution. Alarm at its results led factory owners to attribute a sinister political motive to the most innocent demand for reform. The other was the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," issued in the year that the American Revolutionary War began. A book may be as big with consequences as a battle. This book was far bigger. It was itself a decisive battle of the first order.

This book won the battle for economic freedom and created the science of political economy. Its author fought and won the courageous fight for economic freedom from the pernicious and intolerable restraints imposed by the middle ages on industry, agriculture, and commerce. It was a service of the utmost historical significance. Adam Smith won the battle against tyranny by exhaustively demonstrating that social harmony and the most benefit for all could be secured through economic freedom.

But Adam Smith was far too clear a thinker to suppose that social harmony ever could be achieved through unchecked freedom. While the burning cause of his life was freedom, he makes it clear that exceptions and limitations to freedom must be included as part of his doctrine. He did not mean freedom to do as one pleases, but freedom to do good. Long before he wrote his book, he exhibited in practice the kind of freedom he meant. While a professor in a university, the corporation of Smiths at Glasgow prevented James Watt from exercising his trade. Adam Smith came to the rescue of the great inventor and secured him the right to carry on his work in one of the buildings of the university.

Smith's aim was to destroy the slavery of the dark ages, not to institute a new slavery. But a new slavery, ironically enough, was the outcome of his teaching. "Practical" men took his dominating idea, divorced it from its qualifying principles and made of it a rule of conduct. His doctrine of economic freedom was transformed into the go-as-you-please policy. It is quite obvious that whenever there is inequality of condition, unrestrained personal freedom means one thing and one thing only—the exploitation of the weak by the strong. This is what happened. Manufacturers eager to secure cheap and docile labor, filled their shops with children subjecting them to the most brutal severity.

The acid test of unlimited economic freedom and the heart of the challenge against modern industry,

is best exhibited by its treatment of defenseless little children, who constitute a nation's biggest, but as yet unrecognized, asset. It is not a pleasant subject to illustrate in detail, but it is essential for clarity in stating the challenge we propose to face honestly. The illustration is taken from the "Memoir of Robert Blincoe," written by a Mr. Brown after a careful investigation of the effect of the factory system on health and morals, and narrated in Taylor's "Modern Factory System." It is true the condition he describes existed prior to the writing of Adam Smith's book. Crimes against children have never been confined to any one period. But the story of Robert Blincoe exhibits the logical and actual results, whenever economic freedom is unrestrained:

"Robert Blincoe was an orphan. When seven, he was apprenticed for a term of fourteen years to serve at a cotton mill near Nottingham, whither he was sent with a large number of other children, male and female, about eighty in all. The story tells of the ridiculous hopes purposely fostered in their minds and the treatment they should receive there, and of the fearful awakening that followed. 'It was gravely stated to them that they were all when they arrived at the cotton mill to be transformed into ladies and gentlemen; that they would be fed on roast beef and plum pudding—be allowed to ride their master's horses and have silver watches, and plenty of cash in their pockets.' Alas, for these

bright young dreams. We are particularly informed that Blincoe was not treated in this mill 'with that sanguinary and murderous ferocity' that he experienced in others, but, nevertheless, 'from morning till night he was continually being beaten, pulled by the hair of his head, kicked or cursed, as were the other children. . . . Being too short of stature to reach to his work standing on the floor, he was placed upon a block; but this expedient only remedied a part of the evil, for he was not able by any possible exertion to keep pace with the machinery. In vain the poor child declared it was not in his power to move quicker. He was beaten by the overlooker with great severity, and cursed and reviled from morning till night, till his life became a burden to him and his body was discoloured by bruises.' The ordinary hours of work were fourteen, but sometimes extended to *sixteen*. They were occasionally even longer!

"Blincoe served four years of his apprenticeship at this factory; when it stopped working; and he was transferred, with a number of other apprentices, to another one. It was a most unfortunate change for him and them. The cruelties that were practised at this next mill were, as the biographer says, well-nigh *incredible*. One practice of the overlookers was to 'throw rollers, one after another, at the poor boy, aiming at his head, which of course was uncovered while at work, and nothing delighted the savages more than to see Blincoe stagger, and

the blood gushing out in a stream.' When Blincoe could not or did not keep pace with the machinery, the ruffians were accustomed to 'tie him up by the wrists to a cross-beam and keep him suspended over it till his agony was extreme.' 'To avoid the machinery he had to draw up his legs every time it came out or returned. If he did not lift them up he was cruelly beaten over the shins, which were bare, nor was he released till growing black in the face, his head falling over his shoulder and the wretch thought his victim was near expiring.' To lift the apprentices up by the ears, shake them violently, and then dash them upon the floor with the utmost fury, was one of many inhuman sports in which the overlookers appeared to take much delight.

"Among the most singular punishments inflicted on him was that of 'screwing small hand-VICES of a pound weight, more or less, to his nose and ears, one to each part; and these have been kept on as he worked for hours together.' . . . 'Sometimes he has been commanded to pull off his coat and get into a large crib, when the savage, being sure of his mark, and that not a blow would be lost, used to beat him till he was tired.' Nor were these exceptional instances of cruelty practised upon one unfortunate boy. Quite the contrary. 'All the punishments he suffered were inflicted on others, and in some cases even to a worse degree than on himself. He even considers he came off tolerably well'—the story says—compared with his associates, 'many of

whom he believes in his conscience lost their lives and died at the apprentice house, from the effects of hard usage, bad and scanty food, and excessive labour.'

"A few more details must be added, which will also serve to bring the ordinary arrangements of the factory of that time more clearly into view. 'The apprentices had their breakfast generally of water-porridge . . . which they took in the mill. The breakfast hour was eight o'clock, but the machinery did not stop, and so irregular were their meals it sometimes did not arrive till ten or eleven o'clock.' It must be remembered that they rose at five! 'At other times the overlookers would not allow the apprentices to eat it, and it stood till it grew cold. 'Forty minutes were allowed for dinner, of which time full one-half was absorbed in cleaning the frames. Sometimes the overlookers detained them in the mill the whole dinner-time, on which occasions a halfpenny was given, or rather promised. On these occasions they had to work the whole day through, generally *sixteen hours without rest or food.*' On Saturday they commonly worked till midnight; and *sometimes till six on Sunday morning.*

"'Bad as the food was, the cookery was still worse. It was no better than hogwash.' The comparison here with hog's-wash is no mere rhetorical figure. 'The store pigs and the apprentices used to fare pretty much alike,'—whilst—'the fattening pigs fared luxuriously compared with them.' These

'were often regaled with meal balls made into dough and given in the shape of dumplings,' and a pretty story (of its kind) is told in connection with this practice.

" 'Blincoe and those who were in the part of the building contiguous to the pigsties used to keep a sharp eye upon the fattening pigs and their meal balls, and as soon as they saw the swine-herd withdraw, he used to slip down-stairs, and stealing slyly towards the trough, plunge his hand in at the loop-holes, and steal as many dumplings as he could grasp.' But the pigs, 'though generally esteemed the most stupid of animals, soon hit upon an expedient that baffled the hungry boys; for the instant the meal balls were put into their troughs they voraciously seized them and threw them into the dirt out of their reach. Nor this alone; made wise by repeated losses, they kept a sharp lookout, and the moment they ascertained the approach of the half-famished apprentices they set up so loud a chorus of snorts and grunts it was heard in the kitchen, when out rushed the swine-herd armed with a whip, from which combined means of protection for the swine this accidental source of obtaining a good dinner was soon lost.'

"Owing to these, and many like sources of sickness and disease, it is not surprising to learn that 'numerous contagious fevers' arose in this mill, nor 'that the number of deaths should be such as to require frequent supplies of parish children to fill

up the vacancies.' Blincoe 'had known as many as forty boys sick at once, being a fourth part of the whole number employed in the mill,' and 'none were considered sick till it was found impossible, by menaces or corporal punishment, to keep them to their work.' It became necessary to bury those who died in various churchyards; not only to find sufficient room for their bodies, but so as to draw less attention to the great mortality."

It relieves the indictment, made against human nature by the shocking story of Blincoe, to remember that its publication aroused horror and so stirred the public conscience as to inaugurate the beginnings of reform. But it is not to be supposed that the story rests on irresponsible gossip nor is the product of a writer seeking a sensation. It was not an isolated but a typical case. This is abundantly evidenced by the sworn testimony before the First Royal Commission, whose aim it was to interfere with economic freedom.

A case in point is the sad tale of a little girl of ten, whose father testified that she died of overwork. On the day of her death she had worked all day in the mill. She was unable to do her work and a little boy offered to assist her. On her way home she fell several times from exhaustion. She reached her father's door with difficulty and never spoke afterwards. She died in the night. When the Commission adjourned after hearing this witness, its chairman, Mr. Sadler, went to his home and

that evening wrote the pathetic lines, "The Factory Girl's Last Day":

'Twas on a winter's morning,
The weather wet and wild;
Three hours before the dawning
The father roused his child;
Her daily morsel bringing,
The darksome room he paced,
And cried, "The bell is ringing,
My hapless darling, haste!"

"Father, I'm up, but weary,
I scarce can reach the door,
And long the way and dreary—
Oh, carry me once more!
To help us we've no mother,
And you have no employ;
They killed my little brother—
Like him, I'll work and die."

Her wasted form seemed nothing;
The load was at his heart;
The sufferer he kept soothing
'Till at the mill they part.
The overlooker met her
As to her frame she crept,
And with his thong he beat her,
And cursed her as she wept.

At last the engine ceasing,
The captive homeward rushed;
She thought her strength increasing—
'Twas hope her spirits flushed.
She left; but oft she tarried;
She fell and rose no more,
Till, by her comrades carried,
She reached her father's door.

These are, of course, extreme illustrations, but they are here employed for the sake of the principle at issue. Reforms have happily modified the cruelty of working conditions. But until the principle controlling human labor is itself changed, there is no guarantee that the details of its application will not be cruel. The challenge we are considering is concerned not, with a question of degree, but of kind. It is not the degree of cruelty more or less that a civilized man ought to humiliate himself by discussing, but the kind of treatment a civilized man deserves. Crusoe's challenge to industry applies not to details, but to a basic fact. The challenge deals with to-day. On this issue it is illuminating to remember that it was a period comparatively recent, which called forth Mrs. Browning's thrilling poem, "The Cry of the Children," and also that it was effective in arousing feelings that the cruelest facts had failed to stir:

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
 Ere the sorrow comes with years?
 They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
 And *that* cannot stop their tears.
 The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
 The young birds are chirping in the nest,
 The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
 The young flowers are blowing toward the west—
 But the young, young children, O my brothers,
 They are weeping bitterly!
 They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
 In the country of the free.

CHAPTER VI

WHY LABOR UNIONS AROSE

THAT in a country calling itself civilized and maintaining thousands of institutions at vast expense during centuries of time for the express purpose of making known Christian ideals of conduct, that nevertheless it should have been necessary for Parliament to pass any laws at all to prevent the working of women in the mines and the working of little children in cotton factories more than twelve hours a day seems incredible and is a humiliating exhibition of greed and hypocrisy.

But this is not the worst of it. After such laws were passed, the manufacturers either refused to obey them, or made them ineffective. They were unpatriotic anarchists. Parochial authorities apprenticed thousands of children under their control. Wagon loads of children as young as six years were sent from London and elsewhere to work in cotton mills fifteen hours a day. A law was passed for their protection, but because by an oversight it omitted to mention children, who were not apprenticed, the law was of little use. It could be circumvented and it was. This is typical.

It was because the law of itself failed to furnish

relief from the barbarous cruelty of the go-as-you-please policy, that the laborers found it necessary to associate themselves together for their own protection. Hence the origin of labor unions. But this is not the worst of it. The manufacturers secured the passage of a law making it illegal to belong to a labor union. Law-makers are usually humorless. Here is a bit of humor, although it must have been unconscious. This law made it illegal for laborers to do what the law had tried to do and failed. Trades guilds had been destroyed under Edward VI, and for three hundred years there were none. But the factory system made them a human and national necessity. They met at first in secret, like the early Christians in the catacombs. Persecution could not prevent their growth any more than it could the growth of the early Christians.

The responsible reason for the origin of labor unions was the policy of manufacturers. Rebellion on the part of workmen is always and everywhere in direct proportion to autocracy on the part of management. If the destruction of machinery by workmen seemed stupid but explainable; the use of the machinery by owners was stupid and criminal. Labor unions have frequently made stupid mistakes just as capitalistic trusts have. They have sometimes made their chief concern to be wages, as the management has made its chief concern to be profit. But on the whole, we are all under an immense, but unrecognized, moral debt to labor unions, not only

for the preservation, but also for the advancement of civilization and decency.

As a practical factor in the organization of industry, both management and men attach entirely too much importance to labor unions. This is a natural danger common to all organizations. An idea begets an organization, the organization has a tendency to kill the idea. A labor union is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. Both sides, especially the management, make the frequent and serious mistake of treating it as an end in itself. The labor union is a symptom of the disease, not the disease itself. The only way to get rid of labor unions is to remove the cause of their existence. When that cause is removed, workmen will not care whether their union goes out of existence or not, for its aim will have been accomplished. For the management to try to get rid of it without removing its cause is stupid and futile. They might as well try to fight against the law of gravitation.

This attempt is like trying to purify the water in a well by painting the pump. It is like the attempt of trying to prevent an explosion in the boiler by sitting on the safety valve. It will not prevent the explosion; it will expedite it. The unions will thrive on persecution. Christianity owes Nero a vote of thanks for the free advertisement he gave it by his persecution of it. The management may try as best they can to camouflage their purpose by stating it in terms of "the open shop," or even by harness-

ing patriotism to their purpose by calling it "the American plan," but this deceives nobody but themselves. It does not deceive even them. It not only deceives nobody, but it subjects the management to well-deserved ridicule, which is fatal to their success.

Mr. Dooley, in the following brief passage, states all it is necessary to know about the open shop campaign and the humor of it makes further argument seem useless:

"What's all this that's in the papers about the open shop?" asked Mr. Hennessey.

"Why, don't you know?" said Mr. Dooley. "Really, I'm surprised at yer ignorance, Hinnissey. What is th' open shop? Sure, 'tis where they kape the doors open to accommodate th' constant stream av' min comin' in t' take jobs cheaper than th' min what has th' jobs. 'Tis like this, Hinnissey: Suppose wan av these freeborn citizens is workin' in an open shop f'r th' princely wages av wan large iron dollar a day av tin hour. Along comes anither son-av-gun and he sez to th' boss 'Oi think Oi could handle th' job nicely f'r ninety cints.' 'Sure,' sez th' boss, and th' wan dollar man gets out into th' crool woruld t' exercise his inalienable roights as a freeborn American citizen an' scab on some other poor devil. An' so it goes on, Hinnissey. An' who gits th' binefit? Thru, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care no more f'r money thin he does f'r his roight eye.

"It's all principle wid him. He hates t' see men

robbed av their indipendence. They must have their indipendence, regardless av anything else."

"But," said Mr. Hennessey, "these open shop min ye menshun say they are f'r unions iv properly conducted."

"Shure," said Mr. Dooley, "iv properly conducted. An' there we are: An' how would they have thim conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contracts, no scales, hardly iny wages an' dam few mimbers."

But whether a labor union ought to be or not to be, is not the question. It is merely an effect, not a cause. We assume that if employers have a right to unite for mutual benefit, so have the laborers. The truth of Condorcet's statement is axiomatic; "Either no individual member of the human race has any real rights, or else all have the same." But even granting that this question were debatable, the real question at issue is not a labor union's right to exist; it is rather the reason why it exists. If any one wished to destroy it, the only possible way, as well as the only right way, is to remove the need for it.

The need for labor unions has been quite obvious to all who desired to know. This need may be stated most briefly in effective language by quoting two poems, one near the beginning and one from a late period of the factory system. For poetry is more true than history. History gives us the ordered record of events; poetry their inner meaning,

and no one knows an event or fact, until he understands its inner meaning.

The first poem is a popular ballad chanted about the streets of Norwich and Leeds and quoted by Lord Macaulay in his "History of England." Its words are put into the mouth of a typical master-manufacturer:

We will make them work hard for sixpence a day,
Though a shilling they deserve if they had their just pay;
 If at all they murmur and say 'tis too small,
We bid them choose whether they'll work at all.
 And thus we do gain all our wealth and estate,
 By many poor men that work early and late.
 Then hey for the clothing trade! It goes on brave.
 We scorn for to toyl and moyl, nor yet to slave;
 Our workmen do work hard, but we live at ease,
 We go when we will and we come when we please.

The other poem is by no less a genius than Shelley. It portrays the natural effect of the attitude described in the previous poem:

What is freedom? Ye can tell
 That which slavery is too well,
 For its very name has grown
 To an echo of your own.
 'Tis to work and have such pay
 As just keeps life from day to day
 In your limbs as in a cell
 For the tyrants' use to dwell,
 So that ye for them are made
 Loom and plough and sword and spade,

With or without your own will, bent
To their defense and nourishment.

'Tis to see your children weak
With their mothers pine and peak
When the winter winds are bleak—
They are dying whilst I speak.

'Tis to hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot
Casts to the fat dogs that lie
Surfeiting beneath his eye.

.

'Tis to be a slave in soul,
And to hold no strong control
Over your own wills, but be
All that others make of ye;
And at length, when ye complain
With a murmur weak and vain,
'Tis to see the tyrant's crew
Ride over your wives and you—
Blood is on the grass like dew!
Then it is to feel revenge,
Fiercely thirsting to exchange
Blood for blood, and wrong for wrong;
Do not thus when ye are strong!
Birds find rest in narrow nest,
When weary of their winged quest;
Beasts find fare in woody lair
When storms and snow are in the air;
Horses, oxen, have a home
When from daily toil they come;
Household dogs, when the wind roars,
Find a home within warm doors;
Asses, swine, have litter spread,
And with fitting food are fed;

All things have a home but one:
Thou, O Englishman, hast none!
This is slavery! Savage men,
Or wild beasts within a den,
Would endure not as ye do;
But such ills they never knew.

.

Rise, like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number!
Shake your chains to earth, like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you!
Ye are many, they are few.

CHAPTER VII

LABOR AS A COMMODITY

= fiction

HERE are all the elements necessary for a bitter and continuous civil war between two groups of citizens contending as rivals, although they are natural allies in a common cause. And a civil war, either open or secret, we have had for one hundred fifty years, and more. The monotonous story of this industrial civil war would have been a very different story, if both parties to it had been wise enough to have considered causes rather than effects. This is what they did not do and have not yet done.

The use of steam and electricity created a new world. Modern business is one of the most astounding and inspiring achievements of mankind. The initiative, energy, courage, and romance exhibited by it constitute a thrilling story. Modern business, unlike government, appeals to hope instead of fear, concerns itself with "Thou shalt" instead of "Thou shalt nots," and it is yet destined, I believe, to be the saviour of civilization, provided it has the capacity to discover and practice the great creative principle, which is certain to distinguish the new age upon which we have now entered.

But modern business, during the entire period of

the industrial revolution, which is still in process, has made one tragic mistake. It displayed marvelous ingenuity in the invention and perfection of machinery and the formulation of efficiency methods. But it forgot the chief element in production, the man. It attempted the impossible—to play “Hamlet” with Hamlet left out. It has made the stupid blunder of treating labor as a commodity.] *Jmc*

I go into a modern factory and visit first the manager’s office. I see on his desk a typical book on political economy like those used in all colleges and universities until recently, and still used in most of them. I open it and read a passage like this: “Labor, like flour or cotton cloth, should always be bought in the cheapest market and sold in the dearest.” This states the policy on which the factory is operated.

Then I go into the factory to search for this commodity, called labor. I cannot find it. It glares by its absence. What do I see? I see only men, lovers of sunshine, hungry for music, husbands of women, fathers of children, for whom they would sacrifice their lives and are doing so, men just like the manager and myself. There is something wrong somewhere. What I see in the factory and what I read in the manager’s book do not agree.

There’s only one thing wrong; the statement in the manager’s book is a lie. Otherwise it is all right. Like the student’s answer to Professor Huxley’s question: “What is a lobster?” The student

said it is a red fish that moves backward. To this Huxley replied: "Your answer is entirely correct, except for three things; it is not a fish; it is not red; it does not move backward." As a simple matter of fact there is no such thing as labor to be bought and sold and never was. Labor as commodity is pure fiction. It has nothing to do with fact. It is the creation of a political economist's imagination which manufacturers have tried to convert into a fact and failed. We have been led to suppose that political economy is an exact science. Now we have discovered that we have been deceived. When a laborer comes to the factory in the morning, does he carry pounds or yards of labor to sell as a commodity? No, he comes empty handed; he brings only himself. We have, then, no such commodity as labor; we have only a man who is willing to labor; a very different proposition. As soon as you join a man and his labor together, you are on new ground and have a new standard of values. You are handling not a commodity, but a living man, who requires an altogether different treatment.

The false conception of labor as a commodity, transformed a man into "a hand." The machine tended to make the worker a part of it; to reduce him to a cog in the wheel. The workman was treated as the one bit of machinery not yet invented. Man as a machine is clearly portrayed in Adam Smith's description of pin-making, as practiced in his day: "One man draws out the wire; another

straightens it; a third cuts it; a fourth points it; a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is a peculiar business; to whiten the pin is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories are all performed by distinct hands."

The eighteen manual operations here described were decreased just as the machinery was invented. Mrs. Browning said that in her day it took seven men to make a pin. The damage to the man himself involved in the process of his playing the part of a cog in a wheel has never been better stated than by Ruskin, when he wrote: "We have much studied and much perfected of late the great civilized invention of the division of labor, only we give it a false name. It is not, truly speaking, the labor that is divided, but the men—divided into the mere segments of men—broken into small fragments and crumbs of life; so that all the little pieces of intelligence that are left in a man are not enough to make a pin or the head of a nail. Now it is a good and desirable thing, truly, to make many pins in a day; but if we could only see with what crystal sand their points were polished—sand of human souls, much to be magnified before it can be discerned for what it is—we should think there might

be some loss in it also. And the great cry that rises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace-blast, is all in very deed for this: that we manufacture everything there except men; we blanch cotton, and strengthen steel, and refine sugar, and shape pottery; but to brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages."

The making of men as well as pins and shoes does not seem to be included in a factory's program. The distance between stupidity and crime is short. The treatment of man as a commodity is not only a stupid blunder, but a criminal blunder. After classifying souls with flour and cotton cloth, the next step is to sell them along with the other commodities. And to sell souls is nothing short of a crime. In the last book of the Christian Bible is a fiery and dramatic passage, which suggests that this is an ancient custom in the commerce of cities. The passage sounds as modern as if the Apostle John had written it for New York or Chicago. He says: "Alas, alas, thou great city, O Babylon, the mighty city! For in one short hour thy doom has come! And the merchants of the earth weep aloud and lament over her, because now there is no sale for their cargoes—Cargoes of gold and silver, Of jewels and pearls, Of fine linen, purple and silk, and of scarlet stuff; All kinds of rare woods, and all kinds of goods in ivory and in very costly wood, in

bronze, steel and marble. Also cinnamon and amomum; Odours to burn an incense or for perfume; frankincense, wine, oil; fine flour, wheat, cattle and sheep; horses and carriages and slaves; and the *souls* of men."

The whole of modern industry has been organized on the basis of this falsehood. Until this falsehood is removed, there can be no hope of peace in the industrial world and should be none.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RIGHT TO GET DRUNK

THEREFORE, while it may be unexpected, it is not at all surprising that workmen turn to drink as their chief comfort. It is the natural consequence of exhausting labor under degrading conditions. The rum shop keepers of Australia, fully appreciated the fact when they violently opposed the reduction of the laboring day to eight hours. The workman's craving for drink decreases as improvement in his condition increases.

A vivid and humorous account of workmen's amusements at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by one of their own number, and quoted in "Progress of the Working Classes," by Ludlow and Jones, is sufficient evidence of this fact. It says: "Large numbers of working people attended fairs and wakes, at the latter of which jumping in sacks, climbing greased poles, grinning through horse-collars for tobacco, hunting pigs with soaped tails, were the choicest diversions. . . . An almost general unchastity prevailed. . . . But the drink was the mainspring of enjoyment. When Saturday evening came, indulgences began which continued

till Sunday evening. Fiddles were to be heard on all sides, and limp-looking men and pale-faced women thronged the public-houses, and reeled and jiggled till they were turned, drunk and riotous, into the streets at most unseasonable hours. On the Sunday morning the public-houses were again thronged, that the thirst following the indulgence of the night might be quenched. When church hour approached, however, the churchwardens, with long staves tipped with silver, sallied forth, and seized all the drunken and unkempt upon whom they could lay their hands, and these, being carefully lodged in a pew provided for them, were left there to enjoy the sermon, whilst their captors usually adjourned to some tavern near at hand for the purpose of rewarding themselves with a glass or two for the important services they had rendered to morality and religion."

It would be more comfortable if we ended our investigation one hundred years from the present. But it will be more profitable if we courageously face the facts of today. The same type of conditions persists today; in some respects not to the same degree, in other respects, aggravated by the perfection of mechanics.

Recently I visited one of the pig-killing institutions of Chicago. The pigs enter the factory in blocks on a large revolving wheel, head down. They slide off on roller tracks in quick succession. There is no time to be lost in Chicago. Men are

stationed along this track in close proximity. As the pigs ride rapidly by, each man does something to it, one to his throat, one to his internals, one to his hind legs, one to his front legs, one to his back; each man to his own piece of the pig. When the pig gets through running this gauntlet there is not much of a pig left, and when the men get through a day with the pigs, there is not much of a man left either.

When the men finish their day's work, is it any wonder they get —— "Well," I asked my guide how many of the men got drunk? He answered "About ninety per cent." "You are putting it low, aren't you?" I asked. "If I worked in your factory I would help raise it to a hundred per cent. I would insist that my right to get drunk be nominated in the bond and contract. That man standing there, bespattered with blood and dirt all day long doing nothing but stick pigs, he will go insane any way in two or three years. He might as well have some fun getting drunk, before he goes insane. Every night in drink he can escape into freedom and indulge a glorious imagination. I have never been drunk, but I suppose this is what happens."

Does my reader think humor is out of place here? This is not humor; it is bitter irony. The question at issue is, shall we give precedence to pigs or men? If anyone thinks the irony can be made too bitter or the issue overstated, I ask him to read this description of the pig-killer, written

by Herbert Quick in his "Broken Lance." His friends Olive and Morgan go in search for him. He had been a minister. He is a refined scholar and social reformer. They find him in this position, which he temporarily occupies. The situation gives you the perspective you would get if you "put yourself in his place":

"What is that terrible noise?" asked Olive again, as the mingled screams of piled-up agonies pierced their ears nearer and keener.

"You'll soon see, ma'am," said the guide, as he stepped off upon the hog-killing floor. "Here it is, ma'am."

"At first the steam and the hurrying confusion of men blurred the interior, so that all was indistinct. And then they saw. Somewhere back of the men, and below the floor, was the source whence the sound came. Dimly, like a moving impressionistic painting of some fearful engine, slowly rotated a great wheel, and from it seemed to come these sounds, which now could be separated from each other in culminating cries of anguish, as if a thousand steel traps were snapping on creatures penned up for torture. As their eyes cleared, they saw that the dangling forms were those of swine, and realized that the trap was closing, every second, on a helpless animal; that theirs were the cries screamed so dolefully forth, hour after hour, from the building, as the poor beasts felt the clutch of the traps upon their legs, and were hoisted with diabolical

deliberation, in a succession of pitiless tragedies, and carried, heads down, on the revolving Ferris wheel, on to the place where each scream went suddenly broken and choked as something happened—something after which a spouting and reeking throat swung over toward the steaming tank, awaiting immersion in which hung a close-packed cluster of black carcasses, their blood-choked coughings and dying convulsions growing less and less, until they went rolling from their gyves of death into the scalding water.

“The floor was dark with clotted and diluted blood, and blood spread in a coagulating mass of viscous red, mottled with splotches of pink foam about the feet of the man who stood in front of the line of victims, which filed before him in inverted helplessness. As each one passed him, he seized it by the forefeet, spread the legs apart so as to expose the broad black throat, and then, with a single thrust, as skillful as the finest pass of a swordsman, his long keen knife went straight to the artery, and the spurt of crimson as it was withdrawn went unheeded over the man’s clothes from waist to feet, as he mechanically pushed the slain brute by, and automatically reached for another—and all the time the great wheel rotated, and out from below and behind came the volume of tortured screams, each moment bringing more and more throats before him for the knife. Hour after hour, day after day he stood there, the reek of gore

in his nostrils, the screech of death in his ears—the king of slaughter, surrounded by his sanguinary helpers, who, with machine and cleaver and knife, urged on by shouted command and competing enginery, tore heads from bodies, ripped out bowels, dismembered frames, and sent off to some room where they hung cooling in long rows, the clean-scraped and eviscerated creatures brought here in thousands from green fields and pastures. But the central figure, the monarch of horrors to Olive's eyes, was the man with the knife, who, with the machine-like thrust, second by second smote from its rock of flesh the fountain of blood, and stood like an embodied emblem of carnage, in steam and reek and expiring clamor, a red angel of death, dripping gore from every finger, and bathed from head to foot in the tide of butchery.

“The woman stood gazing at him in a dreadful fascination, and the real meaning of the scene grew clearer and clearer through the steam and confusion. He was straight and tall, and as he did his horrid work, she noted in him a devilish adjustment of means to end in every motion and turn of wrist and arm and torso which reminded her dimly of such exhibitions of graceful motion and strength as fencing and club-swinging—a strange mingling of grace and diabolism. In a way he seemed almost beautiful to her. And then a sickening thing happened—he looked at her. It was a mere glance, at first, a turning of the head in the easy double attention

of the skilled workman, and then—he stood, his dreadful work accumulating before him, and looked her straight in the face as if he knew her; and—unspeakable thought!—the face seemed that of one she knew and loved as the most gentle being in the world. The eyes were blue, the hair, dark with sweat, or worse, was curly, and *he seemed to know her!* Her soul turned sick, and all went dark before her eyes. She reeled, and Morgan, watchful for something like this, threw his arm about her, and half carried her toward the stairway. He was unspeakably alarmed at her utter whiteness, her limp poverty of motion or volition.

“The guide sprang to his assistance. Morgan, as they went down the lift, looked back, and once more his eyes met those of the man with the knife—met them in recognition; and as he did so, urged on by an oath from the boss, the butcher turned again to his work, and, as if in renunciation of any claim to fellowship, resumed in feverish haste and with undiminished skill that task which made him a terror and an abomination to the woman who had misguidedly penetrated to this chamber of horrors.

“The boss could not know that his foul blasphemy mingled in the mind of the man with the knife, with old memories of the use of the same words in sacred chant, that as his mind wandered in the half-trance of mental shock, he seemed to feel himself again a ministrant of religion. Could God, when He made man, have imagined and designed

such abysses in his life as that which yawned between that time—and *this!*”

This is a nasty subject. I realize it. I have purposely chosen an illustration from the worst the working world has to show in order to make vivid a basic principle, widely prevalent in modern industry. In this typical process the machine sets the pace of the man's activity. The machinery is not assisting human labor; human labor is assisting machinery. The workman has ceased to be a man and has become a machine. Of course he gets drunk. Why shouldn't he? It's his way of escape from the monotonous grind of machinery, his way of seeking forgetfulness, his way of indulging at brief intervals the pleasant illusion that he is a man. It's a compliment to him that he wants to get drunk, that he has not quite lost his desire for this illusion. Ought not industry to be so organized as to permit workmen to feel like men in reality, and not compel them to resort to drink, seeking the illusion of their lost manhood? If they had a chance to get drunk with the spirit, would they want to get drunk with wine?

CHAPTER IX

NOTHING BUT WAGES

THE principle at stake is just the same whether in a pig-killing house in Chicago, or in a cotton factory in a Southern State, or in a steel mill in the North, or a sugar plantation in Hawaii. A workman who gets nothing but wages is not getting enough, whatever the amount of his wages may be. He is after something not represented by wages. The hope of the world, the possibility of any progress at all lies in the fact that workingmen are not satisfied merely with wages.

What they rebel against is feudalism in any form. The basic factor in the whole structure of modern industry against which their soul revolts is clearly exhibited by an incident in the childhood of Prince Kropotkin, who never recovered from the impression it made upon him. As he described it, it was the scene of his father "narrating for the children how he won the cross of Saint Anne and the golden sword which he wore. His father had served on the general staff in the Turkish campaign of 1828, and was lodged with the staff in a Turkish village when it took fire. Houses were enveloped in flames, and in one a child had been left. In response to

the frantic cries of the mother, Frol, his father's servant, had rushed into the flames and saved the child, and the chief commander, who saw the deed, had at once given his father the cross, for gallantry. " 'But father,' exclaimed the children, " 'it was Frol who saved the child.' 'What of that?' replied the father, 'Was he not my man? It is all the same.' "

The keen and infallible instinct of the children penetrated at once to the moral heart of their father's action, as all normal and unspoiled children would. They instantly recognized slavery when they saw it. It is the same element in modern industry, against which workingmen are protesting. Its form has been changed and its hardships mitigated, but the fact of slavery still remains. Its badge may be a wage, quite as well as a whip. The wage system, as now commonly practiced, is morally as well as economically wrong. As long as it remains unmodified by a new and different element there will be rebellion.

It is quite easy to be misled by the fact that most industrial wars have been fought over the question of wages. It is obvious that both capitalists and laborers have frequently degenerated to the point where the capitalist thinks only of his profits and the laborer only of his wages. In which case, both are governed by the pig-trough philosophy; both are rank materialists; both have denatured their manhood and are content to be mere animals. Gross

materialism is one of the serious blights with which modern civilization has inflicted our world. "My idea of hell," said William Allen White, "is a place where every man owns a little property and thinks he is just about to lose it."

If grabbing is the game one side is playing, why should not both sides engage in grabbing? This apparently is what they are doing, both capitalists and workmen alike. In the process of the game, strikes, lockouts, violence, distrust, lies, soldiering, sharp practices, financial losses, public hardships, are not only involved; they are necessary consequences. They must occur in the future, as in the past, so long as this kind of game is played. They are the symptoms of a basic defect, namely, that the game itself is morally and economically wrong. Profit cannot be sought directly without violating moral principles. It is a legitimate by-product but not a legitimate main-product. Only as a by-product, only when it is intrinsically related to a function performed, is profit justly acquired. It makes all the difference in the world whether profit is put in the first place or in the second place. Until function is put in the first place and profit in the second place, there is little prospect that civil war in industry will be abolished or even abated. A grab-game, with money for the stakes, occupies the foreground whenever industry is organized on the basis of the pig-trough philosophy.

While this is the fact most visible on the surface,

it is a superficial view to think it is the significant fact. To discover the real fact we must go deeper. To the workingmen at least, the wage is chiefly regarded as a symbol. Their motive lies with something else, something vastly more important. They are thinking of wife and children, of the tragedy of losing a child through lack of means to secure medical aid, of education, music, books; they crave a more abundant life, of which money is the symbol.

From tragic first-hand experience he feels the force of such facts as these. The length of his life is determined by material circumstances; the average life of the rich man is over fifty-five years, that of the poor man twenty-eight years. In the rich quarters of Paris, the death-rate is ten in one thousand; in the poor quarter of Montparnasse, it is forty-three in a thousand. In Brussels the mortality among children under five years of age is six per cent. in the families of capitalists, while in those of laborers it is fifty-four per cent. Disease multiplies in proportion to poverty. The number of marriages is determined by economic conditions. The coefficient of prostitution rises in years of adversity and falls with the return of prosperity. The malady of illiteracy is directly the product of poverty.

The question of wages, then, to the workman is not a question of wages, but of something very different. It is a question of life, and love, and morals. The picture of Crusoe writing a journal, in his bower, is a picture of the average workman's

groping aspirations. He, too, desires leisure to write a journal, the physical strength to do it, the mental ability equal to it, and above all, to be the kind of man to think things worth recording. Do I over-honor him? Perhaps. If there be workmen not animated by these desires, so much the worse is the indictment against our economic order. It's a nation's business to stimulate and keep alive such aspirations in her citizens. If it fails at this point, it fails altogether. Truly said David Starr Jordan that "the final test of any nation is in the opportunity it gives its average man and still more in the fitness of the average man to grasp this opportunity."

However dimly seen or feebly expressed, the desire for a more abundant life is the motive back of the demand for wages and the rebellion against the slavery of machinery. Among large and growing groups of workmen it is not dimly seen at all, but very clearly seen and always has been. It is highly significant to note how keenly the workingmen in Europe and America perceived the inner meaning of the war against Germany and the moral confusion of the Allies since its close. It was a class of workmen in England that not only perceived it but expressed it more effectively than any other class—witness "The Aims of Labour" by Arthur Henderson, one of the noblest documents that issued from this war or any other.

The inner meaning of the war and the reaction

following it is so pointedly stated by Gino Speranza in a recent article in the *Hibbert Journal*, and his statement makes so clear the root difficulty with modern industry and the reason for present unrest, that I quote from it at some length:

“Could there be a darker indictment against the age of the machine than the world’s attitude towards the Great War within a brief span of its triumphant close? We called it a struggle for freedom from German hegemony, from Prussian militarism, but it was much more than that. Germanism meant ‘standardisation’ of the world’s efforts; it meant, had it succeeded, the plotting out of the world into ‘organised,’ ‘specialised,’ and ‘regulated’ zones of trade and economic activities. A German victory would have carried with it the gradual centralisation and standardisation of human culture divided into classified workers and producers, each trained to efficiency in the one kind of labour, mental or manual, to which he would have been ‘scientifically’ assigned. Europe, if not America, would have been changed into a well-ordered, spick-and-span, busy, productive, comfortable, and highly ‘organised’ world, but a world filled with a spiritually enslaved humanity. In short, German success would have meant the safe entrenchment for another century of the age of the machine. . . . Yet within a few months of the armistice the forces of destructive criticism largely succeeded in beclouding the great spiritual issues of that

struggle, often honouring those who had opposed it or endangered its success. Men and women who had suffered in the cause now heard nothing but discussions of victory in terms of lost capital, of lost trade, of diminished man power, or of the inability of the enemy to pay indemnities. Leaders announced various programmes of 'reconstruction,' but what did such programmes hold forth? They all sought to force the molten mass of mentally dazed and body-weary humanity from its golden crucible of spiritual exaltation into the old grooves of a materialistic and 'mechanistic' world. Humanity in the throes of its spiritual re-birth cried out for Messiahs, and the 'reconstructionists' again tendered to it efficiency engineers! The financiers said the world's unrest was due to the exchange and an unsettled trade balance; the economists said it was due to lack of production, which raised the cost of living; the reconstructionists said the hope of the world rested on the possibility of 'speeding up,' of earning more wages so as to have the old comforts and more of them. The post-war slogan of every reformer, of every statesman, of every leader became: 'Produce! Produce! Produce!' It was the old motto of the age of the machine, and it rang false in a world ennobled but worn out by a struggle to be free. And none of the panaceas announced brought relief; neither high wages, nor increased comforts, nor participation in profits, nor political recognition stilled the unrest; for behind

and beyond the visible, tangible, and often grossly selfish and material demands lay the awakened urge of mankind wishing to be rid of the tyranny it had fought.

“There is political tyranny—a form of oppression which men have learned to distinguish and have forged weapons to fight; but there is a more insidious tyranny, not as easily discernible and harder to cast off, and that is the tyranny of *ideas*. Of such is the tyranny of the age of the machine— a body of superstitious beliefs, scientifically buttressed, in the power and importance of those forces which make men *comfortable*, for which we have surrendered our faith in the forces that make men *free*.”

This thoughtful statement accurately expresses the dominant and irrepressible issue before modern industry. It is an infinitely profounder issue than that raised by the pig-trough philosophy. The acid test of the value of machinery is the place we assign to it in our thought. Is it to be used to enslave men or to free them? Was machinery made for man or he for it? In the organization of modern industry, will men be used to assist machinery, or machinery to assist men? Is the tendency of modern industry to make goods cheaper and men dearer, or the reverse? Will factories accept as their natural function the making of men as well as the making of goods? The question at issue is not mechanical, but moral and scientific.

Will we dethrone marvelous modern inventions as masters of the human spirit, and enthrone the human spirit as much more marvelous? Will we be sufficiently fair to the facts to assign to the man and the machine the relative values expressed by Mrs. Browning, when she said:

If we trod the deeps of ocean,
If we struck the stars in rising,
If we wrapped the globe intensely
With one hot electric breath,
'Twere but power within our tether,
No new spirit-power comprising,
And in life we were not greater men
Nor bolder men in death.

CHAPTER X

A DIVIDED HOUSE

THIS, then, is "Robinson Crusoe's" challenge to modern industry. It is not a superficial criticism, but questions the very basis on which industry rests. It deals not with effects, but causes. It aims not at reformation, but transformation. This is not merely criticism. It is constructive criticism—that is, it is criticism by construction.

We are not indulging in diagnosis as a pleasant pastime. We are searching for a way out of a trouble already existing. "Robinson Crusoe's" challenge did not create the difficulty. The industrial revolution creates it. Modern industry's injury to the nation creates it. It is the facts themselves, which constitute the challenge. "Robinson Crusoe" only makes clear their inner meaning.

If any one desires to understand the challenge made by the industrial revolution to thoughtful men, let him read Charles Reade's novel "Put Yourself in His Place." Certain elements of barbarism existing in the period he describes have been eliminated, but the essential elements of the problem remain and some additional ones have been added, as any one can see, if he will visit some of our steel

mills, coal mines, cotton factories and sugar plantations.

If any one wishes to know the inexcusable and unscientific waste in modern industry; wastage in money, production, good-will and human values, let him read the illuminating and courageous report, "Waste in Industry," made by the Federated American Engineering Societies.

If any one wants to realize the serious damage modern industry is doing the nation, let him open his eyes and look around. The nation socially is very sick. Everywhere men are divided into classes according to their tastes and occupations, contending for their personal interests. Racial antagonisms, economic jealousies, class cleavages are destroying America as a society. Civil war in industry is chronic. It is a stock remark of the super-patriot that in America there are no classes. No, not theoretically. This remark is built out of his memory, not out of the facts. All men with eyes to see know that in very few places in America are there anything else but classes.

"A country," says Mazzini, "is a fellowship of free and equal men bound together in a brotherly concord of labor towards a single end." This ideal with which we began remains only as a memory and has ceased to exist as a fact, except partially and at rare intervals during a period of war. Every lover of his country hates this fact, but he can never help to destroy it by shutting his eyes to it. He must

not be a blind lover, but a lover like Lowell, whose love gave him the courage to say:

I loved my country, so as only they,
Who love a mother fit to die for, may;
I loved her old renown, her stainless fame,
What better proof than that I loathed her shame.

A true lover of his country, like Lowell, is optimist enough to face facts. The fact is that we are a house divided against itself. It ought to be clear to thoughtful lovers of their country, that the time has come to revive and resound the solemn warning uttered a half-century ago by our typical American, "a house divided against itself cannot stand." The only way a man, who is optimist enough to face the facts as they are, can hope to retain his optimism is to do something to help change the facts. If our house is not to fall it must cease to be divided, as Lincoln said. If it is to cease to be divided it is obvious that a means must be found to bring all men as citizens into common council to secure mutual understanding and concerted action.

As a start in this direction, one thing is indispensably important. The external conditions of the period described in Reade's novel, have been largely altered, but the title of his book has undying social significance. "Put Yourself in His Place" is in fact the statement of a universal moral principle, a spiritual axiom of social progress. To achieve

this act is both a science and an art. Reade calls it the "great transmigratory art," and declares that "were it to be taught as generally as reading and writing, that teaching alone would quadruple the intelligence of mankind and go far to double its virtue."

Reade is right. By far the larger amount of injustice practiced by men is due not so much to their lack of good-will, as to their inveterate inability to put themselves in the other fellow's place. The act of sympathetic imagination by which we put ourselves in the other fellow's place, take the point of view of a class other than our own, is the first step towards progress in adjusting industrial disputes. It is the one way to acquire knowledge of his problem and find a solution of our own. But you cannot perform this act, you cannot put yourself in his place, except through one faculty and that is an open mind.

It may be that before you acquire the habit of open-mindedness, the capacity to take in a new idea, it will be necessary for you to pass through a mental revolution. That is just what modern industry most needs to happen to it. It should be obvious that it is idle to expect any progress without an open mind.

Every great leader of the world's thought and action has insisted on its indispensable importance. Confucius expressed it in the golden phrase "mental hospitality." Socrates used a phrase out of which

was coined the word "philosopher." He said, "I am not a wise man; I am a lover of wisdom; a seeker after new ideas." Jesus called it, "the spirit of truth." So highly did he regard it that he called it a holy spirit. The reason why these masterful leaders of men so prized the habit of being open-minded is because they understood that without mental hospitality no progress in any line is possible.

Mental hospitality is such essential equipment for an understanding of what is to follow that I emphasize it by restating it in an unforgettable parable, a poem by Charlotte Perkins Stetson, called "The Conservative":

The garden bed I wandered by
 One bright and cheerful morn,
 When I found a new-fledged butterfly
 A-sitting on a thorn,
 A black and crimson butterfly
 All doleful and forlorn.

I thought that life could have no sting
 To infant butterflies.
 So I gazed on this unhappy thing
 With wonder and surprise,
 While sadly with his waving wing
 He wiped his weeping eyes.

Said I, "What can the matter be?
 Why weepest thou so sore
 With garden fair and sunlight free
 And flowers in goodly store?"
 But he only turned away from me
 And burst into a roar.

Cried he, "My legs are thin and few,
Where once I had a swarm;
Soft, fuzzy fur, a joy to view,
Once kept my body warm,
Before these flapping wing things grew
To hamper and deform."

At that outrageous bug I shot
The fury of mine eye.
Said I, in scorn all burning hot,
In rage and anger high,
"You ignominious idiot,
Those wings were made to fly."

"I do not want to fly," said he,
"I only want to squirm."
And he dropped his wings dejectedly,
But still his voice was firm;
"I do not want to be a fly,
I want to be a worm."

O yesterday of unknown lack,
Today of unknown bliss;
I left my fool in red and black;
The last I saw was this,
The creature madly climbing back
Into his chrysalis.

This parable needs no comment. We are in its debt, if it leads us to conclude that wherever we go we are not going backwards. This is the age of the flying machine. We are not going to scrap the machinery produced by the industrial revolution, as Ruskin and Carlyle thought we ought to do. It

was not the fault of the machinery, but the use we made of it. We intend to liberate modern industry from the dead chrysalis forms of the past, so that it may use its wings to fly into the free air and sunshine of a new and joyous enterprise. Industry which has sorely crippled the nation will yet be one of the nation's saviours, perhaps its greatest.

I would beg my reader, therefore, to go into the next part of the discussion with an open mind, willing to be disturbed, unafraid of new ideas. I would say both to managers and men, what Oliver Cromwell once said to the members of the British Parliament: "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of Christ, to believe it is possible for you to be mistaken."

"Robinson Crusoe" not only challenges modern industry at its crucial point of weakness, but also supplies the remedy for it, the only remedy there is. To state what the remedy is and how it is applied is the purpose of the next Part.

PART III

HOW ROBINSON CRUSOE SOLVES THE
LABOR PROBLEM

The final test of any nation is in the opportunity it gives its average man, and still more in the fitness of the average man to grasp the opportunity.

—DAVID STARR JORDAN.

PART III

HOW ROBINSON CRUSOE SOLVES THE LABOR PROBLEM

CHAPTER I

POLITICS AND INDUSTRY

HOW to secure concerted action in the whole and at the same time preserve autonomy in the individual parts—this is our central social problem, whether it emerges in politics, or religion, or economics. In the political world there is constant conflict between the governors and the governed. How to insure peaceful concerted action in the nation and autonomy in the units, which compose it; how a nation can be strong enough to preserve itself without destroying personal liberty,—that is the political problem and always has been from the beginning of recorded history. In the family, the ancient authority of the father over his children and the husband over his wife has been greatly weakened and in some nations altogether destroyed. How to reconcile the moral rights of woman and

the freedom of her personality with the unity necessary to ordered family life,—that is the social problem. In industry the conflict between capital, which is accumulated wealth, and labor as a mental process, which is the creator of wealth, is acute. Workmen no longer are willing to be slaves of capital, but demand their freedom. How to reconcile the freedom of workmen with the necessity for concerted industrial action,—that is the industrial problem.

The principle, which constitutes the problem in each case, is exactly the same. It is the science and art of community organization. Our familiarity with this problem in politics and religion has equipped us with the ability to recognize it as an old friend, now that it has emerged with glaring intensity in the industrial field. The paramount problem of the present day is the industrial problem, but it is a new staging of an old and irrepressible issue. Achille Loria maintains that there is today no religious question and no political question, but only the economic question. It is true that the religious question is not the same as it was when the church tried to stifle thought, to combat scientific investigation and to exercise temporal authority. Likewise the political question is not the same as it was when democratic aspirations waged war against the tyranny of kings, and when defenseless people were held in open slavery. In religion and politics certain crude battles have been fought and

won; a certain achievement has been made, which has not yet been made in economics. It is, therefore, obvious that the economic question is now the burning question in a sense in which religion and politics are no longer burning questions.

It is not fair to the facts and it would be a profound mistake to suppose that there is no longer a political question or a religious question. They exist in different forms and stages of development, but they still exist, and are more persistent and challenging than heretofore. It would be nearer the truth to say that these questions had entered the economic field and that all three questions had become merged, only with the economic face of it to the forefront. The three basic questions of perennial interest to human welfare are politics, religion and economics. (What is now happening is that we are discovering that they constitute one and the same question.)

When Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation raised four million creatures from the status of chattels to the status of human beings, what was that, an economic, or political, or religious act? It was obviously all three. It was economic, for it revolutionized the form of labor. It was political, for it was achieved through governmental machinery. It was religious, for it righted a glaring human wrong, and without the impetus of the religious sentiment it could never had been achieved. It is no more possible to separate the three elements of this prob-

lem, than it would be possible to separate oxygen and hydrogen and still have water.

James Russell Lowell once wrote the following "Parable":

Said Christ our Lord, "I will go and see
How the men, my brethren, believe in me."
He passed not again through the gate of birth,
But made himself known to the children of earth.

Then said the chief priests, and rulers, and kings,
"Behold, now, the Giver of all good things;
Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state
Him who alone is mighty and great."

With carpets of gold the ground they spread
Wherever the Son of Man should tread;
And in palace-chambers lofty and rare
They lodged him, and served him with kingly fare.

Great organs surged through arches dim
Their jubilant floods in praise of him;
And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He saw his own image high over all.

But still, wherever his steps they led,
The Lord in sorrow bent down his head;
And from under the heavy foundation-stones
The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.

And in church, and palace, and judgment-hall,
He marked great fissures that rent the wall,
And opened wider and yet more wide
As the living foundation heaved and sighed.

"Have you founded your thrones and altars, then,
On the bodies and souls of living men?
And think ye that building shall endure
Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?"

"With gates of silver and bars of gold
Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold;
I have heard the dropping of their tears
In heaven these eighteen hundred years."

"O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,
We built but as our fathers built;
Behold thine images, how they stand,
Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

"Our task is hard—with sword and flame
To hold thine earth forever the same,
And with sharp crooks of steel to keep
Still, as thou leftest them, thy sheep."

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

These set he in the midst of them,
And as they drew back their garment-hem,
For fear of defilement, "Lo, here," said he,
"The images ye have made of me!"

When he wrote this parable, did Lowell speak
as a prophet or a statesman? Obviously as both.
The type of human product society manufactures
admittedly is the concern of religion. Is it any the

less the concern of a nation? The making of men and women is the chief business of the nation. "The low-browed, stunted, haggard man,"—is he a fit man to exercise the franchise? Can such men exercise the franchise intelligently? And yet his right to vote makes him the creator of legislators and public policies. Is it not clear that, in proportion as this type of man multiplies, the foundation of the nation is built on sand and confronted with the ever-present possibility of crumbling?

The reason that the political question has been merged in the economic question is the discovery that there can be no political democracy in fact unless there is also industrial democracy. Whenever one group of men acquires great wealth and becomes economically strong, and another group becomes economically weak, the strong group will always control the machinery of government and dictate laws to protect their own interests. Oliver Cromwell once wrote to Parliament: "If there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth." It not only does not suit a commonwealth, but it makes a commonwealth in any true sense impossible. In 1890 one per cent. of the families of the country, owned one half of the aggregate wealth of the country, more than all the rest of the nation put together! According to the 1910 census the distribution of wealth is still more unequal, so much so as to be alarming. Nine-tenth's of one per cent. of the population owns

seventy per cent. of the wealth. The figures are as follows:

POPULATION	AGGREGATE WEALTH
00.9 per cent. owns.....	70.5 per cent.
29.0 per cent. owns.....	25.3 per cent.
70.1 per cent. owns.....	4.2 per cent.
<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 100.0

The enormous increase in the ownership of wealth by the few and decrease in ownership by the many is significant not only because of the physical hardship entailed. It is spiritually disturbing as well. The fact is disturbing enough; the cause of it is still more so. It is because industrial conditions make it increasingly difficult for the many to use their thinking powers. Inequality of opportunity, denial of the chance to be creative workmen and produce what they have the power to produce, this is the real point of distress in the problem.

Similar inequality in the exercise of power is exhibited in another phase of the problem. It is idle to suppose that this group of one per cent. will be content with one per cent. of the political power. As a matter of fact, they have not been. They have bought and sold legislation as they would cotton cloth.

When an effort was made to have enacted in Albany the Mercantile Inspection Law,—a humane law to provide sanity accommodations and seats for

female clerks in New York department stores,—the bill was defeated for several years by a lobby of merchants. During that period many articles against it appeared in a certain New York newspaper, and orders were sent down from the counting-room of this same newspaper to permit no article in its favor to appear, and such articles were therefore rejected. Thomas Jefferson well said that "when newspapers are controlled by money, then they are a most dangerous factor in a republic." When this bill was finally passed in spite of opposition, its same enemies so thwarted its administration that it speedily became a dead letter. Whenever selfish special interests dominate the making of laws, thwart their administration and distort intelligent public opinion, then political democracy ceases to exist.

The illustration of this fact used by Rauschenbusch is the interference of President Roosevelt in the great coal strike a few years ago, which was hailed as a demonstration that the people are still supreme, but which he thinks rather demonstrated that the supremacy of the people is almost gone. The country was on the verge of a vast public calamity. A sudden cold snap would have sent death through our eastern cities, not with his old fashioned scythe, but with a modern reaper. The president merely undertook to advise and persuade, and was met with an almost insolent rejoinder. Jacob A. Riis said that the president when he con-

cluded to interfere, set his face grimly, and said, "Yes, I will do it. I suppose that ends me; but it is right and I will do it." The governor of Massachusetts afterward sent him "the thanks of every man, woman and child in the country." The president replied: "Yes, we have put it through. But, heavens and earth! It has been a struggle." What is this sinister power, whose selfish interests can take precedence over the safety of the people, so that a common-sense action by the first officer of the nation is likely to bring upon him political ruin? Is there an invisible government back of the government at Washington which can prevent it from rendering public service?

It is clear that economic inequalities naturally produce political inequalities. There can never be any political democracy as long as pure patriotic sentiments are replaced by selfish economic interests. A political democracy can exist only where there is either approximate economic equality, or else where economic inequality is regulated by a stronger, nobler spirit than self-interest. That stronger, nobler spirit is industrial democracy.

It is clear then that the political, religious and economic problems can no longer be kept separate from each other in air-tight compartments. Whenever an issue is raised or solved in any one of them it is only a question of time when it will emerge in the others also. And this is what has now happened the world over in dramatic fashion.

At the time when workmen had no standing in the law they lived in a state of vassalage and were treated as *things*. They were denied the right to own property and as a consequence they owned none. As long as the facts of their condition and their legal status harmonized, the economic problem was practically non-existent. But now universal equality before the law is an accomplished and recognized fact. This achievement gave them the right to own property. It admitted them not only to equal private rights, but equal public rights, which included the right to vote.

But the theoretic equality of all men before the law was contradicted by a striking inequality in actual condition. The worker's status politically was in irreconcilable conflict with his status industrially. Why grant him an equality of opportunity in political life and deny the same thing in economic life? It raises an irrepressible issue. Political democracy and industrial autocracy cannot both exist for long in the same nation. The same man cannot long continue to be half free and half slave; a political freeman and an industrial slave. When the American Revolutionary War was fought to achieve equality of opportunity for self-development, it is only natural to expect that the same principle then contested in politics would sooner or later be contested in economics. That time has now fully come.

It is highly important to remember that the economic problem now insistentlly clamoring for solu-

tion, is the same problem we have already faced in American politics. We met it once; we can do it again. There is, therefore, no occasion to get scared or to get mad. In the beginning of our history we faced the difficult task of securing concerted action in the whole without infringing upon individual freedom in the parts. These two principles were the subject of a long and heated controversy. Jefferson stood for local autonomy—Hamilton for federal power. It was a royal contest and one of vast importance to the future welfare of the country. Both men were in Washington's cabinet, but they became political, then personal enemies. If we inquire which won in this contest the answer must be—both. Hamilton won first—Jefferson won last and permanently. But when he became president he did not undo the work of his great rival, for he recognized its merits. Both men were ardent patriots, and idealists. The pity of it is that they failed to understand each other, failed to see that the common welfare requires the union of the two principles for which they separately contended.

It is not a question of "either-or," but a question of "both-and." The economic problem like the political problem and every other great question, has two sides to it which are opposite but not contradictory. In the continued and successful adjustment of the two sides of the political problem, America has made a larger contribution towards its solution than

has been made by any other nation. Her great national tradition will inspire her to do the same in the economic field. She will proceed to eliminate the contradiction between her democratic political ideals and her industrial practice. She will create a new industrial America.

CHAPTER II

FRACTIONIZING A MAN

TO remember America's achievement in politics will assist in discovering the direction in which a solution is to be found for the industrial problem. But if we are ever to find the solution, it is imperative that we keep clearly in mind the exact nature of the problem. In the previous chapters we analyzed the origin and nature of the problem. We must now restate it in terms of its solution. In the second part we found that the critical blunder of modern industry is its treatment of labor as a commodity. We discovered that while modern business has made an extraordinary exhibit of mechanical and scientific intelligence, it has made also an extraordinary exhibit of the lack of social intelligence. But when we conclude that labor is not a commodity, that is only a start towards a solution. It tells us only what labor is not; it does not tell us what labor is.

True, the incontestable statement that labor is not a commodity, while it ought never to have needed saying, nevertheless in view of the past industrial barbarism, is a grave and beautiful step in advance. October 15, 1914, is a date worthy of

remembrance and joyous celebration. On that day the Clayton amendment to the Anti-Trust law was adopted by the American Congress. It contained the statement that, "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." It is the first time in history that this sentiment was ever expressed in law by any legislative assembly. The protest of the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine delivered in Berlin February 18, 1874, expressed the same sentiment in the following words: "Citizens possessed of souls and of intelligence are not merchandise to be traded, and therefore it is not lawful to make them the subject of a contract." But the American Congress is the first national legislature to express this ideal in terms of law.

It is significant of much, that this sentiment should have gotten itself thus officially expressed. But it is only the merest beginning, and even as a beginning it is one thing to express it in words and quite a different thing to operate it in practice. When I ask you, how many workmen are there in your factory? Do you not still answer, Two hundred hands? That's what is wrong with your factory. You are working with pieces of men instead of with whole men. That is why you are getting only a fraction of the production you should be getting.

This is what is the matter with the whole industrial world. It has fractionized the workmen. It has severed the connection between a man's hand and his brain and heart. This is the basic cause

of industrial unrest. The remedy for it is to remove the cause. The problem before modern industry is to discover how it can restore this connection, so that head, heart, and hand will be concerted for productive purposes. When this is done, the industrial problem will be solved and cease to exist. It can easily be done, if there is a desire to do it.

There is no hope of ever finding a solution unless we clearly perceive and once for all eliminate the organic error, which still continues to blind the leaders of modern industry to facts as they are. In our thought and speech and action, we classify capital and labor together as if they were the same kind of thing, whereas they are essentially different. One is a thing, the other is not a thing at all. Capital is a thing, like land, or a house, or an engine, or a gold dollar. It is an article, an instrument, a tool, a symbol of exchange. But labor is not a thing, it is the creative activity of the brain and heart and nerves of a human being. To classify it with capital is a stark contradiction of the fact and a stupid blunder. To include capital and labor as like factors, in the same equation of our industrial problem is like the attempt to add together three quarts of milk and three-quarters of a mile. The thing can't be done. To attempt a solution of the labor problem on this basis is to attempt the impossible. And yet there are men who try to do it, and the men who are trying it have appropriated to themselves the term "practical." Capital should be classified with

wages. They are the same kind of thing and should be treated exactly alike in every respect. When we have done that, we have arranged a subordinate factor in industry. An important factor, it is true, but still only a subordinate and mechanical factor. The real labor problem lies outside of either wages or capital. Labor belongs in a wholly different category.

There are three distinct stages in the evolution of our thought about labor, through which we must pass before we arrive at a knowledge of the fact. Since there is no labor apart from human activity, let us for the sake of brevity and clarity substitute the word "man" for labor.

The first stage is to regard man as a commodity. The accompaniment of this conception is slavery. We have partially outgrown this conception. The second stage is to regard man as an animal. The accompaniment of this conception is a bare living wage, just enough to keep the animal alive, and charity in case of extreme need. So long as industry is organized in such a way as to permit men to function only as animals, both the economic law and the spiritual law will prevent them from receiving more than the bare cost of their living. When men go on the assumption that they are animals, that's the way they will act and live. It's an inescapable result of the pig-trough philosophy. With this conception sometimes goes, and more and more frequently, the effort to provide comfortable working

conditions, and even good food. This is all very well and quite natural. It is the way we would treat a mule, if we exercised good business sense. If we wanted to get efficient results from the mule, it would be wise to watch after his food, and pay some attention to his physical condition.

Nothing should be more obvious than that we must outgrow these two conceptions; that a workman is neither a commodity, nor an animal. It is likewise obvious that the day for charity is gone by and must be discarded together with the conception that gave it birth. Help in emergencies is not charity, but comradeship. As a policy, charity is a degradation, both to giver and receiver. At the best it is only a palliative, not a cure. It is not palliatives, but preventions, that justice demands. The only wise charity after all is justice. The attempt to substitute charity for justice is an insult. The Hebrew language has no separate word for charity. Its word for justice is the symbol for both ideas. When every language employs the same word for justice and charity alike, it will be the sure sign that the practice of justice has dispensed with the need for charity.

When we have outgrown these two conceptions, then we are in a position to see the fact and understand that a workman is not a hand, not a commodity, not an animal; he is a soul, that is, a man. But what is a man and how should a man be treated? If we can find a true answer to these questions, we

can solve the labor question; otherwise not. It's a long distance from a commodity to a soul, but it's the distance we must travel, if we ever expect to find a solution of our problem.

CHAPTER III

MAN AS A "TIME-BINDER"

THE labor problem centers in the man, who labors. He is the big factor in economics, the Hamlet of the industrial drama. Leaders of modern industry have displayed extraordinary ingenuity and inventive genius in the development of machinery and the perfection of methods. It is difficult to explain why they have made almost no attempt to understand the human machine, the basic element in their whole enterprise.

If I were intending to deal with a mule, and expected him to work rather than to kick, it is important that I make a careful study of the complexities of mule nature. If I am to get the best results from a steam engine, I must inform myself about its mechanism, and the science and art essential to its efficient operation. If, likewise, I want satisfactory results from the most complex and highly organized instrument in the universe, the human creator of wealth, I must know its psychology. Just as my treatment of a steam engine must be in harmony with the principles on which it is constructed, so my treatment of a man must be in harmony with the principles of human nature. If I cannot get

good results by treating him like a man, it is quite certain I cannot by treating him like a dog, or worse still, like a commodity. This seems too obvious to need stating. But it must be stated and re-stated, because it is the one thing we have most neglected. The obvious is always the last thing discovered. For the past one hundred fifty years, we have addressed ourselves seriously to every element in industry, except the one most needful. Socrates said, "The true politics is first of all a politics of the soul." The first business of any enterprise dependent, as modern industry is, on free co-operation, is to understand the psychology of the co-operators, to know what human nature is and how to treat it.

Inasmuch as this is the key to the solution of the economic problem, let us have the courage to come to grips with it. Let me ask you factory owners and captains of industry a challenging question, and insist on an honest answer. It is this. What can you do with these workmen *that will do you any good?* They annoy you, make you mad, do selfish and stupid things, just as you do. But in view of all the facts, whatever they may be, what can you do with them that will do you any good? Let us suggest some answers.

You might kill them. That has frequently been done in the past, legally and illegally. But that will do you no good, because then you would not have men to run your factories and create your wealth.

You might hate them. That is a very common practice. But it will do you no good, because it produces open strikes, and stops production, or it produces silent strikes and decreases production.

I request my reader to lay down the book at this point, and build up a series of answers, as many as he likes, and critically examine them. I challenge you to be honest. If you are, you will be compelled to discard every answer excepting one. What is that?

Well, I am embarrassed to say it. The thing itself is quite simple and clear. What embarrasses me is the lack of a word, which will carry it to you accurately. We will have to try several terms until we find one which makes the idea clear. Assuming that your sense of fair play will induce you to read this chapter through, in order to discover my meaning, I will dare to use the word I like best, but which is the most misunderstood. The one thing, and the only thing, you can do with these workmen *that will do you any good*, is to *love* them.

You're shocked? I thought you would be. I realize the risk I run in using this word, for no one knows what it means. Like the words "politics" and "religion," the word "love" has been ruined. It means everything and nothing. It means anything you want to make it mean. To me it means something very definite, but what it means in the minds of my readers, I have no means of knowing. Let us, therefore, give it a content, so we can continue

with the discussion. In my thought, love stands for two basic ideas, riveted together; *voluntary justice* and *intelligent sympathy*.

With this definite content for the term "love" clearly in mind, please do not suppose that I am talking about a sentiment. I'm doing nothing of the kind. I'm talking about mathematics, a rigidly accurate statement of fact; a scientific law of economics. A man is the kind of creature that demands to be treated on the basis of the law of love or he will make trouble. His psychology requires it. The application of this law will solve every troublesome question in industry and do it in such a way that it will stay solved.

Inasmuch as this is an audacious suggestion, audacious because of its simplicity, let us support it by testimony of witnesses, who have thought deeply on the subject, and whose insight is everywhere acknowledged. Witness Tolstoi, who said: "Men may saw wood and hammer iron without love, but they cannot handle men without love; you cannot handle the honey bee as you would wood and iron without injury to both yourself and the bee."

Witness one of the keenest thinkers and wisest reformers of his day—Jeremy Bentham, who said: "The way to be comfortable is to make others comfortable. The way to make others comfortable is to appear to love them. The way to appear to love them is to love them in reality."

Witness Whitman, who said:

Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice,
Be not dishearten'd—Affection shall solve the problems of
Freedom yet.

Were you looking to be held together by the lawyers?

Or by an agreement on a paper? or by arms?

Nay—nor the world, nor any living thing, will so cohere.

The demonstrated futility of force in any form, the repeated failure of agreements on paper, ought long ago to have persuaded us to conclude that living things can cohere only on the principle suggested by Whitman.

Witness the dying words of Albert Grey, who had spent his life in practical work for the co-operative movement: "You know the idea of those words—'he being dead yet speaketh'? A voice from the dead often gets a hearing. That's what I'm after. I want you to make my voice sound from the grave. I want to say to the people, there is a real way out of this mess materialism has got us into. I've been trying to tell them so for thirty years. It's Christ's way. Mazzini saw it. We've got to give up quarreling. We've got to come together. We've got to realize we're all members of one family. There's nothing can help humanity—I'm perfectly sure there isn't—*perfectly sure*—except love. Love's the way out and the way up. That's my farewell to the world."

Witness Emerson: "In his lecture on 'Man the Reformer' which was read before the Mechanics'

Apprentices' Association in Boston in January, 1841," said Charles W. Eliot, "Emerson described in the clearest manner the approaching strife between laborers and employers, between poor and rich, and pointed out the cause of this strife in the selfishness, unkindness and mutual distrust which ran through the community. He also described, with perfect precision, the only ultimate remedy—namely, the sentiment of love. 'Love would put a new face on this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and enemies too long. The virtue of this principle in human society in application to great interests is obsolete and forgotten. But one day all men will be lovers; and every calamity will be dissolved in the universal sunshine.' It is more than sixty years since those words were uttered, and in those years society has had large experience of industrial and social strife, of its causes and consequences, and of many attempts to remedy or soften it; but all this experience only goes to show that there is but one remedy for these ills. It is to be found in kindness, good fellowship, and the affections. In Emerson's words, 'We must be lovers, and at once the impossible becomes possible.' The world will wait long for this remedy, but there is no other."

Emerson is quite correct in believing that there is no other remedy, and the pressure of economic necessity will lead the world to accept it sooner than he supposed they would. There is a marked

desire now in many quarters to understand what it is. I fear that the flavor still clinging to the word "love" will betray many into regarding it as a sentiment rather than as an organic law of life.

It is difficult even to use the term "Golden Rule," although it stands for a much smaller idea than the principle we are discussing. It is commonly supposed that the Golden Rule is an exalted standard in the Christian view of life. But it is far from being the Christian's ideal. It is no more than a simple rule of justice, ancient and widely recognized. Jesus stated it as the standard of justice set up in Judaism. His rule of life went far beyond it. With him it was not equality of service but self-sacrificing service. Being no more than a simple rule of justice, it ought not to be difficult to accept the Golden Rule as a law of economics.

No one will assert that a man like Henry George was a sentimentalist. He was an exact scientist, so exact that it was said in the preface to the last edition of his book, "Progress and Poverty," what probably has never been said of any book, namely, that no objection or criticism of any detail of it had yet appeared which was not anticipated and answered in the book itself. Mr. George makes this significant statement about the Golden Rule: "The more you study this question the more you will see that the true law of social life is the law of love, the law of liberty, the law of each for all and all for each; that the golden rule of morals is also the

golden rule of the science of wealth; that the highest expressions of religious truth include the widest generalizations of political economy.”

Nevertheless on account of the handicap now resting on the word “love” and on the term “Golden Rule,” let us state the same thing in different terms. We are discussing a law of economics, which is also a sentiment and as such is a creative element in industry. But in order to get away as far as possible from the suggestion of dealing with a sentiment alone let us state it in terms of mathematics, that is, in the exact terms of rigorous thinking.

When we say that the only thing you can do with workmen, that will do you any good, is to love them—love them, mark you, not for their sakes but for your own—the statement is accurate enough. But it is not generally recognized as accurate. The language of mathematics is. It is the science of necessary conclusions. Therefore, let us say that the only thing you can do with a workman, that will do you any good, is to treat him like a man. This seems definite enough, but it isn’t. We must obviously make the further inquiry, what is a man, else how shall we know what treatment is appropriate for him? This seems like an easy question, but it isn’t. We have been asking it for centuries.

One day on the streets of Athens, Aristotle was walking, so absorbed in his own thinking, that unintentionally he ran into a young man coming rapidly from the opposite direction. The impact

dislodged the young man's hat and also his dignity. Being a well-dressed and self-conscious young gentleman, he was much annoyed. He expressed himself in vigorous terms, ending his complaint of the unknown stranger's carelessness with the question, "Who are you, anyway?" To this the great philosopher answered, "My friend, I would give worlds, if I knew the answer to your question." A clear answer was made to it about two thousand years ago by the greatest democrat in history, but His teaching has been so obscured and distorted, that his answer cannot with safety be used in this connection. We must therefore, seek a statement of His answer in modern scientific terms.

Fortunately a book has this year appeared, which does this service for us. It is "Manhood of Humanity," by Count Alfred Korzybski, a mathematician. It was written to say one thing, but that one thing is so simple, so profound, so creative in its effects, so far-reaching in its implications, and all said so impressively, that the reader is at once under profound and personal obligation to the author for saying it. It is an idea, which can only be described as a rare illumination shedding light on a dozen perplexities at one flash. One's only regret in reading the book is that he shall never again enjoy the thrill of reading it for the first time.

The author's aim is to do, what he says has never before been done, namely, accurately define what a man is. His golden definition of a man is that he

is "a time-binder." This is not a theory, but the statement, in mathematical terms, of a fact newly discovered. It is man's distinguishing mark that he belongs to the time-binding class of life. A plant appropriates one kind of energy, converts it into another and stores it up. It is a storage battery for solar energy. Plants are defined as the energy-binding class of life. An animal uses the plants as food, which in animals undergo a further transformation into higher forms. The animal has freedom and power. He lives and acts and moves about in space. Animals are defined as the space-binding class of life. But man, while he has the space-binding capacity, has also a remarkable capacity peculiar to himself. He appropriates the labors of the past, uses past experiences as spiritual capital for development in the present, is regulated by inherited wisdom, makes the past live in the present and the present for the future, is the inheritor of by-gone ages, the trustee of posterity. A human being is defined as the time-binding class of life. If he wants to use an idea, he can go back to his childhood for it, or go back to his father for it, or go back to Plato for it. He is, as Emerson said, a quotation from his ancestors. Man looks before and after, said Shelley, and pines for what is not.

The picture of Robinson Crusoe writing in his Journal, is a significant picture of the universal and essential nature of man. Why does this man, contending alone upon an island with the raw materials

of nature for a bare existence, feel the necessity of keeping a journal to connect himself with the past and the future? The reason is obvious. He is a time-binder. An animal keeps no journal; a time-binder does.

This conception of man, which Count Korzybski has illuminated and made to live, is revolutionary in its transforming effect in many fields of thought and activity. By calling a man a time-binder, we center attention on his essential and distinguishing characteristic. He is a mind, a spirit, a creator, a time-binder. He must be treated for what he is. It becomes at once obvious that a creature of this kind cannot be transformed into a machine, a cog in a wheel, a commodity, an animal. As soon as such an attempt is made, there occurs inside of him a civil war, which gives him no peace. That he rebels against it and goes on strike is not his fault, but God's, for God made him to be a time-binder. A time-binder cannot consent with himself to be an animal or to be treated as one. He may be tempted into a bargain to sell his soul for a mess of pottage, but the bargain can never be final. The stars in their courses are against it.

Whether we say that a workman is a soul and must be loved, or whether we prefer the language of mathematics and say that he is an exponential function of time and must be treated like a man, it makes no difference, provided we think in terms of the fact itself. It is highly significant that a man

like Korzybski, starting from the standpoint of mathematics and thinking in exact terms, and we starting from the standpoint of the social sciences and thinking in terms of human welfare, have arrived at exactly the same point, and stand with reverence before the same illuminating fact, which we agree is the only possible way of escape for modern industry. This is unsolicited confirmation of one science by another. When men of different sciences see deep enough and think in terms of fact instead of theory, they unexpectedly discover that their feet are planted on the same path.

This fact is so central in any attempted solution of the economic problem, that for the sake of added emphasis and clarity, I state it in terms of a Socratic dialogue, which is at once popular and precise:

DIALOGUE

SOCRATES

ALCIBIADES

Soc. Hold, now, with whom do you at present converse? Is it not with me?

ALC. Yes.

Soc. And I also with you?

ALC. Yes.

Soc. It is Socrates then who speaks?

ALC. Assuredly.

Soc. And Alcibiades who listens?

ALC. Yes.

Soc. Is it not with language that Socrates speaks?

ALC. What, now? Of course.

Soc. To converse and to use language, are not, then, these the same?

ALC. The very same.

Soc. But he who uses a thing and the thing used—Are these not different?

ALC. What do you mean?

Soc. A currier—does he not use a cutting knife and other instruments?

ALC. Yes.

Soc. And the man who uses a cutting knife, is he different from the instrument he uses?

ALC. Most certainly.

Soc. In like manner, the lyrist, is he not different from the lyre he plays on?

ALC. Undoubtedly.

Soc. This, then, is what I asked you just now—does not he who uses a thing seem to you always different from the thing used?

ALC. Very different.

Soc. But the currier, does he cut with his instruments alone, or also with his hands?

ALC. Also with his hands.

Soc. He then uses his hands?

ALC. Yes.

Soc. And in his work he uses also his eyes?

ALC. Yes.

Soc. We are agreed, then, that he who uses a thing, and the thing used, are different?

ALC. We are.

Soc. The currier and lyrist are, therefore, different from the hands and eyes with which they work?

ALC. So it seems.

Soc. Now, then, does not a man use his whole body?

ALC. Unquestionably.

Soc. But we are agreed that he who uses and that which is used are different?

ALC. Yes.

Soc. A man is therefore different from his body?

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ALC. So I think.

Soc. What, then, is the man?

ALC. I cannot say.

Soc. You can at least say that the man is that which uses the body?

ALC. True.

Soc. Now, does any thing use the body but the mind?

ALC. Nothing.

Soc. The mind is therefore the man?

ALC. The mind alone.

CHAPTER IV

A MAY-DAY PARTY

IN the accurate terms of mathematics, the root cause of the disastrous civil war in modern industry is the fact that both owners and workmen have acted like space-binders, that is, like animals, by which policy they have inflicted on themselves inexcusable losses and defeated even their own animal purposes. The obvious solution is to remove the cause. This cause can only be removed by convincing both owners and men, that it is to their self-interest to abandon their present policy, and to substitute the policy of acting like time-binders, that is like brother men, allies in the same enterprise.

The contrasted results issuing from the space-binding and time-binding policies are so tragically great, that the preference for the space-binding policy brings a serious indictment against the sanity of any men who choose it. This contrast has never been more clearly or briefly described than by the parable of a May-Day party in John Ruskin's Dublin address on "The Mystery of Life and Its Arts," which is probably the best document from his pen. Inasmuch as this is the most effective popular statement of this contrast anywhere in literature, so far as I know, I quote the parable in this connection:

“But there is yet a third class, to whom we may turn—the wise practical men. Men, whose hearts and hopes are wholly in this present world, from whom, therefore, we may surely learn, at least, how, at present, conveniently to live in it. What will *they* say to us, or show us by example? They know the world, surely; and what is the mystery of life to us, is none to them. They can surely show us how to live, while we live, and to gather out of the present world what is best.

“I think I can best tell you their answer, by telling you a dream I had once. For though I am no poet, I have dreams sometimes:—I dreamed I was at a child’s May-Day party, in which every means of entertainment had been provided for them, by a wise and kind host. It was in a stately house, with beautiful gardens attached to it; and the children had been set free in the rooms and gardens, with no care whatever but how to pass their afternoon rejoicingly. They did not, indeed, know much about what was to happen next day; and some of them, I thought, were a little frightened, because there was a chance of their being sent to a new school where there were examinations; but they kept the thoughts of that out of their heads as well as they could, and resolved to enjoy themselves. The house, I said, was in a beautiful garden, and in the garden were all kinds of flowers; sweet, grassy banks for rest; and smooth lawns for play; and pleasant streams and woods; and rocky places for

climbing. And the children were happy for a little while, but presently they separated themselves into parties; and then each party declared it would have a piece of the garden for its own, and that none of the others should have anything to do with that piece. Next, they quarreled violently which pieces they would have; and at last the boys took up the thing, as boys should do, 'practically,' and fought in the flower-beds till there was hardly a flower left standing; then they trampled down each other's bits of the garden out of spite; and the girls cried till they could cry no more; and so they all lay down at last breathless in the ruin, and waited for the time when they were to be taken home in the evening.

"Meanwhile, the children in the house had been making themselves happy also in their manner. For them, there had been provided every kind of indoor pleasure: there was music for them to dance to; and the library was open, with all manner of amusing books; and there was a museum full of the most curious shells, and animals, and birds; and there was a workshop, with lathes and carpenters' tools, for the ingenious boys; and there were pretty fantastic dresses, for the girls to dress in; and there were microscopes, and kaleidoscopes; and whatever toys a child could fancy; and a table, in the dining-room, loaded with everything nice to eat.

"But, in the midst of all this, it struck two or three of the more 'practical' children, that they would like some of the brass-headed nails that

studded the chairs; and so they set to work to pull them out. Presently, the others, who were reading, or looking at shells, took a fancy to do the like; and, in a little while, all the children, nearly, were spraining their fingers in pulling out brass-headed nails. With all that they could pull out, they were not satisfied and then, everybody wanted some of somebody else's. And at last, the really practical and sensible ones declared, that nothing was of any real consequence, that afternoon, except to get plenty of brass-headed nails; and that the books, and the cakes, and the microscopes were of no use at all in themselves, but only, if they could be exchanged for nail-heads. And at last they began to fight for nail-heads, as the others fought for the bits of garden. Only here and there, a despised one shrank away into a corner, and tried to get a little quiet with a book, in the midst of the noise; but all the practical ones thought of nothing else but counting nail-heads all the afternoon—even though they knew they would not be allowed to carry so much as one brass knob away with them. But no—it was—'Who has most nails? I have a hundred, and you have fifty; or, I have a thousand, and you have two. I must have as many as you before I leave the house, or I cannot possibly go home in peace.' At last, they made so much noise that I awoke, and thought to myself, 'What a false dream that is, of *children!*' The child is the father of the man; and wiser. Children never do such foolish things. Only men do."

CHAPTER V

WHOSE BUSINESS IS THIS?

BUT, argues the typical factory owner, does not the adoption of this manhood principle as a business policy mean a radical change in the organization of modern business? Does it not mean, that I must put the creative impulses in the first place and the possessive impulses in the second place, that my aim would have to be production for use instead of production for profit, that I would have to square my business methods to the ideals of the community, which would thus attempt to interfere with my business? Whose business is this? Is it not my own? And is not private profit the only conceivable motive on which business can be conducted? I regard my business solely as a means of making money, and not as a public service enterprise.

This is exactly the position taken by Marley in Dicken's *Christmas Carol*. He was a typical business man of his day, as you are of yours. This is the dominating opinion in the industrial and business world at present. A widely-used textbook on political economy, by a professor in a New England college, stated it as the accepted doctrine that "the ground on which men trade is self-interest,"

and the author volunteered the further dogmatic opinion, that "no other motive is appropriate." College textbooks accurately reflect the common opinion, and this one may fairly be regarded as the characteristic business standard of our day.

But when the ethical camouflage, which had distorted business for Marley, was removed, and he stood face to face with the naked and eternal facts as they are, his ghost by a strenuous effort came back to tell his skinflint partner, Scrooge, the great discovery he had made, namely: "Mankind was my business, the common welfare was my business." What he discovered was that legitimate business is not the pursuit of private interests only, but the supply of services for the satisfaction of human needs, that the golden rule is a law of economics. The issue you raise is precisely the issue between the conflicting points of view of the liberated Marley, and the skinflint, Scrooge. It is a single, clear-cut, moral issue. No policy can be economically sound which is morally wrong.

It is an irrepressible issue. Any attempt to sidestep it will be futile. When you ask, "Whose business is this?" implying that it is your own, and you have the right to do as you please with it, we answer that your business is a community concern. Your right ends where injury from your business to community begins. Crusoe was free to shoot in any direction on his island until Friday came. Then there was one direction in which he had no right

to shoot. His liberty ended where Friday's rights began. The private war between owners and workmen of a factory over a division of profits may and frequently does injure seriously the good name of a town and depreciate property values in the entire community. In such a case, the community has not only a right, but a duty, to bring pressure on both parties and compel them to end the conflict.

What makes your business to be in particular a community concern is the fact that your workmen are also citizens. This is the significant thing, which has happened during the past one hundred fifty years, and it is this fact which constitutes the basic cause of the present industrial unrest throughout the world. If you will stop referring to your workmen as "numbers" or as "hands" and begin to address them as "Citizen Brown," "Citizen Jones," you will at once discover that you have raised the critical question confronting modern industry. It would no doubt be embarrassing, if some morning in a typical mill, the managers began to use the term "citizen" in addressing the workmen, because it would imply the necessity of installing a new method of treating this "citizen," if that is what he is. We have now arrived at the point where it is obvious that unrest in industry will never cease until we can call workmen "citizens" without embarrassment.

The charter of our republic reads "We, the people." By it we did not mean "we, the farmers," or "we, the bankers," or "we, the laborers," or "we,

the capitalists." We meant "we, the people," that is, all of us, and our aim is to make this not a conventional phrase, but a spiritual and visible fact. We, the people, do not take sides in the civil war between owners and workmen. We take a side bigger than either, that is, the side of the community; the public, which includes both of them. We, the people, therefore, have a stake in the workmen employed in your factory. Whatever its material prosperity may be, America as a society must be accounted a failure in so far as it does not afford every one of its members a chance to make a success of himself, because the making of men and women is the mission of America. We cannot stand by unconcerned and permit any factory to undo our work and dehumanize the men, whom it is our chief purpose to humanize. We cannot allow a citizen to be transformed into "a low-browed, stunted, haggard man." We must know whether your mill or mine is making or unmaking men.

The chief danger arising from the use of machinery has consisted in its damage to human life. This danger is not decreasing, but increasing. During the past twenty years, automatic tools and machinery have come into common use, especially in the making of automobiles. The automatic machine reduces the need for skill, produces little or no mental reaction, can be operated by a child as well as by an adult. Mr. Arthur Pound, who has written effectively about it in a recent *Atlantic*

Monthly, calls it "the Iron Man." The far-reaching effects of this iron man in the social and industrial world are serious and manifold. The particular damage with which we are here concerned, is the deterioration produced in human nature. Mr. Pound graphically describes it in the following passage:

"The pockets of these children are full of money at an age when their fathers earned less than a living wage as apprentices. They are economically independent of home and social control. They have the eternal belief of youth that the preceding generation is fossilized, and the buying power to act upon their belief. They are foot-loose to go wherever automatic machines are turning. They can buy their pleasures, and they do. They can afford to flout age and authority; they do. Their very active minds have no background, and feel the need of none. They have no conception of the cost of civilization; no standard of reference by which to judge social and political questions. They have not even lived long enough to learn the simple truth that common sense and wisdom spring from the same root. With far greater need for early thrift than their elders, because their effective economic life may be shorter, they spurn the homely virtue of economy. They buy pleasures, buy companions, buy glad raiment; they try—desperately—to buy happiness. And fail."

The automatic machine is typical of our whole

social order in its fundamental effect on the character of our boys and girls, out of whom citizens are made. What it does is to make a radical change in their character, and not for the better. It has produced a new type of boy. It is the sensory type, instead of the motor type. That is, he is a boy whose senses are largely developed. He must have entertainment which appeals to his senses. He demands exciting pleasures. But his motor powers are weakened. He does not know how to use his will. He lacks individual initiative. Educators in preparatory schools and colleges are becoming seriously distressed over this type of character. He is the boy who will sit in the grandstand, but he will not play ball himself. He wants to be operated upon, but he himself will not operate. He is the type of boy who will by and by shun the responsibilities of marriage. They are too heavy for him. He has not been accustomed to bear responsibilities. He has been accustomed to having things done for him. He is over-socialized. He has too much environment.

To stop this process of deterioration, a return must somehow be made to nature, to the soil, to a sense of reality acquired through a first hand contact with actualities. David Grayson in his "Adventures in Contentment" has well stated this defect of our modern life. "It comes to me," he says, "as the wonder of wonders, these spring days, how surely everything, spiritual as well as material, pro-

ceeds out of the earth. I have times of sheer Paganism, when I could bow and touch my face to the warm bare soil. We are so often ashamed of the earth—the soil of it, the sweat of it, the good common coarseness of it. To us in our fine raiment and soft manners, it seems indelicate. Instead of seeking that association with the earth, which is the renewal of life, we devise ourselves distant palaces and seek strange pleasures. How often and sadly we repeat the life story of the yellow dodder of the moist lanes of my lower farm. It springs up fresh and clean from the earth itself, and spreads its clinging viny stems over the hospitable wild balsam and golden rod. In a week's time, having reached the warm sunshine of the upper air, it forgets its humble beginnings. Its roots wither swiftly and die out, but the sickly yellow stems continue to flourish and spread, drawing their nourishment not from the soil itself, but by strangling and sucking the life juices of the hosts on which it feeds. I have seen whole byways covered thus with yellow dodder—rootless, leafless, parasitic—reaching up to the sunlight, quite cutting off and smothering the plants, which gave it life. A week or two it flourishes and then most of it perishes miserably. So many of us come to be like that; so much of our civilization is like that. Men and women there are—the pity of it—who, eating plentifully have never known a moment's real life of their own. Lying up to the sun in warmth and comfort—but leafless—they do

not think of the hosts under them, smothered, strangled, starved. They take nothing at first hand. They experience described emotion, and think prepared thoughts. They live not in life, but in printed reports of life. They gather the odour of odours, not the odour itself; they do not hear, they overhear. A poor, sad, second-rate existence."

The natural tendency in the use of machinery reaches its climax in the automatic machine. The true order of things is reversed. The machine does not assist the workman; the workman assists the machine. It requires little skill, it calls forth no initiative, it produces a dodder type of man. Here again is exhibited the challenge, which "Robinson Crusoe" makes to modern industry, and which the nation must meet, if it expects to survive. In the ante-machinery days, Crusoe was in first hand contact with realities and real processes.

The type of man which these conditions produced, as well as the conditions themselves are represented in Longfellow's poem, "The Village Blacksmith." It was a condition in which the individual was all important. Today the individual is lost in the mass. Trades unions are dealt with in the mass. The proprietor considers his men in the mass. The coming of the factory, the growth of towns and cities, which the factory fostered, and the specialization of industry, in which each individual has been forced to limit himself to one small specialty, has done the individual a great wrong, weakened his man-

hood and limited his whole outlook. "To-day one son of the village blacksmith is nailing machine-made horseshoes on with machine-made nails, and repairing for farmers iron-work which is wrought elsewhere. The other sons have gone into town and are factory hands. One worked in the fluff-filled air of a cotton mill and slept in a dark bedroom. He died of consumption." On the farm a man of necessity becomes an all-round man. In the factory he becomes the one bit of machinery, which has not yet been invented.

It was for this reason that Rousseau with keen foresight, perceived the educational value of "Robinson Crusoe" for our modern industrial world. He said: "Since we must have books, there is one which, in my opinion, is a most excellent treatise on natural education. This is the first my Emilius shall read; his whole library shall long consist of this work only, which shall preserve an eminent rank to the very last. It shall be the text to which all our conversations on natural science are to serve only as a comment. It shall be our guide during our progress to maturity of judgment; and so long as our taste is not adulterated, the perusal of this book shall afford us pleasure. And what surprising book is this? Is it Aristotle? Is it Pliny? Is it Buffon? No; it is 'Robinson Crusoe.' The value and importance of the various arts are ordinarily estimated, not according to their real utility, but by the gratification which they administer to the fan-

tastic desires of mankind. But Emilius shall be taught to view them in a different light; 'Robinson Crusoe' shall teach him to value the stock of an ironmonger above that of the most magnificent toyshop in Europe."

We cannot, of course, return to the natural condition of things, as Rousseau urged that we should do, and discard machinery, because this would be like throwing out the baby with the bath. But the effect of wage-slavery on character and the deterioration of human nature caused by slavery to machinery, leads us straight to the heart of the question we are discussing. We must make no mistake as to what the question is, if we are to discover what it is that we must do. The fact is very little realized as yet that there can be no real freedom, except where there is manual labor on like terms. Under the slavery system in the South, the white masters were quite as much enslaved as were the negroes, and when slavery was abolished the whites as well as the blacks were left helpless and dependent, unable to do for themselves. Servility destroys both the spirit of independence and democracy and it still survives in our social life. Maria Montessori, in her remarkable book on education, points out with great clearness the significance of this fact.

She shows that our servants are not our dependents; rather, it is we who are dependent upon them; that it is not possible to accept universally, as a part of our social structure, such a deep human

error as servitude without feeling the general effects of it in the form of moral inferiority. "We often believe ourselves to be independent simply because no one commands us, and because we command others, but the nobleman who needs to call a servant to his aid is really a dependent through his own inferiority. The paralytic who cannot take off his boots because of a pathological fact and the prince who dare not take them off because of a social fact, are in reality reduced to the same condition. In reality, he who is served is limited in his independence. This concept will be the foundation of the dignity of the man of the future: 'I do not wish to be served, because I am not an impotent,' and this idea must be gained before men can feel themselves to be really free." The far-reaching effects of work for one's self cannot be too much emphasized. It is impotence due to a lack of experience in manual labor that mostly produces the domineering spirit of the task master. The tyrannical spirit is usually due to helplessness. Independence, self-development, a friendly spirit, the sense of solidarity, which result from manual labor are cardinal elements in democracy.

The complexities of modern life obviously forbid any return to a more simple democratic order, and for this reason make the discovery of compensations for this handicap the more obviously urgent. It is humanly possible and also obligatory, that we establish a system of education to antidote the

blighting effects of machinery and re-organize industry itself in such fashion as to minimize the possible damage from it.

Is it not apparent that your factory is a community concern? One further consideration makes it still more apparent and also tragic. Modern industry is so organized that it produces more goods than the producers are able to buy. It must, therefore, seek a foreign market to dispose of this surplus product. The bitter contest for these markets among the nations is the chief cause of international misunderstanding. Economic war leads directly to national war. It reaches its hand into every village and home and takes from them the flower of its young manhood to shed its life blood in a contest for the possession of things. When, therefore, modern industry, as it is now organized in Europe and America, is likely to rob my fireside of what is more dear to me than life itself, am I not vitally interested in the organization of industry? It is the common basic concern of every citizen in the nation, and should be the leading subject for discussion in the town-meeting of every city and village and country-side.

Any resentment of the interest, which "We, the people," take in your factory, any attitude which would lead you to say or even think, "The public be damned," is insultingly out of place. It would be more appropriate if "We, the people" should resent your presence in the community. Please do not

misunderstand. "We, the people" are not against your factory; we are for it. We have earned the right to speak plainly to you, because we have made you possible. *We* have already underwritten *you*. Your dependence on the community may be clearly illustrated by so simple a thing as the use of money. Money is the accepted medium of exchange for organized business in the modern world. The old method of barter is impossible in towns and cities. When money ceases to have a recognized value, all business is seriously crippled and may become utterly paralyzed and next to impossible. This is what has happened in Europe, through the reckless manufacture of paper money, which has little or no value. We are now seeing in Europe an actual exhibit of the paper-money scheme, described in Goethe's "Faust," with the same inevitable results which are disastrous anywhere else, except in an imaginary drama. H. G. Wells has recently shocked us by a description of conditions in Europe resulting from the demoralization of money. He says:

"Europe without trustworthy money is as paralyzed as a brain without wholesome blood. She cannot act, she cannot move. Employment becomes impossible and production dies away. The towns move steadily towards the starvation that has overtaken Petrograd and the peasants and cultivators cease to grow anything except to satisfy their own needs. To go to market with produce, except to barter, is a mockery. The schools are not working,

the hospitals, the public services; the teachers and doctors and officials cannot live upon their pay, they starve or go away.

“We have weakened the link of cash payments, which has hitherto held civilization together, to the breaking point. As the link breaks the machine stops. The modern city will become a formless mob of unemployed men and the countryside will become a wilderness of food-hoarding peasants—and since the urban masses will have no food and no means of commanding it, we may expect the most violent perturbations, before they are persuaded to accept their fate in a philosophical spirit. Revolutionary social outbreaks are not the results of plots; they are symptoms of social disease. They are not causes but effects. This is what I mean when I write of a breakdown of civilization.”

Now, validity can be given to money only by the community, that is, the nation. Without such validity the conduct of your business is impossible. The dependence of modern industry on the community in the matter of money is likewise true in other respects just as essential to its prosperity. The community, therefore, has earned the right not only to request, but to demand that industry hold itself responsible for the community's most vital concern, namely, the welfare of its citizens.

I said a few moments ago, that the big event of modern times is the fact that workmen have become citizens, acquired equality before the law. This

is the cause of industrial unrest. It is not a question of wages, or working conditions or the recognition of the union. These are all secondary questions and symptoms of an underlying cause. The real cause is far more fundamental. It is the workman's demand for a new status. In politics he has acquired a new status. He has ceased to act on the basis of *faith and obedience*, and occupies the position where he is *informed and consulted*. He demands the same in industry. Progress in industry is one hundred fifty years behind progress in politics. He demands that it be brought up to date. There is now an irreconcilable conflict between his status in economics and his status in politics.

There are two laws discrete
Not reconciled—
Law for man and law for thing;
The last builds town and fleet,
But it runs wild,
And doth the man unking.

It is quite unthinkable that the man, who has been crowned king over himself in politics, will submit to the process of being unkinged in industry. It is an irrepressible issue. The only possible way to meet this issue is to give him the new status in industry and to assist him to make himself worthy of it.

CHAPTER VI

CREATING A DISPUTE

WHEN I say that the industrial problem is a community concern, I use words accurately. I do not refer to government, federal, state or local. I refer to the community, that is, the nation. Nothing is more important at this point than to make a clear distinction between the government and the nation. Government, however important it is, is only a piece of administrative machinery; the nation is the people. Government is simply the instrument of the will of society. An organized community of citizens expressing its will effectively for the common welfare is the nation itself. A nation is the will to be one people and exists nowhere except in the hearts of the people. It is the American theory that the people should not follow their government, but that their government should follow them. In the United States the people do not take their hats off to their president; he takes his hat off to them. This fact is impressive and significant.

In order to make this distinction unmistakably clear, I quote two incisive statements by two writers with world reputations. I purposely omit their names, in order that our attention may be centered

on the merit of the statements themselves, unbiased by connecting them with their authors.

The author of the first passage did almost as much as any other single man to achieve American independence. His statement is as follows:

"Some writers have so confounded society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron; the last a punisher.

"Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by the government, which we might expect in a country without government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence."

The author of the second passage was one of the best-loved men both in America and Europe. His statement is as follows:

"You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the eternal thing; it

W. H. Wilson
Loyalty

is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it. I was from Connecticut, whose constitution declares ‘that all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and that they have at all times an undeniable and indefeasible right to alter their form of government in such a manner as they may think expedient.’

“Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees the commonwealth’s political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay, does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down, if they do not see the matter as he does.”

I dwell on this distinction between the state and the nation, because there is now in some quarters a revival of the ancient and futile idea, that the industrial problem can be solved by governmental action. Now, I am not one of those, who believes that “government touches nothing that it does not de-

form," or that the function of the state should be limited to that of a night watchman for the protection of property. I believe that government is a useful and necessary piece of machinery and should be utilized as far as it is available for use. But we must be guided by the fact in the case. The obvious fact about government is that it can operate only on the basis of the lowest common denominator which is usually quite low. It can do only what public opinion will support. While we should strive to raise this common denominator to make government more useful, yet we cannot expect it to go far in the direction of creative activity.

Essentially government is a police power for purposes of protection and not for the promotion of vital movements. The less police power the better. The stronger the police power, the weaker the nation. When the Russian nation under the czar was weakest in justice and honor, it had the strongest police power. When the nation is wholesome and strong in its integrity, it has less and less need for police power. For any positive achievement we must go behind governments and deal with those forces that control governments and create law. A law never creates anything. It only regulates what is already created. It does not stimulate men to do right; it but deters them from doing wrong and even that it does very imperfectly.

The inherent nature of government, therefore, disqualifies it for effective use in dealing with a

creative activity, such as is involved in the industrial problem. The method it uses is force. In a human problem like this, any form of force is utterly futile. Writs of injunction, prison sentences, federal troops, are not a solution, but an aggravation. Industrial courts as a means of solving the problem are not an aid, but a hindrance to progress. Such courts were tried as long ago as four hundred years, with worse than negative results. In New Zealand twenty years ago they were tried and failed and have now been abandoned. For the past two years one has been tried in the state of Kansas and there have occurred more strikes than during any similar period in the history of the state. In the Pittsburgh district there occurred 228 strikes during the first six months of 1921, an average of 38 strikes a month. But during the 33 months from April, 1916, to January 31, 1918, there occurred 364 strikes, an average of 11 strikes a month. This is to say that after the industrial court was set up there were over three times as many strikes as before.

This negative result is only what might naturally have been expected. An industrial court can deal only with a contest over a detail of the problem. It does not deal with causes, but only with effects. Now, the only possible way to get rid of any trouble is to remove the cause that produced it. Recently an official of the Pennsylvania Railroad presented an issue to the Federal Labor board for its consideration. He was told that the board could not

legally consider it, because the railroad had not created a dispute on the issue with its workmen. Thereupon the railroad proceeded deliberately to create a dispute with its men, so that the issue could be considered by the labor board.

This fact exhibits the weakness and futility of an industrial court in dealing with industrial problems. It explains not only why it produces negative results, but also why it does positive damage to the cause it aims to serve. A court is a scene of conflict between contestants engaged in a civil war. The court by its method is a continuation of the very thing we want to prevent. It stimulates the very thing we are trying to curb. It carries on the conflict, contest, trial of battle; we aim to remove the cause of conflict as the only possible means of stopping it. You can't stop one conflict by starting another. The way to fight fire is not with fire, but with water. "The closed hand gets the shut fist," is an old Irish proverb and like most proverbs expresses a universal human experience.

The method of compulsory arbitration through a court has thus far been a demonstrated failure. The failure of the Kansas Industrial court is due to two basic facts. First on the part of workers, they will not consent to work under a threat of imprisonment at a rate of wages fixed by a court. They regard labor under these conditions as peonage, and rightly so. Between freeman's citizenship and industrial slavery there is an irreconcilable conflict.

Second, from the standpoint of the court there is no recognized principle of justice which such a court can apply. There is no such principle because in modern industry wages are determined by a complex combination of factors involving managers, workmen and consumers, and therefore can be regulated only by voluntary and continuous adjustment.

For this reason Chief Justice Taft, in a recently delivered opinion, refers to the Kansas court as "a board miscalled a court." It is in fact not a court but a commission. To call it a court only disguised a fact which ought to have been kept clear and distinct. "I do not want to be critical of a state or of the effort of its legislature to solve troublesome problems of unrest," said Ex-Senator Kenyon, "but personally it seems to me the Kansas Industrial court cannot be a success because it has no underlying code of rules or principles which are regulatory or mandatory upon the court. A labor organization, person, or corporation coming under its jurisdiction has no bill of rights which can be invoked before the court. The matter depends entirely upon the judge. Further, it seems to me the court is based upon a violation of previous experience, both here and abroad, arising from legislation prohibiting strikes, and further, it aims to solve a problem in human adjustments with an arbitrary, rigid and unrestricted judicial fiat."

Everywhere "federated capital" is engaged in a

civil war with "federated labor," to the serious injury of both and also of the community. By rejecting the court as an instrument, I do not mean that the community shall do nothing about this civil war; I mean there is a more excellent way than the method of the industrial court and the use of force. The court uses the method of the arena; the more excellent way is the policy of co-operation. Obviously co-operation is effective only when it is free. We are all agreed that free co-operation is what we aim to produce as the essential condition for success in the conduct of industry. Logic and experience have sufficiently demonstrated the fact beyond the need of further argument that free co-operation never can be secured by the use of any kind of force. In an equation involving human nature, freedom and force cancel each other. The difference in method and result between these two policies is obvious and radical. The method of the arena is a demonstrated failure. The policy of free co-operation alone holds promise of industrial peace.

By the more excellent way, I mean an informed and organized public opinion and nothing else. There are only two ways to govern a community; one is by force, the other by public opinion. Of these two, public opinion is not only the right method, but also the more effective. It alone can create a mental revolution and that is the one thing needed to transform modern industry. But it will

be a "reasonable" revolution, whose achievement is peace. It is stronger than courts, or armies, or prisons, or governments; indeed it is the maker of them all. It and it alone can create a new and better industrial order.

How can it be operated? Instead of establishing industrial courts, there should be set up in every city and village and country side an instrument or new machine, whose accurate and descriptive title would be "*the public committee on intelligence and good-will.*" For short it may probably be called "the public committee." It is so called in one city. In another city it is called "the community conference board." A natural short title would be "the community labor board," or "the community industrial board." But each of these names is so handicapped by association as to make its use unwise. The community labor board would suggest to some that it was composed of employees alone, although the word "labor" ought to be dignified in meaning and broadened in scope to apply to all of us. The community industrial board would suggest to some that it was composed of employers alone, although the word "industrial" ought to include all engaged in industry. It is necessary to use an unspoiled word in this connection, into which we can put a fresh content suggestive of the new function the board is designed to perform. We, therefore, suggest and recommend as the best name, "the community engineering board." The word

“engineering” identifies the board with no class and suggests the essential nature of its task. Its business is not to conduct any operation or propaganda, but to plan, suggest and engineer the process of community building.

The longer title above suggested is used to describe its purpose and function. Every word in it is significant. The word “public” means that the committee represents the public alone, not any organization, or class of citizens. It is not made up of representatives of “capital” and “labor” and the “public.” That is a soviet form of organization and hurtful in operation. Moreover it is false to the facts. The public is not “the party of the third part,” it is “the committee of the whole,” which includes capitalists and workmen also. For them to regard themselves as set off apart from the public as its enemies or exploiters, is chiefly what makes the labor problem. The word “public” means that the committee is unofficial, but representative. Only three members on it should be appointed because of the positions they occupy; one is the mayor; one is the superintendent of public instruction and one is the judge of a court. These three officers are the servants of all the people, and they represent the three outstanding pieces of public machinery nearest to the people, the town government, the public school and the courts. All other members of the committee should be representatives of all classes and shades of opinion, but selected as

individuals, not officially by any club, labor union, chamber of commerce or by any special governmental agency, court or council.

The significance of the word "public" in the construction of this committee is the essential fact to keep clearly in the foreground, because it is the distinguishing feature of a new method of procedure. Hitherto all commissions appointed to handle industrial disputes have been composed of three groups, "capital," "labor," and "the public." This is why their success glares by its absence. How could you expect successful results from a committee composed of three groups, two of which are organized and at war with each other? Our ground of hope that a committee, organized on the new plan here suggested, will succeed, is the obvious fact that there is no reason why two contending groups should submit to each other, but every reason to expect that they will be willing to submit to a principle superior to them both. This superior principle is the public welfare in which each of the contending factions also has a share.

Because an engineering board does not take sides with either faction, we are not to conclude that its aim is to be neutral, that it inflicts on itself the weakness of a negative attitude on questions involving justice. It emphatically takes sides, not with any group, but with the public interest. In its behalf it fights without truce. It wages unrelenting war against enemies of the common good. It is

not for any party, but it is for a principle. It is because its policy is dictated by principle, that it is in no sense partisan.

The word "intelligence" suggests the first essential function of such a community engineering board. Its a fact-finding agency. It is to equip itself with information about modern industry, its history, its methods, its organization, capital, wages, working conditions, treatment of workmen, suggested improvements, its relation to national welfare. The systematic effort to secure knowledge of these facts and to make it available for public use is a needed public service of highest value and indispensable to the safety of any community. Every citizen is under moral obligation not to be ignorant of facts as vital as these are. To ascertain the facts and submit them impartially to employers, employees and the public, would go far to solve the labor troubles before they happen, because they are due to a misunderstanding more than to any other single cause. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," said the greatest of all democrats, because He realized that the only road to freedom is knowledge of fact. The attempt of such a board to make itself intelligent on this subject would be a shocking revelation of the amount of ignorance now existing with reference to it. Even a short experience on the board would lead an average citizen to agree with Mark Twain when he said: "The older I grow the more I am

astounded to discover how much ignorance one can contain without bursting one's clothes."

The other word "good-will," suggests the other chief function of a community engineering board. The first function is to ascertain facts; this is its major work. The second function is to create good-will; this is its method of conducting the work and utilizing the facts. The importance of promoting free trade in friendship cannot be over-stated. To carry on its work without this spirit is like drawing a harrow over frozen ground. The reason for its importance is the fact that men are more influenced through their feelings than through their intellects. This is why poets have been called "the unacknowledged legislators of the world." They think with their hearts. So do all men. Unless the method of the poet is used, neither wars, industries nor any other enterprises requiring concerted action, can be, or in fact ever are, carried on successfully.

When it was proposed in the British Parliament during the Revolutionary War, to send to the colonies new supplies of guns and ammunition, William Pitt arose and said: "We must reckon not so much on the amount and quality of our guns as on the sentiment for liberty in the hearts of the American Soldiers." Likewise with the industrial war. It is not a question of mechanics, but of morals. It will be determined by the sentiment in the hearts of those involved in the contest.

The use of this method of a community engineer-

ing board is so essential to its successful operation, that I emphasize it by quoting a clear and forceful statement of its importance by Abraham Lincoln, who was expert in his knowledge of human nature. He said:

"If you would win a man to your cause, first convince him that you are his true friend. Therein is a drop of honey that catches his heart, which, say what he will, is the greatest highroad to his reason, and which when once gained, you will find but little trouble in convincing his judgment of the justice of your cause, if, indeed that cause be really a just one. On the contrary, assume to dictate to his judgment, or to command his action, or to mark him as one to be shunned or despised, and he will retreat within himself, close all the avenues to his head and heart; and though your cause be naked truth itself, transformed to the heaviest lance, harder than steel and sharper than steel can be made, and though you throw it with more than herculean force and precision, you shall be no more able to pierce him than to penetrate the hard shell of a tortoise with a rye straw. Such is man and so must he be understood by those who would lead him, even to his own interests."

A community engineering board should be a standing committee, permanently at work. Its duty would be to settle strikes as occasion required or to arbitrate difficulties, when requested to do so. But such a task is only incidental to its main work. Its

real work is far more fundamental in character. Arbitration implies a conflict, and a strike is an actual civil war. The board's job is to remove the cause of conflict, so that there will be no need to arbitrate; to do the work not of cure but of prevention; to stimulate and assist in the reorganization of industry on a new basis, which will eliminate the losses due to constant conflict.

This larger conception of its task at once makes clear the necessity for the board to consider such questions as these: The tragedy and suffering due to the uncertainty of employment; the release of credit facilities to make possible the inauguration of useful industrial enterprises; the establishment of certain types of work for public improvement in order to utilize the productive energies of men now lost to the community during periods of unemployment.

The board's investigation work and advisory service will require years of quiet and patient labor, but it will be fascinating labor. While this unfinished task is being carried on, and as a continuous stimulation to it, there are two activities which it can immediately undertake to put into operation its two guiding principles: organized intelligence and organized good-will. The aim of these two activities is to establish points of contact between members of the employing class and the working class. Points of social contact and points of mental contact.

First, good-will. To promote this it is suggested that the community engineering board arrange occasionally a social evening. The most effective plan for our purpose would be an inexpensive banquet, where people of all classes sat around the same table for their evening meal, broke bread together, "tasted each other's salt," which, according to the Eastern custom, cements their friendship. It is a real communion supper, a community dinner party. At it there should always be good music, which is the common denominator of community activity; the universal language. An invitation issued by the public committee, on which are men and women of all classes, would receive a favorable response from employers, employees and the public. It is the only invitation which would receive such a response.

The function of this dinner party is to promote free trade in friendship. It is obviously far more than a pleasant social event. It strikes at the root of some of the chief causes of industrial trouble. For as George Frederic Watts said: "The hunger for brotherhood is at the bottom of the unrest of the civilized world." The constructive value of friendship for social and industrial politics ought to be obvious, but it is constantly side-tracked by the complex and futile methods of legal and military procedure. Centuries ago it was obvious to Aristotle, who said: "When men are friends there is no need of justice, but when they are just, they still need friendship."

Second, intelligence. To promote this it is suggested that the community engineering board arrange for a public consideration of all phases of the industrial problem by means of addresses, debates and general discussion. The best time and place for it is immediately after the dinner party as an after-dinner program. The friendly spirit of the dinner creates a helpful atmosphere in which to consider questions over which there is, or may be, a sharp difference of opinion. It ought to be clearly understood that there is no intention of using this occasion for inducing men to surrender their convictions, or of "putting something over" on anybody. Otherwise the project will be still-born. No debatable or unsettled element of the labor problem should be presented without presenting both sides of it. Sometimes an arranged debate would not only be an agreeable departure from a series of addresses, but also far more effective and illuminating. The aim is to secure a better understanding among men, who are now antagonists. This strikes at another basic cause of industrial conflict. Dallas Lore Sharp was not far from the truth when he said: "It is not work that divides masses from classes and sets worker against employer, nor is it money; it is lack of understanding." How is it possible to eliminate lack of understanding, unless men are granted the right to express their convictions without reservation, and unless also they perform the duty of listening with respect

to opinions differing from their own? The spirit, dominating the public meetings of the community engineering board, should be the spirit which inspired Voltaire to say: "I wholly disagree with what you say and will contend to the death for your right to say it." The time for these frank discussions is before a strike begins, not after the feelings have been charged with anger and the mind beclouded with prejudice. The community engineering board is a piece of social machinery through which the pooled intelligence of a community may be made available in the effort to solve its industrial problem.

These then are the chief activities of the community engineering board. In order to assist in the reconstruction of modern industry and remove the causes of industrial civil war, its function is to conduct a continuous impartial investigation, an occasional community dinner party and a public discussion of the industrial problem. I have purposely omitted any description of details of procedure, because the organization of the board and its methods of work will necessarily vary greatly according to the nature and size of the locality. The American people have ingenuity and are accustomed to use their own initiative. They will have no difficulty in adapting this new community machine to their own needs.

Its purpose and work, as here stated, clearly indicate that it is designed to meet an unmet and

urgent need and to render a service of incalculable value to the common welfare. To stimulate an open mind and friendly spirit is constructive work of indispensable importance, if we are to hope for any industrial peace. With an open mind and friendly spirit anything can be accomplished; without them, nothing can. In the old days of the home industries, master and men were by their work kept in daily human contact on the basis of social equality. Industry has grown more and more mechanical; less and less human. It is handicapped by bigness. The lack of human touch must be supplied by conscious effort. Social and mental contact can now be secured by a plan like the community dinner party here suggested. The new method, while handicapped by size, has some advantages over the old one. In the old days men met chiefly as master and workman. On the new plan they will meet not as employer and employee, but as fellow citizens on the basis of equality before the law, equality of manhood.

The bigness of modern industrial operations requires new methods, but removes neither the need nor the possibility of securing intelligent sympathy. Inasmuch as man is a time-binder, thinks in terms of time, lives in ideas, he easily can leap over the barriers of space, and size, and numbers. It is as possible for five hundred men to be animated by the same idea in a common enterprise as for fifty. Mental contact is not conditioned on space

and size. It is primarily a spiritual, not a physical, process.

Up to this point we have considered the function of community engineering boards only as they are related to the industrial problem. But they will not go far in the process of handling this problem before they discover that very little real progress is possible unless they handle the community problem as well. The two problems are so organically related that neither can be handled effectively by itself alone. If you start with community life you are sure to run into industry; if you start with industry you are sure to run into community life. They are no longer two worlds, but one and the same world.

We began with the industrial half of the problem, because industry is the dominant social, political and spiritual problem of today. During the past thirty years we have become an industrialized society. This radically alters the equation. Whether for better or worse we need not say, but it's different. Henceforth the community movement has no choice; it must deal with industry.

It is not only a community concern, but our chief concern. For an industrial community to consider community problems apart from industry is like playing "Hamlet" without Hamlet. Not only an industry's contacts with the community and the human factors inside the industry are community

problems, but the industry itself is a community problem.

If industry has affected the community profoundly, the community will likewise affect industry. Indeed, the community principle holds the key, we believe, to the solution of industry's problem, in so far as there is any solution. We feel under obligation to render this service to industry.

The function, therefore, of community engineering boards is to handle both the industrial and the community problems and to do both at the same time, because they are two halves of one whole, like the two sides of the same shield. The community problem offers these boards a fascinating opportunity to render a constructive service to the nation at the point of its greatest need.

As pathfinders, the New England Pilgrims contributed two institutions to America—the public school and the town meeting.

The first comers from Europe were people of considerable education. They early established a public school system in Massachusetts. For a time all went well. But by the end of the first third of the nineteenth century public education had fallen into decay. The democratic ideals of its founders had vanished and what there was of it was of a low order.

Then came Horace Mann, the first man who really understood the educational needs of the nation. He started a revival in public education,

restored it to a democratic basis, modified it to meet new conditions, and had the practical capacity to make his reforms effective. If the public school is now our biggest national asset and achievement, it is due to Horace Mann, who is justly called the father of American education.

The town meeting likewise fell into decay. Although one of the oldest traditions of the English race and the basis of our whole system, it has long been crumbling and has not been restored. What Horace Mann did for the public school is what now needs to be done for the town meeting idea. This is the big item in the nation's unfinished business, for an intelligent and organized public opinion is the one effective guarantee of progress in any line of social endeavor.

A community engineering board, in directing the construction of local self-governing organizations of citizens, aims to carry on the purpose for which the United States was organized and to create the means by which society may express its will effectively for the common welfare.

Its program of action consists in the application of one clear, simple, basic principle to various needs, which are so organically related that they must be considered together.

Its method of procedure is free and untrammelled discussion. If this method fails us, what hope is there for democracy? "If water chokes, what can one drink to stop choking?"

Its chief tasks are: To organize community centers on the basis of citizenship; to keep them organized by helping to discover and devise practical projects; to furnish youth, resident aliens, and newly-enfranchised women the opportunity to equip themselves for the duties and rights of citizenship; to establish adult schools for working people; to co-ordinate social agencies and eliminate waste of duplication; to relate the services of municipal and volunteer agencies effectively to the people for whom they are designed; to settle strikes whenever this service is required, but still better, to remove the causes of the industrial civil war; to apply the community principle in any other ways which may promote concerted action for the common welfare.

This task is big, of course. That's why it's fascinating; it is both a science and an art. Engineering boards must discover a body of agreed community principles, the laws of social life. They must acquire facts. They are fact-finding committees, but they are very much more than this. The art of their task is their chief concern.

They must devise ways of making their facts useful and the art of putting their principles into practice. Art is the process of translating an ideal into fact. If you succeed, then you have romance, for romance is a dream come true. It is not mere knowledge we seek, but intelligence; not learning, but wisdom. This is why average men and women are fitted to serve on these boards.

Experts and specialists are not needed. Indeed the trouble they have caused is what we seek to correct. Everybody's a specialist. "The miller thinks that the wheat grows only in order to keep his mill going." So all men and agencies are prisoners to their special work and point of view. Our aim is to be "generalists," to study the community as a whole and to co-ordinate its activities for the common good.

The function of engineering boards is to pioneer in the attempt to usher in the age of good sense in the conduct of community affairs, including industry. They can transform a community's problem into an opportunity. The problem they are designed to meet is not only urgent, but the most urgent of our public needs. "The public," said Hegel, "is that part of the state which does not know what it wants." To assist it to discover what it ought to want and how to give its desires effective expression for the common good, that is America's big job in every local community.

Lincoln exhibited the wisdom of a far-sighted statesman, and the fine balance between a clear brain and tender heart best of all in his policy to make the salvation of the Union his dominant aim, more important than the destruction of any particular evil. The salvation of the Union, he believed, made possible the continuous conquest of many particular evils.

If we are guided by Lincoln's judgment, would

we not conclude that likewise in every local community the task of first importance is to restore and preserve the union of citizens in an understanding of their common concerns and in concerted action on their behalf? To achieve this purpose, for which as yet no effective instrument anywhere exists, the community engineering board is designed. It is a bridge-builder, to reconstruct the broken-down bridges of communication and understanding among conflicting groups of citizens, organized to contend for their own interests. For success in a task as difficult as this one obviously is, it is essential first to create community morale. For this reason we have stressed the creative power of goodwill as an integrating influence. In social engineering it is a factor of first importance. "Morale," said Napoleon, "is to force as three is to one."

If I were asked to select one word to describe the great purpose and work of the community engineering board, I would select the word chosen by David Grayson to describe himself. When he sat at dinner with a factory owner, Mr. Vedder, and was helping him to settle a strike then in operation, Mr. Vedder asked him what kind of social philosopher he called himself. "I do not call myself by any name," said Grayson, "but if I chose a name, do you know the name I would like to have applied to me?" "I cannot imagine," was the answer. "Well, I would like to be called 'an introducer.' My friend, Mr. Blacksmith, let me introduce you

to my friend, Mr. Plutocrat. I could almost swear that you are brothers, so near alike you are. You will find each other wonderfully interesting, once you get over the awkwardness of the introduction." "It is a good name," said Mr. Vedder, laughing. "It's a wonderful name," said Grayson, "and it's about the biggest and finest work in the world—to know human beings just as they are and to make them acquainted with one another just as they are. Why, it's the foundation of all the democracy there is or ever will be. Sometimes I think that friendliness is the only achievement of life worth while, and unfriendliness the only tragedy."

If a community engineering board is effectively to do constructive work of permanent value, there is one principle it must undeviatingly practice. It must be impartial. It is not the friend of the rich man; nor the friend of the poor man; just the friend of man. Because it takes the side only of the impartial public, its clearly understood purpose must be:

To ease the strong of their burden,
To help the weak in their need.

The board must not only be impartial, but it must secure the recognition of its impartiality. This may not be easy. It will take time and patience. There is so much suspicion and misunderstanding on the part of both owners and workmen, that it is difficult for either of them to believe, that any body of men

can be impartial. They will have to be convinced through a process of education.

Inasmuch as the board relies for the enforcement of its recommendations not on any form of physical or legal force, but only on persuasion, education and the use of public opinion, therefore, its only capital in stock is its integrity, its moral influence. The weight of its influence will be determined by the knowledge of its impartiality. In the process of convincing owners and workmen and the public to believe that it is impartial, it is recommended that the board, as soon as it is formed, issue a declaration of principles, by which it means to be guided in its work. Its influence for good will increase as the discovery is made, that it is sincere in its attempt to practice them.

As a suggestion I here reproduce, with a few verbal changes, a declaration of principles, which I prepared for a community engineering board in an eastern city and which it adopted. Such boards should prepare their own declarations, but they may feel free to make any use they please of the one here suggested, in whole or in part. It is as follows:

THE COMMUNITY ENGINEERING BOARD

Declaration of Principles

This board is unofficial, but representative; public, but free. It is the voice of the impartial community. In public opinion alone is the sanction of

its authority and the enforcement of its decisions. Its purpose is to stimulate the untrammelled practice of citizenship; to help in creating a New Industrial America; to ascertain the facts about modern industry; to assist in the reorganization of industry on the basis of the manhood principle; to make clear the idea that labor is not a commodity; to advocate the practice of the community principle as the only solution of the industrial problem. The Board's work is wholly constructive; it doesn't knock, it builds. The program it seeks to make effective is:

1. To terminate the civil war between capitalists and laborers, making them joint allies in a common task.
2. To promote the spirit of good-will as a community asset, by removing the cause of ill-will.
3. To put the manufacture of men above the manufacture of things, making men and letting the men make the things.
4. To make the community interest dominant over the interest of any private group.
5. To replace production for profit by production for use, and thus stimulate production.
6. To make work cease to be drudgery and become a means of self-expression.

7. To apply democracy to industry, giving all workers a guiding part in their work.
8. To apply justice to profits, rewarding work on its merits—no more, no less.
9. To apply art to industry, restoring to labor the sense of joy and dignity.
10. To provide more leisure for personal growth, relieving the monotony of machine work and the blight of unemployment.
11. To transform "hands" into "men," so that the workers may be whole men when they work, and may not cease to be citizens.
12. To make it clear that a community's social welfare, its property values, its type of citizens, and its industrial conditions are organically interdependent.
13. To stimulate owners and workmen, to believe that they have like interests, to recognize them as common interests, and to conclude that industrial conflicts are, therefore, civil wars.
14. To persuade contending parties in civil industrial wars to give first place not to their rights but their duties, and to treat disputes in the light of their obligation to public welfare, dispensing with force and substituting intelligence and good-will.

The foregoing declaration aims to state basic and recognized ethical ideals, to make clear the purpose of community engineering boards. As they proceed to the application of these standards they will, of course, find it necessary to formulate codes of principles more in particular. Such particular principles should be slowly and progressively developed to meet special needs as they arise. They should not be imposed from the top by legislation, but grow out of conditions they are designed to meet. Judge Kenyon, before he left the Senate, clearly indicated the effective process to follow, when he said, "Courts of compulsory arbitration have never been a success. Nations that have tried it are generally willing to acknowledge that the system is a failure. But that does not argue against boards of mediation or industrial courts based upon an industrial code to investigate and propose adjustments and make findings, leaving to the great public the power to enforce them by public opinion and that is in any event the most powerful agency for law enforcement."

This statement describes a community engineering board as here recommended. Public opinion, on which alone such a board relies, is not only the best agency to enforce law, but it is also the agency which creates the law. The common law is the product of the expectation of the community. It grew out of decisions made by a judge in response to what the people expected him to make in accord-

ance with what they regarded as just. What we now need is a new body of common law to meet the new industrial conditions. The community engineering board, as here described, is the appropriate instrument through which the new common law principles can be evolved, secure recognition, and be put into operation.

This process has already received a big impetus through the action taken during the war to meet an emergency. In order to secure continuity and acceleration in the production of war supplies, the government found it necessary to adopt an agreed and uniform policy in dealing with industrial conditions. Accordingly early in 1918 there was convened a labor conference composed of representatives of organized employers. After several weeks of conference a series of principles was agreed on and President Wilson was requested to proclaim this code as mandatory upon all labor adjustment and procurement agencies of the government and also to establish a national war labor board to interpret and apply these principles. This the president did in April, 1918. The labor board had two joint chairmen representing the public, Ex-President Taft and the Honorable Frank P. Walsh. They rendered intelligent and conspicuous public service, made possible largely because of the voluntary cooperation of all classes of citizens in behalf of a cause bigger than their personal interest.

Never before in any country had a code of funda-

mental principles on industrial relations been agreed upon nor a public labor board established to interpret and apply them. This fact establishes a precedent, highly significant and inspiring. What was done for the destructive purposes of war, can we not do for the constructive purposes of peace? Shall we confess our inability to rise to the spiritual heights of patriotic devotion except in time of war? Is it not the function of patriotism to "wage peace" as well as to "wage war?"

The series of principles adopted for the guidance of the war labor board is here reproduced as a suggestion for community engineering boards everywhere. It is as follows:

Working Principles

The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

The right of employers to organize in associations or groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities.

The workers in the exercise of their right to organize should not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. The declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the preceding section, nor to prevent the war labor board from urging or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions, as shall be found desirable from time to time.

Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work, and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

The basic eight-hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health and proper comfort of the workers.

The maximum production of all war industries should be maintained, and methods of work and operation on the part of employers or workers which operate to delay or limit production, or which have a tendency to artificially increase the cost thereof, should be discouraged.

For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the numbers of skilled and other workers available in

different parts of the country shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished—(1) by the trade unions; (2) by state employment bureaus and federal agencies of like character; (3) by the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country.

These agencies shall be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor as necessity demands.

In fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards, wage scales, and other conditions prevailing in the localities affected.

The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared.

In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

*This chapter would say
 wa. It would speak with
 that could a Community regarding
 in Relation Chicago or New York
 The suggestion is to create a
 Create public authorities
 remedy is the State would
 When public opinion demands
 new and also demand that they
 Plan would be solved*

CHAPTER VII

REVOLUTION BY CONSENT

IN the peaceful pressure of public opinion, therefore, and not in the application of legal or military force, lies the hope of terminating industrial conflicts. The solution of the industrial problem is to be found in industry itself. This does not mean that the leaders of industry will find this solution unaided. Their perspective is usually distorted by their nearness to their job. The tendency is for them to get buried under the machinery of their work. It is significant for our purpose to remember that almost never have the courts been reformed by lawyers, or the church by ministers, or medicine by physicians, or governmental machinery by office holders. This is likewise the fact even in science. The scientific principles like the law of conservation of energy and the mechanical equivalent of heat were not discovered by experts in physics. The reason why discoveries in organized activities are so frequently made, not by experts engaged in them, but by men with practical experience in wider fields, is because it is the lookers-on who see most of the game.

The same principle applies to industry, though

not to the same extent. There is far more hope of free activity in industry than, for example, in government. Industry appeals to a man's hope; government appeals to his fear. Industry stimulates initiative; government punishes. Industry asks what can you do; government states what you must not do. Therefore, in business there is ample justification for the attitude of expectancy, for the hope that its leaders will respond to new ideas.

It is apparent, therefore, that if managers and men are to make progress towards a solution of their own problem, they need the help of an agency like a community engineering board to guide them, to give them perspective, to do for them the work of social engineering. It is equally apparent that, if such a board is to make progress in securing a re-organization of industry, the result must be secured by operating through the managers and men, not apart from them. It is their business we desire to transform. To produce a mental revolution in them is the path to our desired goal. It is also apparent that, the essential nature of industrial activity predisposes those engaged in it to extend mental hospitality to new ideas. The hope of industry lies in industry itself.

The three cardinal facts concerning managers and men in industry—their dependence on outside guidance, the need for their free co-operation, and their capacity for open-mindedness—all necessitate the conclusion that the result we aim at must be achieved

by the method not of force, but of freedom. Unless a man gives his inward consent to a cause he cannot be said to be enlisted in it at all. The reconstruction of modern industry must, therefore, be what J. A. Hobson calls a revolution by consent. It is a significant phrase for a highly significant idea, and suggests a social policy of uncalculated value for the immediate future. The suggestion is that a revolution can be best effected in modern industry by the peaceful process of persuading the possessing class to give their free consent to it. This suggested policy rests on the assumption that an appeal to hope is stronger than an appeal to fear, that the social conscience is not atrophied in the possessing classes, that it is possible for them to discover the injustice of one class living upon the enforced labor of another, and even to rebel against being a party to a system, which degrades their fellow men.

Mr. Hobson gave currency to this phrase in his latest book. It was received with somewhat scornful criticism on the ground that the policy recommended was impossible and utopian. This is quite a natural criticism to come from those, who think only in terms of warfare. The criticism is not without a touch of humor, when we consider the bold and naïve assumption that the critics' method of warfare now in operation, has been productive of practical results. I do not know what answer Mr. Hobson would make to his critics, but it is here

suggested that he might have forestalled the criticism by answering it effectively before it was made.

We are agreed that revolution by violence has been ineffective. Strikes, lockouts and political action are the methods of warfare, and while it is freely granted that they have been productive of some good in the past, they are not in any sense satisfactory. We are also agreed that an idea, if it can be gotten into general circulation, is the most dynamic weapon available for the defeat of injustice and the progressive realization of constructive purposes. The use of physical or political force only retards the cause in behalf of which they are employed. This has been demonstrated to the point of weariness. What Mr. Hobson did not mention, and his critics have not yet discovered, is the method by which to make effective an appeal to reason. An idea is not enough; it must be an organized community idea. To get results we need both a principle and a program.

This is the amendment we would make to Mr. Hobson's proposed policy of securing revolution by consent, with which we are in enthusiastic accord. The attempt to secure the consent of the possessing class by an appeal to reason and justice, to be effective, must be made through the community and in behalf of the common welfare. The community principle is the key to its effectiveness. When any class, organized on the basis of its self-interest, makes an appeal, it is handicapped by the suspicion

that it is animated by unworthy motives. But when an organized community finds its voice in an organ like a community engineering board, it speaks a dynamic and undiscounted word, a word with wings to it. The community as the spokesman in behalf of a reconstructed industry, can do more both for the working and the possessing class, than either class can do for itself. Revolution by consent is correct in principle. The community engineering board furnishes the program for putting it into effective operation.

What is it to which we desire the capitalist to give his free consent? What is it, if he consented to it, that would revolutionize modern industry? He would the more readily consent to it, if he discovered it himself. What is it that we want him to discover? The answer to this question is so critically important that we should spare no pains in stating it accurately. For the sake of clarity, let us state it in terms of a possible experience.

Let us suppose that the discovery is made by the president and part owner of a typical American factory. He is self-made and acts the part. He is healthy, accustomed to success, walks with the swing of victory. He employs driving methods. He is an individualist; thinks he has a right to do as he pleases with what he believes in his own. He resents opposition. He prides himself on being "practical." He is not devoid of sentiment, but holds it is bad policy to mix sentiment with business.

His relation to his "hands" is a money relationship only and that ends it. He has had frequent experience with strikes and lock-outs and always supposed he had come out a victor. He says he is able to take care of himself, thank you.

But since the war he is not so sure. Just now he is worried. He is facing a new situation. The men are dissatisfied, suspicious, resentful. He is annoyed and puzzled. He feels isolated in his own plant. Being naturally a sympathetic man, it is painful to be without the respect of his fellows. He thought he was self-sufficient, but finds he isn't. Wages, higher or lower, do not remove the trouble. He is bewildered. The thing is as real as his factory walls, but he can neither analyze nor explain it. The men are "soldiering" on the job. They go through the motions as usual, but the results are not as usual. The monthly production sheets reveal a serious condition. Production has fallen off twenty, thirty, forty per cent. This is ruinous to the business. It may be necessary to pass a dividend.

He has arrived at the point of distress. He goes home every night with a mental headache. One night on leaving the office he spoke to the messenger boy, whose complete absorption in a book for days past at odd moments, he had noticed. "What are you reading, son," asked the manufacturer. "The greatest book in the world," answered the boy. "It's 'Robinson Crusoe.' I've read it three times already and I'm going to read it again. You ought

to read it. Crusoe had lots of fun workin' in his island, makin' ink and cookin' tools and boats. You can take the book home, if you want to; I've just finished with it for this time." The man remembered reading it as a boy, but had not thought it worth while to read since. Nevertheless he took the book home that night, not so much because he thought it had any contribution to make to the problem of work, as because he wanted an antidote for his mental headache, and thought he might find it in an escape back into the enthusiasms of his youth.

He found more than he had expected. Reading the book now as a mature man and with his factory troubles as a background, was like a fresh revelation and an undiscovered country. He had searched for silver and found gold. For two evenings he was absorbed in reading the book, indulging himself with the refreshing spirit of adventure, the desire for which may be suppressed, but never killed in a normal man. He spent more evenings in serious reflection, for out of the book he got more than adventure; he got illumination on his problem.

He made an attempt to state to himself what the book had suggested to him. Crusoe's adventure was an adventure about work. How can we tie work and adventure together? If, thought he, we can introduce into work the spirit of adventure, joy, self-directed activity, we can make some progress with our problem. This is the challenge Cru-

soe makes to me. I will look it squarely in the face, he said in his meditation, and extract its meaning.

If my workmen were men like Crusoe, my problem would be wholly different. Would I have any problem at all? Look at Crusoe there, working at his boat, sailing it out of his harbor, self-reliant, eager, expectant, absorbed in his work, doing it as if he loved it, feeling that it is his own work. What I need in my factory, is the Crusoe type of man. But how am I to get him? The key to this problem is the workman's attitude to his work. But how are we to create the right attitude? Crusoe looks as if he were ready to break out into singing as he works. But where is the singing man in my factory? He glares by his absence. If we can get men to feel like singing as they work, our problem is solved. But singing is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual condition. We can't get singing, until we change their state of mind.

But if I had the Crusoe type of man, I would have to treat him very differently than I now treat my men. If I am to develop them into the Crusoe type, or retain them after I develop them, must not my treatment of them be on a different and higher basis? But is not this the natural right way to treat men, anyway? They are not on an intellectual equality with me, nor on a social equality with me, but are they not on a moral equality with me? This is a disturbing and revolutionizing idea.

If the men are ever to change their attitude to their work, must not I change my attitude to them? Obviously, it is up to me.

This is the first big idea I get from a study of the kind of man Crusoe was. But I cannot stop there. It means that these men have interests like mine. The same needs and desires and ambitions. The similarity is not always clearly apparent. Their desires are often dimly conceived and feebly expressed. But they exist, and I wonder whether this is not the real cause of their unrest, even when they are unconscious of it. To be strictly honest, I confess I know some workmen who are my intellectual and moral superiors. But my workmen and I not only have like interests, but something more. We have common interests also. We are engaged in a common enterprise. Neither I nor they can be successful or happy in our work, without mutual aid and free co-operation. We rise and fall together. We have a community of interest. I never put it that way before. I never recognized our interests as common. In fact, I have acted as if they weren't; as if these workmen were my natural enemies, whereas they are my natural allies. If that is so, then this constant conflict between us is nothing more nor less than a civil war, in which neither side can win; neither victor nor vanquished. Its continuance is suicidal. We are like horn-locked deer in the mountains, engaged in combat, in which an injury to either is an injury to both. How can

civil war in industry be stopped, until we recognize our interests as common interests, and make this fact a working principle in the conduct of industry?

After he had thus stated to himself these two big constructive ideas, he felt that he had his feet planted on a path which held out the promise of leading him to a solution of his problem. He experienced the elation that comes from creative ideas. He resolved that he must talk over his new discovery with someone. It would be useless to talk with his superintendent. He was afflicted with a natural inability to take in new ideas. Moreover his attitude to the men was domineering, as is frequently the case with men who exercise delegated authority. But he could talk with his daughter. She had informed herself about the new community movement, whose chief doctrine was the development of the individual through self-activity. Then, too, she was a woman, whose function it is to be a creator and conserver of life, and was naturally more interested in the human factor in industry than in any other.

His daughter responded with sympathetic understanding to the news of her father's new outlook. She stimulated his dissatisfaction with things as they were, by accentuating the mutual advantages that the proposed new policy would produce. She was wise enough to know that the most helpful as well as the most effective criticism is criticism by construction. Her father sincerely agreed with her,

but her intuition told her that his courage might not be quite equal to the task of translating his new vision into practice without a little external stimulus. She, therefore, suggested that he call into consultation a representative of the new profession of social engineering, to get from him the assurance that his newly discovered principles were quite practical. This suggestion he approved, because while he had given his full inward consent to the principles, which had gripped him, his conception of what is "practical" had been so distorted that he found difficulty in adopting them as a business policy.

The social engineer came, a strong up-standing man, who saw life steadily and saw it whole. He was a practical idealist. In his work he combined principles and their practice. He had made the great discovery that the questions involved in industry, like all other big questions, have two sides which are opposite, but not contradictory.

The manufacturer described to him the new and recent labor troubles in his factory, what had happened to his outlook through the reading of "Robinson Crusoe," the new vision he had seen, the disturbance it caused him, the possibility of putting it into operation. His report was made somewhat timidly, because he felt a lurking cowardice before the seeming admission that he was permitting sentiment to influence a business problem. His daughter, who sat in on the conference, was quick to perceive this masculine weakness, and supplemented her

father's statement, not because it needed it, but for the purpose of informing the social engineer that she was his ally, and to suggest that he was free to express his convictions without reservation.

After listening with patience and understanding, asking a few questions to disclose the true inwardness of the situation, he gave to the manufacturer his honest advice expressed in the following statement:

"I congratulate you. Yours is the good fortune of an open mind. For any man with an open mind there is hope of finding a solution for his problems. It is because of your open-mindedness, that the reading of 'Robinson Crusoe' put you on the track of the two big discoveries you have made. It is an unusual and picturesque, and yet a perfectly simple, way of approach to these ideas. It is curious that a book which everybody thinks he knows, is very little known for what it really is. It challenges modern industry at its most vulnerable spot. It doesn't matter how you came by them, but it was a fortunate day for you, when you made these two discoveries: first, that everyone of your workmen is a possible Crusoe and must be treated as such to develop him into one; and, second, that the only way to develop them into Crusoes, and thereby increase production and decrease industrial civil war is to establish a community of principle between you and your workmen.

"The two principles constitute one principle at

heart and it is the basis on which modern industry everywhere must be reorganized, if it expects to have anything else but trouble. They are not only practical, but they are the only practicable principles there are. And for a very obvious reason; they are in harmony with human nature and the human factor is your biggest element in production. It is just the opposite of practical to run counter to human nature and yet this policy hitherto has been the common practice. To reverse this practice and assist in reorganizing industry on a sound and practical basis is one of the chief tasks of the new profession of social engineering.

"I am glad you yourself made this discovery in time to save yourself unnecessary trouble. A decent respect for the opinion of mankind compels us to admit that industry is in serious need of reconstruction. The manufacturers, who refuse to see it are inviting trouble and are sure to get it. They ought to realize that it is not possible to reason with empty stomachs. It is futile to argue with the north wind. The best defense against the north wind, as Lowell said, is to put on your overcoat. The right time to cure trouble is before it happens, just as you are planning to do. The thing which puzzled you in the conduct of your workmen is something which has happened in Europe and America since the war, and which many leaders of industry have failed or refused to recognize. It is this: the workman since the war, has become a new and different

kind of man. Everywhere in Europe and America he has formulated his dissatisfaction. A new consciousness has taken possession of him. He has resolved on a final refusal any longer to be a machine and has acquired an undefeatable determination to play the part of a man in his work. This is the real cause of the present unrest. It is not so much a complaint against details of wages and working conditions, though it often takes this tangible form; it is the structure of industry that he challenges. He makes this challenge, because he has acquired a new mental attitude toward himself. He demands that we practice the great dictum of the philosopher Kant, 'Treat every man as an end to himself, not as a means to your ends.' The problem of modern industry therefore, is a human problem.

"The resultant unrest is not a thing to be disturbed over or to combat, but to be welcomed. It means in my judgment an uncalculated advance in civilization and human progress. The wise manufacturer will rejoice over the present unrest, and will capitalize it to serve his productive purposes. If these workmen want to play a bigger part in their work and exercise their initiative, why don't you let them? If you did, it would greatly increase the output and make more money, both for them and you. It will pay you financially. You ought not to do it primarily for this reason, but this will be a natural by-product of such a policy. It is the simple, right thing to do, but in the long run the

thing which is morally right is the only thing, which is economically sound.

“But the policy based on the two principles you have discovered will produce results still more fundamental. For example. It will elevate your business to the status of a liberal profession. What is it that justifies us in classifying a profession as ‘liberal’? The profession of minister and physician bear this label. A captain of industry should be classified with them, but he isn’t, not to any considerable extent as yet. This is his natural position as Ruskin pointed out in his list of five professions related to the necessities of life:

“ ‘The Soldier’s profession is to *defend* life.

“ ‘The Pastor’s, to *teach* it.

“ ‘The Physician’s, to *keep it in health*.

“ ‘The Lawyer’s, to *enforce justice* in it.

“ ‘The Merchant’s, to *provide* for it.

“ ‘And the duty of all these men is, on due occasion, to *die* for it.

“ ‘The Soldier, rather than leave his post in battle.

“ ‘The Physician, rather than leave his post in plague.

“ ‘The Pastor, rather than teach falsehood.

“ ‘The Lawyer, rather than countenance injustice.

“ ‘The Merchant, what is *his* “due occasion” of death?’

“Even the soldier, although his profession is an ugly, destructive and a morally contradictory business, is nevertheless accorded a special regard in men’s thoughts, and for good reason. His service is given in behalf of a cause bigger than his personal interest, for which he is willing to spend the last

full measure of his devotion. This is why we hang over our mantlepices a sword or musket. Why do we not hang by their side a hoe, or yardstick or piece of machinery? The reason is obvious. There is one thing, and one alone, which can give to business the status of a liberal profession, and that is to introduce into it the element of public service as a controlling motive. In his 'Business a Profession' Mr. Justice Brandeis states the three distinguishing marks of a profession to be 'preliminary training, a calling pursued largely for others and not merely for one's self, and where the financial return is not the accepted measure of success.' These three are one. A liberal profession is a public service. We all recognize that a minister or physician should receive a decent compensation for his service, but if he should make profiteering his chief motive, he would immediately lose his status in the community. Shall we require the soldier and minister and physician to work for the common welfare, and permit the merchant to work for his own? Is it not both his duty and privilege to sacrifice comfort and riches rather than do injury and injustice to his fellowmen, either his competitors or his workmen? The man who does so is just as heroic as the man who dies on the field of battle—if not more so, for the courage to live heroically is more rare than the courage to die heroically.

"When you have transformed your business into a liberal profession by adopting the policy we are

discussing, you will then make a further discovery, namely, that you will get real joy out of your business. Merely to make money is not a big enough aim for an able American business man like yourself, and will never satisfy you. Whatever dividends of money your business yields, if it does not also yield some dividends of joy, the business cannot honestly be reckoned a success. If you miss joy you miss the Hamlet of life's drama. The real thing is found, not apart from your work, but through your work. I suggest that you open a new page in your ledger and head it 'Dividends of Joy,' and keep a careful account of this product. Please note that it cannot be bought with money. It is not a commodity or a dower, but a personal achievement. It is a by-product of service. It comes only as the natural product of the manhood policy you plan to adopt.

"You will notice that I have omitted to say anything about the detailed application of this policy. There's a reason. In any problem the place to begin is at the beginning. It is largely labor lost to attempt the application of anything until we first determine what it is we aim to apply. Moreover you must accept this manhood principle, not because it pays, but because it is right. If you adopt it merely because it pays, you will not understand how to operate it, and you will defeat your own purpose. We will consider its application later, but at this point let me give you a formula for the practice of

the principles you have stated. It is this: 'Stop making shoes and begin making men and let the men make the shoes.' The trouble with industry is that it is unbalanced. It has been operated by bookkeepers instead of by engineers. The managers have thought almost exclusively of profits as they appeared on the books, and forgot the creators of the profits. The formula, I suggest, will restore the lost balance. It will produce more shoes, but it will do so only because the new policy enables the men to receive personal development and satisfaction in the process. I, therefore, earnestly urge you, as the first step toward a solution of your problem, to make a decision and adopt the manhood principle as your future policy."

Before the social engineer had finished these remarks, the manufacturer's mental headache was gone and he had decided to adopt the new policy. He did it without reservation, because he did not in fact need to be convinced of the merit of the new policy. That was self-evident. What he needed was not advice, but confirmation. He also engaged the social engineer to assist him to put the new policy into operation.

It is needless to add that before the social engineer's engagement in the factory was ended, he had contracted another with the manufacturer's daughter, who had been his efficient ally in the inauguration of the new policy. The event was a foregone conclusion through the operation of the law of

natural selection. There was a time when her father had entertained the hope that she would marry his superintendent. But long ago he had seen how impossible it was of realization. The disparity of outlook between them on the conduct of the industry was too great. The moral issue involved in the industrial problem could not be confined to the factory walls. It invaded his household. It would have produced a real separation in sympathy between him and his daughter if he had not extended mental hospitality to the new idea. The ghost of this new idea had visited his fireside for years, and it no doubt had helped to equip him with insight to receive "Robinson Crusoe's" message.

When he perceived what natural comrades his daughter and the social engineer were, he had pleasure in approving their engagement. Now he understood that similarity of mind and purpose was essential to success in marriage, just as a community of principle between him and his workmen was essential for success in industry. After all, he thought, is not the extension of the family spirit to the factory the real key to the solution of its problems?

the social, not efficiency, principle

CHAPTER VIII

A BILL OF PARTICULARS

THE magical effect of the manufacturer's final decision and spoken word to the social engineer, was immediately apparent. When he returned to his factory, he was a new man. His workmen at once perceived the change. Everywhere they asked, "What's come over the boss?" Their instinct told them something had happened. They could see it in his eye, in his attitude toward them, in his new respect for their personality. The transforming power of an idea had produced a new atmosphere in the factory. An atmosphere is as real as the shoes the men are making, and quite the most important item in a factory's equipment. It cannot be produced artificially, because it is a spiritual product, and therefore must be genuine. A genuine mental revolution had taken place in this man. And a mental revolution in the owner meant a revolution by consent in the reorganization of his industry. He perceived that his new point of view was infectious and had half solved his problem before he had begun its detailed adjustment. In his judgment this fact furnished complete confirmation that he had chosen the right course of action.

As he considered the application of the new

policy, it became clear to him that the manhood principle, if broken up into its constituent elements for the sake of clarity, would logically mean such principles as these: Democracy applied to management; justice applied to profits; art applied to manual work; and leisure provided for personal growth. These are self-evident propositions. He had no hesitation about approving of them in principle. But he was an honest man; not a hypocrite. He resented the suggestion that he approve the new policy in principle, but deny it in practice. He started the search for a program. He began to formulate a bill of particulars for the actual operation of the new policy.

If, now, this man or any other captain of industry honestly desired a bill of particulars, organically related to the manhood principle, which he had morally approved, what items should it contain? It is here suggested that it would contain four essential items, and that they are the sufficient and comprehensive guides in his program of action. They are as follows:

1. *Treat capital and wages on the same basis.* They are both things and the same kind of things and should be classified together. Reckon a fair dividend on invested capital and a fair living wage, as constituting merely two indispensable elements in the cost of production. The question of workmen is a basically different question and requires a different treatment.

2. *Divide net profits among owners and workmen.* By workmen we mean all workers either with brain, or hand, or with both. There should be a dividend on wages as well as one on capital. After a fair basic dividend is paid on capital and a fair basic wage is paid for labor, and after a reserve fund is provided to offset the deterioration of buildings and machinery, and a reserve fund provided to offset the deterioration of workmen during periods of enforced idleness, the net profit should be divided in a fair and fixed ratio between the capital invested and the workmen, the two sources from which the profit was produced. This is not a bonus given as a charity; nor is it a scheme of profit-sharing as a stimulus to production; it is a *division of earnings* as an act of justice between partners in a joint enterprise.

3. *Put production for use in the first place and production for profit in the second place.* This means the pride of workmanship in the product as a protection against the temptation against the hasty production of cheap and shoddy goods. This principle introduces the element of public service into the enterprise. It will help to insure a permanent market for the product with the consuming public. It will stimulate the element of joy in work, which has a direct bearing on production and labor turnover. So far as it is possible to introduce the element of art into the process of work, it will be a safeguard against the spiritual blight of treadmill

monotony, due to automatic machinery, which, now and during the next fifty years, will constitute one of the most serious and baffling of the problems of modern industry.

4. *Make workmen members of the organization in which they work.* This will enable a workman to feel that the work he is doing is his work, which means a new world for him. Responsibility and freedom should be riveted together. It is a moral contradiction to demand responsibility and not grant freedom to discharge it effectively. To secure a man's free cooperation, he must have a voice in the management. This proposed union of managers and men as members of the enterprise must be a real union, and not a "yellow union." It must be a union with power in it, otherwise workmen will keep the union they now have. There must be no joker in it, no tricks of any kind. They always act as a boomerang and delay progress. The German Diet before the war was called "A Hall of Echoes." Its members could talk all they pleased, but could do nothing. If in an industry a proposed democratic plan of cooperation provides that all questions shall be settled in the counting room and permits the workmen to do nothing but talk, this may do some good, but it will not meet the issue. Talk is good, but talk merely for talk's sake gets us no where. It must be responsible talk, that is, the discussion of questions concerning which the talkers are expected to take some action. It must

be organic democracy, and not sham democracy. If the men are given a real part to play as members of the organization, the first obvious effect will be to end strikes, because men do not strike against themselves. This is a negative result but indispensable as the beginning of positive and creative achievements, which constitute the new policy's chief aim.

This quartet of principles is not a complete bill of particulars; just the beginning of it. But they are basic and universally applicable in adapting the policy to the particular requirements of various industries. A policy based on these principles would pay financially. When one reckons the frightful loss due to strikes and lock-outs and the decreased production caused by an armed neutrality state of mind in the workmen, it would pay handsomely. But it ought not to be adopted because it pays financially. It ought to be adopted because it is right, and also because we want to reap some dividends of joy as well as dividends of money. It would be a wise policy whether it paid financially or not. The manufacturer, who gets out of his business nothing but dividends in money is cheating himself and doesn't know it.

The proposed new policy is simple. It is not complex, but it is difficult. Its operation will require patience, thoughtful adaptation to a great variety of details, expert knowledge of human nature, education of owners, managers and workmen, sincerity

on the part of leaders, mental hospitality to new ideas. These requirements make it difficult, but the policy itself is quite simple. Its difficulty finds ample compensation in the fascination of doing creative work of this type.

It is because the work is new and difficult that it calls for the service of the new profession of social engineering, which is now being created to meet the need for it. Men like Gantt, Steinmetz, Wolf, Polakov and Leitch are pioneers in it. They do not call themselves by the new title, social engineers, but this is the type of work they have been doing. This profession is destined to be of great national importance, and to rank as a liberal profession alongside of that of a physician, a minister, and a lawyer.

It is essential to make a clearly marked distinction between a social and an efficiency engineer. The work of efficiency engineering is concerned with book-keeping, handling of materials and machines, elimination of waste motions and other questions of detail. These are important details, but they are details. On the contrary the social engineer deals, not with details primarily, but with policies. He treats the basic question in industry. His work is that of industrial statesmanship. Of course all good titles are so speedily spoiled by loose and careless usage, that we need not waste time by insisting on their accurate use, so long as we have a clear conception of the two types of work. In practice

they will doubtless tend to overlap, for there can be no real efficiency, while basic defects of policy continue. But no one ought to deceive himself by confusing the two types of work.

Failure to make this simple distinction is so common, and is so frequently a designed failure, that it will be helpful to make it clear by a pointed illustration. The test of sanity in some asylums is to take the patient to a trough, partially filled with water, and into which an open spigot pours new supplies of water. The patient is asked to bail the water out of the trough. If he attempts to do so without first turning off the flow, he is regarded as insane, and properly so. Efficiency engineering, as hitherto understood, assumed that a workman was a machine and concerned itself with the kind of vessel to be used in bailing out the water, the method of using the fewest motions, and similar questions of mechanical detail. On the other hand the social engineer, assumes that a workman is a human being, and concerns himself with the task of turning off the spigot, preventing troubles by dealing with their source of supply, eliminating the fundamental defects of the industrial type of work, and is so obviously sane that the probability is that efficiency engineering will in the near future develop into social engineering, which is as it should be, for then we will have real efficiency for the first time.

This hopeful outlook inspired the significant resolution recently adopted by the Federation of Ameri-

can Engineering Societies, of which Herbert Hoover was elected the first president. It is as follows:

“Engineering is the science of controlling the forces and of utilizing the materials of nature for the benefit of man, and the art of organizing and of directing human activities in connection therewith.

“As service to others is the expression of the highest motive to which men respond and as duty to contribute to the public welfare demands the best efforts men can put forth,

“NOW, THEREFORE, the engineering and allied technical societies of the United States of America, through the formation of the Federated American Engineering Societies, realize a long cherished ideal—a comprehensive organization dedicated to the service of the community, state and nation.”

The aim of other engineers, as this resolution indicates, is to develop material resources and use the human factor as a means to this end, but a social engineer's aim is to develop human resources and use the material factor as a means to this end. The two types of engineers have much in common and their work is harmonious, but the approach to their tasks is quite distinct and different. The fact that other engineers have recognized the necessity of directing human activities from the standpoint of public service in order to make their work effective, is a striking indication of the need for the new profession of social engineering.

Inasmuch as social engineering deals with fundamental issues, it will be observed that the bill of particulars made no mention of labor unions. A labor union is not a fundamental issue but a detail. It aims to secure fundamental results, but its existence or non-existence is not a basic question. It is an effect, not a cause. A union, like every other organization, is a means to an end, not an end in itself. By far too much is made over labor unions, both by capitalists and by workmen themselves. They both ought to center their attention on the real issues at stake. Most of the talk about unions is camouflage. The claim of some manufacturers that they have a right to organize for their own benefit, and their workmen have not, is nothing but comedy, if it is not something worse. It is a suggestion that the impartial public cannot recognize as worthy even of consideration.

The attempt to carry on a war of extermination against labor unions is surprisingly stupid, as well as futile. It is the evidence either of an inexcusable ignorance of history and human nature, or an unwillingness to face the issues they raise. Labor unions are neither to be feared nor fought, but recognized with gratitude in spite of their defects. They are the most effective agencies we have for genuine Americanization, for they operate on the American ideals of free association, free speech and free action. In the light of their history and achievement, it would be nothing short of a calamity

to the progress of human decency in general and to the American experiment at democracy in particular, if they should go out of existence, at least at present.

The facts it seems to me make this the only fair-minded as well as the only wise attitude to take towards labor unions. Such an attitude received forceful expression in the progressive and statesmanlike report recently issued by the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce. It says: "A movement is now on foot which, misusing the name of 'open shop' and 'American plan,' is smashing labor organizations throughout the country by locking the unions out and forcibly deunionizing the workman. Together with the abuses of unionism this movement is destroying the constructive substance of unionism and stifling the just democratic aspirations of the workmen. It is undermining the confidence of labor in employers and ruining the foundation for co-operation between them. Similar campaigns in former periods of depression have resulted only in redoubled growth of unionism and the adoption by it of more extreme measures in the periods of prosperity which followed and there is no reason to believe that the results of this campaign will be different. Campaigns of this nature are leading to oppression by employers and are playing into the hands of revolutionary elements. Thus the cycle continues with the participants in continuous and senseless warfare."

This would be the universal opinion, if it were

not for the state of war existing between organized capitalists and organized workmen. War is always the fruitful mother of prejudice. When warfare is replaced by cooperation, the owners and managers will support labor unions and assist them in working out the big constructive social program, which the labor guilds once operated in Europe.

In case we desired to abolish labor unions, there is one simple and effective method of doing it, a method with which workmen everywhere would be in agreement. It is to remove the reason for their existence. If this were done, attendance at their meetings would naturally diminish and they would go out of existence. Their members would not want them to continue, if they cease to have any cause to serve. Labor unions originated and now exist to work for the establishment of the manhood principle as an industrial policy, which means a just distribution of earnings, decent living conditions, a chance for joy in work and an opportunity for self-expression. The effort of workmen in behalf of this cause can never cease until they cease to be men or until God is dead. To them this cause has become a religion, as in fact it is. To expect them to abandon organized effort in its behalf, is the same as it would be to ask a father to abandon all effort in behalf of his own child's welfare. Let us be done with foolish and insincere talk about details. Let us talk about the question itself. We are not cowards; why should there be any sugges-

tion of fear to face it. It is as big and fascinating as life itself.

This then is the nature of a bill of particulars for the operation of the manhood principle in industry. I have an intuition that at this point some reader has a strong impulse to rise to a point of information. He says: I thought a bill of particulars meant a detailed account of how the new policy operated in particular factories. Is it your plan to give such an account? I would say to my hypothetical questioner that what he asks for is not a bill of particulars on the policy itself. I have already given that. What he asks for is a report or survey of some one's experiment with it, a very different thing. Such a report may reveal only an approximation to the policy, or a variety of adaptations of it, or it may be a distortion of it, or it may only reveal some manager's capacity or incapacity to understand it. I would also ask my questioner to note carefully that the importation into industry of certain democratic forms borrowed from politics, where they have not been a conspicuous success, are only stepping-stones toward our goal. Unless democracy in industry is some improvement over the type now in operation in politics, it will not get us far. I would also warn my questioner against the temptation and common practice to use the request for a survey as the means of side-stepping a moral responsibility.

With these three safeguards in mind, I would say

that accounts of the attempts to operate democracy in industry by the method of trial and error are most helpful and stimulating. I refer my questioner to two recent books. First, the enterprising and suggestive book by John R. Commons, and his collaborators, called "Industrial Government," which describes eighteen various experiments with democracy in industry. Second, the illuminating book by Ray Stannard Baker, called "The New Industrial Unrest," which describes several more interesting experiments and triumphs of industrial democracy, together with a penetrating and wholesome analysis of the present unrest in industry.

I confess that I had planned to include a description of the operation of the new policy in six typical trials of it, three from my own experience, and three from that of others. I had intended to describe the operation of the new policy as it has been partially adopted in the settlement which ended the recent coal strike in England. This settlement provided for the establishment of a national wage pool, the acceptance of a material cut in wages, the division of surplus profits in the ratio of eighty-three per cent. to the coal hewers and seventeen per cent. to the mine owners. The immediate result of the plan was an increase in production to a point higher than before the strike, in spite of the fact that one hundred thousand fewer men are employed and two hundred pits have not been reopened. This is an astonishing result. It is unexpected, but not at all

surprising. That justice is economically profitable ought not to be a surprising discovery. It would not be, if men had not usually refused to do the right thing until they had guarantees about results. But it ceases to be right, and becomes merely enlightened selfishness, if done for the sake of guarantees, and, moreover, there is no way of discovering what the result will be without the venture of courage to do the simple right.

Therefore, for the sake of this discussion I have concluded, that it would be more helpful to omit all reports on the operation of the new policy. I am most desirous of avoiding the common danger of diverting our attention from the policy itself by a consideration of its details. I am writing this book to make a simple, clear statement, divorced from learned complexities, of the manhood principle as an industrial policy, and as the only possible solution of the industrial problem. There are so very few books which state the issue for debate in modern industry, that it seems wiser for us to do no fishing up side streams, but keep to the main current of our discussion. The industrial war is so suicidal in its waste of money and good-will, and so big with consequences for the national welfare, that we should spare no pains in the attempt to discover what the war is about. Is it not a curious tragi-comedy of modern history that we have permitted the industrial civil war to proceed on its destructive course for so long a period without mak-

ing any attempt to discover its fundamental cause? Certainly there is little hope of finding a remedy unless we do discover the real cause and acquire the courage to face it.

There is a still further fundamental reason for omitting the reports on the successful operation of the new policy. I want to utilize the omission to make emphatic my conviction that the manhood principle needs no demonstration. It is not the kind of thing to be demonstrated, but the kind of thing to be discovered and accepted. I am not stating the manhood principle as an opinion or an invention, or a theory; I am announcing it as the discovery of a formula of economics, a law of human society which any man may discover for himself. It is a self-evident proposition. It is an organic law of the universe, and therefore rests on observation and experience. It is like the law of gravitation, which needs no demonstration. You do not collect reports on the number of men who broke their legs by walking off high buildings and steep embankments before you conclude that you ought to co-operate with the law of gravitation. Just as "nature is governed only by obeying her" so human nature is controlled only by respecting her laws of behaviour. The manhood principle is manifestly a difficult law to follow. So is truth-telling; but you would not dare to commend lying—not in public—because truth-telling is imperfectly practiced. So is manhood suffrage; but because a

large proportion of qualified voters fail to exercise this right, we do not propose to surrender what it has taken centuries of struggle to achieve. So are the Ten Commandments; but because as yet they are nowhere in perfect operation, we do not mean to abandon our effort to make them the laws of the social order.

If you still insist on a demonstration of the manhood principle in industry, all you need to do is to look back over the industrial history of the past one hundred fifty years. The validity of an organic law is demonstrated quite as much by its infraction as by its observance. The penalties resulting from its violation constitute its sanctions. The disastrous results from the failure to practice the manhood principle during the past one hundred fifty years, and still apparent everywhere, furnish all the demonstration any wise man needs. It is demonstration to the point of monotony. The burden of proof is not on the man who says that two plus two equals four; but on the man who denies it. The man who has attempted to prove that two plus two equals something else than four, and has failed in the attempt, has thereby demonstrated that two plus two must of necessity equal four. I do not know why it is so, but I know that the kind of universe we are now living in is so constructed that it is so. The manhood principle is a law like the laws of heat and light and electricity. No man made them and no man can unmake them. He can only adjust

himself to them and prosper, or he can mal-adjust himself to them, and take responsibility for the results. It is wiser, also safer, frankly to acknowledge that it is impossible to circumvent God.

I said just now that I am announcing this law of economics as a discovery which any man may make for himself. The hopeful thing is that a few leaders of industry, perhaps more than we realize, are beginning to make it. Thomas E. Mitten, of Philadelphia, for example, has made it. He said recently: "The only big thing I did was to make a discovery—a discovery which a good many people have made before me but which has not generally been applied to the rapid transit game. I discovered that 10,000 men could do much more than a dozen, especially if the 10,000 were on the job while the dozen were not. The best board of directors on earth cannot run a railroad. The only way a railroad can be run is through co-operation."

He stated the same discovery in the form of three principles, thus: "First, that the primary purpose of a public service corporation is to give public service, and without such service none but thieves can benefit. Second, that the successful running of a railroad depends most upon the men who run the railroad, and these human beings are of more importance than dividends. Third, capital cannot get an adequate return for its investment, it cannot, in fact, get any return unless these principles are observed. Financiers may and sometimes do get

rich by other methods, just as burglars may run away with your silverware, but what they get in that case is not dividends but swag."


It ought not to be surprising; it ought to go without saying that these principles produced their natural and logical results. When Mr. Mitten became president of the rapid transit company, the condition of things he found as stated by Charles W. Wood, was as follows: "The system broken down; the cars and equipment obsolete; the employees sullen and discontented, and the company's credit so exhausted that it was impossible to meet a raise of one-half cent per hour which had been agreed upon in the settlement of a violent strike."

After operating his principles a few years the condition of things today is as follows: "Transit service was doubled; the accident list was cut in two; the whole system was re-equipped with cars; dividends began to be paid; the wages of employees jumped from 23 cents an hour to 72 (*voluntarily* reduced last year to 64); and, when banking interests which had once brought the road to ruin called a halt, men and management dislodged the bankers from the board of directors, elected a board composed of managers and employees instead, and now guarantee 6 per cent. dividends to stockholders and promise a 10 per cent. salary dividend to all employees."

Is it not significant that approaching the labor problem from the standpoint of history and a

knowledge of human nature and the impartial experience of a social engineer as I have done, and that Mr. Mitten approaching it from the standpoint of the internal operating necessities of a big industry, should both have arrived at exactly the same conclusions? The significance lies in the fact that these conclusions issue from principles that are self-evident truths, obvious to all who want to see. They require no proof. No amount of practical business experience would have enabled Mr. Mitten to produce the remarkable results he has achieved. His predecessors had abundant business experience. Mr. Mitten's achievement is the result of his discovery. This discovery is the load-star of modern industry. And when a considerable number of industrial leaders make the same discovery, the labor question will cease to be a problem and become an opportunity, as it has to Mr. Mitten. To him his business is his chief recreation.

What I am seeking to make clear is that our immediate major concern is not to continue making surveys of the industrial war, but to begin making searches for a way to terminate it. We have had surveys enough, one hundred and fifty years of them. We've been surveyed and re-surveyed; what we now need is suggested remedies. The time has come to adopt the slogan, "Don't count the enemy; beat him." Suggested remedies would have real news value. We have had front page reports on the industrial war with reiterated monotony. But



some ideas on the way out of the industrial disorder would be a new kind of news—fresh news, good news, constructive news.

All discussions and activities in this field can be grouped under three descriptive captions, things as they are; things as they ought to be; how to change things as they are into things as they ought to be. Under the first, we get reports of conflicts, strikes, disorders; under the second, Utopian dreams. You can secure front page space for the first type of story, and even for the second type of story, if it is fantastic enough, but especially for the first. A young modern reporter was once asked, "If you were given two assignments for a news story, one to Hell and one to Heaven, and if you wanted to make sure that your story would be accepted, which one would you take?" He answered, "I would take the assignment to Hell. Heaven has no news value, but Hell is full of it." He knew the kind of wares his market wanted.

It is this kind of news with which we have been chiefly concerning ourselves. But we have had enough news from Hell. What we need is some news about a way of escape from it. That would be news with some point to it and a touch of freshness on it. Anyone can see things as they are, and anyone can dream about things as they ought to be, but how to change them is the difficult and constructive job. News about that is what ought to concern us now. The manhood principle, as the

new policy for the reorganization of industry, is here offered as having this new type of news value. Bold and clear thinking on this task is our present national need. To search for this kind of news and debate it is the challenge, which our need makes to newspapers, magazines, and public forums. When Socrates was asked: "How do you get to Mount Olympus," he answered, "By doing all your walking in that direction." The time has come to turn our faces away from the past one hundred and fifty years, and direct our thinking towards tomorrow in a search for the way out of things as they are.

To indicate how feasible is the application of the new policy, when once its main principle is discovered and accepted, whatever the skill and patience required for its execution, I will describe its application to a sugar plantation, because the conditions are primitive, and exhibit its elements in bold relief. On a recent visit to the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference at Honolulu, I was invited to do some social engineering work in the islands. Among other things, I was asked to examine and make suggestions on the welfare work in a certain sugar plantation. I suppress its name out of courtesy, because my recommendations are now before its board of directors.

On this plantation there are four large and expensive types of welfare work in operation, for it covers twelve thousand acres and involves seven thousand persons. With the leader of one of these

enterprises as a guide, I examined them all. With the plantation's manager, I visited the large sugar mill and a few of the forty camps on the place. Then to lunch at the palatial residence of the manager in the center of the plantation. During the luncheon, he requested me to state my conclusions about the welfare work. I answered that so far as it goes, it seemed to me to be very good. This woman in charge of one piece of it, is doing the best she can. I made to her four suggested improvements, but they were only improvements in details. I rejoice over every good effort being made, and I think I better not go further than that today. "Oh, yes, you will," he said, "we are not entirely satisfied with our work, and we want your honest criticism; also your suggestions for improvement."

I never saw a finer exhibition of the fact that the nature of all welfare work is determined by economic conditions. Community workers are compelled to deal with industrial problems, whether they wish to or not, unless they are content that their work shrivel up into mere "uplift" work, and cease to have any constructive value. At that time in Hawaii, a strenuous effort was being made to influence congress to permit the importation of cheap Chinese contract laborers, and the propaganda in its behalf was of such a kind, that it was quite dangerous for anyone to express an opinion, if it did not harmonize with that of the financial masters of the islands. In fact, everyone either

expressed agreement or kept quiet. I did not hesitate on this account, because long ago I adopted the policy that I would "never sell the truth to serve the hour," but I wanted to test the manager.

After he requested my honest criticism, I asked, "Are you a man of courage?" He said, "I am." Desiring confirmation from headquarters, I asked his wife: "Is he telling me the truth?" She said, "He is." "Very well, then," I said, "I will tell you. Your welfare work cannot be better than it is, because your industrial policy is what it is. Your entire policy is wrong, and not only wrong, but stupidly wrong." "That sounds refreshing," he said. "I realize," I answered, "that the word 'stupidity' has a harsh sound, but it is the only word that fits. What impresses me most about you owners and managers, is not what you are suffering, but what you are losing. You are spending large sums as you told me, on motion pictures. Most of the people do not attend; those who do attend think you are trying to put something over on them. This is true of all your uplift work. It is wasted effort for the most part. It is very good of its type, but the type is wrong. It fails to do what it is designed to do. You need five hundred more men and can't get them. There's a reason why you can't, and it is a removable cause. Then there is a continuous silent strike in progress. This gives you not more than fifty per cent. production. This is your big loss. When you are needlessly wasting money and

losing money, please suggest an adjective, which describes your policy, if 'stupid' seems unfair."

"Do you mean to suggest," he said, "that we ought to install an entirely new policy?" "I certainly do," I answered. "You owners and managers are most courteous and attractive people, but your industrial policy is nothing but feudalism. It is un-American and economically unsound." "Could you give me," he asked, "a bill of particulars for your suggested new policy?" "Certainly," I said. I had never seen a sugar plantation before, but the defects in the policy in operation were so obvious, that a blind man could see them, and the changes required by the manhood policy could have been suggested by anyone, who had discovered the principle of it. The manager is an honest and open-minded man. After going thoroughly over the new policy with him, he asked me to reduce it to writing, so that he could submit it to his directors. It is as follows, and it illustrates a few of the obvious items in the operation of the

MANHOOD PRINCIPLE APPLIED TO A PLANTATION

Causes of Trouble

1. Within the limits of the policy now in operation much good work is being done, which I gladly recognize and rejoice over. But the policy is fundamentally wrong.
2. Most of the money now spent in welfare work is wasted because it does not accomplish the object aimed at.

3. Much money is also lost because you are getting only about fifty per cent., certainly not more than seventy-five per cent., of the production you ought to get, could get, and are entitled to get. A silent strike is more or less in progress all the time.

4. There is a wall of suspicion between management and men. The connection between the laborer's hand and his brain and heart has been broken. You are working with pieces of men.

5. The men are treated as cogs in a wheel, with no chance to play the part of men in their work. They are no longer content to have merely a wage relation to the plantation.

6. Labor is degraded by being treated as unskilled. There is no such thing as unskilled labor, for there is no kind of work which could not be made more productive and enjoyable by devising better ways of doing it.

7. Your system is feudalism and is one hundred and fifty years behind the times. Democracy has been introduced into government, but not yet into industry. The trouble is, therefore, much deeper than a question of wages. It is a question of human welfare.

The Way Out

1. If the above is a correct diagnosis of the trouble, the remedy is quite obvious. It is to remove the cause. You need not so much the importation of more cheap laborers, but the importation of a new policy. More cheap labor is no solution, but an aggravation. Cheap Chinese labor may bring you some relief tomorrow, but the day after tomorrow your condition will be the same, and probably worse. If you do get more cheap labor, you will need the new policy more than before.

2. This means a dividend on wages just as you have a

dividend on capital. Your two essential items in the business are capital and labor. Fix a basic and just return on both; in one case it is a dividend, in the other it is a wage. Regard both as operating expense with the other expenses. Anything made beyond this is profit. It should be distributed proportionately between capital and wages.

3. Such distribution of profits is not only just, but will make more money for the management and men. It will have a marked influence on the attitude of the men towards their work, and on their efficiency in it. Naturally they will work harder and prevent waste, because it will increase the profits, in which they will then have a share.

4. There ought to be a series of regular conferences between management and men for council and discussion. This will not only create a good morale by improving the men's self-respect, but will call forth many suggestions for improvement in methods of work.

5. The forty camps on the plantation should be concentrated into ten, in order to make units big enough to be operated advantageously.

6. The men should own their houses and pay for them. This will give them one spot, at least, where they could have freedom for initiative and self-expression, working at their houses and gardens, planting a tree and playing with flowers.

7. Organize and operate a house-owning plan, by which you build and sell houses or by which the man builds and owns his own house. If he leaves, he can sell the house back to you, and you can re-sell it to another.

8. The term "camp" should be changed to "village." In each village there should be a schoolhouse, built by public money. The land for it would have to be owned by the territory. It should be a community type of schoolhouse, in order to be available as a center of social activities for all

adults and youths. You may have to supplement the public funds by a small amount to get this type of building.

9. This will give you ten school teachers, supported at public expense, who could, at the same time, be directors of social activities, for which the people themselves would take responsibility.

10. You could thus dispense with all your uplift work now in operation. The time for this type of work has gone by. It is morally hurtful to the men, as well as futile. You will need only one good man to direct the work of the ten teachers.

11. The above items are sufficient to show that the new policy would save much money. It would greatly increase production, which is the big item of saving. In addition, it would save most of the money you now spend in uplift work. Moreover, your directors would no longer feel the need of giving "conscience money" to charity, because there would be little or no need for charity. The suggested new policy operates on the principle of self-help.

12. The policy here suggested considers equally the benefit both to management and men, which are like two sides of one and the same shield and must be treated together; neither one can prosper alone. What is not good for the hive is not good for the bee.

How to Start

1. The right and wise thing to be done seems clear enough; how to do it is the difficulty. But it can be done, because it has been. It is now operated in many places with marked success.

2. The new policy is not a mechanical device, but a human activity. Therefore, it has to be installed slowly and patiently. Each item of the program has to be first consid-

ered carefully by the directors until they understand and heartily approve. The same process has to be used with the men. It would perhaps take three months to start it.

3. To install the new policy you need a social engineer from outside, who makes a special business of this work. I am not certain that I can spare the time to install it for you, as you kindly suggested you might want me to do, although I would be glad to do it, because this is a department of our National Community Board's work, and the one in which I am most interested. But whether or not I shall be able to leave my other duties, I shall gladly give you all the help I can.

4. Your labor problem at bottom is essentially the same as it is in Europe and Continental America, differing only in detail. The unrest is due to the awakened and deep desire of men to be treated like men and to play a part in their own work. It is as useless to fight it as to fight the law of gravitation. Moreover, we ought to rejoice in it, because we can capitalize it and use it to yield big dividends in money and happiness, both for management and men. If you will adopt the policy here proposed, you need not waste any more money in trying to secure favors from the Congress at Washington. The key to the solution of your problem is in your own hands.

It will be observed that every item in this suggested program is a simple and logical consequence of the central principle, on which the program is built. A program like this cannot be adopted, nor successfully operated, if adopted, until the manhood principle is discovered and understood. This is to say that the issue before modern industry is a clean cut issue between the manhood principle and the

commodity principle. It is not a question of mechanics, but of morals; a question of making our policy fit the facts of human nature. It is not a question of altruism, but of the scientific treatment of facts. Robert Briffault speaks sober sense when he says: "The necessity of ethical considerations is no other than the hard necessity of adaptation of facts as they are. There are in the relations between man and man conditions which are, and others which are not adapted to actual facts. The unadapted result in failure, the adapted in evolutionary growth and life." Not until the commodity principle is once for all discarded and the manhood principle freely accepted, will our industrial policy be in accord with the facts, on which the universe is constructed. When this occurs, we may hope for an end of industrial war, and the beginning of a new industrial order.

CHAPTER IX

NEW INDUSTRIAL AMERICA

ALMOST every nation at its birth consciously or unconsciously has adopted some big formative principle which shaped its organization, influenced the nature of its various activities and determined the worth of its contribution to progress. In Palestine it was religion; in Greece it was culture; in Rome it was law; in America it is what?

Fortunately the answer to this question is in no doubt. The origin of other nations lie hidden in the mists of a dim and distant past clouded by mythical traditions. The story of ours is distinguished by this significant circumstance, that it lies wholly in the field of modern history, with all the facts exposed to view and with a clearly defined purpose. Its formative and creative purpose is the enfranchisement of manhood, the development of the individual, making available for the many what once was confined to the few, lifting artificial burdens from all shoulders, giving to each a fair chance in the race of life.

The United States opened a new road to political freedom and started an experiment in democracy of vast consequence to the welfare of mankind. Our

present difficult task is to keep the road open, but we must do more. We have discovered that we must secure industrial freedom, if we would preserve our political freedom. We must re-establish industrial democracy, not only for its own sake, but to save our political democracy from wreckage. Our unfinished business is to create a new industrial America. The challenge of this unfinished task was recently presented to America by a well-known industrial leader from Europe. Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree is one of the most successful and liberal-minded manufacturers of England. He is an industrial statesman. On his recent tour of the United States to inspect our industrial development, he was courteous enough to say that he had received some helpful suggestions; he was also courteous enough not to say in which respects England was more progressive than we are, although it was obvious that he could have named them.

There was one statement made to him before sailing for home, which impressed him more than everything else he heard or saw on his visit, and it opened up for him the vision of a constructive policy in advance of any of the reforms he had already established in his own factory. It was a statement by Robert B. Wolf, a pioneer of the new social engineering type. It is as follows: "Let the worker participate in the financial rewards of industry, and he may have his sense of justice satisfied; let him be insured against sickness, unemployment and old

age and he may develop contentment of a sort; but only when the industrial processes are organized so that every worker becomes a conscious creator, so that his creative powers are released and he forgets all other considerations in the joy of the job, will the true greatness of our industrial system be understood." "That to me," said Mr. Rowntree, "is the most inspiring word I heard in America. I believe it is the message of New America to the world. It is a message I want to carry back to England—and I hope to induce Mr. Wolf to bring it personally." Mr. Wolf's statement is the accurate expression of the manhood principle, which is the one idea this book is written to make clear. Mr. Rowntree is quite right in supposing that on the basis of this single principle the New Industrial America will be built. Nothing less fundamental is able to bring it to pass.

The nature of the opportunity which America missed and must now recover by creating a democratic industrial order, is picturesquely set forth in a little drama by Rauschenbusch, laid in the council chamber in heaven, when it was announced that Columbus had discovered America. It is as follows:

"In one of the azure halls of heaven is the council chamber in which the Senate of the Immortals meets. Only the wisest of all ages have a seat there: Moses and Isaiah, Solon and Aristotle, King Arthur, Dante and their spiritual peers. Equipped with

the experience of their own nations, enriched by communion with men of all times, unbiased by selfish passions, uninfluenced by party interests, they sit to consider the course of human events.

“To them entered one day that vivacious and versatile Personality who once came with the Sons of God and discussed the case of Job with Jehovah. He had again come ‘from going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it,’ and he now reported that Columbus had just discovered America.

“Immediately there rose before the prophetic minds of the great Immortals the sight of broadening streams of human life pouring from the old world into the new, of communities colonizing the seaboard, pushing up the river valleys, clustering around the waterfalls, dotting the plains with homes, and building up commonwealths and nations. A great hope swept audibly through the Senate like the rushing of a mighty wind. In that new continent the best in humanity would find a free course; no inherited tyrannies seeking to perpetuate themselves, no embittering memories of bloody wars, no classes and castes cemented with injustice to baffle brotherhood and defy the liberty of States. Swiftly they began to plan a great Charter of Rights and Liberties that would forever bar out from the new land the forces, which had ruined the other peoples.

“Satan listened with an amiable smile. ‘Excuse me, gentlemen, but let us get down to common sense.

We've got this all fixed. You forget that the people who occupy this country will need labor force. We'll let them use up the Indians, provided they can make 'em work. After that we'll tap the reserve force of Africa and put the black race at their service. You know that the venerable institution of slavery has been indispensable in the advancement of civilization. By restricting it to the colored races, we shall save the whites from the slight hardships which naturally accompany it.' (The Senate moved uneasily.) 'Then we've got to offer incentives to thrift and enterprise. We're going to introduce the system of private property in land which worked such remarkable results in the Roman Empire.' (A shudder ran through the assembly.) 'Those who first seize an opportunity can keep it and work it. That will promote industry and progress.'

"'But the land must not be sold in perpetuity,' broke in the venerable figure of Moses. 'Jehovah forbade it. All must have a share in God's land. What shall they do who come after?'

"'They'll have to make the best terms they can with the fellows on the inside. Every man for himself, and I'm always ready to take the hindermost, you know,' and he winked at King Arthur, who gripped his staff with brawny fist, as if he would right willingly use it.

"'As the population increases, it will be necessary for the sake of efficiency to consolidate the resources of the nation. The ablest men will come

to hold all the important property rights and the lines of traffic. In four hundred years, say about 1892, they ought to have a pretty solid system. They can fix prices as they need them, and in that way they will have ample funds to finance the development of mankind and put society on a stable basis.'

"'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field,' exclaimed Isaiah, lifting his hands. 'What mean ye, that ye crush my people and grind the face of the poor?'

"'This is death to the liberties of the people,' cried Aristotle. 'This is the very calamity from which every patriot of Greece sought to save his commonwealth. It was in vain. Greece became a desert.' Solon covered his face.

"They sat in silence, and darkness seemed to shroud the chamber. One of the attendant angels was reminded of the gloom that settled over heaven, when word was brought of the fall of man. Even from the lips of Satan the smile vanished, and he passed out."

Would not a new industrial America, built in accordance with her original purpose, mean a reversal of the standards, which, as this drama suggests, have been old and customary rules of conduct in industry? It would. But how could the reversal of these standards be affected without a revolution? It could not. But it would be a revolution of a new sort, a revolution by consent. America established

the beginning of her experiment in political democracy by a revolutionary war, the use of physical force. The new industrial America likewise, cannot be established without a revolution, but it will use no physical force of any kind. It will be a mental revolution, a "reasonable" revolution.

The industrial revolution with its application of steam to machinery, and capitalism to the organization of industry has been called "the revolution of the rich against the poor." It was natural enough that the poor should conduct a counter-revolution against the rich. For one hundred and fifty years each class has been operating a revolution of its own, and conducting an organized war against the other. If the structure of modern industry, over which they fight, is not to be destroyed, the time has come for a new kind of revolution in which both classes shall be allies, instead of rivals. Community labor boards will be the agencies and centers of the new revolution. It will start, indeed has already started, by the peaceful but powerful pressure of public opinion, compelling both antagonists to consider their conflict in the light of their mutual obligation to the community's interest instead of their own. The initiative in the revolution for the most part should be taken by capitalists on the principle of *noblesse oblige*, and for the further reason, stated by Lincoln in his first message to Congress: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could never have existed

if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration."

To secure the consideration of industrial disputes in the light of their relation to the public welfare instantly transforms them into very different types of problems and opens the only clear road to their possible solution on a sound basis. But this is only a beginning. If the revolution is to produce permanent results and issue in a new industrial America, it will have to be achieved by the free acceptance of a new transforming idea, which, so far as history has yet revealed, is the only force equal to the task. This transforming idea is the voluntary organization and operation of industry on the basis of a bill of duties instead of a bill of rights. This is a mental and spiritual process. But does not this take us into the field of ethics? Certainly. This is what the labor problem is about. It seems preposterous that we should permit a destructive industrial war to continue without making a serious attempt to discover exactly what its cause is. There is no hope of discovering its cause unless we see clearly that the question at issue is not mechanical, and not financial, but ethical. It lies in the defective ethical relationship between owners and workmen. It is quite understandable by any average high school boy.

"There is," said Carlyle, "but one class of men to be trembled at, and that is the stupid class, the

class that cannot see, who, alas, are they mainly that *will* not see." Let no one be deceived by the detailed complexities of modern business. These complexities are frequently used by a certain class of men as a smoke screen to obscure the central moral issue. Many of them may be honestly self-deceived, by absorption in details, as to what the real issue is. It is a commonplace for them to attack social philosophers with the remark, "You do not understand; modern industry is too complicated for you." Whereas the social philosopher is the only man who does understand it. With the so-called "practical" business men like the ex-German Kaiser, an understanding of modern industry glares by its absence, and this defect is tragic and costly for the rest of us. One of the greatest of social philosophers, M. Bergson, stated the heart of the problem when he said:

"Many years hence, when the reaction of the past shall have left only the grand outlines in view, this, perhaps, is how a philosopher will speak of our age. He will say that the idea, peculiar to the nineteenth century, of employing science in the satisfaction of our material wants had given a wholly unforeseen extension to the mechanical arts, and equipped man, in less than fifty years, with more tools than he had made during the thousands of years he had lived upon earth. Each new machine being for man a new organ,—an artificial organ,—his body became suddenly and prodigiously increased

in size, without his soul being at the same time able to dilate to the dimensions of his new body."

The problem could not be other than an ethical one, because it mainly concerns humans. This is where the argument has led us by a straight course, and we ought to have the courage to follow wherever the argument leads us. You may make any legitimate use you please of the nation's forces in times of emergency to prevent public disaster. But law and guns only prevent and destroy. They are weakness and futility compared to an ethical motive, and they touch only the fringe of our problem. We are searching for some power, not to prevent men from doing wrong but to stimulate them to do right. There is nothing that will set a man going from within so that he will run himself, and do the right thing, except a living sense of duty.

Workmen are organized for the express purpose of securing and defending their rights. Capitalists are organized for the express purpose of securing and defending their rights. It is a foregone conclusion that on due occasion they both will fight for their rights, and this is what in fact they do. When we are thus deliberately organized for industrial warfare, what else can we expect but warfare? There is no hope for its termination until the doctrine of rights is replaced by the doctrine of duties as the first law of social conduct. The reason why Robinson Crusoe had no labor troubles after Friday came, was because his attitude towards him was

determined by the theory of duties; the sense of responsibility for his personal development.

This law is not intended to apply to one class alone, but to all classes alike. It is not offered to workingmen as a pious camouflage to divert their attention from their primary and inalienable rights, which have been so frequently denied them. It is this hypocrisy, which has brought the term "duty" into disrespect, and caused the theory of duties to be treated as the antithesis of the theory of rights, as if we under-rated the importance of rights and wanted to deny them. It is fitting and sometimes imperative that men should contend for their rights. It will continue to be necessary so long as society is organized on its present low levels. What we seek is to change the level in order to obviate the necessity of any contention for one's rights. We challenge the basis of social organization, which is both a cause and consequence of the theory of rights. The theory of rights is a space-binding concept. The theory of duties is a time-binding concept, which alone has the power to transform the basis of society and lift life to a higher level, appropriate for men rather than animals.

The doctrine of duty is here considered as a scientific social law. My contention is that to base our social conduct on the rights of man is a current political fallacy, that all rights are morally conditioned on duties fulfilled, that to make duty a corollary to primary duty, is unethical and has debased

our social and business standards, that the primacy should be given to duties over rights, not that we should think less of rights, but more of duties. My contention also is that to give primacy to duties is the only effective way to secure one's rights, and that if this primacy is not only approved in principle, but observed in practice, as a rule of conduct for citizens, so that they will first of all seek the common good and subordinate private to public interest, there can be no sure guarantee that their own interests will be safeguarded.

I realize that social philosophy has not yet coined a word to express this comprehensive idea. The absence of any word for it, and the misuse of the word "duty," make it necessary to describe the idea itself, and since the idea is the reversal of a common political fallacy, which for so long has been current and unquestioned, it is the more necessary that it be made as clear as may be.

The doctrine of rights was the supreme formula of the French Revolution. The convention of 1787 adopted a bill of rights. When a group of men petitioned it to adopt also a bill of duties, the convention voted it down, stating as the reason for its action that a bill of duties was a matter of religion. It was quite right in its judgment; quite wrong in its action.

The doctrine of rights is an effective formula on which to conduct a fight against the tyranny of yesterday; wholly ineffective as an aim for the construc-

tive action of tomorrow. But ever since the epoch, begun with the American and French Revolutions, it has ruled us with sovereign sway.

On the basis of rights we have won some liberty, but we have failed to inquire what we propose to do with it. Aimless liberty inevitably leads to anarchy and warfare. When men stand on their rights they will fight to secure and defend them; so will nations. Both within and among nations we are organized for warfare, because we are dominated by the formula of rights.

All courts of law are courts of rights. Legislative assemblies frequently have passed bills of rights. International conferences are wholly absorbed in the task of securing and protecting national rights. They have acted on this principle as between nations, because the citizens of these nations have acted on the same principle as among each other.

The community movement seeks to change the basis of social organization and civilization by substituting a bill of duties for a bill of rights. A community center, like the family, is an institute of duties, not an institute of rights.

The most effective method of securing one's rights is to perform one's duties. My rights are what other men owe me; my duties are what I owe to them. If, then, we mutually discharge our duties, we automatically secure our rights.

The only effective way to achieve disarmament between classes or nations is to operate on the doc-

trine of duties. How can we expect any other kind of disarmament until we first disarm the mind? Is there any other way to disarm the mind except to substitute duties for rights? When I go to another man to render him a service I do not need to go accompanied by gunboats and rifles. They are automatically eliminated.

Our inveterate inability to put ourselves by an act of intelligent sympathy in the other fellow's place, is due to the exclusive use of the principle of rights. Only when you put yourself in his place is it possible to do him justice and avoid conflict. As a mere matter of smartness the best way for one man to outwit another is to do him a service; it at once puts him on the defensive. The same is true of nations.

This policy would lead a class or nation to learn from others; not impose its standards on them. It would disclose the surprising amount of ignorance every class and nation has accumulated about the others. It might in time even lead us to conclude with Mark Twain, that: "The older we grow the more we are astonished to notice how much ignorance one can contain without bursting one's clothes."

The theory of rights is a secondary idea, a consequence of something else. No rights exist except as they are based on their corresponding duties. A right is the consequence of a duty fulfilled. It is not only that the conduct of nations and classes toward each other has been wrong. The disease is far

deeper. Their ethical standards have been defective. They have put rights in the first place; they belong in the second.

This makes all the difference in the world. The persistence of armed conflict both within and among nations, is not a puzzle, but a natural product. The world has been running on a side track instead of the main track. In every program of international politics and of industrial politics a bill of duties glares by its absence. That's why they usually get nowhere except into trouble.

The new epoch ushered in by the World War is morally bewildered and bankrupt for lack of a satisfying aim. The world is loosened from its old moorings and drifts without a rudder, a formative principle. It has not yet discovered a purpose road on which to travel. It's on its way but doesn't know where it is going. It has motion but no progress. It lacks a formula to guide its thinking and direct its action. The formula it blindly seeks is the charter of duties.

Will the world ever see the wisdom of substituting its duties for its rights? No one can say. All one can say is that there is no other practical way of avoiding suicidal wreckage. The principle of duty plus the free acceptance of it, guarantees personal joy and social progress. Liberty minus the principle of duty stimulates personal egotism and social anarchy. On the theory of rights the liberty of one will clash with the liberty of another in

unending strife; heroism in behalf of the common good would be an absurdity; and progress would be blocked by liberty unregulated by a high purpose. But heroism in behalf of a cause bigger than one's own personal interests is the very thing the world now most admires. And what it admires it will one day grow to be like.

When one realizes the ruin now wrought by the theory of rights and considers what would happen if it should become the permanent foundation of society, it seems to him unthinkable that men will continue to guarantee their own defeat, and he cries out with Mazzini: "No, certainly, it was not to attain the ignoble and immoral *every one for himself* that so many great men, holy martyrs of thought, have shed, from epoch to epoch, the tears of the soul, the sweat and blood of the body."

This principle, as I believe, is not only the only path to industrial peace, but is also destined to be the formula of the future in politics and religion, as well as in economics. Inasmuch as I believe that this principle is the transforming power in the evolution of a new industrial America, I will emphasize it by quoting a bill of duties, which I prepared and presented to the Community Division of the Pan-Pacific Educational Congress, meeting recently at Honolulu, embracing the twenty-two nations and self-governing colonies bordering the Pacific, and which was adopted. I quote it to exhibit the principles which the theory of duties involves, and be-

cause these principles apply to industrial politics exactly the same as to international politics. It is as follows:

A Bill of Duties

We, the members of the Community Conference of the Pan-Pacific Union, assembled at Honolulu, believing that all disputes among nations can be settled as easily and more effectively before instead of after armed conflict, but realizing that the success of this process depends on operating it from the standpoint of duties instead of rights, and that only such a state of mind affords any hope of solving problems of international politics, hereby adopt the following bill of duties and pledge ourselves to work for its acceptance by the public opinion of our respective nations:

1. We will think first of our duties to other nations before we consider the corresponding rights depending upon them.
2. In all discussion of our relationship, both official and unofficial, we will put truth in the first place and not in the second place.
3. We will endeavor to acquire the habit of differing in opinion without differing in feeling.
4. We will have respect for our racial differences and accentuate the resemblances among us, as common human denominators.
5. We will exercise mental hospitality toward the standards of other nations rather than seek to impose our standards upon them.
6. We will aim to transform our commerce into a peacemaker by operating it as an exchange of mutual service rather than a system of exploitation.
7. We will have a decent respect for the opinion of

mankind rather than regard the self-centered opinions of our own nations.

8. We will promote free trade in friendship, assisting each other by pooling our experience in science, commerce, and art.

9. We will aim to promote the prosperity of other nations, recognizing the legitimate selfishness that the prosperity of each depends on the prosperity of all.

10. We will seek to make known the discovery that nations have like interests, to secure their recognition as common interests, and to compel the conclusion that all wars are therefore civil wars.

It is highly suggestive and appropriate to borrow from the field of international politics a guiding principle to apply to our domestic industrial conflict. With clear insight Glenn Frank points out the organic similarity of the problem in these fields of activity. He says: "The two fundamental problems of our time are the problem of international relations and the problem of industrial relations. What is not widely enough recognized is that they are one problem, both damned by the same sins, both subject to the same solution. In both international and industrial relations we are faced with the breakdown of the balance-of-power theory of government. In every instance it has ended in a disastrous conflict. It has all along ministered to a sense of conflicting interests where common interests should have been the basis of action. In industry we have had the old sickening cycle of competitive armaments, a sense of conflicting interests, a constant

effort on the part of each industrial group to tip the balance in its favor, a sense of insecurity that has halted we know not how much enterprise, and the periodic industrial wars that we hide under the euphemism of a strike. Collective bargaining is a vast advance over the old unequal system of individual wage contracts, but it is only an expedient adopted on the way toward some intelligent organization of industrial relations."

In a recent magazine article, Walter B. Pitkin makes a pointed application of the truth of Mr. Frank's contention, which reveals still further the vital connection between these two problems. He says:

"This brings us to the one obstacle to world peace which lies wholly within our own gates. We have most of the world's gold, most of the free capital, immense factories, and millions of skilled workers. The unbalance of trade has ruined our foreign trade with Europe; our exports and imports declined fifty per cent. in the first seven months of this year; Germany is selling textiles sixty per cent. cheaper than we can; German mills are underbidding Pittsburgh in our domestic steel market; our automobile factories are running at fifty-seven per cent. capacity; and five million workers are idle, as winter comes on. Meanwhile, taxes refuse to shrink, and battleships are being built, while our farmers see their minute profits devoured by abnormal freight-rates and our builders touch only the

most urgent contracts. There is but one escape from the deadly combination of war-debts, an over-expanded factory system, and a money glut. New markets must be tapped quickly, new consumers found, new desires created. But where and how?"

Then he proceeds to show why for obvious reasons this market cannot at present be found in Europe and not in South America, and can only be found in China and Siberia. But the American business man cannot invest millions in the Far East unless his own country protects him with as much force as necessary. The alternative, therefore, is either leave Asia to the Asiatics, or else run Asia and a huge fleet. Then Mr. Pitkin very pertinently remarks that this logic is impeccable granting the premise, that we must look abroad for new markets. This is the crucial statement in Mr. Pitkin's discussion.

Why look abroad for new markets, handicapped by such conditions and dangers, when we could have an unlimited and unutilized market at home, if industry were so organized as to make it available? The great words once addressed by Tennyson to the citizens of England convey a pointed present message to American business men:

Call home your ships across the Biscayan tides,
To blow the battle from their oaken sides,
Why waste you yonder,
Their idle thunder?

Why stay they there to guard a foreign throne?
Seamen, guard your own.

Have we the industrial statesmanship to construct a new industrial America on a democratic basis, not only for our own sake, but for the sake of the world, as once we constructed a new political democracy, which has exerted an inspiring and transforming influence throughout the world?

CHAPTER X

SPORTSMANSHIP

IS there any ground to justify the hope that a new industrial America will be constructed on the manhood principle? Certainly. The warrant for this expectation, stated laconically, is the fact that God is not dead. In periods of democracy's apparent failure, its sincere friends should stake their hope on the unassailable position taken by James Russell Lowell in a similar circumstance, when he said: "I have great comfort in God. I think He is considerably amused sometimes, but on the whole loves us, and would not let us get at the match box if He did not know that the frame of the universe was fire-proof." He knew, as everyone ought to know, that the principles on which the world is built are fire-proof, that ultimately they are irresistible, that the stars in their courses are fighting in behalf of democracy. It is not possible to circumvent God, however much politicians may think they can do it.

Mr. Baker closes his creative and wholesome book on "Industrial Unrest" with a statement containing the pregnant idea, the crucial importance of which for modern industry I am writing this entire

book to demonstrate. He says: "There *is* a solution. It consists in the attitude, the spirit, which one maintains towards the labour problem—an adventurous, inquiring, experimental attitude, ever hospitable toward new facts: and a generous and democratic spirit. I wonder if men can find this solution in its completeness without some high faith in God, and some vital interest in their fellowmen."

No, Mr. Baker, they cannot. My conviction is that you are right. It is also my conviction that men will discover the solution in the way you suggest, because they will discover that every other road is a dead-end. Just as did Napoleon, who after Moscow exclaimed: "The Almighty is too strong for me." And just as did Heine, Germany's greatest satirist, who when lying on his "mattress-grave" in Paris cried out: "Alas, the irony of heaven weighs heavily upon me. The great Author of the universe, the Celestial Aristophanes, wished to show me, the petty, earthly, German Aristophanes, how my most trenchant satires are only clumsy patchwork compared with His, and how immeasurably He exceeds me in humor and colossal wit." The captains of industry will likewise discover that "God also is wise." Not that He is a satirist, but He seems to be determined that men shall not defeat themselves. They have freedom to choose wrong roads, but these roads are so hedged about with penalties for those who travel them, as to make the right road the only safe thoroughfare. Men may make this

discovery either through "high faith in God" or through the logic of facts. In either case the result is the same. They will yield obedience to the social law of duty, by discovering the penalties attached to its violation; by discovering that nothing else will work; that the only real freedom is the freedom to do right, even if they are not wise enough to make the discovery without paying so high a price for it as Heine and Napoleon did.

You may say anything you please against the democratic manhood principle as an industrial policy, except that any other policy has ever worked any better. If no other policy has ever worked better, the burden of proof is upon those, who refuse to accept this one. Let us frankly recognize that the democratic principle, either in government or industry, is difficult to operate, as all good things are, just because they are good. The measure of its merit is the degree of its difficulty. Fisher Ames said: "A monarchy is a merchantman which sails well but will sometimes strike a rock and go to the bottom, whilst a republic is a raft which will never sink, but then your feet are always in the water." Let us even grant that it may be hot water, what then? The objection finds its complete answer in the fact, that democracy's aim is not efficiency, but the self-development of individuals. It is their right to make mistakes, because only by the method of trial and error can self-development proceed. As a matter of fact, in industry, this method proves

to be in the long run more efficient, but this is not its chief aim. Another student of democracy remarked that the way to a throne usually lies through blood, that is, it used to when the king business was popular, but that the way to the presidency in a democracy lies through mud. Very well; mud is not as bad as blood.

The question as to whether the manhood principle will be adopted as an industrial policy is not an open question, but a foregone conclusion. Anyone familiar with history, with human nature and with God, never doubts it. It is not a question of *whether*; it is only a question of *when*. As to when, there are signs of hope for its realization in the not distant future. What furnishes this hope is the spirit of sportsmanship, which is a distinguishing characteristic of Anglo-Saxon men, and the chief guarantee of democracy's success, aside from the fact that God is a democrat and still lives. Oliver Wendell Holmes says that sportsmanship is "to brag little; to show up well; to crow gently when in luck; to own up, to pay up, to shut up when beaten." Both the leaders of labor and the leaders of capital ought to own up that they are beaten, that the method of organized conflict, on which they are operating, is a failure, and that it should be replaced by the method of free and organized co-operation. They both now ought honestly to undertake the task of learning to ride the horse that threw them. The human tendency is to try out every wrong method

before the right one is accepted. By this time almost all the wrong methods have been tried and found wanting. If industrial leaders are true sportsmen, they will freely acknowledge the fact as it is, and adopt the manhood principle, which has the promise of success.

The statement that our hope for this solution of the labor problem rests on the fact that God is not dead, while accurate and sufficient, is no doubt too laconic and needs translation into particulars. Let me say, therefore, that my hope rests on three facts, namely: the spirit of nobility; the motive of self-interest; the increasing fear that the alternative is a social hell. I realize that the phrase "social hell" is a contradiction in terms, because hell is not a social place to be in; it is anti-social. The word means "isolated." As applied to a place, it means the same as the word "idiot," applied to a person. The word "idiot" is the Greek word for "private," peculiar to one's self, unrelated to the interest of others. Hell is therefore inhabited only by "idiots"; a typical Hellite is an "idiot," that is, a non-cooperator. But I use this self-contradictory phrase to make pointed my meaning that the hell, here suggested, does not refer to one in some future world, but an industrial hell now.

Past and present conditions make such an event neither inconceivable nor impossible. Military and industrial wars, together with the entailed suffering in spirit and body, make every man, who has the

instincts of nobility, sometimes feel like an exile and alien in a planet like ours. He can well appreciate the sentiment expressed to Robinson Crusoe on his second voyage by a Russian Prince, exiled in Siberia, where Crusoe spent a winter on his return from China, through Russia to England. After hearing the account of Crusoe's island life, apart from so-called civilization, the Prince said that "the true greatness of life was to be masters of ourselves; that he would not have exchanged such a state of life as mine to be Czar of Muscovy; and that he found more felicity in the retirement he seemed to be banished to there, than ever he found in the highest authority he enjoyed in the court of his master, the Czar; that he found the mind of man, if it was but once brought to reflect upon the state of universal life, and how little this world was concerned in its true felicity, was perfectly capable of making a felicity for itself; and though the greatness, the authority, the riches, and the pleasures which some enjoyed in the world, had much in them that was agreeable to us, yet all those things chiefly gratified the coarsest in our affections, such as our ambition, our particular pride, avarice, vanity, and sensuality; all which, being the mere product of the worst part of man, were in themselves crimes, and had in them the seeds of all manner of crimes; but neither were related to, nor concerned with, any of those virtues that constituted us wise men."

The motive of fear among the three here suggested, I do not press as an argument, although it would be short-sighted to overlook a possible critical factor, such as this. During the critical days of 1848 in France, the following solemn words were addressed by a conservative, Alexis de Tocqueville, to the Chamber of Deputies:

“For the first time I feel a certain fear for the future, and what convinces me that I am right is that this is not simply a personal impression of mine; I think I may appeal to all who are here, and all will admit that a certain uneasiness, an indefinable fear has taken possession of all spirits, that for the first time the feeling, the sense of instability, this warning sentiment of revolution, which sometimes heralds them, and at others gives birth to them,—that this feeling is both intense and widespread. Are you certain of the morrow? Do you know what will happen in a year, a month, a day? You do not know, but what you do know is that there is a storm on the horizon, that it is descending upon you—will you allow it to overtake you?”

“Gentlemen, I beg you not to, I do not demand, I beseech you; I would willingly throw myself on my knees before you, so real and grave do I consider the danger, so convinced am I of this, that to mention it is not a mere flight of rhetoric. If the danger is great, provide against it while there is still time, correct the evils, change the present system, for this system is leading you to destruction.”

This warning was given on January 27, 1848. In four weeks Louis Phillippe was swept from the throne of France by the Revolution. No one can say how pertinent a warning like this may or may not be today in America. While the argument is perfectly legitimate, yet it is an appeal to fear, and an appeal to fear is always weak, and mostly futile. It is unworthy of American citizens to attempt to reconstruct our industry because they are actuated by the fear of what may happen if they do not. Hope, and not fear, is the true creative principle.

The second element in our hope is the motive of self-interest. The appeal to intelligent self-interest is higher than an appeal to fear, and is also entirely legitimate. A very firm ground of our hope is that factory owners will discover that the new policy will pay. This is a powerful and inescapable motive. The loss resulting from all other policies is the road, which will lead them to this discovery. Lincoln once stated picturesquely the teaching value of this process. "I cannot run the political machine; I have enough on my hands without that. It is the people's business—the election is in their hands. If they turn their backs to the fire and get scorched in the rear, they'll find they have to sit on the blister." This is a big price to pay for information, but it is worth it. Our hope lies in the fact that both owners and workmen have been sitting for so long a time on self-inflicted

blisters, that they are now disposed to stop turning their backs to the fire and getting needlessly scorched. In the school of hard knocks they will be compelled to discover that they have like interests, that these interests are common interests, and that in the civil war they are conducting neither side can win. No enterprise can escape serious loss to all involved in it, when it is conducted on the basis of a civil war.

But neither the appeal to fear nor the appeal to self-interest is the real creative motive. It is the first of the three we suggested, the spirit of nobility. Not the struggle to avoid the evil, but the attempt to secure the good, has always been the key to social progress. The typical American citizen, and his number is not small, is a man with innate nobility. He understands America's original purpose; he puts the community's interest above his own; he has a genuine desire to lift artificial burdens from all shoulders and give every man a fair chance in the race of life; he understands that America's purpose cannot be fulfilled unless democracy is applied to industry; he frankly accepts Walt Whitman's true definition of democracy: "By God, I will have nothing that all other men may not have the counterpart of on like terms": he perceives that the present basis of industry is morally wrong, and that it must be reconstructed; he is not an egotist, who boasts of his perfect Americanism and uses the boast to teach workingmen their place by the method of the

club; nor is he a radical, who entertains any vain hope that the millennium can be inaugurated tomorrow; he is a balanced liberal-minded man of experience, who realizes that the industrial war, if continued, may mean ruin for his business and the failure of America and who is patiently trying to reconstruct industry on the manhood principle and searching for the best way of doing it.

In the large number of this type of men among the captains of industry lies the hope of the peaceful reconstruction of industry on the manhood principle. In the face of the persistence of the sheep-nature among their fellows, these men are the bell-wethers to lead the way to a new industrial America. In his estimate of them, H. L. Gantt, a pioneer of the new America, was correct when he said: "We do not need a revolution, we do not need a class war. Most people will work for the common good if you give them a chance. The trouble is that we have been clinging to an autocratic system under the mistaken idea that it was good, at least for the aristocrat. The fact is, that it isn't. Democracy is far better for all of us. Industrial democracy will release our energies and make us the strongest people on earth."

If any one protests that the hope for the voluntary reconstruction of industry on this basis is not justified, the sufficient answer is that it has already begun to happen. The moral awakening of the wealthy is now in process. They are finding it a

thrilling adventure. The number of industrial plants, which have already begun to apply the manhood principle is the most inspiring event in America since the war, but that is another story and lies outside of my present purpose. If you want the story, look around you. When one large employer says, as he did recently: "I do not care to make more money, I have all the money I want. I am interested in discovering what is right in industrial relations"; when another employer, who had begun to apply the manhood principle says: "It's the most interesting thing I ever did in my life. It beats mere money-making all hollow"; when the office of one of the leading capitalists of Wall Street has framed and hanging on its wall the following quotation from a speech by Mr. Asquith: "The old system has broken down. War was its final declaration of insolvency. New factors are at work. Science not only has not said her last words but is fairly to be described as still only lispng the alphabet of annihilation"; when Ida Tarbell, who is a careful observer, testifies that "The new kind of employer is seeing a significance and a possibility in humanizing his relations that he formerly did not dream. He is developing the inspiring consciousness that it is possible for him to be not a mere manufacturer of things for personal profit, but as well as maker of men and women for society's profit." In view of these facts is it not apparent

that the dawn of the new day is standing tiptoe on the mountain top?

To what extent these enlightened leaders will be able to make their influence effective in promoting a revolution by consent remains to be seen, but they are making a sincere effort, which deserves unstinted recognition and cordial support by all citizens of good-will. These leaders are stimulated by the memory that America once before, witnessed an industrial revolution, when the labor status of industrial slaves was changed by a fratricidal war in the 1860s. They desire to avoid the tragic blunder, made at that time by some of their fellow capitalists, a blunder typified by the hard-headed, "practical" man, David Christy, who six years before the Civil War, wrote a book called "Cotton is King." He had no use for any foolish sentiment, he said. He took the hard facts of life as he found them, and he went on to show that the interests of the Southern cotton-growers demanded slavery if they were to prosper; and further, that the interests of the Northern manufacturers of cotton in the mills of Massachusetts and New York also demanded cheap cotton, which could be best produced by slave-labor in the South; and further, that the whole American people, wearing cotton clothing, most of them, every day in the year, demanded this same system of production; and that therefore the whole agitation about the abolition of slavery was but the troubled dream of a few

silly enthusiasts. "Cotton is King," he said, "and it will finally determine the issue."

"But hard-headed, practical man though he was," remarked Dr. Charles R. Brown, "he was utterly and eternally mistaken. Cotton was not king—love was king! Love of country and love of freedom, love of humanity, and love of God—love was king even in that hour when David Christy was writing out his claims about the kingship of cotton. And, indeed, before the ink was fairly dry upon the pages of his book, amid the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon, in the quiet tones of Lincoln's inaugural address and in the prayers of millions of people, the fundamental lordship of love was being effectively asserted. Men and women did great deeds in those days; they made great sacrifices; they carried through great enterprises not because they were being paid for it in cotton—they were not paid for it at all. They did it because they loved—they loved their country, they loved liberty, they loved humanity, and they loved God more than any material advantage whatsoever. Love is king!"

You may call it love, or God, or the manhood principle, or by whatever term you choose, but this is the creator of revolutions in behalf of the common welfare. It will create the new industrial America, as once before it created America's industrial revolution, which issued in her Civil War. The tragedy of the industrial revolution of 1860

was that the love, which wrought it, had lightning in it. It is the sincere prayer of all true lovers of their country, and they have good reason for hope, that the new industrial America will be created by love without lightning; that it will be a revolution by consent.

AFTERWORD

On the banks of the Potomac in the city where he was martyred, has recently been erected a fitting memorial to Abraham Lincoln. The simplicity of its Ionic columns, designed by Henry Bacon; the mural paintings on Unity, Fraternity and Charity by Jules Guerin; and above all the twenty foot statue, by Daniel Chester French, revealing Lincoln, the lonely burden-bearer, but conscious of his strength to carry it, the terraces, trees and great reflecting pool, standing on the same axis with the Capitol Building and Washington Monument, and combining grandeur with beauty,—all impressively symbolize the character of the man and make it one of the most notable monuments ever erected. It is isolated, distinguished and serene, as John Hay said it should be.

During the progress of the work, covering a period of more than ten years, all concerned in it, members of the commission, architects, artists, stone cutters, laborers, showed a spirit of co-operation as if for a cause they loved. There were no strikes, no lockouts, no profiteering, no labor turn-over. The same workmen who were there at the beginning were there at the finish. Does any one need to

ask why their work was a form of worship? Is the reason not obvious to all?

Lincoln believed that what gave birth to the nation was the manhood principle, which he said meant to elevate the condition of men, to lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. During his speech at Independence Hall in 1860, after expounding America's purpose, he made the prophetic remark that if the nation could not be maintained on this principle he would rather be assassinated on the spot.

When industry is organized on this principle, and its leaders are as true to it as Lincoln was, industry will present no problem, but rather an opportunity for the association and self-development of citizens.

THE END.

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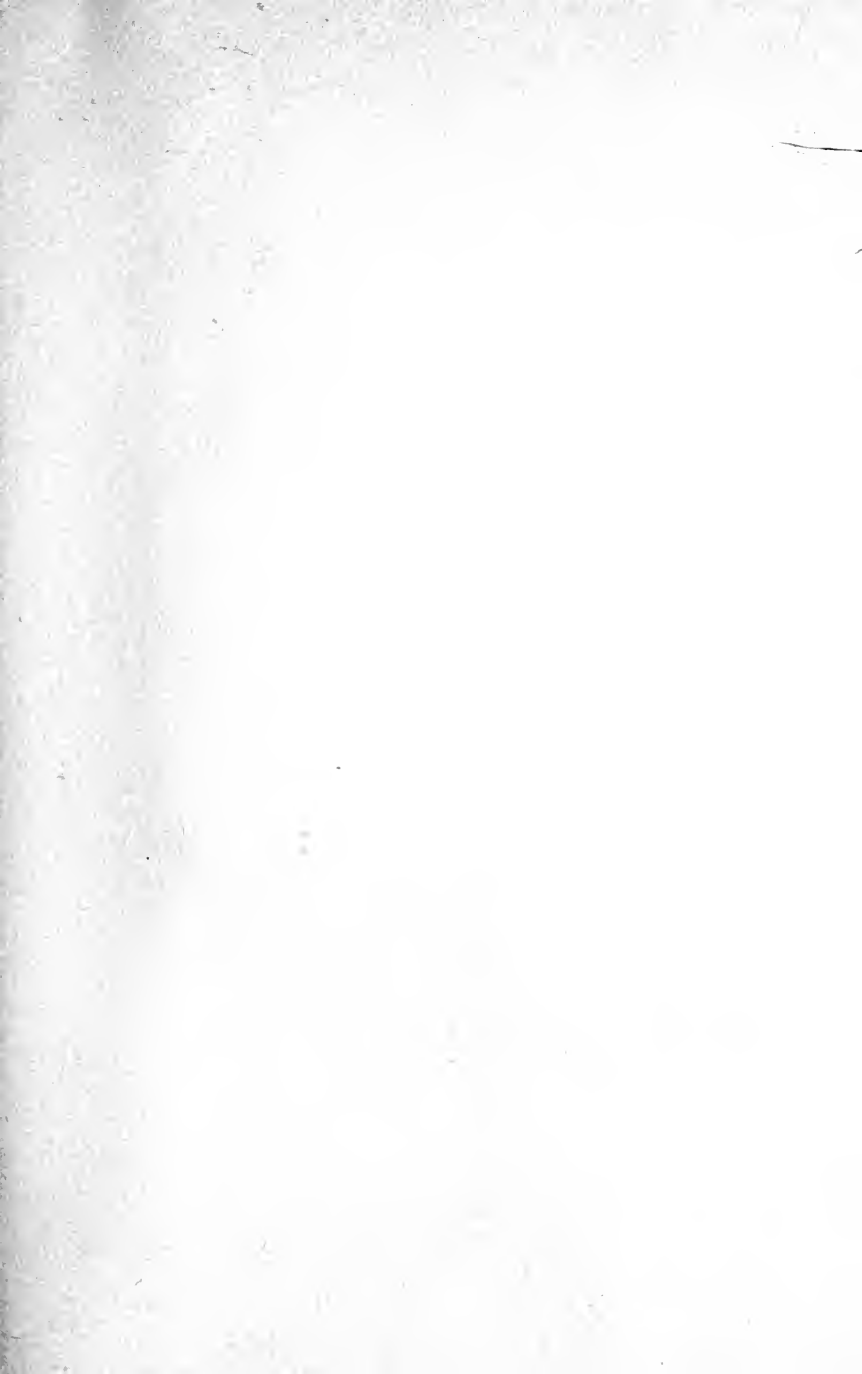
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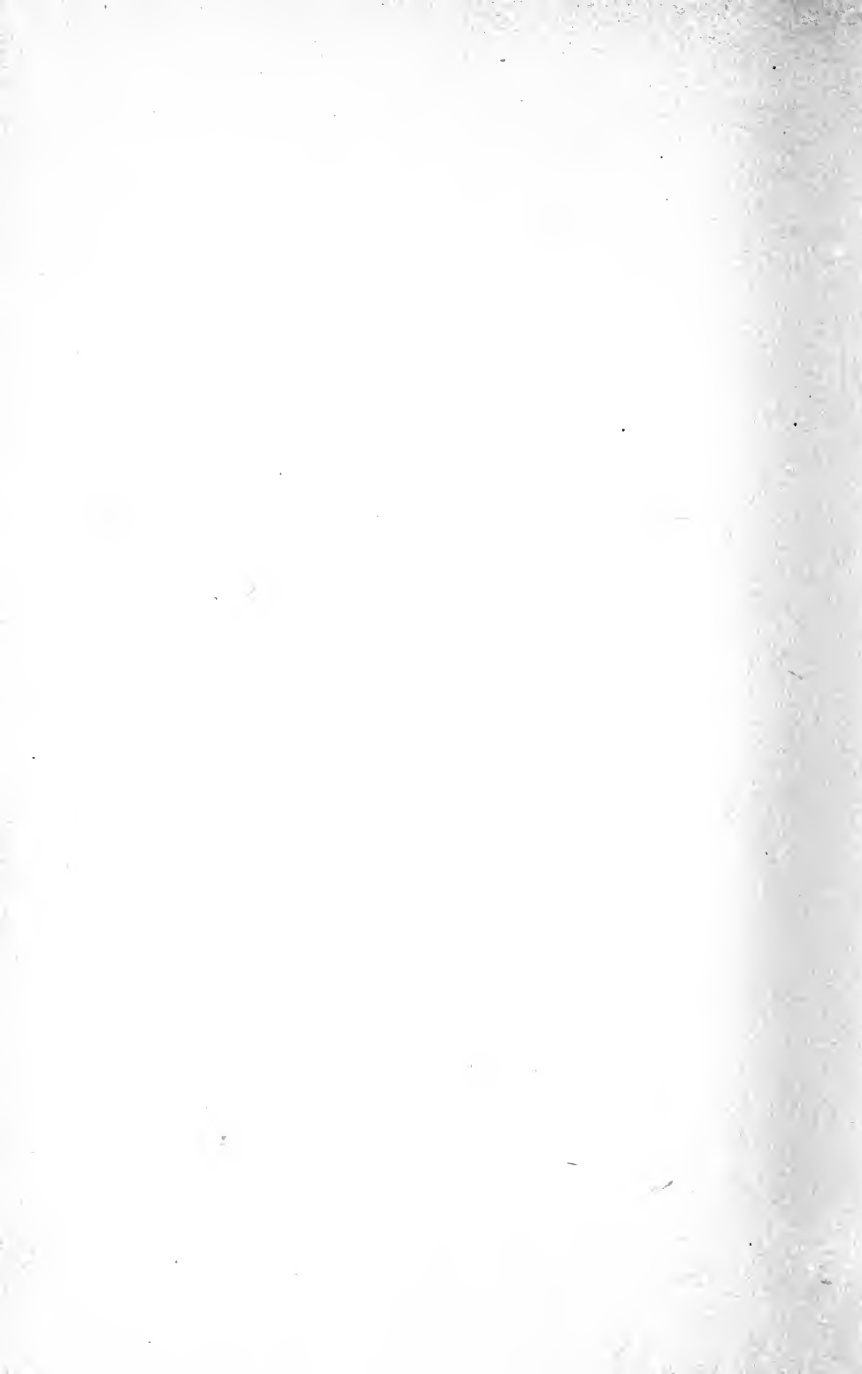
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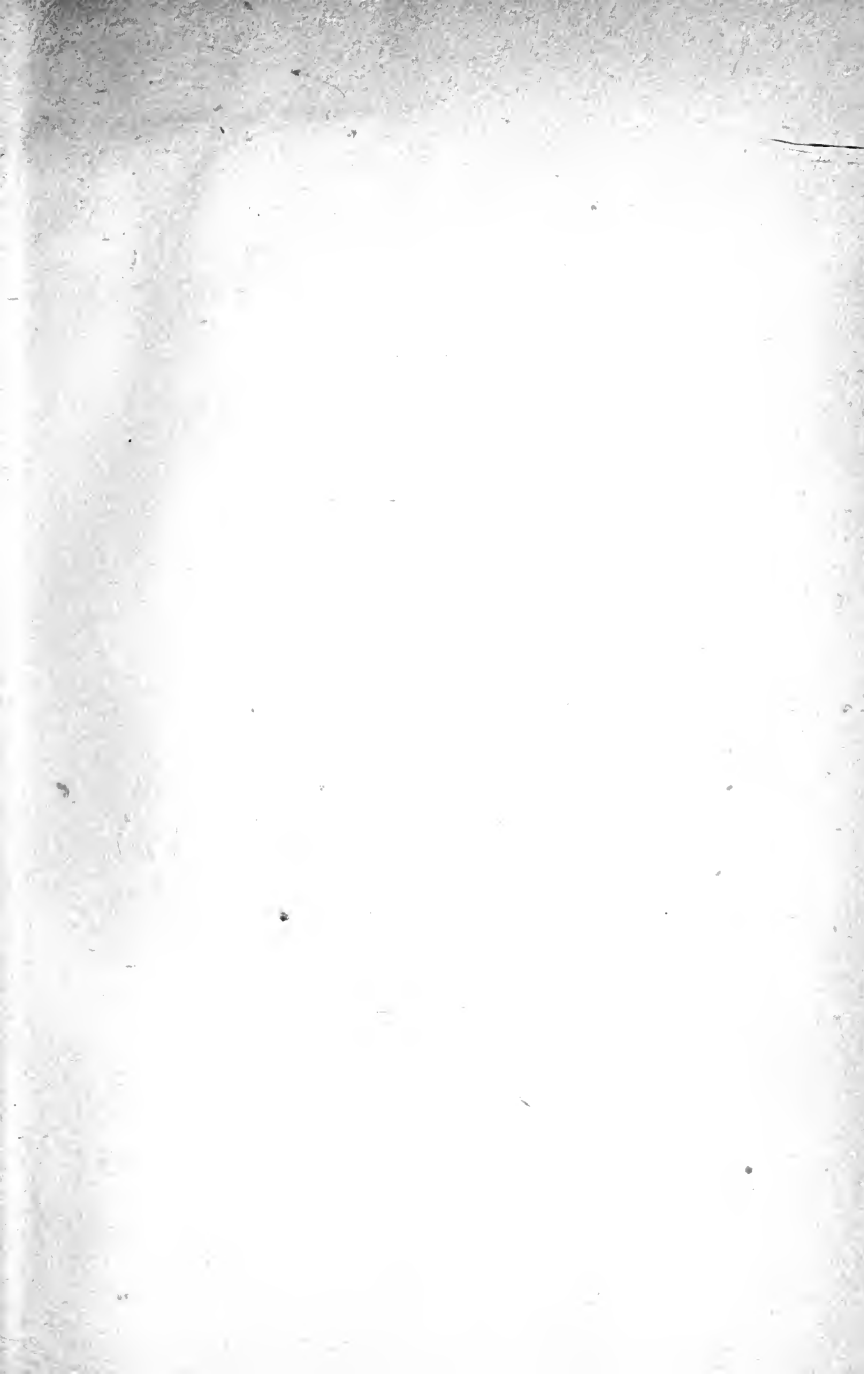












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