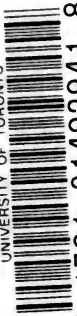
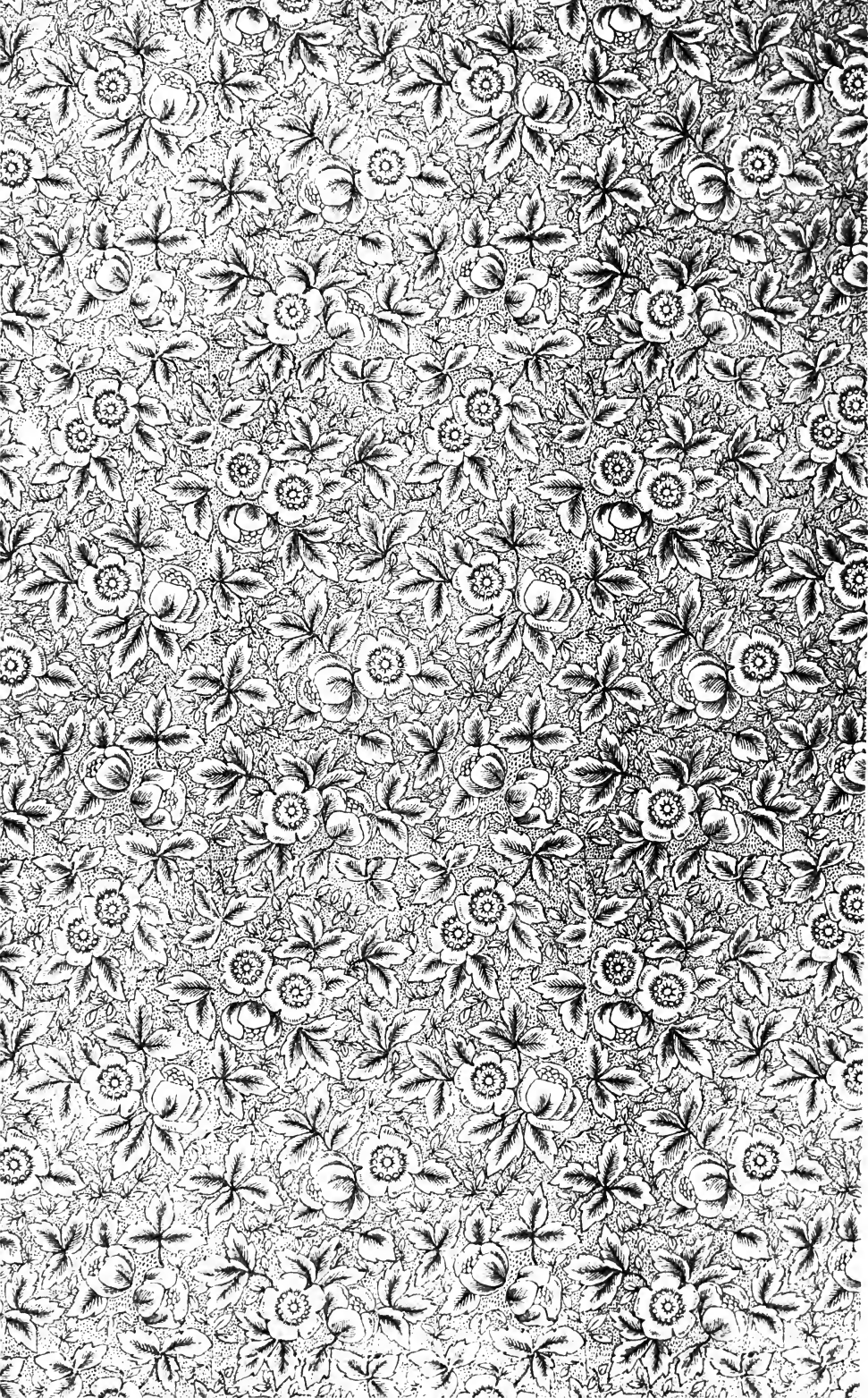
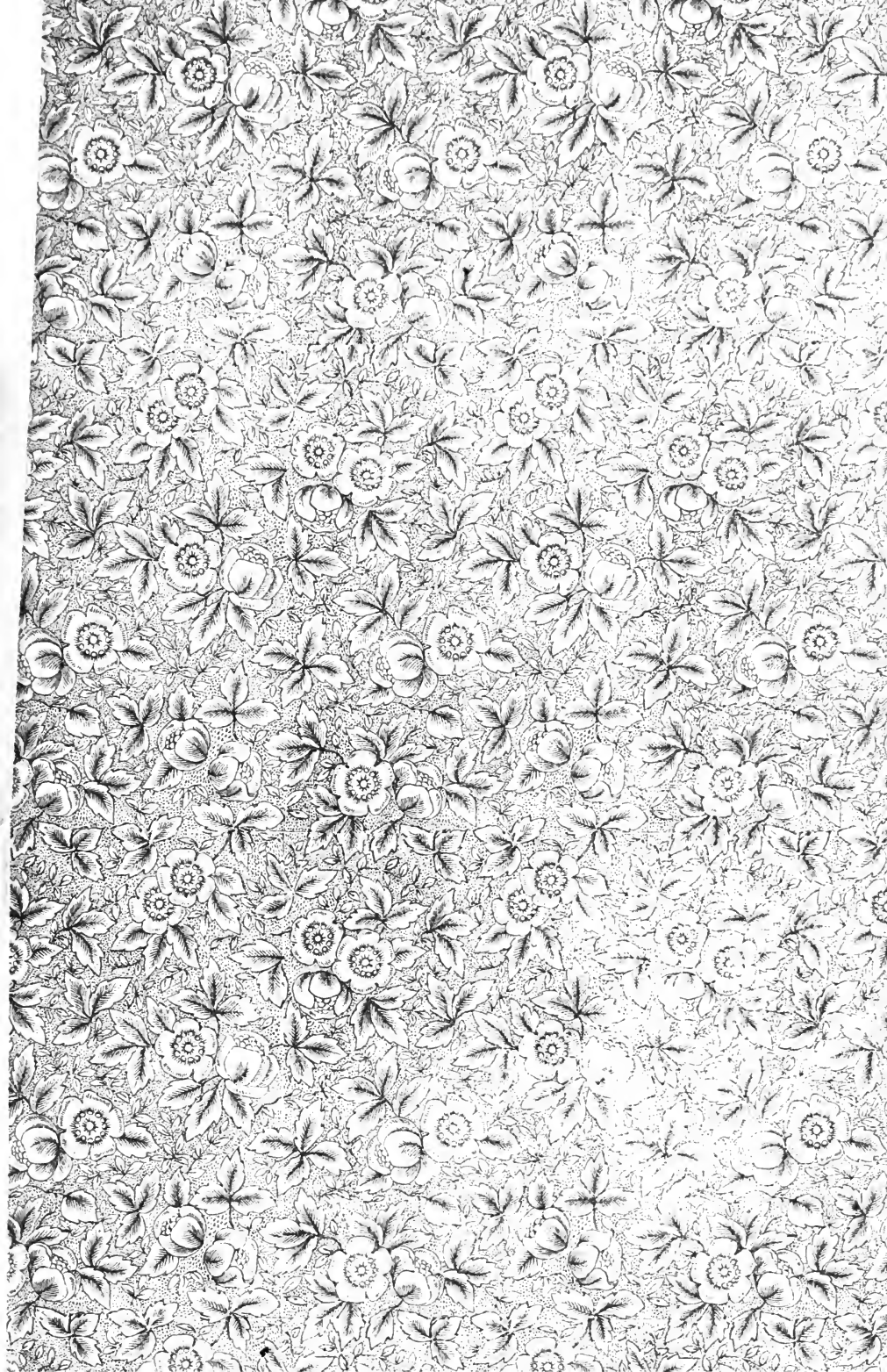


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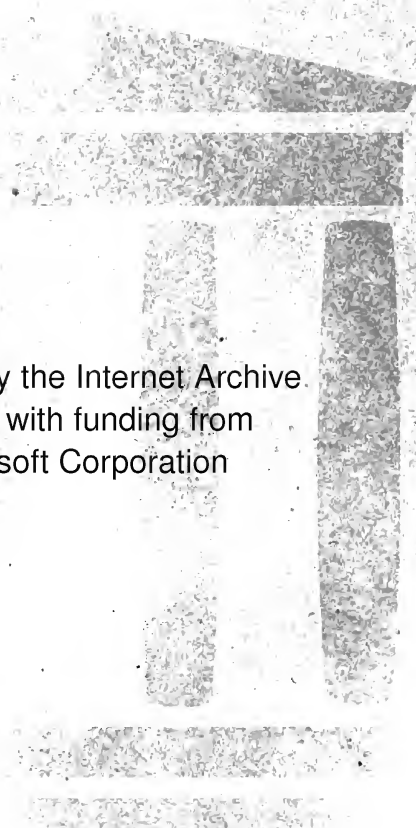
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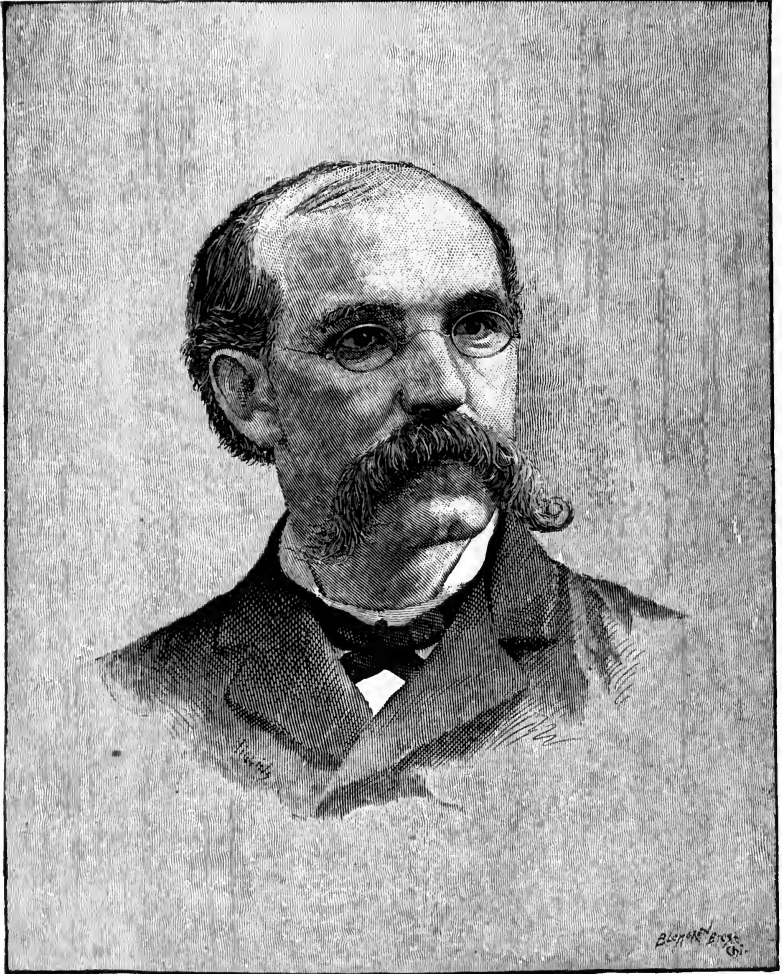




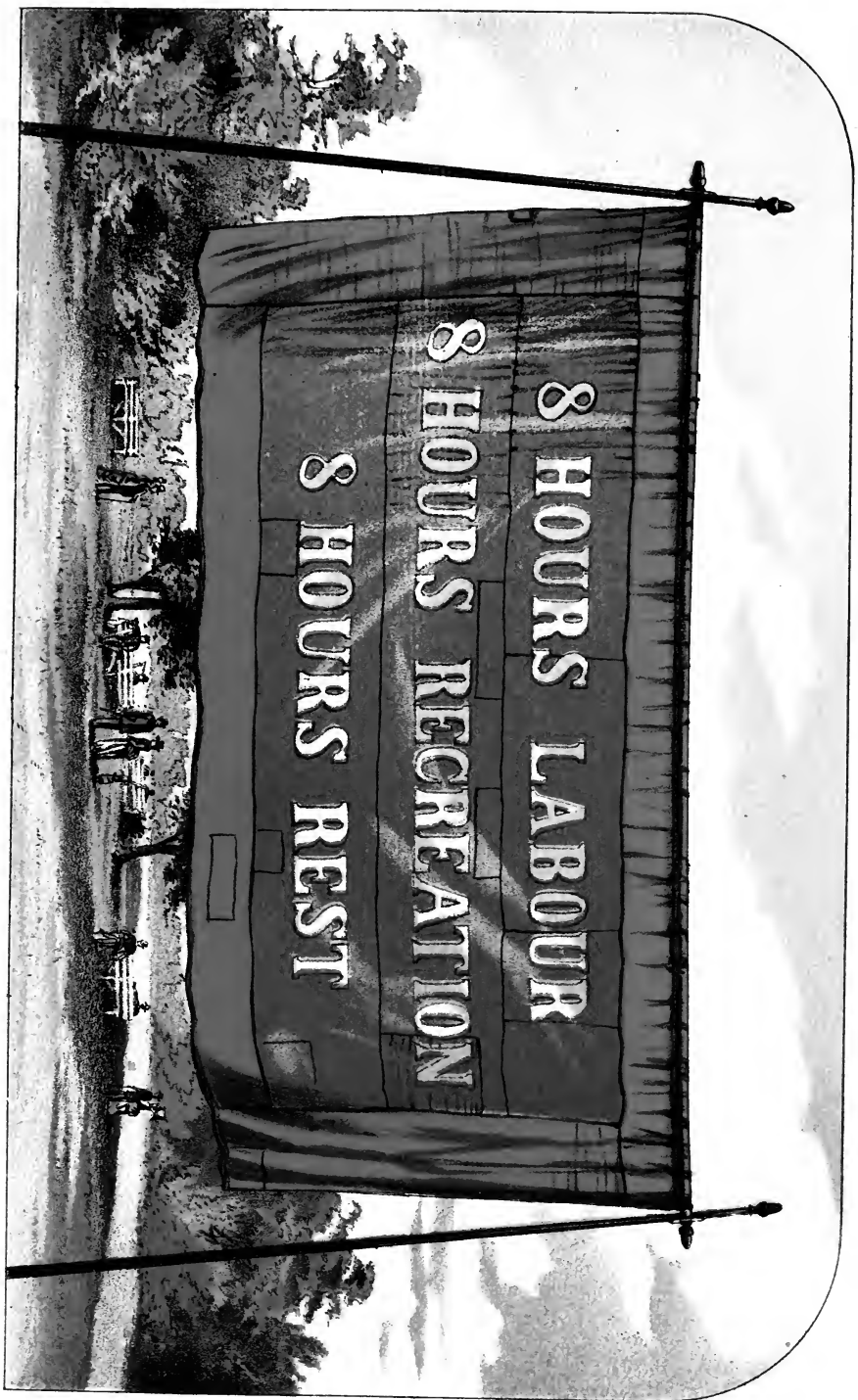
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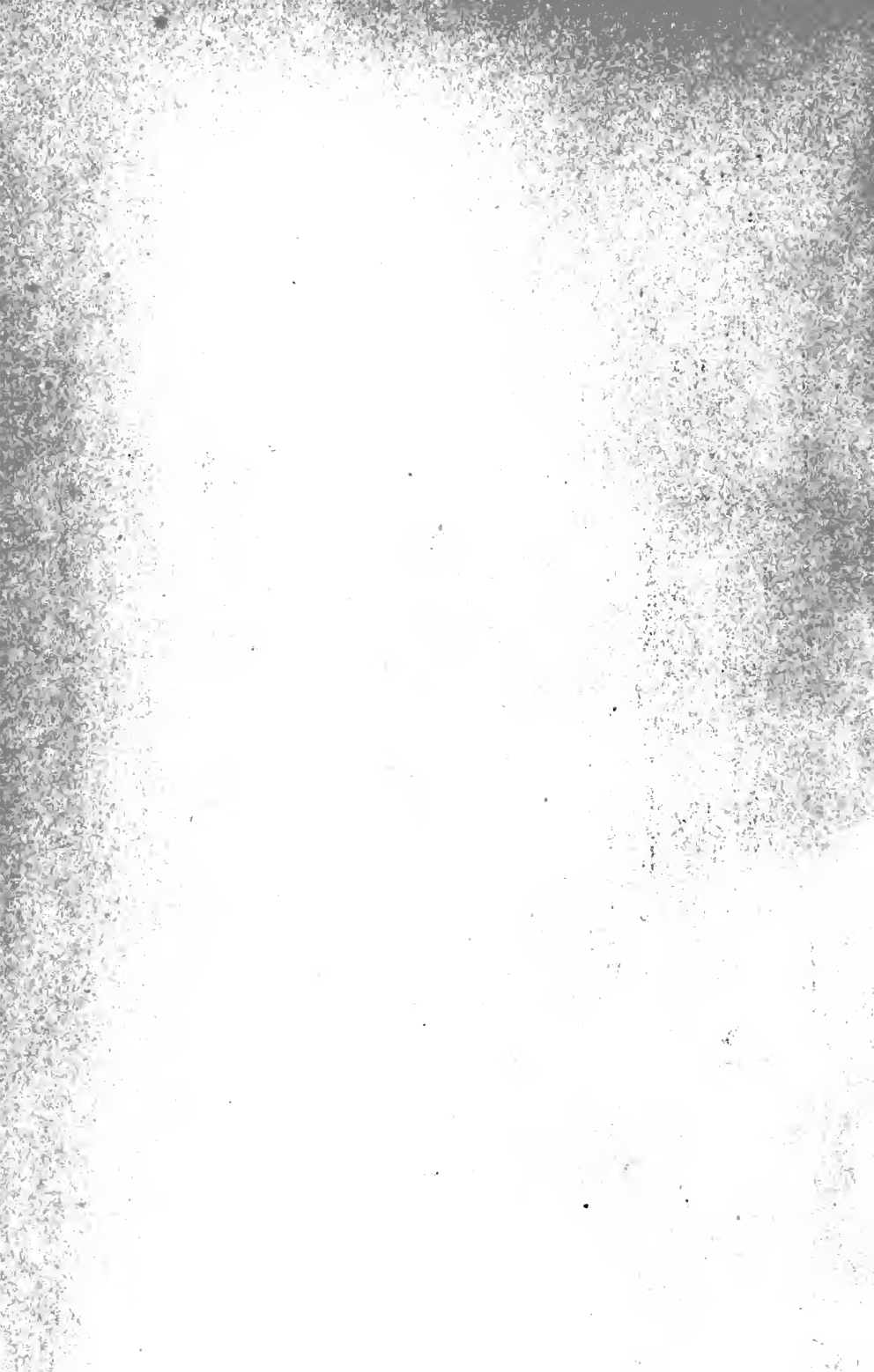
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A. J. Fowler



THE FIRST EIGHT HOUR BANNER USED IN VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA, APRIL, 16, 1856.



THE STORY
OF
MANUAL LABOR

IN ALL LANDS AND AGES:

ITS PAST CONDITION,
PRESENT PROGRESS, AND
HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

The Lights and Shadows of History in Contrast.

A COMPLETE PEN-PICTURE OF THE WAGE-WORKER, FROM A SOCIAL,
POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL STANDPOINT,
TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

THE UNIONS, GUILDS, AND ASSOCIATIONS,

ORGANIZED FOR HIS BENEFIT AND PROTECTION.

By JOHN CAMERON SIMONDS,

Author of "History, Methods and Law of the Produce Exchange," "Biographical Sketches," etc.

AND

JOHN T. McENNIS,

OF THE MISSOURI REPUBLICAN.

Illustrated with Portraits and Colored Diagrams.

CHICAGO:
R. S. PEALE & CO.
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Press of the Home Library Association,
Chicago.

PREFATORY LETTER BY T. V. POWDERLY.

Scranton, Pa., January 19, 1887.

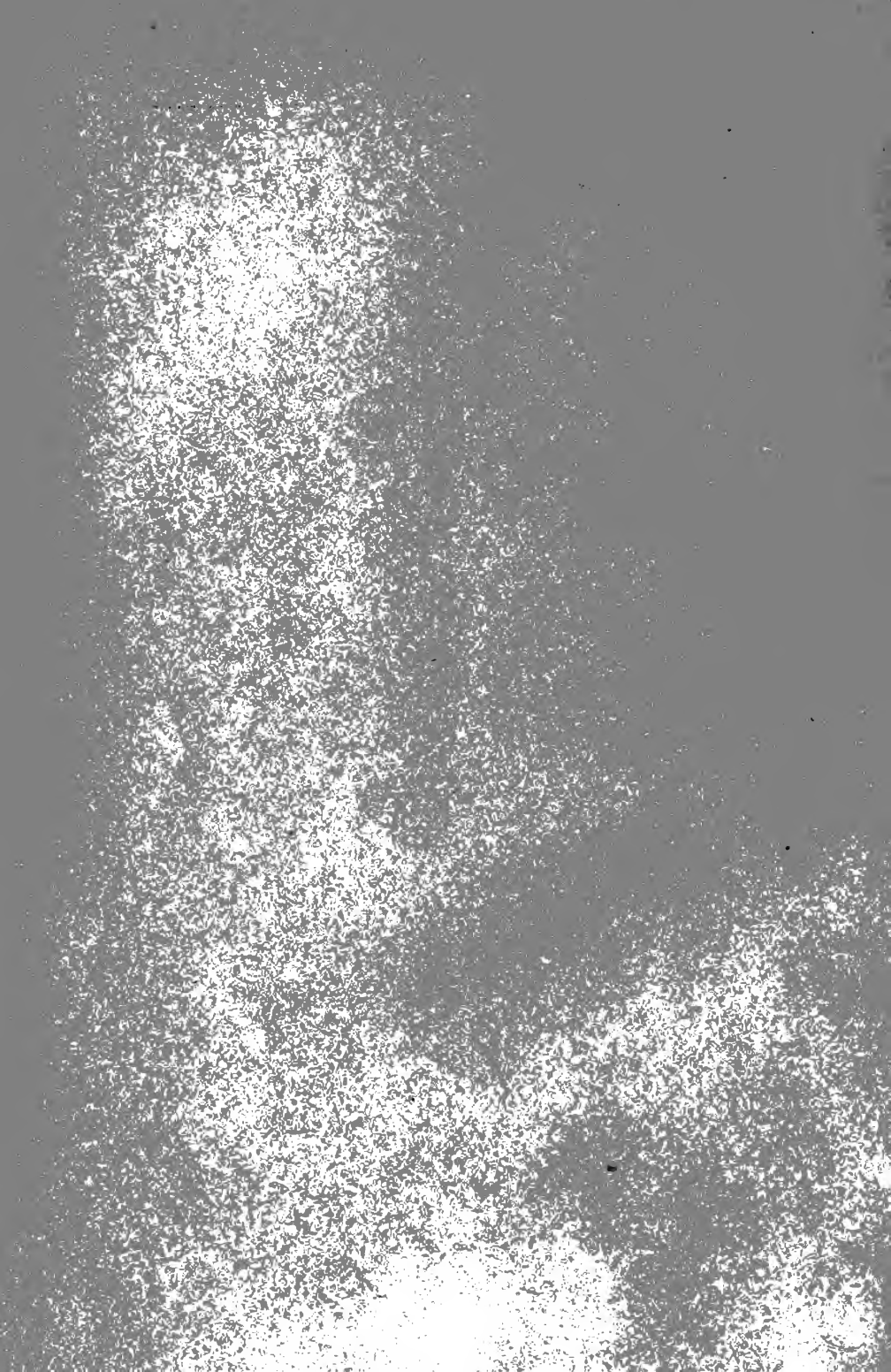
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The interest taken in the subject, and the industry displayed in compiling so many facts and figures, together with the colored plates so admirably arranged, are deserving of the highest praise. The book ought to be very valuable as a work of reference to the student. We have had few facts concerning the condition even of the laborer of the present day, notwithstanding the volumes that have been written within the last ten years on the labor question. The condition of the laborer of the "days of yore" has almost been as a sealed book. I see that the covers of that sealed book have been opened and a ray of light has been shed on the conditions and surroundings of the men who labored centuries before our country was known to the toiler. Every effort to enlighten the masses on this subject should be encouraged.

It is only by comparison that we can judge accurately of the condition of the worker of this country. In placing such a work as this before the people, they are thereby enabled to judge of the real conditions of our laboring men and women as compared with those which surrounded the laboring people of by-gone ages. It is a matter of congratulation to know that the task has been undertaken of setting forth, in so entertaining and instructive a manner, such a view of the condition of labor in all ages, and I most heartily wish the work success. I remain,

Very truly yours,

A large, ornate, cursive handwritten signature of T. V. Powderly, written in black ink. The signature is highly stylized with many loops and flourishes, particularly around the 'P' and 'y'.



AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HERODOTUS lived nearly five hundred years before Christ. He wrote a charming tale of the civilized world of his time. He is reputed to be the "father of history." Since his day the writing of history has been one of the most popular and prolific fields of literature. Histories have been multiplied a thousandfold in each succeeding age. Histories have been written of wars, political movements, religions, morals, learning, science, arts, philosophy and economics; but in all ages it is the picturesque and dramatic aspect of human affairs that has monopolized the attention of historians. The splendor of mighty despotisms, the "pomp and circumstance of war," the strife of parties, the tumult of factions, the intrigues of diplomacy, the political rise of states, and the civil death of nations; it is these topics that have exercised the pen and absorbed the interest of mankind. Captivating pictures have been given to the world of embattled hosts, "gleaming with purple and gold," of the plumed and crested knight, of the skillful statesman and astute politician, of the cunning diplomat, of the brilliant orator, and the successful warrior. Consummate art has been attained in this method. Little, if any, improvement can be expected in that direction. It is novelty in the subject matter alone that can be sought for. It is in the contents of history, and not in its methods, that originality can be claimed.

Of late, a change has overtaken the Muse of history. Interest has been awakened, not in the general, but in the soldier; not in the king, but in the subject; not in the noble, but in the peasant. Thoughtful men are now asking: What of the artisan? What of the mechanic? What of the farmer?

Kings and queens and warriors, it is said, are not the makers of history. It is the people that are the builders of a nation. It is no longer the pyramid of Cheops, but the pyramid of Egypt; it is not the Parthenon of Pericles and Phidias, but the "glory that was of Greece." It is now realized that what was once known as the Arch of Tiberias was

neither conceived nor erected by the Roman emperor. It is the thought of a nameless architect, embodied by an unknown mechanic. Can it be said to be the Colosseum of Vespasian when that stupendous monument of antiquity was the conception of an artist obscured by a selfish monarch, and when each mighty stone is a reminder of the masses who toiled in its erection? It is not of the great Cyrus that we now care to hear, but of the Persian shepherd; it is not of Cræsus and his wealth, but of his husbandman.

Information is not wanted of mighty Cæsar, out of the Roman populace he secretly despised. The minds of men are no longer bewitched by the genius of Napoleon Bonaparte; all eyes are now turned to the Third Estate, and that proletaire that shattered one of the most hoary and brilliant monarchies of Europe, and shook the political foundations of the Old World to the very center.

Our book is a response to this change in public opinion. But in this age of innumerable books, it may be reasonably asked: Why should this book be written? We answer: Because a similar book has not been written. It is the story of manual labor in all lands and ages. So far as known to the authors, there is not a similar book in the English language, and it may be said, indeed, in any language. It will tell the story of the farmer, of the artisan, of the mechanic, of the wage-worker in every country and epoch. It will speak of his political relations to the state, his position in the social order, of his work and how it was performed, of his home, his family, his food, his raiment; in brief, we will attempt the history of those who "earned their bread in the sweat of their face"; of how they lived, toiled, suffered and died. Our theme will be of the forge and the anvil, not of the lance, the sword and bayonet; of the thatched cottage, not the stately castle; of the hut, not the palace; of the "Cotter's Saturday Night," not of the glittering pageantry of gilded halls. We have essayed to do for those nameless heroes of all time—those masses of the people, that have fought the battles, builded the cities, and wrought the fabric of civilization; what has already been done for the monarch, the warrior, the nobleman and the statesman.

We venture the assertion, that in no one book can be found information so extensive and peculiar. Many busy hands and busy minds have been culling this information from thousands of books of every nature and description. No labor or pains has been spared in this effort, and facts and figures have been gleaned from the by-ways as well as the highways of literature; from encyclopedias and books of travel; from his-

tories and from novels; from poets and from economists; from writers of romance and the teachers of political philosophy; from memoirs, biographies and the reports of Labor Bureaus. In a word, it will contain what can not be found in any encyclopedia or compend of universal knowledge yet published.

Theory and speculation we have avoided. The world of thought is teeming with opinions on the problems of labor. Every thinking man has a doctrine for the occasion and a precept for its exigency. (Thousands of books, periodicals, pamphlets and tracts, are published for this purpose.) Opinions and sympathies, the authors certainly have. They believe, however, that facts are wanted more than theories. Therefore, they write of the every-day life of the hand-toiler; of his struggles and his triumphs, if any; of the vicissitudes that have beset his path, and of his experiences either for weal or for woe. This the authors have done, in order that the present may be studied in the light of the past; and it is hoped that even their feeble efforts may illustrate in a degree, that "History is philosophy teaching by example."



STRIKES AND ARBITRATION.

By T. V. POWDERLY.

THE prospect for the future of the laboring man in America is brighter today than it ever was, notwithstanding the seemingly "strained relations" at present existing between employer and employé.

That we are passing through an epidemic of strikes, lockouts and boycotts, is true, but the fact must not be lost sight of, that were it not for the growing power of organization we should have a great many more strikes to contend with than we have had for the first three months of the present year.

The growth of organization for the past ten years has been steady and healthy. It is only where organization is in its infancy that serious troubles such as strikes and lockouts exist. The causes from which strikes and lockouts spring are to be found in all parts of the country, but the methods of dealing with the troubles as they arise are different. In places where no organizations of labor exist, or where the seeds of organization have just been planted, disputing parties are apt to become involved in strikes. The reasons advanced in support of that proposition are as follows: Until recently very few workmen dared to express their opinion in public on the subject of labor, for the reason that they were almost certain of an immediate dismissal from the service of the man or company they worked for, if it became known that they in any way favored the association of workmen for mutual protection. With such a sentiment existing in the breasts of workmen they could not be expected to feel very kindly toward the employer who so jealously watched their every movement, and who, by his actions, made them feel that they were regarded rather as serfs than freemen. While the real bone and sinew of the land remained in enforced silence, except where it could be heard through the medium of the press and rostrum, through chosen leaders, another class of men who seldom worked would insist on "representing labor," and, in making glowing speeches on the rights and wrongs of man, would urge the "abolition of property," or the "equal division of wealth;" such speakers very often suggesting that a

good thing to do would be to "hang capitalists to lamp-posts." The employer of labor who listened to such speeches felt that in suppressing organization among his workmen he was performing a laudable act. Yet he was by that means proving himself to be the most powerful ally the anarchist could wish for. He caused his employes to feel that he took no interest in them other than to get as many hours of toil out of them for as few shillings as possible. The consequence was that the employer, who was himself responsible for the smothering of the honest expression of opinion on the part of labor, became possessed of the idea that the raw-head-and-bloody-bones curb-stone orator was the real representative of labor, and determined to exercise more vigilance and precaution than ever in keeping his "help" out of the labor society. The speaker who hinted at or advocated the destruction of property or the hanging of capitalists to lamp-posts, was shrewd enough to speak very kindly, and in a knowing manner, of labor associations, giving out the impression that he held membership in one or more of them. Workingmen who were denied the right to organize, very frequently went to hear Mr. Scientific lecture on the best means of handling dynamite. And when the speaker portrayed the wrongs of labor, the thoughtful workman could readily trace a resemblance between the employer painted by the lecturer and the man he himself worked for. Workmen employed by those who frowned on labor organizations became sullen and morose; they saw in every action of the superintendent another innovation on their rights, and they finally determined to throw off the yoke of oppression, organize and assert their manhood. The actions of the superintendent, or boss, very often tended to widen the breach between employer and employé. When the organization did come it found a very bitter feeling existing on both sides, and before studying the laws of the society they joined, or becoming conversant with its rules or regulations regarding the settlement of disputes or grievances, the workmen determined to wipe out of existence the whole system of petty tyrannies that had been practiced on them for years. Not being drilled in organization, and feeling that the employer would not treat with them, the only remedy suggesting itself was the strike. And, on the other hand, the employer who felt that every move of his workmen in organization would be directed against his interests, determined to take time by the forelock and turn them all out on the street. Thus we find the organization in its infancy face to face with a strike or lockout.

This condition of affairs existed in a great many places throughout the United States in the beginning of the present year. Absorbed in

the task of getting large dividends, the employer seldom inquired of his superintendent how he managed the business intrusted to his keeping, or how he treated his employés. In thousands of places throughout the United States, as many superintendents, foremen, or petty bosses are interested in stores, corner groceries or saloons. In many places the employé is told plainly that he must deal at the store, or get his liquor from the saloon in which his boss has an interest; in others he is given to understand that he must deal in these stores or saloons, or forfeit his situation. Laws have been passed in some states against the keeping of company stores, but the stores are kept nevertheless, and workmen are made to feel that they must patronize them.

In many cases the owners of mills, factories or mines are not aware of the existence of such institutions as the "pluck me"—the name applied to the company store—but they stand so far away from their employés that they cannot hear the murmur of complaint, and if a whisper of it ever does reach their ears it comes through the boss who is not only interested in the store, but in keeping its existence a secret from his employer. The keeping of such stores is another source of injustice to workmen, for their existence tends to widen the breach between employer and employé. It may seem that I am dealing with insignificant things in this paper, but when the statement is made, that seven out of every ten superintendents or bosses are interested in the management, and derive profits from the operation of stores which employés are forced to patronize, I make an assertion which can be proved. In a country where every man, no matter how humble, is taught from his infancy that he stands the equal of all other men, it is but natural for a citizen who is given to understand that he must patronize a certain store, or that he cannot join a certain society, to feel restive, and, where so much is promised and so little obtained, men are apt to lose faith in a law-making system which obliges the workman himself to become complainant and prosecutor in cases where the laws are violated to his detriment. If he prosecutes, he is discharged. If he does not prosecute for infractions of law, but simply complains, he is told to invoke the majesty of the law in his own behalf. In this way law is disregarded; it becomes a dead letter; men lose hope in law and law-makers.

The constant itching and irritation caused by the indifference of the employer to their welfare, and the injustices practiced on them by petty bosses, go on until the men feel that the only remedy is through the strike. In this way men who belong to no organization are launched into strikes.

Workmen are not, as a rule, educated men. When the strike does come, while they feel that they have been wronged, yet they are lacking in the command of language necessary to state their case properly to the world, and, hence, set forth their claims in such a way as to arouse prejudices or create false impressions. The other side having the advantage of education, either personally or by right of purchase, can and does mold public opinion in a great many cases.

I have pointed out one or two of the little things which cause a great deal of uneasiness and vexation to workmen; others have pointed out the root of the evil. The workingman of the United States will soon realize that he possesses the power which kings once held—that he has the right to manage his own affairs. The power of the king has passed away. The power of wealth is passing away. The evening shadows are closing in upon the day when immense private fortunes can be acquired. The new power dawning upon the world is that of the workingman to rule his own destinies. That power can no longer be kept from him. How will he wield it?

This question is of great concern not only to the workingman but to every citizen of the republic, and the hand of every citizen who loves his country should be extended to assist the new ruler. I have no fears because of the present apparent disturbed condition of the labor world; on the contrary, the signs are very hopeful. Wendell Phillips once said, "Never look for an age when the people can be quiet and safe. At such times Despotism like a shrouding mist steals over the mirror of Freedom."

The people are not quiet today, but they are safe. It is the power of monopoly that is not safe. The men who pile up large fortunes must compensate for that privilege in the payment of a graduated income tax. The blessings which they derive from wealth must be shared by the nation from which they extract that wealth.

The hours of labor must be reduced throughout the nation, so that the toilers may have more time in which to learn the science of self-government. Labor-saving machinery instead of making a slave of man must become his servant. How will the workingman wield his power? Organized labor says the power will be wisely handled, but we must have the coöperation of the vast middle classes. The employer and employed must no longer stand apart. The barriers of pride, caste, greed, hatred and bitterness must be torn down. The workingman and his employer must meet face to face, they must discuss every detail in the management of the concerns they are jointly operating. No sacrifice of princi-

ple on the one hand or of manhood on the other need attend such a transaction. In the management of great or small concerns each grievance, each trouble or difference, whether in relation to discipline or wages, should be talked over in a conciliatory spirit and *arbitrated*. Joint boards of arbitration should be formed between manufacturer and workmen all over the country. Each party should devote considerable time to the perfecting of the plans best suited to their interests or surroundings, for rules governing one case or locality might not work well in another.

Having after careful deliberation agreed upon the rules, each party should sign the articles of agreement, binding itself to abide by them until changed by consent of both. Agreements of this kind will be the means of settling differences as they arise, and with their inauguration strikes, lockouts and boycotts will not be entered upon so readily, and, if ever called into play, then only as the very last resort.

The foregoing article appears by special arrangement with the "North American Review," and by permission of T. V. POWDERLY, its author.



LETTER FROM JUDGE COOLEY.

ANN ARBOR, Oct. 28, 1886.

JOHN C. SIMONDS, Esq.

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 23d inst. finds me very closely occupied with other matters, and I must limit myself to few words in reply. You ask me :

1. *Is co-operation practicable?* Meaning, as I understand it, the co operation of workmen to carry on business as principals. I reply, there is no impediment whatever, and no difficulties in the way of success, except such as would be likely to arise in every case in which any considerable number of persons engage in a common undertaking. The liability to disagreements as to management always bears some proportion to the number interested, and when disagreement culminates in litigation, ruin commonly follows. It is matter of common observation also, that the more numerous the parties the less likelihood is there of careful supervision of financial and other officers, and the greater danger consequently of defalcations. These are dangers to be kept in mind and guarded against.

Two important elements of success are very apt to receive too little attention in co-operation, namely, business tact and character. The average man does not discriminate as he should between the qualities that may bring one to the front as a leader of men, and the qualities demanded for business success ; and the choice of business manager is often bad. If intelligent and faithful labor will not certainly insure success in these times when competition is severe and the margin for profits generally narrow, the best managed establishment will succeed and the others will go to the wall. But the character of the associates is also of importance. Co-operation should only be undertaken by men who know and have confidence in each other. They are not likely then to become uneasy and to rush into the courts for redress when things are not so prosperous as was hoped. A few pugnacious or visionary associates may be quite able to ruin any co-operative enterprise. You inquire about methods of co-operation, but I could only say on that subject that they must to some extent be determined by State laws, and that corporate forms are likely to be found most desirable.

2. *What should be thought of strikes and lock-outs?* This is so broad a question that a little said upon it can hardly be of value. But I should say that in general, when either is resorted to for the purpose of forcing the opposite party to any particular course, it is a mistake, and likely in the end to be injurious to the one originating it. At best, it is a species of barbaric warfare, and while harmful to the parties concerned, is also harmful to others. Many small trading and other establishments, built up by men who began with nothing, are almost certain to go down in any great strike, even when the large establishment, against which the strike is aimed, is comparatively unharmed. All of us must have seen sad evidence of this sort, in which the indirect and unintended injuries have been greater than the direct and intended. Warfare has no proper place in industrial enterprises, where all the parties are necessary to each other, are natural and indispensable allies, and can only accomplish the best results in harmony. So long, therefore, as a continuance of the relations is contemplated or desired, there should be, and commonly is, a better resort than open war; and that resort commonly is, a careful consideration of the questions in controversy with the aid of one or more other persons mutually confided in. That may or may not in form be arbitration.

3. *What form of arbitration is desirable?* Arbitration, unfortunately, is limited in its usefulness; it cannot be made use of in all cases; it cannot go very far in many cases; it cannot be forced by law. State arbitration boards in my opinion are of no service. The parties when willing to arbitrate have no difficulty in forming a board satisfactory to themselves. The most satisfactory arbitration is likely to be that in which each side has a representative in its own interest, with power in the two to call in an umpire for final decision in case they cannot agree without. Boards of this sort have been very useful in England and elsewhere. It should be an understood condition to such arbitration that the business should not be disturbed while the controversy is pending; it being of the utmost importance that, as far as possible, relations of friendship and confidence should be maintained, since performance of the award, so far as pertains to the future, must be voluntary. No arbitration can compel a man to accept specified wages in the future or any employer to pay them, or make any other contract between the parties for future observance.

I deem it highly important that a disposition to arbitrate labor controversies be cultivated. Every successful arbitration tends to diminish the danger of damaging contentions.

4. The future question, *What have you to say for the future of the manual laborer of the United States?* might be understood as implying that in the mind of the person asking it the manual laborers of the country were considered as constituting a distinct and permanent class by themselves; but this never was the case and never will be while free institutions exist. A very large proportion of all the well-to-do farmers, manufacturers and employers of men and very many successful men in the professions began life as laborers with their hands; and by diligence, prudence and business-tact have made themselves what they are. The probability of their passing from one kind of employment or business to another, or of assisting one's children to do so, is of itself of great value to people of small or no means, and also to the country at large; because it tends to bring out and develop the best qualities and give the country the benefit of them. I expect to see this process go on in the future, and that in every successive generation men from the ranks of manual labor will be found among the leaders on all the lines of success. Nothing can prevent this as long as action is free, so that every man may follow the bent of his own genius and aspirations. Manual labor and brain labor cannot be dissociated in those who are capable of both, unless by some process of repression to which the manual laborers themselves assent, and whereby the capable are kept down to the level of the incapable.

I have none of the fear which some persons express that new discoveries and the increased productive power of machinery will be depressing to labor. The demand for labor may be temporarily affected, but the permanent effect will be to increase as well as to cheapen the comforts of life, and workers of all classes will reap the benefit.

Very respectfully yours,

T. M. COOLEY.

The Story of Labor, by Mr. John Cameron Simonds, is a very valuable book.

There is a class of cynical, but not over-careful critics, who may be inclined to say that too large a portion of its chapters is devoted to that which is not relevant to the Labor Question. We think the more careful critic will see in the collateral matter, which is interwoven, that which is essentially "germane" to the subject: that it constitutes solid portions of both its foundation and superstructure. Also, that this element embodies a popular feature which ensures the book being read and remembered, therefore to making it influential for good.

Editors and Clergymen who have occasion to write and to speak on this subject will find the book valuable to them.

The tables and colored diagrams at the close, are alone worth the price of the whole, especially those which relate to the moral and the intellectual factors of the Labor Problem. The moral phases of this subject are, after all, about all there is of it. When those who pay and those who earn wages are willing to do right, the cloud will all roll away and the industrial skies will be bright. As indicated by some of these tables and diagrams this must include stopping the waste of more than is spent for food, fuel and clothing, in liquor and tobacco. The investment of the time and money now spent in loafing and worse than useless amusement, in mental and moral culture, and the formation of habits of saving the surplus, small though it be, whereby the laborer becomes a capitalist, are also among the keys to the situation.

Old and young, cultured and uncultured, will find the Story of Labor both attractive and profitable reading.

GEORGE MAY POWELL.

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The Story of Manual Labor.

PART I.

LABOR IN THE ORIENT.

CHAPTER I.—INDIA.

HISTORICAL OUTLINES—ARTS, SCIENCES AND LITERATURE—CONDITION OF THE LABORING CLASSES PRIOR TO THE ENGLISH DOMINION—THE INDIAN FEUDAL SYSTEM UNDER THE NATIVE CHIEFS—CASTE THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY—SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE—LABOR AND LAND IN INDIA—THE LAND TAX—THE LAND SYSTEM—THE GROWTH OF PRIVATE RIGHTS—MANUFACTURING LABOR—NATIVE INDUSTRIES—THE WAGE-WORKER IN DIFFERENT EPOCHS—PRESSURE OF POPULATION—FAMINES AND THEIR CAUSE—PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES DURING A FAMINE—PORTION OF PAUPER POPULATION—INFANTICIDE.

“THE Land of Ind !” “The Land of the Vedas !” What a picture is suggested to the general mind by these words ! A vision of sunshine, of flowers of myriad hue and sweet perfume, and of sparkling fountains. The mind is filled with the splendid colors of Edwin Arnold, and the exquisite imaginings of Thomas Moore. In imagination we see the unclouded sky and the rich tints of orange, yellow, pink, and rose that presage the glories of a tropical day. The scene changes and we welcome the approach of that grateful eventide with its solemn hush and refreshing zephyrs. In thought we linger in those colonnades of green, inhaling the scented breath of rose, orange blossom and Jasmine, while birds of golden plumage flit hither and yon amid the branches of the lavender and the duranta. In this land nature bestows her gifts and beauties with a prodigal hand. Replenished by the alluvial deposits of great rivers, it has a soil of phenomenal fertility. Fruits, the most

delicious and wholesome, are there indigenous. On the same garden spot may be plucked the luscious custard apple, the nutritious plantain, magnificent mango, georgeous citron, clustering pomegranate, fragrant lichi, pleasant loquat, delicious shaddock, tart tamarind and "enticing tapari." Two and sometimes three crops of rice, wheat, barley, millet, Indian corn and pulse are raised each year. Vegetables of all kinds are produced in large quantities. In Bengal at least eighty-eight per cent of the acreage is devoted to rice. Two crops of this cereal are harvested annually, and the average yield per acre of cleaned rice is estimated at 1,200 pounds. Wheat is the staple production in the Northwestern Provinces; in fact fifty-seven per cent of the whole area of India is devoted to the production of this grain, and this is equal to the average wheat acreage of the United States. Cotton was successfully cultivated during the American Civil War. Prior to 1860, the annual export of cotton was but three million pounds. In 1866 it was more than thirty-six million.

The civilization of the country presents many interesting features. It can boast of a sublime moral code, profound philosophy, grand and beautiful architecture, and has a rich and varied literature. Fervid in passion, and brilliant in imagination the Hindoos have embalmed their loves, their hates, their dreams and their visions in measure as melodious as copious. Heber remarked of the Hindoo architects and builders that they "designed like Titans and finished like jewelers." It is to Buddhism, not Brahminism, that India owes her magnificent temples and massive sculpture. The glory of the Mogul dynasty has given a peculiar charm to the history of India. The mind of the student dwells with interest on an empire conquered by the mighty Tamerlane and made forever brilliant by Akbar and Jehan. The latter might be called the Pericles of the Mogul Empire. He it was that caused the construction of that superb tomb, the Taj Mahal, at Agra. This beautiful structure is veritably a dream in marble; a poem in stone.

This is one aspect of the subject. Lost in the contemplation of so much that is pleasant to the understanding and gratifying to the senses, it is forgotten that in this picture there are harsh outlines and dark colors. Somewhat of the misery and sorrow peculiar to this fair land may be realized from a single statement. In India there are 30,000,000 Pariahs, or social outcasts. Reader, think of this! To-day the population of the United States is perhaps 60,000,000. Think of one-half of this number being, by virtue of the law, denied the blessings of home, the equal protection of the State, and forbidden to accumulate property!

Consider for a moment 30,000,000 of our countrymen in such a condition that their very name had become expressive of all that is most abject, debased and wretched in human life.

In a land with a soil so productive and a climate so genial it would seem that the inhabitants should be prosperous and happy. It may be reasonably inferred that such would have been their destiny had the laws of nature been regarded. It is the perverted heart and cruel hand of man that has brought misery and want to the natives of this beautiful country.

A caste system is the peculiar characteristic of Indian society. In its main features it is to-day what it has been for more than 2,000 years. Under this system there are four divisions or orders of society, the Brahmans, or Priests, the Kshatyryas, or the ruling class, the Vaisyas, or merchants and farmers, the Sudra, or menial class, so-called. To the first class belong the teachers and men of learning. As originally constituted, to the second class belonged those persons who governed in peace and commanded in war. In the fourth order or class were all artisans, mechanics, servants and laborers. At the bottom of the social ladder, without caste or place in this world or the next, is the Pariah, sometimes called an outcast or non-caste. Under this system, in theory at least, a man must die a member of the caste in which he was born. His position in society and his vocation are inexorably fixed from the cradle to the grave—ambition is hopeless, talent is powerless.

The very names by which the several castes are distinguished are expressive of their social position, and the degree of its exaltation and its function. For example, the first part of the word Brahman signifies holiness, the word Kshatyrya, power, Vaisya, wealth, and Sudra, servile. It is a doctrine of the Hindoo faith, that it is through the benevolence of the Brahman alone, that other mortals enjoy life; that by virtue of birth the universe is the wealth of the Brahman. Originally, all artisans, laborers and servants were confined to the lowest class. This Sudra, or servile class, are objects of abhorrence and contempt to the superior castes. As a religious duty they are to be punished more severely for the same offenses than are their social superiors. An offense committed against one of this class is punished with less severity than if suffered by a member of the upper orders. In other words, if a crime be committed by a Brahman against a Sudra, the punishment is trivial; but if, on the other hand, the same offense be committed by a Sudra against a Brahman, it is punished with cruel and barbarous severity. Even when a freeman, the Sudra is not permitted

to accumulate property ; and when a slave his possessions may be seized by his master without hope of redress. Any disrespect shown by a Sudra to a member of either of the upper castes, is avenged with horrible cruelty. He is denied even that consolation derived from the free exercise of his religious sentiments. To read the sacred books in his presence is forbidden. The Sudra is taught from the dawn of self-consciousness, that his fate must be borne with uncomplaining fortitude ; and to believe that his earthly career was predetermined by Divinity.

The outcast, or Pariah, is without status in this life, and without hope for the next. Such are the doctrines of Brahminism. In time all rights are denied him, and he is without place in Eternity. The blessings of home are forbidden the poor Pariah, and he is denied a fixed habitation. He is by virtue of a religious creed, a weary and homeless wanderer. Every incident of his life is intended to debase him. The garments of the dead are his clothing, and his ornaments rusty iron ; his food must be partaken from broken vessels, and he is not permitted to abide in cities. No member of the four castes, from the arrogant Brahman to the lowly Sudra, is permitted to touch his unclean person. Not to intermingle with the outcast is the religious duty of every good Brahman. In brief, human degradation has its consummation in the Pariah of India.

The caste system in India originated in the mists of antiquity. The first social distinction must have been between a conquering and a conquered people ; into soldiers and serfs. The conquerors became the proprietors of the soil. The conquered were reduced to the condition of serfs and compelled to till the land of their lords. This gave two social divisions, nobles and menials. The invaders having established themselves, some of the nobility, or warrior class, became farmers and merchants, and others priests. With the evolution of religious doctrine arose a conflict for supremacy between the rulers and the priests ; the result was a victory for the priests. This is the foundation upon which the ancient Hindoo civilization was established. It was the result of military conquest and religious creed. It was the established order of society when the Institutes of Menu were written, more than seven centuries before Christ.

When and how the Pariah class arose there is uncertain. There seems to be authority for the statement, however, that it had its origin in the children born of marriages illegal under the Institutes of Menu. Intermarriage between the several castes was forbidden by the severest laws. But human affection can not always be guided or

restrained by law, custom, or even religious prejudices; and these irregular marriages were of frequent occurrence in Hindoostan. The offspring of these marriages were unholy, infamous, and "without caste." Thus originated the Pariah caste, so execrated and abhorred by the religion of Brahma. Within the past two centuries has arisen a conventional subdivision of the original castes. It is founded upon the use of different languages and the following of different occupations. To illustrate: Originally, all the servants of a Brahman would be of the Sudra caste, and among themselves there would be no distinction because of difference in occupation; now, although still belonging to the Sudra caste, yet these servants will be subdivided into as many castes or classes as there are duties. The coachmen will constitute one of these classes, the cooks another, the table waiters another, and this will continue throughout the scope of domestic labors.

In support of this statement there are respectable authorities. In our opinion, these divisions of the Sudra or working class, are more in the nature of trade unions or guilds than of religious castes. A careful study of their laws and customs will afford many suggestive features. By these associations or unions young persons are trained for particular trades. They regulate wages by rule, and strive to lessen competition. Other objects are the promotion of social fellowship and mutual protection. Holy days are appointed and members who work on such days are fined. Sometimes all workshops will be closed, by the command of these unions or guilds, with the exception of one. The privilege of operating this shop for that day will be purchased of the union or guild. Apprentices are required to pay for their training in those crafts requiring skill. The money realized from this source is expended for the support of widows and orphans of fellow workmen. In 1873 the weavers organization forbade any member to work over hours. The object was to provide work for all the members of the guild. These guilds provide a scale of advancement for faithful and obedient members. On the other hand, fines and penalties are imposed upon delinquents, and incorrigible offenders are expelled. If these classifications according to occupation, are anything more than unions or guilds, it must be that the members, actuated by historic tendencies and habitudes, have imbued the institution with religious import; that is to say, these associations, in the opinion of Indian mechanics and laborers, find their warrant and spirit in the religion of Brahma and the civilization of India.

These guilds or unions have engaged in strikes. For instance, in

1872 the sizers of cloth refused to work for six weeks because of an attempted reduction in wages.

This minute division of labor is carried to the extreme. In every establishment there is a workman for each separate step in the process of manufacture. This division of employment is hereditary, and descends from father to son in particular families. The result has been great skill in all branches of manufacture. Particularly is this the case with goldsmiths, jewelers, potters and ironworkers. Much skill is displayed by wood-carvers and inlayers. It cannot be said, however, that this system has been productive of originality in design.

The same custom obtains in household affairs. A servant is required for every minutia of domestic routine. Even a family of small means will have a table-waiter, a bootblack, a purse-bearer, a cook, a groom, a gardener, a man to sweep the floor, another to open the door, and yet another to light and fill the pipe. Each servant, moreover, will positively refuse to do anything other than that for which he was employed.

The caste system, in its original form, has yielded somewhat to the pressure of occidental ideas, evangelical Christianity, and modern civilization. The only practical division of Hindoo society, to-day, is into high caste and low caste. The appliances and institutions of the age, have had an influence for good over the customs and prejudices of an effete and stagnant civilization. In the railway cars a Brahman will frequently be seen in the same seat with a Sudra, or even a Pariah; and in the schools and colleges, may now be seen children of all castes, sitting on the same benches and repeating the same lessons. It is not now infrequent for a Brahman to receive alms at the hands of a Sudra; and instances are numerous of a criminal Brahman being tried before a Sudra magistrate.

It may be said that agriculture is the national industry of Hindoostan. At present it is mainly confined to the Sudra class. But the spirit of the times is influencing even the proud and fanatical Brahmans; and members of this caste have manifested an appreciation of the dignity and usefulness of agriculture by engaging personally in that avocation.

Usually, the land is divided into small plots, which resemble gardens more than farms. The agricultural implements in use are rude and imperfect. The plough is little more than a "crooked stick." To this a bullock is fastened, and to urge and guide the animal the tail is used. The land must be broken four or five times in succession before a crop can be planted. The harrow is a bunch of brushwood or the limb of a tree, and a few pieces of hollow bamboo the drill. The farmer's cart

is a rough bamboo frame on small clumsy wheels, that groan and creak and wobble as the vehicle moves over the neglected road. Corn is ground in a hand-mill. The latter utensil is made by placing one large stone upon another. The grain is reduced to flour by turning the upper stone. The oil and sugar mills resemble the clay-crushers in an American brick-yard. In brief, so crude and simple are the implements of the Hindoo farmer, that he may carry them all to and from the field on his shoulder.

The habitation of the Hindoo farmer, is a damp and noisome hut, with walls of mud and roof of thatch. In extent, it seldom exceeds twelve feet square, and generally contains but one apartment. A few articles, at once uncouth and uncomfortable, and one or two spinning-wheels, are the only pretensions to furniture.

Although not enterprising, yet the Indian farmer is a paragon of industry. Long before the dawn of day he partakes of his rice gruel and commences his labors. His hours of toil extend far into the night. Under the fervid rays of an Indian sun, he toils without cessation for 15 hours, naked to the waist. His assistants are those female members of his family capable of the task. From sunrise to sunset, in his lowly home, is heard the hum of the spinning-wheel. This industry devolves upon those members of his household incapable of field labor.

At an early period in the history of India, arable land was held by a sort of feudal tenure. Eventually a system of tenure was developed that was productive of two classes of tenantry. Tenants residing in villages held from year to year, but for centuries the land was occupied subject to the will or caprice of the landlord. A higher rate of rent was exacted from village tenants than from those who resided in the rural districts. If some authorities are reliable, rural tenures were always more definite and stable than those of the village.

Much has been done by the English Government for the improvement of land tenures and the encouragement of agriculture. Possession of land is no longer subject to the ownership of a capricious and selfish nobility. The farmer now owns in fee the little farm he once held at the mercy of a feudal lord. Small holdings may be had for a quit-rent. These holdings become estates in fee, after the expiration of 30 years, by the annual payment of a small sum. Under this system, an annual rent of three shillings and ten pence was paid in 1878. In 1858, a rent of five shillings was paid annually. At present, in the Province of Bombay, the rent paid for land is from ten pence to four shillings and six pence an acre. About one-seventeenth of the annual crop is now taken for taxes.

In the early part of this century, much suffering was caused by the oppression of the land owners, who could imprison their tenants for non-payment of rent. In 1859 this was remedied by legislation. In 1879, the government of Bombay forbade the imprisonment or eviction of tenants. A bankruptcy court has been established for relief against indebtedness of five pounds and under. Indebtedness in larger amounts is provided for by an insolvency law. A farmer's land cannot now be seized for non-payment of rent, unless it has been specifically mortgaged. Even when mortgaged, a farmer cannot be deprived of his land by absolute foreclosure. The court may adjudge that the mortgaged land shall be cultivated for the benefit of the creditor, for a period not exceeding seven years. The amount realized from the sale of the annual crops is applied upon the indebtedness, after deducting therefrom a sum sufficient to meet the domestic wants of the debtor.

In Hindoostan, there is a population of 240,000,000. This is more than double the population of the Roman Empire, when at the zenith of its power, as estimated by Gibbon. In France, there are one hundred and eighty inhabitants to the square mile. In England, where the number of inhabitants approaches two hundred to the square mile, the locality is considered a town. In certain parts of Bengal, there are two persons to every cultivated acre of land, or about 1,280 to the square mile. In England 42 per cent of the population live in towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants, while in India, all but 4 per cent reside in the rural districts.

A bountiful harvest yields food barely sufficient for the immediate wants of this immense population. This is because the number is disproportionate to the quantity of land under cultivation. Each year thousands of lives are dependent upon a few inches of rainfall. In case of drought and the loss of but one crop, the people experience the horrors of famine. So direful are its results, that in some sections the annual increase of population is only six persons to every 10,000. Be the poor Hindoo farmer never so provident, yet must he feel that a failure of one crop will bring starvation. His sunshine is for the hour only; in the surrounding shadows are the grim companions, haggard hunger and mephetic fever.

The English Government has carefully investigated this subject with a view to remedying this great evil, if possible. It has been deemed essential to this purpose that the price of food should be regulated by the government, in times of famine.

The classes especially subject to this scourge are the farmers, laborers

and poorer craftsmen. It is said that one-fourth of the farm laborers earn not more than ten shillings in a month of twenty-seven days; another fourth not to exceed sixteen shillings in the same time, and another fourth perhaps twenty-one shillings; while the remaining one-fourth will earn about twenty-five shillings. Droughts in India are not general in their effects. Loss of crops for want of rain will occur in some sections, when in other sections the usual crops will be harvested. Then it is that the small farmer, farm laborer, and mechanic will experience the evil of small wages. The price of rice when crops are good is about one and a half farthings per pound; and when there has been a partial failure of the crops, there will be an average advance in the price of five farthings per pound. An advance of three and a half farthings may seem a trifling matter to the laborer of Europe and America; to the poor laborer of India, however, it is the difference between life and death. He must stand by helpless, while the rice that would save the lives of his wife and children, is exported to foreign lands. When a famine is threatened the people eat weeds, herbs and green food. The destitution and suffering during the famine of 1866 is not adequately shown by the official statistics.

Various are the causes that have conspired to render the inhabitants of India indifferent to human life, such as the density of population, a religion that teaches annihilation to be the supreme good, and the familiarity with death from fever and famine.

In some parts of Hindoostan are large tracts of unoccupied wild land that might be subjected to cultivation. A person may clear the jungle and raise a crop by paying a small poll tax, but the attachment of the farmer to locality is so strong that he would rather starve than seek relief by a change of habitation. It is but fair to say, perhaps, that the suffering of the people of India is not so much due to number as to unequal distribution.

Of the condition of the working classes of Hindoostan, prior to the establishment of the Mogul dynasty, it may be said that it was not better but worse than it was at any subsequent period. This is a reasonable inference from the fact that the caste system was in vigorous operation for centuries before and after the birth of Christ. About 800 A.D., the Mohammedans invaded India, meeting with a brave but unorganized resistance. The country was soon subjected to their power, but they were subsequently expelled. It was not until 1565 that the Mogul Empire was fully established under Akbar. The character of the Mohammedan rule is known to history. It was an unqualified despot-

ism. The masses of the people were subject to wanton and capricious tyranny, and they were plundered to gratify the lust and extravagance of their rulers. It is stated of one of the Mogul princes that he deprived the people of vast sections of the country of the whole of their annual produce; that his exactions and oppressions were so unbearable that the people burned their houses, abandoned their lands, and became homeless wanderers on the face of the earth. This step their monarch considered a personal affront. He summoned his army, therefore, surrounded the wretched peasantry, and put them all to the sword, men, women, and children. The Mohammedan Empire in India was noted for its magnificence and brilliancy; but this glory was obtained at the expense of the sons of toil. They were deprived of the necessaries of life in order that their rulers might squander millions of treasure in the gratification of their selfish whims. Palaces were built by them at a cost of \$19,000,000. Shāh Jehan erected a monument to his favorite wife at an outlay of \$60,000,000. More than \$160,000,000 was expended on the celebrated Peacock throne. The crown worn by the Mogul rulers was valued at more than \$10,000,000.

The Mogul Dynasty gave way only to English rule. In 1668 the East Indian Company was formed for the occupation of Bombay. The purpose of this company was to establish a trade between India and England. It was not until eighteen years had expired that the company obtained a site on the coast for a trading post. Calcutta was then founded. British supremacy was not fully established in India until 1757, after the battle of Plassey. Lord Clive was the first governor of Bengal. He was appointed in 1758. He was a positive character, expelled the French, defeated the Dutch, and scattered the hostile native forces. Clive did nothing to ameliorate the condition of the people of India. He exacted immense sums from the native princes, and the latter in turn extorted the money from their subjects. In 1786 Clive was succeeded by the infamous Warren Hastings. His wicked career has been immortalized by Edmund Burke. He was a willing and unscrupulous tool for the rapacious native chiefs and grasping directors of the East Indian Company. It was reserved for Lord Cornwallis to effectually crush the native resistance to British rule. This doughty noble found in the poor Hindoos, a foe better suited to his caliber than were the heroes of Valley Forge and the conquerors of Yorktown.

Today, two-thirds of the country, containing four-fifths of its population, is subject to the rule of Great Britain. The nominal governors are the native princes, who acknowledge the supremacy of the British

crown. The supreme executive officer of the Indian Empire is a Viceroy. He summons to his assistance a cabinet or council, selected by him from the Indian civil service. A separate governor is appointed by the British crown for Madras and Bombay.

The great suffering and ignorance of former times is continually lessened by the introduction of European methods and ideas. Schools have been established by the government in every village. Education is encouraged and controlled by the faculties and examining boards of the four government universities, at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore.

The government of India can scarcely be said to be constitutional in the English and American sense of the term. So far as the natives of the country are concerned, the government can not be said to be representative. All executive and legislative functions are exercised by the Viceroy and six official members of his council. It is difficult to foretell the outcome of affairs in India. There is hope for improvement in the social aspects of the country; and that in time the harsh and inhuman distinction between Brahman, Sudra, and Pariah may be obliterated. Centuries may elapse before the native inhabitants of India will exercise and enjoy the privileges of self-government; but it would seem that less time was necessary for recognition by the Hindoos of the principles of humanity and fraternity.

CHAPTER II.—CHINA.

PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY—PROGRESS AND CHARACTER OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION—ARCHITECTURE—ARTS, SCIENCES AND MANUFACTURES—MARINER'S COMPASS—GUNPOWDER—PRINTING—PAPER AND INK—PORCELAIN WARE—METALLIC MIRRORS—CARVINGS IN WOOD AND IVORY—THE GREAT WALL—THE GREAT CANAL—THE IMPERIAL HIGHWAY—ASYLUMS FOR THE AGED AND INFIRM—IMPERIAL GRANARIES—AGRICULTURE—SOCIAL ORDER AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE—DENSITY OF POPULATION—DESTITUTION OF THE DAY LABORER—FOOD, DRESS AND HABITATIONS—COMPENSATION OF DAY-LABOR—OF BRICKLAYERS AND CARPENTERS—INFANTICIDE—DOMESTIC SLAVERY—KIDNAPING—CRUELTY TO SLAVES—OFFICIAL POSITION NOT HEREDITARY—CIVIL PREFERMENT OPEN TO ALL CLASSES OF SOCIETY—IS THERE A PARIAH CLASS IN CHINA ?

MANUAL labor in China should be of peculiar interest to the workmen of the United States. The Chinese labor problem has agitated the public mind of this country for upwards of a quarter of a century. It was but natural that this should be the case, when European and Asiatic civilization were thus brought face to face in a new world. The civilization of the West is young, vigorous, progressive, receptive. The civilization of the orient is hoary, senile, stagnant, repellent. Whether considered historically or philosophically, it cannot be doubted which is the preferable type of human life. It is the civilization of the occident that has produced what is most valuable to the world; and it is to this element that the world must look for future progress and expansion. Asiatic civilization, on the other hand, attained its acme more than 2,000 years ago. Today it is practically dead. It is without benefit to the present, and without hope for the future. To contrast it with the civilization of the West is to condemn it; and to that civilization it must yield as the intellectual, moral, and material regenerator of mankind.

The Chinese laborer is the fruitage of an effete and decaying life. In contrast with the Caucasian or Indo-European laborer, he sinks into moral, physical, and intellectual insignificance. Place these races in permanent contact, and the result will be either death to the former or degradation to the latter. To thus place Caucasian labor in competition with Chinese labor, would be like lashing a living body to a festering corpse. To thus infuse into the life blood of the young republic, the

putrid ferment of a dead world, is to plant the seed of national decay. Chinese and American life are in hopeless antagonism. In character the races are mutually exclusive. The United States is a republic; China a despotism. In the United States is freedom; in China tyranny. In the United States is the sublime beauty and moral grandeur of Christianity; in China the monstrous superstition and morbid spirit of heathenism. The American is a citizen; the Chinaman is a subject. The American is a freeman; the Chinaman is a slave. To the Chinaman, republican principles are an enigma. A true citizen of the republic he cannot become. In a word, the Chinese and Chinese civilization "have been weighed in the balance and found wanting."

A view of the Chinese laborer in his home, will but confirm the foregoing opinion. The authors propose, as best they can, to portray the humiliating picture of the toiling "Celestial" in the land of Confucius. When the story has been unfolded and the picture seen in its various aspects, they are not without hope that it may influence public opinion against "Chinese cheap labor."

It may be said, in the beginning, that the condition of the laboring classes of China is today substantially what it has been for thirty centuries. As he may now be seen in the workshop and in the field, in the town and in country, so was he when the great Cæsar "crossed the Rubicon," and the Greeks won immortal glory at Thermopylæ.

In extent the Chinese Empire has 5,000,000 square miles, and a population of 500,000,000. It contains one-tenth of the dry land of the globe, and, Alaska excepted, it is two-thirds larger than the United States. It may aid to a conception of this vast country to say, that if situated on the North American continent, as is the United States, it would extend from the southernmost boundary of Mexico to Hudson Bay, and from New Brunswick on the east to a line 500 miles west of San Francisco. We are now speaking inclusively of the area of China and Chinese Tartary. It is the people of China Proper with which we are particularly concerned. The area of China Proper is about one-half that of the United States.

The country traversed by the Imperial Canal is extremely beautiful from a picturesque point of view. The broad bosom of this waterway, from Tien-Tsin to Hung-Chow-Fow, a distance of 600 miles, is dotted with numerous islands, which are carpeted with verdure and crowned with stately trees. Overshadowing the banks, throughout its length, are groves of pine, cypress, willow and camphor trees. Glimpses may be had now and then, through the luxuriant foliage, of gleaming temples and

graceful pagodas. China has a vast canal system that has been in existence for centuries. The rivers, lakes and canals are frequently spanned by beautiful bridges. These structures are often of porcelain and sometimes of marble. In length, they are usually but one span; occasionally they have as many as twenty-six, fifty-three, and even seventy-three arches.

The most remarkable feature of Chinese architecture is the great Stone Wall. This monument to the patience and industry of the toiling masses—indicating not only their serfdom, and the inability of their innumerable hordes to resist a savage invader—extends the entire length of the northern frontier. Only five years were required for its construction; and to expedite the project, every third laborer in the empire was pressed into service. For the distance of 1,500 miles extends this mammoth rampart, spanning mighty rivers, and scaling lofty mountains. The average height is twenty-two feet, and the width twenty-five feet, while at regular intervals are towers from thirty to forty feet high.

It has been maintained by some writers that the magnetic needle and mariners compass were known to the Chinese as early as 1114 B. C., and that gunpowder was manufactured by them, A. D., 1280. It may be true that this people practiced the art of printing at least five hundred years before the days of Gutenberg, and that paper was in use in the second century A. D. Today books are exceedingly cheap in China, and are usually published in parts. A book of four hundred leaves can be purchased for ten cents. Twenty volumes of fifteen hundred pages each, can be bought for two and one-half dollars.

Pagodas are the most unique feature of Chinese art. These structures are beautiful in outline, and many of them are constructed of marble, and some of porcelain. One near Chin-Kiang is constructed of iron and is nine stories high. The most celebrated pagoda, perhaps, was that at Nanking.

The Imperial palace at Peking is of white marble, and has a circumference of about two miles. It is encompassed by walls of polished brick, thirty feet high and twelve feet thick. Without and surrounding this wall is a moat, lined with hewn stone. Landscape gardening is an art in China, as is exemplified by the park surrounding the Imperial palace. Temples and pavilions are situated in lovely dells and on picturesque elevations. Broad graveled walks wind in and out among the groves, and translucent lakes slumber peacefully amid the umbrageous shades. Over one of these lakes, a mile and a half in length, stretches a bridge of white marble, having nine arches. Stately trees shade the

pebbled beach and reflect their shadows in the limpid depths. Water-lilies and the lotus-blossom float upon its bosom, and its waters are furrowed by the graceful swan. Fawns and ewes wander through the glades, and birds carol in the air. As has been said by Père Hyacinthe "the infinite variety of beauties, which this lake presents, constitute it one of the most enchanting spots on earth."

Silk culture originated with the Chinese. To the outside world it remained a secret until sometime during the sixth century. The silk-worm was then first introduced into Europe by certain Persian monks. Next to silk the most important manufacture is the celebrated Nanking cloth.

This much may be said of the material civilization of China. It displays some admirable features; but it must be remembered that as the arts and sciences are today, so were they twenty centuries ago. It cannot be successfully maintained that the Chinese have progressed in manufacturing methods and the mechanical arts for more than two thousand years. The architectural remains are interesting for two reasons only; as vestiges of an ancient civilization, and as indicating the handiwork of generations of workingmen. They are of interest to the modern world merely as a curiosity, and are suggestive more of patient toil than of originality.

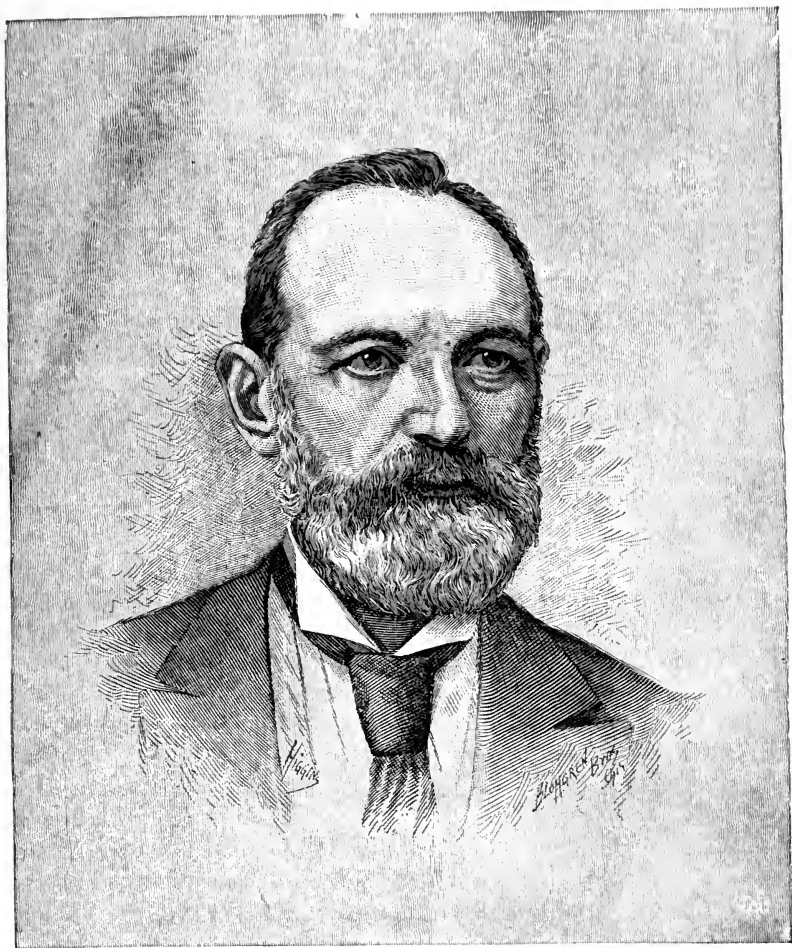
What is true of the material side of Chinese history may be likewise predicated of the spiritual features of the race. Perhaps the one character in Chinese history that has most influenced the moral and intellectual tendencies of his race is the great Confucius. He was born more than five hundred years before Christ. His name has echoed down the ages, increasing in luster with each passing century. Today he ranks with the greatest moral teachers of the world. Like a colossus, he bestrides the barren fields of Chinese literature. It is this mighty spirit, alone, that has preserved an empire of five hundred millions of people from intellectual obscurity. He is the incarnation of all that is wisest and best in the spiritual aspect of Chinese history. A literature China certainly has; but aside from the Confucian classics and the writings of Laotse, it is a realm of sterile platitudes, grotesque superstitions and crude and puerile speculations on scientific subjects.

Much has been said of the educational system of China. It has received the most extravagant encomiums. But the authors are of opinion that the system does not deserve this unqualified praise. By it the Chinese youth are not schooled in the truths of natural science, learned in the intricacies of political and social philosophy, nor trained

for the liberal professions and mechanical arts. It consists mainly in memorizing the precepts and aphorisms of Confucius and other sages. Grand as is the philosophy of Confucius, for the purposes of mental discipline and practical affairs, it cannot take the place of mathematics and the natural sciences. The Chinese language is peculiar. Each word is represented by a separate character. In order that a person may be able to read, write and speak the language as a whole, he must learn as many different characters as there are words. Many years of weary effort must elapse before a Chinaman, assuming to be educated, can read the classical books of his native land. It is estimated that but three men out of every hundred, and one woman out of every thousand, can read the Chinese classics. The mechanics, artisans, laborers and other persons of small means, seldom, if ever, attain this goal. They are precluded that boon by the poverty of their lot, and the insuperable difficulties to be overcome. The most that these classes can hope to attain is a knowledge of the characters expressive of the words in use in their trades or callings.

The fact is often paraded that official position in China is open to all classes of society alike. While this may be true in theory, yet it is an absolute failure in practice. The competitive examinations that determine official preferment are practically open only to the sons of Mandarins and of wealthy families. It is the children of such persons who can afford the expense and spare the time requisite to a mastery of the Chinese classics. The children of mechanics and laborers are as absolutely deprived of official distinction and emolument, by the circumstances of their condition, as though it had been decreed by imperial fiat.

The government of China is autocratic. The power of the emperor is supreme. His prerogatives are limited only by tradition and public opinion. The public opinion here referred to, is that of the members of the imperial family, who are numerous and supported in idleness, the Mandarin class, and old families possessing enormous wealth. His imperial majesty has nothing to fear from his vast body of abject and down-trodden subjects. A board of censors exists, the members of which are supposed to punish official tyranny and peculation. But it is true of the Chinese Government, as of every other despotism, that the officers and favorites of the crown are almost universally susceptible to bribery and fraud. We may conjecture that the poor and lowly mechanic or laborer would fare badly before this august tribunal, in case his wealthy oppressor would respond to the dishonest demands of the judges. There



Uriah S. Stephens.

Founder of the Knights of Labor.



are a cabinet of four chancellors and a ministry of five members. The people at large, however, do not participate in governmental affairs, and are without political rights, in the European and American sense of the term.

Draft animals are rare and expensive in China. Instead of horses, mules or oxen, men are employed to carry burdens and draw vehicles. Porters are frequently seen bending and striving under a burden of six-hundred pounds. In building, men are used to transport from the quarry to the walls, boulders weighing from one to several tons. The Chinese sedan-bearers often display remarkable strength and endurance. Two of them have been known to carry a man and twenty-five pounds of baggage, thirty miles in a day. Briefly, transportation and locomotion are accomplished almost exclusively by man-power. The streets of cities and towns, and the byways of the rural districts, may be traversed for days without once seeing an animal in use for this purpose. Why, indeed, should beasts of burden be maintained when men can be had for a mere pittance. Laborers engaged in this work are paid not to exceed ten and one-half cents per day. Millions of Chinese live exclusively in boats, on the rivers and harbors. These people live and die without a foothold on their native soil. This class live principally upon fish and other food that can be found in the waters. Filth, vice, and crime are said to be more prevalent among this class than any other portion of the Chinese population.

There is a remarkable uniformity of condition among the artisan classes of China, and in the rate of wages paid for various kinds of work. Shoemakers, bakers, butchers, printers, leather-workers, and hatters, are usually compensated at the rate of four and one-half dollars per month; their wages never exceed five and one-half per month. Brick-makers, masons, plasterers, plumbers, blacksmiths, and jewelers, are paid from four and one-half dollars to eight dollars a month. House-servants are paid one dollar and a half for every thirty days. As in the United States the working hours in these trades are from sunrise to sunset. Teachers are paid a certain amount for each pupil, usually from three dollars to four dollars a year.

Mechanics habitually assemble in certain localities, where they await employment. Contracts of this kind are made at particular periods of the year. On these occasions the artisans will gather at the wonted place, when the carpenters will assemble on one side of the square, the bricklayers on another, and the masons and plasterers on yet another. The contractors then pass here and there, engaging such of those present as

they may require. When employed by the day mechanics receive twenty-five cents for fifteen hours work.

So meager is the recompense for even skilled labor that the working classes hope for nothing better in this life than ceaseless toil, privation and degradation. They are the slaves of circumstance, the serfs of fate. Stern necessity is their task-master, and death their only hope for emancipation. From tender childhood to decrepit age they are relentlessly pursued by the grim wolf. At threescore years and ten they must toil as in the flower of manhood.

As a precaution against revolution, some attempt has been made to provide for the aged and the sick. These efforts, however, are poor at the best. Institutions have been established in the nature of asylums, for the blind, the infirm, lepers, and foundlings. But so imperfectly appointed and inefficiently conducted are these affairs, that they afford but little relief in a distress so wide spread and deeply rooted.

In some parts of China famines are of frequent occurrence. As a partial relief against the horrors of this visitation, imperial granaries have been established, in which immense quantities of rice are stored for free distribution to the poor. These efforts of the government are not so much dictated by humane instincts as by policy. It is a common aphorism with the official class that, "an empty stomach makes a troublesome citizen." The province of Shanse is especially subject to this direful scourge. Starvation presents a constant menace to the poor inhabitants of this sterile province. Sometimes the rice stored for free distribution in time of famine is withdrawn by dishonest officials, and the suffering consequent upon the speculation baffles description. Despite the utmost endeavor, thousands upon thousands of persons die of starvation every year. Objects most repulsive to us, are eaten by the famishing population, such as dogs, cats, rats, mice, cockroaches, and vermin of every description.

Perhaps the saddest feature of Chinese society is the prevalent disregard for human life among the manual laborers. This is manifested in several ways. Infanticide is a universal practice, according to some writers. It is contended by others that this crime is on the decrease. It is the female infants that are disposed of in this way, for fear they may become burdensome. Boy children are spared because of the hope that they may be useful in the future. "The innocents" are drowned like cats, or buried alive. It is estimated that in Peking ten female infants are murdered daily. They are killed during the night and thrown into the street. In the morning the bodies are gathered up by the

police, and buried in a common hole outside the city walls. This low estimate of human life is also indicated by the indifference with which the Chinese regard the sufferings of those about them. So sharp and merciless is the struggle for existence, that their hearts are closed to want and suffering. It has been said that "the sick poor are allowed to perish by the wayside, without a helping hand to relieve them; and that persons in danger of being drowned or burned, are seldom rescued. Large numbers are turned into the street to die, to save the expense incidental to the sickness, and the cost of burial in case of death."

With the artisans and laborers the cost of living has been reduced to a minimum. In some instances, the expenditure for this purpose does not exceed two dollars, or at most two dollars and a half a month. Some of the subsidiary coin in circulation is but one-tenth of a cent in value. The use of, and necessity for, so small a money fraction, serves to illustrate the rigid economy made necessary by exigencies of the poorer classes. The home of the artisan and laborer is usually nothing more than a frail bamboo structure, for which a rent of ten cents per month is paid. Rice is a staple article of food with all classes. Ground-nut oil is a substitute for butter. It is only on rare occasions that the working classes can indulge in a morsel of pork or fish.

The agricultural methods of China are thorough but primitive in the extreme. The implements used and the processes employed are nearly identical with those of the Israelites in the days of Moses and Joshua, and of the Egyptians, nearly four thousand years ago. This fact, of itself, exemplifies the lethargic character of the people, and their want of progress, or desire for improvement. Ploughs of the rudest construction are sometimes used. This implement is drawn by buffalos, occasionally, but more frequently by men yoked together and driven like beasts. Ploughs are the exception; as a rule, the land is broken with a large wooden hoe tipped with iron. There are two prevailing methods of irrigation. Human life is cheaper than machinery. Men are less expensive than animals. Such is the condition of things in China, and to irrigate land men are employed instead of animal power. Water is carried in buckets for miles, or it is pumped by treadmills worked by barefooted laborers. Grain is threshed by driving oxen or buffaloes back and forth over the threshing-floor as did the Assyrians and Persians of old. It is winnowed by throwing it in shovelfuls against the wind. Agriculture is honored above all employments. The beginning of the agricultural year is celebrated as a national festival. The Emperor and Empress, together with the highest officials of the empire, participate personally in the

exercises. A furrow is ploughed by the Emperor and each of the officials. The Empress places her hand on the handles of the instrument while it turns the soil. The day is celebrated with appropriate ceremonies in every province of the empire. There are government boards of agriculture in every village. These bodies regulate farming and irrigation, and punish idle and improvident farmers. Premiums are offered by the government for the reclamation of waste lands.

Slavery is an institution of the "Middle Kingdom." The power of the master over the slave is absolute. Dr. Gray, once Archdeacon of Hong-Kong, mentions several instances of the inhuman cruelty practiced by masters upon their helpless slaves. He writes of these as follows: "In 1853, I saw in a suburb of Canton, the corpse of a female slave, who had been beaten to death by her mistress. When the slave was about to die, her mistress had her removed to the beggars square, that she might die there. The policemen, wishing to extort money from this monster of cruelty, ordered the dying slave to be placed at the doorstep of her house. Finding that her house was daily attracting crowds of inquisitive on-lookers, the mistress gave the policemen the money they demanded, and the corpse—for the girl died within a few minutes after she had been placed at the door—was removed for interment to an adjoining cemetery. In 1869, a gentleman of the Ho family, in Canton, having convicted a boy slave, fourteen years old, of theft, bound him hand and foot and cast him into the Canton river. An officer in an English gun-boat, hearing the shrieks of the boy, rescued him, arrested Ho and sent him to the Allied Commissioners, by whom he was handed over to the Chinese authorities. They treated the matter with perfect indifference, claiming that the master had violated no law. The torturing of slaves by their masters is of frequent occurrence."

As a rule these slaves are not of an alien race. They are Chinese, and are of two classes. One class are those born to bondage, as the children of those who have sold themselves for debt; the other class is composed of persons who have become the property of their creditors.

The infamous traffic in coolie labor began in 1850. About this time slavery was abolished in British Guiana. It then became necessary for the planters to provide themselves with another class of labor. It occurred to certain unconscionable mariners, that this demand might be supplied from the refuse population of China. With that purpose in view, vessels were sent to the various Chinese ports, particularly to Amoy and Canton, where the natives were enticed aboard and then forced into the holds of the vessels. The hatches were then battened

down and the unfortunate wretches carried to British Guiana, Cuba and Peru. In those countries they were reduced to slavery. So wretched was their lot that many of them sought relief in suicide. On the Chinchu Islands, near the coast of Peru, where large numbers were employed in digging guano, many of these poor victims would dash themselves to pieces on the rocks, or seek a voluntary grave beneath the crumbling guano. Civilization is to be congratulated that crimes of this character no longer disgrace humanity. The coolie trade, so far as involuntary servitude is concerned, has been abandoned. It may be remarked here, that coolie slavery too clearly indicates the servility and abjectness of the Chinese character. That vast numbers of a race will thus submit meekly, or helplessly, to a condition of bondage, speaks badly for their intellectual and moral force. Such a people are not qualified for republican government.

Chinese immigration to the United States began thirty years ago. It increased annually until there are probably 200,000 Chinese in California. So alarming did the numbers become that the residents of the Pacific slope commenced a vigorous protest against the Asiatic inundation. Many years elapsed before the people of the country fully appreciated the baneful influence of a large Chinese immigration. In 1882 a law was passed by congress restraining the deluge of Chinese cheap labor. This was a wise step. A working class that for centuries has been groveling in the dust are not fit for freemen. A people who have been subjects of a tyrannical government for three thousand years, and have patiently submitted to the yoke, cannot make good citizens of the republic. Laborers that have been accustomed to a remuneration of from ten to twenty-five cents a day should not be placed in competition with the brave, generous, manly and self-respecting Caucasian. The first is by habit of mind and the experience of centuries a willing subject of despotism. The last has been the standard-bearer of civilization and the builder of constitutional self-government.

CHAPTER III—JAPAN.

HER UNIQUE POSITION IN HISTORY—“THE GREEKS OF ASIA”—SUPPOSED ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE—THE JAPANESE AND CHINESE COMPARED—THE FIRST EMPEROR—THE GREAT BOOK—THE COURT OF NOBLES—AGRICULTURE THE CHIEF INDUSTRY—HISTORICAL DATA—THE RISE OF THE MILITARY CLASS—THE OVERTHROW OF THE ANCIENT REGIME—A MELANCHOLY PICTURE—IYEYASU—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—APPORTIONMENT OF LAND—THE “DAIMIOS” AND “KUGES”—THE INCOME OF THE DAIMIOS—THE MERCILESS EXACTIONS—DIVISION OF THE POPULATION INTO CLASSES—“ETA” AND “HUNIN”—THE FARMERS—THEIR POSITION—THE COMMON LABORER—HUMAN HORSES—LABOR ABUNDANT AND CHEAP—THE SLAVE TRADE—THE ARTISAN CLASS—TRADE GUILDS—MERCHANT TRADERS—THE FOOD OF THE WORKING PEOPLE—CLOTHING—HOUSES—EDUCATION—TREATMENT OF THE FARMERS BY THEIR MASTERS—AGRARIAN RIOTS—THE RESULT OF OPPRESSION—THE REVOLUTION—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE REVOLUTION—HOW THE SAMURIAS WERE DISARMED—THE ABOLITION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—THE FARMERS AS AFFECTED BY THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS—THE FISHERMEN—THE MINE LABORER—THE PRIESTS—THE ARTISANS UNDER THE NEW ORDER OF THINGS—THE COOLIES—THE BARBERS.

IN the eastern firmament, Japan is an orb of the first magnitude. The Japanese are the Greeks of Asia. Over that beautiful group of islands is the star of hope for Asia. Arousing from a Rip Van Winkle slumber of twenty centuries duration, with the vigor and enterprise of youth she has entered upon a new and prosperous career. In this, her career is unique in Asiatic history. Emerging suddenly from a civilization that was gray with age when Jesus was preaching the beatitudes, she has, within the past quarter of a century taken giant strides in the direction of reform and progress. With a scenery that enchants the most fastidious visitor; with lofty mountain ranges, snow-capped and covered from base to snow-line with evergreens of surpassing beauty; with picturesque valleys, carpeted with richest verdure and blossoming with flowers; the queen of lilies, filling the atmosphere with perfume; rushing torrents and winding rivers; charming villas, magnificent temples and beautiful pagodas; with their territory extending to the land of the Muscovite on the north; separated by the sea from the “Flowery Kingdom” standing full in the gateway to that mighty continent of

Asia (the birthplace of mankind; the cradle of civilization); rich in literature and art; possessed of that spirit of progress that is willing to assimilate the best features of modern civilization—; the people of Japan are indeed the “Greeks of Asia.”

Although supposed to be identical in origin with the “Almond-eyed Celestials,” yet it is hard to conceive a contrast more marked than exists between these peoples, in everything that constitutes character.

It has been well said that “the Japanese are warm-hearted, friendly, and obliging; the Chinese cold, snaky and retiring; the Japanese are brave, impulsive and chivalrous; the Chinese slow, cowardly and treacherous; the Japanese are simple, confiding and trusting; the Chinese crafty, suspicious and deceitful; both nations excel all others in politeness; the former from a feeling of pride and honor, the latter from the mere force of habit and national etiquette. The Japanese meets you anxiously, and asks to be taught; the Chinese looks on with studied indifference and supreme contempt. The Japanese makes inquiries about your country, laws, customs, etc.; the Chinese will hear nothing outside the ‘Middle Kingdom.’ The Japanese spends his earnings and lives joyfully to-day; the Chinese carefully numbers his gains of rice, and stores away for the future. Both peoples pay great honor and respect to their parents; the former from filial love, the latter for fear of losing ancestral blessings.” So conspicuous are the differences between the two peoples in character, disposition and habits, that the identity of their origin may well be doubted.

Japanese tradition accords to Jimmu Tenno the honor of being the first emperor of Japan. The date of this event was B. C. 660, and the Japanese calendar dates from that period. His spirit is still worshiped and shrines are dedicated to his memory throughout the country. The present Mikado regards him as an ancestor. The great book, or “Kojiki,” a record of Japanese history, was written A. D. 711. Prior to that period Japanese history was traditional.

Until the twelfth century Japan was ruled by the Mikado alone, who exercised supreme authority. He had a council known as the “Kagi,” or court of nobles. The relatives of the Mikado composed this court or council. This body regulated all religious and secular offices. By his subjects, the Mikado was believed to be a descendant of the gods. He was entirely secluded from the world, and was never permitted to see or to be seen by his subjects. The government was an imperial absolutism. The land and the personal services of the people belonged to the emperor.

During the historic period, at least, agriculture has been the main industry of Japan. Under the ancient regime, when the emperor was the actual head of the government, male and female laborers and slaves were permitted to till the soil at rent rates more reasonable than was afterwards exacted under the feudal system. During that period, the land was sub-divided into blocks, containing nine squares each. The central square was cultivated for the emperor's benefit by the tenants of the remaining eight. This was practically a land tax of one-ninth. But little is definitely known of the condition of the working classes prior to the twelfth century. We must conclude, however, that the people enjoyed more liberty, as a rule, were better fed and clothed, and were generally more contented, before the internecine convulsions that ended in the establishment of the feudal system, than at any time after that period.

Near the close of the twelfth century began those internal dissensions which resulted in a condition of abject and wretched slavery for the working people, and made them the victims of a "horde of petty tyrants." The military class had its origin in the standing armies once necessary to repel hostile invasions from the adjacent islands. Once established, it became impossible to overthrow this arrogant class. An attempt was made to hold them in check, by creating another body, which was placed in armed opposition. The project was a failure. The result was that civil strife, which agitated the empire for nearly four hundred years. This internecine strife ended in the overthrow of the ancient regime, and in a system of plunder and oppression, by the military or ruling class of the working people. The Mikados were relegated to an obscurity from which they did not emerge for more than two hundred and fifty years. The history of Japan, from the close of the twelfth to the beginning of the seventeenth century, is a melancholy picture of domestic warfare and degraded public and private life. Thieves infested the country, morals were corrupt, the people oppressed as they had never been before, education was neglected and anarchy reigned. Political power was gradually concentrated in the great families, a feudal system overshadowed the empire, and the power of the Mikado was overthrown. In 1603, A. D., power was once more exercised by one strong hand. This time it was one of the great military chiefs, Iyeyasu, the founder of the Shogun dynasty.

Though nominally a vassal of the emperor, Iyeyasu became the actual ruler of Japan, and power was retained by his family, until 1868. The Mikado, shut up in his castle during that period, reigned but in name.

His office was little more than a fiction. Theoretically, he was the spiritual head of the nation—the Japanese pope.

From the establishment of the feudal system in 1603, until the revolution of 1868, an era of peace reigned, but the oppression of the working classes continued. During this period the scholars and writers were commanded not to give an account of the strife and contention of the times. The only record of passing events were those of the priests, protected by the sanctity of the temples.

Ieyasu apportioned the land among the officers of his army. They became vassals of the government. They numbered two hundred or more, and controlled all the lands in Japan. There were two classes of these feudal lords, the "Daimios" and the "Kuges." The first were the successful officers of Ieyasu; the latter the relatives of the Mikado. The first class was rich and powerful. The latter was of noble birth and high rank. The Daimios were the parvenus of Japanese aristocracy. The Kuges were of immemorable antiquity. "In the veins of the Daimios flowed the blood of men; in the veins of the Kuges coursed the blood of Gods." The annual income of the Daimios class ranged from \$40,000 to \$4,000,000. All nobles resided in the cities, the majority at Yedo (Tokio as it is now called). They rarely visited their fiefs, but left the management of their estates to stewards, who made merciless exactions from the peasantry, and enforced their demands with cruel pertinacity. The lords were indifferent to the means resorted to by their stewards for the purpose of forcing supplies from the serfs. Taxes were collected regardless of the condition of the peasantry. Heartless oppression and ruthless extortion prevailed.

Under the nobles the people were divided into four, or rather, five classes. First was the military or soldier caste, and with it was classified the writers or men of learning. The military retainers of the feudal nobility, who had assisted their lords in the establishment of the feudal system, constituted this class. They numbered about 400,000, and with their families about 2,000,000. They were supported entirely at the expense of the people. They were known as the Samuria, or gentry class, and were treated with servile respect by the people composing the inferior classes. They were also known as the "two-sworded class," because of the law permitting them to carry a long and a short sword. The second class were the farmers, and embraced a large majority of the population of the empire. The artisans were the third in order, and the merchants made the fourth. What we have called the fifth class were the *Etas*. Like the *Pariahs* of India, however, they were more properly

outcasts, and forbidden intercourse with persons not of their class. They were considered unclean. This was not because of their poverty or unworthiness, but because of their occupation. All those brought by their business in contact with hides, leather or dead animals, belonged to this despised class. It also included undertakers and executioners. Among them were often many of the richest men in the empire, but they were forbidden by law to exhibit their wealth or to make a display of fine clothes and handsome houses. They lived by themselves and were not allowed to intermarry with the other classes. In 1870, for the first time, a census was taken of this class, and they numbered 456,695. By the present government they were admitted into citizenship in 1871. Below the *Etas*, or outcasts, were the *Hinin*, or "not human" class. It embraced the vagrants and beggars. They alternated between begging and officiating at the execution of convicts. They were permitted to solicit alms by the roadside and to live in huts on the waste lands. Their origin is unknown. Whether they are descendents of lepers, pardoned criminals or the conquered aborigines is uncertain. Both these classes were ignored as below the level of humanity. Like the *Etas*, the *Hinin* were also admitted to citizenship in 1871.

Although the farmers were placed immediately after the military or gentry, yet their lot was much harder than that of either the artisans or merchants. They were entirely at the mercy of the feudal lords. The serfs or subjects of a *Daimio* would sometimes number half a million. Four-fifths of these were in a condition as degraded and miserable as that of the Saxon serfs of the Norman masters of England, or even the "*adscripta glebæ*" of the Romans. Although denominated farmers, in reality they were nothing but gardeners. Their farms, comprised, at most, but three acres, usually but half an acre. The land was held in fee by the feudal lord. In good years he exacted as high as three-fourths of the crops as rent. In bad years he sometimes took the entire crop, and the farmer and his family were left to starve.

Like all other occupations, in Japan, that of the farmer was hereditary. He was the descendant of the man who first tilled the soil. He never left that occupation for another. He lived and died upon the soil he tilled, and was succeeded by his son, who began where the father ended. He held his land by the right of possession, and for two thousand years no one disputed that right. He "submitted without opposition and endured without remonstrance" an almost unlimited taxation, but any attempt to dispossess him from his land, on the other hand, aroused the most determined opposition.

The Daimios divided the country into two hundred or more principalities, over which they ruled with absolute sway, subject, however, to be called upon by the imperial government in case of actual war, or great internal commotion. They held all the offices, both military and civil, and with their half million retainers, monopolized the wealth of the country. The other 30,000,000 people were powerless and voiceless. They were conceded no rights; their privileges, but to live, toil, and obey their masters. They were absolutely under the control, and in the power, of the feudal lord and his retainers. In the event of a controversy between the farmer and his lord, no tribunal existed to which he could appeal for protection and justice. They were beneath the contempt of their lords, and for them to petition for a redress of grievances would have been deemed an impertinence deserving of punishment. They were attached to the soil, and could not leave it without permission. Their lives were at the mercy of their superiors; and fancied insolence or insubordination, met with severe and oftentimes sanguinary retribution.

The condition of the common laborer was deplorable. Not one in a hundred owned a foot of land; domestic comforts were to them unknown. Human muscle supplied all motive power, and was a substitute for horses in the propelling of wheeled vehicles, whether for the conveyance of passengers, or for the transportation of heavy articles. Men were also used to draw boats on the canals. It seems incredible to American and European civilization, that huge granite monoliths, weighing more than 200,000 pounds, have been transported hundreds of miles in Japan, without the assistance of either animal or steam power. Large castles, or structures inclosing from one to three acres, and built of these immense stones, are quite common in Japan.

The "carriers" and "packers," as these human horses are called in Japan, like the farmers, inherited their occupation from their fathers. The hereditary tendencies and habit of generations have given these men the swing and gait of horses. It was not uncommon for them to trot at the rate of forty miles a day for weeks, and carry a man weighing 175 or 200 pounds.

The improvements instituted by Iyeyasu, in the seventeenth century, demonstrate that labor was abundant and cheap. Great buildings of stone were erected, the material for which was transported hundreds of miles. Streets were leveled and canals built. He employed 300,000 laborers in the city of Yedo. The result of his improvements was, that that city, before the end of the seventeenth century, had a population of half a million.

The slaves were introduced into the country by the Portugese, in the fourteenth century, and the trade flourished for two centuries. A trade in Chinese slaves existed for many centuries. Without reliable data upon which to base a conclusion, we may assume that the condition of the slaves was very little, if any, worse than that of the serfs, farmers, and common laborers.

The Artisan class has constituted a large and important element of the Japanese population, from time immemorial. As a class they were ranked above the merchant and banker, but practically neither class was the superior of the other in status and privileges. Skill has been displayed in the mechanical arts of Japan for at least a thousand years. Their implements of steel were of the best. Some of their old swords are worthy of Toledo or Damascus. For centuries the cutlers have enjoyed an enviable reputation. They surpassed, in workmanship, those of any other country. Japanese lacquered ware is still unrivaled. From an early period, weaving has been an extensive industry. Their silk cloth, embroideries, and tapestries, were exquisitely beautiful, when the people of the Western world were satisfied with the coarsest fabrics. Their most ancient bronze, compares favorably with the finest of Europe. Their enamellers of the middle ages far excelled those of to-day, in any country. They manufactured beautiful porcelain ware and other pottery, long before the birth of Palissy. Their paintings on silk, paper, porcelain and lacquer, excite the admiration of the cultivated. Their ivory, and wood carvings are wonders of skill, ingenuity, and patient labor. Gilding, engraving, and inlaid work, were in a high state of perfection eight hundred years ago.

Japanese chroniclers claim that the first pottery was made B. C. 660, but it is supposed to have an earlier origin. In A. D. 1223, it had attained an importance, and great improvements were made in the decorative art. From that date to the sixteenth century great potteries were established in all parts throughout the empire.

In Japan in almost every house some mechanical trade was practiced. Even in the homes of the higher classes, silk, cotton, and other goods were made by the servants, and the members of the family had some knowledge of the art. Every farm house had its spinning wheel and its loom. Many of the smaller merchants manufactured their own goods. Of the processes used in the mechanical arts some were family secrets, and were handed down from generation to generation. As a rule, articles were manufactured in the homes of the people, and establishments for that purpose were not maintained.

Trade guilds were of ancient origin, and still exist. Every branch of labor has its guild. Although not originally established for the protection of labor from unjust and selfish exactions, yet that is now one of their purposes, and zealously do they guard the interests of the members.

Although placed in the lowest rank, still the merchant traders were an important element of Japanese society. A large number of small traders existed, from whom their entire stock of goods could often be purchased for less than ten dollars. Upon this small capital they would manage to live quite as well, if not better, than either the farmer or artisan.

The working people of Japan were deprived of nearly all the comforts of civilized life. Their resources were as limited as any semi-civilized nation on the globe. Rice and fish, supplemented by a few roots, including a great turnip-radish, designated as daikou. A few varieties of fruit was the food generally accessible to those below the military class. The other productions of the farm were demanded for the use of the lords and their retainers.

The clothing of the working people in summer was a scanty garment of cloth around the loins, with leggings and sandals. In winter a cotton garment was worn and straw sandals or wooden clogs. The occupation of the family was denoted by the dress. The garments of both males and females were similar in form and style; sex was denoted by the color.

Anciently the houses of the working people of Japan were of rude construction. They afforded a poor shelter from the rains of summer and the blasts of winter. They were built of wood, weeds and bamboo, and the crevices were filled with mud. The partitions were generally of paper, so arranged that the room might be extended. Rude were these structures indeed, with their floors of earth and doors and windows unprotected by shutters or glass.

The castles of the lords, built of stone, are remarkable for their massiveness of design and for the exquisite finish of the interior. All of them have beautiful gardens attached, representing miniature landscapes.

The upper classes are not illiterate. Reading, writing and Chinese literature have been taught in their homes for centuries. The working classes can generally read and write. Of the farmers and artisans, not ten per cent were illiterate. Schools have been maintained in the towns and in many of the villages for centuries.

After the establishment of the Feudal System, the condition of the classes below the military became much worse. From A. D. 1603 until

1868 masses of the people were ruthlessly oppressed by the feudal lords and their retainers.

The agricultural classes were perhaps treated with the greatest severity. This was because they were more dependent upon the will of their masters. Their condition, even in the nineteenth century, was one of extreme poverty. Their houses were dilapidated and their food and clothing meager. In some districts the indigence of this class was so extreme that they could not eat the rice they cultivated, but subsisted on millet mixed with a little coarse barley. The potato and radish were the only other articles of food within their reach. In some localities they eked out a scanty subsistence by snaring birds, or fishing in the small ponds and rivulets. Even the women and children are compelled to till the ground. It is not an uncommon sight to see women hitched before a plow in the rice fields. In Japan, farming commenced with the coming of the birds in spring. In November he reaped his rice with a hook and threshed it with an iron comb. He then "fanned it by hand, and contentedly (?) gave to his lord one-half or two-thirds of the produce as rent for the land. In times of plenty he existed; in times of drouth he starved."

. Agrarian riots were frequently occasioned by bad harvests and other causes. The result of these uprisings were quite disastrous, as the peasant was difficult to manage when once aroused.

The result of the oppressions and abuses of the feudal lords, was the revolution of 1868, and the rehabilitating of the Mikado. He has instituted, and successfully accomplished, many practical reforms. He abolished the Feudal System, and deprived the feudal lords of their power, which was assumed by the central government. Large numbers of young men have been sent to Europe and America, at government expense, to be educated. European and American scholars have been employed to establish schools and colleges. Modern industrial appliances have been introduced; public schools have been opened, and a liberal course of study adopted. At Tokio a public library has been instituted, and now contains more than 100,000 volumes. Courts of justice have been instituted, wherein the workingman can find protection and seek redress. In these courts he can enforce the payment of wages. This he could not do under the old organization. The old division of the people into classes has been abolished. Before the law, all are now of the same class. Of course, the influence of the former system is still felt, and will be for years, but it must disappear with the lapse of time, and then will the Japanese laborer be the peer of any subject of the Mikado.

For a few years after the revolution, matters were in a chaotic state.

Great difference of opinion existed as to what should be the actual status of the Daimios, under the new regime. Some were for yielding their feudal rights to the throne; others, the most powerful in the kingdom, resisted these propositions. The Tenno, formerly the Mikado, was then a mere boy, twenty years old. Up to that time he had been confined in a castle at Kiota, and had never been seen except by the members of his household. The actual head of affairs was the Tycoon or Shogun. After a prolonged discussion the spirit of reform was victorious. In September, 1871, the feudal system was abolished, the Tycoon deposed, and the Mikado once more placed upon the throne.

For the following amusing incident, connected with this great revolution, we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. A. B. Capron. It is taken from the unpublished journal of the late General Horace Capron, his father, who was the commissioner and adviser of the Kaitakushi. General Capron says: "After the revolution and the promulgation of the edict abolishing the feudal system, it became a question of some importance how to deal with the Samuria or military retainers of the Daimios. They were about 80,000 in number. They had always had the privilege of carrying the formidable two-handed sword. They swarmed the streets of the cities, and exacted the most servile obedience to their will, compelling the masses to prostrate their faces to the ground as they met them. To have undertaken to disarm them would have caused every sword to leap from its scabbard in defense of their sacred privilege, and might have deluged the country in blood. To accomplish this desired measure, without great hazard, an edict was promulgated from the throne extending this privilege to all classes, even the common coolie. The effect was instantaneous, for no sooner was the coolie seen parading the streets, ostentatiously displaying his two-handed sword, than they were dropped by the Samuria in disgust. In a very short time they were abandoned by the other classes as cumbersome and useless appendages."

The abolition of the feudal system was a "red-letter day" for the working classes of Japan. Although their condition is still far from enviable, the government is making an honest effort to ameliorate it. The workingman is now acquiring some political rights. In July, 1878, an imperial decree was promulgated establishing local elective assemblies throughout the empire. By it the country was divided into districts, and these districts subdivided into villages. Each of these divisions and subdivisions have their assemblies. These assemblies are elected by ballot, at a time and place appointed by the governor. Their power, as yet,

only extends to the estimates and expenditures of the local government. They have no legislative functions. But even this is a vast concession to the workingman from an absolute government. We hope the seed will fructify and yield an hundred-fold.

Under the new order of things the farmer is the owner of the land he tills, and is taxed according to its producing capacity. Almost every farmer now can read and write, and sends his son to some school. His daughters are taught music and needle-work at home. The wages of the farm laborer have increased from nothing to \$35 a year and board. Although there is yet much suffering among the farmers and farm laborers, it is beyond question that their condition has wonderfully improved during the last fifteen years. Slaves they were, now they are practically freemen. Once serfs, they are now citizens. The methods of cultivation are not materially changed, yet the product has wonderfully increased. The system of variation in crops, and the introduction of new seeds, have vastly benefited the farmers, or gardeners, as they may still be called. In 1875, the area of land under cultivation was barely 12,000,000 acres, and the number engaged in agricultural pursuits were 15,500,000. Of this number 7,000,000 were women. As a large number of the women, including both old and young, were engaged in household duties, such as spinning, weaving, making clothes, etc., there were, probably, not more than 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 engaged in field work. As the wild lands are brought under cultivation, the holdings of the farmers increase. Now, some have as much as four or five acres. The average government tax on land is now about \$5 per acre, and this is less than one-fifth what it was under the feudal system. The average value of the annual product of the land is about \$40 per acre. The farms are so small that the use of labor-saving machines is not only inexpedient but practically impossible. The agricultural implements are, therefore, of a very primitive character. The plough is small, with one handle, and is pulled through the soft mud by a single pony, coolies, or sometimes by women. The spade and hoe are fairly good, but the sickle is simply a straight iron blade about four inches in length, pointed and sharpened on one side.

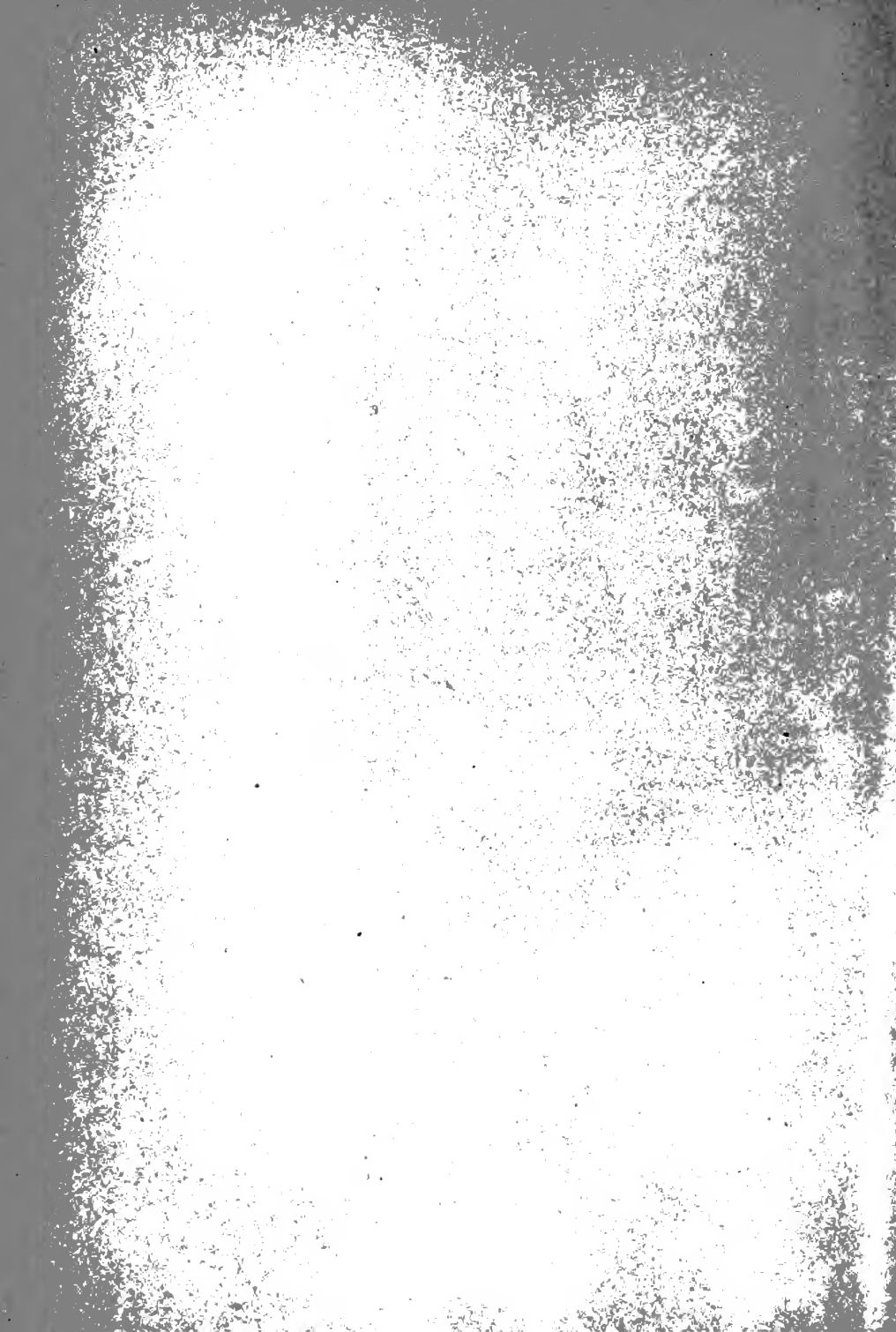
In nearly all parts of Japan, the climate is so mild that it will admit of raising two crops a year. The more hardy crops are cultivated in winter, which deprive the farmer of that season of rest enjoyed by his brethren in more rigorous climes.

The fisheries of Japan descend from father to son, and from mother to daughter, for generations. This class have traditions that have been



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Grand Chief of Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.



handed down for a thousand years. They are considered the most skillful fishermen in the world. This industry gives employment to a large number of men and women. Their condition is deplorable, probably worse than that of any other class in Japan. The wages of able-bodied fishermen are from fifteen to twenty cents a day. Their houses are the poorest and dirtiest. They are the least intelligent portion of Japanese society. Probably with the fisherman, may be placed the mine laborer. In poverty and ignorance they are alike. The lot of the miner is harder and his pleasures are few. The common mine laborer receives from eight to twenty cents a day and will work by the month for less. "Human horses" are still extensively used, although their place is being gradually supplied by the animal. Horses are now imported from Europe and America. The vehicle of the country is a small, two-wheeled carriage, denominated the Jinerkisho, which is usually drawn by one man and pushed by another. In this way a man weighing one hundred and seventy-five or two hundred pounds will be carried at the rate of seven miles an hour. For this work, from forty-five to sixty cents a day is paid.

In former times, the government gave large sums of money for the support of the Buddhist priests and temples. That support has been largely withdrawn and they are now left to subsist on the voluntary contributions of the people. As illustrative of the power, influence and wealth once enjoyed by the Buddhist priests, it is said that within an area of five thousand square miles, containing a million and a half of people, there were more than six thousand priests, and seven thousand temples, shrines and monasteries.

The condition of the artisan class, under the new order of things, has been improved beyond that of any other manual laborers. Recognized skill in all the mechanical arts, has created a demand for their handiwork in the outside world. This has enhanced the value of their services. Their manufactures are mainly the result of hand labor. In the domain of artistic work, such as lacquering, enameling, engraving, decorating, the making of porcelain ware, pottery, bronze, and the weaving of silk and tapestry, they lead among the artisans of the world. Skilled workmen in the manufacture of porcelain and pottery get from fifty to seventy-five cents per day; decorators from seventy-five cents to \$1.15; flower and bird makers from fifty to seventy cents; persons skilled in baking earthenware from forty to sixty cents; and clay washers and mixers from twenty to thirty cents a day. The highest skill in bronze-making commands from \$1 to \$1.50 a day; ivory carving from \$10 to

\$20 per month. Carpenters get from twenty-five to fifty cents a day. Blacksmiths are cheaper and can be had from eighteen to forty cents a day. A good ship-carpenter will receive from forty to fifty a day, and a foreman from \$50 to \$60 a month.

A few coolies remain in Japan and are still the lowest class of labor. The trade has been abolished, yet the effect of a thousand years of degradation remains.

In concluding this brief outline of the working classes in Japan, the reader is reminded that considering the relative cost of the necessaries of life in both countries, the wages of the working classes in Japan are not much below those received by American workmen. In comparing the wages paid in the United States with those paid in Japan, the social and intellectual requirements of the two peoples should be considered. Japan, just emerging from a condition of chaos, social and political, can not, and does not, expect that her working classes will at once attain the place now occupied by the working classes of this country.

The world has reason to hope that the past misery of the Japanese will be more than eclipsed by their future glory.

PART II.

LABOR IN ANTIQUITY.

CHAPTER I.—EGYPT.

TEACHER OF NATIONS—CRADLE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES—MEMPHIS, THEBES—DAWN OF HISTORY—STONES HAVE VOICES—THE OPPRESSED AND DOWNTRODDEN—THE NILE—AREA IN SQUARE MILES—FERTILITY OF THE SOIL—PRODUCTIONS—EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS—THE COUNTRY DESCRIBED—HISTORICAL EPOCHS—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE—CONSERVATIVE CHARACTER OF EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION—DEVELOPMENT OF THE CASTE SYSTEM—ARCHITECTURE AND PUBLIC WORKS—TEMPLES, PALACES, OBELISKS AND COLOSSI—EARLY EGYPTIAN SOCIETY—CONDITION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE—FORCED LABOR—OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE—PERFECTION OF THE CASTE SYSTEM—JOSEPH—THE FAMINE—THE NUMBER OF CASTES—ROYAL FAMILY—PRIESTS AND SOLDIERS—“THE THIRD ESTATE”—LABORERS—TRADESMEN—ARTISANS—BUILDERS—ARCHITECTS—HERDSMEN—FARMERS—FISHERMEN—RELATIVE POSITION OF THE CASTES—THEIR CHARACTERISTICS, PRIVILEGES AND RIGHTS—INDUSTRIAL ARTS AND MANUFACTURES—UNIVERSAL TYRANNY—HOMES OF THE RICH AND THE POOR—DRESS OF THE LABORING MEN—LAND AND LAND TENURE—LAND OWNED BY THE KING, PRIESTS AND WARRIORS—THE FARMER—HIS CONDITION—AGRICULTURE.

EGYPT! Daughter of the Nile! Teacher of nations! Mother of philosophy and learning! The cradle of the arts and the sciences.

The first home of architecture and the industrial arts. The land of the mysterious Nile; where magnificent Memphis and stately Thebes once flourished. At the dawn of history she is seen with an established social order, and a constitutional government. In the gray twilight, on the furthest verge of tradition, she was the central light in surrounding darkness. The history of Egypt is veritably a voice from the tomb. Truly with her the stones have voices. The traveler wanders awestruck amid her mighty pyramids, vast and magnificent temples, colossal

statues, and stately tombs. Perhaps it is in the solemn hush of eventide, and voices come to him from the mists and shadows of antiquity, "like the indistinct whisperings of a dream."

Such are the impressions awakened by a name that is expressive to the learned of so much that is unique in nature, wondrous in art, marvellous in execution, mysterious in history, and ancient in time.

It was in this land, hoary with millenniums, blessed in clime, boundless in production, phenomenally rich of soil, that the wail of the oppressed, and the groan of the down-trodden, have been ascending ever.

By the Nile Egypt was made. By the Nile Egypt is sustained. This mighty river, once worshipped as divine, is 1500 miles in length. Having its source in the heart of equatorial Africa, onward, and ever onward it rolls, through the vast marshes, luxuriant vales, and boundless forests, of the "Dark Continent." From thence its resistless volume cuts its sinuous way through desert wastes, to the blue Mediterranean. For countless ages did its mighty waters in turn submerge and recede in annual overflow, until the sterile sands were made to smile and "blossom as the rose." Such is the natural history of Egypt. The area of cultivable land in ancient Egypt has been estimated at something over 5,500 square miles. The width of the Nile valley was from two miles at the narrowest point to ten and three-fourths miles at the widest. At its base the Delta was about eighty-one miles in width. The valley and the Delta of the Nile is Egypt. What the soil of this wondrous country lacked in extent was compensated in fertility. How fertile may be realized when it is remembered that, while under Persian rule, this country not only fed its six million inhabitants, but also supplied corn for a garrison of 120,000 Persian troops, and paid to the treasury at Susa an annual tribute of \$850,000.

Reflecting upon this remarkable fertility and enormous production, we find it difficult to realize that under such conditions "man was made to mourn." Cereals and fruits, various in kind, and prolific in yield, were cultivated with an ease unknown to less favored parts of the earth's surface. The principal grains were doora, wheat and barley. On the rich soil of the delta flax was grown. The leguminous and cucurbitaceous plants were produced a thousand fold such as the bean, the lentil, the melon, and the gourd; even the seed of the beautiful lotus flower, when ground and kneaded with water, supplied a wholesome and nutritious bread. The fig, the olive, the pomegranate, the peach, and the almond tree, clustered on the banks of the Nile, or threw their grateful shade alike over the palace of the rich and the hovel of the

poor. Why this barren list of flower, fruit, and bread! What availeth it to the subject in hand? Naught, perhaps, in itself, but by way of suggestion, everything. Why from this land of sunshine and plenty, "flowing, indeed, with milk and honey," should the wail of despair float wearily down the centuries? The kindness of Mother Nature serves but to contrast "man's inhumanity to man." The justice of God is outraged by the injustice of men. Thus ever has the generosity of nature been thwarted by the selfishness of man. The history of Egypt is an unbroken narrative of tyranny, oppression and wealth, on one side, and of submission, suffering and poverty, on the other. Even the stupendous monuments that have aroused the admiration and awakened the awe of the world, eloquently bespeak the vanity of kings and the degradation of the people.

In Egypt injustice is monumental. In Egypt injustice has become proverbial. For countless ages has this black crime cursed a fair land. Gloom and despair settled upon the hearts of the people. Even her mighty stones and monotonous landscape seem shrouded in gloom. The overarching sky is as "mournful and changeless as eternity." The aspect of this sad land has been graphically portrayed thus: "The water of the Nile, sluggish and wan, seems to slumber in its course, and slowly extends itself in sheets of molten tin. No breath of air wrinkles its surface, or bows down upon their stocks, the cups of the lotus-flowers as rigidly motionless as though sculptured. The banks are desolate. A solemn and mighty sadness weighs upon this land, which was never aught else than a vast tomb, and in which the living appear to be solely occupied in the work of burying the dead. It is an arid sadness, dry as pumice stone, without melancholy, without reverie, without one pearly-gray cloud to follow toward the horizon, one secret spring wherein to lave ones dusty feet; the sadness of a sphinx weary of eternally gazing upon the desert, and unable to detach rocks upon which she has fastened her claws for twenty centuries,. The scene continually changes: at one moment are visible gigantic propylæa, whose sloping walls, painted with large panels of fantastic figures, are mirrored in the river; pylons with broad, bulging capitals; stairways guarded by huge crouching sphinxes, wearing caps with lappets of many folds, and crossing their paws of black basalt below their sharply projecting breasts; palaces, immeasurably vast, projecting against the horizon, the severe horizontal lines of their entablatures, where the emblematic globe unfolded its mysterious wing, like an eagle's vast extending pinions; temples with enormous columns, thick as towers, on which were limned processions of hiero-

glyphic figures against a background of brilliant white; all the monstrosities of that Titanic architecture. Again, the eye beholds only landscapes of desolate aridity; hills formed of stony fragments, from excavations and building works—crumbs of that gigantic debauch of granite which lasted for more than thirty centuries; mountains exfoliated by heat, and mangled and striped with black lines, which seem like the cauterizations of a great conflagration; hillocks humped and deformed, squatting like the criocephalus, and projecting the outlines of their misshaped attitude against the sky-lines; expanses of greenish clay, reddle, flour-white tufa, and from time to time some steep cliff of dry, rose-colored granite, where yawn the black mouths of the stone quarries.”

As a matter of convenience, historians have been wont to divide the history of Egypt into three epochs: first, the old kingdom; second, the middle kingdom; third, the new kingdom. From the establishment of the monarchy by Menes until the invasion of the Shepherd or Phenician kings, was the duration of the first period; the second epoch is that covered by the reign of the Hyksos, or Shepherds; the new kingdom extended from the time of the expulsion of the Shepherd kings by the native princes, to the final overthrow of the monarchy by Alexander the Great. Chronological divisions are usually arbitrary; but the one given above will answer our purpose. A singular feature of Egyptian history is the fact that from the time of Menes—but “a mere name, beyond the remotest confines of history”—until the conquest of that country by the great Macedonian, the crown remained in the same family. This is without example in the history of man. It is illustrative of the extreme conservatism of the ancient Egyptians, and is but one aspect of a fixedness of spirit that extended to every department of Egyptian life. It is probable, of course, that during all of the first period, and at least a part of the second, Egypt was undergoing a formative process, in both the social and political world. It is conjectured that the caste system, as described by Greek writers, did not attain its perfect development until about 800 B. C. Certain it is, judging from the architectural remains, that from an early period the kings exercised absolute power over the ignorant and superstitious masses of the people. The populace must have been an unquestioning and submissive herd; otherwise, they never would have submitted to toil wearily in armies of thousands, and tens of thousands, in the construction of massive and useless works.

The herculean tasks accomplished by this ancient people are almost inconceivable to the modern world. Millions of men must have been employed for decades in the erection of these vast monuments to the

pride and caprice of kings. Consider for a moment the superhuman enterprises of these shadowy monarchs; at the very threshold of the old monarchy, Menes diverted the waters of the Nile by mammoth dikes, and literally made for that mighty river a new channel to the sea, that has endured even unto this day. Next in order of time comes the pyramid of Cheops and the gigantic Sphinx. This pyramid is constructed of granite blocks from thirty to forty feet long, weighing tons. With one exception it is the highest structure in the world. Its bulk is 6,848,000 tons, and its base covers an area of thirteen and three-eighths acres. The Sphinx, a lion's body with a human head, was hewn from a mass of solid rock, as was the temple built by Amasis. The Sphinx was one hundred and forty feet long, twenty-seven feet high and thirty-five feet wide at the chest. Between the paws of this monster in stone was a temple. It is an emblematic figure. In the vastness of its outline and sense of repose it is the symbol of eternity and solemnity. The colossal stone from which the temple of Amasis was carved measured twenty-one cubits in length, fourteen cubits in width, and eight cubits in height. It is said that two thousand sailors were employed for three years in constructing a conveyance for this stone. Osburn says of the great pyramid, that although separated from the historic world by thousands of years, "yet the pyramid of Cheops still towers above the sands of the desert; the ghastly whiteness of its nummilitic blocks glares in the burning sun, and its long shadow stretches across the sterile waters that surround it, and darken the maize and wheat fields of Ghizeh, as the day declines. When the spectator can obtain, from some favorable point of view, a distinct conception of the vastness of this pile, no one can describe the overwhelming sense of it which rushes upon his mind. He feels oppressed, and staggers as beneath a load. They are the works of men's hands. This fact is always apparent and prominent; and in it doubtless originates a shadowy sense of awe which bewilders the mind on receiving the first distinct impression of their magnitude."

Transcendent in conception, almost superhuman in execution, were the works of this great people; porticoes, 400 feet long, with roofs supported by figures 15 cubits high; artificial lakes 450 miles long and 300 feet deep; vast tombs with astronomical emblems — golden circles 365 cubits in circumference, representing the days of the year; obelisks 100 feet high and weighing 360 tons; colossi 18 yards high, containing 12,000 cubic feet and weighing 900 tons; temples with an area of 396,000 square feet, and supported by monster columns 66 feet high and 33 feet in circumference; labyrinthian palaces, more beautiful than the temples

of Ephesus and Samos, and containing 3,000 apartments; sitting figures 33 feet high; hewn from monoliths of black granite; obelisks of red granite 70 feet high; avenues of colossi, each figure more than 50 feet high. So did the ancient Egyptians surround himself with the colossai and the sublime. Even in its decline great monuments were accomplished by Egyptian art, as is exemplified by the numerous stately temples erected by the Ptolemys and Roman emperors at Deudera, Erment, Esenth, Edfu, Kumombo, Debod, Dendur, and Dakkh. Writing of the grandeur and richness of Egyptian architecture, Clemens Alexandrinus says: "Among the Egyptians, the temples are surrounded by groves and consecrated pastures; they are furnished with propylæa, and their courts are encircled with an infinite number of columns; their walls glitter with foreign marbles and paintings of the highest art; the *Naos* is resplendent with gold and silver, and electrum, and with variegated stones from India and Ethiopia; the *Adytum* is veiled by a curtain wrought with gold."

Think for a moment, kind reader, of the tears, the sighs, the sweat and the toil, of which these gigantic monuments speak. Consider that but for the nameless myriads of artisans, mechanics and laborers of hoary Egypt, these tokens of a unique and sublime civilization would never have been. Is fame only for the cruel and capricious monarch, who commanded these herculean labors or shall it be shared by the mechanic who designed and the laborer who executed them? Should not earthly immortality be as much the reward of the subject as of the monarch?

It would seem that the caste system of ancient Egypt was perfected during the domination of the Shepard kings. Prior to that time, in all probability, there were but two classes of society, the nobility and the masses of the people. In absolute ascendancy over both was the king. By virtue of their rank, the possession of landed estates, and the necessity of their support to the throne, the nobility during that period, must have enjoyed certain political privileges and personal rights. But of the rank and file of the Egyptian populace as much can not be said; indeed, not only were they without voice in the affairs of state but in person and effects they were the property of the king — they were his slaves, and enjoyed even their lives at the mercy of a despotic sovereign. At any time, he could summon them from the vineyard, from the maize field, from the pasture, from the fishing net and from the workshop, to labor, perhaps for years, in the erection of useless pyramids, gorgeous palaces and massive fortifications scores of miles in length. This labor, the

poor Egyptian must perform without the anticipation of benefit or the hope of reward. Torn from the bosom of his family and with the sob of his offspring in his ears, he was borne away to faint beneath the glaring sun, or to die of fever in miasmatic swamps. In the construction of the pyramid of Cheops, it is said that hundreds of thousands of his subjects were taken forcibly from their wonted pursuits to labor upon this artificial mountain. These vast hordes of conscripted laborers were treated with great harshness by their taskmasters or overseers. They worked in gangs of 100,000 men, the several bodies of workmen relieving each other at stated periods. Their fields were deserted and their workshops abandoned. The produce of the field and the orchard was lost for the want of cultivation. Private enterprises and the industrial arts were destroyed. Even the temples of worship were deprived of the officiating priests, and were closed throughout the country.

“There was a great cry throughout his dominion! A cry of the oppressed against the oppressor; a cry of torment and bitter anguish!”

This vast army of workmen was organized in divisions. Some were employed to hew out the vast block of granite, amid the stony desolation of Sinai (a desolation unparalleled on the face of the globe; a desolation that has its incarnation in the verdureless valley and the rock-ribbed mountain, with its bald, rugged and blasted shoulders of granite; not a blade of grass or the leaf of a tree from the summit to the base of this stern and gloomy rock); others were then compelled to transport the masses of rock from Sinai to the Nile, which was a herculean task, considering the distance to be traversed, the masses to be moved, and the mechanism employed. Yet again, others would place the colossal blocks of granite upon boats, and ferry the monoliths across the Nile, where they would be received by gangs of naked slaves, and dragged by them from the shores of the river to the place of destination.

It was a common practice in ancient Egypt, even before the days of Joseph the Prime Minister, to compel strangers, aliens, prisoners of war, and slaves to labor upon the public works. These workmen were treated with brutal cruelty. When brought out in companies, each morning, certain of them would be taken from the ranks, thrown upon the ground and wantonly beaten. This inhuman treatment had not the excuse of even a pretended offense. The wretched slaves were lashed merely as a display of power, and in order that they might have ever before them the hopelessness and helplessness of their degradation.

Dark as is the picture of political and social life in ancient Egypt prior to the Hyksos or Shepherd domination, yet the absolute sovereignty

of the Egyptian monarch had been more theoretical than real so far as the upper orders of society, or the nobility, were concerned. Before the great famine that occurred during the ministry of Joseph, who was the favorite officer of Aphophis, one of the Hyksos kings, the crown had somewhat feared the upper classes, and, as has been said, the nobility had considerable independence and freedom. During this terrible visitation the people first exhausted their gold and silver coin, then parted with their household goods and utensils, then exchanged their flocks and herds for the coveted corn, and finally, to avert starvation, sold themselves and their lands to the king. From thence dates the absolute power of the Egyptian monarchy, and it became a despotism in fact as well as in theory, as to all Egyptians alike. The priestly class, at this time, did not part with their lands. They were fed gratuitously from the royal granaries. From this time, it may be reasonably conjectured, should be dated the perfection of that system of social order in ancient Egypt known as caste. At the head of the monarchy was the king. His subjects were divided into classes according to their occupation. There seems to be a difference of opinion regarding the number of castes into which Egyptian society was divided. They have been variously given as three, five and six. The weight of authority is with the first number, and that these castes were in the following order: first, the members of the royal family; second, the priests and soldiers; third, the remainder of the free population, constituting a sort of third estate, and not accorded the privileges enjoyed by the priests and soldiers. There seems to have been a sub-division of the third class into six classes: first, laborers; second, tradesmen, artisans, builders, architects, painters, sculptors and musicians; third, herdsmen of oxen, sheep, goats and swine; fourth, boatmen; fifth, hunters, fishermen and fowlers; sixth, dragomans, or interpreters. It cannot be said that this redistribution, so to speak, of the third class was indicative of any social priority or preëminence among these subsidiary classes. While it is true that the three main divisions of Egyptian society were expressive of different degrees of social eminence and political privileges; yet the subdivisions of the third caste was merely an economic measure; that is to say, for certain reasons and as a matter of convenience in the administration of the affairs of state, the masses of the people were divided according to vocation. Below all, and not considered as a caste in the Egyptian sense, were the slaves, or bond men and women.

Official position does not seem to have been hereditary, as a rule. Public officers were selected mainly from the priestly and military caste.

In certain respects there is a marked resemblance between the caste system in ancient Egypt and in India. In both countries the distinction between the men of the different orders was sternly enforced by law; and in each, the son first by custom and afterward by law followed the calling of the father. Even when enforced merely by the dictates of custom the same pursuit or occupation was practiced by the same family for many generations. An instance is recorded wherein the occupation of architect descended from the father to the son for twenty-two generations. Herodotus is authority for the statement that the high priests of Thebes were in direct line for three hundred and forty-five generations. Manual laborers were prohibited from plying more than one trade at the same time. The herdsmen had charge of the flocks belonging to the king, ecclesiastics and warriors. They were compelled to serve the upper classes, and for the slightest offense were condemned to fines, imprisonment and the bastinado. Swine were thought unclean animals as among the Jews, Mohammedans and Hindoos. Swineherds, therefore, were a despised class. The condition of artisans and mechanics was little better than that of the slaves. These poor pioneers of the industrial arts were treated by the upper classes with supreme contempt and cruel indifference. The servants and slaves, both white and black, of the nobility were esteemed more highly than the "stinking mob" of unfortunate mechanics and workingmen. Their time and the fruits of their labor were, not only in theory but in practice, the property of their monarch. He could command their services at any time and to any extent. Intelligence, skill and worth of character were as nothing in the face of despotism. The same was true of musicians, singers and artists of every description. Their presence could be commanded at any time, and their earnings belonged to their sovereign. The stewards and accountants were generally members of the upper classes, and were permitted to stand upright before the princes, while persons of lower rank were required to prostrate themselves on the ground in their presence. The privilege of this class, however, did not extend beyond this, for even over them were oftentimes placed severe taskmasters. They would be felled to the earth by blows from their superiors for the slightest offense, and beaten without mercy. Thus the slave in turn became the tyrant. Indeed the social order of Egypt was one grand system of tyranny from the king to the swineherd. A spirit of gloom seemed to permeate the social fabric in the presence of an overwhelming and all-powerful despotism. Despotism reigned even in the family. The head of the house ruled its members with an iron rod. The relation of parent and child

was that of master and slave. Even women and children were compelled to carry heavy burdens, and were urged on their way with the lash. So intense and protracted were the hours of labor in some occupations, and so far in excess of the normal strength of man, that those following it were often deformed as a result, in head and limb.

Contrast for a moment the homes of the rich and the poor in ancient Egypt. The houses of the rich were of brick, and handsomely decorated without and within. They were constructed with an open court in the center, paved with stone, in which were fountains and palm trees. The houses of the affluent were elaborately and elegantly furnished with tables, chairs and couches. The bedsteads and footstools were oftentimes of ivory and ebony. The laborer and the artisan, when at home, lived within four walls of mud, roofed with mats of palm. It was little better than a dog-kennel, and dark, dank and noisome. It was merely an uncouth and filthy shelter from the sun, or a closet for his few and simple possessions. The garb of the laborer was simple indeed. It was usually a kilt of woolen or linen girded about the loins.

Numerous were the industries of the Egyptian artisan. The date-palm was to Egypt what bamboo is to India. From the trunk beams were made. From its branches were manufactured baskets, bedsteads and ceilings. Their leaves were converted into mats, brooms and ropes. Certain musical instruments were made and much skill was displayed in the production of the paraphernalia of war; such as chariots, arrows, javelins, spears, hatchets, swords, battle-axes, shields, helmets and coats-of-mail. At a very early period the Egyptians attained excellence in glass-blowing, metal-working, pottery, and the weaving of textile fabrics, woolen, cotton and silk. The rudiments of chemistry were understood by the mechanics, and they possessed some knowledge of the metallic oxides. This information was utilized in the colors or pigments in use by dyers, potters, painters, and makers of porcelain ware. Some knowledge of metallurgy was possessed by them. Iron, copper, and some of the fine metals were successfully mined and wrought. Chisels, pick-axes, adzes, and saws were all manufactured. But the carpenter of those times was without the plane and the lathe.

The land was owned by the king, the priests and the warriors. Land was sometimes leased by the king and priests to the peasantry; but as a rule, the land of the priests and the warriors was tilled by slave labor. Perhaps it would be more correct to say of the lands awarded to the priestly caste, that they were bestowed upon the various temples throughout the country, as lands were subsequently conveyed, during

the middle ages, to the monasteries and nunneries. These estates of the temple were exempt from taxation. To the military class were assigned the rich lands of the delta.

As has been said, probably few of the peasants tilled the land as tenant farmers. By far the greater proportion of husbandmen were employed by officials, priests and nobles as farm laborers. Overseers superintended the work. They were accustomed to treat the poor farm laborer with harshness, inflicting blows, lashes and curses in about equal proportions. Anunemum says of these unfortunates: "Have you ever represented to yourself the estate of the rustic, who tills the ground?—(speaking of the tenant farmers). Before he has put the sickle to the crop the locusts have blasted a part of it; then come the rats and the birds. If he is slack in housing his grain the thieves are upon him. His horse dies of weariness as he drags the wain. Anon a tax-gatherer arrives; his agents are armed with clubs; he has negroes with him who carry whips of palm-branches. They all cry give us your grain, and he has no easy way of avoiding their extortionate demands. Next, the wretch is caught, bound and sent off to work without wage at the canals, his children are stripped and plundered."

A picture somewhat similar is given in the "Praise of Learning," Twanfsakhrat. "The little laborer, having a field, he passes his life among the rustics; he is worn down for vines and pigs, to make his kitchen of what his fields have; his clothes are heavy with their weight; he is bound as a forced laborer; if he goes forth into the air he suffers, having to quit his warm fire-place; he is bastinadoed with a stick on his legs, and seeks to save himself; shut against him is the hall of every house, locked are all chambers. Torn from his humble home, and the bosom of his family, against his will, to render strenuous and gratuitous service on the public works of the king, should he survive the exposure and hardship incident to that service, he might return to find his hut a heap of ruins, and that his wife and children are gone, he knows not whither."

At other times, the government would forbid the planting of crops of one kind and would command the planting of another. The harvesting and garnering of the crops would be forbidden until the taxes or tithes had been collected.

In some parts of Egypt any preparation of the soil was unnecessary. The seed was scattered over the soil and trodden in by sheep, goats and pigs.

The plow was of wood—beam, handles and share. The parts of the

implement were held together by rope. The hoe was also of wood, both handle and blade. The hoe alone was used in light soil. In planting the farmer carried the seed in a basket on his arm and spread the seed broadcast with his hand. Harrows and rakes were not in use. To harvest grain a sickle was used, and when cut it was carried to granaries by men or asses, in panniers or baskets. It was threshed by driving cattle to and fro, over the sheaves. In winnowing it was thrown against the wind.

From first to last, the king was the embodiment of power. He was an absolute ruler. All the learning was monopolized by the priests. The caste system does not exist in Egypt to-day. It probably disappeared more than 2,000 years ago. The last vestiges of this legalized injustice must have been swept away under the first Ptolemys. Of course with the defeat of the Egyptian army, and its consequent change of status, it must have gradually lost its caste relation. The priestly class necessarily met with the same fate upon the downfall of the ancient faith. It is a reasonable conjecture that with the emasculation of the caste system, came a proportionate improvement in the condition of the middle classes, and skilled mechanics. The improvement in these classes however was barely appreciable; as to the laborers and common artisans—their condition remained the same in reality, that it had been in theory. The condition of the working classes in modern Egypt will be considered in another place.

CHAPTER II.—PALESTINE.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SMALL COUNTRIES IN HISTORY—ANCIENT PALESTINE—THE SIX PERIODS OF HEBREW HISTORY—THE PATRIARCHAL, THEOCRATICAL AND MONARCHICAL PHASES OF NATIONAL EXISTENCE—ABRAHAM, ISAAC AND JACOB—HERDSMEN, SHEPHERDS AND STOCK-RAISERS—THE TWELVE SONS OF JACOB—THE TWELVE TRIBES OF ISRAEL—THE MIGRATION OF JACOB AND HIS FAMILY—EGYPTIAN BONDAGE—ITS TOILS AND HARDSHIPS—THE MOSAIC RECORD—PHENOMENAL INCREASE OF THE HEBREWS—THE EXODUS—WANDERINGS AND LABORS IN THE WILDERNESS—BUILDING OF THE TABERNACLE—SKILLED LABOR—ARTS AND INDUSTRIES BROUGHT FROM EGYPT—CONQUEST OF PALESTINE—APPORTIONMENT OF THE LAND—AGRICULTURE THE MAIN PURSUIT—GALILEE—JUDEA—CLIMATE—SOIL—PRODUCTION—FARMING METHODS—LAND AND LAND TENURE—FEUDAL SYSTEM—YEAR OF JUBILEE AND SABBATICAL YEAR—OFFICIAL POSITIONS—SAUL THE FIRST KING—DAVID—SOLOMON—BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE—WORK ON THE TEMPLE—CONSCRIPTED MECHANICS AND LABORERS—REHOBAM—BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY—BABYLON—THE RETURN TO PALESTINE—REBUILDING THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM—TRADES AND LABOR UNDER THE ASMONEAN PRINCES—UNDER THE HERODIAN HOUSE—CRAFTS AND GUILDS—INDUSTRIES—HOUSES AND FOOD OF WORKING CLASSES—THE RABBIS AND THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS—REBUILDING THE TEMPLE—WAGES AND COST OF LIVING.

HISTORY teaches that the significance of a country in the story of man is not measured by its territorial extent. The name of ancient Greece, for example—a country smaller by one-third than the state of Illinois—is synonymous with perfection in every form of art, with genius in literature, and with heroism in war. Switzerland, with an area of about one-fourth that of the State of Illinois, blazes forth as a “bright particular star” in the struggle for humanity, right and liberty, even on the confines of the middle ages. The name of Holland, again, is suggestive of one of the most heroic, determined and protracted struggles against tyranny and fanaticism ever witnessed by man. So is it with ancient Palestine, with a length of but 180 miles and a width of 130 miles. Where is the name more suggestive of all that is earnest, profound and solemn in the destiny of man? View the question as we may, this small country is one of peculiar interest. Not because of any physical features it may contain, whether of production, of scenery, or of climate. For in extent of territory it was insignificant, in felicity of

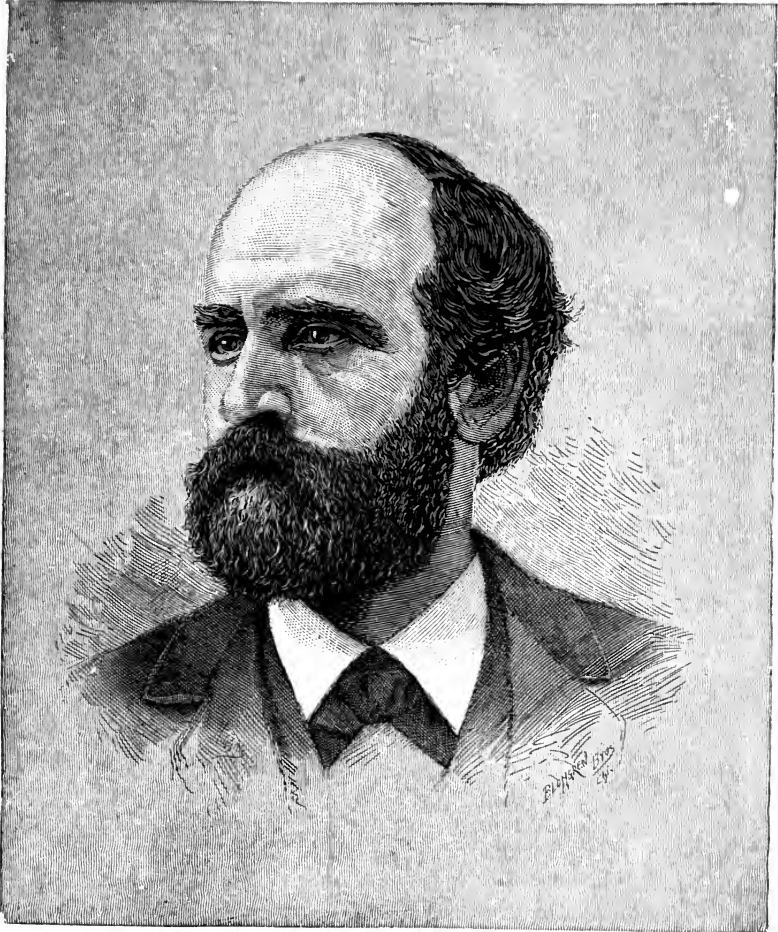
position excelled by Greece, in grandeur and sublimity of outline surpassed by Switzerland, in salubrity of climate equalled by many. It is interesting because of the race who once inhabited it — the one race of that country entitled to historical distinction, the Hebrews — a race that gave to mankind Moses, the law-giver; Joshua, the conqueror; David, the hero and poet; Solomon, the wise; Elijah, the sublime; and Job, the embodiment of moral fortitude and religious faith. A people was this chosen by God. Men there were of this race who covenanted with their God, and to whom He came as the “still small voice.” In one of this race God became incarnate. An immortal literature have these people given to the world. A people that to-day can boast of such names as Isaac Disraeli and Auerbach in literature, Benjamin Disraeli in statesmanship, the Rothschilds in finance, Mendelssohn, Maimonides and Spinoza in philosophy, Rachel in the drama, Moscheles and Meyerbeer in music, are certainly entitled to consideration in their industries and arts, as are also their mechanics and artisans.

As a race, the Hebrews experienced three phases or periods of political existence: the patriarchal, the theocratic and the monarchical. Twice during the period preceding their dispersion their existence as a nation was obscured by a protracted period of bondage. For the purpose in hand we may consider the condition of industry and the industrial classes during six historic periods: the infancy of the Jews, as expressed in the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who were nomadic herdsmen and shepherds; the period covered by the Egyptian captivity; the restoration to “The Promised Land” and the theocracy; the first monarchy, beginning with Saul and ending with Rehoboam; that of the Babylonian captivity; the return to Palestine, and the reign of the Asmonean princes and the Herodian house.

The history of the Jews begins with the life of their great progenitor, Abraham, the son of Terah; he that was of “Ur of the Chaldees.” He and his family were peaceful pastoral nomads — their only wealth flocks and herds; their only vocation the tending of kine, sheep and goats. They migrated continuously from place to place, as necessity required or their convenience dictated. Sometimes their migrations were in search of water, sometimes in quest of pasturage.

With Isaac, the son of Abraham, an advance was made in the industrial arts. With grazing and herding he associated agriculture. He had unnumbered thousands of camels, asses, kine, sheep and goats. Not satisfied with this form of wealth, Isaac turned his attention to farming.

Jacob, again, the youngest son of Isaac, was especially a herdsman,



Henry George.



drover or stock-farmer. It is not known that Jacob attempted agriculture to any extent. From what is recorded of his character and methods, he was the most successful live-stock farmer known to history. During this period the family was at once society and the state. The father was the absolute ruler of his family, wife, children, servants and slaves. Judging from what is written of the intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, the patriarch controlled the destiny of his dependents of every kind and degree, even to the taking of life, should he so determine. It is probable, however, that the circumstances or conditions surrounding each family were such as to conserve between the head of a family and its members a reciprocal feeling of affection and veneration. We know that mutual dependence and intimate and continued personal contact will, as a rule, conduce to fraternity in affection and unity in interest. Therefore the relations subsisting between master and servant then were not characterized by the selfishness, harshness and jealousy at present too often experienced between capital and labor, the employer and his employé.

Jacob had twelve sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphthali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph and Benjamin. From these twelve sons of Jacob descended the twelve tribes of Israel. Thus far the history of the Hebrews is the story of a family. Jacob, his sons and their attendants migrated to Egypt during the ministry there of his eleventh and favorite son, Joseph. Between this event and the exodus has been estimated variously from two hundred to four hundred years. But whatever this period of time may have been, the descendants of Jacob multiplied in such ratio that at the time of their departure from Egypt they numbered six hundred thousand adult males, or between two and three millions of people. So phenomenal was this increase that it alarmed the Egyptian Pharaoh. As a result, by various methods he sought to diminish their multiplication and break their spirit. They were employed "on the pyramids, on the great canals, and on the vast dams built for the purpose of irrigation." And Pharaoh said unto Moses and Aaron: "Behold, the people of the land [Hebrews] now are many, and ye would make them rest from their burdens. And Pharaoh commanded the same day the taskmasters of the people, and their officers, saying: Ye shall no more give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore; let them go and gather straw for themselves. And the tale of the bricks which they did make heretofore ye shall lay upon them; ye shall not diminish aught thereof: for they be idle; therefore they cry, saying, Let us go and sacrifice to our God. Let, then, more work be

laid upon the men, that they may labor therein ; and let them not regard vain words. And the taskmasters of the people went out, and their officers, and they spoke to the people, saying: Thus sayeth Pharaoh, I will not give ye straw. Go ye, get your straw where ye can find it: yet not aught of your work shall be diminished. So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt to gather stubble instead of straw. And the taskmasters hastened them, saying: Fulfill your works, your daily tasks, as when there was straw. And the officers of the children of Israel came and cried unto Pharaoh, saying, Wherefore dealest thou thus with thy servants ? There is no straw given unto thy servants, and they say to us, make brick : and, behold, thy servants are beaten, but the fault is in thine own people. But he said, Ye are idle, ye are idle : therefore ye say, Let us go and do sacrifice to the Lord. Go, therefore, now and work ; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks." So is it written of the Hebrew bondage in Egypt.

But tyranny, short-sighted as inhuman, failed in its purpose. Even under these unfavorable circumstances, "in the damp stone quarry, in the lime-pit and brick-field, toiling beneath burdens under a scorching sun, they multiplied as rapidly as among the fresh airs and under the cool tents in Goshen." This much is known of the toils, the struggles and the woes of the children of Israel prior to their exodus from the land of the Pharaohs.

"And the children of Israel did according to the word of Moses ; and they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, jewels of gold and raiment : and the Lord gave the people favor in the sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them such things as they required. And they spoiled the Egyptians. And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, besides the children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them ; and flocks and herds, even very much cattle." Thus it was that the children of Israel entered upon their journey in the wilderness.

In the barren and sterile peninsula of Sinai the Hebrew multitudes found agriculture or the cultivation of industrial arts impossible. No attempt was made at systematic industry, except the building of the tabernacle. They subsisted on the products of their flocks and herds and such other precarious resources as circumstance placed in their way. As has been said, the only attempt at the mechanical arts was the building of the tabernacle of the Lord. The material for this structure was contributed by the tribes. Its elaborate character indicates that even at

this time some of the Israelites possessed a knowledge of architecture, weaving, spinning and metal-working. Two skilled mechanics are mentioned in connection with this enterprise, Bezaleel and Aholiab. The skill manifested by the architects and mechanics in the construction of this beautiful edifice was of no inferior order. It was adorned with graceful pillars of brass, each beautiful shaft ornamented with elaborate capitals of silver. The rods for the curtains and the hooks whereby the tapestry was suspended were of silver and exquisitely wrought. The outer curtains were of fine linen or cotton and delicately woven. The inner curtain was of costly material and brilliant colors, blue, purple and scarlet. An altar was constructed of brass, five and a quarter feet high, and eight feet and three-quarters each way. The planks of the tabernacle were overlaid with gold, protected by curtains made of goat's hair. Judging from the elaborate detail necessary to the successful building of this beautiful structure, the experience of the Israelites in Egypt had not been altogether barren of good results. Some, at least, of their number, were possessed of useful trades and arts, which must have been utilized upon their settlement in "the Promised Land." The tabernacle demonstrates that some knowledge was had of dyeing, bleaching, gilding and engraving, and also of the building arts and working in iron, brass and precious metals; but of the masses of the Israelites at this time it may be said they were naught but "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Their condition had been that of slaves. Their daily lot had been toil, sweat and tears. It cannot be denied that their experience in Egypt had debased their character and cramped their intelligence.

In time their weary wandering ceased. Successfully expelling the alien and heathen people then inhabiting Palestine, they took possession of the "promised land," and its broad acres were apportioned among the tribes and families. The country occupied by the Israelites at the time of this apportionment had an area of about 14,976,000 acres. Therefore, estimating the number of adult males at 600,000, this would have given to each man $21\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, leaving a remainder of 1,976,000 acres for the heads of families, tribal princes, and Levitical cities.

Once fully possessed of their adopted home, everything about them invited them to agricultural pursuits. Indeed, agriculture is the natural and inevitable vocation of a pioneer people. Such has been the experience of mankind from the beginning. At this time, it has been conceded, Palestine presented peculiar attractions to the farmer and the

herdsman. On every hand a charming and varied landscape surrounded them — a beautiful panorama. There were the snows of Hermon, the cool of Lebanon, the tropical Jordan country, the genial valleys of Galilee, with an undulating expanse of tasseled corn, golden grain, and rolling pasture lands. There was Judea, with its sunny hillsides, delicious glens and shelving downs. And throughout the length and breadth of this land browsed the cattle “on a thousand hills;” and the pastures “were clothed with flocks,” the valleys also “covered over with corn.” “We came unto the land whither Thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey.” A genial climate, a fruitful soil and varied production welcomed the Israelites, foot-sore and weary. The vine, the olive, the almond, the fig, the date, the orange and the pomegranate were indigenous and plentiful. Several grains, such as wheat, millet, barley and zea, yielded an hundred-fold. The grape flourished, especially in the mountainous districts of the vicinity of Heshbon, Eleale and Sibnah. This region was also famous for its superior pasturage, and for its beef and mutton. The distinguishing feature of Gilead was its flocks and herds, as it was also of the eastern shore of Genesareth. The corn lands of Bashan were famous.

The Israelites, of course, brought their methods of agriculture from Egypt. In sowing, reaping and garnering their crops they patterned after their former task-masters. “The grain, as soon as it was cut, was brought in small sheaves to the threshing floors on the backs of asses, or sometimes of camels. A level spot was selected for the threshing floors, which were then constructed near each other, of a circular form, perhaps fifty feet in diameter, by merely beating down the earth hard. Upon these circles sheaves were spread out, quite thick, and the grain was trodden out by animals. There were sometimes no less than five such floors, all trodden by oxen, cows and younger cattle, arranged in each case several abreast, and driven around in a circle, or rather in all directions, over the floor. By this process the straw was broken and became chaff. It was occasionally turned by a large wooden fork, having two prongs, and when sufficiently trodden, was thrown up with the same fork against the wind, in order to separate the grain, which was then gathered up and winnowed.”

There were several different interests in land among the Israelites during the early part of their residence in Palestine. These interests might be distinguished, perhaps, as homestead rights, village rights and land rights. The village of householders was protected by palisades. Without and surrounding this were the grain fields, orchards and vine-

yards, and beyond these still were the pasture lands, and surrounding all were the waste lands.

Land could not be alienated permanently. Farming land could be conveyed for a limited period. House property in the cities could be sold unless redeemed within a year; but at the year of jubilee every estate reverted to its original owner.

During the time of the Judges, in certain parts of Palestine, something in the nature of a feudal tenure of land prevailed. For example, Gideon conquered Midian and distributed its soil among his followers. Jephthah occupied a similar position in regard to Gilead, and Samuel as to Ramah.

Every seventh or Sabbatical year the land was permitted to lie fallow and peculiar privileges were granted to debtors, slaves and other dependent persons. All debts were then extinguished, and it is conjectured that the land was also redistricted at that time. As wealth increased, however, and the people congregated more in towns and cities, this observance was neglected, and the wealthy classes became oppressive. Isaiah and Jeremiah sternly rebuked these exacting rich men. In Isaiah, 5th chapter 8th verse, it is written: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place." And Jeremiah exclaims: "Among my people are found wicked men: they lay in wait, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap; they catch men. As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit; therefore, they are become great and waxen rich. They are waxen fat, they shine: yea, they overpass the deeds of the wicked: they judge not the cause of the fatherless, and the right of the needy they do not judge." As a provision against these unjust exactions and unconscionable methods the year of jubilee was established. This occurred every fiftieth year; all debts and mortgages were canceled and property rights and the relations of servitude were readjusted.

The effect of the Sabbatical year and of the year of Jubilee must have been beneficial to the small farmer and mechanic. These institutions rendered it impossible for the wealthy and powerful to take advantage, for a protracted period, of the wage-worker and small householder. The results were not only restorative, but must have been also conservative. With the Sabbatical year and year of Jubilee before them, the schemes of the miser, the usurer and the man of unscrupulous ambition must have been restrained and thwarted.

Under the theocracy, social and political leaders arose spontaneously, so to speak, from the ranks of the people. Official positions seem to

have been open to all alike, whether of high or low degree, noble or plebeian, rich or poor. A class known as prophets exercised a great influence in public affairs. Personal action and public policy were dictated by these men. Samuel exercised the three-fold functions of prophet, priest and judge.

The people, however, became dissatisfied with the simplicity of their political institutions. They were dazzled by the glitter and ostentation incident to monarchial government, and demanded of Samuel that he select for them a king. This sage and venerable man warned them in vain against this folly. Yielding, finally, to their importunities, he chose one Saul, son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin. It is strange that in his selection of a monarch for the Israelites he should have been influenced more by physical presence than intellectual and moral character. "Now there was a man of Benjamin, whose name was Kish, the son of Abial, the son of Zeror, the son of Decheroth, the son of Aphiah, a Benjamite, a mighty man of power. And he had a son whose name was Saul, a choice young man, and a goodly: and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he. From his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people." The merits of King Saul ended with his physical beauty. He was incompetent, weak and wicked. He was anointed first king of Israel about 1095 B. C. For executive ability, both civil and military, David, the next king of Israel, was the ablest monarch of Hebrew history. He was a poet and musician, and he is said to have encouraged art, literature and various kinds of skilled industry. But it was reserved for his son, the great Solomon, to demonstrate the architectural and mechanical genius of his race at this period. This famous king and moral philosopher was the builder of a magnificent temple dedicated to Jehovah, God of the Israelites. Large numbers of Phœnician laborers and mechanics were employed in this work. To assist them Solomon made a levy of 180,000 Israelites. Of these men 30,000 were sent to Lebanon to prepare the lumber for a temple; 70,000 of the number were employed as burden-bearers and 80,000 as hewers of wood on the mountains. Over this vast army of toilers were placed 3,300 overseers.

It is known that for the magnificence of Solomon's reign the Israelites paid dearly. So it is always with monarchy: just in proportion to its glitter and ostentation are the inconvenience and misfortune of the people. Under Solomon the Israelites were taxed to the uttermost limit of endurance. History leads us to infer that the vast multitude of Israelitish laborers and mechanics employed in the erection of the tem-

ple were not compensated for their services. They were conscripted and taken against their will from their daily vocations. The effect upon their families and their personal industries may be conjectured

What the temple lacked in dimension it made up in magnificence. Its area was but eighty by forty cubits. The timber employed was cedar and fir-wood, and the surface of each board was carved in representation of flowers and fruits. The walls and the ceiling of the altar-chamber were overlaid with pure gold, as was also the floor of the temple. The construction of this famous edifice is proof of the fact that among the children of Israel, at this time, there were skilled artisans and mechanics. Rehoboam succeeded his father Solomon as king of Israel.

In 598 B. C., Nebuchadnezzar invaded Palestine, and carried thousands of the Israelites into captivity. They were taken to Babylon and other cities in Chaldea and Assyria. During the Babylonian captivity, which lasted seventy years, the Israelites were permitted to dwell together, and were not sold as household or personal slaves. It has been well said they were more colonists than captives, and in time many of them acquired considerable property. Nebuchadnezzar is said to have made it a point to carry with him to Babylon the artisans and mechanics of Palestine. His purpose was to utilize their skill and information in the erection of public works. Thousands of the laboring classes were compelled to work upon the vast temples, palaces and fortifications of the Chaldean capital. In their distress and hardship the poor Israelites were wont to cry in the words of Habukkuk: "The stones shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it: Woe to him that buildeth a tower with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity."

Certain of the Israelites were taken to the village Tel-Abib, some distance north of Babylon, on the river Chebar. There they engaged in agriculture, soon acquired property, and in time became attached to the land of their exile. Here "we can fancy them living in their mud-built cottages, among the patches of millet and pulse, which they cultivated by the side of the wide and silent rivers which flow along between rows of trembling-leaved poplars—'the willows' on which they hung their harps in the psalm." What a revelation was great Babylon to the Israelite, knowing naught of cities but his pent-up, small and irregular Jerusalem. Babylon was at this time the great trading center between Egypt, Arabia and India. It is said to have been the size of modern London, but the mighty capital of the Chaldeo-Assyrian empire differed

widely from the metropolis of the nineteenth century. Much of the time London is draped in smoke or wrapped in fog. Its streets are intricate, sinuous, narrow, murky. The houses are irregular, cramped and crushed together. In Babylon the streets were wide, straight and clean. These thoroughfares crossed each other with geometrical regularity, at right angles. The houses were of variously colored brick, resembling mosaic work, and were situated each in the midst of a large garden containing fruits, flowers and fountains. The city was divided in twain by the waters of the Euphrates, and the banks of the beautiful river were embowered in willows. Over all arched the cloudless eastern sky—the glow of perpetual sunshine. Graceful ferry-boats were continuously crossing and re-crossing the river. The streets of the two parts of the city were connected by tasteful bridges. The royal palace, together with the hanging gardens, covered an area of eight miles. Towering far above all, until its stately outlines blazed and shimmered in the glorious sunlight, like a thing of cloud, was the magnificent temple of Bel. This stupendous edifice was seven stories high. Each of these stories was of a different color, symbolizing the seven known orbs of the sidereal system. “The lowest stage was black, representing the outermost planet, Saturn, far away from the sun in the darkness of perpetual night. Then came an orange, for Jupiter; a blood-red stripe for Mars; glittering gold for the Sun; pale yellow for Venus; blue for Mercury, and silver for the Moon, and on the top stood the shrine of Bel.”

The children of Israel were finally restored to Palestine by Darius, the Persian king. The walls of Jerusalem were then rebuilt, under the leadership of Nehemiah. Impoverished as were those who returned to their native land, by years of exile and poorly paid labor, they could not command assistance in this enterprise. They therefore labored in person, to the neglect of their private interests and industries. The flocks wandered away because they were without shepherds, and the crops died in the field for want of husbandmen. Not only this, but, surrounded by jealous and treacherous foes, they were compelled to labor while under arms. In one hand were the trowel, the spade and the pick; in the other, the sword, the spear and the shield.

From their restoration under Nehemiah, not much is known of industries and mechanical arts among the Israelites, or Hebrews, until the Roman domination, about 63 B. C. During this period nominal power was exercised by the Asmonean princes and the Herodian house. The temple was again rebuilt by Herod Antipator, procurator of Judea, and upon a scale more magnificent than that of Solomon. The walls were of

the purest white marble, and the gates were of gold and Corinthian brass. The curtains and other vestments of the temple were made and contributed by the weavers, knitters and robe-makers of the nation. Within the sacred precincts certain trades were carried on. There the sacrificial offerings were butchered, and there were bakeries for preparing the shew-bread and the food of the high priests. Perfumes and confections of delicate quality were also made there. It has been well said that this structure was at once a house of worship, a kitchen, a bakery and a slaughter-house. In this great work more than 18,000 men were constantly employed, as sculptors, architects, carpenters, masons and laborers. The work was given out by ell-measure. The wages were liberal, and were paid weekly or daily. In case of labor for a portion of a day, the compensation was immediate. But wages, as a rule, were not high in Palestine at this time, neither was the cost of living in Palestine expensive. This may be inferred from the smallness of some of the coin in circulation. The Jewish perutah, a coin of the smallest denomination, had a ratio of about one thirty-second part of a cent. The labor market was cheap, and the average wages were about sixteen cents per day. Contrast, for a moment, this paltry consideration with the revenue of some of their rulers. Archelaus had an income of \$1,200,000 a year, and Herod the Great a revenue of \$3,400,000 annually.

There was a time when trades were not especially favored by the rabbis and other leaders of Israel. Nor were they encouraged by the government. With the Israelites the favorite pursuits seem to have been agriculture and commerce. This rule was not without notable exceptions, however. The apostle Paul, when in Corinth, sought at once for some self-supporting labor, and did not require assistance of the church. Subsequently, many of the rabbis entertained a profound respect for manual labor, and combined it with their studies. Indeed, at one time, all of the great leaders of the rabbis were working at some trade. This went so far as to become almost an affectation with them. Of some it is said that they would drag about heavy rafters and timbers. One habitually carried with him into the college a chair of his own make. Rabbis were sometimes shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, sandalmakers, smiths, potters and builders. Of the chief priests Hillel was a woodcutter, and Shaminai a carpenter. Of the rabbis, Pinheas was a stonemason; Rab-Joseph a miller; Bahja and Chainia, shoemakers; and Abba, Chauam and Judah, tailors. Many artisans were also distinguished in the realm of letters and learned professions. For example, Theodos was a physician, Samuel an astronomer, Abba a surgeon, Joshua a woodcutter,

Amai a sandalmaker, Jochanan a smith, Simeon a potter, and Abin a threadmaker. Certain industries were at ill repute among the Hebrews, such as weaving, tanning, dyeing and mining. Sailors were highly respected because of their calling. The various trades had guilds. Some of these guilds possessed synagogues and burial-places of their own. In the time of Christ, those pursuing certain crafts would occupy together a particular village or locality, which would take its name from that trade. Arbel was named for its rope-walk, and Sichim for its potteries. During this period Galilee was noted for its industries and wealth. In that province were extensive potteries, dye-works and glass factories. Capernaum was famed for its wool works, Tarichaea for the preservation and exportation of fish in casks. Another great fish market was Bethsaida.

The houses of the rich were constructed of brick and stone and had two kinds of windows, large ones known as Tyrian, and small ones of Egyptian pattern. Sycamore was the wood used for window and door frames. Sometimes olive, cedar and sandal wood were used. The laboring classes generally occupied a small edifice of brick, the extent of which did not exceed eight or ten yards. The doors and windows were protected by lattice-work. Food seems to have been wholesome and plentiful. Olives, figs and grapes were abundant and cheap. The staple articles of food seem to have been bread, onions and meat. A drink was made of water and bran.

The Israelitish law abhorred the condemnation of a Jew to perpetual slavery. The institution existed, however, in a modified form. A man could voluntarily sell himself into slavery for a definite period. An insolvent debtor could be placed in bondage by his creditor. In either case a service of seven years liberated the bondman. Under certain circumstances a parent was permitted to sell his child, either male or female. At the time of his manumission the Hebrew slave was supplied from his master's flock, granary and wine-press.

It is probable, even up to the time of their dispersion, that all free Israelites, of whatever rank and station, had a voice in important public questions. This was true of the monarchy as well as of the theocracy. Some authorities are of opinion that a senate of seventy elders was established by Moses. The great Sanhedrim, as it existed at the time of Christ, originated in this senate of elders. It is written that Joshua twice assembled a sort of parliament or diet, and that this body was composed of elders, judges and the heads of families. Each tribe enjoyed self-government, to a certain extent, as to its own affairs, and had a local

or small Sanhedrim. The hereditary chieftain was the head of the tribe, and the provincial assembly was made up of the judges, heads of families and scribes. All great public questions were submitted to the people, as a body, for their approval.

The history of the Israelites as a nation ends with the fall of Jerusalem, in 70, A. D. At this time the city was captured and destroyed by the Roman general Titus. In this last great struggle more than a million Jews perished. From this period is dated the dispersion of the Jews.

CHAPTER III.—CHALDEA AND ASSYRIA.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN—THE EMPIRE OF CHALDEA—NIMROD, THE FOUNDER—TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS OF BEROSUS—NINEVEH—SEMIRAMIS, THE QUEEN—THE FOUNDATION OF BABYLON—A DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT CITY—THE TEMPLES OF THE GODS AND THE PALACES OF THE KINGS—THE TEMPLE OF BELUS—THE MEN WHO BUILT THESE GREAT STRUCTURES—TAXES, HOW PAID—THE RULERS AND THE RULED—CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE—THE POSITION OF WOMAN—AGRICULTURE—FERTILITY OF THE SOIL—THE FARMER—ARTS AND MANUFACTURES—THE POSITION OF THE ARTISAN—THE FOOD AND CLOTHING OF THE RICH AND POOR—SLAVERY—DOWNFALL OF THE KINGDOM.

THE story of the development of the Chaldeans is inseparably interwoven with that wonderful compilation of historical records that is known to Christians the world over as the Old Testament. In its opening pages we read of that garden of wondrous fertility lying between the waters of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and in which grew "every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food." In this, the traditional Garden of Eden, the nomadic tribes that, in later years, banded together to form the empire of Chaldea, had their origin; and here they hunted, fished and tilled the soil, living simply upon the fruits and game which that fertile region, selected by the omniscience of God for the first habitation of man, afforded in abundance. Straitened as were its natural boundaries, this spot became the home of powerful nations that, in course of time, attained a wealth, a civilization and a development of literature and art far in advance of any other country of which they had knowledge, excepting Egypt, and, possibly, China. As these growing tribes advanced in power, in learning, and in material progress, they felt the need of a bond of union that should give to them an individuality, and they gradually merged their tribal organizations into the rudiments of a mighty state. The form of government was at first patriarchal, but with the march of civilization this relic of tribal organization gave way to the monarchial tendency, and Nimrod, the mighty hunter, arose, took the reins of government into his own hands, and established the empire of Chaldea. Many historians suppose this to have been the earliest established empire of the world: that it was among

the earliest is beyond dispute. The date ascribed to Nimrod's assumption of the imperial purple, B. C. 2245, extends almost into the prehistoric age. In his reign of 121 years, Nimrod accomplished great enterprises. The foundations of great Babylon were laid, and the Chaldeans, once shepherds and hunters, became masons, builders and structural artisans of every kind and degree. Before his death, Nimrod beheld the birth of the Assyrian kingdom, and witnessed the beginning of stately Nineveh. His reign marked the first great advance of his people toward civilization. From a race of hunters and herdsmen he brought forth productive laborers.

There existed in this early period, in the territory comprising the empires of Chaldea and Assyria, two great peoples: a northern and a southern, in all probability the descendants, respectively, of Ham and Cush. The existence of these nations is, however, carried by tradition beyond the deluge. Nearly three hundred years before Christ lived Berosus, a Babylonian historian. He relates a legend of ten kings who existed before the deluge. In the reign of the third king there arose out of the troubled waters of the Erythrian sea a supernatural being called Oammes. In form, this apparition was like unto the fabled merman, being half man, half fish. From his hands men received the gift of the arts and sciences, and from his mystic utterances a legend of the manner of creation of the world was formed. Berosus interprets this legend of the merman plausibly, saying, "that the Babylonians were indebted for their civilization to a people who came over the sea from Egypt." With the reign of the last of the ten kings there came a mighty deluge from which the king and his family alone were saved in a ship. The similarity of this legend to the Biblical tradition of the deluge and Noah's ark is obvious. According to the semi-legendary history of Berosus, Babylon had an existence of 34,080 years up to the time of the historian.

History teaches us that the first steps of a nation toward civilization are through a military despotism. Such was the case with Chaldea under Nimrod and his successors. The power of the monarch was absolute and his will was unquestioned. As the stability of the empire became assured, the desire for conquest grew in the breasts of the monarchs, and Ninus, the son and successor of Nimrod, led his people against the Assyrians and conquered them. Assyria became a part of Chaldea; the conquerors strangely assumed the name of the conquered, and the two peoples were thereafter known as Assyrians. With unity in government and interests there soon grew up an identity of language and customs, and the united peoples made marvellous advancement in the arts and sciences. Free

public libraries were established at Calahr, Assur and Nineveh. The clay books or tablets were properly paged and divided into chapters, and among the subjects of literary discussion were Astronomy, Astrology, Geography, Theology, Grammar, Poetry, Proverbs and Fables.

In founding the famous city of Nineveh, Ninus left a glorious monument, not only to his own intrepidity in designing and carrying out prodigious enterprises, but also to the skill and energy of his people in fulfilling his behests.

This monument of the art and mechanical skill of antiquity was located on the east bank of the Tigris, opposite the present city of Mosul. It was eighteen and three-quarter miles long and eleven and one-quarter broad, and contained an area of 211 square miles. Brick walls one hundred feet high and fifty feet thick surrounded the entire city. The walls were adorned with 1,500 towers, each 200 feet high. With modern appliances it would require 100,000 men, working steadily for eight years, to make and lay the brick with which the walls were built. With the mechanical arts then in use, it must have required at least ten times that number.

Semiramis, the queen and successor of Ninus, followed the example of her husband. She built great commercial cities on the principal rivers. Like her predecessor, she kept large standing armies, for both civil and military service. Her army is said to have been composed of 3,000,000 foot soldiers, 500,000 cavalry and 100,000 chariots. She planned and built the city of Babylon, probably the grandest example of colossal architecture that the world has ever seen.

Babylon stood in the midst of fertile plain, on both sides of the Euphrates. The city was built in the form of a square, fifteen miles on each side, and covering an area of two hundred and twenty-five square miles. Surrounding it on all sides were massive walls three hundred and fifty feet high and eighty-seven feet thick. These walls were made of burnt brick cemented together with bitumen, which holds much firmer than lime. On the outside the walls were encompassed with a vast moat, lined with brick. This moat was filled with water. On each side of the great square were twenty-five gates made of solid brass. From each of these gates extended a street one hundred and fifty feet wide to the gate on the opposite side of the city. There were, in all, fifty of these streets, crossing each other at right angles, and thus dividing the city into 625 squares. Surrounding the great wall were 300 towers, each 360 feet high. Through the city, from north to south, ran a branch of the Euphrates river. On each side of the river were quays,

and a high wall of the same breadth as that encircling the city. In these walls, opposite every street that led to the river, were gates of brass, from which steps descended to the river, for the convenience of the inhabitants who passed from one side to the other in boats that plied constantly to and fro upon the stream. In the reign of Nebuchadnezzar bridges were built. Diodorus asserts that there was a tunnel under the river. To prevent damage from inundations, which were frequent, artificial canals were cut above the city, which turned the course of the waters into the Tigris.

The blocks or squares within the city were more than half a mile long on each side. On these squares stood the houses, all facing the streets, with intervening spaces. All the houses were built three or four stories in height. The grounds in the rear of the houses were cultivated as gardens. Fully one-half the space within the city wall was devoted to this purpose. Babylon was not as great in reality as in appearance, in the matter of population. In its greatest days its population did not exceed 1,250,000.

Within the city were the temples of the gods and the palaces of the kings. They were massive structures without beauty of exterior. The interiors, however, were magnificent and imposing. The temples were usually built in a series of square terraces, rising, in pyramidal form, to great altitudes. At the apex was an ornamental chapel containing an image of the deity in whose honor the temple was erected. The interiors of both temples and palaces were finished with great wealth and ornamentation. The walls were covered with slabs of alabaster, brick painted in bright colors, or plates of shining brass. The gateways were flanked with giant winged bulls or lions. The statuary, the columns, the alabaster decorations, the paintings and engravings with which the palaces and temples were adorned, showed a degree of artistic cultivation and refinement that entitles the ancient Assyrians to our profound respect.

The most magnificent temple within the limits of the city was the temple of Belus, or Bel. This is supposed to be the celebrated tower of Nimrod, mentioned in the Scriptures. It was 640 feet square, and more than 600 feet high, and was so arranged that carriages and beasts of burden could ascend. It was higher than the great pyramid of Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar surrounded it with smaller edifices and inclosed the whole by a wall more than two miles in circumference, in which were brazen gates made of the spoils taken from the temple at Jerusalem. The temple of Belus was adorned with vessels of gold and the wealth ac-

cumulated by Babylonian conquests. One of the images in this temple was forty feet high, was of pure gold, and weighed 74,000 pounds.

Equal in interest to the temple of Belus, or perhaps exceeding that in the interest that has been excited in all ages since their construction, were the great "Hanging Gardens," one of the "seven wonders of the world." This prodigious edifice was erected to gratify the wishes of Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. The structure was 400 feet square, and was carried aloft in several terraces, one above another, until the highest equaled that of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace by steps ten feet wide. The pile was sustained by a rising series of vast arches, and a wall twenty-two feet wide encircled it. On the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long and four feet broad, and over these were spread reeds mixed with lime and bitumen, upon which were placed two rows of brick, cemented together with plaster. The whole was cemented with thick sheets of lead, and upon these sheets was deposited the mould or soil of the garden. The depth of this mould or earth was such that the largest trees could take root. The terraces were then planted with stately trees, graceful shrubs and beautiful flowers. On the upper terrace was an engine or pump, and by it the gardens were irrigated with water from the river.

Upon this artificial mountain, reared by dreary toil of countless slaves, goaded on by the relentless lash of cruel taskmasters, grew trees, herbs and shrubs brought from considerable distances, at vast expense. The capricious queen, living in luxury in Babylon, had sighed for the mountainous prospect of her native Ecbatana, and forthwith all the vast machinery of a despotic government was set in motion. Hapless subjects, brought hastily from their daily vocation, were set to work to rear the mighty masses of masonry upon which the queen's pleasure-garden was to rest. Others, dragged from their families, were sent far abroad to gather the trees and plants of foreign countries and bring them home to adorn the artificial hillsides of the gardens. Hundreds of thousands were employed in the work, for the merest whim of the sovereign must be gratified, although the people perish in the work. And so it came to pass that, after years of unremitting toil, the garden rose in the midst of the stately city, looking like a towering hill, thick with luxuriant verdure and refreshed with the cool waters of the Euphrates that flowed below.

The description of these magnificent and colossal works is given in order that the reader's attention may be directed to the plane upon which the manual laborer must have been placed that would permit kings to erect

such extravagant and stupendous structures. It is said Semiramis employed more than 2,000,000 men in the construction of the walls, towers and canals of Babylon; and we can readily believe that the statement is true when we reflect that to construct edifices of such proportions, at the present time, would require the services of more than that number of men for two years. To construct the walls, canals and towers would require more than two hundred and forty-seven thousand million brick, as they are made at present. With the appliances of 4,000 years ago, what time and labor must have been expended before these massive undertakings were completed!

All taxes were paid in kind. The farmer cultivated and harvested his crops, and gave one-third, one-half or two-thirds to the king. When the wants of the king were supplied, the remainder of the revenue was devoted to the vast army and a multitude of public slaves and servants. So far as known, there were but two social classes, the rulers and the ruled. The former were so notoriously corrupt and immoral, that the fate of the latter must have been deplorable indeed. The great armies numbered millions. The great civic army of slaves and captives, devoted to the building of gigantic public works, comprised fully one-third of the adult population. These, together with the multitude of satraps or governors who collected the revenue, and the king and his court, were supported out of the earnings of those who tilled the ground. Although one of the most fruitful countries on the globe, yet the farmers, taxed as they were to support a horde of non-producing aristocrats and soldiers, must have experienced a deplorable lot.

The history of this people, from the death of Semiramis for a period of 1,200 years, is involved in obscurity. Although in the early ages they were leaders in the path of civilization, yet no nation in the world has ever been more corrupt. With them, banquets, feasts and holidays degenerated into disgusting debauches. Belshazzar and his nobles were drunk when the handwriting appeared on the wall. The women were shameless and profligate. They occupied the position of panderers to the lust and passions of men. They were required to prostitute themselves, at least once in their lives, to strangers, in the Temple of Mylitta or Venus. They appeared at feasts almost in a state of nudity. The hallowed name of mother was not known to the Assyrian vocabulary. Women and children were slaves to their husbands and fathers. The fathers, in turn, were slaves to their rulers. Women are never represented in Assyrian sculpture, unless as captives or as begging for mercy from the walls of falling cities. The rulers enjoyed their possessions as

sensualists, lost all self-government, and degenerated morally, physically and intellectually. The people were ruled with a rod of iron; they had "no rights their rulers were bound to respect." In a land noted for its fertility, they were compelled to live on the coarsest food and wore little, if any, clothing. The punishment meted out to criminals, or those who offended the upper classes, were excessively severe. Decapitation was a mild form. Victims were often crucified, impaled and flayed alive. Mild offenses were punished by putting out an eye, or cutting off a hand or other member.

The great alluvial plain at the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris was well calculated to stimulate men to agricultural pursuits. That the Assyrians attained considerable skill in farming, there is little doubt. The fertility of the soil and the salubriousness of the climate kept them from adopting that restless, shiftless nomadic life that was characteristic of the early races. Inhabiting a land that had but little rain, they were obliged to irrigate by means of canals and hydraulic machines. Wheat, barley, sesame, ochra, date palms, oranges, apples, pears and many kinds of small fruits grew indigenously. Of wheat, three crops were harvested annually. The vicinity of the fine cotton-growing fields of Arabia and Syria explains the great excellence of, and demand for, Babylonian clothing, carpets, and various other products of their weaving. In many parts of Assyria, manna is found in abundance. It is gathered principally from the dwarf oak, but is also found on other shrubs, and in wet seasons is deposited on sand and rocks. The best manna, as a food, is consumed in its natural state, or by making it into paste. By boiling it, it can be preserved for any length of time.

Ancient Assyria was not as fertile as Babylonia, but with their excellent system of irrigation the Assyrian farmers were successful in producing nearly all the grains and fruits of Babylonia. The apricot, orange, lemon, fig, pomegranate, olive and mulberry were cultivated, and almost all vegetables known grew in abundance. Large herds of domestic animals were kept on the grazing-lands, as horses, cows, camels, goats, buffalos and sheep.

In a land so productive, it seems inconceivable that there should be want and suffering. Yet so corrupt and avaricious were the rulers of this fair country, that when the taxes were paid, and the wants of the satraps or governors supplied, there was little left to supply the farmer and his family, who were compelled, for the most part, to subsist on the manna gathered from the trees, shrubs and rocks.

In the history of manual industry, the Chaldeans occupy no insignifi-

cant space, for they are the first people of the earth known to have been workers in metal. From iron and brass they forged implements of war, and to this fact is undoubtedly due the ease of their conquest over surrounding nations. But at this early day iron was too precious a metal to be used in arming the common soldiers, who fought with knives, arrow-heads, axes and hammers of flint, while their masters wielded swords and battle-axes of metal. In fabricating articles of personal adornment, the Chaldeans developed great skill and no mean order of artistic talent. Gold, iron, brass and lead were thus employed. The art of the lapidary had its origin among this industrious people, who cut and polished precious gems and engraved cameos and intaglios that today find place amidst the most valued treasures of the virtuoso. In the art of weaving, the people of Chaldea were far in advance of the rest of the known world. On the floors of their houses were soft woven carpets, the walls were decked with tapestries, and light, clinging draperies of cotton and of wool clothed the persons of those of wealth and high in station.

The Assyrians gained their knowledge of the textile industries from the Babylonians, but soon excelled their teachers in the richness and diversity of the fabrics woven on their rude hand-loom. Throughout all the countries bordering upon the eastern end of the Mediterranean, the little world of those early days, the cloths, dye-stuffs and richly embroidered fabrics of Assyria became known and prized. The ancient Greeks, whom we are accustomed to regard as the pioneers in all that relates to art and civilization, went to Assyria for hangings for their temples and for models of interior decoration. In architecture Assyria was foremost, building mighty temples, fortifications and palaces of stone, when other nations were housing their people in huts and confining their greatest monuments to the rudest of all architectural designs, the pyramid.

In sculpture the Assyrians excelled the Egyptians. They attained wonderful skill in the mechanical arts. They manufactured a good quality of glass. Their furniture was covered with bronze. Sheets of bronze, decorated in relief, covered the beams and friezes of the palaces and temples. Vases made of gold and silver were exported to Greece and even to Etruria. Enameled pottery was quite common. Enameled tiles formed one of the chief decorations of the houses. In their buildings they used such mechanical powers as the pulley, the lever and the roller. The garments made by the Assyrians were preferred both in quality and style to those made by the skilled tailors of Phœnicia. Ship-building was carried on to some extent, the timber coming from

Arabia, beyond the Persian Gulf. The artisans and mechanics of Assyria, although practically in a much better condition, occupied the same social plane as the farmer. They were the serfs of the king and his courtiers, and to satisfy the capricious whims of their masters their skill, their genius and their lives were devoted. But whatever differences there may have been between the governing classes and the governed, whatever hardships may have been borne by the working classes, the simplicity of their wants rendered their position less burdensome than it might otherwise have been. The dress of the working classes and soldiers consisted of little more than the traditional fig-leaf—a single linen garment, a short tunic reaching to the knee, and tied around the waist. Men and women dressed alike. Their food consisted of bread made of ground millet, or, as a substitute, manna, a little fruit and occasionally a fish. In contrast with this was the food and clothing of the rich. They wore elaborate, sleeveless gowns, flounced and fringed, reaching from the shoulders to the feet, and confined at the waist by an elaborate girdle. Sandals, richly worked, protected their feet. A high, mitre-like headpiece, or a cap richly ornamented, covered their heads. The dress of the women differed but little from that of the men. Striped or fringed gowns, with sleeves, formed the chief article of clothing, and over this a short cloak, open in front and falling over the arms, confined by an ornamental belt passing diagonally across the breast. Their food consisted of wheat bread, all the various fruits and vegetables, meats of all kinds, wines in abundance, and everything that could tempt the appetite or inflame the passions. The wonderful advancement of the workers in industrial arts served but to further enervate the patri- cians.

Slavery in the Assyrian monarchy reaches almost to prehistoric times. The first slaves were probably prisoners of war. In the later monarchy, the ranks of the slaves were recruited from captives taken in battle, and insolvent debtors who were sold into perpetual slavery. The master was not compelled by law to care for sick or wounded slaves, and when unfit for service, they were generally allowed to die of starvation. It was common, in their wars of conquest, to transport whole tribes into a slavery from which death alone could relieve them. These prisoners were usually employed in the construction of canals or other public works.

Twelve hundred years elapse from the reign of Semiramis, and we find the throne of Assyria occupied by the weak and effeminate Sardan- apalus. Under Tiglath Pileser the Babylonians revolted. They besieged Nineveh for two years until in despair the depraved king fired his palace

and destroyed himself, his wives and his family. Thus ended the first Assyrian empire. Arbaces, the governor of Media, who had joined the Babylonians in the revolt, reëstablished the empire, and it continued to flourish for more than a hundred years. The city of Babylon was then besieged by the Persians. They diverted the river Euphrates from its course into the lake constructed by Nitocris, and captured the city while its inhabitants were celebrating a feast. Babylon then became a province of Persia, and the individuality of this ancient people became merged into that of their conquerors.

For the past three thousand years, the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races, But in the early ages, Mizriam and Nimrod, both descendants of Ham, were the leaders in the pathway of civilization. That the region between the Tigris and Euphrates was among the first countries inhabited by man is affirmed by the Bible and generally allowed by writers of ancient history.

Had it not been for the corruption and unjust taxation which prevailed in Babylon and other nations of the period, the lot of the working classes, with the exception of slaves and captives, would have been measurably satisfactory. The soil, climate and productions were all that could be desired to make a happy and contented people, but the licentiousness and degraded passions of the rulers rendered their subjects miserable. The once fertile plains of Chaldea are now sterile, and all that remains of the great cities, palaces and temples are vast piles of brickwork that serve as quarries for other cities. Thus have they passed away "like a tale that is told."

CHAPTER IV.—PERSIA.

THE FIRST HISTORIC PEOPLE — THE PERSIAN WARS — THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF PERSIA — ORIGIN OF THE RACE — THEIR MIGRATION — AMALGAMATED WITH THE TARTARS — EARLY SOCIAL DIVISIONS — PRIESTS, SOLDIERS AND FARMERS — SOCIAL EQUALITY OF ALL CLASSES — SERFDOM AND SLAVERY — DEVELOPMENT OF CLASS DISTINCTIONS UNDER CYRUS — AGRICULTURE AND STOCK-RAISING THE PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS — AGRICULTURE COMMENDED BY THEIR RELIGION AND FOSTERED BY THE GOVERNMENT — PRIESTS AND PRINCES AS FARMERS — FARMING METHODS — LANDSCAPE GARDENING AND HORTICULTURE — EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE KING — EXTORTIONS OF THE GOVERNORS — THE SOIL OF MEDIA AND PERSIA — IRRIGATION — FISHING PRIVILEGES — CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES GENERALLY — TAXES AND LEVIES — TRAINING OF CHILDREN — CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE UNDER SEVERAL KINGS — THE ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS — BUILDING — MECHANICS — CARPENTRY — HOUSES AND DRESS OF THE POOR.

THE ancient Persians were the Romans of their age. They have been called the Puritans of remote antiquity. The first thought is suggested by their glorious career of conquest and universal sovereignty. They have been likened unto the Puritans because of the simplicity of their habits, the severity of their moral code, and their daring hardihood of spirit. In the course of empire, this people are of peculiar interest to the thoughtful. "With the Persian empire," says Hegel, "we first enter on continuous history. The Persians are the first historic people; Persia was the first empire that passed away. While China and India remain stationary and perpetuate a natural vegetative existence, even to the present time, this land has been subject to those developments and revolutions which alone manifest a historical condition." The ancient Persian monarchy was the first Asiatic power that came into immediate and influential contact with European civilization and history. With the desperate and sanguinary conflict between the Persians and Greeks began the mighty river of progress that has flowed in ever-increasing volume down the centuries. Then had the history of Asiatic power and civilization consummated in the empire of Great Cyrus. "A multiplicity of histories first met and commingled in that of Persia. The Persian empire extended itself over the whole of Western Asia, and into Europe and Africa; it drew together Bactria, Parthia, Media, Assyria, Syria, Palestine, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, Armenia, Thrace,

Egypt and the Cyrenaica. The voice of the great king was law, from the Indus on the east to the Ægean Sea and Syrtian Gulf on the west; from the Danube and Caucasus on the north, to the Indian Ocean and the Deserts of Arabia and Nubia on the south."

The Medes and Persians, or Zend-speaking Iranians, who subsequently destroyed the Assyrian and Babylonian empire, were a branch of the great Aryan family. Prior to the time of Cyrus the Great, this people consisted of twelve wandering tribes, who inhabited one of the provinces of the country since known as Persia. Their number did not exceed 120,000, and they are supposed to have migrated from Bactria, in the region of the upper Oxus. The aboriginal inhabitants of Iran were Tartars, and with this race the invaders are said to have completely amalgamated and fused. The only record of this event is that of the Zend-Avesta. In it nothing is said of conquest or subjugation. There does not seem to have been any conflict between the strangers and aborigines. Their assimilation was peaceful and complete. The Persian people of the time of Cyrus originated in these divers races. Their oldest records exhibit them as divided into three classes or orders of society—priests, soldiers and farmers. It cannot be said, however, that this social classification was like the caste systems of Egypt and India. The warriors and agriculturists stood upon the same social plane. Their book of traditions does not mention serfdom, slavery, or any other form of property in man. It would seem that castes or class distinctions did not develop until the time of Cyrus. The principal occupations of the people were agriculture and stock-raising, and this condition of affairs remained until the overthrow of the empire by Alexander the Great. Agricultural pursuits were commended and urged by the religious tenets of the national sage, Zoroaster. By him it was written, "He who sows the ground with care and diligence, acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by the repetition of ten thousand prayers." Agriculture was not alone confined to the masses of the people; it was practiced by priests, princes, nobles and soldiers. Improvements in agricultural methods were never introduced. Little was done either to lighten the burdens of labor or to render the soil more fruitful. Yet the industry, economy and patience of the farmers and other manual laborers of Persia elicited the respect and admiration of Plato and Xenophon. In the cultivation of gardens the people displayed much taste and ingenuity. The spacious terraces around Persepolis, as well as the beautiful grounds attached to the residences of the rich and noble, attest the interest and skill of this people in the beauties of horticulture and

floriculture. With this taste for the æsthetic side of agriculture existed a desire for botanical studies. As a result, the ancient Persians had a system of botany as complete, if not as logical, as that of Linnæus. Agriculture was especially favored by the Persian monarchy. The satraps were rewarded with strict reference to the degree in which that industry flourished in their respective provinces. The condition of agricultural industry in every district of the empire was inspected every year. The governors of those provinces wherein farming and grazing had prospered most during the twelve months were generously rewarded. The rulers of those districts wherein agriculture had languished were deprived of office. This interest in agriculture continued until the overthrow of the monarchy. The protection it received from the government, however, was one-sided and selfish. It was fostered in the interest of the ruling classes, and would have flourished but for the extravagance of the king and extortions of the satraps.

The soil of both Media and Persia, as a whole, was not fertile. The natural productions, with rare exceptions, were of inferior quality. In a few of the favored districts, vegetation was luxuriant; but, as a rule, it was only by indefatigable industry and skillful irrigation that the country was made productive. Under Cyrus the right of irrigation and the right to fish were controlled by the government, and sold or farmed out for the king by the satraps.

The condition of the working classes generally is a matter of inference. Conquered peoples were compelled to pay tribute to the king. There were other burdens, besides these annual and regular tributes, which were exacted in kind. The country was subdivided into satrapies, or provinces, and over each an imperial governor was placed. This governor was expected to extort from the people their annual tribute, regardless of the condition or capacity to pay. Not satisfied with the payment of this regular tribute, the satraps made irregular exactions for their own benefit. When the revenue of the king and the cupidity of the governors had been satisfied, little remained for the producer. From the downfall of the Assyrian empire began the dissolution of the Persian monarchy. Luxurious and effeminate habits were introduced, and slavery flourished. A native Persian was never held as a chattel on his ancestral soil; neither did political slavery exist until after the death of Cyrus.

The early Iranians were mainly agriculturists, it has been said, and lived in a simple and frugal manner. Their laws were excellent for the age. The public good and individual benefit were conserved by the rulers. The education of the children was deemed an essential part of

the duties of government. The child was not left to parental care alone, but was controlled by the state authorities. Boys of every class were trained in a uniform manner. Their daily life was regulated in every particular—the place and duration of their exercises, the time of eating, the quality and quantity of food and drink, and the punishments to be inflicted. Of them it was said: “They were taught the use of the bow and arrow, and to speak the truth.” Simple as was their system of education, it germinated those elements of greatness which culminated in the glory of the Persian people under Cyrus.

Under Cambyses, the father of Cyrus the Great, the government was despotic in tendency. In theory, the power of the monarch was limited or restrained only by the tenets and doctrines of Zoroaster. The people were taught to regard him as the incarnation of their deity, and he was the sole proprietor of the lives and chattels of his subjects. He disposed of both at his pleasure. Cyrus restored the people to a condition of comparative liberty. It was his object to stimulate manliness and independence of character in his subjects, and courage, resolution, prudence and civic virtue in his officers. The manners of Cyrus were republican, and his tent was open to all. Whole armies were entertained at his table.

The wisdom of Cyrus as a father was not equal to that as a ruler. Engrossed with the cares of state and plans of conquest, he neglected his own children, and left them entirely to the care of the eunuchs and the women of his harem. These persons, without character or intelligence, were unfitted for the duty devolving upon them. When his children were withdrawn from school, they were, with the exception of Cambyses, vicious, incompetent and effeminate. It can not be said that his son and successor, Cambyses, was incompetent; but he was dissolute and wicked. How his subjects fared at his hands may be inferred from his treatment of the nobility, princes and prominent officials of his realm. He caused the assassination of his brother Smerdis, the legitimate heir to the throne. He married two of his sisters, and one of them he kicked to death. He put to death one of the distinguished judges of the empire. The skin of this unfortunate man he caused to be made into a cover for the seat upon which his son was to sit and administer justice. In fact, from the death of Cyrus to the overthrow of the monarchy by Alexander the Great, a period of over two hundred years, there was little in the government of Persia to commend it to the esteem of an enlightened people. The sovereignty was not one of law, but of despotism. Willful tyranny prevailed on one hand and cringing servility

on the other. The subjects, coming into the presence of their king, were obliged to prostrate themselves. The king was divine, and his subjects were slaves. Soldiers served without remuneration. All men, of an age fit for military duty, were required to hold themselves in readiness for the call to arms. They obeyed with reluctance and were dispirited and sullen. They were wanting in courage and fortitude. It is recorded that one hundred thousand Persians, under Datis, a general of Darius' army, were defeated by nine thousand Athenians and one thousand Plataeans under Miltiades. Rebels were dealt with in a manner both expeditious and exemplary. During the reign of Darius the Babylonians revolted. A siege of twenty-one months ensued, when the insurgents were subdued and three thousand of them crucified.

The next king of Persia was Xerxes. He is distinguished mainly for the monster army he gathered together, and for the signal defeat he experienced at the hands of the Greeks. During his reign the condition of the people was deplorable. His mighty armies were but a multitude of slaves, and were urged into battle with blows and lashes. The masses of the people were plundered recklessly, for the benefit of the profligate king. The dejected and unfortunate condition of the Persian people is clearly implied in the famous retreat of "the ten thousand" Greeks under Xenophon. A mere handful of Greek auxiliaries successfully traversed the Persian country and escaped the machinations and endeavors of Artaxerxes II.

The architectural remains of ancient Persia indicate skill both in mechanics and sculpture. The prevailing type was severe and expressive of power. Persepolis, the great city of ancient Persia, contains the ruins of palaces that must have been magnificent and imposing. The stones were laid without mortar, but were so closely fitted together that the joints could scarcely be observed. The walls were built of gray marble, hewn into blocks from twenty to sixty feet long. A few of the gigantic columns, standing erect even unto this day, are from fifty to sixty feet high, and from twelve to fifteen feet in circumference. Their fluted shafts and elegantly carved capitals belonged to an unknown order of architecture. Their venerable antiquity and majestic proportions do not more surely command our reverence than does the mystery that involves their construction awaken the curiosity of the least observant spectator. In the words of a modern writer: "Solitary in their situation, peculiar in their character, these ruins rise above the deluge of years which has overwhelmed all the record of human grandeur around them, and buried all traces of Susa and Babylon."

The houses of the working people of ancient Persia were probably much as they are today. They were made of brick or of a mortar compounded of clay, chopped straw and lime. Timber was scarce, and in the construction of houses very little wood was used. Carpentry, as a skilled trade, did not exist, and the dwelling-houses were of simple and rude construction. The dress or garb of the common people consisted of a single cotton garment, and was of the same pattern for male and female.

It is true of the manual laborers of Persia, as of other Asiatic countries, that their methods of life and social condition have not materially changed in more than two thousand years. As they are today, so were they when Alexander conquered their ancestors of old. In a subsequent chapter something will be said of the working people of modern Persia.

CHAPTER V.—GREECE.

“THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE”—GREEK CIVILIZATION—SHEPHERDS, HUSBANDMEN AND ARTISANS—THE MIGRATORY PERIOD—ITS INDUSTRIES—THE HOMERIC OR HEROIC AGE—THE ARTS AND INDUSTRIES OF THAT PERIOD—THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARISTOCRACY—THE CONDITION OF FARMERS, MECHANICS AND LABORERS UNDER THE ARISTOCRACY—THE “DEMOCRACY” OF SOLON—PROPERTY THE BASIS OF CITIZENSHIP—ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY—THE PERICLEAN EPOCH—ATTICA REPRESENTATIVE OF GREECE—SPARTA THE EXCEPTION—THE SPARTAN CONSTITUTION—SPARTIATÆ—PERLÆCI—HELOTS—SERFS AND SLAVES—THE SLAUGHTER OF THE HELOTS—SLAVERY IN GREECE—ALL MECHANICAL ARTS PERFORMED BY SLAVES—SLAVE LABOR IN LACONIA, MESSANIA, CRETE AND THESSALY—HEEREN ON THE MECHANICS AND MECHANICAL ARTS IN GREECE—INDUSTRIAL ARTS DURING THE AGE OF PERICLES—AGRICULTURE IN GREECE—AGRICULTURE AND GRAZING IN ATTICA—WAGES AND COST OF LIVING—CLOTHING OF THE MANUAL LABORER—HIS HOME, FOOD AND CONDITION—MANUFACTURES—THE MACEDONIAN PERIOD.

“THE glory that was Greece”—the land of art, poetry and eloquence. The land of “Gray Marathon,” of glorious Thermopylæ, and “sea-born Salamis,” each and all forever glorious in the annals of man!

Speak of Greece, and the mind at once recurs to the “Age of Pericles.” From 480 B. C. to 430 B. C. was, for ancient Hellas, a period of marvelous brilliancy. Never before, nor since, in the history of man, has the world experienced a career so marvelous in intellectual progress, and so pregnant with enduring effects. During this epoch, the Greeks seem to have been inspired, to have been suddenly imbued with genius. Without premonition, and within the brief period of fifty years, the name of this immortal people became synonymous for all time with perfection in architecture, ideal beauty in sculpture, all that is consummate in verse and oratory, phenomenal political talent, philosophic acumen, patriotic heroism and military renown. Thus were the Greeks crowned with spiritual beauty. Prof. Curtis has well said, “With other nations personal beauty, with the Greek the want of it, was the startling exception to the rule.” And it may be added, this was but in accord with the eternal fitness of things, as though the God of nations, the divine nexus of the True, the Good and the Beautiful, would have all

things in harmony. Their genius for beauty was manifested in their language, which is without a rival as a work of art. "The whole language resembles the body of an artistically trained athlete, in which every muscle, every sinew, is developed into full play, where there is no trace of tumidity or of inert matter, and all is power and life." So much for Greek civilization. Its outer aspect does not concern us now. We are interested in the men who toiled in the erection of those structures that even unto this day bear witness to the intellectual greatness of ancient Hellas. We would speak of the shepherd on the Attic hills, of the husbandman who tilled the valley of the Ilissus and the lands of "hollow Lacedæmon," of the artisan who built the Acropolis, and of the mechanic who placed the stones of the beautiful Parthenon.

The history of the Greeks commenced when they separated from their Aryan ancestry. Then commenced the migratory movement that eventuated in their colonization of that little country they were to make forever illustrious. During this period, although they lived in houses, yet their pursuits were pastoral. Agriculture they did not pursue, but pastured flocks and herds, subsisting upon the increase. For weapons, they had the sword and the bow, and knew how to work gold, silver and copper.

Centuries elapsed, and we reach the heroic age, the age embalmed in the sublime measures of the blind bard of Chios. It is from Homer's immortal poems that we catch our first glimpse of Grecian life. In these resplendent creations we see reflected, as in a mirror, the social order, customs and habits of the prehistoric Greeks. The prevailing political organization was tribal. Over each tribe ruled a king. The monarch's power, however, was not absolute. It was limited and regulated not only by a council of chiefs, but by the deliberations and conclusions of a popular assembly. The Homeric poems say little or nothing of the condition of the mechanics and artisans of that period, such as the carpenter, the leather-dresser and the stone-mason. Some knowledge of skilled industry must have been then possessed by the Greeks. There must have been metal-workers, for implements of war were manufactured—swords, spears and armor. It would seem also that chariots were made. But the useful arts must have been in a rudimentary state. Spinning and weaving were household industries, and pursued by women. All wearing apparel was manufactured at home, and in the discharge of household duties and labors noble women and slaves worked side by side. Of the condition of the common day-laborer little is known, and that little indicates that his was a wretched lot.

With the increase of wealth influential and powerful families must have been developed. In time, as a result, the rule of a king was superseded by that of an aristocracy. The nobility were large land-holders, and leased their acres to tenant farmers. The social welfare and political destiny of the small farmers, mechanics and laborers were controlled absolutely by the aristocracy. None of the three classes mentioned could participate in political affairs. Some of the aristocracy were merchants and artists, but mechanics and artisans never. All manual labor was eschewed by them. Such was the condition of affairs when Solon attempted a reformation of Athenian institutions. He then established for Athens a timocracy, or rule of the wealthy. By virtue of his constitution, property was the qualification for citizenship. A man's income determined his degree of political privilege. This constitution remained substantially the same until the time of Clisthenes. This brilliant man was the founder of the Athenian democracy. The moneyed aristocracy of Solon were then deprived of their preponderating power in the state, and all free inhabitants were admitted to citizenship.

Politically we have been thus far speaking of Attica. The institutions established by Clisthenes in Athens remained substantially the same during the "age of Pericles." Of the condition of the son of toil in Greece we will make the Periclean epoch representative. In fact, it may be said that as was the artisan, the mechanic and the day-laborer in Athens under Pericles, so was he in Greece. In this, as in all else, Attica was Greece. To this statement, in some respects, there is, in the case of Sparta, a notable exception. Sparta, or Laconia, remained from first to last an oligarchy. The population was divided into three classes: first were the Spartiataë, or those who constituted the citizens of the state and enjoyed full political rights; second, the Periaeci, or Achaians, a class of freemen who were tenant farmers (of this class military service was required, but they had no political rights); third, the Helots—"serfs of the state, who were divided among the Spartiataë by lot, and cultivated their lands, paying to their masters a certain fraction of the harvest." Among the Spartiataë were distributed nine thousand lots of the public land. These landed estates could not be sold, nor could they be given away. The land descended from father to son, and in the event of a failure of male issue reverted to the state. Manual labor was forbidden to the Spartiataë. Their time was occupied in military discipline and the affairs of state. The Periaeci were the Achaian people or race—the aboriginal inhabitants of the land who had been conquered by the Spartans. Large numbers of them, compelled to abandon the arable

land of the valley, repaired to the less fertile hill and mountain sides. There, by terracing the steeps and slopes, they managed to eke out a scanty subsistence. But they were forced by the Spartiatae to pay to the ruling class, as tribute, a portion of their slender crops. The Periæci were not all agriculturists, however, as some of them worked in the mines of Laconia, while others were engaged in the manufacture of woolen and leather goods. Those of the Achaïans who were permitted to remain upon the lands that had been apportioned among the Spartiatae were by law attached to the estate upon which they dwelt, and were compelled to till the land they had once owned, for the benefit of their masters, paying to the latter by far the largest portion of the annual products. So wretched was the condition to which they were reduced, and so bitter the oppression they experienced, that they frequently revolted in a vain struggle for freedom. From time to time, without provocation, and with precaution for an excuse, armed bands of Spartans would be sent covertly among the Helots to kill the more intelligent and vigorous of them. Sometimes whole districts would be depopulated in this way. During the Peloponnesian war, an uprising was feared among the Helots, whereupon the government issued a proclamation requesting those of the Helots who considered themselves worthy of the confidence of the republic to apply for manumission. Some two thousand of the Achaïan serfs responded to this request, it is said. A festival was celebrated; the poor victims were crowned with chaplets and led to the temple for emancipation. They were never heard of again, and the manner of their death is not known.

Slavery was a fundamental feature of Greek society, and was not repugnant to their ideas of justice and morality. Even the sublime Plato made the institution a part of his ideal republic, and it was said by the great Stagarite that a slave was merely a piece of property, a machine possessed of life. The first slaves were captives taken in war. Large numbers were probably acquired by foreign purchase and the subjection of insolvent debtors by their creditors. The condition of the Greek slave is said to have been much better than the Roman bondman. In Athens an inhuman master could be compelled to transfer his slave to another more kind and considerate. Masters frequently manumitted their faithful slaves. When this occurred the freedman usually remained in his master's house as a resident alien, but could never become a citizen. The liberating of slaves became more frequent as the free population of Greece diminished. Corporal punishment was frequently inflicted. For this purpose rods, thongs and whips were used. The value of a slave de-

pendent on his skill in some handicraft. In the Laurian silver mines, so great was the hardship and so deadly the atmosphere, that the owner of a slave received one-half of his value each year. Thus, should the slave live for three years, his master would receive as compensation one and one-half times his market value.

Almost every form of industry was performed by slaves and serfs. This was true of all the mechanical arts and skilled trades, mining, the manning and working of ships, and all manufacturing enterprises. In the latter even the overseers and managers were slaves. In Laconia, Messenia, Crete and Thessaly all farm labor was performed by slaves. Indeed few were the industries in Greece not performed by slave labor. As a result of this state of affairs all of the industrial arts were regarded as mean and degrading. Mechanics were excluded from any participation in public affairs. In the words of Heeren, all labors were performed by slaves "which are now done by journeymen and lackeys." "Some of the rich Grecians," he continues, "made a business of keeping slaves to let for such services. Labor of all kinds in the mines was performed by slaves, who, as well as the miners, were the property of individual citizens. The sailors on board of the galleys consisted at least in part of slaves. Most if not all trades were carried on by slaves, who were universally employed in the manufacturing establishments. In these not only laborers, but also the overseers, were slaves, for the owners did not even trouble themselves with the care of superintending; but they farmed the whole to persons who were, perhaps, often the overseers also, and from whom they received a certain rent, according to the number of slaves which they were obliged to keep undiminished. * * *

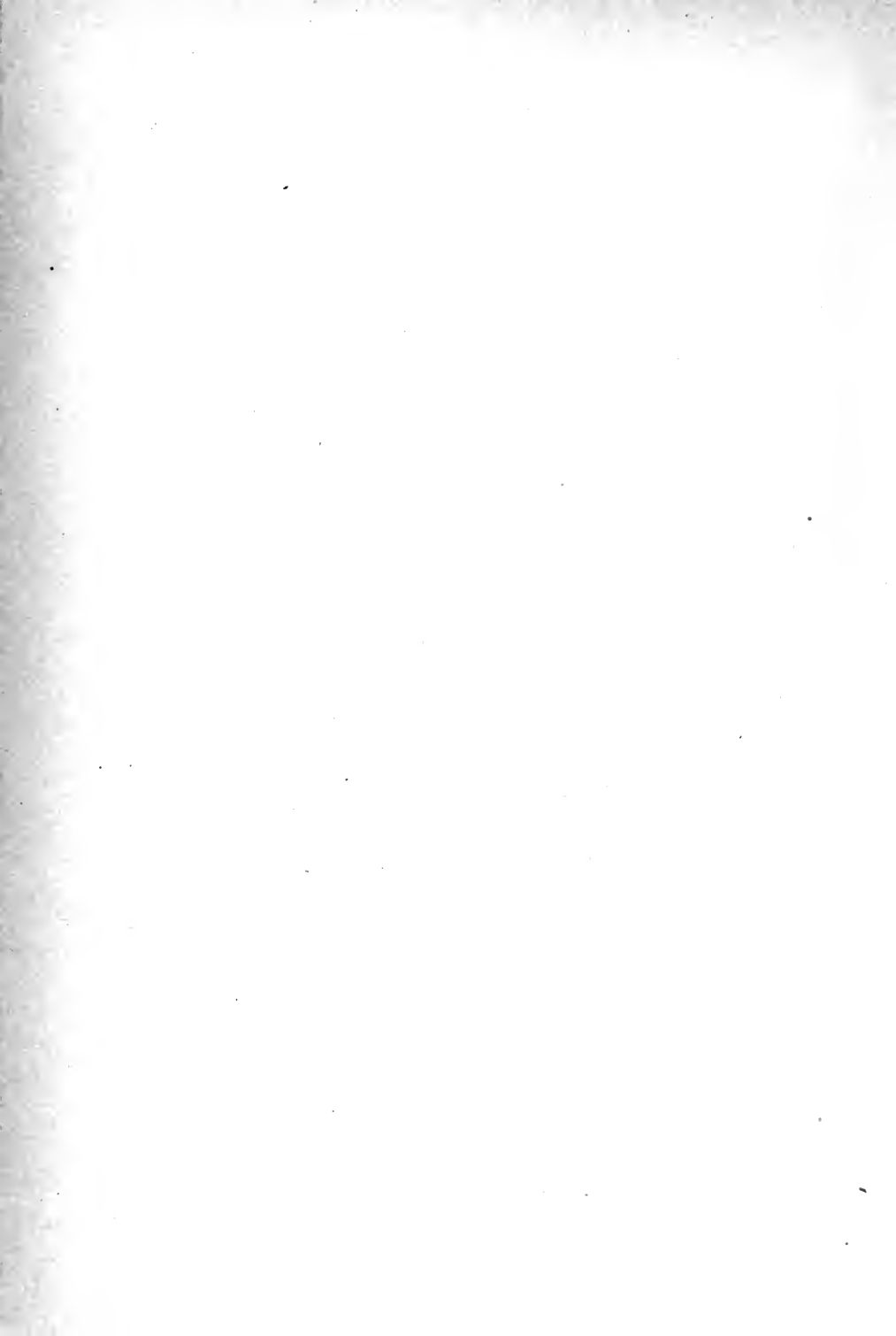
If we put all this together we shall see how limited were the branches of industry which remained for the free. But the most unavoidable and at the same time the most important consequence of it was that all those employments which were committed to slaves were regarded as mean and degrading; and this view of them was not only confirmed by prevailing prejudices, but expressly sanctioned by the laws. To this class belong especially the mechanics, and even the retailers. For although all mechanical employments were by no means conducted by slaves, a shade was thrown on them all."

It is safe to conjecture, then, that by far the larger number of the skilled mechanics and artisans who labored in Athens during the Periclean epoch, in the erection of those architectural monuments that are famous even unto this day, were slaves. First is the Parthenon, the superb structure that crowned the Acropolis. This edifice is the most



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Bureau of Labor Statistics.**



beautiful example of Greek architecture. It was of Pentelic marble, and was 190 feet long by 170 feet broad. It was adorned with 46 Doric columns. The work was designed by Phidias, and was executed by Ictinus and Calliocrates. It was exquisitely embellished with bas-reliefs and statues. Within was a colossal statue of Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, constructed of crystal and ivory, and holding a golden shield. Second in importance to the Parthenon should be mentioned the Erechtheum and the Propylæa. The first was a temple; the second was the entrance to the Acropolis. The Propylæa was built at an expense of more than two millions of dollars. Sixty huge marble steps formed the approach, which were seventy feet in breadth. The central hall was 60 feet in breadth, 44 feet long and 39 feet high. The ceiling was of marble, and was supported by a series of columns 29 feet high and 5 feet in diameter. Second to none in excellence of design and beauty of finish was the temple erected in honor of Theseus, their national hero. The Theseum was constructed of Pentelic marble, and was surrounded by 34 beautiful Doric columns.

Plutarch has written of Athens, during the age of Pericles, as follows: "That which gave most pleasure and ornament to the city of Athens, and the greatest admiration and even astonishment to all strangers, and that which now is Greece's only evidence that the power she boasts of and her ancient wealth are no romance or idle story, was his [Pericles'] construction of the public and sacred buildings. The materials were stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress wood; and the arts or trades that wrought and fashioned them were smiths and carpenters, molders, founders and braziers, stone-cutters, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory-workers, painters, embroiderers, turners; those again that conveyed them to the town for use, merchants, and mariners, and ship-masters by sea; and by land, cartwrights, cattle-breeders, wagoners, rope-makers, shoe-makers and leather-dressers, robe-makers and miners. As then the works grew up, no less stately in size than exquisite in form, the workmen striving to outvie the material and the design with the beauty of their workmanship, yet the most wonderful thing of all was the rapidity of their execution. Undertakings, any one of which, singly, might have required, it is thought, for their completion, several successions and ages of men, were every one of them accomplished in the height and prime of one man's political service."

What a pen picture is this of the industrial arts and of the artisans of that time. Within less than a page of printed matter are grouped in graphic outline the industrial aspects of an epoch. Strange does it

seem to modern thought that men exercising such a diversity of handicrafts, working skillfully with such a variety of material, and erecting such magnificent structures, should have been mainly slaves. Some of the mechanics of that time in Greece were undoubtedly freemen, but the vast majority were in a condition of servile bondage.

What is thus true of the flourishing era of Greek history, as it is called, was also true of earlier periods. Under Pisistratus extensive internal improvements were planned, and the work performed by mechanics who were slaves. Marble statues and altars were erected, and roads and aqueducts constructed. After the Persian wars and the burning of Athens, every man, woman and child of Attica, capable of manual labor, was required to work at the rebuilding of the city walls. A fortified harbor was built at the Piræus. Athens at this time was connected with her seaport by walls four and a half miles long.

In this connection it may be said that many of the earlier statesmen and politicians of ancient Greece were averse to the mechanical trades. At other periods of Grecian history some distinguished men strongly favored the industrial arts. This was true of Solon, Themistocles and Pericles. But it is safe to say that at no period of Greek history, beginning with Solon and ending with Pericles, were the industrial arts popular with the aristocratic classes of the country. The more humble citizen, however, was compelled, as were also the poor foreigner and the slave, to engage in manual labor. Before the time of Pericles the son pursued his father's trade or occupation. In time this custom disappeared, and all persons, native as well as foreign, were encouraged to free competition. Works once commenced were hurried to completion. In times of demand, consequently, wages were high for the period. Particularly was this the case when Pericles was constructing the public works of Athens. As a rule, on the other hand, the wages were less than are paid in the United States to-day. In the time of Timon the agricultural laborer or gardener was paid about twelve cents per day, a common laborer eight cents, carpenters and artisans not to exceed fifteen cents per day. Even Polias, the architect of the temple of Minerva, received but seventeen cents per day.

These wages seem small indeed, but the cost and style of living of the time must be kept in mind. It may be inferred, from certain allusions and statements contained in the literary monuments of ancient Greece, that the cost of necessaries then was much less than it is to-day. It has been argued that the causes for this cheapness of the necessaries of life were the scarcity of money and the fertility of the soil.

The cheapness of commodities in antiquity, however, has been greatly exaggerated. For instance it has been said that it was twenty-fold less. But it would be nearer the truth to say that the average price was ten times lower than in the nineteenth century. It has been said, and is undoubtedly true, that house and farm rent were much less in Greece at the time of which we are writing than in the United States to-day. The houses of the manual laborer of the time were small and rude in construction, and mean in appointment. His bed was usually a few rags or skins thrown upon the ground; rarely could he afford the woolen mattress of the time. His clothing consisted of but one coarse garment, sometimes trimmed with sheepskin. The genial clime of his native land must have softened the hardships of his existence. So genial was the sunshine and so smiling the sky of his beloved Hellas, that he could pass the greater part of his life in the open air.

It cannot be said of Attica that the land was especially fertile. The soil was stony, rocky and uneven. Some wheat and barley were raised. All kinds of fruit were produced in abundance. In Attica the farmer was industrious and thrifty, cattle thrived, and a great variety of plants were produced, despite the poverty of the soil. Agriculture was commended by such men as Solon, Xenophon, Aristotle and Theophrastus. Agriculture was said to be "the most just industry, since its gains are not derived from men, neither with their consent, as in service for hire and in commerce, nor against their consent, as in war." It was said to be the most natural, "since every creature is nourished by its mother, and the earth is the mother of man." Finally the ancients praised agriculture because "it makes body and soul strong and vigorous, and adapted to war, while most trades and commerce weaken and enervate." Stock-farming received considerable attention in Attica. Large numbers of sheep, goats, swine, horses, cattle, asses and mules were raised. The increase of sheep and wool was favored by legislation. To slaughter sheep before they had been shorn or had lambed was prohibited by law.

Despite the fact that the largest number of Greek artisans, mechanics and operatives were slaves, many of the industrial arts flourished besides architecture. The goldsmiths of Corinth were excellent workmen, as were also the potters and weavers. Megara was noted for its manufacture of woolen tunics, which were exported in large numbers. The slaves of Megara were foreigners, and were treated with severity and oftentimes with cruelty. Alabaster vases were manufactured at Sicyon, and the earthenware and the gold and silver vessels of Samos were in demand.

It cannot be said that there was a material change in the condition of the artisan class in ancient Greece during the Macedonian era. Aristotle was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Writing of the mechanic and mechanic's employment of his time, the great man said: "In well-regulated states the lower order of mechanics are not even admitted to the rights of citizens." In the time of Philip and Demosthenes, prominent citizens were the owners of work-shops, manufactories and mines. These industries, however, were all operated by slaves. Demosthenes' father, at his death, left to his son a manufactory of swords.

It may be reasonably inferred that there was little or no improvement, either socially or politically, among the manual laborers of Greece, during the period intermediate between the death of Alexander the Great and the Roman domination. The democratic constitution of Clisthenes was swept away and an oligarchy of wealth was established, not only in Attica, but in the other states. If manual labor had so little to expect from democracy in Greece, what must have been the condition of affairs when the principle of monarchy and aristocracy ruled supreme.

CHAPTER VI.—TYRE, SIDON, CARTHAGE.

A PEOPLE WHO GAVE THE ALPHABET TO THE WORLD, YET HAVE NO LITERATURE—THEIR GRANITE STRUCTURES CRUMBLED TO EARTH, AND FOREIGN HISTORIANS TELL THEIR STORY—PHŒNICIA'S ANCIENT GRANDEUR—THE CIVILIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE THREE GREAT CITIES—THE FARMERS, ARTISANS AND LABORERS—ARCHITECTURE AND STOCK-RAISING—MINING—AGRICULTURE—SHIP-BUILDING—COMMERCE—A RACE OF ADVENTUROUS MARINERS—COLONIES AND TRADING-POSTS—THE MANUFACTURE OF GLASS IN SIDON—THE DYES AND FABRICS OF TYRE—THE SKILLED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF CARTHAGE—THE GEMSA—THE WARS WITH ROME—“*DELEND A EST CARTHAGO.*”

OF Carthage, the Phœnician metropolis, it has been sung in noble verse :

“ Great Carthage low in ruins cold doth lie,
Her ruins poor the herbs in height can pass ;
So cities fall, so perish kingdoms high,
Their pride and pomp lie hid in sand and grass.”

With the exception of the Chaldeo-Assyrian empire, the Phœnician confederacy is the only government of antiquity of which no vestige remains to tell the story of its departed grandeur. From squalid Sidon in the east, to the grass-grown ruins of Carthage in the west, naught remains to tell of a people who gave the alphabet to mankind, and who at one time monopolized the ocean commerce of the known world. Mournfully do the waves of the Mediterranean sigh a requiem for dead Carthage. Thoroughly indeed did the Roman conqueror do his work. Well did he execute the anathema of Marcus Cato. As the traveler stands amid the heaps of sand, mouldering cisterns and rude, unshapen stones that mark the spot where once flourished the commercial metropolis of antiquity, well might he exclaim with the poet :

“ *Delenda est Carthago!* Let the tear
Still drop, deserted Carthage, on thy bier ;
Let mighty nations pause as they survey
The world's great empires crumble to decay ;
And, hushing every rising tone of pride,
Deep in the heart this moral lesson hide,
Which speaks with hollow voice, as from the dead,
Of beauty faded, and of glory fled,—
Delenda est Carthago.”

Even unto this day there is a Persian empire, a Grecian kingdom, and an Egyptian government. Rome still sits upon her seven hills, and holy Jerusalem yet raises her walls and towers to the cloudless eastern sky, but of Sidon, Tyre and Carthage all has departed, for of these once great cities "e'en the graves are gone, and leave no bones." And over once glorious Carthage "is heard the mournful cry of Afric's desert bird."

Truly are these great people dead, and yet their spirit liveth. They were of humanity. They lived, hoped, despaired, joyed and sorrowed. Much has been said of their great warriors, kings and merchant princes. Little has been written of those nameless ones who toiled with their hands that their country might prosper. We will speak of the farmer, the mechanic and the laborer.

It is a fact worthy of note, that the traditions of cities alone have seemed to the ancient historians worthy of preservation. It is of great Nineveh, mighty Babylon and stately Thebes, of imperial Rome and classic Athens, that we have voluminous histories and descriptions, while of the lowly life of the farmer and herdsman, the toil of whom made these great cities possible, we are without direct information. So is it with Phœnicia. Her history, today, is little more than the story of her three great cities, Carthage, Tyre and Sidon. Yet surrounding these teeming hives of industry were fertile hillsides and fruitful valleys, tilled by patient husbandmen. Frugal and industrious was the life of the Phœnician farmer, and undoubtedly more prosperous and contented was he, delving on the sunny hillside or in the sheltered vale, than his weary brother in the crowded city, toiling early and late for a bare subsistence, and surrounded by pomp and luxury he could not share.

In superficial area, Phœnicia proper, exclusive of her African, Mediterranean and Spanish colonies, was one of the smallest countries of antiquity. Her boundaries, extending one hundred and eighty miles in length and ten to twelve miles in width, comprised a territory of less than two thousand square miles. Defined by the Lebanon mountains and hills of northern Palestine on the east, and with its shores laved by the waters of the Mediterranean sea on the west, the country was well fitted for that intensive civilization that had its manifestation in her three great cities. The broad coast, with numerous and spacious harbors, led naturally to the development of foreign commerce, and Phœnician ships found their way to every harbor of the known world. The growth of the merchant marine of Phœnicia was further stimulated by the skill and activity of the artisans of the country.

The people, the industry and intelligence of whom bore this country to the front of material progress, originally came from the borders of the Red Sea, and were of the race known to students of Biblical history as the Canaanites.

When the Canaanites were driven from the Promised Land by the Jews, about two thousand years B. C., great numbers of them settled on the coast of Phœnicia and founded Sidon, its most ancient city. Tyre, the second in age, was a daughter of Sidon, but soon eclipsed her mother in grandeur and influence. Thousands of galleys dotted her harbors and clustered at her docks. Her mariners bore to distant lands the fruits of her industry and the tidings of her growth and wealth. Her streets were lined with stately edifices and thronged with busy crowds. Her markets were filled with delicacies, and her bazaars stocked with luxuries. From its earliest day, the grand destiny of Tyre had been manifest. The rapidly multiplying population overflowed the walls of the first city, and after extending up and down the coast for a long distance, settled in large numbers upon a neighboring island. In time this island became a part of the city. During the reign of Hiram, who was contemporary with Solomon, upon this island were constructed vast public works. Thousands of slaves were employed in the quarries excavating and shaping huge blocks of stone that were to withstand alike the ceaseless action of the sea and the ruder shocks of war. It pleased the king to fortify his fair city, and for the purpose the labor of every subject was at his command. Huge piers, quays and moles were built on either side of the island, until it was increased to nearly double its original size. A wall of massive stone, towering at some points to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, was constructed about the whole, and, for the sake of additional protection, was carried far out into the sea. The granite moles and breakwater that skirted the shore assured to the mariner a safe harbor in the most tempestuous weather. These stupendous works, planned by the king, and viewed with pride by the aristocracy, were constructed by a slavish population.

In Tyre there were but two classes of society—the fortunate and privileged few, and the unfortunate and unprivileged many. The latter toiled incessantly, that the former might flourish. Assigned tasks beyond their powers, driven by the lash of brutal task-masters, and living in squalor, while on every hand were the comfort and luxury of their masters, it is small wonder that now and again the serfs arose in a mighty wave of rebellion, and rushed against the hired legions of their oppressors, only to be beaten back, bleeding, into serfdom.

The hand-toilers of the Phœnician cities were engaged in a diversity of industries, but the aristocratic rulers of Tyre most gloried in architecture. In their traditions, the Phœnicians claimed to have been taught the art of masonry by Cadmus, the mighty builder who erected the walls of Thebes, and then, going to Greece, introduced there the art of writing.

Thus was rendered possible the construction of memorials more enduring than any ever wrought of brass or built of stone. In character, the architecture of Tyre was more massive than elegant. The houses were built of huge blocks of stone, hewn into squares, and skillfully polished. Those who performed this labor—artisans, mechanics and laborers—were little better than slaves. Their skill and their time were the property of their king. At any time, and on any occasion, he could command their services, and their part was but to obey. It has been maintained that in architectural form Solomon's temple was influenced by Phœnician art, and it is known that large numbers of Tyrian slaves were employed upon that edifice.

But the constructive skill of the Phœnicians was not confined to architecture. Ornaments were required by the nobles, and so it became the part of some of the common people to learn the jeweler's art, that dainty bits of filagree in gold and silver, polished gems in chaste settings of precious metals, or engraved cameos, might adorn the person of the gay loiterer of the Tyrian court. The vanity and selfishness of the noble must be gratified, even though the artisan slept on a pile of skins in a squalid hut, and covered his nakedness with a rag of cotton cloth. Mining was an extensive industry with the Phœnicians, and thousands upon thousands delved industriously in the bowels of the earth to supply the artisans with the material necessary to their labor. In that time, however, mining was a vocation honored above most of the industrial arts. The miner was not a slave, but a wage-worker, or even a co-partner, for he received one-fourth of the product of his labor, as his hire. The miners of Phœnicia wandered even to Spain and Britain, and there prosecuted their work so vigorously that even to day may be found the remains of their mines, with pits, shafts and transverse galleries, showing them to have been, not only practical, but scientific in their work. Of the two great cities of Phœnicia proper, which struggled incessantly for commercial supremacy, Sidon was noted far and wide for its manufacture of glass. The fame of Tyrian dyes and fabrics spread to the uttermost parts of the earth. Even unto this day has the "Tyrian purple" maintained its fame.

It is one of the greatest obstacles to the study of a purely industrial people like the Phœnicians that they have no literature. A people whose lives are spent in ceaseless toil, to satisfy the rapacity of a merciless king and profligate body of hereditary nobles, have no time to write records of their daily lives. Most striking is this in the case of the Phœnicians, for, as the inventors of the alphabet, they gave the art of writing to the world. Yet so driven were they by the lash of their cruel task-masters, so constant was the struggle for life, that they had no time to use the invention of their illustrious countryman, and the art passed from them. They were compelled by their monarchs to labor in the erection of prodigious structures of granite, that the name of the royal builder might endure forever. Years rolled by; the granite crumbled and became as the earth, while the papyrus rolls of Egypt, or the palimpsest of the humble Greek or Roman poet, brings down to the latest ages the names of the wiser monarchs, whose subjects led the lives of men, not of beasts of burden.

But for descriptions of the Phœnicians we must go to works of foreign authors. The Hebrew prophet Ezekiel, in 588 B. C., penned a graphic description of the glory of Tyre: "O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty! thy borders are in the midst of the seas. Thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy boards of the fir-trees of Semir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee. The oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, and out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linen with embroidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isle of Elishah was that which covered thee. All the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise. * * * Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches, with silver, iron, tin and lead, they traded in thy fairs. * * * They traded the persons of men, and vessels of brass in thy markets. The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market and thou wast replenished and made very glorious in the midst of the seas."

By this description, as well as by the works of classic authors of antiquity, we learn of the extended commercial relations of the Phœnicians. The navigators who directed the course of the ships of Tyre from port to port were higher in social rank than those who labored that the galleys might be laden with Phœnician manufactures. The sailor's vocation, like that of the miner, was more honored than the labors of those who dwelt within the walls of the cities and toiled inde-

fatigably at the behest of their masters. Many of the navigators owned the vessels under their command ; others shared in the profits of the successful cruise, and were thus elevated above the slave, or even the wage-worker. The coasting vessels were ordinarily galleys, and were propelled by oars in the hands of slaves, and the sails were relied upon only for occasional aid. The life of these galley slaves was wretched in the extreme. With the coarsest of fare, dirty water to drink, and destitute of clothing, they toiled incessantly without remuneration. Straining hour after hour at heavy oars, urged to their task by the lash of brutal overseers, who paced up and down the deck, whip in hand, striking viciously and indiscriminately at the weary, the sick and the aged, the miserable galley slaves were deprived of all save the semblance of humanity.

In government, each of the three Phœnician cities, Tyre, Sidon and Carthage, was independent, though each exerted itself to reach such a plane of prosperity and power as would give it the preponderating influence at the place of joint meeting, called Tripolis. In form of government each was monarchical. The royal succession, however, was not hereditary, and was conditioned by the power of the people (the aristocracy), who could successfully protest against the accession to the throne of the heir apparent. In Tyre existed an hereditary and powerful aristocracy. In case of a vacancy occurring in the royal succession, this body would elect some of their own number as *suffetes*, or judges, to rule during the interregnum. The mechanics, the artisans and the laborers — all those who toiled with their hands that their country might prosper — had absolutely no voice in the ruling of the state of which they were the very foundation.

The extensive foreign trade of Phœnicia and the race of hardy and adventurous mariners, trained in her merchant ships, led naturally to the establishment, at available points along the Mediterranean, of colonies, or foreign trading-posts. Traces of the presence of Phœnician mariners and the works of Phœnician artisans may be found today in Sicily, Malta, France and Spain. Trading-stations were also established at Rhodes, Cyprus, Sardinia, Crete, northern Africa. To these points went the merchants of Tyre and Sidon with their cargoes of gold and silver ornaments, their cunning handiwork in the baser metals, their soft fabrics and rich dye-stuffs. The people of those remote countries flocked to the markets thus afforded, bringing their raw material in exchange for Phœnician manufactures. The establishment by Tyre of such a trading-post on the northern coast of Africa, near the site of

modern Tunis, led to the growth of that great city Carthage, equally renowned in war and commerce, praised in prose and sung in verse.

The early history of Carthage is shrouded in obscurity. It is from the picturesque story of Dido and Æneas, told in the flowing verse of Virgil, we alone can learn anything of the root of that contention between the Carthaginians and the Romans which resulted in the total destruction of the Phœnician city, fulfilling literally Cato's grim prophecy: "Delenda est Carthago."

Founded as a trading-post, about the middle of the ninth century B. C., Carthage soon outstripped the mother city, Tyre. Her ships flocked in every port of the blue Mediterranean. Large factories arose in all quarters of the city, and throngs of artisans filled her streets. Founded as a market for Phœnician wares and manufactures, Carthage soon excelled in diversity and excellence of products the cities of the older country. No student of the forces of civilization can for a moment doubt that this marvelous growth was due to the wise and liberal government which, while recognizing the necessity then existing for a strongly centralized constitution, nevertheless granted to the people that proportion of representation in the ruling of the state which should inspire them with feelings of independence and responsibility for the public weal.

In form the government was at once monarchical, oligarchical and democratic. At its head were two chief magistrates, *suffetes*, or kings, who were elected by the aristocracy from the numbers of the nobles. The great council, senate, or *synkletos*, was a large legislative body, whose members were chosen from the ranks of the aristocracy, and from this body was chosen a supreme legislative body of one hundred members, known as the *Gemisia*. The third branch of the government was a council of one hundred and four members, chosen by the plebeians, from their own ranks, and whose duties were legislative and judicial. The one condition of eligibility for this council was irreproachable character. To sit with this august body was the highest ambition of every Carthaginian merchant, manufacturer or artisan, and the spirit of emulation thus engendered led to the development of a high grade of commercial integrity and industrious living. Often the final decision of questions of the highest import to the state was referred to this council; for, should the kings and the *Gemisia* or first chamber differ on any public question, the decision was left to the tribunal of the people. It is easy to imagine the public spirit of the plebeians vastly increased by this policy.

The life of the Carthaginians showed the same principles of separation between the rich and poor that prevailed in Tyre and Sidon, although to a much less degree. The nobles lived the lives of country gentlemen, dwelling in palatial castles on fertile hill-sides, beyond the city walls. Within the city were the teeming thousands of artisans and wage-workers of every grade, packed closely together by the contracted limits of the city walls. The city was built upon a peninsula, connected with the mainland by an isthmus three miles in width. The sides of the isthmus were rugged and hilly, and the city was encompassed by walls which on the landward sides were tripled. The outer walls were forty-five feet high and seven feet thick, while lofty towers, for the protection of archers and spearmen, rose at intervals of two hundred feet. In the two inner walls were built cavernous casements which afforded stabling-room for three hundred elephants, while above the quarters for the elephants were other stables for horses, with a capacity of four thousand, together with barracks for their riders and for twenty thousand infantry. Great stone docks were constructed for the reception of the ships of war and the merchant vessels of the proud city. The outer harbor was for merchant vessels, and connected with an inner harbor by an opening seventy feet in width, and across this opening ponderous iron chains were stretched for the protection of the war-ships which floated within. On an island in the center of the inner harbor was reared the princely mansion of the Carthaginian admiral, and from this central point that officer could look about him and see the fleet of two hundred and twenty ponderous war-vessels over which floated the proud banner of Carthage.

Such colossal works could not be constructed, even in the wealthiest commonwealths, without the aid of slavery, and accordingly we find the existence, even in the enlightened city of Carthage, of an enormous body of slaves. It was their labor that hewed the great blocks of stone and placed them to form the massive walls and docks of Carthage. The palatial homes of the wealthy on the green hills of the suburbs were built by the labor of the slaves. In return for his palace and for the fortifications of his city, the noble had but to give his slaves the means of eking out a scanty subsistence. Housed in huts, sleeping in heaps upon the floor, naked or but raggedly clothed, the slaves toiled away a weary lifetime only to be cast aside as useless when old age or illness made further work impossible. Their noble master had ended with them — let them die. Of the poorer classes of freemen we know little, save that they were almost as slavishly under the control of the aristocrats as were the

slaves themselves. When they multiplied too rapidly and the portion of the city set aside for their use became overcrowded, they were exported in large colonies under the charge of some nobleman, who hoped, by a few years' rule over a distant colony, to repair his fortune squandered in dissipation and idleness. Records are preserved of migrations of enormous numbers in this manner. On one occasion, a fleet of sixty warships bore thirty thousand emigrants from the poorer classes, who were bound to seek their fortunes in colonies even beyond the pillars of Hercules.

This custom of planting colonies, and the necessity for searching out available spots, led to the development in Carthage of a race of mariners no less adventurous and hardy than their Phœnician prototypes. Here, as in Sidon and Tyre, the navigator was a man of honored caste, and in some sense an officer of the government, for he was empowered to exact tribute from the people of newly discovered countries to pay the expenses of his voyage. In some cases these tributes deprived the people of one-half their entire year's produce.

The skilled artisans and higher classes of industrial workers in Carthage were accorded rights and liberties far in advance of those granted to the plebeians in any other country. Among them slavery was unknown. They might enjoy the fruits of their industry undisturbed, save by the periodic visits of the tax-gatherer. Before the eyes of every worker was forever the possibility of election to the *Gemisia*, together with all the honors and immunities conferred by a seat in that august body. His clothing might be such as his circumstances permitted him to buy, and nobles and wealthy merchants vied with each other in the richness of the fabrics with which they decked their persons. On the counters of the bazaars were heaped the products of the colonial mines and the looms and work-shops of the city. The houses of the wealthy were decked with gold, silver and crystal ornaments and furniture, and fittings of costly foreign woods. Literature flourished, not only among the nobles, but among those of humble birth as well. The treatises upon agriculture and stock-raising, written by practical farmers and herdsmen, were accepted as authority among all reading peoples. The Roman senate, mindful of the value of these works, ordered several to be translated into Latin, that they might be perused by the people of Rome. In their religious ceremonies, patricians and plebeians worshiped in common, and paid their adorations to the sun-god, Baal, and the moon-god, Astarte. The rites were degrading and even bestial.

And so this city lived, flourished and grew wealthy, the nobles and

industrial citizens working in a community of interests, and in many respects on a plane of equality. The slaves, though less in proportion to the total population of the city than in many other towns, were kept in that state of brutal subjection necessary to secure implicit obedience to the will of their masters. The nobles practiced the art of war continually and carried on an incessant warfare with the armies of Rome. The tide of battle wavered now to one side, now to another, until, in 146 B. C., the flood of victorious warriors of the Imperial City swept over the walls of Carthage and subjected its unfortunate populace to Roman slavery. Not one stone of the once magnificent city was left upon another, and, in the words of the historian Mommsen, "where the industrious Phœnicians bustled and trafficked for five hundred years, Roman slaves henceforward pastured the herds of their distant masters."

CHAPTER VII.—ROME.

EARLY HISTORY—PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS—AGRICULTURE THE FOUNDATION OF ROME'S WELFARE—FARMERS IN THE EARLY AGES—FIELD LABOR AND DOMESTIC OCCUPATIONS—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SLAVERY—THE DECAY OF THE SMALL FARMERS—THEIR DISTRESS—INTERNAL STRIFE—THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE DEBTOR LAWS—THE FATAL EFFECTS OF SLAVERY—THE AGRARIAN LAWS OF SPURIUS CASSIUS—MARCUS MANLIUS CAST FROM THE TARPEIAN ROCK—THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS—THE LICINIAN LAWS—TIBERIUS GRACCHUS ESPOUSES THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE—HIS ELOQUENCE—HIS POPULARITY—HIS PROPOSED LAW—VIOLENT OPPOSITION OF THE CAPITALISTS—DEPOSITION OF OCTAVIUS—THE LAWS OF GRACCHUS PASSED—HE ARRIVES AT THE SUMMIT OF POWER—HIS ASSASSINATION—NO HOPE FOR THE PEOPLE—THE SYSTEM OF LAND CULTIVATION—PASTORAL HUSBANDRY—EFFORTS TO MANUMIT THE SLAVES FRUSTRATED—ANTAGONISM BETWEEN FREE AND SLAVE LABOR—THE FARM IN THE TIME OF CÆSAR—SLAVE LABOR UNIVERSAL—THE EMPIRE BECOMES TERRIFIED AT ITS RAVAGES—THE ARTISANS—THE GUILDS—THE END OF THE EMPIRE.

THE primitive inhabitants of the Mediterranean peninsula, anciently and at the present time called Italy, issued from the same Aryan stock that peopled Greece. The races who preceded the Romans were the Oscans, the Latins and the Etruscans. Of these, the Oscans were probably the most ancient, and from them sprang several of the most powerful nations or tribes of Italy, such as the Sabines and the Samnites. The Oscans were a pastoral and agricultural people. The existence among them of a priesthood, devoted not exclusively to the performance of religious rites, but partly to the scientific practice of agriculture, shows in what estimation that pursuit was held. Their manners were simple, their habits industrious. They tilled their own ground and fed their own flocks. Before the foundations of Rome were laid, their country was in the highest state of civilization. Flourishing fields and rich pastures stretched to the ranges of the Apennines, and their hills and valleys were studded with innumerable villages. They were emphatically a brave, hardy, contented, and yet warlike race. To the latest time Sabine virtue furnished the Roman poets and orators with an exhaustless theme for eulogy, and many of the most illustrious patrician houses of Rome reverted with pride to their Sabine ancestors.

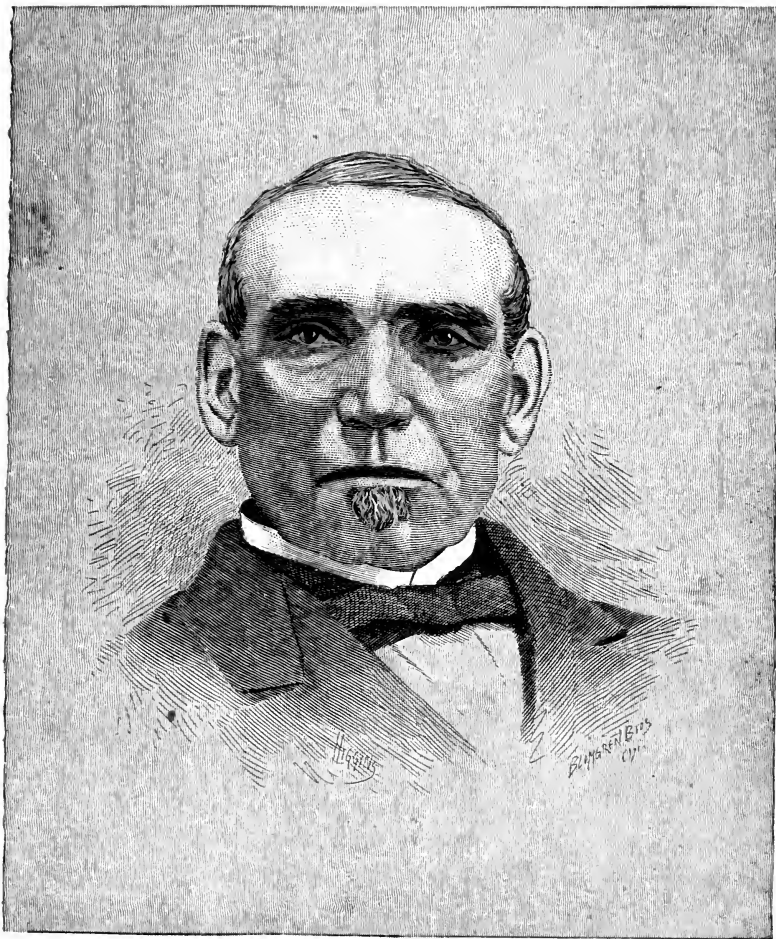
The Latins belonged, in all probability, to a race which overspread both Greece and Italy, under the various names of Pelasgians, Tyrsenians and Sicilians. They inhabited that district immediately south of the Tiber, called Latium. Their cities seem to have been built on heights, crowned by a citadel, their domains gradually extending around the central eminence. Little or nothing is known of their habits or civilization.

The origin of the Etruscans is shrouded in impenetrable darkness. An age which has brought to light the treasures which, for thousands of years, have been preserved in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, has not been able to penetrate the deep shadows which overhang the Etruscan race.

Such were the nations that inhabited Italy when Rome was founded, probably by a band of adventurers. Having formed matrimonial alliances, as represented in the tradition of the rape of the Sabine virgins, and also political engagements with the inhabitants immediately surrounding them, they soon assimilated and became "one" nation, with "one" senate, "one" general assembly of the people, and "one" king chosen "by" one of the two nations "out of" the other. The date of the traditional origin of Rome is B. C. 753.

Almost from the first moment of their arrival the immigrants who settled Rome seem to have devoted themselves to agriculture, which was always recognized as the foundation of the welfare of the republic. The name *Italia*, in ancient Latin, signified "a country full of cattle." The oldest of the Latin tribes had the name "Siculi," reapers; and another "Opsci," or field laborers. The early legends, creeds, laws, manners, all originated in agriculture. The oldest Roman matrimonial rite derives its name from "rye." As new territory was acquired, the Roman farmers entered upon it and secured with the plow the conquests of the sword.

In the early ages of Rome the farms were small, comprising from twelve to twenty acres, but thoroughly cultivated. A field was considered imperfectly tilled in which the furrows were not drawn so close that harrowing could be dispensed with. Most of the small grains were cultivated, as well as vegetables and fruits. The fig was a native of Italy. The olive was introduced by the Greeks. The farmer and his sons did the work of the farm. Slaves or day-laborers were not ordinarily employed. It was not until about the close of the fourth century of Rome that slave labor began to be extensively used in agriculture. The plow was drawn by oxen; horses, asses and mules were used principally as beasts of burden. Four times a month the farmer went to town to buy,



Richard Griffiths.

General Worthy Foreman of Knights of Labor



sell, and transact his other business. Rest from labor took place only on the several festival days, and especially in the holiday month after the winter sowing. At these times the plow rested by command of the gods, and the farmer and all his help, including the animals, reposed in holiday idleness. Slavery seems to have existed at first only to a very limited extent, and free laborers appear to have acted a very different part in the state from that which they subsequently performed. This was really the "golden age" for the farmer and farm-laborer in Italy and Rome. Agriculture was not only the foundation of their welfare, but was the main support of all the communities in Rome and Italy. The custom of tracing a furrow with the plow around the line of a future city shows how deeply rooted was the feeling that agriculture was the mainstay of the commonwealth. The Romans lost many battles, but scarcely ever made peace by ceding Roman soil. For this result they were indebted to the tenacity with which farmers clung to their fields and homesteads. They realized to the fullest extent that "the strength of man and of the state lies in their dominion over the soil." The people were prosperous and happy. To the legendary Romulus was attributed the law which prohibited the consigning of the conquered lands to pasturage, and provided that they should be parceled into small homesteads for Roman citizens. At first two acres, and afterward seven, constituted such a civic patrimony. It was the abandonment of this law which generated slavery and the ruin of the populace. The land was tilled by the hands of senators themselves, patricians though they were. If a patrician possessed more land than he could cultivate, he divided it among small free cultivators, or rented it. No servile hand desecrated the plow. And thus was the foundation laid for an empire that was to exist for a thousand years, and to become the greatest that the world has ever looked upon.

In the primitive period of Roman history the field labors and domestic occupations were performed by the various members of the family. The "servus," or servant of that epoch, was no more a chattel in the Latin agricultural family or community, than was the primitive servant in the tent of the patriarch, or than were the servants of the first colonists of New England, Virginia or the Carolinas. In these primitive households there was no place for a slave, for, from the earliest time, agriculture and household occupations were as sacred to the yeoman and peasant of Latium and Rome, as were the domestic hearth, the father and the family. It was in Italy, however, that moral subjection was transformed into legal slavery. The principle that the slave was des-

titute of legal rights was by the Romans maintained with merciless rigor.

The origin of slavery was probably an advance on the primitive custom of barbarism, which forfeited the life of the vanquished to the conqueror. It eventually became the rule to consider as spoils prisoners made on the battle-field, and they were sold as slaves, by the state, at public auction. Then came the law by which the insolvent debtor might be sold into slavery for life, and, finally, the power of the father or chief of the household over both the family and the servants. The father, be he patrician or plebeian, might sell his son into slavery. Not being permitted to marry or rear children, the slave population was not, in itself, reproductive. The Romans, therefore, began to renew their slave population by purchasing from the barbarian, and thus slavery became an established institution in regal Rome, ripened under the republic, and attained its full fruition under the empire.

With the establishment of slavery began the decay of the small farmers and free laborers. Taking advantage of the opportunities that are always open to the office-holding or governing class, the patricians began to acquire large tracts of land, holding them first as tenants of the state, and, in the course of time, as hereditary possessors. These large holdings were worked almost entirely by slave labor. The laws of the early kings were first evaded, then ignored, and finally annulled. The land of the conquered provinces, instead of being divided into small holdings and parceled out among the Roman citizens, was thrown into a common pasture and then appropriated by the rich patricians. Finally, by formal law, the plebeians were excluded from using any part of the public pasturage or state domains. It was claimed that by the nature of things it was a heritage that belonged exclusively to the patricians. On the establishment of the republic the same principle was insisted upon, and though the senate allowed some exceptions in favor of the wealthy plebeians, the small land-holders and day-laborers were prohibited from enjoying any part of the public domain. The rule allotting the newly-acquired lands to the poorer classes being abrogated, the land gradually fell into the hands of large holders and was farmed on an extensive scale with slave labor. Those who had already acquired small holdings were gradually dispossessed by the capitalists, who were thus afforded a lucrative field of speculation. They frequently left to the farmer—whose person and estate the law of debt placed in their hands—the nominal proprietorship and actual possession. This course was probably the most common, as it certainly was the most pernicious. Placed in this precarious position,

dependent at all times on the mercy of his creditor, all means of deliverance foreclosed, distress and despair spreading with fearful rapidity, the small farmers, day-laborers and middle classes had but little reason to hope for delivery from the existing order of things.

Had the aristocracy possessed common sense and governed justly, it might long have maintained itself in sole possession of the offices of the state. "But the short-sightedness of the ruling class rent the powerful commonwealth asunder, in 'useless, aimless and inglorious strife.'" The immediate crisis proceeded from the distress of the farmers. The strict enforcement of the law of debt excited their indignation, and when, in the year of Rome 259, a levy was called for an impending war, the men bound to serve refused to obey the command. Publius Servilius then suspended the application of the debtor laws, gave orders to liberate the persons already imprisoned for debt, and prohibited further arrests. These concessions induced the farmers to take their places in the ranks and help secure the victory. On their return from the field of battle, it was found that victory did not guarantee their rights. Appius Claudius, the second consul, enforced the debtor laws with merciless rigor; his colleague, to whom his former soldiers appealed for aid, dared not offer opposition. The following year the farmers were again called upon to go to war, and for the second time refused until their wrongs were redressed. A dictator was appointed, and, inspired with awe for his magisterial authority, the farmers submitted, and once more victory perched upon the banners of the Romans. When the victors returned, the dictator submitted his proposals of reform to the senate, but met with a united and obstinate opposition. When the news of this fact reached the army, which still stood in array before the city, the long threatened storm burst forth. The army abandoned its general and marched to the district of Cnestumeria, between the Tiber and the Arno, where it occupied a hill and threatened to establish a new plebeian city. This action showed to the most obstinate oppressors that any further opposition would only end in economic ruin to themselves, and they at last reluctantly consented to adopt the reforms proposed by the dictator, among which was the tribunate of the plebeians.

In the meantime, the fatal effects of slavery had permeated every class of society and every department of the government. In the early days of the republic, as has been stated before, the patricians continually increased their landed estates. By renting to tenants they acquired a power over the poor free laborers; by lending them money they got a claim on their bodies. Availing themselves of their legal rights, they

kept their *ergastula* or slave prisons continually filled with poor debtors, and from this class, for the first three centuries, were supplied a majority of the slave laborers. Foreseeing the disastrous results which would follow such a state of affairs, if allowed to continue, Spurius Cassius, in the year of Rome 268, submitted to the burgesses a proposal to have the public domain measured and lease a part of it for the benefit of the public treasury, while a further portion was to be distributed among the necessitous. He attempted to wrest the control of the public land from the senate, and, with the support of the burgesses, to put an end to a selfish system of occupation. He supposed that the equity of the measure, supported by his personal popularity, would carry it. But he was mistaken. The patricians and rich plebeians rose against him, as one man, and Cassius lost his life. His law was buried with him. Its spectre, however, haunted the rich, and again and again it arose from the tomb to confront them, until, amidst the conflict to which it led, the commonwealth perished. All efforts to reform the laws, in the interests of the working classes, were thenceforth futile.

A few years after the death of Spurius Cassius, another brave man was murdered for attempting to interfere with the oppressive laws of the aristocracy. Marcus Manlius was, like Cassius, a patrician, and, like him, distinguished in military renown. During the Gallic war he was the savior of Rome. Seeing one of his brave officers led away to prison for debt, he interceded for him and released him with his own money. He had done the same for many others. He declared as long as he owned a foot of land such iniquities should not occur. He sold the best part of his landed property and used the proceeds in relieving the poor, among which class he became very popular. He accused the patricians and senators of dividing among themselves the gold which had been raised to pay the Gauls. For this he was tried on the charge of high treason, condemned, consigned to the executioner and cast from the Tarpeian rock. While these attempts at reformation were stifled at their inception, the social disorders caused by the oppression of the poor by the rich became more and more extensive; debt and impoverishment were spreading among the small farmers with marvellous rapidity. They were powerless as opposed to the aristocracy. The plebeian tribunes were deposed, and once more the entire government was in the hands of the patricians, until the despotism and cruelty of Appius Claudius forced the people into a second revolution. A second compromise was made, by which the plebeian tribunes were restored to power. When the plebeian aristocracy had regained possession of the tribunate for its own ends, no

serious notice was taken, either of the question of domains, or of reform in the system of credit, although there was no lack of newly acquired lands or decaying farmers. Some weak efforts were made to revive the laws of Cassius, but these were unavailing, being opposed by both the patricians and rich plebeians. After using the aristocratic plebeians to assist them in crushing the working classes, the patricians turned on their tools and endeavored to drive them from the government. This crisis caused the rich plebeians to again seek the assistance of their poor brethren, their natural allies, and a union was formed between them against the patricians. Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextus submitted to the commons proposals as follows: First, that in all debts on which interest had been paid, the sum of the interest should be deducted from the principal, and the remainder paid off in three successive years. Second, that no citizen should hold more than 500 *jugera* (nearly 320 acres) of the public land, nor should feed on the public pastures more than 100 head of large cattle or 500 head of smaller, under penalty of a heavy fine. Third, that henceforth consuls, not consular tribunes, should always be elected, and that one of the two consuls must be a plebeian. Fourth, to compel landlords to employ on their farms at least as many free laborers as slaves.

These laws were intended to secure to the poorer people a share in the common property of the state; to alleviate the condition of the suffering debtors, and give employment to the destitute day-laborers. Abolition of special privileges, social reform, civil equality, were the three central ideas of this movement. The patrician class, as usual, exerted all the means at their command, in opposition to these measures. They succeeded in delaying, but could not prevent, their accomplishment. After a long struggle of eleven years the senate gave its consent, and they passed in the year of Rome 387.

Even at this early period of the world's civilization, the capitalists were expert in the art of avoiding laws that were obnoxious to them. They experienced but little difficulty, first in evading, then in ignoring them. In a few years the same state of affairs existed as did prior to the passage of the "Licinian law." Some temporary relief was obtained by the political successes of the Romans and the gradual extension of their sovereignty over Italy. The numerous large colonies that it was found necessary to send forth in order to secure that sovereignty supplied a portion of the agricultural classes with farms of their own, while the efflux gave relief to such as remained at home.

In the latter part of the sixth century of Rome, Tiberius Gracchus

appeared as a reformer. He was triumphantly elected to the tribunate. In eloquent speeches he prepared men for his projected legislation, and in those efforts he compared the present state of Rome and Italy with her old-time glory. He deplored the loss of her yeomen and farmers, and the lack of Italians for the legions. He said: "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitation, they wander from place to place with their wives and children, and their generals do but mock them when at the head of their armies they exhort their men to fight for their sepulcher and domestic gods, for among such number perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors or a sepulcher in which their ashes rest. The Roman soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great. They are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession." The arguments of Gracchus all pointed toward some measure for restoring a class of small landed proprietors that was fast dwindling away. In a short time his plan was matured. He proposed to revive that part of the Licinian law which provided that no head of a family should hold more than three hundred and twenty acres of the public land, but, to make the law more acceptable to the large landholders, he added that two sons of the family might hold half that quantity in addition, so that the whole amount of public land in one family might not exceed six hundred and forty acres. Whoever was in possession of more was to give up the excess, at once, to the state, and was to be compensated for any improvements that had been made on the land during possession. The public domain was to be vested in three commissions, elected by the tribes. It was to be parceled in lots of about twenty acres each among all the needy citizens, not as freeholds, but as inalienable and heritable leaseholds. The holders were to bind themselves that the land should be used for agricultural purposes only, and to pay a moderate rent to the state. It was designed that this distribution should continue from time to time, as occasion might require. The new features in this law, compared with the Licinian, were the clauses in favor of hereditary possession, inalienable tenure and the permanent executive, for the want of the latter the old law had been ineffective.

The greater part of the public domain having fallen into the hands of the rich landholders, who had occupied them for generations for a small yearly rent, they probably forgot that their possession might be

disturbed, and many may have imagined that they were the owners of the lands in fee. When the excitement and surprise that attend the inauguration of all great political or social revolutions were allayed, the voices of these landholders began to be heard, and their influence to be felt against the proposed law. They asserted that the rights of private property were being infringed; that while these lands had only been held by them on lease, these leases had been matters of purchase and sale; that moneys had been secured on them for the widows and orphans; that tombs had been created on them, and that if this law passed no man's land could be called his own.

The eventful day came when Gracchus was to propose the law that was to restore some share in the broad lands of Italy to the sons of those who had won them. The forum was crowded. Strange faces were to be seen everywhere—vinedressers from the hills, peasants from the valleys, and farmers from the plains. Gracchus arose. His speech was received with tumultuous and prolonged applause by the eager and expectant multitude. When he had ended, he turned to the clerk and bade him read the law before it was put to vote. But his opponents, the capitalists and rich landholders, had not been idle. They had exerted all the power of their wealth, their great names, and their influence with Octavius, the associate of Gracchus in the tribunate. For a time Octavius had been inexorable, but at length had given way to their arguments and had promised to interfere. So, when Gracchus bade the clerk read the law, Octavius stood up and interposed his veto. Thus the people's champion was left powerless. He dismissed the assembly, after announcing that he would again bring the bill forward the next meeting-day.

In retaliation for the action of Octavius, Gracchus laid an interdict on all public functionaries, shutting up the courts of justice and the offices of the police, and put a seal on the public treasury. Further, he struck the compensation clauses out of his bill and simply proposed that the state should resume possession of all public lands, or all lands held in contravention of the Licinian law.

On the day of the second assembly Gracchus appeared in the forum with an armed force. Again he ordered the clerk to read the bill. Again Octavius interposed his veto, and the assemblage was dismissed. But Gracchus still fought his battle, determined to win or die. The assemblage met for the third time, when Gracchus made a motion that the people should depose their unfaithful tribune, Octavius. The question was put to vote. There were thirty-five tribes, each having

one vote. As their names were called each voted for the deposition of Octavius. When the sixteenth name had been called and voted, Gracchus stopped the proceeding temporarily, and besought Octavius not to persist in his obstinacy, and not to compel the irrevocable vote. Octavius wavered, but, catching the eye of his rich friends, he turned coldly from Gracchus. The vote was then completed, and Octavius was deposed. The bill itself was passed by acclamation.

In a few weeks Gracchus had reached the summit of power. The king of Pergamus, dying at this time, by will left all his treasures to the Roman people. Gracchus immediately gave notice that he would propose a bill to distribute this treasure among the people who had received allotments of public land, to assist them in purchasing stock, erecting farm buildings and the like. He added that he would bring the subject before the people without allowing the senate to act or interfere.

Gracchus had so excited the animosity of the rich landholders that they publicly proclaimed they would impeach him when his year as tribune had expired. When the day of election came the first tribe gave its vote for Gracchus, and so also the next tribe. It was now announced by his opponents that the same man could not hold the office for two consecutive years. There was indeed a law to that effect, but it had been allowed to fall into desuetude. The assembly, however, after a hot debate, adjourned till the next day. Anticipating death, Gracchus came into the forum dressed in black, leading his young son, and this precious charge he committed to his fellow citizens. The adjourned assembly met next morning. The senate also met in the Temple of Faith and resolved on the death of Gracchus. He was assassinated, with three hundred of his followers, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. With him perished all hope of any amelioration of the condition of the people of Rome, and henceforth the population comprised only the capitalist and the beggar, the oppressor and the oppressed, the master and the slave. His brother, Caius Gracchus, who was elected to the tribunate a few years later, attempted to enforce some of the wise provisions of the agrarian law, added to some measures for furnishing cheap food to the people. He also excited the contempt and hatred of the aristocratic class, and the Roman senate set a price on his head. To avoid assassination he was killed, at his own command, by a faithful slave.

In the sixth century of Rome, the economic condition came into view more distinctly than at any other period. The system of land cultivation then established long afterward prevailed. Roman husband-

men applied themselves either to the farming of estates, to the occupation of the pasture lands, or to the tillage of small holdings. The Roman estates were, considered as larger holdings, uniformly of limited extent. The farm described by Cato had an area of about 150 acres. Persons who invested more largely in farming estates did not increase the size, but acquired a number of farms.

The grain cultivated consisted of spelt and wheat, some barley and millet. Turnips, radishes, garlic and poppies were also grown, and, particularly as food for cattle, lupines, beans, peas, vetches and other leguminous plants. The seed was sown ordinarily in the autumn, occasionally in the spring. Much attention was paid to irrigation and drainage. Draining with covered ditches was in vogue at an early date. The olive and vine were considered of equal, if not greater, importance with grain. The former was planted among other crops, the latter in special vineyards. Figs, apples, pears and other fruits were cultivated. The rearing of cattle, except as they were required for the plow, was not an important item of husbandry. Vegetables formed the principal food. But little meat was eaten, and that principally of swine and lamb.

On the estates which composed the larger part of the agricultural interests, human labor was regularly performed by slaves. At the head of the force was the steward, who was also a slave. He received and expended, bought and sold, under the instructions of the landlord, and, in his master's absence, issued orders and administered punishment. Under the steward was the stewardess, who took charge of the kitchen, larder, the poultry and the dovecot, a number of plowmen and common serfs, an ass driver, a swineherd, and, when sheep were kept, a shepherd.

It was estimated that an estate of 120 acres required two plowmen and six serfs; if the estate had orchards, nine serfs. An estate of 144 acres, with olive plantations and sheep, required three plowmen, five serfs and three shepherds. A vineyard naturally required a larger expenditure of labor; an estate of sixty acres, with vines, required one plowman and eleven ordinary serfs. The steward had more freedom than other slaves. Mago advised that he should be permitted to marry the stewardess, to rear children and to have funds of his own. Cato also advised that he should be married to the stewardess. He alone of all the slaves had some prospect, in the event of good behavior, of obtaining his liberty; in other respects all formed a common household. The slaves were, like the larger cattle, not bred on the estate, but purchased in the slave market, and when, through age or other infirmity, they

had become incapable of working, they were again sent forth with other refuse to the market.

The farm building was, at once, a stable for the cattle, a storehouse for the produce, a dwelling for the slave. Every slave, even the steward, had his rations delivered to him at regular times and in stated quantity, and upon these he had to subsist.

The husbandry of the petty farmer differed from that of the estate holder chiefly in its being on a smaller scale. In this case, the owner himself and his children worked with the slaves, or in their stead. The number of cattle was reduced, and when the produce would not warrant the expense of a plow, a hoe was used.

Stock-raising was practiced on a greater scale than agriculture. Estates of this kind were larger, the smallest mentioned being 480 acres; and this might be indefinitely extended, the climate permitting summer pasturage in the mountains and winter pasturage on the plains to supplement each other with advantage.

The prices of grain in the sixth century were very low, wheat averaging only twenty-five to thirty cents of our present money per bushel. This depression was caused by the government importing large quantities from countries cultivated entirely by slave labor. This of course benefited the capitalists of the time, at the expense of the small farmers, whose holdings ceased to yield profitable returns. They were thereby irretrievably ruined, and gradually lost the moral tone and frugal habits of the early ages of the Republic.

In the first centuries of Rome the slaves were treated with comparative kindness. They were regarded more as members of the family than as chattels. They took their meals with their masters and participated in the worship of the gods. Slaves used in agriculture were at first but few in number, and seem to have played a comparatively unimportant part in industry.

Plebeians, proletarians, clients and artisans, almost all of whom were Roman citizens in the first centuries, formed the bulk of those who were kept in the *ergastula* or slave prisons of the patricians from the fifth century of Rome. Frequently, when a consul wanted soldiers, he would order the patricians to open the prison doors and disgorge their victims. Slaves were employed in all the walks of trade and finance. The money-lenders and bankers employed them in their counting-houses and banks. Those who had leased the customs from the government employed slaves to levy and collect them. Those who took contracts for building, bought architect slaves. Gladiatorial shows, theaters, gym-

nastic games and amusements of all kinds were conducted by slaves. The work in mines and manufactures was performed entirely by slaves. In fact, those who were rich in money or land were freemen, all others were slaves.

The wars carried on by Rome with the Greek cities in Italy, and the wars conducted beyond the borders of Italy, were the great nurseries of slavery. In such wars free citizens were killed in vast numbers, and in their stead prisoners of war were brought back to Rome as slaves. These wars increased rural slavery. Slaves were imported as merchandise. Regulus brought 20,000 Carthaginians, who were sold into slavery. The final conquest of the Carthaginian empire and of Sicily poured many thousands of slaves into Rome from Africa, from Sicily and from Spain. Among those brought by Scipio were 2,000 artisans, whom he promised to keep as slaves for the state.

At the beginning of the fifth century of Rome, some of the masters discovered that a larger profit could be realized from free than from slave labor, and by making advantageous terms with their slaves for the purchase of their freedom, began the work of manumission. This did not conform with the ideas of the slave oligarchs, and immediately a law was passed imposing a heavy tax on all manumitted slaves; and this opportunity to free Rome from this great curse was lost.

Conquests in and out of Italy increased the wealth of the patricians and capitalists. The habits of luxury and contempt for manual labor, especially that of the farmer became general, and with this the demand for slaves to work the estates increased. Rome became a mart for slaves, as great as were Carthage, Corinth and Athens. When the Romans conquered Asia, the Syrians — who belonged to the Caucasian race — were considered especially adapted for slavery, just as the negroes were at a later date. A majority of the Roman slaves were of the Caucasian race.

The antagonism between free and slave labor grew fiercer with each year. The struggle between the large slaveholders and the yeomanry grew in intensity. The Romans now modeled their agriculture on the Carthaginian slave system. The country rapidly filled with slaves, who were treated with a reckless cruelty which was soon reflected in the Roman laws. The large landholders continually enlarged their estates by buying, or seizing under various pretexts, the small homesteads.

In the time of Publicola the small freeholders had been driven to despair by debts and executions, but now they were ruined by slave labor. The patricians and capitalists, who had formerly been mortgagees of homesteads, now became large planters. Thus in Rome, throughout

Italy, and in the conquered provinces, the slave trade increased in volume. In irons, the slaves were kept in walled courts and prisons, and it became proverbial that "a good master should show no mercy to the slave." The poor freemen flocked to the city of Rome, increasing to a fearful extent the Roman proletariat. For more than three centuries the best men of Rome made efforts to arrest the destruction of small freeholds by the large landholders and slaveholders. These efforts were the cause of internal strife and civil wars.

The captives from conquered cities and districts were no longer colonized as formerly, but were sold into slavery. In the time of Sylla, Italy contained 13,000,000 slaves. Slave insurrections were frequent. History has recorded some of them, and immortalized the name of the heroic Spartacus. In the Mythridatic and other Asiatic wars Pompey enslaved more than 2,000,000 men. According to a census taken by him, Rome, at that time, contained only 2,200,000 freemen. In the age of Cicero but 2,000 citizens of Rome owned landed property, and with it they possessed legions of slaves. Cicero maintained that only slaveholders should be respectable.

In the time of Julius Cæsar the farm-houses and farms of the middle class had disappeared, and in their place were the villas of the wealthy. Cæsar made an effort to revive agriculture and to encourage that industry in Italy. He compelled the Italian graziers to take, at least, a third of their herdsmen from free-born adults. He caused a revision of the Italian titles to land, by a commission of twenty. The agricultural land, belonging to the state domain, by virtue of the Gracchian legislation, was to be distributed among the poor free citizens, giving preference to old soldiers and the fathers of at least three children. After his victory over the Oligarchs and Pompey, he colonized 80,000 of the Proletarians of Rome. As usual, all his attempts, opposed by the capitalists and patricians, in the end proved futile, and small freeholds disappeared in Italy.

During the epoch when slavery flourished in the Roman Republic, those terrible cruelties which history records, and which even now fill the mind with horror, came into practice — slaves, chained in gangs, worked in the fields, and at night were crowded together in prisons. With hot irons a Greek letter was branded upon their cheeks, and other unmentionable cruelties were practiced. In the time of Cato the breeding of slaves became extensive; one slave woman would frequently nurse several babies while their mothers were otherwise employed.

Slaves were used for all purposes in the household of the rich Roman.

They performed the highest as well as the basest labor ; they were doctors, architects, literati, readers and amanuenses.

During the last days of the republic, and under Augustus Cæsar and his successors, it was common for the free yeoman or colonist to sell himself and his little property, in order to avoid being violently expelled from his household, or shut up in the debtors' prison. The imperial tax gatherer was wont to sell the children of the poor for taxes. Nowhere were such masses of slaves accumulated as in the city palaces of the patrician families and of the wealthy. Plutarch says, "in the camp of Lucullus an ox sold for a drachma and a slave for four drachmas," which is about seventy-five cents. But when the principal nations of Europe, Asia and Africa became united under one government and universal peace ended the plunder of war, the slave became an object of infinitely more value and his existence was made proportionately more comfortable, though his happiness still depended on the temper and circumstances of his master.

Augustus abolished the practice of branding on the cheek and ordered, instead, that they should wear metallic collars. A law was passed that a slave woman who had given birth to three children should be exempt from hard labor for the rest of her life. And that one who had four children should be manumitted. Claudius prohibited the starving to death of old and disabled slaves, who had generally been exposed on an island in the Tiber, upon which was a Temple of Esculapius. By the Claudian edict such exposition was equivalent to emancipation.

Finally, the empire became terrified at the increased ravages of slavery, and edicts were issued by several emperors — notably Adrian and Antoninus—designed not only to stay its further spread but to alleviate the condition of the slaves. These edicts encouraged manumissions, either absolute and immediate, or gradual, and conferred upon the emancipated the same municipal rights as were enjoyed by enfranchised citizens.

The large estates continued to increase in size and the condition of landed and slave property required new laws which were gradually introduced.

In the second century of the Christian era, we find the Roman law defining slaves "as persons attached to the soil;" but their classification was so complicated that it became difficult to construe them, and in the course of time they were all merged under the general denomination of "serfs." Serfdom now assumed various degrees of oppression and servitude.

While agriculture was the chief occupation of the Roman world, in the early ages, artisans were by no means an unimportant class.

Among the institutions of Numa, we find nine guilds or societies of craftsmen—the fluteblowers, or musicians, the goldsmiths, the copersmiths, the carpenters, the fullers, the dyers, the potters, the tanners, and the shoemakers. The fact that these guilds had an existence is evidence that all these handicrafts were not only conducted, but successfully and skillfully. There appear to have been no guild of iron-workers, which confirms the supposition that the manufacture of iron was a comparatively late introduction. Implements of war and agriculture were extensively manufactured of copper. Wool was spun, woven and made into clothing by the women of the household. The art of forging and welding the plowshare and sword went hand in hand, and that arrogant contempt for handicraft did not then exist that was subsequently entertained by the Roman citizen.

The institution of the guilds probably had the same objects as the colleges of priests. The men of skill associated themselves together in order to permanently and securely preserve the traditions of their art. Monopoly does not seem to have been an object, nor protective steps against inferior workmen.

There is no aspect of the life of the Roman people respecting which our information is so scanty as that of the Roman trades. We know that industrial art remained comparatively undeveloped up to the latter part of the sixth century of Rome. Trades were no doubt indispensable, and they were mainly concentrated in Rome. No effort was made by the Roman people to adopt such industrial trades as existed in Egypt or Assyria. The importance of Roman cloth-making is evident, and the profitable nature of the fullers' pits is attested by Cato. But of trades and manufacturing generally there is not much to be said, except that the Italian nation persevered in an inactivity as to manufactures that bordered on barbarism.

From the time that slavery was permanently established, the practice of employing slaves in all trades, mechanical and artistic, became universal. All public works were constructed by slave labor. In the construction of the Marcian aqueduct the government concluded contracts for building and materials simultaneously with three thousand master workmen, each of whom performed the work contracted for with his band of slaves. All free mechanics and artisans had to pay special taxes, and trades and handicrafts were considered beneath the dignity of free Roman citizens.

With these discouragements, it is not surprising that the mechanical arts made little headway in Rome.

From the accession of Augustus to the division of the empire under Theodosius, there was but little change in the actual condition of the working classes. Occasionally, feeble efforts would be made to ameliorate their condition; but several centuries of domestic slavery had gradually undermined the early institutions, and slave-holding oligarchs had destroyed a republic founded by intelligent and industrious agriculturists, artisans and yeomen. By the end of the third century, many who had been born serfs and slaves obtained their freedom.

During the reign of Diocletian disorders among the laboring classes were frequent. The fields were worked by "Coloni," who were peasants bound to the soil on which they were born. In times of famine, or pestilence, or foreign invasion, or domestic trouble, large communities would experience painful difficulties for which no remedy existed but in the indulgence of a government often as needy as the neediest of its subjects. The collection of the annual taxes was a constant struggle. Those persons of each community who were made responsible for the sum required were often plunged from affluence into penury. It became a constant effort of the decemvirs, curiales, or mayors of the cities, to escape the duties thus imposed upon them. If they succeeded in maintaining their own position it was only by grinding those beneath them.

In the story of the Roman slave is told the story of the Roman workman. In that proud commonwealth the arrogant Roman patrician and ostentatious, rich plebeian united in opposition to the welfare and rights of the working classes. Those of the latter who were not legal slaves were sometimes in a worse condition. For eight centuries there were practically but two classes in Rome — masters and slaves.

"The civil administration of the Roman empire may be summed up in one word, *fiscality*." The measures of every administration were aimed at replenishing the treasury, which was always bottomless, while its owners were cold, rapacious, cruel and insatiable. All the colonization of free laborers had for its single aim an increase in the income of the state. Tributes and taxations of every conceivable kind were imposed first upon the provinces and in the course of time upon Italy itself. These, of course, were principally supplied by the laboring classes in the cities and on the farms. The rapacity of the state was supplemented by the individual greed of the magistrates, from the prefect down to the meanest military or civil official. Locusts more destructive than the Roman officials never devoured the fruits of toil or the accumulations of industry.

PART III.

LABOR IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL SURVEY.

THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE—THE RISE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE—ISLAMISM—SARACENIC CIVILIZATION—FEUDALISM—TWO PICTURES CONTRASTED—CONDITION OF THE EARLY GERMAN TRIBES—THEIR CHARACTER, PURSUITS, AND INDUSTRIES—MANUFACTURE OF ARMOR AND WAR IMPLEMENTS—ROME—CONSTANTINOPLE—LABORERS AND ARTISANS UNDER CONSTANTINE—PUBLIC WORKS—ARCHITECTURE—CONDITION OF THE LABORING CLASSES GENERALLY UNDER CONSTANTINE—TAXES—BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION MOHAMMED—MOSLEM ARCHITECTURE—MANUFACTURES AT TOLEDO, AT DAMASCUS, AND IN GRANADA—DEVELOPMENT OF FRANCE AND GERMANY—SLAVERY GIVES PLACE TO SERFDOM—CONTRAST BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAMISM—THE CRUSADES—LORD AND VASSAL—PETTY WARS—CHIVALRY.

“THE middle ages,” so called because intermediate between the old and the new, a dead civilization and one now living, a sensual life and a spiritual life, a pagan world and a Christian world. “The dark ages,” thus distinguished because of the intellectual blight that settled upon European life, an ignorance and superstition that permeated society, a prevailing stagnation in literature, science and art.

For more than one thousand years had Imperial Rome crowned her seven hills. For the first five centuries had her armed cohorts, like a decree of fate, carried victory and dominion to the four quarters of the globe. For more than five hundred years had she been mistress of the world. Roman politics, Roman mythology, Roman jurisprudence, Roman philosophy and Roman arms dominated mankind. But the seeds of death had been hand in hand with the germ of life. Death lurked in the very causes of her progress. Power, not justice, had been her creed; might, not right, her practice. The material and outward she had

grasped; the spiritual and inward she had lost. Virtue had she banished, vice had she welcomed. The evil hour came at last, and by the hand of the despised barbarian, Rome was humbled in the dust.

The eye of hope was turned to the rising sun. In the east, on the banks of the storied Bosphorus, was the theater of a new power, a new empire. There clung the vestiges of the old civilization; there centered the hopes of the old world. Byzantium arose like a vision, stately, splendid and unique. Her domes, her towers, and her minarets, flashed in the rays of an ardent sun. The broad bosom of the river reflected her battlements, her palaces and her gardens; like an oriental dream, she filled the eye of the artist and touched the heart of the poet. An architectural composite of marble, silver and gold, was Byzantium. Here was fought the battle between pagan philosophy and the principles of Christianity, between pagan morality and Christian ethics; mythology and philosophy were vanquished, theism and Christianity were victorious. Forever hushed was the voice of the oracle; moss gathered upon the altars, grass grew within the fanes of the gods, the sacred statues were in the dust, the temples were in ruins. "That peace which passeth understanding" was preached to mankind and the Cross was triumphant among the nations.

A cry was heard in Western Asia, "Allah is great and Mohammed is his Prophet!" It resounded throughout Arabia and Syria, firing the hearts of men. Once more was Asiatic civilization to battle with European; once again, like a dying world in the midnight sky, was the Asiatic star to flash athwart the centuries, and then fade in a deeper darkness. Onward rolled the Moslem tide, the crescent in the van, until its waves surged at the base of the Pyrenees and dashed against the gates of Vienna. Like a resistless sea, Islamism threatened to engulf the Christian world. Such was not to be the decree of fate. In the east, back were hurled the fanatical hosts of the crescent; in the west, after a struggle of seven centuries, the intrepid Moors were driven from Spain. The one beautiful blossom of the Moslem tree was the Saracenic civilization; this diadem of glory was studded with jewels like Cairo, Cordova, Toledo and Seville. The universities were many, and schools were on every hand. Science and philosophy flourished, and the fine arts and *belles-lettres* were cultivated; time passed and this exquisite flower withered and died. Departed was the splendor of the caliphs; gone was the cavalier of Granada, save in song and story.

Chaos succeeded the dismemberment of the Roman empire; races existed, nations there were none. Society in Europe was one vast mili-

tary camp. The land belonged to and was monopolized by an armed and lawless aristocracy. The masses were propertyless and attached to the soil as serfs. Their condition was wretched. Christianity was at work, however, and a ray of light pierced the darkness. Chivalry developed and brought with it a better life, a more lofty ideal. It became a substitute for justice in the state, and for humane principles in society. Look at one side of the picture and then at the other. Here were the stately cathedral, frowning castle, waving pennon, graceful plume, glancing armor and the barbed steed. There was the toiling serf, with his roof of straw, coat of leather and the metal collar that was the badge of his degradation. Onward marched the Cross. Silently but surely wrought the spirit of Christianity. Fraternity and justice prevailed and serfdom was obliterated. Learning revived, liberty dawned, and the grand march of progress began that continues today.

No period in the history of the world is more interesting to the student of civilization than that era commonly distinguished by the phrase "the dark ages." Never has human society presented more varied and picturesque features. The gradual decline of the old civilization was rapidly followed by that state of affairs which preceded the development of the new.

From the Mediterranean to the German sea, and from Constantinople to the Pillars of Hercules all Europe resounded constantly with the clash of arms and the cries of warring hosts. Europe was divided into two classes—soldiers and slaves. The history of the period is but a calendar of wars, prosecuted with merciless ferocity. The sites and architecture of the cities, the manufactures and inventions, the literature and the lives and customs of the people of the middle ages,—all were regulated by, and subject to, the grim necessities of war. That workman was most valued who could most cunningly knit the impenetrable, yet light and flexible, chain armor, or with lusty strokes forge sturdy sword-blades fit to meet the rude shock of battle. Yet through this dark web of fierce contention were woven the delicate strands of the spirit of chivalry and profound faith in the deep-seated truths of Christianity.

A survey of the condition of the laborer in the middle ages must, for the earlier portion of that era, be confined to an examination into the condition and status of the laborer under the Roman empire. To seek for records of industry among those fierce Germanic tribes, whose remorseless march down the Italian peninsula swept the Western empire from the face of the earth, would be idle indeed. They were a nation of warriors, and to no end save war did they turn their hands. For

them no architect designed great temples, warehouses or palaces; the ring of the mason's trowel or the stonecutter's hammer was not to be heard in all Germany. Living on horseback, wandering from spot to spot, dragging their huts behind them, what need had the barbarians for architecture. Roughly dressed in the skins of animals, coveting costly apparel neither for themselves nor for their women, they were ignorant in the art of weaving, and save in their raids into more civilized countries probably never saw woven cloth. They scorned the defensive metal armor of the Romans, and protected themselves behind small shields of untanned hide, so that with them the trade of armorer, so honored among other peoples, was unknown. Their captives they kept as slaves, but employed them in their rude agriculture, or as camp servants rather than artisans.

In all the vast territory roamed over by the Germanic tribes, the ancient geographer Ptolemy could discover but ninety places which he called cities, and these, even, were probably only rude stockades built for the protection of the women and children while the warriors were at battle. Neither stone nor brick was used in their dwellings. Gold and silver were almost unknown, and iron was so scarce that its use was confined to implements of war. The one peaceful vocation, the one industry that existed among these warlike people, was the herding of their immense numbers of cattle, and this was left to the women and slaves.

It is, then, to the peoples of Southern Europe that we must turn to find evidences of the station held by the wage-worker in the social organization of the state. At the beginning of the fourth century we find the seat of government of the Roman empire moved from the historic city on the seven hills to the new city founded by the Emperor Constantine, called Constantinople. In the early days of the city, the lot of the artisan and the manual laborer of the Byzantine capital was prosperous in the extreme. Desirous of expediting the growth of his city until it should outstrip Rome herself, Constantine promised to all laborers, artisans, merchants, and other citizens who should come to the growing city, many immunities and privileges. His frequent gifts of corn and bread, wine or oil, money or clothing, were so munificent as to almost absolve the poorest mechanic from the necessity for labor. The first effect of this liberality was to bring to Constantinople and the region round about Byzantium great colonies of settlers from Rome and the adjacent Italian states. The city of Constantinople soon rivaled Rome in the grandeur of its architecture. Ponderous walls circled the city

about, and massive docks bordered the smooth waters of the Bosphorus. For the emperor himself was built a spacious palace and seraglio of white marble, brought from the famous quarries of Proconnessus. When the work of building the city was delayed by the lack of architects, Constantine instituted schools of architecture, and proclaimed rewards for ambitious students in the most distant provinces. As a patron of letters and of public amusements the emperor was liberal to the verge of lavishness, and in a space of time incredibly short he had built a city magnificent alike in architectural features and in the refinement and intelligence of its citizens.

But, with all the outward magnificence and luxury of the capital of the Eastern empire, in time there were developed beneath the surface the same general conditions of inequality and oppression of the laboring classes that were to be found in every nation of that time. The artisan and laborer of every degree was not only the subject of the emperor, but was forced to bear the insolence and oppression of a horde of nobles, soldiers and patricians of every degree. A distinct tax was levied upon moneys earned in trade or by any kind of manual labor. The diligent mechanic toiling hard at his forge or bench was forced to yield the officers of the revenue a portion of his gain. It was difficult for the most skillful and industrious artisan to eke out a bare subsistence, and the payment of these taxes became a hardship by no means set off by the occasional gifts of the emperor. A Roman historian relates that the approach of the fatal period for the collection of the taxes was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens, who were often compelled, by the impending hardships, to embrace the most abhorred and unnatural methods of procuring the sum at which their property had been assessed. Should the unhappy artisan be unable to raise the prescribed sum, he was at least more fortunate than the citizen of Carthage or Tyre, under a similar circumstance; for, though promptly cast into jail, he was spared the pains of the rack, the scourge or the wheel, and merely confined in a dungeon until the clemency of his sovereign permitted his release.

When Byzantine civilization was at its height, and the city of Constantinople had become the center of the power of Rome, there arose in Arabia a mighty prophet, one Mohammed, whose religion was implicit faith in the prophet and death or slavery to all unbelievers. To his standard flocked all the wandering tribes of Islam, and under his leadership arose a mighty people who carved out for themselves a civilization and an empire. They spread along the northern coast of Africa and

overran Spain. They swarmed to the eastward, and, subjugating Syria, were soon knocking at the doors of the imperial city of Constantinople. Defeated enemies were put to death or sold into perpetual slavery. Captured cities were colonized by the followers of the Prophet and the individuality of the subjugated race was lost in that of their conquerors. Literature they knew not. The great Alexandrian library was destroyed by the victorious Moslems because "if the books agreed with the writings of the Prophet they were superfluous; if they contradicted those sacred writings, they were pernicious." This spirit of fierce intolerance pervaded all Islam. In the fine arts they made little material progress, save in architecture. The distinctive feature of their architecture is the horse-shoe arch, supported on slender pillars. In the decoration of their buildings the Moors showed all the luxuriance of coloring usual among people residing in tropical and semi-tropical regions. The mosque erected at Cordova, and still standing, is a wonderland of delicate tracery and inlaying, and rich coloring obtained by the use of jasper, porphyry, verd antique and striped marbles. But the most famous example of Moorish architecture is the world-renowned Alhambra at Granada. This far-famed structure was built about the year 1273, and was intended as a palace and fortification combined. Volumes have been written in description of the exquisite elaboration of ornament lavished upon this structure. It consists of a boundary wall, with a multitude of interior courts and masses of buildings, but the external appearance by no means gives a foretaste of the beauties within. In this it is like the exterior of most Moorish buildings, grim and forbidding, the purpose of which appears to be to keep out heat and enemies, foreign and domestic, and to keep in women. Within these uninviting walls all was beauty. Halls, galleries, porticoes, columns, arches, fountains, mosaic decorations, all combined in a wondrous vision. Flowing water cooled the air and lulled the inmates with its gentle ripple. On the walls was lavished a wealth of mosaic decoration richer than shawls of Cashmere, wrought in porcelain and delicate plaster, and painted with variegated tints. Above hung a roof of Phœnician-like carpentry, gilded and starred like the vaulted heavens, while the doors and windows opened upon vistas of myrtles, roses, oranges and pomegranates, in which fruit mingled with flower and color vied with fragrance.

In the variety and excellence of their manufactures, the workmen of the three caliphates of Islam were second to no nation—the fame of their skill and cunning has come down to the present day. The swords

of Toledo and Damascus have never been successfully imitated by the most skillful workman of modern times. Each of these blades acquired great fame for its excellence, the keenness of edge and perfection of elasticity having been carried to the highest point. We read of Orientals wearing their swords around their waists, or even curled up in their turbans, so great was their elasticity; and swords have been made so keen as to cut a silk shawl in two while resting lightly on the edge. From Granada came saddles of durable material and rich trappings of silver and ivory. The fabrics from the looms of Damascus were famous for their fineness of fiber and richness of coloring. But beneath all this outward show of civilization and luxurious refinement there was still the dark stain of oppression of the workers, while aristocracy and soldiery filled the highest stations in the government. In all military societies, and throughout all military ages, the lot of the laborer is little better than that of a slave, and the condition of labor under the caliphs was no exception to the rule.

The rapid growth and wide dissemination of the followers of the Prophet stimulated the believers in Christianity to great activity, both religious and military. The sight of the proud banner of the Crescent gaining a foothold in Spain and encroaching steadily upon Constantinople, the stronghold of Christianity, filled the followers of the Cross with a holy determination to beat back the Moslems to their original territory south of the Mediterranean sea. The contrast between the civilization of the two powers was very marked, and added still more fuel to the impending strife. Under the influence of Christianity, France and Germany had advanced materially in civilization. Rome, rising from her ruins, became the central point of the Christian religion. Chattel slavery was disappearing, but was being replaced as steadily by a system of serfdom hardly less degrading to its victims. Arts, literature and science were encouraged, and adventurous voyagers were seeking new countries in all parts of the world, that they might plant therein the standard of the Cross. With the Moslems, on the contrary, all progress closed. Where the Christians sent out missionaries to bring foreign peoples by gentle means into the body of the Christian church, the Moslems sent out armies, and, troubling themselves little with the souls of their defeated enemies, reduced all captives to slavery, and re-peopled the subjugated provinces with colonies of the faithful. Many of these marauding expeditions were made into countries under the sway of the Cross, and Christian monarchs and knights clashed their mailed hands, vowing everlasting enmity to the followers of Mohammed, when they

heard of hundreds of Christian maidens sold into degrading slavery in Turkish seraglios, and Christian men set to tilling the fields of the Moslems.

At the time when this hostility between the Cross and Crescent was fast ripening into the deadly enmity which was to have its consummation in the crusades, Europe and Western Asia displayed most picturesque social phases and customs. In Asia Minor, Algiers and Spain were the Moors with their barbaric luxury, their mosques, palaces and seraglios, maintaining a military despotism over hundreds of conquered provinces, and training their young men to deeds of the most desperate valor, by teaching that he who died in battle went straightway to the bosom of Mohammed. Yet with all their barbaric fierceness, they manifested the most unremitting devotion to the ceremonies of their religion. From the towering minarets of their gorgeous mosques the voice of the cryer could be heard, daily, calling all devout Mussulmans to prayer; and as often as that voice was heard the Turk, be he in his home, in the street, or in his bazaar, spread his prayer-rug, and, turning his face towards Mecca, gave himself up to adoration of the Prophet.

Throughout the countries of Europe the church of Rome held sway. In France and Germany the lordly seigneur, reigning with absolute power over his thousands of tenants, maintained his priest and did penance for his sins. Hardly less fierce than Turks were these powerful lords. Ever at war with each other, they kept their vassals always trained to arms. When the lord of the manor had a quarrel to decide with some neighbor, all the vassals were called from their workshops or fields to enlist under his banner and march against the castle of the enemy. Their quarrels were fought out to the bitter end, and no barbarian warring against a savage tribe showed less mercy than these followers of the Cross. The castle of the vanquished one was razed to the ground; his vassals became the serfs of the victor, and his women were given to the victorious soldiers.

Yet this very state of constant warfare generated in the breasts of the warriors of that time a sentiment so exalted as to seem almost bombastic and ridiculous to people of this materialistic day. Invincible courage and the keenest sense of honor were implanted in the heart of every lordly knight. Their battles were prefaced by a courteous greeting between the antagonists, and the opening attack was announced by a flourish of trumpets, that there might be no unfair advantage gained by a surprise. Toward the women of the higher classes was manifested a consideration and respect amounting to reverence. The lower classes

were still regarded as mere animals, and their women as the property of the feudal lord.

While the minds of all men, Christian or Moslem, seemed thus given over to thoughts of war and bloodshed, there arose in Europe a movement that, rapidly gaining in influence, made of the fierce and turbulent lords an order of courageous, courtly gentlemen, ever ready to succor the oppressed and to yield up their lives in the defense of woman's honor. The growth of the spirit of chivalry was due, undoubtedly, to the feudal system, and it could have existed under no other social state. From the day of his birth a young nobleman was devoted to knight errantry. His early education was such as to make him a fearless horseman, a brave soldier, a skillful combatant with sword and lance, and a knight devoid of all fear. Nor were the qualities of the young soldier's mind and heart neglected: he was taught to be undeviatingly truthful, with a high-bred scorn for every kind of deception; chastity was enjoined upon him, for it was his part, throughout life, to respect woman and to protect her in an age of brute force. This respect and honor for women was the strongest manifestation of chivalry. The stripling preparing himself for knighthood was taught that it would be his part, throughout life, to join a mighty band of loyal gentlemen, united to protect the weak, devoting their swords to the work. When the boy reached the age of twelve, if an Englishman or Frenchman, he went before the bishop of his diocese and there registered a solemn oath "to defend, to the uttermost, the oppressed, the widows and orphans, that women, both married and single, should be his special care, and that nothing should be wanting in him to render traveling safe and to destroy the evils of tyranny." His apprenticeship to knighthood was served as a page in the service of some noble knight or lady. A knight who was noble, renowned, wealthy, was sure to have his castle full of the flower of the youth belonging to the families of his acquaintance; nor could he refuse to take charge of them. At the age of fourteen, or thereabout, the page was advanced a step and became a squire; this was marked by his receiving his sword and belt at the altar, to which he was led by his parent. All the customs of chivalry were closely interwoven with the forms of religious exercises, common at that day. When the young squire, led by his parents and followed by a train of kinsfolk and sponsor knights, stepped to the chancel of the Gothic church, the priest took the sword from the altar, where it had lain for consecration, and while the choristers chanted low solemn strains of music, buckled the belt about the lad's waist, with prayer and exhorta-

tions. The musicians then broke into gleeful strains and the lordly train filed out of the church and proceeded to the castle, where feasts and rejoicings were held, lasting often for several days. And now began the most severe part of the training for knighthood ; the weights he carried were made heavier. He was made to run great distances, to endure fatigue of all kinds, to leap on a horse at full speed without the use of the stirrups ; his games were chess and mock battles and attacks on miniature fortresses ; he was attached to the person of some knight and followed him to and fro about the country, serving him and fighting behind him in battle. Nor was his training military alone ; he was instructed in the art of playing upon stringed instruments and of making amorous verses ; he listened to the songs of minstrels and strove to emulate them ; all the arts of gallantry were supposed to be familiar to him. As the time for receiving the order of knighthood approached the exercises of the squire took on a more deeply religious character : he prayed, confessed and fasted ; he had sponsors and was considered as a new man. From a bath, typical of purity, he passed to a bed, emblem of his future heavenly rest. After he had slept naked, he was clothed in a white tunic, red robe and close fitting black coat, the symbols, respectively, of purity, of the blood he was bound to shed for religion, and of the death that awaits all. After a fast of twenty-four hours he went to a church, in which hung his new suit of armor, and there spent the night alone, kneeling before the suspended arms and beseeching heavenly guidance in all his knightly deeds. So great was the nervous strain caused by the long fast and the severe regimen and excitement of the few days preceding, that few knights passed through their midnight vigil without seeing strange visions, to them fraught with the deepest import. The next morning the candidate responded to a series of formal questions and was finally dubbed a knight.

During the latter part of the middle ages there were in Europe thousands of men who had passed through this course of training, and who wandered up and down the country in search of knightly adventures. Should war arise they flocked about the standard of the feudal lord or sovereign to whom they owed vassalage, and followed him to battle. At other times they rode in the highways and lanes of the kingdom in search of wrongs that they might right, dragons to slay, or beautiful virgins whose cause they might espouse and force all other knights to do them reverence. So strongly was the love of combat implanted in the knightly breast that two mail-clad giants, mounted on heavy steeds, would fight to the death to decide whose mistress was the more beautiful. Meeting

courteously on the public highway, they would pass a few words of greeting and exchange their names and titles; then would come a careless word from one boasting of the peerless beauty of his dulcinea; quick flashes back a flat denial from the other and a demand that the most noble knight prove his boast by force of arms. They separate a few furlongs, then with poised lance come thundering toward each other, meeting at last in deadly shocks. So perfect was their horsemanship that few were dismounted at the first charge. Often four or five lances were shivered against the coats of mail without unhorsing either combatant. But at last one falls to the ground, and, the other dismounting, the two lock in a deadly struggle. One is overpowered and lies on the ground gasping for breath. The victor bending over him forces a reluctant admission that the mistress of the victorious knight is truly the most beautiful lady in the world, and extorts from the vanquished a promise to go at once to the lady and do her homage in the name of his conqueror. Such was the termination of the duel when neither knight lost his life, but often one or both fell to the ground never to rise again.

In those days when forms of law were rude and easily evaded, when courts were prejudiced and subject to influence from all quarters, every man's prowess in battle might be made the test of innocence of crime. When a knight was accused of treason, dishonor or heresy, the question was rarely left to legal decision. Summoned before the king and his court, the accusation was read out in the presence of all the knights. The accused one, springing to the vacant space before the throne, would throw his mailed gauntlet with a crash upon the marble floor, and challenge his accuser to trial by battle. If the accuser were a knight, no course was left him save to seize the gauntlet and accept the challenge. If a woman or non-combatant, the fact was so stated by the heralds, and usually some knight, eager to win renown by successful combat, picked up the gauntlet in the accuser's behalf. Should a woman be accused of crime, she too could claim the trial by battle, and heralds were sent out to all parts of the kingdom proclaiming the charge and inviting knights to enter the lists in her behalf. And seldom it was that one or more champions did not appear to do battle for her cause.

But all these causes of knightly duels did not give the champions enough opportunities to show their powers, and there arose the custom of tournaments, which began as mock combats but ere long were fought with bloody earnestness. The tournaments were held at the court of some powerful king or lord, and to them gathered the knights and ladies of all the country round about. A spacious field was laid out as the

scene of battle, and around it were erected seats for the king, the ladies and the other spectators. The arrival of the king was the signal for the ceremonies to begin, and they were opened by a venerable chamberlain, who advanced to the king's box, and, breaking his wand, gave notice that the lists were opened. Generally the competing knights were arrayed under two banners, and from each of the hostile camps there rode into the field a herald followed by a train of trumpeters. After a flourish of trumpets, each herald made proclamation of the names of the good knights gathered under his banner and shouted a challenge to the opposing side. Then the knights rode into the field, and, forming two opposing lines, charged hotly at each other. As fast as a knight was unhorsed he sought out an opponent, and with sword and dagger the two finished their duel. Should a knight shatter his lance, he galloped to the side where stood his squire ready to provide him with a fresh one. The combat raged fiercely amid bursts of applause from the spectators. Knights of known gallantry were cheered on by name, and those who showed especial bravery in the combat were loudly applauded. All fought to gain the approbation of their ladies, who watched the varying combat from their box. The battle often raged for hours and was stopped only by the king throwing down his royal sceptre in token of satisfaction or weariness. Then the victorious knights were decorated with laurel wreaths, which they straightway hung on the tips of their lances and handed to their fair admirers in the boxes. When night fell a grand feast was held in the baronial hall, and those who had acquitted themselves so well in the battle were not behind in their devotion to the wassail bowl. The tourneys and the feasts often continued for several days.

Ridiculous as all this seems to the people of the present day, it did much toward lightening the grim reality of life in the dark ages. By wanderings about the country the knights doubtless protected to a great extent the people under the sway of vicious and cruel masters. The spirit of honor and probity awakened by the sight of so many noble gentlemen devoting themselves to the service of the right in all cases must have been one of the great factors that brought the world into the light of modern civilization. With the change in the thought and manners, with the abandonment of the ideal for the material, knighthood passed away, lingering longest in Spain, only to be finally banished by Cervantes, who in his romance of *Don Quixote* "lightly laughed Spain's chivalry away."

The most picturesque phase of the middle ages was the Crusades, as they were called. These wonderful convulsions have furnished an ex-

haustless theme to the historian, the poet and the novelist. Scott has given to the world his charming pictures of this great time, wherein the people of a whole continent were impelled as one man. Where is the school boy or girl who has not been entranced by the fortunes of Count Robert of Paris, or who has not thrilled at the successes of Ivanhoe and wept over the fate of Rebecca. The romantic figure of Cœur de Leon, the knightly king, looms upon the vision, and the eye is filled with the brilliant career of Godfrey of Bouillon, the heroic king of Jerusalem. In his "Talisman," with what wondrous power has the immortal Scott, personified the opposing forces of Islam and Christendom. Never before in the history of man was the whole Christian world agitated by one thought, and impelled to such deeds of valor, heroism and self-denial. Like the on-rolling waves of a boundless sea, did the armies of the Crusaders sweep over the highlands and lowlands of Europe. Saladin found his empire threatened by an innumerable host of fanatical and determined men. Peasant and noble, knight and man-at-arms, king and subject, priest and monk, pope and bishop, all alike, aroused to the sublimest heights of enthusiasm and resolved to recover the Holy Sepulcher from the profane hand of the pagan. What a superb spectacle must have been an army of Crusaders, in battle array, with rank upon rank of serried spears, burnished steel, prancing steeds, mailed and crested knights, and countless pennons fluttering in the breeze. The Saracens were found foes worthy of their steel, with their clouds of horsemen armed with myriad Damascus blades. The Saracen Emir, with his fleet Arabian steed and flashing scimitar was found by the mailed knight of Christendom not to be an unworthy or unequal foe. But it is not the outer aspects of the Crusades with which we are concerned. It is with their effect upon the Christian world; their influence for weal or woe upon the destinies of mankind. "The first character of the Crusades," says Guizot, "is their universality; all Europe concurred in them; they were the first European event. Before the Crusades, Europe had never been moved by the same sentiment, or acted in a common cause; till then, in fact, Europe did not exist. The Crusades made manifest, the existence of Christian Europe. The French formed the main body of the first army of Crusaders; but there were also Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and English. But look at the second and third crusades, and we find all the nations of Christendom engaged in them. The world had never before witnessed a similar combination. But this is not all. In the same manner as the Crusades were a European event, so, in each separate nation, they were a national event. In

every nation, all classes of society were animated with the same impression, yielded to the same idea, and abandoned themselves to the same impulse. Kings, nobles, priests, citizens, country-people, all took the same interest and the same share in the Crusades. The moral unity of nations was thus made manifest; a fact as new as the unity of Europe. * * * The Crusades were the heroic event of modern Europe—a movement at the same time, individual and general, national, and yet not under political direction.”

The political effect of the Crusades cannot be overestimated. The rigid lines of feudalism were broken, and former social and political distinctions weakened or obliterated. All classes of men, to a certain extent, stood on a common plane of sentiment and purpose; as Crusaders marched side by side, priest and monk, nobility and commons. The peasantry, although in general bound to the soil, were permitted without check to march by thousands for recovery of the Holy Sepulcher.

During the middle ages, that is, from the middle of the fifth century A. D., until the middle of the fifteenth A. D., the domestic or home architecture of even the nobility was rude and uncomfortable. The castles were gloomy structures, yet picturesque, with their donjon keep, clustering towers and frowning battlements. Imposing and threatening without, they were naked of adornment and crude in finish within. The cold stone floors were without other covering than reeds or rushes. The walls and ceilings were of unpolished stone, sometimes whitened with mortar, and occasionally hung with tapestry.

The dwellings of the peasantry, serfs and villeins, were squalid hovels of clay, turf, bark or logs. Their beds were piles of straw or leaves, and their food was of the coarsest character. The clothing of the serfs was of leather or skin, and sometimes about their necks were metal collars, upon which was graven the name of their lord. Many of these unfortunate people lost their liberty and lands by voluntarily surrendering themselves to the clergy as serfs. Famines were frequent in some parts of Europe, from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. At such times, driven thereto by the exigencies of their condition, freemen of the lower and middle classes would sell their birthright for the proverbial mess of pottage, and became the bondmen of their more fortunate fellows.

The basis of mediæval society was feudalism. It was a social system in which there was a hierarchy of lands in the hands of warriors. Society was divided into two great classes, suzerains and serfs. As has been forcibly said: “Feudalism recognizes two principles, the land and the

sword, riches and force—two principles on which everything depends, to which everything is related, and which are united and identified with one another; since it is necessary to possess land in order to have the right to use the sword in one's own name; and since the possession of land imposes the duty of drawing the sword for the suzerain, and in the name of the suzerain in whom the land is held."

The suzerain was the lord to whom allegiance was due, and to whom, in theory, all the lands of the realm belonged. The vassal was he who held the lands of his suzerain, and in consideration therefor, gave his allegiance to the lord, and held himself in readiness to bear arms in his interest.

Below the body of vassals, was the mass of the people. The vast majority of the people, whether tillers of the soil, artisans, laborers or servants, were serfs, and attached to the soil. They were not chattel slaves and could not be bought or sold. Throughout Europe, in fact, chattel slaves had given place to serfdom. One grade above the serf, was the villein. "They paid rent for the land, which the proprietor allowed them to till; but they were subject, like the serfs, to the will of the suzerain, and the constant tendency was for them to sink into the inferior condition."

In time, various forces combined in the overthrow of feudalism. The most important of these was the development of centralized monarchy, and the extraordinary growth of manufactures and commerce. Jealous of their powerful vassals, monarchs sought every opportunity to undermine their power and lessen their influence. With the development of the industrial era and the advance of commerce to colossal proportions, land lost its importance as an element of wealth and a political factor. Laws were reformed so that lands might be sold absolutely, like any other commodity, and from time to time, serfs and villeins were emancipated until we have the society of Europe as it is today.

The cities of the middle ages enjoyed considerable freedom, and received from their monarchs many privileges not accessible to the inhabitants of the rural districts. Within their walls arose large numbers of skilled artisans, mechanics and operatives, who became influential in municipal affairs. From these horny handed and sturdy men came the burgher class of Europe. The members of the various crafts, or trades, formed themselves into leagues or associations. These brotherhoods, or guilds, existed in Germany as early as the fifth century. Under the Merovingian kings of France the locksmiths and goldsmiths were made a corporation. In Lombardy, at an early date, colleges of artisans were

established. In Ravenna, A. D. 943, was a college of fishermen. In France the first general administration in the interest of trade or artisan guilds originated during the reign of Louis IX. Many favors and privileges were conferred upon these guilds by Philip Augustus, of France. The craft guilds of Europe attained their highest development in the fourteenth century. These associations could not exist without a license, either from the king, the lord, the abbot, the bailiff, or the mayor of the district or city. Admission to these craft guilds was regulated with a view to preventing such an increase in numbers as to lessen the price of wages. The sons of the masters of these guilds were members of the same by inheritance. Apprentices were called "aspirants," and prior to their admission were compelled to undergo an examination. These guilds regulated the hours of labor, the quality of material, size of articles to be manufactured, and even the selling price of articles. Trade-marks were in use by the guilds to insure good work and pride in workmanship. The guilds declined and eventually disappeared by reason of internal strife and dissension. In France, the last disappeared in 1789 at the beginning of the revolution.

The guild system of mediæval Europe has been ably summarized as follows: "First, there were the peace guilds, for mutual protection against thieves, etc., and for mutual aid in sickness, old age, or impoverishment from other causes. They were numerous in England, and spread over the continent. Secondly there were the trade guilds, which embraced the guild merchant and the craft guilds. The latter were associations of workmen for maintaining the customs of their craft, each with a master, or alderman, and other officers. They had their provisions for mutual help for themselves and their widows and orphans, and they had their religious observances. Each had its patron saint, its festivals, its treasury. They kept in their hands the monopoly of the branch of industry which belonged to them. They had their rules in respect to apprenticeship. Almost all professions and occupations were fenced in by guilds."

CHAPTER II.—ITALY.

THE TEACHINGS OF ROMAN HISTORY—INDUSTRIAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL FREEDOM—ROMAN CIVILIZATION—ARTISANS AND OTHER WORKMEN—MODERN ITALY—ODOACER—EFFECT OF HIS INVASION UPON INDUSTRY IN ITALY—THEODORIC AND THE GOTHs—AGRICULTURE UNDER THE GOTHs—LOMBARD DOMINATION—APPORTIONMENT OF THE LAND AMONG THE LOMBARD CAPTAINS—ITALIAN SERFS—FOUR CLASSES OF SOCIETY—MILITARY SERVANTS—DOMESTICS—THE ALDII—THE SERVII—LOMBARD TYRANNY AND LAWS—SLAVERY—GENERAL CONDITION OF MANUAL LABORERS—IMPROVEMENT IN LOMBARD CIVILIZATION—PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE—CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES UNDER CHARLEMAGNE—FREEDOM IN THE CITIES—THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS IN ITALY UNDER FREDERICK BARBAROSSA—HIS BARBARIC SEVERITY—THE LOMBARD CITIES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT—THE GUELPHS AND Ghibelines—THE PEOPLE OF THE LOMBARD CITIES—THE PEOPLE OF VENICE—GENERAL CONDITION OF ITALY AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BYOND modern Italy stretches into fable the splendid perspective of the Roman empire, one of the chief marvels of the written history of man.

From the legend of the wolf and her sucklings, to the fact of the last tribune, there sweeps the strong light of grand romance; and in every varying condition of the people whose name was once the terror and the wonder of the earth there is the aspect of strength, of courage, of aspiring pride, that were only broken when the subdued world let luxury loose to plague the conquerors. In these early conditions, and the reactions from them, the tireless energy of war for the sake of empire, and the indulgent indolence of an enforced peace, we may discover the parent elements of the Italy of today. The stronger race with an admixture of all opposites; the blazing patriotism of old Rome mingling with the colorless passion of an enervated people. One cannot remember what Rome was without some pity for what Italy is—the toy of modern political powers, descended from the mistress of national destinies. Rome was the fruit of magnificent conquests. Italy is the enfeebled plant rising painfully to healthful growth from a political and social state sapped of vigor and productiveness by plunder and oppression. But the city enthroned among its seven hills, eternal despite its

ruin, awesome yet in its memorials of grandeur, rising out of commercial wreck and social decline, is an example to all time—not of imperial profligacy, not of the unparalleled sumptuousness of one-time supremacy, not of patrician glory—but of plebeian power, of the unity and devotion of a people so filled with the love of country that they made it great in spite of the wrongs they suffered, in contempt of tyrannous and often licentious masters. To be a Roman was enough of dignity to make each Roman, however lowly his state, eager to defend the honor of Rome; and in the history of that empire we find the paradox again and again repeated of a people, little better than slaves, for five hundred years maintaining their collective imperialism against the outer world, though continually racked by divisions and revolutions within.

It is not the purpose here to review the Roman epoch, although occasionally during that period the people rose to the highest degree of industrial independence, and enjoyed to the full political and social freedom. Not less than the Greeks, the Romans were often awakened to the divinity of personal worth, shook off the shame of slavery, dragged despotism from its throne, and set up the white standard of man's equality with man, and though they did not always show capabilities for self-rule, each revolution of popular sentiment purged the state of some iniquity and added something to the dignity of the masses. That Rome attained the highest civilization known to the old world was due less to her success in arms than to the industrial and commercial spirit of the people, and what remains of Rome to-day is the literature sprung from an order beneath her patricians, and the monumental piles that attest the extraordinary skill and exhaustless patience of her artisans and workmen. Whichever way we view the fact, it is perceived that the enduring greatness of Rome rested on the active energy of her people, that mob so much reviled, rather than upon her rulers, too many times her corrupting plagues.

Italy is but a pinch of territory left to the Latins from the vastness of the Roman empire, and the fair land is without the virility that in the second and third centuries made cities to spring from wildernesses, blessed the fruitful land with agriculture, spread the knowledge of useful arts among the people, extended learning, established manufactories, and made the country teem with commercial activity. Italy now sits in reverie upon her past, less robust in her real freedom than in the mock liberty of the Augustan age. May it not be said that modern Italy is the legitimate fruit of the untruths that lay at the base of Roman splendor.

The Romans loved their country, but they did not love it well enough to suffer that justice might be done in it, nor could they long endure the presence of virtue. Their early heroism came to be the bravery of cunning, and their patriotism a sensual selfishness. We look into their records and see temples without a pure religion, brilliant rolls of shining literature without substantial regard for the broad interests of humanity. We recognize an ornamental religion, a splendid sensuality, elegance, superficial refinement, a nature perfect in outward criticism, but pitifully ignorant of the real nature and power of the moral elements and spiritual graces. Rome passed through various stages, first a kingdom, anon a republic, and finally an empire that embraced the civilized world, only to be overthrown and divided among the barbarians.

The revolution of 476, A. D., put an end to the Roman empire in the West, and defined one of the most important epochs in history. Odoacer came in as the actual monarch of Italy, but for some reason dare not proclaim himself by the title of Roman emperor. The Roman inhabitants of Italy were nearly extinct. Most of the landed proprietors had ceased to cultivate their estates, and the rearing of cattle had superseded the cultivation of grain, and these the barbarians seized upon and bore away, together with the slaves who attended them. Italy was utterly desolate, a flowering and peopled desert, but none the less a desert. This was the unhappy extremity of this once mighty and austere mistress of the world, when Theodoric swept in with his Ostrogoths, possessed the ruined country and began its reestablishment. He set up his wise and equitable institutions, and instead of using one people to oppress the other, he strove to hold the balance fairly between them, and for that purpose employed the Germanic system of the Goths, introduced the practice of agriculture by granting land to the people, allowed his Roman subjects their forms of liberty, restored the spirit of commerce and manufactures, and maintained peace and plenty throughout Italy. Though himself illiterate, he encouraged the pursuit of learning among the people, and patronized men of learning.

This favorable beginning of a new era was disturbed from auspicious sequence by the conspiracies of the Roman senators and wealthy classes to restore the old order. The distractions continued and grew into others until the middle of the sixth century, when the Gothic dominion was overthrown by the Lombards, a barbarous people whose leader, Alboin, was equally renowned for savage vices and virtues, and a long period of reaction set in to the hurt of the people.

The Lombards were reluctant to change their rude habits for those

which are required by intellectual and moral improvement, and they would not consent to engage either in commerce or agriculture. They surrendered themselves to feasting and hunting, to domestic broils and warlike excursions, and though possessed of a rugged sort of chivalry mixed with savage nobility, this new people did much to check the recovery of Italy from its calamities. The thirsty captains of Albion had the country fairly apportioned among them, each ruling over an ample fief with the title of duke, and thus was established the feudalism that sat heavily upon the Italians, the serfs of the institution, for so long a time. Reduced to slavish dependence, subservient to rough masters, the Italians became crafty, cowardly, and to a degree treacherous, and were accordingly contemptible in the eyes of their lordly subduers. There were four grades of the subject class, the *arunanni* the immediate military servants of the counts; the *homines de maruada* a sort of free domestics, whose services were requited by small grants of land; and the partly servile *aldii*, men who though nominally enfranchised still owed certain services to their patrons; and the lowest class, descriptively termed *servii*. This last class was the abject slight of fortune. In some instances, the owner was content to take one-third of the produce raised by their labor, but in the majority of cases, they were allowed to take for their toil no more than was absolutely necessary to the support of life. There was little left of the individual liberty accorded to subjects by the Goths, nor were cities allowed their municipal institutions, and the only political privilege allowed the people was a choice of the code of laws by which they would be judged, though the interpretation of the laws rested with the feudal judges. Therefore, the numerous inferior classes, both of the urban and rural classes, comprehending not merely slaves and *liberti*, but also the wealthy *ingénue* class, had no practical remedy for the oppressions of their immediate superiors, and were scarcely esteemed worthy of legislation. On the one side were tyrannous abuses; on the other a deplorable wretchedness, much misery and suffering, and a latent hatred, hopeful of some tide of fortune to avenge their wrongs.

Such a condition could not long continue, and though there is but a feeble light to pierce the veil of darkness that hangs over this period of history, the moral truth that a country which secures to a people its rights will never want defenders, while the one which withholds them may become a prey to the first enemy without or within, may afford us a clue to the situation. Whether complaints of the people took such decided form as to threaten the security of the Lombard nobility, or the

rulers themselves became instructed by the higher civilization of the country, it is certain their laws became wiser and more equitable, and their treatment of their subjects more humane. The dukes came to have a pride in their provinces and courted the affection of their dependents, encouraging their industry by more liberal rewards of labor, and the population of Italy began once more to increase. The rural districts were cultivated anew, agriculture thrived, the towns were rebuilt, the villeins gradually earned freedom, and the Italians grew into a better moral spirit as a people. A national sentiment was inspired that had developed to some considerable extent when, in 774, Charlemagne put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards, and found a people well deserving a fostering care. This great figure in history was a wise ruler, and having established the kingdom of Italy, he devoted himself with sound discretion and comprehensive judgment to the betterment of the country, by the development of its resources and the material, moral and intellectual improvement of the people. The impetus given to the purpose of restoring Italy to its former opulence, by the judicious course of Charlemagne, carried the movement well forward into the ninth century. The rights of the lower classes were more generally accorded to them, the serfs gradually coming into independence of their immediate superiors; citizenship and admission to the magistracy came to be recognized in behalf of liberated classes, and all that tended to promote the interest of the state, through the welfare of the people, was fostered. The municipalities and the military lords became in a measure united for mutual benefit, and communities advanced in the career of prosperity. All kinds of labor, skilled and unskilled, in the field and in the cities, increased in demand; cities grew rich and populous at no expense to the moral interests. Sentiments of freedom arose and were widely diffused, and the number of slaves rapidly decreased.

The privileges of the people grew until the inhabitants of the cities were allowed to elect their own magistrates and bishops; and from this step they advanced to the belief that all just political power emanated from the people. The final consolidation by the cities of their power effected a political system somewhat resembling a democracy, in which were bred ambitions that proved as detrimental to the real good of the people as the selfish desire of the nobles in less liberal days. The German emperors, however, exerted so great a sway that Italy suffered no grave disturbance of its social and political harmony until the middle of the twelfth century, when Frederick Barbarossa violated the charter granted by his predecessors by attempting to establish absolute power in the

Italian cities. The people in the meantime had recovered in large measure from the degradation into which they had been forced by calamities that fell fast upon them after the downfall of the Roman empire. Art had been carried to a high degree of excellence. Literature and general culture graced a refined society; the industrial branches were followed with a diligence and skill that made the kingdom richer than ever before, and handicrafts and trades were in a most flourishing condition. The architecture of that time confronts the eye of wonder in this day, and the general order of the working classes indicates the fact that their wages were such as to enable them to live comfortably. A long period of such enjoyment of the rights of manhood and the benefits of citizenship had made the Italians jealous of their privileges, and they were by no means disposed to yield unresistingly these dearly bought virtues. On the declaration of his intentions by Frederick, Milan, then the most important city in Lombardy, became fired with the old Roman spirit, and determined to resist the encroachment of the emperor as though he were a foreign invader. The emperor, incensed, raised a large army, marched against Milan, A. D. 1158, and laid siege to the city, which was compelled by famine to surrender. Frederick disregarded the conditions of the surrender, and the city revolted. It was again besieged and subdued as before, whereupon Frederick took revenge upon the people who had dared assert their rights and defend their claims, by utterly destroying Milan, leaving not one stone upon another.

His barbaric severity was not satisfied with this unpardonable outrage, and other cities were given to the flames, or abandoned to the pillage of the German soldiers, until Lombardy was in danger of losing by lawless despoilation what it had gained by several centuries of arduous toil in semi-bondage. The country rose in revolt, forming the Lombard league of 1167. For thirty years Frederick waged a ruinous and unsuccessful war with the Lombards, during which the cities of Northern Italy threw off their dependence upon the German emperor, and in June, 1183, was established the treaty of Constance, which is notable for being the first recorded instance of a treaty between a monarch and his subjects in which the right of independent self-government was established.

Various forms of popular government were adopted by the Lombard cities. The people sought security against the abuse of power in frequent elections and rotation in office. But sudden and violent revolutions were of frequent occurrence and often without cause. To guard against these the expedient of an annual chief magistrate was adopted.

This officer, the Podesta, exercised both military and judicial power in a manner but little less than despotic, and it became necessary to choose consuls to control the authority of the Podesta. But the Italians were never able to balance political power in such a way as to prevent themselves becoming the victims of usurpation and tyranny, and the various functions of state were so united in an individual or body that no such thing as a check prevailed.

The inevitable result of such a political status is factional differences and contentions leading to social ruptures; the usurpation of magisterial rights by the individual and personal security is at an end. The Lombard republics suffered by such factions, and the great contest between the Guelphs and Ghibellines so inflamed existing animosities and gave rise to others, that in the thirteenth century there were more than 200 communities in Italy exercising the right of government independently of each other. The effect of this upon the people can be imagined when it is understood that all other interests were subordinated to the necessity of maintaining an armed and watchful militia to repel an attack or conduct one. The population was in fact divided into military organizations. Not only did the people suffer directly in their own interests, but as these wars continued the military spirit afforded the nobles excuse for exerting their superiority; and a change in the military discipline transferred the art of defense from the citizens, as such, to the nobles as an order. At this time the republics of Pisa and Genoa, lying to the south of Lombardy, were conducting a great and rival maritime trade, and had factories in every part of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. These two republics took opposite sides in the war of the two great families of Ravenna and Rimini, and, like the others, fell under the chances of war. With everything favorable to the building and maintaining of a united and powerful nation, rich in resources, with a territory equal to the requirements of its energetic population, Lombardy fell into division—not through a conflict of industrial and commercial interests, but through the rancor and jealousies of ambitious nobles, at all times inimical to the welfare of the common people, each petty faction falling a prey to a stronger, the republics finally disappearing altogether.

Even Venice, that marvel of cities, built on the waves of the sea, by men who should have had it in them to bequeath independence to their descendants to the end of time, began with a republic in form, and, dignified as a popular government, dwarfed toward decay when the people surrendered their franchise into the hands of one man. The ambition of the nobles, whetted for rule and territorial acquisition, by means of

which she was drawn into the convulsive politics of Italy, was the way to her ruin. Through the industry of her people, the skill of her manufactures, and the expertness of her sailors, the workers within her seagirt walls and beyond them had made her the commanding power in Christendom and the most opulent city of the world. There arts and the sciences were pursued to the highest known perfection, and the people were then the most energetic as well as the most civilized of nations. Venice and Geneva were the last republics to decline; they alone survived of all the Italian democracies when Charles V. was emperor. But the people were by no means united, though a peace rested among their factions. After that reign six petty sovereignties shared the Lombard country. Yet again the fields were given to cultivation. Agriculture was prosperous. The industries revived. The common people began once more to taste the sweets of personal liberty, freed from the perplexities of self-government, and at the close of the middle ages Italy was much advanced as a nation. The institution of serfdom had passed away in effect, and was soon to disappear entirely; and the land, recovered from the ravages of war, wore the smile of peace and blossomed with plenty.

CHAPTER III.—SPAIN.

THE ROMANCE AND TRAGEDY OF SPANISH HISTORY—THE FIRST INHABITANTS—CARTHAGINIAN AND ROMAN RULE—ROMAN COLONIES—THE CONDITION OF SPAIN UNDER AUGUSTUS CÆSAR AND SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS—ERAS OF EXTORTION AND OPPRESSION, AND PERIODS OF PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS—THE BARBARIAN INVASION—THE MOORISH CONQUEST—INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY UNDER THE ARABS AND SARACENS—THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MOSLEMISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

SPAIN is the land of brilliant sunshine, vine-clad hills, orange-blossoms, olive and laurel groves, shimmering seas and azure skies. In no country of modern Europe are there so many cities of peculiar and individual interest. Of these the mind recalls at once Seville, the "Spanish Athens, the Queen of Andalusia," Cordova, "The City of Cities," the "Pearl of the East," Valladolid the rich, Madrid the stately, Saragossa the gloomy, Barcelona the gay, Cadiz, milk-white and graceful, and palm-crowned Granada, home of the Alhambra. "The soil is fertile, the climate genial and salubrious, and the face of the country, diversified with meadows and mountains, presents, in rare combination, the most attractive features of loveliness and sublimity." In the quality of romance and tragedy, the history of Spain transcends that of any other country of the modern world. Beginning with her history as a Roman province, and ending with the expulsion of the Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella, every page of her history is crowded with incidents stranger than fiction. Spain was the birthplace of three Roman emperors, Trajan, Hadrian and Theodosius, and also of Columella, the writer on agriculture; Quintillian, the teacher of oratory; the poet Martial, and the great Seneca. There, for more than seven centuries, was waged a desperate conflict between the cross and the crescent, the fortunes of war being now with one and then with the other. There it was that the Saracenic civilization attained its best development. In Spain it was where the fires of persecution raged hottest. Spain it was that clothed the western world with romance, and gave it the material for song and story.

The first inhabitants of Spain—the Hispania of the Romans—were barbarous and warlike tribes. They were without arts or industries,

within the meaning of civilization, and incessantly engaged in fierce and bloody wars. The weapons used by these savage men, lances, clubs, swords, and hatchets, were of the rudest pattern. They dwelt in caves, holes in the ground, or frail huts of bark and turf. For food they ate roots and nuts, and their clothing consisted of a coarse woollen or linen tunic. With them society was in its rudimentary state, division of labor did not exist, and what is now understood as mechanics and artisans were not known.

About 235 B. C. the natives of Spain were conquered by Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, the father of the great Hannibal. The condition of the country did not change materially under the Carthaginians, as their rule was nominal and military in character. The one industry in Hispania, conducted by Carthage with vigor and thoroughness, was mining.

For more than twenty years Hispania was the arena of a desperate conflict between the great rival powers, Rome and Carthage. The Romans were victorious, and the Carthaginians were forever driven from the Iberian peninsula. During the first century of Roman rule in Hispania, the record is an unbroken narrative of bloodshed, misery and oppression. In methods of cruelty, plunder and treachery the Roman governors exhausted their ingenuity. Of course, under such circumstances, the development of industry was impossible. In time, however, numerous Roman colonies were established in Spain, cities were built, and the native tribes assimilated with their conquerors. As a result, Spain became an integral part of the Roman state politically and socially, and many of the industries and useful arts were practiced with energy and success. Never was Spain more prosperous under the Roman domination than during the administration of Augustus Cæsar. Many thousands of the mechanics and laborers were employed in the construction of roads and bridges throughout the country. Peace and prosperity reigned supreme.

This state of affairs did not continue under Tiberias, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Rapine and misery were on every hand; and Spain "sank deeper and deeper in the abyss of poverty and woe." The two succeeding emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, were Spaniards by birth, and loved their native land. Their beloved Hispania was an object of especial favor, and every effort was made to render her people prosperous and happy. Massive bridges, broad highways, and magnificent arches, colonnades and aqueducts were constructed "from the Pyrenees to Europa's point." Following the beneficent reign of Marcus Aurelius,

who was also a Spaniard, came a protracted period of oppression and extortion. Industry languished, and arm in arm poverty and squalor stalked through the land. The country was overrun, in close succession, by savage northern tribes—the Huns, Vandals, Sueves and Alans. These barbarians were merciless and cruel, and left death and desolation in their wake. For more than two centuries after the fall of Rome, industry and trade were neglected, and continually declined. Society was in a transition state. The old order of things had been swept away; a new one was in the course of development.

The Moors conquered Spain about 673 A. D. Then commenced for that country an epoch of activity and progress for the manual laborer. Every form of industry received a wholesome impetus, and everywhere were thrift and enterprise. This era of prosperity and progress in agriculture, manufactures and architecture continued, despite the occasional strifes between rival Emirs and antagonistic factions.

The Arabs or Saracens of Spain were luxurious, and patronized learning and the fine arts. Architecture they brought to a high state of development, and many manufactures flourished as never before. Gunpowder was made, and there were numerous paper mills. Cordova was noted for its leather goods, Toledo for its steel, and other cities for enameled tiles and fine jewelry.

Luxury, of course, gave occupation to many skilled mechanics and operatives. In the cities, the carpenters, masons, stone-cutters and landscape gardeners must have been busy and prosperous. Magnificent palaces were erected and cities and towns built; massive aqueducts conducted water into vast reservoirs; hills and mountains were terraced; highlands were leveled; marshes were drained. Superb houses were constructed of variegated marble, with ceilings of glittering gold and burnished steel, and surrounded by voluptuous gardens. Stately mosques reared their minarets to a cloudless sky, artificial cascades reflected the sunlight, fountains flashed in the public squares, and exquisite statues were embowered amid exotic foliage. One palace was adorned with forty columns of beautiful granite, and twelve hundred of Italian marble. The gardens around this imposing structure were embellished “with groves of orange, laurel and lime, and in which the myrtle, the rose and the jasmine mingled in pleasing confusion with all the varied productions of that sunny and delicious clime.” In Cordova, alone, there were nine hundred public baths. A source of great wealth were the gold and silver mines, the coral beds on the coast of Andalusia, the pearl fisheries on that of Catalonia, and the rubies found in the neighborhood of Malaga

and Beja. The provinces of Andalusia, Granada, Mercia, Valencia and New Castile were extremely fertile, and in those sections agriculture was conducted with success. Books on agriculture, written by Greek and Roman authors, were translated and widely read by the farming community. The precepts of experienced farmers on the pruning and grafting of fruit trees, the management of sheep and cattle, and the raising of flowers and vegetables were collected and disseminated among the agricultural class. The reign of Alhakim was peaceful, and every kind of industry flourished. In Granada, Mercia, Valencia and Aragon, canals of irrigation were constructed, reservoirs built, and agriculture otherwise protected and aided by the government. One Eben el Arram produced a curious work on agriculture, in which he discussed "not only the sorts of land adapted for different productions, manures, and changes of crops, but also orchards and gardens. The manner of grafting trees, flowers, and the cucurbitaceous plants, is explained at length. The treatment of the horse, mule and ass, that of cattle and sheep, and the management of domestic poultry, pigeons and bees, also find a place."

As an example of Saracenic architecture, the splendid mosque at Cordova may be mentioned. It was six hundred feet long and two hundred and fifty feet wide. From north to south it was traversed by nineteen aisles, and from east to west by thirty-eight. The roof was supported by one thousand and ninety-three marble columns. The nineteen gates were of wrought bronze. Two hundred and forty feet was the height of the great minaret, and at its apex were three gilt balls and a pomegranate of gold.

Dr. Draper has well said of the domestic architecture of the Spanish Moors: "They had polished marble balconies, overhanging orange gardens, courts with cascades of water, retiring-rooms vaulted with stained glass speckled with gold; the floors and walls were of exquisite mosaics. Here a fountain of quicksilver shot up in a glistening spray, the glittering particles falling with a tranquil sound like fairy bells; there, apartments into which cool air was drawn in summer from flower-gardens. Clusters of frail marble columns surprised the beholder with the vast weights they bore. In the boudoirs of the sultanas they were sometimes of verd antique, and incusted with lapis-lazuli. Through pipes of metal, water both warm and cold to suit the season of the year, ran into baths of marble; in niches, where the current of air could be artificially directed, hung dripping alcarrazas. There were whispering-galleries for the amusement of the women, labyrinths and marble play courts for the children, for the master himself grand libraries."

For more than 700 years was a life and death struggle maintained between the Moors and Christians in Spain. Gradually were the Moslems driven from point to point, until their dominion was confined to the province of Granada. The first Saracen ruler of Spain was Tarik, the last was the weak and unfortunate Bobadil; he was expelled from Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella in January, 1492; thus ended one of the most splendid and despotic governments of history. The Moors were brave and daring, but addicted to luxury, lust, and extravagant display; they were, at once, chivalrous, romantic, sympathetic, passionate, inconstant and vindictive.

What is now understood as constitutional government was unknown to the Moslem world. The source of all authority, civil, military and religious, was the caliph. His empire was divided into departments, and over each was placed a governor or prefect, who was supreme in authority within his province and answerable only to his absolute master, the caliph. Every office in the empire, civil and military, was exercised at the will and by the appointment of the caliph. It was true of the caliphate of Africa, Damascus, Bagdad and Cordova, as of all despotic governments—there were but two orders of society, the master and his subjects. The monarch, politically, knew no differences or degrees among his people; to him patrician and plebeian were alike. His favors were as apt to be conferred upon those of low, as upon those of high degree; one day a man might be a slave and the next Grand Vizier; one hour might a person be a pasha of the realm, and the next a disgraced and homeless wanderer on the face of the earth. Under a despotism fortune is as apt to smile on the mechanic or artisan, as on the soldier or scholar. Tyrants are ever jealous of distinctions among men. To the despot, men are naught but implements for the aggrandizement of their sovereign. With the tyrant power is everything, and, when in conflict with that, humanity is nothing. Intellectual merit and moral worth are of little value to despotic governments, for the reason that power is exercised for the sake of power, and because men are governed, not for their benefit, but in the interest of their sovereign lord and master.

What was thus true of the political world was also true of the social. Universities, colleges and schools were established throughout the realm of the Saracen. In these institutions were taught grammar, lexicography, theology, law, rhetoric, metaphysical philosophy, mathematics, medicine and astronomy. The halls of learning were open to all classes of society. To drink long and deep at the "Pierian spring" required

neither wealth, power nor social position. Wisdom's fount refreshed, alike, the son of manual toil and the favorite of fortune. Mechanic and lawyer, artisan and physician, laborer and emir, all participated in the truths of science, the beauties of literature, and the mysteries of philosophy. Thousands of youths, from all ranks of society, flocked to the classic halls of Bagdad, Samarcand, Cairo, Granada, Cordova and Seville, there to con the exquisite beauties of Firdousi and Saadi, to grasp the sublime lessons of astronomy, fathom the wisdom of jurisprudence and drink in the eloquence of Avicenna and Averrhoes.

CHAPTER IV.—GERMANY.

AN UNCONQUERED RACE OF BARBARIANS—SLAVERY AND SERFDOM—THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION—A SURPRISING INDUSTRIAL GROWTH—THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAGNE—AN ERA OF ADVANCEMENT, THRIFT AND EDUCATION—THE RISE OF THE ARTISAN CLASS—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GUILDS—WAGES AND COST OF LIVING—DEGENERACY OF GERMAN INDUSTRY AFTER THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR—THE FAMINE OF 1637—ARISTOCRATIC PROFLIGACY AND POPULAR DESTITUTION—EDUCATION AND SKILLED LABOR.

WHEN, through the deepening mists of time, the heroes of a nation are seen dimly and uncertainly it cannot be hoped the people will appear more distinctly than a vaporous back-ground to the shadows of their chiefs. It is only after centuries of life by the sword, and bondage to the most oppressive forms of slavery, that the masses begin to emerge from mysterious obscurity and take shape for historic recognition. In no direction, where civilization has laid subduing hand, can we look for a vaguer beginning of history than toward the strange, fierce sunrise of the German races. Borne by the strong passion for adventure from swarming Asia— from the nethermost parts of the east, where mostly only conjecture may say, these rugged, hardy animals of men, the Vindili, the Ingaevons, the Istaevons, the Hermiones, the Peucini, and the Bastarnæ of Pliny, surged into the middle portions of Europe and possessed them quite, laying so firm a hold upon their conquests that their direct descendants and representatives are to-day masters of little less than the original seizure. The North Sea and the Baltic, the Rhine and the Alps, inclose now as then the land of the Germans, a people so close of kin to the god of war, so much in spirit harmony with Odin, and Thor, and Tyr, that the boasted mistress of the world, puissant Rome herself, was never able to subdue them, but at last had her temples and shrines sacked and despoiled by them. This was a people made up of many branches, varying and shifting under the fortunes of a ceaseless war, now Saxons, Franks, Suevi and Goths, and mixed with the Huns, a swarthy, yellow, squat race, with lion-shoulders and pig-eyes, as ferocious as numberless. This was a people proud and arrogant to all but the luring glory of arms, not calculated for the restraints of industry,

the pursuit of agriculture, or the humane indulgence of a dependent class.

Their slaves were their toys, and that stratum of the social organism, which in a later time was to be the foundation and leavening strength of German wealth, in manufacture, in commerce, in foreign relations, began the Christian era as mere creatures of a warring despotism that slaughtered foes in the field and sacrificed slaves at the altar stone. The mile-stones along the rough way of that half fabulous writhing of creative forces are such terror-striking names as Alaric the Goth, Etzel, or Attila, the Hun, that wild, edacious scourge of God, and their lesser, hardly remembered successors, who dragged Germany through a sea of blood into the demi-light of the sixth century, with the serf a thing in common with the more-respected horse and dog. In this period the chiefs and their lieutenants had become the lords of the Marks and Gaus, into which a glimmering of organized state had led the hordes and tribes, who had learned the need of self-regulation as an incident to that larger concern of defense against foreign foes. At one time, in the past, in the full barbarian simplicity of life, when drunkenness, gaming and licentious riot were the recreations of undesired and restless peace, when there were no towns, and the freeman pitched his rude hut where it pleased him so to do, the serfs were treated with tolerable kindness, and even were encouraged to cultivate scant patches of ground, two-thirds of the produce going to their masters, and — great privilege in those days of brawn and eager courage — they were allowed to bear arms to defend the lord against his enemies.

But in the sixth century the German was no longer only barbarian. *Kunings* had arisen and sovereignties were declared; and towns were expanding into cities, with a taste for architecture, a love of luxury, a great respect for personal dignity, to alter old conditions and suggest new. The *pater familias*, who formerly regarded the serf as part of his household, was now become the lord who looked upon his servants as his chattels, and sold or gave them away at his pleasure. Indeed, the trade in human beings was the bond of commercial union between the Germanic tribes, who bought and sold interchangeably, as new ambitions for building or cultivating the soil moved this way and that. The Frank slaves, especially those captured in wars with the Saxons, were herded together after the fashion of cattle, finding their lodgment as best they might, reduced to the level of beasts and having the habits of beasts.

In all this wretchedness of abject degradation there was but one

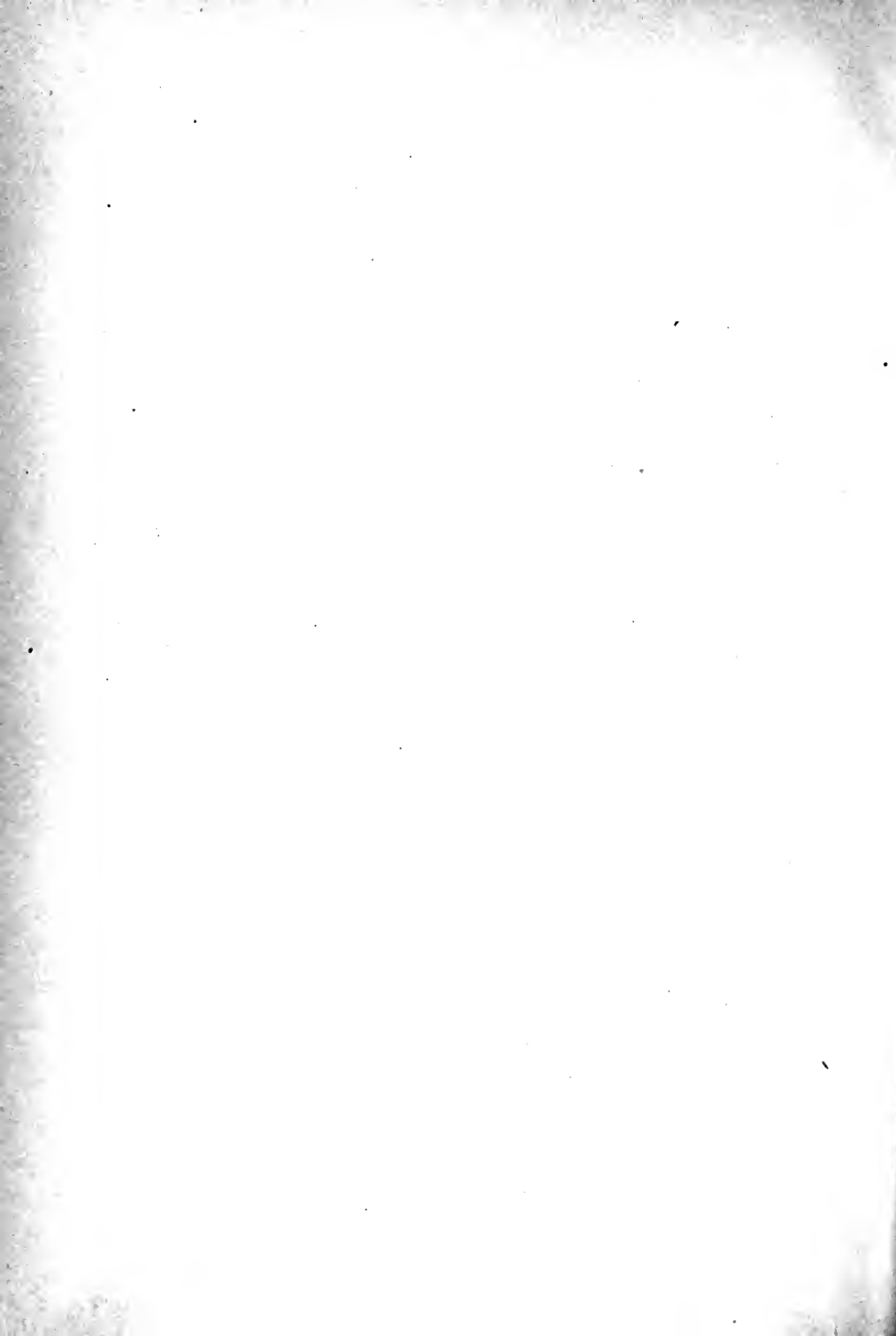
factor of saving grace, a form of emancipation which had its full effect in the third generation. Until that consummation the emancipated serfs remained in an intermediary state, personally free but enjoying no privileges as citizens. They, nevertheless, rose above their condition by turning their strength and skill to useful and graceful employments; and we find toward the close of the sixth century, when the white light of civilization began diffusing itself through that stubbornly resistant land, an admirable agricultural development, a surprising industrial growth, and among the artisans the old chronicles record gold, silver and copper-smiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and that sly evidence of an improving people, tailors, who were setters and observers of fashions. Building in this period is believed to have been conducted under excellent architectural direction, and something of a fine art distinguished the products of workers in the precious metals. This discipline and cunning of hand naturally gave serfs a higher value with their lords; and in proportion as they deserved liberty, by reason of their rise above the meaner state, was it difficult for them to secure freedom. But if a hardship in form, the laws of the time were justly executed, and the serf had it within his power to acquire the semi-liberty which came as a reward of his profitable services, and was able to bequeath to his children not only the right to own real estate, but to become themselves the masters of serfs. The free people, those who had become citizens, were, in all the German kingdoms, accorded the right of general assemblies to debate great questions, as peace and war, and the majority vote determined the issue. The people could declare for war, in which event the king called upon the militia, composed of every rank, to appear, on pain of death, armed and equipped for battle.

It was not until Charlemagne came to the throne of the Frankish empire as ruler of Western Germany that a noble impetus was given to the spirit of professions, and something better than the sway of the sword was presented to the understanding of the people. This splendid type of dominant manhood, a giant among men in mind as well as in stature, spiritually exalted by a sublime ambition, closed the history of the ancient Germans and marked the advent of a new era. The up-building of the Germans, the establishment of national power upon popular intelligence, was the aim of this man of iron. He cherished the fond belief that it lay with him to re-establish the ancient imperial Roman throne. Though his code of laws was severe, even cruel, their general scheme was wisely conceived and aimed at the furtherance of popular welfare. He saw that the people were ignorant, and he exerted himself to further



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their education. He established schools in different parts of his dominions, to which all his subjects, rich no less than poor, were compelled to send their children "that they might receive instruction from those appointed to that duty." He devoted himself to perfecting the language and literature of Germany, and was so just in his distribution of favors—having it clearly appear that a poor man of education was of far greater value to the empire than an ignorant lord—that a noble spirit of emulation existed among all classes, making that era one of the most notable for progress and development in the entire history of Germany. The improvement of agriculture received his attention, and though the work of the imperial farms was chiefly done by serfs and slaves, freemen and even nobles were employed as foremen and overseers. Charlemagne's own estates were patterns of neatness and were managed according to a code written out by himself. The culture of the vine and of fruit trees and the breeding of cattle were carried on with a success that added greatly to the royal revenue and set an example imitated as nearly as possible by landowners throughout the imperial domain. The people were justly recompensed for their toil, acquired thrifty habits, advanced in practical knowledge of every kind, and laid the basis for the national character that gave Germany a lofty and permanent place among Christian powers. In like manner to the encouragement of agriculture was the industrial and manufacturing spirit developed. Each farm or state was required to have a variety of artisans; and besides the workers in gold, silver and copper, now largely centered in the cities, wagon-makers, shoemakers, turners, soap-makers, brewers of beer, and many others entered into the economy of the so-called farm life by legal provisions. In order that the Germans might profit by the skill and cunning of older civilizations, Charlemagne imported artisans from Italy to instruct native workers. He built up large commercial interests, and, between his several reforms, the towns of Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle became cities of extraordinary splendor, the magnificent buildings attesting more eloquently than words what were the architects and masons of the period. Workmen from all quarters of the world were brought together for this stupendous labor; and though the activity of the time indicated the wealth the emperor was lavishing upon the superb establishment of his kingdoms, there were no levies but the most necessary customs. Even the steward of an estate was not allowed to compel his men to do service for his own benefit, or exact contributions except in the way of small produce.

In a word, Charlemagne, knowing his strength rested in his people, did the best he knew for them, loved them as his children, and sought

to lift them to the appreciation of the dignity of manhood and the great importance of productive industry. Though he left much undone, and did some things unwisely, it cannot be doubted that Charlemagne infused a new sense of national life and of individual worth into the Germans. It is not to the present purpose to discuss the political changes that were effected after the death of Charlemagne, the subsequent divisions of the empire, and the rivalries of kingdoms from out of the overthrow of the life-work of this greatest and ablest of Germanic rulers. The important fact is, that he gave a new character to the people that was never after wholly taken from them, even when tyrants and incompetents occupied the throne and wore the iron crown of the great Karl.

The growth of cities, which continued rapid, was of course highly favorable to the rise of the artisan class; and as this class increased and became free it established guilds, the first instances of these trade-unions being in the tenth century. Such was the influence of these guilds upon the political urgency of the times, that the tithes formerly levied upon individual artisans ceased to be a personal tax, but were drawn from the guilds, which were thereby legally acknowledged. Gradually they gained the right to bear arms, and became the principal factors of the civic armies. By means of this important relation to society they secured increase of privileges from the patricians, until the latter began to fear the results of the growth of plebeian power, and a conflict arose which was terminated by Frederick II. stripping the guilds of most of their advantages and forbidding the election of magistrates by the people without the consent of the territorial baron. But three years later this imperial edict was withdrawn in part, and was finally altogether repealed. The artisans again grew in power, until at the end of twenty years we find them so well assured of their importance that they felt able to stand in opposition to the petty tyrannies of the barons, and formally resolving not to trade with, or lend money, to such barons who in anywise contrived the injury of burghers of any of the cities. Until about this time the presidents of the guilds had been appointed by the patrician class; we now find them the elect of the artisans themselves; and after a time, so had their strength waxed and their members multiplied, they wrested to themselves the right to take part in the political government, and either secured the banishment of the patricians or forced them to unite with the guilds. It is interesting to note what were, at this time, some of the prices paid for certain

kinds of labor. Unskilled workmen, such as hod-carriers, diggers, and the like, received six shillings as their daily wages. Carpenters, blacksmiths and those of corresponding trades were paid ten shillings a day, and the foreman was allowed twelve shillings. A day was accounted twelve to sixteen hours.

The value of money in those days must be taken into account, since pay is to be reckoned not by the amount of money received, but by its purchasing-power. A shilling would then buy five and a half pounds of the best wheat bread; thirty-six shillings was the price of a sheep, forty-eight shillings would buy a hog, or three hundred shillings the half of an ox. Seven shillings would buy a pair of shoes, and forty shillings a pair of trousers of the best material.

After the Reformation, or more particularly after the Thirty Years' War, there was a perceptible degeneracy of German industry. The guilds, departing from their original purpose with the accumulation of wealth, became more and more restricted associations, embracing now only master artisans and small capitalists. They grew tyrannous over trade, and sought to acquire a monopoly by forbidding journeymen artisans to work on their own account except under onerous conditions. This attitude, which aggravated the already existing hardships of journeymen, who had to work as apprentices from seven to ten years and then "travel" a certain number of years before they were admitted into full fellowship, stirred up a strong sentiment against the guilds, whose evils had outgrown their virtues, and in 1672 there was a motion made in the Imperial Diet to abolish the guilds and leave each person free to follow whatever trade he might select. The proposition was not favored, and a much needed reform was deferred to the discouragement of industry, that had not yet recovered from the demoralization affected by the Thirty Years' War, when the fair plains of Germany were reduced to a desolate wilderness, when the peasants were half-starved and wholly miserable, and when, in 1637, they were borne down to such degradation that their means of preserving their wretched lives during the famine of that year cannot be thought of without horror and loathing. Driven to desperation, made fiends in their despair, they exhumed the dead for food, hunted down human beings for their flesh, and, destroying and self-destroyed, brought upon themselves a pestilence that scourged them to death by the thousand. Thus was the country set back into a condition more deplorable than that from which Charlemagne had rescued it, the peasantry depraved, the nobility corrupt, and the middle classes grown avaricious and grinding.

The pernicious effects of that long reign of blood were widespread, and not only interrupted the education of the lower orders, so wisely begun, and destroyed agriculture, commerce, industry, but thrust the serving classes into a condition of pitiable dependence as hopeless as slavery. The serf was no longer master of his property or his person. He retained his farm only at the pleasure of his lord, and could be evicted for failing to render proper account of rents or services due, though these were to a great extent indefinite and at the whim of the lord. Moreover it was the privilege of the lord to eject the serf if, in his opinion, the soil was made to yield less than its possible product. Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century the general laborer of Germany was unhappier than ever before, being hardly dealt with by the guilds or oppressed by the lords. The manners of the courts were luxurious and disgraceful, the money wrung from an abused and poverty-stricken people being spent by their oppressors in wanton, often licentious, extravagance. The peasants, who had risen in rebellion against similar injustices in the sixteenth century only to be overwhelmed and subjected to greater indignities, were held practically as slaves. They could not be sold or treated as chattels, and they were permitted to dispose of such property as they had acquired by their own labor, yet were they bound to serve the lord of the soil and were not free to quit their holdings without permission. Peasants who sought to escape their task-masters by running away were, upon arrest, cast into prison, as were they who in any way assisted the fugitives. A further species of oppression was the payment of wages by barter—the truck system—or by forcing upon the peasants a kind of money not current. This gross imposition—considerably worse than the system of corporation stores by means of which workingmen are generally hampered in some parts of America—was continued, growing year by year more abusive of an utterly prostrate peasantry, until the attention of government was so sharply drawn to the wrong through self-interest that prohibitory laws were leveled at the enormity. These salutary laws so far improved the condition of the peasantry that they gradually cast off the stolid, almost brutish lethargy into which they had been depressed by so many years of calamity and misery, and something like a recreative spirit came into the lives of the people, to the benefit of agriculture.

Though the extreme of aristocratic profligacy—the introduction of French rule brought with it into Germany all the licentiousness, lightness and folly of the reprobate French court—and popular destitution does not ordinarily conduce to a prosperous nation, Germany did indeed, enjoy

no small material prosperity at this period. Skilled labor was at that time — just preceding the era of machinery — at a high degree toward absolute perfection. But, owing to the exactions of the guilds and the peculiar illiberality of the ruling classes, labor was very poorly paid and its product was correspondingly cheap. The general state profited at the expense of individual labor. So destructively did the laws discriminate against the interests of the working classes that the trades were not allowed to go where they could exact higher wages for their work. An instance of the arbitrary imposition of unreasonable burdens upon industry, the severity with which laborers were held in bondage to masters, is recorded. A disastrous fire destroyed the better portion of a small Saxonian town, creating a demand for carpenters and bricklayers. Practicers of these trades in Leipsic applied for permission to avail themselves of this opportunity to mend their fortunes. The authorities, perceiving what might be the after effect of allowing these men to enjoy this temporary increase of pay for their work, peremptorily denied the request, compelling these artisans to continue work at the low wages in force.

When to their material distress there was added the injury of religious persecutions, it is a matter for no small wonder that the work-folk of Germany were able to keep themselves above the beasts of the field. They were a hardy, indomitable and patient race as we now find their descendants to be, and they not only did bear up against the brutalizing influences to which they were subjected, but are seen to compare favorably with like classes of other European nations, even excelling others in certain important respects. For example, the general average of education was better, and the skilled labor orders were more prosperous. Industrial schools were numerous and well conducted, both in Catholic and Protestant communities, and these served to keep a higher standard of labor than was maintained in either England or France; and the work now serving as memorials of that time attests the great skill and intelligence of German mechanics and artisans. As the sixteenth century was the reform period in matters of religion in Germany, the eighteenth century was the epoch of labor reform. The depression at the beginning of the cycle was the force that made possible this rebound toward morality and industrial dignity which occurred in the morning of the present century. The middle ages closed as darkly as they began, the intermediate glory of the nation having been submerged in the blood of fanatic passion and the excesses of a corrupt nobility. The dawn of the nineteenth century was the actual renaissance of Germany. The gradual

abolition of serfage set in, and in forty-eight years not a trace of it remained. The rights of man as man came to be better understood and more fitly respected. Education began to bear its legitimate fruits, and in a measure the truth was observed that the best maxim of safe government and a contented people is "the laborer is worthy of his hire," whether his work consists in turning a furrow, building a wall, or framing a statute. The laws were so amended that land, with the exception of entailed estates, could be bought and sold as any other property, and the peasant, who for centuries had been a creature of the soil, became its master.

The abolition of the feudal tenures, chiefly the result of the stern justice of the conquering Napoleon, was a national benefaction, as was speedily shown in the improved agriculture of the country. Manufactories sprung up as though called into life by the magic wand of an enchantress. Machinery came first to dumbfound, then glorify manual labor, by infinitely multiplying the demand for laborers. Skilled labor passed from an accomplishment into a necessity; and today Germany is studded with immense workshops where thousands of men labor like factors of a gigantic mechanism. The peasant of today, protected by humane laws and indulged by a liberal religious sentiment, would perhaps regard as a monster of fiction the fact that in 1537 a peasant, who unwittingly slew a stag, was sewed alive in the skin of the animal and then torn to pieces by the hounds. Nor will it seem likely to the trade worker of the present time, complaining of his lot, which is not yet sweet to his taste, that so recently as 1793 a bloody riot was provoked by the simple fact of a journeyman tailor at Breslau quitting one master, to whom he was contracted, to take employment at the hands of another. He was imprisoned and all the journeymen artisans of the community struck to demand his release. The riot ensued, and the soldiers shot down thirty-seven persons and seriously wounded forty-one others.

These things have passed away with the remnants of a semi-barbarism, and as near an ideal civilization as the world has ever known rests peacefully upon modern Germany. But the industrial classes are not yet exempt from the old setting apart which so long distinguished them as the parts of society especially ordained to suffer. They are building, particle by particle, as the coral insects uprear their perpetual reefs, that substantial citizenship which in time will give to the world an actual equality of rights and privileges among men of sound mind and heart, but which is yet afar off, awaiting, possibly, the great revolution which shall be effected by moral forces more powerful than armed uprising.

CHAPTER V.—FRANCE.

CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE UNDER THE CARLOVINGIAN MONARCHS — ASPECTS OF FEUDALISM — SUPERIORS — VASSALS — DECLINE OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM — THE COMMUNES — THEIR ORIGIN, PROMISE AND DECLINE — STRUGGLE OF THE THIRD ESTATE UNDER THE HOUSE OF VALOIS — THE UPRISINGS OF THE PEASANTS.

FRANCE! What a wealth of memories, of desperate wars, of picturesque society, of barbarian simplicity developing into imperial grandeur, of literary activity and of artistic advancement, is awakened in the mind of the student by the sight of the very name of this great country. From the France of the time of the Cæsarian conquest of the Gallic tribes to the France of today how vast the change! When the Roman emperor, soldier and historian, at the head of his legions, descended the Alps and entered Gaul by the gap between the Lake of Geneva and the precipitous sides of Mount Jena, he entered a country peopled by about twenty millions of barbarians, divided into more than a hundred independent tribes. Though inhabiting one of the fairest and most fertile regions of the globe, these savage people turned aside from the peaceful vocation of the farmer and the herdsman, and lived ever in a state of warfare. About them was a broad country of hills and valleys, covered thick with the leafy monarchs of the primeval forest. Vast rivers, with their innumerable branches flowing in every direction, beautified the landscape and rendered the soil exuberantly fertile. Yet over the face of this beauteous region, the savage tribes roamed in search of strife; their hands ever grasping the spear or war club; their minds fierce with the desire to avenge some fancied wrong, or to crush some weaker foe.

Into this country marched the invincible legions of Julius Cæsar. Before their disciplined ranks, the savages, with their rude weapons, were as grass to be mowed down and ruthlessly thrust aside. Against the Roman cohorts, the masses of desperate Gauls dashed in fierce onslaught, only to recoil in bloody confusion. After a series of campaigns, lasting for ten years, the Roman conquest was complete, and in all parts of Gaul rose massive fortresses, garrisoned with Roman troops and ruled by Roman governors.

The success of the Roman arms once established, the harbingers of Roman civilization began a more gentle, but none the less decisive, conquest over the barbaric customs of the Gallic tribes. Roman arts and refinements followed in the track of Roman legions, and gradually the Gauls adopted the customs of their conquerors, so that, in the course of time, the southern part of the province became distinguished for its schools, its commerce and its elegance. In the central part of the country, on the banks of the river Seine, stood a small village of mud huts thatched with straw. In these huts dwelt a rude people, who were known as the Parisii, and their village was called Paris. Such was the origin of that beautiful city, the abode of the arts and sciences, the central point of literature and civilization, the Paris of today.

The political history of France, from the Roman conquest to the establishment of the Carolingian dynasty, may be passed over briefly. For five hundred years the Romans ruled the conquered people, and, aided by the blessings of an almost uninterrupted peace, built upon the ruins of tribal strife and barbarism the foundations of a civilized society. Then came a disastrous check. Like an icy wind from the north, cutting down every living thing, and stopping the growth of culture and civilization, came the herds of barbarians, Goths and Huns. For four hundred years they fought their way through Gaul, and, penetrating into Italy, humbled the Romans in the streets and temples of their imperial city. Then began for Gaul a new and independent life. In the year 480 A. D., a mighty monarch and conquerer arose in the northern part of the country and by fire and sword extended his dominion over the whole province. This was Clovis, the chief of the Franks and grandson of Merovius. From this successful conquest all Gaul took the name of France, and the rule of Clovis and his successors is known to history as the Merovingian dynasty. For three hundred years this dynasty flourished; then, at a time when the safety of France was endangered by the encroachment of the Moors, who had overrun Spain, Charles Martel, a successful general, took the reins of the government into his own hands. He beat back the invaders and became so thoroughly the sovereign, despite a feeble monarch who nominally held the throne, that at his death his son Pepin seized the crown and amid the hearty acclamations of the people founded the Carolingian dynasty, so called, from its greatest ruler, Pepin's successor, Charlemagne.

With the establishment of the Carolingian dynasty began an era of unprecedented progress in French power and civilization, the advance continuing until the death of Charlemagne, when it for a time received

a check. The great emperor ruled his empire with a wise and gentle hand. He quieted the strife between warring cities and contentious nobles, and formed of a loose confederation of small and scattered principalities a great and homogenous nation. In his reign began the movement toward the extinction of slavery—a movement which, though slow, was continuous until its end was attained. Under the earlier monarchs of France, an enormous proportion of the population were slaves, having no claim upon the fruits of their own labor, and denied even the custody and control of their children. Besides the great body of those who were slaves by virtue of parentage, immense numbers of people were yearly reduced to slavery as a punishment for political offenses, or by forfeiting their liberty in default of payment of debts. Over the bodies of his slaves the lord, be he baron or king, had absolute sway. He could command their services in the tillage of his fields, to follow his banners in war, or to minister to his personal wants or vices. In return, he granted to them the right to live, dealing out to them a scanty subsistence, when actually employed in his service, and at other times leaving them to seek means of support as best they might. Their homes were squalid huts, their clothes the skins of animals or matted grasses, their food roots, berries and coarsely cooked flesh. The family relation was unknown among them and their domestic relations were indescribable. Such a social organization as this, made up of nobles who could, at any time, summon great armies of slaves to enforce their arrogant pretensions, and slaves too debased to have in their bosoms sufficient manly feeling to resist their oppressors, was not one which could be readily reduced to the sway of a strong central government. Charlemagne, with unusual political sagacity for that era, saw this fact and set about strengthening his monarchy by insidiously cutting away the power of his nobles. In doing this he began with an attempt to elevate the lower classes, and in his attempt to increase his own power thus won for himself the reputation of a friend of the masses. To rid the kingdom of a horde of powerful nobles, jealous of their rights and station, was so clearly a matter of statecraft that it is doubtful if Charlemagne had any other reason for his action, though in time it did redound to the benefit of the laboring classes. With this end in view he established schools, the pupils of which he chose himself, taking great pains to get from the ranks of the low-born such children as seemed likely to acquit themselves well and to be worthy of advancement. He himself frequently visited these institutions and examined the pupils carefully. A contemporary historian thus describes the scene which took place at one of these exam-

inations: "Those belonging to the lower classes exhibited works beyond all hope, but those of noble descent had only trifles to show. The wise monarch imitating the Eternal Judge, placed those who had done well on his right hand and thus addressed them:

"A thousand thanks, my sons, for your diligence in laboring according to my orders, and for your own good. Proceed, endeavor to perfect yourselves, and I will reward you with magnificent bishoprics and abbeys, and you shall ever be honorable in my sight."

"Then he bent an angry countenance upon those on his left hand, and troubling their consciences with an angry look, with bitter irony, and thundering rather than speaking, he burst upon them with this terrible apostrophe:

"But for you, nobles, you sons of the great — delicate and petty minions as you are, proud of your birth and your riches — you have neglected my orders, and your own glory and the study of letters, and have given yourself up to ease, sports and idleness."

"After this preamble, raising on high his august head and his invincible arm, he fulminated his usual oath:

"By the King of Heaven, I care little for your nobility and beauty, however others may admire you. You may hold it for certain that if you do not make amends for your past negligence by vigilant zeal, you will never obtain anything from Charles."

This incident and the harangue of the emperor are instructive; showing, as they do, the hostility of the monarch toward the nobility as well as the use he intended to make of the church, in building up a power that should be a check upon the nobles.

But after a reign of forty-five years Charlemagne died, and his successor, less sagacious than he, abandoned his plans for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, and suffered what he had accomplished to fall into desuetude. Then began the steady ascent to power of dukes, counts, and all the countless lords and lordlings, who, by virtue of their ownership of lands, made themselves petty monarchs, and ruled the lives and destiny of their serfs with iron sway. All nobility and power rested upon ownership of land; and with the land was included the ownership of the humble people, who toiled from dawn till dark to wring from the soil enough produce to satisfy the rapacious demands of their landlord, and leave themselves a subsistence. Such was the life of the serfs, who were essentially the workingmen of the time, when cities were few, and labor in France was limited almost exclusively to tilling the soil. Above the serfs, in the social scale, came the vassals, who were attached to

the households of the nobles, and between whom and the nobles there existed a certain interdependence; as, while the vassal owed allegiance and devotion to his lord, the lord, in exchange, owed protection to his vassals. As a result of this social organization, there arose in France the feudal system. The whole landscape was dotted with castles strongly built upon the rivers, bluffs or craggy hills. These huge piles of somber masonry were planned to resist the rude shock of battle, and bristled with towers pierced with loop-holes, and crowned with battlements. The structure was surrounded by a broad moat, crossed by a hanging bridge, which gave entrance to a gloomy keep, usually closed by a massive portcullis. Within were somber apartments of stone, in which dwelt the lord with his family and retainers. All ate in one huge, vaulted dining-hall, where banquets and scenes of riotous bacchanalian debauch were of daily occurrence. Here the lord met his vassals, knights and retainers on a plane of equality; and as the wassail in the bowl grew less the riot, the tales of violence, past and yet to come, and the fierce and ribald songs grew louder. Outside, in the black shadow of the castle, were the miserable huts of the serfs, who heard the faint echoes of the festivities within, although, perhaps, they were too debased mentally by unremitting toil and constant oppression to reflect that it was by the labor of their hands that the favored debauchees were enabled to live in idleness.

As the feudal lords grew in power and in wealth, the puny race of kings who sat upon the throne reared by Charlemagne saw too late their error in deserting the wise course of their predecessor and allowing the serfs to be oppressed that the nobles might wax strong. It soon came about that many a duke maintained a large army, and boasted of more plethoric coffers than the king himself. The power and insolence of the nobles increased with incredible rapidity. Once a poor knight entreated of the Count of Champagne a marriage portion for his daughter. A citizen who, by industry, had worked his way up to wealth, chancing to be present, said: "My lord has already given away so much that he has nothing left." "You do not speak the truth," said the count, "since I have got yourself," and straightway seizing the luckless plebeian by the collar, plunged him into a dungeon, whence he finally secured his release by paying twenty-five hundred dollars to the needy knight. Not only over their vassals and tenants did the feudal lords exercise this sway. Their castles stood near highways or navigable rivers, and their followers banded together and captured travelers, who were despoiled and only released on payment of ransoms. Boats laden with merchandise were

seized by the licensed plunderers, and whole cargoes appropriated to the use of the castle. Merchants passing with their stocks of goods on horseback or in boats suddenly found themselves despoiled, and were lucky if they escaped with their lives. All society was divided into two classes, the robber nobles and the plundered masses.

This anomalous social organization, founded upon strife and constant warfare, persisted until the eleventh century, when it reached its height, and thereafter constantly declined. As the power of the nobles declined, the condition of the working people became better and their voice in the affairs of state was generally recognized. For the causes of the decline of feudalism we have not far to seek. Probably its most powerful enemy is to be found in the growth of towns and cities wherein the citizens, by virtue of their numbers and their close association, could oppose to the rapacity of the nobles a vigorous and united resistance. In these towns there sprung up a by no means small class of free men, who had earned their freedom or inherited it from ancestors who, in their turn, had purchased it or earned it by deeds of valor in battle. The establishment by these free citizens of civic bodies soon led to the opening of the doors of free citizenship to all who were able and willing to comply with the preliminary conditions. The cities thus became nurseries of freedom, and the sturdy burghers cast in the way of the nobles an insurmountable barrier to further oppression. Nevertheless the nobles made fierce war upon the free men both in the towns and without; and so constantly were the artisans and plebeians in terror of attack, that the architecture of their simplest houses shows the influence of the warlike habits of the time. A citizen's house of the twelfth century generally consisted of three rooms, one above the other. The room on the ground floor was occupied during the day as work-room, shop, or common living-room. Above this was the bed-room of the family. The ceiling of the first floor was very high-pitched, thus making the second story a point of retreat in case of attack. Commonly, the second floor protruded beyond the lower part of the house to admit of throwing down missiles upon a storming party. In houses of the better class a tower flanked the house, with loop-holes commanding all angles. The whole structure was surmounted by a platform, seemingly for observation. In such houses the sturdy burghers lived and worked at their trades, acknowledging allegiance to their city and to their king, but resisting to the death all attempts of the nobles to establish over them the authority under which the agricultural laborers were still groaning. For history shows that the march of civilization is ever led by the people of the cities.

while the rustics follow, often centuries behind. So was it in the era of the feudal system. While the people of the towns were breaking away from the rule of the nobles, the farmers were still in the chains of serfdom. They were forced to pay from their scanty earnings exorbitant sums to the nobles whose lands they tilled, they were subjected to the most debasing and merciless penalties, and they were called upon for degrading or arduous services. Sometimes a dozen serfs would be set to beating the waters of the castle moat that the frogs might not disturb my lord and lady by their croaking. For his lordly amusement, the master might order any number of serfs to go through their daily toil hopping upon one leg, to kiss the latch of the castle door in token of humility, to get drunk and exhibit themselves in his presence, or to sing obscene songs for the delectation of the ladies of the castle. The ceremony of marriage was distorted into mummerly for my lord's amusement, and all sorts of absurd conditions were forced upon the newly wedded. Worse than all, the working people were literally robbed by taxes and dues of all sorts. If a few gleams of liberty reached them it was only from a distance, and more in the hope of the future than for the present. How dwarfing was the effect of such a social organization upon that sense of human dignity which constantly awakens in the breast of man the desire for liberty!

The progress of the people of France toward freedom was somewhat aided for a while by the actions of the kings, who, during the tenth century, returned to the wise policy of Charlemagne, and aided the people in their strife against the nobles. Thus when a town threw off the yoke of the noble who, for years, had held it under his sway, its people appealed to the king for protection, assuring him of their fealty, and offering their allegiance in exchange for royal protection. Movements of this kind were encouraged by the kings, who granted to the communes, as such towns were called, many privileges and immunities. The communes were, to a great extent, self-governing. Their people were free, their dues to the crown light, and their voice in affairs of state was influential. Wisely, the monarchs fostered the growth of the free cities until, toward the end of the twelfth century, they saw in the communes a new enemy, more to be dreaded than the haughty lords, and once again the kingly countenance was withdrawn from the people and appeared on the side of the lords. But the work of the communes in the cause both of liberty for the poor and power for the crown had not been in vain. The cause of liberty had been started and was rolling irresistibly forward, while, at the same time, the power of the nobles

had been so shattered by the ceaseless warfare with communes, that it became an easy matter for the king to gather into his own hands the reins of government and establish the throne as the highest resort in questions of war, administration or justice.

But the spirit of liberty amidst the people of the towns had grown too strong to yield without a struggle, and now, as the commune sinks into obscurity, we find the third estate coming forward as the chief factor in the social progress of the working classes of France. "What is the third estate?" In 1783, when beautiful Paris was writhing in the bloody throes of revolution, the question was asked by hundreds of pamphleteers. We find the answer in the political organization of France, as formed in the thirteenth century, when there first met in the councils of the States-General a third body, in addition to the nobles and the clergy—the *tiers-état*, or representatives of the enfranchised towns and boroughs. Great was the exultation of the people when they found themselves thus admitted to a voice in the council of the nation; but soon the conviction burst upon them that the part offered them was merely nominal. Representing, as they did, fully nineteen-twentieths of the population of France, the delegates of the *tiers-etat* saw themselves already vested with the power of government, when their bright visions of the triumph of the people were dashed to the ground. The astute nobles and gentlemen of the clergy saw themselves outnumbered and sought for a stratagem by which to overcome their popular antagonists. There were three classes—the nobles, the clergy and the *tiers-état*. The course of the nobles was obvious. Three legislative houses were created; the vote of each was cast as a unit, and the nobles and clergy, invariably voting together, still ruled the destinies of France. But the people, though discouraged, were not silenced. But a few years before they had had neither voice nor vote in affairs of state; now they could speak, but their votes were useless. The time should come when the power and cunning of a few should no longer deprive the great mass of true and industrious citizens of France of their political rights. In the cause of liberty no exertion is too precious, no preservance excessive, and these people drawn from the humble classes continued their demands for political recognition until at last, maddened by contemptuous indifference, they rose in a mighty wave and swept away before them clergy, nobles and the king himself.

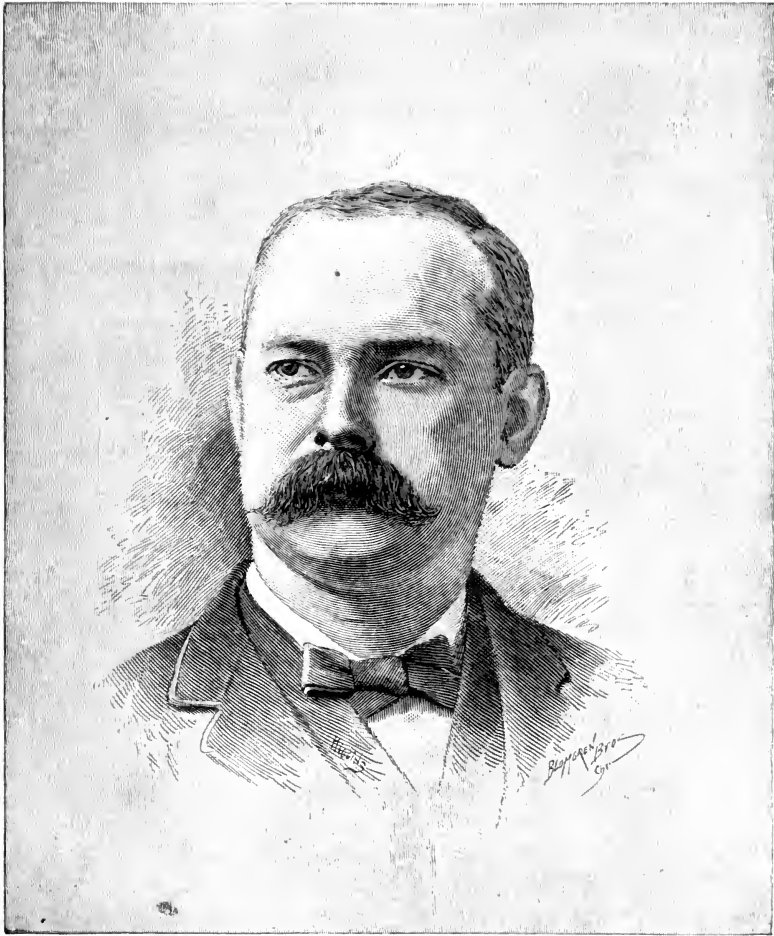
While the people of the towns, merchants, artisans and laborers, were thus battling bravely for the defense of their rights and liberties, the inhabitants of the rural districts seem to have plodded along in

their slavery, making few protests so decided as to come down in history, and, if not contented with their lot, at least inert in their servile degradation. The condition of the poorest class, or serfs, must have been degraded indeed, for in such little estimation were they held that no records have ever been preserved of their way of life or their numbers. Like the beasts of the field, they died and were forgotten. Of the class above the serfs, the villains, more is known. They tilled the soil for their own advantage, paying to the landlord heavy dues and holding themselves ready to respond to his call when he needed soldiers or laborers. The home of the villain was usually a house of but one room, one side of which was filled by the broad chimney, with deep, open fire-place. On the earthen hearth a fire of twigs and faggots smoked, and cooking utensils were scattered about. The center of the room was usually occupied by a rough-hewn table and benches, and at the side of the apartment stood a huge bedstead, of a size sufficient to accommodate the villain, his wife, children, and even the chance wayfarer who begged for a night's shelter. The husband and father went about dressed in a blouse of cloth or skin, fastened by a leather belt around the waist, an overcoat or mantle of thick woolen stuff, which fell from his shoulders half-way down his legs, short woolen trousers, and heavy shoes or boots. From his belt hung a case-knife in a sheath. Hats were seldom worn, save in wet weather. The women were attired in coarse gowns of woolen cloth and worked in the fields by the side of the men, a custom that persists in France down to the present day. Indeed, it is remarkable how slight has been the change in the manners and customs of the French peasantry from the thirteenth century until the present time. We find them dressed in almost the same garments, living huddled together in cottages of exactly the model described above, spreading on their tables the same simple meals of herbs and vegetables that were common in the middle ages. In their political condition a vast change was wrought by the Revolution of 1789, but even in that great national uprising they followed tardily and timidly in the footsteps of their brother workmen of the cities, and won their freedom through no courage, no determination of their own.

But while the peasantry were thus living in slavish servility, the people of the cities, the *bourgeois*, were advancing in civilization and political power. Among artisans, trade guilds or corporations were organized, which became powerful means of defense against the encroachments of the nobles. These guilds, however, never attained the advancement in France that was won by similar organizations in Belgium,

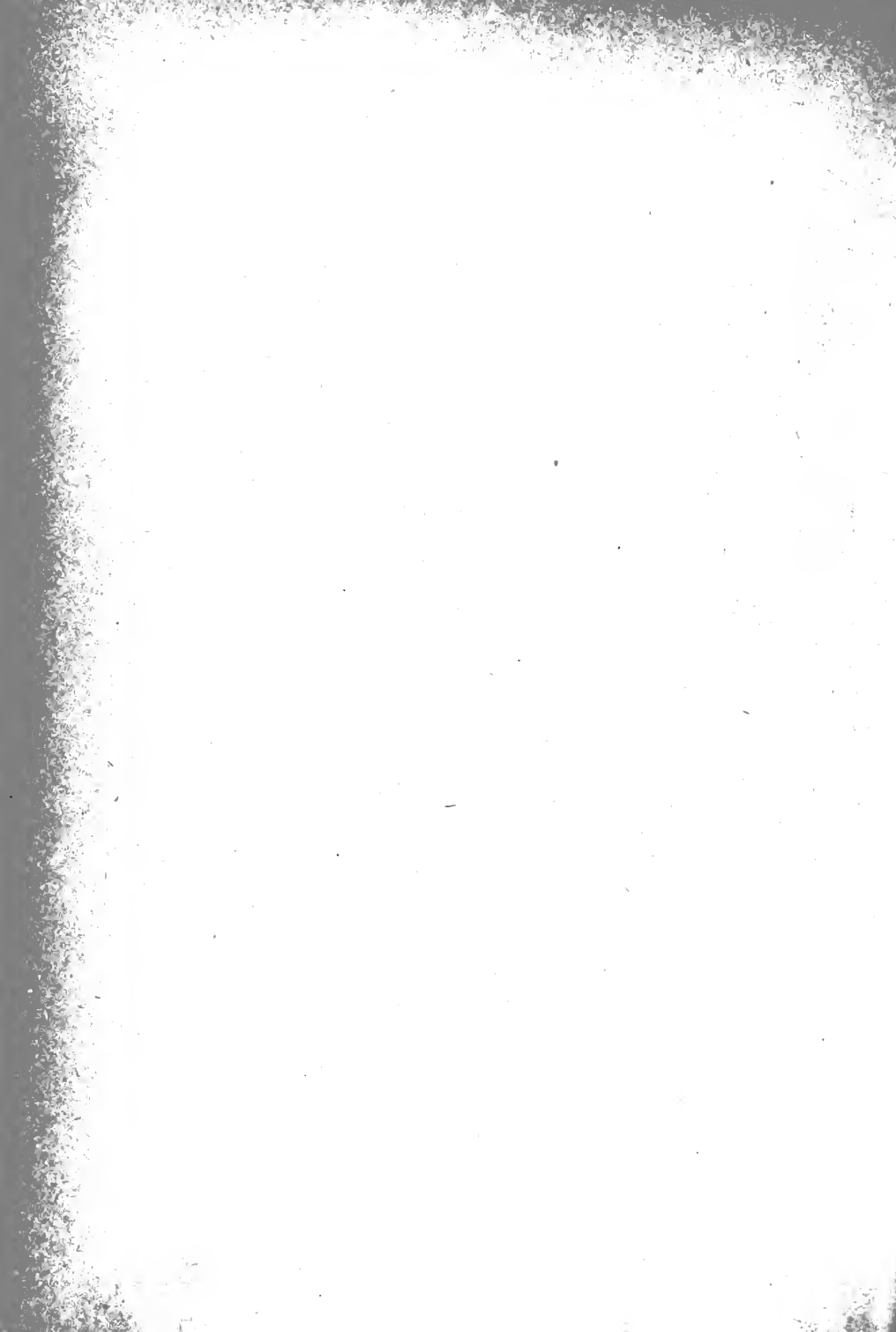
Holland and England. The trade guilds of France were directly under the control of the crown, and were forced to pay into the royal treasury a certain tax yearly. Artisans or apprentices desiring to enter a certain trade were compelled to get permission so to do from the royal officer to whom the tribute of trade had been granted by the king. As the trade unions grew in power they established rules and regulations over their members, which must have been little less galling than royal decrees. Thus, all artisans practicing the same craft were obliged to live in the same quarter of the town. There was an aristocracy among workmen as unyielding as among the nobles against whom they waged a ceaseless warfare. The young artisan, anxious to turn his hand to a trade which promised him support and advancement, found his first step hampered by a host of preliminary conditions which were established by the union for the very purpose of discouraging young candidates. A 'prentice, wishing to become a master workman, must first fabricate and present to the guild his *chef-d'œuvre*, which was a completed article of the class manufactured by the workmen of the order to which he desired entrance. Sundry other tests were required of the aspirants, all of which were in themselves just and proper, but the great injustice of the whole system lay in the fact that sons of members were absolved from any preliminary tests and were members by virtue of their parentage. Thus did the workmen in their own organizations reproduce the worst feature of an hereditary aristocracy which, as practiced by the nobles, they roundly denounced.

The unions formulated cast-iron regulations for the government of their members. They fixed the hours and days for working, the size of the articles to be made, the quality of the stuffs used in their manufacture and even the price at which they were to be sold. Night work was generally forbidden, save in the case of carpenters, who were permitted to make coffins and other funeral articles at nights. On the eve of religious feasts the shops were closed at three o'clock, and none save pastry cooks were allowed to be open on feast days. Besides thus regulating the business matters of their members, the trades-unions inculcated principles of industry and the highest business integrity. Politically, they were powerful throughout the middle ages, and strove manfully for the advancement of honest labor, until, with every other established order, they were swept away by the resistless upheaval of the French Revolution, in 1789.



ED. L. Dailey.

General Secretary Shoelasters' Protective Union.



CHAPTER VI.—ENGLAND.

THE MAGNA CHARTA—GENERAL CONDITION UNDER THE SAXONS—UNDER THE NORMANS—POWER AND PRIVILEGES OF THE KING—THE GREAT ASSEMBLY, OR WITENA-GEMOTE—SOCIAL ORDER OF THE EARLY ENGLISH—THE CEORLS—THE THEOWS, OR SLAVES—INSTITUTIONS AND GOVERNMENT UNDER THE PLANTAGENETS—INNOVATIONS IN THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—BURGESSES FIRST SUMMONED UNDER HENRY III.—GROWTH OF THE COMMONS UNDER EDWARD III.—AGRICULTURE OF THE SAXONS—THEIR ARCHITECTURE—THEIR RUDE DOMESTIC FURNITURE—THE MECHANICS AND ARTISANS.

TO what country can the historian of industry turn with the prospect of a broader field of research than is afforded by the records and traditions of the progress of the wage-worker toward industrial independence and honorable citizenship in England? How complete has been the fusion of the characteristics of Angles, Saxons, Normans, Romans and other nations which, at times, have held the tight little island under their sway, in order to form the Englishman of today. How steadily have the wage-workers of England carried on the contest for emancipation from the oppressions of the nobles. Can any other nation show so towering a landmark of the progress of liberty as that great charter wrung from King John by the people and the barons acting in concert? In the savage times of the thirteenth century, when the people of the towns of France were only entering upon their struggle for industrial rights and privileges, while the peasantry of that fair country were still so steeped in ignorance and degradation as to hardly imagine the possibility of a better existence, the people of England manfully formulated and pressed upon their king that declaration of human rights which now forms the corner stone of all Anglo-Saxon civilization. No "freeman shall be seized or imprisoned, or dispossessed or outlawed, or in any way brought to ruin; we will not go against any man, or send against him, save by legal judgment of his peers or the law of the land." "To no man will we sell or deny or delay right or justice." To freemen of today these propositions seem like self-evident truths, but no bloody revolution, no tremendous political upheaval, ever wrought more good to the cause of liberty than did the formal declaration of these principles as law. Many things have contributed to put England thus foremost in

the march of liberty. The hardy nature of her savage tribes; their proud spirit, that brooked not oppression of any kind, mingling with the blood of the adventuresome Saxons, and the more refined, but not less haughty, Normans, formed a national character well fitted to bear the shocks of the fiercest struggles for liberty. The physical characteristics of the country were such as to encourage the development of a large industrial population. The fertile soil yielded bountiful crops in return for the labor of the agriculturist; the climate, mild without being enervating, favored the growth of the crops, while it enabled the farmer to prosecute his labors with an unintermittent industry that was impossible in countries more torrid or more frigid than the sea-tempered island. As agriculture is the earliest form of productive industry, so is it the basis of industrial organization. Where nothing more than a bare subsistence can be wrung from the unwilling earth, no great civilization can be possible. Buckle, the philosophical historian of civilization, writes: "As long as every man is engaged in collecting the materials necessary for his own subsistence, there will be neither leisure nor taste for higher pursuits; no science can be possibly created, and the utmost that can be effected will be an attempt to economize labor by the contrivance of such rude and imperfect instruments as even the most barbarous people are able to invent." But in England all natural conditions were favorable for the growth of a high order of civilization. By the principles of serfdom, instituted by the Saxons, this civilization was retarded for a time, but ultimately triumphed over the obstacles placed in its way by ignorance and rapacity.

A survey of the condition of the working classes of England during the middle ages must begin with the conquest of the island by the Saxons in the fifth century. The Saxons were a race of fierce barbarians, and came from the sea coast of Northern Germany; their exploits and marauding expeditions were chiefly by sea, and in the course of some such expedition they fell upon the coast of England, found it fertile and to their liking, and straightway began an emigration to the new country. It would seem that the Saxons came over in small bodies, each led by its own king, and, after expelling or enslaving the native population, the invaders established small monarchies of their own. So it came about that in the fifth and sixth centuries the whole eastern part of Britain was made up of small kingdoms, which probably formed the basis for the *shires* or counties of today. When the invaders landed, they found a savage people living in huts and dressed in the skins of wild beasts. With their rude weapons and undisciplined forces the Britons could not

compete with the warlike invaders, who soon held possession of the coast. But in the interior was a people of whom the Saxons knew little, but who had for centuries been subject to the civilizing influences of Roman occupation. Here were large towns walled and fortified, military roads, laid out by the engineers of Rome; tin mines in Cornwall, lead mines in Northumberland, fertile fields of corn, all worked for the glory and profit of the Roman citizens and provincial governors. Unbroken peace had for years reigned over the island, and wealth had accumulated fast, but the evils that in the end undermined the Roman empire were at work in Britain. As the rich grew richer, the poor, upon whom they lived, grew poorer, and the population decreased. Luxurious mansions housed the landed proprietor, while the serfs, who worked his fields, or delved in his mines, huddled together in miserable huts.

Heavy taxes oppressed the spirits and hampered the industry of the people of town and country alike, while the wheels of industry were blocked by a rigid system of trade guilds, which confined each occupation to an hereditary caste. Above all, the despotic rule of Rome crushed out all local independence; and when the legions of Rome were hastily called home to defend the imperial city from the assaults of the Goths, in 411 A.D., the Britons offered but a feeble resistance to the hordes of Angles and Saxons that at once poured in upon them. The dash and daring of these savage and piratical people awakened wonder, even in that age of violence. "Foes are they," sang a Roman poet of the time, "fierce beyond other foes and cunning as they are fierce; the sea is their school of war, and the storm their friend; they are sea-wolves and live on the pillage of the world." Against foes such as these, the Britons, cowed by long years of serfdom, could make no stand, and soon the customs of the Anglo-Saxons became the custom of all England.

The basis of the social organization of the early English was the "ceorl" or churl. He was the "free-necked man," whose long hair floated over a neck that had never borne the yoke of slavery. In him was vested the proud right of bearing arms. He was the owner of land, and in the ownership of land consisted a man's sole claim to freedom. The landless man might not be nominally a slave, but without land no freedom could exist. Above the churls in rank were "erls," men who were distinguished among their fellows by virtue of noble blood. To them churls and slaves alike looked up with reverence. From their ranks the villagers chose "earldermen" as leaders in war or governors in peace. But in these early days such a choice was a purely voluntary one. All power was in the hands of the free men; all justice was de-

creed in their councils. In the thickly-settled regions every freeman was a law unto himself, and with spear or sword dealt out summary justice to wrongdoers. In the little settlements were found the germs of a legislature and trial by jury. The homesteads clustered round a moot-hill or round a sacred tree, where the whole community met to administer its own justice and frame its own laws. Here fields were passed in sale from man to man, by the delivery of a bit of turf, and the strife of farmer with farmer was settled according to the customs of the village, as stated by the "aldermen," and the wrongdoer was judged and his fine assessed by his kinsfolk. In all cases the kinsfolk of the accused were his judges. Around the moot-hill met the "witan," or wise men of the village, to settle questions of peace or war and to frame laws. In this was the germ of the Witenagemote, which persisted until the eleventh century, then declining in power only to again reappear in the form of the modern British parliament.

It would be hard to find a more democratic society than that of the early English, but it was not long before the principles of caste and aristocracy crept in. The first step toward an aristocracy founded upon wealth was the custom of elevating the churl to a higher rank with the title of "thane," so soon as he had secured the ownership of a certain quantity of land. With the desire for the acquisition of land came the inevitable result that the humbler land-owners were forced out of their holdings and ultimately compelled to sell themselves into slavery, in order to secure subsistence. Political offenders, prisoners of war and criminals were also made slaves, so that soon after the establishment of Saxon power in England we find the slaves constituting nearly three-fourths of the total population. Children of slaves inherited the condition of their parents, save that the child of a freeman by a slave woman was free—a rule in opposition to that of France, which provided that children were born into the station of the mother. Even among the slaves there were varied classes, each with its special privileges and duties. Female slaves were classified into three ranks, each with its specified duties. Among men were found the *esne*, the *theow*, the *bordar*, the *cocket*, the *herde*, and the *perding*. But though the names of the servile classes have descended to us, no satisfactory description of their mode of life and their duties is extant. As easy is it to find historians treating of the ox or the horse as of the human bearers of burden of that age of slavery. Some were employed about the houses of their masters, doing the most servile tasks; some tilled the fields and lived in wretched huts set apart for their use; others who as freemen had learned trades, or as boys had

been taught them, worked incessantly at forge or bench, only to yield up, each week, the sum of all their earnings to the lordly master. All were regarded as being as much connected with the land as the trees or crags that stood upon it; the transfer of an estate by purchase or conquest took with it all slaves residing thereon. They were incapable of possessing property, and only in the case of most outrageous injuries by one other than their lord could they claim any protection from the courts. They were classed as merchandise, and had their regular price in the market. About ten shillings was the regular price of an able-bodied slave, male or female, though a woman beyond the time for bearing children was not so valuable, while one brought to the sale showing signs of pregnancy commanded yet a higher price. So frequent became the transfers, that a toll was levied upon all moneys received by the sale of slaves, and thus a considerable revenue was secured to the state.

Yet, horrible and degrading as was the condition of the slave, it was not irrevocable. As a freeman, by excesses and extravagances, might suddenly find himself reduced, through debt, to slavery, so a slave, by industry and prudence, might earn enough money to purchase his freedom. Instances of manumission (as the granting of freedom to a slave was called) in consideration of payment are not rare in Saxon history. We read of Elfsig, called the Red, purchasing his freedom for £1, while Brightmaer not only secured freedom for himself but carried his wife, his children and his grandchildren out of slavery by a payment of £2 to his master. Again, many slaves secured their freedom through testamentary provision, on the death of their owner. Sometimes, out of gratitude for past services, a dying "thane" freed his slaves, or gave them partial freedom, or exempted some from certain specified punishments, as the brand or the whip. Again, slaves were given their freedom upon the stipulation that as free men they would perform certain services, and in the event of their failure so to do they relapsed into slavery.

Slaves who had thus gained their freedom, found themselves not in the position of the "churls," or freemen, but in an anomalous condition of vassalage, neither free nor servile. They became a species of "villains," who resided on the lands of the wealthy lords and, in exchange for protection and the right to till the soil or practice their trades, did such service for the "thane," or other owner, as he saw fit to exact. They were called upon to rally about his banner in time of war and to mend his roads or till his fields in time of peace. Toward their lord they held much the position of slaves, but among the people they were essentially free men. Plunged in the most abject poverty, they lived almost

entirely upon vegetable food, the flesh of such animals as were herded being appropriated for the use of the wealthy. Fish, however, especially eels, often appeared in the dishes of the poorer Saxons, and occasionally a bit of pork. Barley bread was the chief stay of the poorer classes, the fine wheat being a luxury only enjoyed by the rich. Even at that early day, the use of liquors was universal with all classes of Saxons above the wretched slaves, whose poverty admitted only of water and milk. The freemen and churls drank deeply of beer and ale, while the banquet board of the rich was never set without great flagons of wine or mead. From the highest to the lowest, gluttony was the prevailing vice, and the vassal, with his barley bread, his fish and ale, performed no less mighty feats of gastronomy than did the noble in his banqueting-hall, tempted by all the delicacies then known.

The architecture of the Saxons presents but few features worthy of notice. They were a race of soldiers rather than of artisans, and the creative faculty seems to be seldom found among them. The houses of even the richest nobles were of wood, rude in structure, and, though often covering great tracts of ground, were low and unpretentious. Their temples and churches were built of wood, and, like the cottage of the humblest serf, were thatched in lieu of roofing. In the center of the roof of the dwellings gaped a huge opening, which served for a chimney whence the smoke, after filling the house to suffocation, poured out in clouds. Not until long after the Norman invasion did the architecture of England take on any permanent features, and indeed the mighty ruins now standing in various parts of the island seldom date back further than the thirteenth century. With the Normans came the art of castle-building, and to the infusion of Norman blood Englishmen owe that spirit which has led them to cover their fertile island with stately homes.

The rude huts of the Saxons were furnished with articles no less rude and clumsy. Benches served for chairs, and their beds were of skins heaped upon a rude bedstead. In the houses of the rich there was often an incongruous contrast between the rough-hewed furniture, bare walls and floors strewn with rushes, and the articles of gold and silver with which they loved to garnish their walls, and the richly embroidered fabrics frequently used for curtains. As the Christian religion gained a foothold among the Saxons, the rude people were familiarized with the sight of beautiful and costly decorations in the churches. The walls were often covered with foreign paintings or rich tapestry, the vessels used on the altar in the communion service were of gold, the altar itself

sparkled with jewels, while the vestments of the priests were of silken fabrics, embroidered with gold and silver. These grandeurs were the fruits of the intercourse of the ecclesiastics with Rome. From the vacant minds of the Anglo-Saxons no such artistic conceptions could have proceeded. Living ever among savage scenes, with no great past to inspire and guide them, with the constructive trades left to the hands of the slaves, who were slow to learn and slower to invent, the progress of the Saxons in the arts of refinement was necessarily slow. Not until the downfall of the feudal system gave to the wage-worker that place among men from which, as a slave, he had been debarred, did the work of Saxon artisans show signs of any great mechanical skill or artistic talent.

Democratic though the institutions of the Saxons were, the form of government was nevertheless a monarchy. Above churl or ealderman or thane was one ruler in whose hands were centralized the affairs of state and who was called by his subjects "cyning," a term that time has corrupted into king. But his power was far from being the absolute power of the chief of a savage tribe, or the omnipotence of a Roman emperor. The British monarchy of today is hardly more limited—little more hedged about with provisions for the welfare of the subject than was the monarchy of the English of that day. At first the king was elected, but soon the custom became fixed of keeping the crown in one family. The rules of descent were not invariable; a dying king transferred his throne as often to his brother or uncle as to his eldest son. It would seem, from historical testimony, that the democratic English established even a limited monarchy with reluctance, but were forced to it by the turbulence of surrounding peoples, which rendered a commander-in-chief of English forces by land and sea essential. Thus the position of the monarch was at first merely military, but the first extension of his powers was the delegation to him of the duty of carrying into effect the decrees of the Witenagemote. In this body was vested all legislative power, and this power being jealously reserved up to the era of the Norman conquest, the power of the throne was greatly abridged. The Witenagemote was composed of different classes as the multiplication of ranks in the country extended. Originally, the "*earldermen*" or earls, and the "*gerefas*," or sheriffs, constituted this supreme council of the state. Later on, the Christian missionaries from Rome and the far east having penetrated to their wild and distant region and instilled the doctrines of redemption into the minds of the savages, there grew up a distinct caste—that of the ecclesiastics. As the new faith grew great and power-

ful this class must have representation in the affairs of state, and thus we find bishops and abbots sitting with the wise men of the Witena-gemote. At a still later date the knights were admitted, and it seems probable that at some time the churls and burgesses sat in this truly democratic council, although upon this point there is some conflict amid the historians. Over the official acts of the king this body exercised a most zealous supervision, and any undue assumption of power by the monarch was sure to bring a prompt protest from the vigilant legislature. Yet the position of the king was by no means a merely nominal one. He was surrounded by great pomp, and every honor was done him by all subjects. As all extensions of territory were won by the sword, he, by virtue of his position as commander of the forces, accumulated vast estates, enough to support great retinues of vassals, while he conciliated powerful lords by royal gifts of land. His also had the power of appointing and removing all public officers, and this power then as now proved a fertile source of political corruption when the throne was held by an ambitious monarch. To sum up the characteristics of the kingly power it may be said the absolute power of the Saxon kings extended over the army and navy and no further. Yet they were in a position of vast influence; in their vast estates and in their control of government officials lay the means for aggrandizing their personal influence, and rather by this influence than by any powers expressly delegated did they uphold their kingly station and authority.

Such was the condition of the English people up to the time of the Norman invasion in the eleventh century. By that great flood of aliens from across the channel every characteristic of the English social and political life was changed. Although accomplished at the cost of vast suffering and bloodshed, the change was one of great and permanent benefit to the English nation. By the union of the Normans and the Saxons the barbarism of the latter people, their system of social gradations, their scorn of refinement and morality, all gave place to the chivalric elevation of sentiment of the Normans. Saxon gluttony was replaced by Norman refinement. A strong religious feeling sprang up and spread throughout the land. The squalid huts and modest churches of the Saxons were superseded by those towering castles and stately cathedrals in which the England of today bears witness to her debt to Norman art and taste. How completely England conformed to Norman customs is shown by the similarity between the two countries today. In remarking this, Green, the English historian, writes: "A walk through Normandy teaches one more of the age of our history which we are about to

traverse than all the books in the world. The whole story of the conquest stands written in the stately vault of the minster at Caen, which still covers the tomb of the Conqueror. The name of each hamlet by the roadside has its memories for English ears; a fragment of castle wall marks the home of Bruce, a tiny little village preserves the name of the Percy. The very look of the country and its people seem familiar to us; the peasant in his cap and blouse recalls the build and features of the small English farmer; the fields about Caen with their dense hedgerows, their elms, their apple orchards, are the very picture of an English country side. On the windy heights around rise the square gray keeps which Normandy handed on to the cliffs of Richmond or the banks of Thames, while large cathedrals lift themselves over the red-tiled roofs of little market towns, the models of the stately fabrics which superseded the lowlier churches of Aelfrid or Dunstan." Nor was it alone in the outward evidences of civilization that the Norman occupation was of benefit to England. The first king of the Norman line, by his beneficent rule, vastly ameliorated the condition of the slaves and villains that under the Saxons had been regarded as little better than the beasts of the field. No longer was the superior allowed to seize the lands of an humble Saxon and by depriving him of their use ultimately reduce the despoiled one to slavery.

" The good old rule,
The simple plan,
That he may take who has the power,
And he may keep who can,"

became somewhat mitigated under the influence of human chivalry and generosity. No longer was the person of the slave an article of commerce. True, men and women were still transferred with the land upon which they lived, but they could not be sold away from the land; the horrible practice of tearing families asunder by sale was done away with. At the same time, the facilities for emancipation were broadened, and before every slave was placed the promise that diligence and economy alone were necessary for him to secure his freedom.

In the form of government of the country great changes were introduced by the Normans. The loosely constructed, limited monarchy of the Saxons gave way to a strongly centralized government with a king of almost unlimited authority at the head. True it is, that the conqueror retained all the old Saxon forms, the courts of justice, the sheriffs and even the Witenagemote, but, nevertheless, the strong hand of the monarch, aided by his powerful nobles, gradually pruned all the

Saxon institutions of any powers that might hamper the king in the exercise of his royal authority. Gradually, too, the conquered Saxons found that though they appeared to still enjoy their democratic institutions, yet every earl or bishop, every powerful vassal or dignitary, temporal or ecclesiastic, was a Norman.

But chiefest among the innovations introduced into England by William the Conqueror was the institution of the feudal system, which found in England a favorable field for its development and flourished for centuries. In the political organization of the Saxons we find the germs of feudalism. The thanes, or retainers of the Saxon kings, held much the same position as did the feudal lords under the kings of the Plantagenet line. They served the king in time of battle, and from him received in return gifts of vast landed estates with the people abiding upon the land. Thus thethane became a landed proprietor, with an army of vassals at his command, and possessed most of the power of a feudal lord. But with the arrival of William the Conqueror the feudal system was firmly established as a measure of military necessity. The Saxons bore the yoke of subjugation hardly; and the Conqueror, as a means of keeping them more thoroughly under control, apportioned out to his barons huge tracts of the conquered territory, for the government of which they were responsible and the chief revenues of which were to be their reward. This territory the baron, in his turn, divided among his trusted military captains or knights on the same conditions. In case of war or uprising each knight with his retainers was in duty bound to rally about the standard of the baron, while all owed allegiance to the king. Thus there arose throughout all England a vast system of feudal tenures based upon military service. All the estates were held by Normans. The meanest soldier in William's train received an estate in the grand division of the Saxon lands. All power was concentrated in Norman hands, and thenceforth the Saxons became the industrial population. The huge stone castles that began to rise on every wooded hill-top were the homes of Norman lords, and the Saxon who was admitted within the massive portals entered as a feudal retainer or as a prisoner. In the cavernous cells or dungeons of the somber piles many a rebellious Saxon thane spent long years of his life in vain repentance for his opposition to the Norman inroads.

As the feudal barons grew more powerful, their rapacity and cruelty became more insatiate. An old English historian has left to us this fearful description of the horrors of his time: "They hanged up men by their feet and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up

by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings about their heads and writhed them till they went into the brain. They put men into prison where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Some they put into a chest short and narrow and not deep, and that had sharp stones within, and forced men therein so that they broke all their limbs. In many of the castles were hateful and grim things called *rachentes*, which two or three men had enough to do to carry. It was thus made: It was fastened to a beam and had a sharp iron to go about a man's neck or throat so that he might noways sit or lie or sleep but he bore all the iron. Many thousands they afflicted with hunger."

But while feudalism was thus growing like a rank weed, the force which was to ultimately break it down was likewise making headway. After the warriors of Normandy had crushed England into submission, there came a more peaceful invasion by the industrial classes of Normandy—cunning workers in gold, silver, skillful carpenters and masons, brawny smiths and industrious weavers. These people, liking not the harsh reign of the feudal barons, flocked to the large towns, and, as their numbers increased, were loud in their demands for self-government. Over the burgesses of London no feudal baron was ever able to enforce his authority. So it happened in course of time the cities were absolved from all rule save that of the king and the local officers chosen by the burgesses themselves.

In 1254 was established the germ of the English parliament of today. Henry III., then reigning, issued a royal proclamation calling upon the freemen of every county to cast their ballots for two discreet knights, who should meet with him at Westminster and discuss the affairs of state. The knights were to be instructed to report to the sovereign what aid and comfort their county would give him in the troublous times then pending. This opportunity for a general legislative body was eagerly seized by the people of both cities and country. Though the burgesses of the different towns had each their town council, yet never before had a meeting of national delegates been granted them, and they saw therein the promise of a national freedom.

Still this council, of which so much was expected, did not accomplish any great thing in the cause of popular advancement until the reign of Edward III., when by the solemn enactment of a parliament composed largely of commons, three essential principles of the British constitution were announced, viz.:

1. That no money could be legally raised without the consent of those who were to pay it.

2. That both houses of parliament should concur with the king before any measure should have the effect of law.

3. That the commons should have the right of inquiring into public abuses and of impeaching public men.

With the enactment of the third clause began that wondrous rise of the commons to power which is the most striking feature of English political history.

PART IV.

THE MODERN WORLD.

CHAPTER I.—GERMANY.

THE UPRISING OF THE PEASANTRY—CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE PEASANTS' WAR—THE DECADENCE OF SERFDOM—INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS—THE INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY—MANUFACTURES AND THE PRACTICAL ARTS—EXEMPLARY WORKMANSHIP—MATERIAL COMFORTS OF THE WORKING CLASSES—INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS—LAWS AGAINST FOOD ADULTERATION—THE KRUPP WORKS AT ESSEN—AN EMPLOYING FRIEND OF LABOR—EMIGRATION—THRIFT AND INDUSTRY OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASSES—MINING—SKILLED LABOR—POPULAR EDUCATION—THE INDUSTRIAL SPIRIT THE DOMINATING NATIONAL FORCE.

L YING under modern Germany are the ruins of the evolution of old systems, but as much a part of the social structure as are the coal deposits of a decayed age part of the soil. From the darkness of the middle ages, through the half light of the Reformation, through the troublous periods of war resulting from this great religious impulse, through vain struggles for liberty on the part of the peasants, the seed was sown that bears fruit in this day, and the Germanic system is an edifice of time's record upon the evils of the past. It is a part of political philosophy that the greatest national strength is born of the greatest travail, and the iron-nerved, savage-hearted, fierce-spirited race that made so much of Europe the playground of war-loving barbarians, was infusing into the very soil itself that rugged steadfastness, which is the characteristic of the stolid, slow-changing Germans, who now people the populous cities of the Fatherland, or till its teeming fields. The peasants who, in the sixteenth century, rose in frenzied might, applying the torch to castle and cloister, slaying priest and noble in furibundal resentment, enforcing signatures to their twelve articles of agreement by

which they were to be eased of excessive taxes, and allowed some of the rights of men—these peasants were antitypes of the citizens of today, the beginning of the higher development. True enough, the poor Martin Luther, wise, but seeing yet as through a glass darkly, was not Christian enough to see behind this rage of the peasants, the manhood that should be the strength of the nation in a time to come, and wrote furiously, “Kill the peasants like mad dogs wherever you find them, publicly or secretly”; and the peasants, who were a scourge for a time, were finally overwhelmed, beaten back into misery and wrong and inhumanity, their second condition worse than their first. But a great truth had got loose in the world that was to build an armor of justice about the rights of the peasant, so that an emperor himself might not with impunity do wrong to his meanest subject. No expended force is lost. No act of an aroused people is without its influence upon after times; and whatever man enjoys today had its origin in some far-away restless movement of those bearing too heavy burdens, enduring too severe hardships. Ignore the principle, dispute the fact as we will, civilization, spreading her luxurious wings to heaven, and sunning the broad earth with their refulgence, is the creation of the people—the commons, not the bequest of the affluent and the luxurious. A thousand souls bursting in agony are needed to a single great reform; and the deeper in the mire of oppression a proletariat may be crushed and crowded by the crowned masters of the earth, the more violent will be the reaction, the more glorious the gain to the moving mystery of life known as the destiny of man. The luxury of the nobles in this time was a woeful contrast to the penury and depression of the peasantry; but in the very excess and divisions, when every prince had a petty court of his own, and every chief was a prince, lurked the insidious poison of jealousy and rivalry that was to antidote the bane of the lower classes. The emperor was powerless, the people enslaved, the nobles autocratic, the state sick. An enslaved agricultural class, the farmer bitterly oppressed, means political ill health, the debility of government. Either there must come a reformer, or the people must rush into revolution, and revolutions, though purgative, are to be dreaded. Germany had the benefit of both correctives. Frederick II. wrought some desirable reforms. The people arose and wrested to themselves others equally good. The impoverished farmer avoided despair by assassinating the lord who had oppressed him; the peasant groaned until his complaints became a war-cry, and such revolutions as that in Saxony (1790) were the children of his madness. It happened, too, that certain provinces across the Rhine, from Cleve to the Mosel, had been free since the

middle ages, and there the farmer was proprietor or enjoyed his land under an equitable life tenure. The winds that blow from free states bear with them an inspiration that the serf receives with a thrill of longing or a pang of discontent; and, anon, they raised that thunderstorm that burst with violence, but purified the nation of serfdom. Napoleon had not mastered Germany had Germany had a free, unenslaved peasantry. One cannot think of that German peasantry without a mingling of wonder with admiration. Depressed by infamous taxation, oppressed with the most unendurable wrongs, stripped of the rights the abused laws allowed them, at the mercy of the lash and unable to secure redress because their very masters were the juridical authorities over them, denied every privilege that gave sweetness to life, they nevertheless manifested an indomitable energy for systematic work, persisted in the practice of sober frugality to the profit of the family, and continued to obey the divine impulse to advance. The German farmer looked forward hopefully to a time when his industry would be rewarded by his own freedom and the ownership of the land he tilled. The prime principles of manhood urged him forward to a time when he might be the one lord of his happy and free family. It is not strange that the lower and middle-class Germans of today, the descendants of the peasants and artisans of old, have so noble an idea of the family, and so proud a notion of individual character that they are agreeable examples of what lies at the base of national solidarity. With the decadence of serfdom, and its final disappearance in 1848, the agricultural interests of the country rapidly improved, while the manufacturing interests were already of great and constantly increasing importance.

In the first half of the present century Germany had little remaining of the conditions of the middle ages, and every trade had become practically an art, though the rapid introduction of machinery made less and less desirable that cunning dexterity of manual labor which had been brought so nearly to perfection, and which was so much more delicately refined than the products of mechanism, that certain branches are yet followed for the benefit of the rich, whose taste reach beyond the mere utility of things. Manufactories became greatly extended, and increased with rapidity, favored by the European peace that followed the tragedy of Waterloo. The making of linen became one of the universal industries, every part of Germany reverberating with the music of busy looms, though the principal manufactories were in Westphalia, Silesia, Bohemia and Saxony; such excellence having been reached in a special branch in Westphalia that the product is too expensive for general ex-

port. This is an incident by way of illustrating to what degree of fineness the most ordinary trade, practical arts and manufactures are carried by German workmen, who from the hereditary habit of earnest, patient, even painful industry, acquired in the remote times of sore oppression, are among the most exemplary of the world's toilers. The manufacture of woollens in the Prussian provinces of the Rhine, in Saxony and Alsace, is an important industry at this time, and cotton manufacture constitutes the chief interest in Alsace, Lorraine, Wurtemberg and Baden, and flourishes, though less extensively in Bavaria and other parts of Germany. Silk manufacture has reached a high standard in the Rhine provinces and in Baden. Iron work is carried on in most of the states of the German empire, but chiefly in Prussia, Alsace, Lorraine, Bavaria and Saxony; while steel is also largely manufactured in these localities, the quality of the Solingen make being world-famous, superior to any made in England.

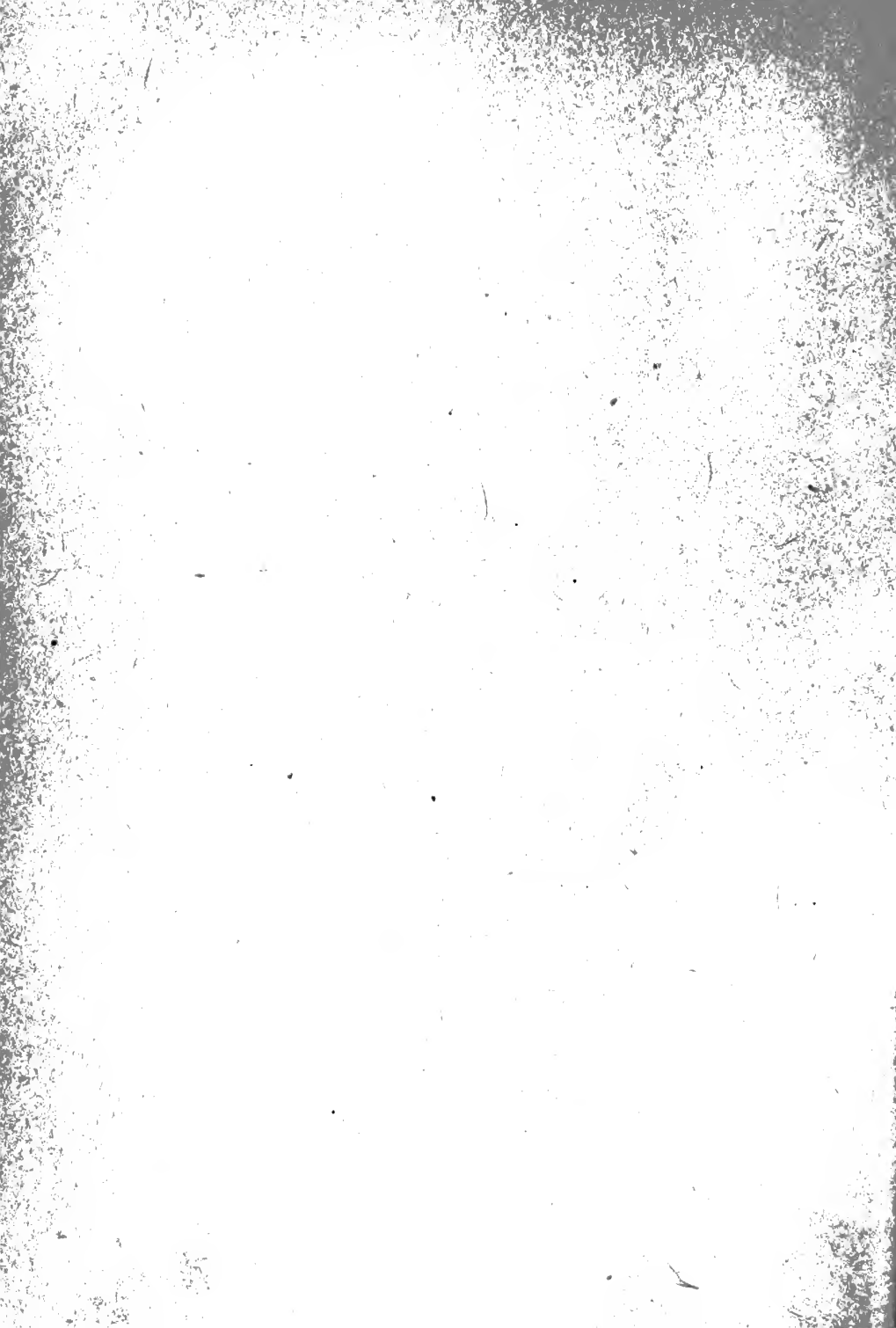
The German workers in leather, metals, porcelain, makers of musical instruments, clocks and woodenware, are unquestionably in advance of those of any other country. A cursory reference to the other notable industries of Germany finds enormous manufactories of needles at Aix-la-Chapelle and Burtscheid, employing a vast force of workmen; twenty-two establishments for locomotive building with a capacity of 1,700 each; 110 porcelain factories; 300 glass factories; 1140 large and 200 small paper manufactories; a textile industry that employs over 150,000 working men and women; 300,000 cotton looms; to say nothing of the mining interests, coal and mineral, and the outreaching of innumerable trades and special vocations, all of which contribute to make Germany of more substantial wealth and home prosperity than any of the other European nations who preceded or began with her the struggle toward a higher civilization and a broader humanity.

The large industrial establishments, particularly those in the western part of Germany, have been mindful of the fact that the value of labor is improved by the wholesome surroundings and material comforts of the laborers, and in the past seventy years have so far departed from former customs as to provide suitable homes at cheap rents for their employés. These are substantial brick houses, built with proper sanitary care, commodious and cleanly kept, much better than the self-reliant laborer would ordinarily secure. This actual generosity is also a practical economy, as the prospect of enjoying a home so much superior to his customary advantages, not only attracts the skilled laborer, but the possession of such a home makes him anxious to continue thus for-



Lizzie Rogers.

The Baby Delegate to the Richmond Convention.



fortunate, and dissension is comparatively unknown among the working forces of these wisely provident establishments. The experience has been productive of such good results that the employing classes generally are coming to understand the profit to themselves of improving as far as possible the condition of their employés. The establishments quickest to recognize and act upon this important truth have reaped the most liberal benefits from the system. It may be said here that Germany, despite the considerable annual emigration of her overplus population seeking release from over-crowded trades and pursuits, by crossing to the American republic of plenty, has devoted a more practical philosophy to the amelioration of the working classes than most other countries that have tried by various ineffectual means to solve the labor problem. In recent years great sums of money have been expended in the establishment of training and industrial schools to promote the welfare of the rising generation of workers, and in liberal spirit the working people of the present time have been dignified to a standard immeasurably superior to that at the beginning of the century. In manufacturing districts where houses are built for the employés there is often a general store opened, from which workmen can, though entirely of their own volition, make purchases of goods at wholesale prices. They are not, however, required to trade at these stores, and general shopkeepers are not prohibited from opening their stores and entering into competition for the trade. Very strict laws not only exist, but are scrupulously enforced to prevent the adulteration of foods, so that buyers feel fairly secure against imposition. This is a measure to protect the health of operatives, and illustrates how exact is becoming the governmental care of the industrial bone and sinew, that after all is the best evidence of a nation's greatness — the best assurance of its perpetuity. It may serve a good purpose here to specify the bearings of one great establishment that has moved forward rapidly as an employing friend of labor. Krupp, whose immense works at Essen are as famous as his name is familiar, has in his employ an excess of 19,000 employés, who, with their families make 65,000 persons supported by his works. Of these 11,211 are engaged in Essen, a town of a little more than 40,000 inhabitants, the rest being at work in mines. He owns 547 iron mines in Germany. In 1883 he found that the accommodations at Essen were insufficient for the increasing numbers of workmen demanded by his establishment, and built an additional 140 dwellings, suitable to the needs of his men and their families, and today there are 4,000 family dwellings around Essen, in which 160,000 people live. To further provide for the laborers in a way to increase

their comfort of living, numerous boarding-houses have been erected, one of which is of a superior kind, where the better class of skilled workmen are accommodated. These houses form distinct colonies, the dwellings, comfortable but not pretentious, being suites of three and four rooms, facing wide, well-kept and well-lighted streets, and held at an annual rental of from \$16.50 to \$45. In the boarding-houses the cost of living ranges from twenty to twenty-seven cents a day. The dwellers are cheerful and content in their surroundings, and the children and youth have the advantages of one free school and six industrial schools, in which the fees are fifty cents a month. Churches have been built, both Protestant and Catholic, for the use of workmen and their families. There is a "sick and pension" fund of which every workman and foreman is required to become a member, the entrance fee being a half-day's pay, the annual dues being proportioned to the amount of wages paid, though Mr. Krupp pays half of every member's contribution. In case of illness or accident, a member has free medical treatment, and in case of death the funeral expenses are paid out of the fund. By the payment of an additional dollar, the workman can receive medical treatment for his wife and children. Pensions are paid to men permanently disabled in the works, and temporary support given to invalids whose inability to work is attested by two physicians. The highest pension is \$25 per month, the average pension to widows is \$8.50 a month. There are arrangements for low rate life insurance, of which a workman may avail himself, and to this insurance union Mr. Krupp gave a reserve fund capital of \$125,000, in 1877, which has since greatly increased. There is a great supply store conducted on a rigidly cash basis, from which every article needed by individual or family can be bought at cost price. Gymnasia and healthful amusements are also furnished. This is a picture so startling in contrast to the conditions that prevailed at the close of the seventeenth century, that one may feel gratefully assured that the industrial world does move upward steadily, and possibly rapidly enough, though an outlook upon our immediate times may detect nothing of the movement, and though the laborer himself, viewing a contracted sphere, may not be able to understand that his cause of complaint becomes less general, decade by decade.

When, in 1881, the emperor declared that the remedy for socialistic excess must be sought, not only in repression, but equally in a positive attempt to promote the welfare of the laboring classes, he spoke the sentiment of the age, which Mr. Krupp has put into practical expression. The government made a step in the right direction when it adopted a law

making the employer responsible for any accident to a workman in the discharge of his duties. The voice of the government was then heard declaring the hope that "the defenseless in the State would gradually learn, by practical experience, that government is not entirely forgetful of them, except when it needs money, or calls upon them to bear arms, but that it thinks also of protecting and sustaining them, so that, with their feeble powers, they may not be trampled down in the great highway of life," a vast difference from that time when a bishop of the church gave to the hounds a peasant who had accidentally killed a stag.

The fact that the great Chancellor Bismarck found it desirable to address to the German Parliament these words: "If you will give the laborer the right to labor as long as he is in health, secure to him care when he is sick, provide for his support when he is old—if you will do that, and not cry out about State socialism whenever the support of the aged is spoken of; if the State shows some Christian solicitude for the working people," workingmen will respect and champion the government. This fact is impressive evidence that the condition of the laborer is mending faster in Germany than in other countries, where the old order of heredity sits brooding above the cockatrice's egg of caste.

It is apparently difficult to reconcile the proportion of a country's prosperity, and the content of its laboring classes, with the large annual emigration of its workers to foreign countries. In less than thirteen years the German emigrants numbered 1,309,370. In the years 1882-3, when there were 194,786, the following classification was made: Artists, literary and professional men, 857; trades people, bakers, tailors, etc., 25,190; farmers, 16,961; day laborers, 25,586; house servants, 3,357; persons without occupations, chiefly women and children, 117,161. The destination of these wanderers from their native land was America, the El Dorado to which the minds of the foreign working people are ever longingly directed. This exodus does not so much argue a wretched condition at home, as it indicates the hope of finding an even better and more ideal existence in a land that is somewhat too rosily painted to the farmer of the uneducated Europeans. The liberty of the United States almost runs into license, and sometimes, exceeding the true bounds of the rights of individuals, is a fascinating spell to the workman who has grown up under a system that imposes restrictions upon him which, though calculated to conserve the best interests of the greatest number, sometimes seem to bear heavily, if not unjustly, against his sense of manhood and the equality of men. It is by no means an assured fact that emigrants always improve their condition in the New World, and it is a

fact that not a few pine to return to the land of their birth, magnifying, with retrospective glance, the advantages formerly enjoyed. There is one other consideration that weighs with the foreign workman: the high rate of wages paid in the United States. The day-laborer, who persists at toil from eight to ten hours for a handful of groschen, naturally enough feels the enticement of a rate of pay that guarantees him from three to ten times as much for a like amount of work, and in the excess he perceives the possibility of putting aside a goodly sum for the rainy day of old age or sickness. The thrifter and more ambitious the man, the greater the prospect of increased benefits in a country of liberal wages. Unfortunately, they do not take into account the corresponding increase of expenses, the greater amount of rent to be paid, the additional cost of clothing, and the peculiar demand put upon the laborer who would keep his social grade equal to his work standard. While, therefore, it is true that the working classes of America have it within possibility to greatly improve their standing, have a broader field opened to them, if their intelligence and industry are fairly balanced, it is by no means sure that the actual content and peace of the home-life are sweeter in America than in many of the towns and hamlets or provinces from which the eager spirit of unrest, of adventure, of speculation, of freedom, or of wholesome ambition, hurries the emigrant. The agricultural class of Germany is less restive than the trades or labor classes. With the abolition of the feudal system and serfage, and the opening to the peasantry of opportunities to become land-owners, the agricultural strength of Germany has steadily increased and become beneficent. At the present time, in spite of forest culture and large mountainous districts, 48 $\frac{5}{10}$ per cent of land in Germany is under cultivation, while 10 $\frac{9}{10}$ per cent is rich meadow. In Prussia alone about 600,000 land-owners have sufficient land—from seven to twenty acres—to support themselves and families comfortably. This makes a good class of people, and these few acres, every inch of which is scrupulously cultivated, often represent no mean fortune to their owners. As a rule, the small farms lie in the west of Germany, and 200 acres is accounted a great farm in Prussia, while along the Russia frontier, where the large land-owners are in control, tracts of 15,000 acres may be found in possession of one gentleman farmer or noble. In these agricultural districts, such is the thrift and industry of a people working to a direct personal purpose, paupers are very rare, and beggars are wholly unknown. From these farms, great and small, come not only the home supply, but also a large overplus that finds its way to England and Holland, in flour and grain. Tobacco is

almost important enough to be a staple, and it keeps 100,000 laborers employed in 10,500 factories.

At the time of the last special report Germany had 119,973 hectares of vineyards, grape culture being one of the most profitable and delightful employments of the peasantry, while the harvest is made the occasion of great festivity and really beautiful ceremony. As the strength of a nation is in its soil, Germany, so many of whose people are diverted from industrial to military service, may be truly said to depend for her solidity upon the thrift of her agricultural classes, a thrift that makes every available rood of ground teem with luxuriant growth, even the more unproductive tracts being curiously enchanted by the patient, almost painful toil of the farmers who gather a harvest where an American would only sow despair.

The mining interests are extensive, gold and silver being produced in considerable quantities; copper is less plentiful, while the zinc interest in the eastern part of Prussia has made an annual yield of 125,276 tons. The coal deposits, however, are abundant, the last reported output being 57,233,875 tons. These departments of labor employ a vast number of workmen at low wages. In the one item of iron, Germany is only surpassed by England and the United States, employing 200,000 men, and aggregating a production of 9,000,000 tons of iron ore. In the manufacture of steel Germany has surpassed all other countries, a fact due as much to the skill and energy of the workers as to the ingenuity of inventors, or the cunning of experiment. This peculiar excellence has not only made Solingen the world's market for the finest swords and bayonets, but the needle manufactories of Aix-la-Chapelle and Burtscheid, the supply from which is incredibly great, are equally famed for the excellence of their products.

That which particularly operates to the credit of Germany in respect to the labor and industrial classes is the desire to have every department filled, as far as possible, with skilled labor. To crush out ignorance, indolence and dependence is the paternal idea of government, and whatever hardships lie between the working man and his night's rest, it cannot be denied that Germany exercises a fostering care over the great army of toilers that is not found in any of the Christian countries. The law compelling parents to send their children between the ages of six and fourteen years, to school, works a double good — it affords a foil to ignorance, and prevents the too early enforcement of hard labor upon children. The German lad or lass may therefore grow more sturdily to mature powers, with certain mental advantages not always enjoyed by

youth in the United States, where an admirable system of education exists, but where there is too much "liberty" to insure a child the rudiments of an education. Germany has 57,000 of these elementary schools, that are attended by 7,100,000 children. In addition to these, there are springing up, all over the empire, industrial schools, in which, at a nominal cost, pupils may be grounded in the principles of a trade or craft, and fitted to go into the labor market and compete for wages where skill is a desideratum. This influence must tend to the upbuilding of the lower orders, and, in the course of a few generations, to the wholesome evolution of German society, by which the industrial spirit will become the dominating national force, prodigious standing armies cease to be a necessity, and a luxurious nobility make way for the people, not now rebellious, turbulent, savagely destructive, but educated to a sense of the wisdom of solidarity and the virtue of democracy. Germany is moving to this higher socialism, which means equity of relations between conditions and degrees—the skilled workman with a fixed value as to skill, the educated workman with an appreciation of the benignity of knowledge, the humane workman with a sense of universal justice, coöperating to make a state in which liberty of conscience and individual interest must bear toward a common center, the welfare of the whole. If this is the ultimate of civilization, despite imperfections, despite remaining wrongs, the scars of the middle ages and the oppressive burden of too freely exercised self-interest, Germany is farther along toward the consummation than is even the United States, where, too, many misunderstood blessings and benefits are, through vice and ignorance, being returned upon the givers as curses.

CHAPTER II.—ENGLAND.

IGNORANCE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—THE HOMES AND DOMESTIC COMFORTS OF THE FARMER AND LABORER—WAGES AND COST OF LIVING—CHILD LABOR AT NORWICH—THE IVY-GROWN COTTAGES OF ENGLAND IN FICTION AND IN REALITY—FOOD OF THE PEASANTRY—LAND TENURES—AN IMPROVIDENT AND RECKLESS METHOD OF AGRICULTURE—THE ARTISAN, MECHANICS AND LABORERS OF TODAY—THE TYPICAL ENGLISH MANUFACTORY—THE PEABODY TENEMENTS—GENERAL CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH WAGE-WORKERS.

AT the close of the Wars of the Roses, the entire population of England and Wales did not exceed 2,500,000. In 1575 the population amounted to 5,000,000. Many there were, ignorant of the principles of political economy and the science of wealth, who complained of this increase of population as a national misfortune. It was better, they said, to have an increase in their herds of cattle than in the number of men. This they did, not comprehending that in these millions, properly employed, were dormant the nation's strength and wealth.

Another example of the prevailing ignorance of political economy at this time was the attempt by legislation to regulate the price of commodities and the rate of wages. As late as the time of Charles II. certain magistrates were empowered to determine the rate of wages to be paid farm laborers in their respective counties. This indicates that even at this period existed a controversy between handicraftsmen and cupidity. In 1496 and 1514 certain laws were enacted with a view to keeping down the wage-rates of England. This shows that during this time the wage-workers were deprived of a voice in public affairs, and that their employers used their power to oppress their employes. In 1500 the wages of master masons were 6*d* a day. Their wages had doubled in 1575, and in 1590 their wages had increased to 1*s* 2*d*. During the same period the wages of the common laborer advanced from 6*d* to 10*d* a day. In 1544 the sailors of the royal navy had their wages advanced from 5*s* to 6*s* 8*d* per month. An advance in the wage-rates at this time was experienced in all other trades and professions. The cause assigned for this was the gradual rise in the price of provisions, rent and clothing. This state of affairs demonstrates that the people had become more numerous, that

they were more luxurious and demanded better accommodations. Wheat is said to have advanced from 3s 4d a quarter in 1485 to 17s in 1589. In 1596 the price of this grain was £2 2s a quarter. In the previous century one hundred eggs sold for 6d, and all other farm produce was equally low.

At the beginning of this period the houses of laborers were of mud, and those of the farmers generally of timber. A wealthy man was that human who had half a dozen pewter dishes in his house. Indeed the lodgings of the lower and middle classes were uniformly inelegant and comfortless.

The yeomanry of the period were satisfied with beds of straw and pillows of chaff. The lowly farm servant, on the other hand, was satisfied to recline his weary form on a heap of straw without even a coverlet. The bread of the wage-laborer was generally of rye, barley or oats, and sometimes of peas or beans. The wealthy alone could taste wheaten bread.

“The agricultural laborer, by the evening fireside, made his own shoes, or prepared the yokes and plowing gear for his oxen.” The farmer’s wife winnowed the corn, made malt and hay, and did the washing for her family. If required so to do by her husband, she would assist to fill the muck-wain, to drive the plow, load hay or corn, or go to the market with the products of the farm.

The father of the great Latimer was a farmer. He says that when a boy, his father rented a farm at £4 a year, and that he employed upon it six men. At the time he was writing, however, the same farm rented for £16 a year, and the yeoman who farmed it “could do nothing for his prince, himself, or his children; nor could he scarce give a cup of drink to the poor.”

On the dispersion of Cromwell’s army, writes Macaulay, so upright was the character of the men that even the Royalists confessed that in every department of honest industry they prospered beyond other men. No member of that famous army was ever charged with the commission of a theft or robbery; nor was one of them ever known to ask alms. If a wagoner, a mason, or a baker, by his diligence and sobriety, attracted notice, he was in all probability an old soldier of the Puritan army.

In 1685 the produce of the farm was more valuable than any and all fruits of human industry. Notwithstanding this, farming was in a very imperfect and rude state. It was estimated by the best political arithmeticians of that period that the arable and pastoral lands of England did not amount to more than one-half of the area of the country. Im-

mense tracts of the country were wild or waste lands. Large numbers of the agricultural laborers were without employment, and in their despair resorted to theft and robbery. Certain authors mention these unfortunate men as roaming the country in predatory bands, taking by force what was denied them as the legitimate fruit of their industry.

The most numerous class of manual laborers at this time were those who held the plow, drove the oxen, manipulated the looms of Norwich, and squared the posts and stones for St. Paul's. The information in relation to these classes is extremely meager; and this for the reason that men did not then regard it as their duty to talk and write about the distress of the laborer. Four-fifths of people engaged in agricultural pursuits. Farm-laborers were paid four shillings a week. Weavers received at this time six cents a day. So disproportionate was the laboring population to the wage fund then, that if the farm-laborer or weaver objected to his pittance as insufficient, he was told he might take it or leave it. In fact, the more the history of the past is studied, the more clear it becomes that our own age is no more fruitful of labor evils than were other eras or times. Indeed, labor troubles are not new, but old. "That which is new is the intelligence which discerns, and the humanity which remedies them. We find that the wages of the bricklayer, of the mason, of the carpenter and the plumber, have advanced during the last 120 years. Measured in money, in 1685 wages were not more than one-half of what they are today." The rabble of London were wont to gather together every evening in the center of Lincoln's Inn Field. There they assembled within hearing of Cardigan and Winchester House, to witness dog-fights, see bear-dances, and listen to the harangues of mountebanks. In every part of this space were deposited heaps of filth and refuse matter. In this locality also the beggars were wont to congregate, and were as noisy and importunate as in the worst governed cities of continental Europe. "The whole fraternity knew the arms and liveries of every charitably disposed grandee in the neighborhood, and as soon as his coach and six appeared, came hopping and crawling in crowds to persecute him." There was a noisy and filthy market in Covent Garden, in close proximity to the mansions of the rich and noble. Under their very windows screamed the fruit-women, and the cartmen fought. At the threshold of the palaces of the Countess of Berkshire and Bishop of Durham, accumulated heaps of cabbage stalks and rotten apples. Such being the condition of the fashionable parts of London, what must have been the state and appearance of the lowly and less pretentious portions of the metropolis.

The homes of the artisan, the mechanic and the laborer were squalid in appearance, and noisome and filthy within.

Child-labor was then prevalent, and a child six years of age was not deemed too tender for labor. Several authorities state that at Norwich, child-labor augmented the wealth of the city annually by more than £12,000.

Prior to the revolution, thousands of square miles of land, now under cultivation, were heath, forest and marsh. Much of this land was considered as common, and many poor peasants settled upon these tracts as squatters. Here, by toiling early and late, the poor squatter managed to eke out a subsistence for his family, and fuel for the winter. With the increase of population and the progress of agriculture the poor squatter was deprived of even these poor privileges.

In 1771, in the north of England, harvest hands were paid 60 cents a week and board; in haying time from 1s and 6d to 2s per week and board and beer; for hoeing turnips 5s and 6d per week, and for ditching 6d to 9d per week. It is said that the average annual earning of the farm laborer of Northern England in 1771 was £18. In the next year, it is estimated to have been £10, and in 1773 to have been from £7 to £9. In 1771 a boy of ten or twelve years was paid 2s and 6d a week.

Until 1872, Somersetshire probably presented the worst aspects of the farm laborer in England. This was true of wages, cottages and the general treatment of the rural peasantry. But the condition of Somersetshire, in this respect, was fairly representative of rural England. Mr. Francis George Heath, in his excellent work on English Peasantry, gives the following statement of a Somersetshire farm laborer: "John — received from his employer between Lady-day, 1871, and Lady-day, 1872, £19 16s 6d for piece work (hedging, draining, turnip-hoeing, mowing and harvesting) and £12 for day work, at 10s a week, inclusive of twenty-one days lost time on account of bad weather. Thus this young English laborer's total year's income was £31 16s. 6d., besides three pints of cider on six days of the week and none on Sunday. Let us now turn to the debit side of this account, and the items shall be furnished by John's wife, a careful and notable woman—for you must know that John has a wife and four children to provide for out of his earnings. Rent, 2s. a week, £5 4s.; poor rates, 7s. 6d.; tithes, 1s. 6d.; 1 cwt. of coal per week, £2 12s.; one year's shoes for the family, and mending, £2 5s.; bread, 4s. 6d. per week, £11 14s.; one quarter of an acre of potato ground, £2; seed potatoes £1; club pay, 12s.; soap, 10s. 10d.; tea, 3d.

per week, 13s.; candles, 20 weeks, 7s. 6d.; 1 quarter pound of butter a week, 17s. 4d.; half a pound treacle, 6s. 6d.; broom and salt, 2s.; two cups and saucers, 4d.; four plates and mugs, 1s. 4d.; four children's schooling, at 1d. per week, 17s. 4d.; tools, scythe, two hooks, whetstones, pick-axe, two shovels, cross-axe, spade, turnip hoe, £1 12s. 10d.; repairing of these tools, 5s. 3d.—total, £31 13s. 9d.; leaving a balance of 2s. 9d. to buy the family butcher's meat, clothing and other absolute necessaries, for which, if procured at all, the village shop-keeper and the traveling packman must be the sufferers. John is in hope of being better off, for his master (a guardian) has promised to try and get him a shilling or two a week from the union; but he says he must first see the doctor, and get some of his family upon the sick-list." Mr. Heath took this statement from a local newspaper, and he remarks that John's wages were exceptionally high.

Somersetshire has a beautiful landscape. The loveliness of its scenery but serves to contrast more sharply the wretchedness of its farm-laborers. This should not have been, as the soil is rich and the shire was thinly populated. The county contained an area of 149,815 statute acres. In 1871 it had a population of 463,483 persons. This was an average of 2.27 acres to a person. Another example is given of a farm laborer of Somersetshire who, although seventy-seven years of age, worked day after day from 6 in the morning until 6 at night, for which he was paid 7s. per week. From this pittance the old man paid 1s. 6d. per week for cottage rent, thus leaving but 5s. 6d. with which to buy his food and clothing. In the same neighborhood, where lived this old man, skilled laborers were paid not more than 11s. or 12s. per week.

The habitations of the English farm-laborer in Somersetshire were wretched in the extreme. Many of them had a total length of but twenty-one feet, and a width of nine feet, while the height at the extreme point of the thatched roof did not exceed ten feet. The walls were about six feet high. A medium-sized man could not stand upright in these hovels. Sometimes these huts would be divided into two compartments, one of which would be used for a bed-room and the other for a sitting-room. Each of these apartments did not exceed nine feet square. Think for a moment of a father, mother, and perhaps a half dozen children, all sleeping in a room nine feet square. These cottages were constructed of mud with roofs of thatch, and floors of rough, uneven stone flagging. Usually there were crevices between the flags through which, during wet weather, the moisture would arise and dampen the atmosphere of the lowly habitation. For these squalid hov-

els, a rent of 1s., 6d. per week was paid. Many are the families in the west of England that never taste a mouthful of meat from one year's end to another; sometimes the combined earnings of the whole family would scarcely supply the members with bread. Families of ten, thirteen and fifteen have been known to reside in one apartment twelve feet square. "An old table, and perhaps a broken chair in addition would constitute in most cases the only articles of what could scarcely be called furniture. Seldom a vestige of carpet on the floor. A few bedclothes, perhaps, huddled down in one corner. At night these had to be distributed amongst the several members of the family, who, lying about on different parts of the floor, could not possibly in cold weather get a reasonable amount of warmth." Instances are related of farm-laborers in the west of England who had nothing to eat but dry bread for breakfast, dry bread for dinner, and bread moistened with water and seasoned with salt for supper.

Captivating pictures have been painted by distinguished artists of the ivy-grown cottages of England, and novelists and poets have sung the lowly yet picturesque homes of the English farm-laborer. Undoubtedly there are many scenes in an English landscape pleasing to the eye, and none could be more so than the whitewashed wall and low thatched roof of a cottage, creeper-bound, overgrown with ivy, and embowered amid blossoming orchards, and all over-arched by the glory of an early summer sky. As Mrs. Hemans has so sweetly said:

"The cottage homes of England,
By thousands on her plains,
They are smiling o'er the silvery brook,
And round the hamlet fanes."

But distance lends enchantment to the view. What is so picturesque without, is squalid and dismal within. Fiction is captivating, but the stern reality of the farm-laborer's life is but poorly compensated by an appeal to the ideal. A volume could be written containing innumerable instances of the wretched condition of the farm-laborer of England. Those we have given are illustrative of a condition of affairs existing throughout the west of England in 1872.

In many parts of England the farm-laborer is supposed to begin his days' work at seven o'clock in the morning, and to end it about half-past five in the evening. In general, however, he more frequently begins his daily task at half-past four a. m., and does not conclude it until eight or nine o'clock p. m. It is said that in harvest time, both hay and corn, work is sometimes prolonged until midnight.

In North Devon fuel was obtained by "grubbing up" hedge roots.

The farm-laborer was not permitted to keep a pig or poultry, because, it was thought, it would be a temptation for him to steal their food. In this shire the peasant could rent potato ground from the farmer at a rack rent from four to five times larger than the rent paid to the land-owner.

Canon Girdlestone, conspicuous for his efforts in behalf of the agricultural peasantry of England, says that in certain sections of that country the farm-laborer has for breakfast a "tea-kettle broth," made by pouring hot water upon several slices of dry bread, and seasoning the sop with a pinch of salt, to which is occasionally added an onion. For supper the laborer eats bread and skim-milk cheese. His dinner consists, as a rule, of potatoes and cabbage, sometimes flavored with a tiny piece of bacon.

The indifference of the tenant farmers of England to the wretchedness of their laborers approaches inhumanity. The following examples of this brutal apathy are related by Mr. Heath, author of "The Romance of Peasant Life":

"FACT No. 1.—A carter saved a valuable team for his master, a farmer, by rushing at the horses' heads when the animals had one day taken fright at something and were running away. The man fell, in doing so, under one of the wheels of the wagon. His ribs were broken, but his bravery saved the wagon and team. For two months he was confined to his bed, during the whole of which time the farmer (master) refused to give him one sixpence in wages, and the man had nothing but what he got from the rates. Canon Girdlestone, one day during this laborer's illness, met the master, and asked him to give the poor fellow a quart of milk occasionally for his children, whilst he remained unable to work for them. The Canon reminded the farmer that the laborer had been maimed in his service, and that he had saved him a valuable team of horses. The Canon added that the milk was a trifle, which would not be missed. Will it be credited? This farmer, who was a substantial yeoman, refused to give his poor injured servant either the milk he was asked to give or anything else, and he never even went to see him.

"FACT No. 2.—Another carter in the employ of a Halberton farmer was crushed by a restive horse in his master's stable through no fault of the man. The carter was laid up. His wages were immediately stopped by his master, who refused to give him any sort of assistance. This was not all. The man occupied a cottage belonging to his master, and being a carter he held his cottage, rent free, as a part of his wages.

During the whole of the time that he was disabled, he was not merely refused a single penny of wages, but the rent of his cottage was charged to him, and the amount was deducted each week from the wages of his son, who worked for the same farmer.

“FACT No. 3.—A carter in the employ of a Halberton farmer, was sent by his master on a long journey to a distant place. The journey took him twenty hours. The master, a man of substance, refused to give him anything for his additional work beyond a bit of bread and beef and four pence.”

It was in 1868 that Canon Girdlestone proposed the establishment of a national union of agricultural laborers. The actual movement commenced in 1872. On the 29th day of May, 1872, at Leamington, was formed the National Agricultural Laborers' Union. Its objects were stated: 1. “To improve the general condition of agricultural laborers in the United Kingdom.” 2. “To encourage the formation of branch and district unions.” 3. “To promote coöperation and communication between unions already in existence.” In 1874 there were branches of the union in every county in England, except Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire and Cornwall. There were then 1,000 branches, with a membership of not less than 100,000.

We have now considered the condition of the farm-laborer at some length. Our study would be incomplete without an allusion to the farmer, his master. And this for the reason that not only is the farmer immediately interested in manual toil, but an intimate relation exists between his condition and that of the farm-laborer. Few, if any, of the farmers of England own the land they cultivate. The law does not compensate them for permanent improvements made upon the land. Should they, therefore, expend large sums in draining and enriching a farm, it would be without the hope of remuneration. As a result the land is cultivated excessively and without any attempt to recuperate the soil by the use of fertilizers. This method of agriculture is, of course, improvident and reckless. True it is in some parts of England land receives a very high state of cultivation; but generally “there is room for an enormous increase in its food-producing capabilities.” One authority states that there is an annual food deficit amounting in value to £80,000,000, which is supplied by imports. The condition of farm tenancies in England has been such as to discourage capital from investing in agricultural enterprises. So palpable has this evil become that it has elicited the attention of English statesmen. On this subject Mr.

James Howard once said before the Social Science Congress, held at Norwich in October, 1874 :

“How more capital is to be attracted to land is the great problem to be solved, and looking to the signs of the times, the outcry at the price of meat, and the uncasiness manifested in what is popularly called the land question, I think it desirable that no more time should be lost, but that the difficulty shall be looked fairly in the face by the legislature ; for in the event of a reversal in the tide of the nation’s prosperity, the question may be solved in a rougher fashion than any well-wisher of his country would desire. Much good would unquestionably ensue from amendments in our laws with respect to ownership, devolution and transfers of land, but no such interest would, in my opinion, have so great and immediate an influence in encouraging the embarkation in the higher cultivation of the land as an equitable law securing to the tenant an interest in the outlay of his capital.

“According to the present law of England whatever property a tenant puts into or upon the land, becomes at once the property of the landlord. No matter to what extent a tenant may have raised the value of the estate he farms, the law takes no cognizance of any claim to the property embarked. On the other hand, if the tenant should, by improper or niggardly management, reduce the value of the farm he occupies, the law gives the landlord the power to sue for dilapidation or deterioration. It is true the right is not enforced, but so long as it remains the condition of the law is one-sided and unjust.

“The capital of the tenantry of this country is indispensable to the cultivation of the soil. The landed proprietors could no more do without the tenantry than could the farmers dispense with the laborer. Is it therefore wise that the state should ignore the property of so indispensable a class, and permit a law to remain which allows the land-owner to appropriate to himself the improvements and property of his tenants, without acknowledgment or compensation? So long as such a law remains will the application of capital to farming be checked, and, as a consequence, the production of food for the people be curtailed. As is well known capital is proverbially shy. Every mercantile man knows full well that the primary condition in every undertaking to which it is sought to attract capital is security.

“The question may be asked, ‘Is legislation after all necessary? Will not a good understanding between landlord and tenant accomplish all that is desired? At all events should not the landlord and tenant be left to make their own agreements? Are not leases the proper remedy?’

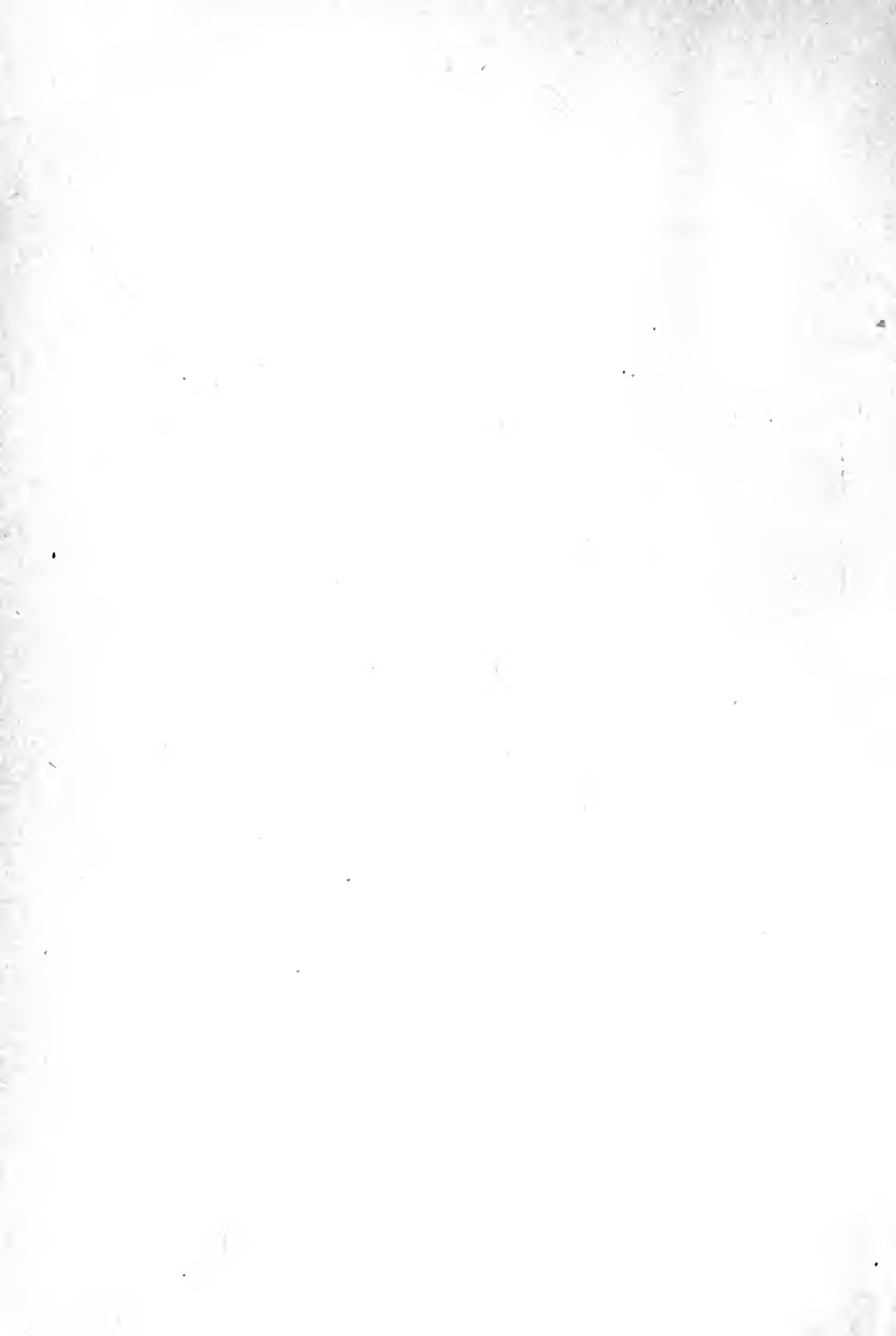
To such questions I would simply reply: These are the very arguments which have been used for a generation past, and yet three-fourths of the land of England continues to be held subject to a six months' notice to quit, and in the great majority of cases without compensation for either permanent or unexhausted improvements. I would further point to the fact that capital which flows so plentifully into other branches of industry and into enterprises of every kind, both home and foreign, yet remains unattracted toward agriculture, and that not one-half the capital is employed in agriculture which its development requires.

“I would also call attention to the fact that the advantage of a legal tenant-right law can be estimated by the example already existing in this country. The flourishing condition of the agriculture of Lancashire is proverbial. In no part of the world has agriculture made greater strides than in that county. In no part of England or Scotland is there to be found so wealthy and prosperous a tenantry. Nowhere are the agricultural laborers better off, and in no county have the estates of the landlords been so enriched by the outlay of the tenants' capital. In Lincolnshire a tenant-right custom has grown up and been in operation for two or three generations. Under this equitable system, which has the force of law, the outgoing tenant has the right to claim for improvements he has made. Customs, however, are of slow growth, and, notwithstanding the acknowledged advantages of the Lincolnshire customs, and the efforts to establish them in other parts, they have not extended beyond the limits of that county, and nothing short of an act of parliament will bring the whole country under the operation of a custom which has proved so beneficial to all classes concerned. The suggested remedy of leases may be dismissed with a few brief remarks. Leases have unquestionably an advantage over yearly tenancies. But it is a question with which the state can not interfere. The state can not say to the land-owner, ‘You shall grant leases,’ but it is quite within the functions of the state that, whether held under a lease or yearly tenancy, the landlord shall be liable to the tenant on his quitting for the property he may have to leave behind him in or upon the land. The disadvantages of the system of leases are well known and are forcibly expressed by McNeil Caird in an address to the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture, in which is the following statement: ‘On a seven-course farm held on a nineteen years' lease, you may reckon that the last five years will be a period of reduced expenditure by the outgoing tenant and of exhaustive cropping. Then the first seven years of the



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State Master Workman of the States' Assembly of California



new lease will be a period of liberal expenditure and gradual restoration of productive power. For the next seven years you may expect the farm, unless it has been greatly reduced, to be in full fertility; and then begins again the evil cycle of exhaustion. You will have on the individual farm seven years of Egyptian fatness, alternating with periods of comparative leanness; but the lean years will be in the proportion of twelve to seven.' Mr. Caird shows most conclusively how much the country suffers, even under the Scotch system of leases, by the absence of a legal tenant-right. I am therefore disposed to ask with Sir John Pakington, 'Why, under a well-regulated system of land tenure, we should not allow leases and tenant-right to go together;' but by tenant-right I do not mean what the honorable baronet means—a permissive right—but a right secured by law, and not dependent on the will of another.

"As to the question propounded, and which is often asked, 'Should not landlord and tenant be left free to make their own agreements?' I am fully aware how much is to be said against over-legislation, and in favor of the principle of freedom of contract; but I hold that so far as the hiring and tilling of land is concerned, the expression 'freedom of contract,' like many other comprehensive brevities, is simply a figure of speech. The land of England is circumscribed; the farmers are many, and the race is prolific. The land-owners are in possession of a monopoly, and as a rule, can and do dictate their own conditions, which conditions are not unfrequently injurious to the public interest. Every man who has to hire a farm knows full well that he is not on equal contracting terms with the owner. The freedom he enjoys is mainly that of refusing the farm, of which, after great efforts, he may have succeeded in obtaining the offer, and which, perhaps, a score of his neighbors stand ready to take, no matter what are the conditions imposed if the rent is not too exorbitant. * * *

"It would not be difficult to show, apart from the Irish Land Act, how often legislation has, in a variety of ways, interferred, and that wisely, with freedom of contract; and how the law, in cases where the parties are not on equal terms, restrains the stronger from securing an unfair advantage. But to go into this question would swell my paper to undue proportions. I cannot but think that the majority of land-owners and land agents take an erroneous view of tenant right, and the feeling displayed upon the subject of the bill I introduced last session was wholly unnecessary. One of our largest land proprietors expressed to me fears as to the operation of the compensation clauses. I asked him how many tenants on his great estate he parted with in a year. He at once saw

my point, and replied, 'Why, now you remind me, the fact occurs to me that I rarely have a farm to let.' I then dwelt upon the fact that the bill affected only outgoing tenants, and that the amount of compensation, as a landlord, he might be called upon for, as compared with his rentals, would be infinitesimal, whilst every tenant on his estate would be encouraged to spend money in its improvement; and this would be the case on the great bulk of the estates throughout the kingdom. However, it is not upon the ground of justice to the tenant, nor of advantage to the landlord, that I advocate legislative interference, but upon the broader ground of the public good. To my mind, the case stands thus: We have a limited area on which to raise the food of the people. We have a population fast growing in numbers and in purchasing power. Our fields and homesteads do not yield the amount of food of which they are susceptible. The chief impediment to increased production is want of capital. To attract the necessary amount of capital security is indispensable; and judging by the experience of the past, and the present condition of our agriculture, this can only be accomplished by the state stepping in, and recognizing the claim of the tenant to the property he may have put into or upon the land of another, and what he may be called upon to leave behind him; for if we find a difficulty in feeding thirty millions of people, how shall we be able to meet the wants of fifty millions?—a population which, at no distant day, will have to be provided for."

This quotation from Mr. Howard's able paper is copious. Indeed, its very amplitude may be made the subject of criticism. A careful perusal of its contents, however, by the critic will discover that argument and information are so inextricably interwoven that to attempt a separation of these elements would mar the composition and deprive it of a force of expression that cannot be bettered. We have found it difficult, in a wide and varied course of reading on this subject, to find any one effort that within the same compass affords so complete a view of the English tenant farmer and his needs as the essay of the Hon. Mr. Howard. Subsequent legislation has remedied some of the evils experienced by the tenant farmer in England, and a general tendency now exists in public opinion to favor, in every practicable way, the interests of the agriculturists.

Before dismissing this branch of our topic, we will now recur briefly to the farm-laborer. It should be remarked that within the past dozen years there has been a general improvement in his condition. Until the year 1872, the condition of the poor farm-laborer in England was anomalous when compared with the general status of English society. In

every other industry the manual laborer had benefited by the great increase in national wealth and the wonderful advance in all that constitutes material progress. The mechanic, the artisan and the manufacturing operative had for years been enjoying a rate of wages that permitted them to participate measurably in the comforts and luxuries of modern civilization. This class, taught by the spirit of the age, knew their rights, and "knowing them, dared maintain." As the result of organization and concerted action, the English mechanic had compelled his employer to respect manhood, as such, and to concede to the employé a more equitable share of the results of his toil.

The condition of the farm-laborer alone had not been influenced by the forces of the time. His status was the same as it had been for centuries. In the general march of events he had been left behind and forgotten. So quiescent had been his character, so patient his lot, so uncomplaining his fate, that the world was wont to think that he had no rights his fellow men were bound to respect. But even this wretched member of the toiling masses responded to the currents in movement around him. It dawned upon him, at last, that he, too, should be accorded the privileges that had been won by his brother in the mechanical arts. Here and there would be an observing and reading man, like Arch, who realized that this could be accomplished only by united effort. The time came! The blow was struck! The farm-laborer was victorious. It was in Warwickshire, in February and March, 1872, that the farm-laborer first made a determined organized demand of his employer for an increase of wages. At first the tenant farmer was astounded at what he considered the temerity or audacity of his employé. Quickly, however, astonishment gave way to anger in the breast of the obdurate English farmer. He determined to resist the demands of those he had learned to view as his legitimate victims. A duel ensued, in which endurance on one side and obstinacy on the other were the weapons employed. Had the combatants been left to wage the conflict without interruption from the outside world, the farm-laborer would have fared ill indeed. In a contest so unequal, indigence must have succumbed to plenty, poverty to wealth, weakness to strength. Strange to relate, however, the movement awakened a lively interest throughout the British realm. Sermons were preached, speeches were made, pamphlets and tracts were printed, editorials written, essays published, and all with one accord advocating the cause of the Warwickshire farm-laborer. Encouragement came from every part of her majesty's empire and money found its way in generous volumes to the pocket of the farm-hand. So wide-

spread and intense was this public opinion, that it was more in recognition of its voice than to the dictates of self-interest that the farmer finally acquiesced in the demands of the laborer. Thus was the "long lane of semi-starvation and misery" brought to an end. At last, the "feudal grip had relaxed its hold." At last was the farm-laborer shoulder to shoulder with his brother in other industries.

Thus far our remarks have been confined to the tenant farmer and his employé. But interest in agriculture is not confined to these classes. Many of the nobility give their attention to this industry, and their beautiful estates adorn every part of "Merrie England." Thirty years ago the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Portland were conspicuous examples of agriculture, enterprise and improvement. The former had at Woburn Abbey no less than 20,000 acres in one body. He had eighteen thousand acres of redeemed land, and had under his own management through the year more than four hundred laborers. For many years, on his various estates, he laid two hundred miles of pipe drain every year. Today, however, it is a question who among the English nobility take the lead, not merely as patrons of husbandry, but as large farmers. Extensive estates are farmed according to the best methods and with the most improved implements by the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Dudley, and the Marquis of Bute. The late Sir Thomas Baring, a man of immense wealth, did much to improve the condition of the farm-laborers of Hampshire. It has been observed that in times past ignorance and intemperance permeated the laboring classes of England. Drunkenness, however, is said to be disappearing gradually from under the influence of humanitarian teaching and the general improvement in the condition of the laborer. Within twenty years strenuous efforts have been made to educate the children of the lower classes. Important steps in this direction are the compulsory educational act and the establishment of the school board.

We have now reached a point in our studies where something should be said of the artisan, mechanic and laborer of today in England. In speaking of the English mechanic and operative, the mind at once recalls the names of Manchester, Burlingham, Sheffield, Nottingham, Newcastle and Leeds. It is said that the hand-made nail manufacture of Birmingham has languished for some time, and, consequently, many of the operatives are idle. But the general condition of those who are employed is comparatively good. Much attention has been given to artisan dwellings, and many are the reading-rooms and coffee-houses

that have been established for the enlightenment and comfort of the operative. They are paid weekly in sterling money, and are permitted to purchase their supplies where their best interests dictate. Leeds is the center of the cloth trade of England, although there are glass-bottle factories and iron refineries. Wages in the various industries are low compared with those of the United States, yet it is said that during the last six years there has been an improvement in this respect, as well as in the general condition of the working people. As to Manchester, American work-people could not live under the conditions enforced there among operatives. There, whole families reside in the mills, and are contented with their homes. Children are compelled to help pay the family expenses.

Many of the houses contain but one room, and this serves as kitchen, dining-room, sitting-room, and sometimes bed-room. Great numbers of the dwellings are small, and large families are crowded within their walls. There are some eighty thousand females employed in the manufacturing industries of Manchester and Salford. It has not been observed that the effect of female employment in Manchester has been to lower the wages paid to the males. The characteristic industry of Newcastle-on-Tyne is coal-mining. The number of miners employed in the mines of Northumberland and Durham in 1883 were 80,127. Co-operation has an interesting history in Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland and York. In 1883, the co-operative union for the northern section of England had a membership of 97,493, with a share capital of \$3,475,000, and a loan capital of \$2,235,000. The value of land, buildings and fixed stock amounted to \$1,405,000 paid. The sale of goods during the year amounted to \$16,385,000; the net profits to \$1,739,000; of which, \$7,200 were applied to educational, and \$2,700 to charitable purposes. The principal industry at Nottingham is the making of lace goods and hosiery. As far as wage rates and food prices are concerned, there has not been any appreciable change since 1878, which year marked the end of a long year of depression. Tunstall is conspicuous for the manufacture of earthenware. The wages earned in the Staffordshire potteries range from \$6.28 to \$11.55 per week. Of the fifty thousand persons employed in this industry, twenty-five thousand are females, and the wages range all the way from 60 cents to \$4.87 per week. In Tunstall technical schools have been established for the artistic education of females. It may be said generally of the manual laborer of England that he is less intelligent than the corresponding class in the United States; that he is not as self-respecting as his American brother,

and his wages are less. He is less receptive and attentive of ideas, requires more oversight and direction, and accomplishes less in a day.

The following description of a manufactory in Manchester is typical of those structures in other English cities, and therefore will be given in full: "The outside was dingy and dirty, the inside was of unfinished brick or stone; the walls, floors, stairs, all of one or the other of these materials; no wood work to be seen except in the window-frames, doors and machinery. The floors were slippery with oil, the walls covered with dust and hung with cobwebs, and the windows cracked, broken and shattered. The operatives were generally younger than those employed in the mills of our own country (America) and would bear no comparison with that industrious, cheerful and intelligent class of our population. They were very poorly dressed and very dirty. The comparison between our own cotton manufactories and those in Manchester is altogether favorable to our country. The condition and character of the operatives, the construction and convenience of the mills, the compensation paid for labor, and the pleasure derived by the laborer from his toils, all far exceed, in our system, the same particulars in the English system. I noticed that the several rooms into which I entered were very poorly ventilated. The comfort and convenience of the operatives seemed not to have entered the minds of the employer, in many of these establishments; and as you see many of the operatives, with bare feet, and shivering limbs, gliding over the cold brick floor, you feel justly proud of the more enviable position of operatives in the United States."

In London the honest and self-respecting laborer has always found it difficult to obtain good tenements at reasonable rents, and the result has been that his necessities have frequently cast him into the vilest haunts of vice, disease and filth. The effect has been, oftentimes, to pollute his children in mind and body.

It was to obviate this crying evil, and to set an example for other men of benevolent tendencies, that the Peabody fund was established. Mr. Peabody's object was to assist that class of laborious poor who occupy the position above the pauper, to furnish them with comfortable tenements in healthy localities and at reasonable rates.

At Islington 155 tenements were constructed on a plan that would accommodate 650 persons, or nearly 200 families. These buildings, together with the land, cost \$1,580,000. In these buildings the greatest care was taken to insure good ventilation and drainage. Dust and refuse are removed by means of shafts which descend from corridor to corridor

until the basement cellar is reached. Water is distributed to the various apartments by pipes from cisterns on the roof. There are bath-rooms, laundries and lofts for common use for all inmates. There are ample and airy spaces which serve as a play-ground for the children. For one room a weekly rent is charged of two shillings and six pence, or about sixty cents; for two rooms, \$1; for three rooms, \$1.25. Out of the same fund houses of a similar plan were constructed at Spitalfield. It is said that more than 200 persons took possession the first month, and among this number were charwomen, monthly-nurses, basket-makers, butchers, carpenters, firemen, laborers, porters, omnibus-drivers, tailors, seamstresses, shoemakers, waiters, warehouse men, turners, stay-makers, sawyers, printers, painters, laundresses, letter-carriers, artificial flower-makers, dressmakers, cabinet-makers and book-binders. Col. Forney observed that the contrast between the condition of the occupants of the Peabody buildings and the miserable houses around was painful in the extreme. In the latter case there were sometimes seven human beings crowded into one room. Contrast this for a moment with the airy and comfortable quarters of Mr. Peabody's tenants; with the neat kitchen and comfortable bedrooms; the fine play-ground for the children; the garden for common cultivation and common use; the work-shops for such of the men as might prefer working on the premises. It is to be hoped that Providence may raise up a host of Peabodys for the sake of the London wage-worker.

In concluding this branch of our subject, we cannot refrain from giving Mr. Laing's comment on the general condition of the English wage-workers:

“The actual operative in Great Britain has no prospect before him. He may save a few hundred pounds by unceasing industry and sobriety; but why should he save it? This little saved capital—call it thousands instead of hundreds of pounds sterling—can do nothing in the present state of our traffic and manufactures, in competition with vast capitals, accumulated by long inheritance, preoccupying every branch of industry and manufacture, and producing far cheaper than he can do with his trifling means. Land, by the effect of the privileges accorded to that kind of property, and of the expense of title deeds, is out of his reach as much as trade and manufacture; there being no small estates in Great Britain, generally speaking, which a laboring or middle-class man could purchase and sit down upon with his family to live as a working yeoman or peasant proprietor; and thus small capitals, when they are accumu-

lated, are forced into trade and manufacture, although every branch is always supplied with the means of producing.

“What can a man turn to who has a little capital of three or four thousand pounds? What can he enter into without any reasonable prospect of not losing his little capital in his most honest and prudent efforts? And what can the workingman do but spend his earnings in drink, and fall into a reckless and improvident way of living, when he sees clearly that every avenue to an independent condition is, by the power of great capital, shut against him? A vassalage in manufacture and trade is succeeding the vassalage in land; and the serf of the loom is in a lower and more helpless condition than the serf of the glebe, because his condition appears to be, not merely the effect of an artificial and faulty social economy, like the feudal, which may be remedied, but to be the unavoidable effects of natural causes.

“The feudalization going on in our manufacturing social economy is very conspicuous in some of the great cotton factories. The master manufacturer, in some districts, who employs eight hundred or one thousand hands, deals in reality only with some fifty or sixty sub-vassals, or operative cotton spinners, as they are technically called, who undertake the working of so many looms or spinning jennies. They hire and pay the men, women and children, who are the real operatives, grinding their wages down to the lowest rate, and getting the highest they can out of the master manufacturer. A strike is often the operation of the middle men, and productive of little benefit to, and even against the will, of the actual workmen.”

This is a dark picture, indeed, painted by Mr. Laing. It is too true, undoubtedly, to a certain extent, but we have great faith in that “divinity which shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may.” In the affairs of men there is a tendency which makes for righteousness, and we believe that in the future of England there will be certain elements and principles that will eventuate in the general progress and substantial prosperity of her wage-workers.

In conclusion, we reach a consideration of the political status of the British workman. There are two kinds of franchise in Great Britain, and known comprehensively as the borough franchise and the county franchise. Prior to 1832, the right rested upon the holding of freehold property to the yearly value of \$9.72.

As it exists today, the county franchise may be classified as follows: The \$243 rental franchise, the \$58.32 rating franchise, and the property franchise, consisting of a \$9 or \$24 freehold, or of a \$24 copy-

hold or leasehold. There are six qualifications to the borough franchise, as follows :

1. "The occupation of a dwelling-house, rated to the relief to the poor, upon which the rates have been paid, according to the Acts of 1867, 1868, and 1869."

2. "The occupation of any premises other than a dwelling-house, rated to the poor, at not less than \$48.60 per annum."

3. "The occupation as sole tenant of lodgings of the annual value of \$50.00, if let unfurnished."

4. "The occupation as joint tenant with another person or persons, of lodgings, the clear yearly value of which, if let unfurnished, is of an amount which, when divided by the number of lodgers, gives a sum of not less than \$48.60 for each lodger."

5. "Being registered as a freeman or free burgess, in any other place than London."

6. "Being a fireman of the city of London, or a livery man belonging to one of the city companies."

Until the recent franchise bill, the great bulk of the miners and agricultural laborers of England could not vote. If the author is correctly informed, electoral rights have now been extended to miners, gardeners, coachmen, agricultural laborers, and other servants belonging to establishments. Today there are several workingmen in the British parliament, and prominent among the number are Arch, Burt and Broadhurst.

CHAPTER III.—SCOTLAND.

EARLY INHABITANTS—FEUDALISM—SLAVERY AND SERFDOM—COTTERS AND HUSBANDMEN—WRETCHED CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL CLASSES—LAWLESSNESS AND OPPRESSION IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES—AGRICULTURE AT THE PRESENT DAY—CONDITION OF THE FARM-LABORER—THE BOTHY SYSTEM—“FEE MARKETS”—FEMALE LABOR—DISAPPEARANCE OF THE CROFTS AND INCREASE OF PAUPERISM—THE MECHANIC, ARTISAN AND OPERATIVE CLASSES—THE DWELLINGS OF THE WAGE-WORKERS—THE CO-OPERATIVE BUILDING COMPANY.

THE earliest inhabitants of Caledonia, as it was known to the Romans, were a race of savage men, so low in intelligence and manner of life as to resemble the beasts of prey about them. These men dwelt in caves and holes in the ground. In some of the caves inhabited by these wild men, notably one on the Bay of Wick, and the Burness cave, were certain relics indicating how they lived and the condition of the mechanical arts among them. For a depth of three feet the floor of the cave was filled with bones of the ox, sheep, pig, red deer, rabbit, otter, fox, black rat, field mouse, birds and fish. These vestiges clearly show that not only was the flesh of wild beasts used for food, but also of those animals now known as domestic. The fragments of many implements were also exhumed, such as needles, pins, pegs, awls, combs, spoons, handles. All of the implements were extremely rude in design and finish, and were made of bone, stone, bronze, iron and glass. Judging from these vestiges, the mechanical arts were, with this people, in a primitive state.

The races inhabiting Scotland at the dawn of her history were the Picts and Scots. The Picts were composed of various tribes partially united. They inhabited the whole of that part of Scotland lying north of the firths of Forth and Clyde. The Picts were a nomad people, fierce, blood-thirsty, intractable and warlike. With them it cannot be said that the industrial arts existed. Near the close of the fifth, or near the beginning of the sixth century, three sons of Ere, Lorn, Fergus and Angus, with their followers and relatives, came to Scotland from the north of Ireland. They were called Scots, and settled in the west of Scotland. It has been maintained by certain Scotch historians that the Scots had

a language and written literature, and were otherwise more civilized by far than the Picts, the Britons and the Saxons. Be this as it may, it is certain that the Scots cultivated the soil, had flocks and herds, and were the first residents of Scotia to take upon themselves the character of a nationality and establish the authority of a centralized government.

It was centuries, however, before the Picts and Scots assimilated, or attained a condition of life known distinctively as civilized. Their transitional state was tribal, and their habits nomadic. In the beginning the land belonged to the tribe or local community rather than to individuals. In time, individual rights in land were developed and agriculture was practiced. Yet the chief wealth of the people was cattle, and fines and tribute were paid in cows. Division of labor was not a feature of their society, and there were no manufactures, as we understand the term. Each family had their own weaver, tailor, shoemaker and carpenter. Their dwellings were constructed of wood, sometimes of wicker-work, filled with turf or clay. For food, they ate flesh, fish, venison, and kail and other vegetables. Such continued the condition of things during the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Feudalism first made its appearance in Scotland during the twelfth century, and by the end of the thirteenth century was generally established throughout the country. The feudal system has been elsewhere described. We will now only speak of such features as were peculiar to Scotland. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there were slaves in Scotland. They were bought and sold like horses and cattle. Their condition was one of toil and suffering. Oppressed and plundered by their masters, they were ever on the verge of starvation, and oftentimes experienced the pangs of famine. The power of the lord or master over his serf or slave was absolute.

There were no free farmers holding the land by lease for a term of years. The farmers were but tenants at will or from year to year, and paid to their lords the major portion of the annual crop. Arable lands were classified into ploughgates, husbandlands and oxgates. The oxgate was thirteen acres; the ploughgate was about four hundred and sixteen acres; twenty-six acres composed the husbandland. The lowest inhabitants of the grange lands were the serfs. This class were transferable with the land upon which they labored. The class next above the serfs were the cotters. Each of the last-mentioned class held from one to nine acres of land along with his house. "Beyond the hamlet or cotter's huts," writes Dr. Mackintosh, "were the husbandmen, each living in his own separate farmstead. These held a definite portion of land,

for which they paid a fixed rent and specified services, consisting of work in harvest and sheep-shearing time, and carrying the peats and wood. Their holdings were commonly small; for fifty-two acres they gave eight shillings of rent, and other services in plowing and harvest work."

The wretched condition of the rustic or carl, as he was called, may be inferred from the laws in existence as to crime. For killing the king, a fine was imposed of one thousand cows and three thousand shillings; for killing the king's son, one hundred and fifty cows or four hundred and fifty shillings; for slaying an earl or thane, one hundred cows; for slaying a carl, only sixteen cows. Should the carl or rustic be injured any other way less than murder, no fine was imposed. The mechanical arts were in a crude state. In agriculture, oats, barley and wheat were the principal crop, although peas and beans were also cultivated. Dairies were conducted, and butter and cheese were staple articles. For the grinding of grain the hand-mill was yet in use, although there were mills driven by water and wind.

Serfdom began to disappear from Scotland in the fourteenth century. It became extinct in the fifteenth century. Several different causes have been assigned for this social revolution. The main cause was the long war with England, conducted by Wallace, Bruce, and other patriotic leaders. So decimating was this protracted and sanguinary struggle, that it became necessary to recruit the army from the serfs. Lawlessness reigned supreme in Scotland during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Throughout the kingdom the great oppressed the poor: the aristocracy were a band of thieves, and slaughters, robberies, incendiarism and other odious crimes went unpunished. Upon the most frivolous pretexts the landlord would eject his helpless tenant, and drive the lowly laborer from his cottage. Even the class of small proprietors were not exempt from these acts of tyranny. A lord had the power to disinherit and expel a vassal "on the ground that he had failed to render proper feudal service." Injustice ran riot. The property of the farm tenant could be seized and sold for the debts of the lord. Bishops, earls, barons and knights, in traveling through the country, would quarter themselves upon the farmer and yeomanry. Like cormorants did these lawless idlers plunder the husbandmen and inferior clergy, consuming their stores of grain and destroying their crops and meadows. Bower thus wrote of the condition of Scotland in the reign of James II.: "Long appears to us, O King, the time of thy arrival at majority, when thou mayest be able to deliver us, confounded as we are

with daily tyranny, oppressed with rapine, spoil and tribulation, when thou mayest dictate laws, exercise justice, and free the poor from the grasp of the powerful, as they have no helper but God and thee. Mayest thou remember that thou art a legislator, in order that thou mayest crush the robber and restrain those who deal in rapine. The groans of the humble, and the miseries of the poor, whom I myself who write this have seen this very day in my own neighborhood, stripped of their garments, and inhumanely despoiled of their domestic utensils, constrains one to exclaim with him who says, 'I have seen the injuries which are done, the tears of the innocent, and helpless, and destitute, who cannot resist violence, and have none to comfort them.' I have praised the dead more than the living; and happier than both have I esteemed the unborn, the sole strangers to the evils of this world."

And well did Robert Henderson, the poet, write of this period: "Three kinds of wolves are reigning in the world. False perverters of the laws, who mingle fraud and falsehood, while pretending that it is all gospel, but have no scruple in taking a bribe to overthrow the poor. The second sort of ravenous wolves are mighty men, who have enough and to spare, yet so greedy and covetous, they will not suffer the poor to live in peace. Over his head his rent they will lease, though he and his family should die for want. The third are men of heritage, as lords who let to the farmers a village for a time, with a grassum paid; then they begin to vex him, ere half his term be run, by picking quarrels to make him glad to flit, or pay his grassum anew. His horse, his mare, he must lend to the laird, to drive and draw in court and carriage. His servant nor himself may not be spared to labor and sweat for his lord without meat or wages. Thus he stands in bondage, and he can scarcely afford to live upon bread and watery kail. To their lords the tenants must labor with faint and hungry stomach — to them the poor man was compelled to work without meat or fee." In time this lawlessness disappeared, and legislation favored agriculture. Society in Scotland had fully recovered from the effects of this unfortunate era early in the seventeenth century.

For more than a century it cannot be said there has been any improvement in the condition of the Scotch agricultural laborer. While it is true there has been a marked advance in agricultural methods, yet the plowman of Scotland has not kept progress with the times. He has not kept pace, socially, intellectually or morally, with his brother in other industries. In 1867 a commission was appointed to examine into his condition. The body reported in 1871. The condition of the

farm-laborer in the three northern counties, Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine, is fairly representative of his condition throughout Scotland. He is usually employed for six months, and his wages ranged from \$50 to \$60 for the term, with board and lodging. When unmarried, the laborer lived with his employer; the married laborer ate in his master's kitchen with the other servants, and then went home for the night. Farm-laborers are divided into horsemen, cattlemen and men for miscellaneous work. For food these classes use oatmeal and milk, turnips and potatoes. Meat is sometimes eaten on Sunday.

What was known as the Bothy system once obtained in certain sections of Scotland. By this it was meant that the men servants on the farm herded together in some outhouse, doing all the household work for themselves. Public opinion condemned this system as injurious to morals, and inimical to civilized life. A system prevailed in the border counties at one time, designated as the bondage method. Under it the head of a family agreed with his employer to supply a certain number of "bondages" or laborers.

Public markets are held every six months which are attended by all the farmers and farm-laborers of the locality. At these "fee markets" all contracts between the farmers and their laborers are made. These gatherings are notorious, principally for the scenes of disorder which they present, for the rural laborer takes his pleasure rather widely on this his biennial holiday. To eyes accustomed to look upon racing crowds in the south of Scotland or in England, a feeing market seems a tame affair indeed, and very harmless on the whole, but in quiet rural districts, where the peace is seldom disturbed, and where the village stands in daily danger of being fossilized, the scenes of debauchery witnessed at these half-yearly gatherings appear very horrifying indeed. There has been for years an outcry that the influence of fee markets upon the morals of the people is very deleterious, and determined efforts to put them down have been made in Aberdeenshire and elsewhere. The Royal Highland Agricultural Society took the matter up, and the committee which that body appointed suggested in their report that in order to supersede the necessity for feeing markets, a system of registrar offices should be established and conducted under the auspices of the local agricultural societies.

The result of this, and of discussions of public meetings held throughout the country, was that a good many registrar offices were established, and that there was a clear diminution at Whitsunday, 1871, of the number of engagements effected at the district feeing markets, and a

proportionate increase in the number made at home, or through the local registrar.

Female labor is employed in Scotch agriculture. The better class of female servants, however, are not employed at the half-yearly feeing markets. Formerly, they were engaged privately, and now at the office of the registrar. The wages paid to females for outdoor work, at least a few years ago, ranged from \$10 to \$25 for a service of six months. The wages of married women, as well as married men, are paid partly in milk, fuel, or other necessaries for the cottage home.

In the point of education, the condition of the Scotch farm-laborer, male and female, is greatly superior to that of the same class in England. In the matter of payment, also, the Scotch farm-hand is in advance of his brother over the border.

It has been observed that there is a want of houses for married laborers on the farms of Scotland.

A married laborer, or one contemplating marriage, is never certain that he can be provided with a dwelling on the farm where he is to be employed for the ensuing six months. The consequence is, that man and wife are necessarily separated, which is productive of incalculable evil. Confronted with the contingency that he would be denied the uninterrupted joys and comforts of home life, the young man is repelled from entering the married state. In the case of married laborers, the care of the children is devolved upon the mother, and she is deprived of the company, advice and assistance of her husband.

Some dozen years ago, on many estates, there were a large number of crofts, or small holdings, of from ten to twenty acres of land; of late, however, large farms have been found more profitable, and the crofts are rapidly disappearing. This is seriously changing the condition of the agricultural community, and the independent position of a class of small farmers is lost. Former farm tenants are flocking to the large town and cities, and pauperism is increasing "with fearful and certain rapidity."

It is now a serious question how the lack of cottage accommodation for the farm-laborer is to be supplied. The subject is beset with many difficulties. The Scotch landlord, as a rule, is unwilling to build houses for farm servants, and the farmers are usually unable to do so, at least without assistance from the landed proprietors. It has been suggested by Mr. H. G. Reid, in his "Past and Present," that the legislature should take the matter in hand, and make it compulsory to have on each farm houses for married servants, in proportion to its extent and to the number of men employed.

It is now difficult to see any way of improvement for the farm-laborer in Scotland. It is to be hoped, however, that the future will mend his lot. Much depends upon his individual effort. He must take every advantage offered to him by the spirit and institutions of the age. With improvements in agricultural methods and in the agricultural implements employed, will come a corresponding improvement in the intelligence of the farm-hand. In the future, unless he proves a notable exception to the rule, he will advance intellectually, morally, socially and politically. With the increase of intelligence and self-respect, he will be led to study economic questions and social philosophy.

It cannot be long, after that, before he will discover some pathway to progress. Co-operation has been successfully applied to many forms of industry, and why not to agriculture? As matters stand at present this seems to be the one practical method whereby the farm-laborer may become his own master and a property-holder.

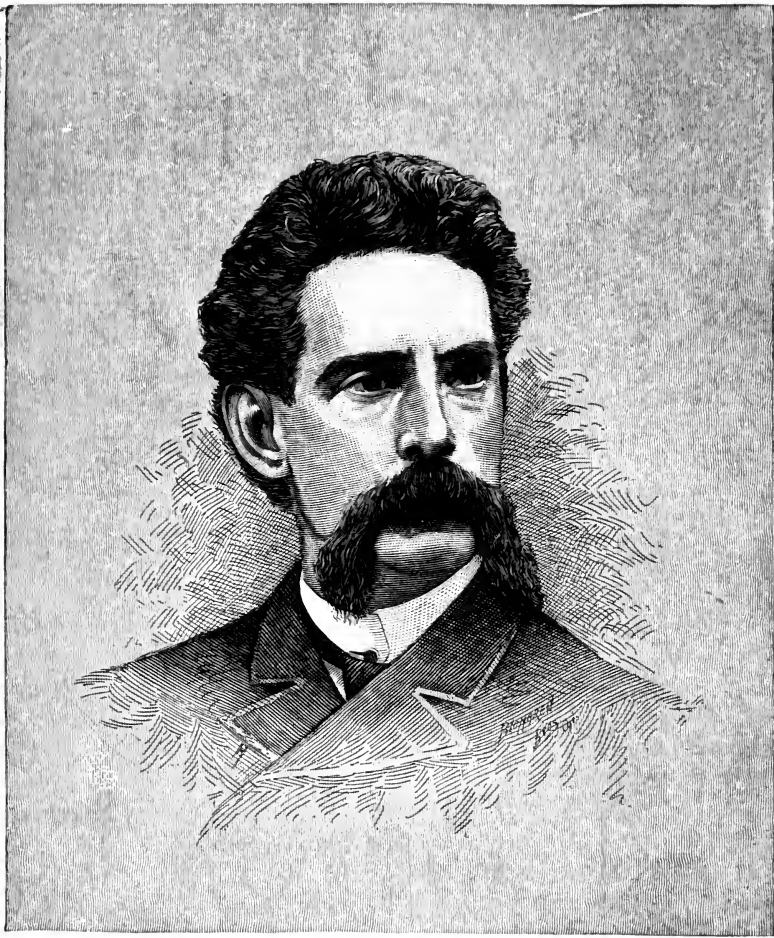
This brings us to a consideration of the mechanic, artisan and operative classes of Scotland. Of the manufacturing cities of Caledonia, we will select Dundee, Glasgow and Edinburgh as representatives of our subject.

Dundee has a population of 140,000 inhabitants. Of this number, 118,000 reside in houses of from one to three rooms each. In this city there are 8,620 one-room houses, in which there is a population of 23,670. There are also 74,374 men, women and children crowded into 16,187 houses. The classes thus situated as to dwellings are the artisans, mechanics, day and job laborers. The single-roomed habitations are wretched hovels, in which infectious diseases generate and propagate. Ofttimes they contain but little furniture, and sometimes are without even a bed.

Frequently as many as five or six human beings are crowded within these narrow and noisome precincts, desecrated by the name of home. The inmates, in lieu of bed or cot, lie upon the floor and cover themselves with the jute burlaps or sewed bags purloined for that purpose from the factory where the father of the family is employed.

There are in Dundee a few commodious and conveniently constructed tenement houses, wherein the workpeople can live in some degree of comfort. But so few are they in number that they serve to form a striking contrast with the many cheerless and squalid dwellings around them.

Nor does there seem to be any way of escape for the wage laborer of Dundee from this unwholesome and comfortless home life. It cannot be found in industry, economy and thrift.



T. B. Barry.

Member General Executive Board of Knights of Labor.



Be his labor as tireless and unceasing as it may, and his frugality as unsparing and vigilant, yet are his savings so inconsiderable compared with the price of land, that to purchase a home for himself is out of the question. "Scarcely any working tradesmen in Dundee possess a home of their own on account of ground being so expensive within the town's boundary, and to build in the suburbs would be inconvenient, as being too far removed from the workshops." Dundee is not wanting in facilities for self-improvement. There are numerous and ably conducted day and evening schools. These schools are generously supplied with everything necessary to the imparting of practical instruction, while the fees charged are but from eight to twelve cents per week. Notwithstanding these institutions, many children are growing up in vice and ignorance. Education is compulsory, but when brought before a sheriff's court for violation of the law, the delinquent parents invariably excuse themselves on the ground of poverty and inability to pay even the nominal sum required for tuition. If it is not inability to pay tuition fee that is offered as an excuse, it is the impossibility for providing their children with respectable clothing. The one remedy, after all, for this evil, is a system of free education, as in the United States.

In Glasgow, the great majority of wage laborers of every class live in a dwelling of two rooms, and known in that city and throughout Scotland as "room and kitchen." The tenement buildings of Glasgow usually contain sixteen of these "dwellings," and are from four to five stories high. The building is generally within convenient distance of the workshop or factory; the rooms are well ventilated and supplied with water and gas.

In Glasgow and vicinity there are now ten coöperative societies, and all managed on what is known as Rochdale principle. By the Rochdale principle, as distinguished from civil service principle, is meant a system whereby goods are sold at the prevailing market price and the profits, if any, distributed among the members of the society. All of the coöperative societies are prosperous, although comparatively small. In the United Kingdom there were in 1882, 1,400 coöperative societies, with an aggregate membership of 661,317, and a total capital of \$36,170,694. During the last twenty years there has been a marked improvement in the condition of the wage-workers of Glasgow, materially, morally and socially.

Since 1850 wages have increased twenty-five per cent. Clothing is cheap, and every respectable workman can be dressed in a comfortable suit of tweed or serge. In Glasgow and all over Scotland the number of females em-

ployed is comparatively small. Some there are employed in the telegraph service and in dressmaking and millinery. Since 1878, in Scotland, education has been compulsory; and the employment of children is forbidden until a certificate has first been obtained that the child has attained a certain degree of education.

Writing of the dwellings of the wage-workers of Scotland, we are reminded of an interesting project that has been successfully developed in Edinburgh. In that beautiful and classic city for many years was felt the need of respectable and comfortable homes for the artisan, mechanic and laborer.

The tenement houses were too small and overcrowded, and their apartments were more like "lightless boxes" or rabbit warrens than rooms for the accommodation of human beings.

The buildings inhabited by the wage-workers of Edinburgh were located on High street and the alleys and lanes extending from it on either side. The locality was dark and loathsome and the houses were constructed story above story until the light of heaven was excluded. The passageways were repulsive with filth, the staircases dark and dilapidated, and within the doors were broken and hingeless; the rooms in area did not exceed eight or ten feet; the windows were small; the partitions slender, and thin and the walls damp and cracked. In 1861, in Edinburgh, 121 families lived in windowless, one-roomed houses; 13,209 families—not less than 66,000 individuals—lived in houses of a single apartment, 1,530 of which had from six to fifteen inhabitants living in each.

In 1861, in the month of April, the masons of Edinburgh formed the Coöperative Building Company, and the corporation was registered under the Limited Liability Act, with a capital of £10,000 in shares of £1 each. By 1865 all the shares were taken up, the subscribed capital amounted to £10,000 and the membership numbered 1,000. In a few years about 1,000 shops and houses had been erected for the accommodation of 5,000 individuals, and sold for nearly £150,000. This coöperative society was not composed altogether of masons, as it also contained many members of other trades, such as carpenters, joiners, painters and slaters.

"The society confined itself to production, in this way turning its capital to the utmost general advantage, and hitherto the demand has been in excess of the supply. The houses, it may be observed, vary considerably in size and internal arrangement, but for the most part they are two stories high, and contain from three to six moderately

sized apartments, with all necessary conveniences, the best sanitary arrangements, a plot of ground twenty feet square in front, and the use of an ample bleaching-green. Each family has a separate entrance—a new and salutary arrangement in Edinburgh; and the prices range according to size and position from £130 to £250. If, then, any one—though members of the society are naturally preferred, there are many exceptions—desires a house which costs £130, and has the command of £5, he can at once become a purchaser. * * * * Of course, many pay the whole purchase-money at once, and others spread the payment over a brief period; but in any case they become possessed of a substantial and commodious dwelling-house for natural outlay of £20 or £30.” It is to be earnestly hoped that the mechanics of other cities in Scotland may profit by the example of their Edinburgh brothers.

CHAPTER IV.—WALES.

THE INDUSTRIAL DISTRICTS DESCRIBED—AGRICULTURE—THE MINERS AND QUARRYMEN—WAGES—DWELLINGS AND MODE OF LIFE—CHARACTER OF THE WELSH PEOPLE.

CONVENTIONALLY, Wales is divided into two sections, denominated North and South Wales. The industries of the country are as varied as the features of its physical geography. No country of the world, within so limited an area, presents so diversified a landscape, nor one so attractive in its stretch of rich valleys, barren rocks, dense forests, lofty mountains and desert moors. Generally speaking, the industries of the country may be distributed as follows: Agriculture and quarries in the north, and small husbandry, mining and sheep-grazing in the south. The soil of the country is not especially fertile, but its lack of productiveness is amply compensated by the rich mineral deposits of the hilly and mountainous sections. As a coal-exporting district, South Wales now takes a prominent position, while the quarries of North Wales are among the greatest wealth-producing agencies of the world. Ship-building is a large industry, and the sea-ports, Cardiff, Newport and Swansea, are among the most important in the United Kingdom. The three largest sections of wage-earners in Wales are the agricultural laborers, slate quarrymen, miners and iron-workers; but, of course, every other industry peculiar to civilized life is practiced more or less in the land of St. Michael. In Wales, as in other countries, may be found an army of toilers who build houses, construct highways, railroads and canals, and manufacture all the myriad appurtenances and appliances known to the world today. To be more exact, perhaps, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire and the southern part of Breckinshire are where the iron and coal trade is located. In the southeastern corner of Carmarthenshire, around Swansea, and in the western part of Glamorganshire, are large smelting works and extensive potteries. Coal is exported from Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, while lead mines and slate quarries are worked in Cardiganshire. The most important slate quarries are those of Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire. The copper mines of Anglesey are probably the richest in Wales, although the mines located

in Flintshire should not be forgotten. The coal and iron districts extend from the confines of Cheshire, through Flintshire and Denbighshire, to the confines of Merionethshire, and in certain parts of Montgomeryshire. We have thus particularly enumerated and described the industrial districts of Wales in order that the reader might deduce the occupation of the people located within the respective shires.

Flannel-weaving prevailed formerly, on the banks of the Severn. Throughout the country, the woolen cloths and flannels worn by the people were manufactured at small mills or factories located on the margin of mountain streams. Water was the propelling agency of these small mills, and they have now been displaced by the large manufacturing establishments of England and Scotland.

By far the larger proportion of the wage-earners or working-people of North Wales are engaged in agriculture. Throughout the counties of Cardigan, Carmarthen, Radnor and Pembroke, small farming is the rule. The farmers of these regions are a frugal and cautious race, and employ but little assistance, as the work is performed mostly by the members of their own families.

Even in times of prosperity in Wales, the wages of labor are very low. It has been said that wages are lower, probably, in some districts of North Wales and in the western counties of South Wales than in any other section of South Britain. The Welsh farmer presents a strong contrast to the English farmer. While large farming is the rule in England, the Welsh farmer invariably conducts this industry on a small scale. In Wales the farm is usually small, the capital employed inconsiderable, and his methods primitive and conservative. In his mode of life, his dwelling, his habits, his laborious occupation, he is little removed from the day-laborers around him—partaking but rarely of animal food, and subsisting mainly on barley-bread and vegetables.

The farmers and graziers of Wales are for the most part scattered over the country in lone dwellings nestling at the base of mountains, in small hamlets clustering in passes amongst the hills, clinging to the face of a rugged sea-coast or dotting lofty moors and table-lands. Ofttimes again, the lonely home of the Welsh farmer, located as it is in mountain solitudes, can only be approached by a long bridle-path or sheep-track.

The majority of the Welsh gentry are neither wealthy nor liberal; a few there are of large means and generous propensities, nevertheless. The result is that the Welsh agriculturalist has neither example nor encouragement. It is not surprising, therefore, that the cultivation of the land should be neglected, and the mines imperfectly and improvi-

dently worked. Neither is it cause for surprise that extensive manufactures are rare in Wales.

The great underlying defect in the Welsh character, is one of blood. This people is of the Celtic race, of which indolence is a characteristic, as is also a want of perseverance. On every side, in Wales, a want of energy is apparent upon the very face of affairs. A striking evidence of this negligence is the universal prevalence of dirt and untidiness. The villages are shabby, the houses out of repair, the roads and streets neglected, and the gardens overgrown and rank with weeds. "A Welsh peasant, amidst his own mountains, if he can get a shilling a day, will prefer starving upon that to laboring for another twelve-pence. A farmer with £50 a year rent has no ambition to become one of £200; the shop-keeper goes on in the small ware line all his life, and dies a peddler rather than a tradesman. In this respect, nevertheless, the southern part of Wales is as much in advance of the northern as it is in point of intellect and agricultural wealth."

The daily life of the Welsh miner and quarryman would not be enviable to an American laborer or mechanic. Sometimes a father will have but six shillings a week wherewith to support a family of six or eight persons. Of this sum two shillings are paid for rent. When a miner is at work he receives from ten shillings to thirteen shillings, and from this sum it is necessary for him to pay a boy from two shillings and six pence to three shillings and six pence. At Donlais four pence in the pound was withheld from the wages of the men for the Doctor and School Fund. This was in 1878. A certain collier is mentioned who, at work, earned nine shillings a week. From this he paid one shilling two pence to his club and one shilling four pence for the schooling of his children.

As he was not given his coals from the company, his fuel cost him two shillings six pence a month. The following is the description of a miner's home in Donlais, wherein lived ten persons: "From the main room, on the ground floor, in a row of two-floored houses, an almost bare room paved with cracked square slates, three arches led to three caverns rather than rooms; two quite dark, but the outside one lighted. The dark so-called pantry contained a few rubbishy coals and a pail. The other dark cave, an unventilated bed-room for five people, held, as far as I could see, only a pan, a little sacking, and a stray fluttering fowl. The lighted bed-room — another sleeping-place for five — held a bedstead with scarcely anything on it. There were some tins on the man-

tel-piece of the common room, a kettle on the hearth, and a table and a low seat or two upon the floor."

The Welsh character has, withal, redeeming features. As a people the Welsh are thrifty, cleanly and law-abiding; moreover they are peculiarly religious, and this characteristic is manifest even in their recreations. The wage-earning classes of Wales have but one great national holiday, known as the Eisteddfod. On these occasions competitions are entered into in musical composition and singing, in impromptu speeches, recitations and readings, in the composition of history and romance, and prose and poetry. Dr. Parry, formerly of Pennsylvania, is authority for the statement that in the churches of Wales may be heard some of the best chorus singing in the world. "It is a most remarkable feature," said the late Bishop Thirwall, "in the history of any people, and such as could be said of no other than the Welsh, that they have centered their national recreation in literature and musical compositions." Matthew Arnold has called the Eisteddfod a kind of "Olympic meeting," and adds that "the common people of Wales who care for such a thing show something Greek in them, something spiritual, something humane, something, I am afraid one must add, which in the English common people is not to be found."

CHAPTER V.—IRELAND.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS IN ANCIENT TIMES—MEDÆVAL CRAFTSMEN—MANUFACTURES AND MECHANICAL ARTS—LAND MONOPOLY AND POLITICAL GREED THE CURSES OF IRELAND—ABSENTEE LANDLORDISM—AGRICULTURE—WRETCHED CONDITION OF THE SMALL FARMER—CONDITION OF THE WAGEWORKER, THE ARTISAN AND THE MECHANIC.

IN Ireland, as in every other country of Europe, during the ancient and mediæval period, there were two great classes of society, the bound and the free. As among the Gauls and Germans, so was it with the Irish of these periods: their free inhabitants were not all equal. Some of the families were considered of divine origin, and it was from their numbers, exclusively, that the chiefs were chosen. This privileged class were called Aires, a term compounded of Aryan. The Aires were subdivided into two classes. Those who possessed property in land, corresponding to the Atheligns or Clitones of the Anglo-Saxons, were designated as Deis. The other class were those who possessed cows and other personal property, and were distinguished as Bo-Aires, or Cow-Aires. The Deis were the true aristocracy of that time, and in rank resembled the Hlaford of the Anglo-Saxons, and the Ulad of the Slavonians. The cattle of the Bo-Aires grazed their cattle upon the common lands, which were held from the Deis or Flaths. The position and power of the Bo-Aires was gauged by the number of their cattle. Only the Flaths or the Deis could own slaves or Fuidirs.

The Bo-Aires class could be recruited from the free natives. Once elevated to this rank the man's descendants retained it by virtue of birth. When the Bo-Aires class had possessed land for three generations they could aspire to the rank of Flaths. It was only the Aires, as a class, who were clothed with all the privileges of citizenship, of being jurors, witnesses, bails, etc.

The position of the propertyless freeman depended upon his residence, whether in the city or in the country. The freeman of the rural district could not maintain his rights as could his brother of the cities. The latter, combined and associated together as they were could maintain a powerful resistance to the encroachments and trespasses of the Flaths or Bo-Aires. In the country, on the other hand, the freemen who did

not own land or chattels, became a dependent in one way or another to the man who did.

Theoretically it was not necessary for a freeman to become the dependent of another; indeed, the law provided only for an allegiance to the king. But practically, such a position was forced upon him by the circumstances of his position.

In mediæval Ireland, all craftsmen of whatever kind, skilled or unskilled, were attached to the persons of the Flaths or lords. The freeman, whether a craftsman or otherwise, who thus became a retainer of a Flath was called a Ceile. Of this class there were two kinds; first, those who were free and could enter into independent contracts with the consent of the lord; second, those who were subjected to a certain degree of servitude or bondage. The Irish Dær Ceiles corresponded to the Saxon Ceorls. Those Ceiles who did not own land corresponded to the Anglo-Saxon Folghers, and constituted a part of the military establishment of the chief. The base Ceiles occupied a position like that of the villeins of the feudal system.

Below the Ceiles were several classes who occupied so low a position in the social scale as to have been practically in complete servitude. These were severally denominated, the Bothachs, Sen-Cleithes and Fuidirs. "The Bothachs was a cottier. The Sær Bothachs appear to have been a certain class of freemen, possessed of no other property than the cabins which they occupied on the lands of the Flaths, and earning a livelihood by service to him. The Dær Bothachs were the permanent farm laborers of the lord. The Sen-Cleithes were the poor adherents of a Flath, who lived in his house as servants; or upon his domain as herders and laborers. The Sen-Cleithes, like the Bothachs or cottiers, did not possess the political rights of freemen, but they formed part of their affiliated family or clan, known in the law as the Fine Flaths, and were thus secure of shelter and relief, and were irremovable from the estate of the lord. The Fuidir, on the other hand, possessed no rights beyond his contracts, and no public responsibilities, and did not belong to the clan." Strangers coming into Ireland at that time to remain, became a Fuidir.

The class distinctions of ancient Ireland did not partake of the nature of castes; for a family could elevate itself from the lowest to the highest rank. The Fuidir could become a Bothachs, a Bothachs could become a Sen-Cleith. Promotions from one rank to another in ancient and mediæval Ireland were frequent.

During the middle ages the houses of Ireland were of the simplest

character and constructed of wood, wicker-work, or unhewn logs. There were probably some structures made of stone. In house-building two forms prevailed. One was a long quadrilateral building built of logs, and covered with thatch, or made of mud and straw. Sometimes they were of basket-work and cup-shape, or hemispherical.

The social order we have described in the foregoing pages disappeared in time. The change was wrought by similar causes to those that operated in the overthrow of the feudal system in the rest of Europe. At the time of the conquest of Ireland by the English, a system of land tenure was established that has prevailed in the main to the present time. Manufactures and the mechanical arts did not flourish in Ireland during the middle ages. Some interest was manifested in these forms of industry during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During this period, in certain of the Irish cities, the mechanical arts flourished, and considerable skill was developed in manufactures.

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, large numbers of industrious artisans of the Protestant faith, expelled from their native land, sought refuge in the Liberty district of Dublin. Into their adopted country they introduced the manufacture of silk and woolen, and brought those industries to a high state of perfection. In 1791 they had 3,400 looms in operation, 1,200 of which were silk looms. Two years later war was declared with France. As the result, raw material could not be procured, and the poor artisans of Liberty experienced great distress. Many of them participated in the insurrection of '98, and were entirely ruined. At the time of the union they were reduced to utter beggary.

“On all occasions of distress, they descended in masses from their elevated heights to the lower parts of the town, and, as has been remarked, they resembled an irruption of some foreign horde. A certain mildness of aspect, with palid faces and squalid persons, seemed to mark the poor artisans of the Liberty as a separate class from the other inhabitants of Dublin. Of this flourishing community nothing remains at the present day but large houses, with stone fronts and architectural ornaments in ruins.”

The Ireland of today is the result of the Ireland of yesterday. Ireland is yet in the grip of feudalism. The vestiges of the dark ages still cling like cerements about her glorious history. The evils experienced by Ireland today are the inheritance of the past. Land monopoly and political greed were her curse in the long ago, and are her woe of today. On every hand, in this beautiful island, is an eternal contrast of riches and poverty. Magnificent castles and miserable hovels alternate over the

lovely landscape. In the rural districts it is difficult to find dwellings ranking between the palace of the great and the cabin of the lowly.

For centuries in Ireland the only vocation open to the poor man, or the man of limited means, has been the tillage of the soil. When he has not the requisite capital to become a farmer, he is compelled to dig the soil as a day-laborer. In England fully two-thirds of the population are engaged in industrial or commercial pursuits, while only about one-fourth practice agriculture. In Ireland, on the other hand, matters are reversed. In that country more than two-thirds of the people are exclusively devoted to the cultivation of the soil, and less than one-third are engaged in manufacture or commerce.

In Ireland 110 individuals hold 4,152,142 acres; 192 persons hold 2,607,719 acres; and 440 others possess 3,071,471 acres. On the other hand 5,250,000 of human beings do not own a rood. In England and Wales the average farms contain fifty-nine acres. In Ireland the average is twenty-six acres. Of the 597,628 occupiers of land in Ireland, more than one-half have holdings of from fifteen acres down; the remainder on an average hold forty-six acres. The number of farmers is greater than the number of farms to be occupied. As agriculture is the one industry to which the Irish peasant can resort for a livelihood, he must have an acre or half an acre or die. He has no alternative, and must have it at any price or starve. Perhaps the rent is increased not so much by the avidity of the landlord as by the necessities of the tenant.

The largest land proprietors of Ireland reside abroad. Annually they withdraw from Ireland more than £4,000,000. Of this vast sum every shilling is expended either in England or on the continent of Europe. It has been estimated that since the union more than \$1,000,000,000, not computing interest, has been exacted of the Irish tenant, not a penny of which was spent in Ireland.

Above the cotter, or small farmer, are a class of tenants who rent large tracts of pasture land. On this land, sometimes mountainous, and sometimes like coarse pasture, large droves of cattle are raised and herded. This is the most profitable agricultural industry in Ireland. There is another class of agriculturists, however, that are more properly entitled to the name of farmers. In certain parts of the island, where the soil is suitable for the purpose, extensive tracts of land are planted to corn, which is generally a profitable crop. This kind of farming prospered during the American civil war and for several years after that event.

As a rule there is one serious drawback in Ireland to farming on an

extensive scale. The most wealthy landlords reside abroad and do not take any interest in their Irish possessions, save to extort from their miserable tenantry the last farthing of an exorbitant rent. This class look upon their estates in Ireland as something to be plundered. They will not expend one penny in improvements. They view the land as confiscated property of which they are liable to be deprived at any time by political revolution. The resident landlords of Wales and England are rich, while those of Ireland are poor. But it is not merely the limited means of this class that deters them from improving their estates; like the absentee landlords, they are apprehensive of confiscation by a revolutionary government, and that money expended in this way would be thrown away.

The large estates are usually divided into a number of lots, of a hundred, five hundred, or a thousand acres. These lots of land are then farmed out to a class of middle-men. The middle-men then manure the land and sublet it, for the highest rent they can obtain, to the small farmers. The small holdings are usually of five, ten, fifteen and twenty acres each. The small farmer of Ireland, as a rule, is the only person who leases the land with the intention of cultivating it. Under this system ninety-five per cent of the peasantry of Ireland hold their little farms and dwellings from year to year.

The small farmer does his own work, with the assistance of his family. In a few instances assistance is employed, but it is only during harvest or some other unusually busy time. The crops raised are small in quantity and inferior in quality. Proper agricultural implements are wanting and the methods employed are wasteful and negligent. "This waste is caused by the want of corn-stands; the want of barns; the want of proper implements for threshing and winnowing the crops; the want of necessary buildings for the storage of the garnered crops."

The condition of the small farmer of Ireland is generally wretched in the extreme. His hut, or cabin, is constructed of dried mud with a roof of straw or sods, in which a hole is cut for a chimney. Sometimes, however, there is neither a hole in the roof nor a window, and the only way of escape for the smoke is through the door. Father, mother, children, and sometimes grandfather and grandmother, eat, sleep and live in a single apartment. In some of these wretched hovels one bed of hay or straw serves for the whole family. A few potatoes baked in the embers are the only food; sometimes, in the midst of all, lies a dirty pig. "The presence of the pig in an Irish hovel may, at first, seem an indication of

misery; on the contrary, it is a sign of comparative comfort. Indigence is still more extreme in the hovel where no pig is to be found."

A gentleman writing in 1836 says: "I have been into cabins dug out of the bog, with no walls but the peat mud in which they have been excavated, with the roof covered with turf and straw, and the water standing in puddles on the outside, without chimney, window, door, floor, bed, chair, table, knife or fork; the whole furniture consisting of some straw to lie down upon, a pot to boil the potatoes in, a tin cup to drink out of, and a wicker basket to take up the potatoes in after they are boiled, which is set down in the middle of the floor, and parents and children squat down like Hottentots, on the ground, and eat their food with their fingers, sometimes with salt and often without. And this is literally the whole of their living, day after day, and year after year, excepting that on Christmas day they contrive to get a little piece of meat and a bit of bread. * * * I could hardly credit my own senses until I went into the cabins and felt my way in the smoke and darkness and actually put my hands on the turf sides. Here they all lie down, parents and children, brothers and sisters, on the straw at night, huddled together, with the pigs and oftentimes the ass or the horse, and sometimes the cow, in the same room.

"In one cabin I found a woman and six young children in a room not much larger than a small parlor, with a sow and nine pigs a month old, which had been farrowed and reared there, and a large flock of poultry roosting overhead; and they brought the ass in at night, or rather he came in and out as he pleased.

"Then, as to the clothing of these people. I went into one cabin; the parents were at work in the bog; three little children almost naked were nestling around the turf fire, which was made upon the floor, for there was no chimney or fire-place; and there was a beautiful little girl about fourteen, of sweet address and manners, with nothing on but a rag covering the upper part of her person, and a piece of flannel, reaching not quite down to her knees, for a petticoat; and she told us she had no other clothes. There are thousands of similar cases. The women are usually bare-footed, a large portion of them, I am assured, having no stockings or shoes to wear, even in winter, when snow is on the ground; and this in a country belonging to the richest and most refined people on the globe, not one-fourth part of which is cultivated, and containing millions of untilled acres of as rich land as the sun shines upon."

Around or back of the miserable cabin is the little field of an acre or half, as the case may be, planted with potatoes. The scanty crop is protected

by a circle of stone heaped on each other, with rushes growing through the interstices. In 1868 there were 94,000 homes in Ireland with but one room each. In these squalid homes families of from five to ten persons were living. This means that at that time one-tenth of the population of Ireland were living in a condition of squalid degradation "not to be surpassed in Borneo or Caffraria." It has been said that in numerous homes of Ireland there is only one suit of clothes for the whole family.

The food in use is potatoes. The quantity of this vegetable consumed depends upon the means of the family. The fortunate ones eat potatoes three times a day; others can eat but twice, and some only once a day. Some families are so destitute that they oftentimes remain two or three days without receiving the slightest nourishment. Oftentimes the poor farmer is constrained to starve himself that his children may eat and live.

Practically the rural population of Ireland are paupers, for, as has been well said, the most abject English pauper is better fed, housed and clad than the most prosperous small farmer of Ireland. In fact the Irish tenant farmer is ever on the verge of famine; and in some part of Ireland every year the peasant is overtaken by this grim visitor. Primate Butler wrote in 1727: "Since my arrival in this country famine has not ceased among the poor. There was such a dearth of grain last year that thousands of families were obliged to quit their dwellings to look for support elsewhere; many hundreds perished."

In 1832 Bishop Doyle said: "The people are perishing as usual."

In 1817, by reason of indigence and famine, fevers attacked 1,500,000 individuals in Ireland, of whom 65,000 perished. In 1826 20,000 persons died of famine. Sometimes in this fair island even the higher class of farmers are reduced to straits. They have been known to subsist on cabbage, boiled in water and sour milk. The poor laborer is often deprived even of his potatoes, and lives for months upon skim milk.

Some parts of Ireland present a pleasant contrast to the lamentable state of affairs depicted above. In those counties where the land is largely, if not entirely, devoted to grazing the farmers are prosperous and their employés comparatively comfortable. Ulster is the most prosperous agricultural county in Ireland. There the customs regulating the relation of landlord and tenant are more favorable to the tenant farmer. The landlord, as a rule, exerts himself in the interest of his tenant, assisting and encouraging him in the matter of permanent improvements.

The condition of the wage-worker in the cities of Ireland is greatly in advance of the farm-laborer. For a dozen or more years past, the day-laborers and unskilled workmen generally have had steady employment, and a compensation that permitted to them a degree of domestic comfort actually denied to the small farmer and his assistant.

As has been said, agriculture is the main industry in South Ireland; yet in the province of Munster there are some manufacturing and other industries, such as woolen factories, tanneries, iron foundries, distilleries, breweries and flour mills. At Passage West and Rush Brook there are large ship-building docks. At Ballincollig are extensive powder mills. In Cork and throughout the province of Munster bacon curing is an important industry. In this province the prevailing form of agriculture is dairy farming. And great numbers of live stock, and large quantities of butter are shipped to England, Scotland and other foreign markets.

In Cork, Dublin, Londonderry and Waterford, the artisan or mechanic fares better than either the day-laborer or farm hand. The craftsmen employed indoors have work most of the year, and can provide themselves with comforts that are denied to the mason, stonecutter and brickmason, who can work only during certain seasons of the year. The mechanic is better clothed, better fed and better housed than any other manual laborer of the Emerald Isle. His children can enjoy in a measure such educational facilities as are open to the people of his class. How straitened are the circumstances of the day-laborer in cities and towns may be inferred from the statement that his average wages are only \$3.65 per week. This compels him to live in the poorest quarters of the city or town. The clothing of himself and children is coarse and ragged, the feet unprotected, and the head oftentimes uncovered. Often his children cannot attend school because the tuition, however small, cannot be paid from his small earnings.

CHAPTER VI.—FRANCE.

THE EDICT OF NANTES—DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF THE FRENCH PEASANTRY—IMPROVEMENT UNDER HENRY IV.—RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN—THE HUGUENOTS—MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES UNDER THE POLICY OF COLBERT—CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION—RESULTS OF THE BLOODY UPHEAVAL OF 1789—THE NAPOLEONIC WARS—RAPID AND SUDDEN DYNASTIC CHANGES—COÖPERATIVE WORKSHOPS—“THE ASSOCIATION OF MASONS” AND KINDRED ORGANIZATIONS—THE PRUDHOMMES—MANUFACTURES—AGRICULTURE—MINUTE DIVISION OF LABOR IN PARIS—THE DIGNITY AND PRIDE OF LABOR—THE HABITS AND METHODS OF THE FRENCH PEASANT PROPRIETOR—THE ARTISAN, MECHANIC AND LABORER.

IN the year 1599 ended the religious wars that had desolated France for nearly forty years. The right of the house of Bourbon to the throne was recognized as an established fact. It was during this year that Henry IV. signed and promulgated the Edict of Nantes, which act gave full recognition to the rights of conscience. At this time the condition of the French peasantry was deplorable in the extreme. More than 200,000,000 francs were exacted annually from the people by the tax collector, but of this enormous sum not more than 30,000,000 reached the public treasury. The remainder was absorbed by a corrupt official class. The farmers of the taxes resorted to the most oppressive extortion. Henry IV., aided by his minister Sully, remedied many crying evils and introduced many needed reforms. This monarch encouraged manufactures and commerce. To facilitate the marketing of agricultural produce, marshes were drained and roads and bridges constructed. Among the industries especially favored by Henry IV. were the manufacture of tapestry, gold and silver ware and silk culture. Henry understood the wants of the peasantry better than had the most of his predecessors. He sympathized with their condition and was anxious to conserve their interests. Sully, his trusted counselor, was wont to say that agriculture and stock raising were the two breasts of France. So thought his monarch, and both united heartily in the interest of the agricultural peasant. Henry went so far in his zeal as to convert some of his castles into manufacturing establishments. It was from the reign of Henry that the silk industry of Lyons dates its importance. In 1607,

Henry participated actively in the establishment of the linen industry at Rouen.

Under Richelieu, the great minister of France, the country attained great political power, but the people were far from prosperous. The people thought the policy of Richelieu oppressive and inimical to their interests. But after his death their condition did not improve under Mazarin. So unendurable were the measures and policy of this minister, that a serious insurrection occurred, called the War of the Fronde. This civil strife lasted for about four years.

Colbert, a man of the middle classes, was the favorite minister of Louis XIV. This minister thought to encourage the manufacture of cloth by establishing a high protective tariff. At this time, perhaps, the most industrious and thrifty portion of French society were the Huguenots, as the Calvinists were denominated. They were identified with many of the most important industries, and to them has been ascribed much of the material prosperity enjoyed by France at that time. It was the policy of Louis XIV. and his minister, however, to subject these thrifty and industrious people to onerous restrictions and rigorous persecutions. So unendurable did these oppressions become that the Huguenots emigrated in large numbers to Holland, Northern Germany, England, Switzerland and America. France could then ill afford the loss of such a population, and for nearly two centuries she paid dearly for the injustice and bigotry of her rulers. For a time the manufacturing industries of France flourished under the policy of Colbert. Her woolen cloth equaled even that of Spain and Holland, her lace that of Brabant, while in silk stuffs she rivaled Italy, and in the products of the loom was abreast of Flanders. During the reign of Louis XIV. was established the celebrated factory of the Gobelins. In 1669, there were 44,200 wool machines in France. Colbert sought to encourage manufacture by the payment of a bonus of \$400 for each loom in operation. During his ascendancy the streets of Paris were paved and the city lighted. He particularly encouraged the manufacture of silks, tapestries, mosaics, pottery and steel goods. The reign of Louis XIV. was a brilliant one and occupied a conspicuous page in history. He was surrounded by one of the most splendid courts in Europe, he was a patron of belles-lettres, and the fine arts, and his armies were crowned with victory. It was not the reign of the common people, however, and the working classes and peasantry suffered severely from excessive taxation. True it is, certain manufacturing interests experienced a speedy and abnormal development which suffered a serious reaction

when the artificial supports were withdrawn. What a few lines of manufacture had gained was at the expense of the general industries of the country. The result was that manufactures and agriculture were soon languishing, and the calamity was consummated by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, and the beginning of the eighteenth the peasants of France were miserable, dissatisfied, and groaning under one of the most stupendous taxations known to history. The burdens of the state were not shared by the nobility and gentry, but devolved wholly upon the so-called middle and lower classes of society. In his book entitled "The French Revolution Epoch," Henry Van Laun writes: "In 1789 the approximate number of the privileged classes in France was about 270,000, possessing three-fifths of the land—and that of the best of the country. All this property was nearly exempt from taxes. * * * The seizures were mostly in Paris; three-fourths of the land lay fallow, or was untilled altogether. The part that was cultivated by the peasant brought the laborer scarcely food to eat, for dues and taxes swallowed up the results." The condition of the peasantry was not improved by their methods of agriculture, which were rude and improvident. They had few if any tools, and no cattle worthy of mention. So wretched was the condition of the rural population that they flocked to the cities in multitudes in search of remunerative labor. The urban population was, thereby, enormously augmented by the accession of desperate and despairing men.

Through the bloody upheaval of 1789 the French nation overthrew numerous abuses, hoary with age. At one blow they rid themselves of a privileged nobility and clergy, and placed every Frenchman of whatever degree upon equality before the law. Feudal tenures were abolished, and the agriculture relieved from the burden of ties. The corporations and guilds that had so long obstructed the avenues of commerce were swept away. In a word, by a bloody sacrifice, France had acquired equality of rights and equality of taxation. The results of the revolution were rather more negative than positive, so far as the industry of the country was concerned. At first the effects were political rather than social or economic. Restrictions had been removed and burdens uplifted; but it was many years before the working classes of France entered upon that career of phenomenal prosperity that has made them the envy of Europe. The Napoleonic wars were a serious drawback to material advancement. The gigantic wars of the brilliant Corsican depleted the treasury and depopulated the country. After his downfall France

remained prostrate for a time, and her people were placed at the mercy of the rest of Europe, industrially, economically, and politically.

For a long time prior to 1827, the linen of France was home-made. In the homes of the peasantry were spinning wheels and looms, and the females were expert in the manufacture of linen and woolen cloth. It is said that in 1827 nearly 350,000 acres were devoted to the cultivation of hemp and flax. About this time, however, manufactories were established for the making of linen cloth on an extensive scale. The operatives at this time, were paid from \$1.60 to \$2.00 a week. At Troyes corduroy, velveteen and fustian were manufactured so cheaply that the common laborer could procure pantaloons of these materials for ninety cents.

The restoration of the monarchy, and the accession to the throne of Louis XVIII., although it brought peace abroad and quiet at home, did not materially influence for weal or woe the industries of France. His brother Charles was compelled to abdicate the throne, July 27, 1830, and Louis Philippe, of the House of Bourbon, was elected king of France by the Chamber of Deputies. This monarch inclined toward a liberal government and constitutional freedom. In February, 1848, another revolution occurred, and Louis Philippe was deposed. Notwithstanding these rapid and sudden dynastic changes, many of the industries that are now flourishing in France were established upon a firm foundation between 1815 and 1848. In 1847, the agricultural classes experienced the bad times always incident upon a failure of crops. A great scarcity of bread-stuff was the result, and the working people of the cities experienced the horrors of famine. In Paris, the operatives driven to desperation rushed to arms, for the purpose of compelling the government to give them work and supply them with food. The masses of the populace were blind to the real causes of their distress, their demands were unwise and unjust, but the consequences of their uprising were momentous. Then, as now, Paris was France, and a political revolution in Paris meant a political revolution for France. In the streets of the French capital occurred a brief but desperate and sanguinary conflict, between a suffering proletariat and the disciplined soldiers of the monarchy. The misguided but determined populace was victorious and a republic was proclaimed.

This republic had a brief existence. It was overthrown by the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, and Louis Napoleon was elected emperor December 2, 1852. Napoleon III. was astute and sagacious. He ascended the throne "by the grace of God and the will of the French people." Throughout his reign he did everything possible to

engage the affections of the common people and to identify his dynasty with their material prosperity. In the cities of the empire, and especially in the capital, immense numbers of common laborers and skilled artisans were employed upon public works. "An unusual financial and commercial activity marked the first years of his reign; the *credit foncier* and the *credit mobilier* companies were established in Paris; many important public works were undertaken, and though speculation was unduly encouraged, the general material condition of the country was undoubtedly much improved." * * *

The conduct of the Crimean war largely increased the military prestige of the nation, as well as the popularity and strength of Napoleon's rule, especially as during its continuance, measures for enhancing the domestic prosperity of the country were by no means neglected. This flattering state of affairs was more specious than real, and experienced a reaction that soon brought the empire into disrepute at home, and made it an object of distrust abroad. The heads of departments were corrupt and extravagant, and the methods of administration high-handed and unscrupulous. The leaders of the people refused longer to countenance the subterfuges and makeshifts of the government, and the money necessary to carry on the public works that had been projected was withheld. In 1869 and 1870 occurred a period of severe depression in commercial and manufacturing circles. The wages of the working classes were consequently reduced, which resulted in long-continued strikes in the large factories, and a wide-spread discontent of the laboring classes. Matters went from bad to worse with the empire, until the final crash that resulted in the Prussian occupation and enforced abdication of Napoleon III.

In the city of Paris, in 1848, were made the first experiments in co-operative workshops. The enterprises were conducted by the workmen, and the requisite capital was supplied by the government in the form of a loan from the public treasury. After some time had elapsed an inquiry into the condition of these co-operative ventures was instituted by the government, which revealed that out of ninety associations, thirty-five were flourishing, twenty-six were in a precarious situation, thirteen were fairly successful and sixteen had but held their own.

In 1848 was organized "The Association of Masons" of France. The organization began with eighty-four members, and was constituted as follows: A building manager and a financial manager, with an assistant, were selected. Of the remaining eighty-one members two-thirds were to work with hod and trowel under the direction of the other third,

acting as superintendents and distributors of work. In 1852, the association transacted business to the amount of \$9,000, and realized profits to the amount of \$200. In 1858, the business had increased to \$243,500, upon which a profit was realized of \$40,000. A dividend of fifty-six per cent was declared upon the capital stock. This organization has erected many of the finest mansions in Paris, and in 1867 it constructed the Orleans railway station in that city, at a cost of \$2,000,000 francs. In the past this association has generally employed from 200 to 300 workmen, who, in addition to their respective shares of their profits, were paid the prevailing wages.

Other organizations of a kindred nature have been formed from time to time, with varying success. The tendency of these institutions has been to elevate the character of the members and improve their material condition. M. Villi Aumé says: "Among the associated workmen, the fatal habit of intemperance is gradually disappearing, along with the coarseness and rudeness which are the consequence of the too imperfect education as a class." One of these organizations, the Société des Cités Ouvrières, within the period of ten years built 692 houses, beside public baths, laundries, fountains, gardens, and the bakery for the use of its members. The average cost price of each house was from \$600 to \$800. Any member desiring to build or purchase a dwelling was required to make an immediate payment from \$50 to \$60. The property was then made over to him absolutely upon a payment of five dollars monthly for a period of thirteen years.

The *Prudhommes*, or counsels of prudent men, are an interesting feature of industrial life in France. They exist in all the important cities and towns of the country, and have been regarded with curiosity by all persons interested in the relations of capital and labor. These bodies were instituted as tribunals for the adjustment of differences and disagreements arising between employer and employé. Candidates for this position are recommended by the chamber of commerce, the chamber of arts and sciences or the municipal council of the district in which the candidates reside. These councils were established by a decree of government, and the number of members cannot be less than eight. The membership must be divided equally between master and workmen. Masters and workmen elect representatives from among their number.

To vote for a "Prudent man" a master must be twenty-five years old, must have been five years in business, and three of those years a resident of the district. To vote for a Prudent man a workingman must have attained the age of twenty-five years, must have been a journeyman for the

period of five years, and for three years a resident of the district. An electoral list of eligible candidates is prepared by the mayor of every commune, assisted by two assessors. This list, when prepared, is forwarded to the prefect of the department, by whom it is revised and returned to the mayor. An appeal may be taken from this revision within ten days of the time of its return. The elections are by ballot, and the votes are deposited before a Justice of the Peace. A Prudent man must be at least thirty years of age, and able to read and write. Uncertificated bankrupts, men guilty of criminal acts, and foreigners cannot be electors. Half of the Prudent men retire every three years, but are eligible for reëlection. A Prudent man, unnecessarily absent from the sessions of the board, may be deposed by the president. The secretary of the council is appointed by the prefect of a department, on the recommendation of the president. The jurisdiction of the council extends to disagreements between manufacturers and artisans, foremen and journeymen, masters and apprentices. The jurisdiction of the council is limited to controversies arising in the industry which it represents, and from which its members were elected. Jurisdiction is determined by the place of business or work, and not by the place of residence. Great latitude is permitted the council in interpreting the law. Their construction of contracts is determined more by the spirit than the letter. The cost of proceedings before this tribunal is reasonable. When a workingman is called as a witness he is paid a fee equivalent to his wages. In case his absence from work necessitates the appointment of a substitute, the substitute is also paid as a part of the costs of the proceedings.

Within the past fifty years great progress has been made in manufactures. Notable among enterprises of this character are the silk factories of Lyons, Avignon, Nimes and Tours; the lace, tulle and embroidery establishments in and about St. Quentin and Nancy; the important iron works of Caen and Cotes, and Evers and St. Etienne; the cutlery enterprises of Paris, Langres, Moulins, and Tours; the woolen manufactures of Sedan, Louviers, Rheims, Amiens, Aras and St. Omer; the linen industry of Valenciennes and Cambrai; and the manufactures of fine earthenware and porcelain at Severes, Limoges, Montereau. The manufacture of beet-root sugar has assumed enormous proportions. It may be said indeed that in the manufacture of textile fabrics, France has now a foremost position among the nations of the earth. In the manufactories of France are employed nearly two million of people. More sublime in their patience, more heroic in their enterprises, incom-

parably more useful to humanity is this vast concourse of hand-toilers than were the invincible armies of the first Napoleon. The war-scared veterans of the Corsican adventurer swept the fair fields of Europe like a besom of destruction. On the other hand, consider for a moment the enormous wealth contributed each year to their native land by the innumerable hosts of industry in La Belle France.

It has been estimated that fully one-half of the inhabitants of France are engaged in agriculture. This industry is under the supervision of a special minister. He is assisted by officers called general inspectors. It is the duty of these inspectors to visit all sections of the country with a view to ascertaining the condition of the farmers and the wants of agriculture. In the event of misfortune overtaking the peasant proprietor, such as fire, frost, drought, floods or cattle disease, the circumstance is reported by the inspector to the department of agriculture, and the government comes to the assistance of the sufferer. In 1869 the money expended in this manner amounted to 2,171,340 francs. Notwithstanding the important position of agriculture in France, and the aid and encouragement it receives from the government, it has made less improvement since the first revolution than in England and Scotland. The backward condition of agriculture in France has been attributed to the law of 1793 which provided that the land of a testator should descend to his children equally. The operation of this law has sub-divided the estates of France into millions of diminutive farms. The farms are so small, in fact, that the improved implements known to the agriculture of other countries are impracticable and too expensive for the use of the French farmer. Some of the large land-owners have successfully introduced modern methods and the use of improved implements. The meadows and pasture lands are confined mainly to Normandy. All of the important cereals are cultivated, such as wheat, rye, maize, buckwheat, oats and barley. The vineyards of France are the source of great wealth to the country, and exist in at least seventy-six of the departments.

A minute division of labor prevails in Paris. The result of this custom is the attainment of great perfection and excellence of workmanship. The extent to which this practice is carried in that city, may be realized when we mention the number of handicrafts located on the right bank of the Seine: imitation jewelry, gold and silver jewelry and ware, artificial flowers, brushes, toys, umbrellas, fans, combs, pocket-books, accordions, buttons of horn, bone and mother of pearl, clock faces, straw bonnets, canes, whips, hair-work, wax figures, kid gloves,

silk and woolen gloves, musical instruments, work boxes, tables, spectacles, feather work, morocco, leather work, glass ware and porcelain ware. So complete is this sub-division of labor, that oftentimes one firm or concern confines itself to the manufacture of one flower; for example, there are many manufactories that produce nothing but roses. In the manufacture of confectionery, the French are supposed to excel any other people. In one district of Paris, in 1848, confectionery was manufactured to the value of \$739,800. Civilization seems to have destined the French to furnish articles of luxury for mankind; and in no city of the world are the surroundings so well suited to the development of taste, skill and beauty—in a word to the cultivation of the art-spirit in every industry. To use the words of another: "The industrial productions of Paris, infinitely varied, carry a sort of stamp, or sign, of Industry's Legion of Honor, which enables the civilized world to show a discriminating taste in preferring them. This specialty is derived from the cultivation of the fine arts and sciences, favored by vicinity to numerous precious collections of arts which are freely open to those who wish to derive instruction at these refined fountains of taste."

A favorite saying among the working-classes of France is, that "he who labors prays." This aphorism, if such it may be called, is a key to the character of the French workman. He views labor as a divine institution, and believes that it hallows all that it touches. The working-man of France, in brief, is thoroughly imbued with what he conceives to be the dignity and pride of his position. The result of this opinion is a feeling of equality between master and servant, employer and employé. This sense of equality, however, in no way involves a doubt as to circumstantial superiority—temporary ascendancy of the employer over the employé. It does not seem to diminish the feeling of deference and respect which is customary in an employé; but it does maintain in fact the abstract truth that before the law and in morals one man is as good as another. The temporary right of the employer to command is recognized, but it leaves undisturbed and unweakened the anterior dignity of the servant as a man.

A glimpse at the habits and methods of the peasant proprietor may not prove uninteresting.

Should he live in the outskirts of a forest he will, at times, occupy himself by cutting fagots, which he carries to the nearest market-town on his mule. When required, he repairs the hill-roads and cuts down the bushes of boxwood. Out of the latter he manufactures manure. With the opening of spring and the coming of the birds he removes the

honey from the tops of his wooden hives. He then plants his vegetables and hatches his silk-worm eggs. Twenty-five days are required to develop the silk-worm to its chrysalis state. Of late a mysterious and unmanageable disease has been rife among the silk worms. This renders the period of development an extremely anxious one. A new breed of silk worm has been recently introduced from Japan, which is more hardy in its nature and less susceptible to the ravages of this disease. The eggs of the silk worm costs from sixteen to twenty cents per ounce. Silk to the value of from 200 to 300 francs can be produced from one ounce of eggs. An industrious family, accidents and misfortunes aside, might realize from \$160 to \$240 worth of silk annually, from four ounces of silk-worm eggs. The cocoons are generally offered for sale at the fairs, where they are purchased by the agents of manufacturers. The peasant farmer harvests his crop of corn, waters his meadows, and shears his sheep. His corn is cut with the sickle, and either threshed with the flail or is trodden out by oxen. His grapes are gathered in the month of September. Later in the autumn he gathers the walnuts which are scattered over the fields by the autumn winds. Such is the yearly routine of the peasant proprietor, and sufficiently monotonous and simple it is

The time of the farmer's wife is occupied in making butter or curd, rearing fowls, and spinning flax. Since the Revolution the peasant farmer has been steadily improving in condition and gradually becoming richer. Some idea of the number and size of the farms of France may be had from the statement that in one city, numbering only some 4,000 inhabitants, there are about 500 proprietors of farms. These farms are of all sizes, from two and one-half acres, downwards. The clothing usually worn by the peasant farmer is cheaper in France than in England or Germany. His beverages are wine, tea or coffee; his staple articles of food are bread, potatoes, haricots, and other vegetables. Occasionally he treats himself to a piece of salt pork, but fresh meat seldom or never passes his lips.

In the cities and towns of France the unmarried artisan, mechanic and laborer, eat their meals in cafés and restaurants. His Sunday dress is cheap and flashy. His food consists, usually, of a cheap stew, compounded of cold meats, tainted vegetables and stale bread; he accompanies this uninviting dish with a bottle of so-called wine. When married he usually rents one or two rooms in an apartment house. His home is scantily furnished with an iron bedstead, a table and two chairs. The members of this class are seldom provident and are too often intem-

perate. By the law of France, manufacturers, the owners of mills and railroad companies are responsible for all injuries received by employés while in discharge of their duties. When an employé is killed while in their service, the law compels them to pension his family. When not in active military service, every male citizen who has attained the age of twenty-one years is entitled to vote and is eligible to office.

CHAPTER VII.—BELGIUM.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE—AGRICULTURE—MANUFACTURES—MINING—CONDITION OF THE LABORING CLASSES—COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES—FEMALE LABOR.

THE conquests of Julius Cæsar first made Belgium known to the civilized world. Belgium then became a part of the Roman empire, and so continued until the invasion and occupation of the Netherlands by the Franks. Although brave and warlike, yet the Belgians of Cæsar's time were barbarians, and without any industries worthy of mention. After the Roman conquest the Belgian tribes took kindly to the arts and industries of civilized life. From the fifth century the history of the Belgians was identified with the history of the Franks. During the middle ages the county of Flanders attained distinction in industry and commerce. For centuries the people of the Netherlands increased in wealth and prosperity. In 1477 "the Netherlands came into the possession of the House of Austria." Although this event did not end their progress in industry and commerce, yet the inhabitants were grievously oppressed by the persecutions of Charles V. and Phillip II. of Spain. A protracted and bloody struggle ensued, which resulted in the independence of the seven northern provinces. The southern portion, now known as Belgium, remained under Spanish rule. The military and political results of this sanguinary strife were disastrous to the industrial welfare of Belgium. From 1598 until 1697 the industries of Belgium continued to languish. After the peace of Roiswick various attempts were made to revive the prosperity of Belgium. The attempts were rendered futile first by the war of the Spanish succession, and afterwards by the Austrian war of succession. In 1790 Belgium became an independent state under the name of United Belgium. The French conquered Belgium in 1792. During the ascendancy of Napoleon Bonaparte he manifested a special interest in the material welfare of Belgium. Belgium was united with Holland in March, 1815. The Belgians, however, were more French than Dutch. Their sympathies were with the ideas, spirit and habits of the French people. Not only this, but the industries of the two countries were in conflict. The Belgians were given to agriculture and manufactures, while the Dutch

were engaged chiefly in commerce and fisheries. During this union, however, a strong impulse was given to the mining industries of Belgium, and her manufactures of iron, cotton and woolen goods were largely developed. Today Belgium is an independent kingdom, and her people among the most industrious and prosperous of the world. "Since the formation of Belgium into an independent state, the government has taken a laudable interest in all that concerns the advancement and happiness of the people; and not being trammelled by a respect of old laws or useless customs, it has adopted, as far as possible, the most improved systems of other countries." The whole system of government is based upon the broadest principles of national freedom and liberality. All power emanates from the people, and can be exercised only according to law. The people are upon a strict equality in the eye of the law; personal liberty is guaranteed to all, as well as entire freedom in opinion and in religious worship. * * * Justice is open to all, as well as the means of education, and the benefits of the public charities. The press is free, and civil death is abolished. Anyone may address petitions to the public authorities, signed by one or more persons."

The machinery of government in Belgium is cultured largely with reference to the welfare of its industries and commerce. In the principal towns and cities chambers of commerce and manufactures exist as state institutions. The members are appointed by the king from a list of candidates prepared for him by the chambers. It is the duty of these bodies to furnish the government with information bearing upon the manufactures and commerce of the country, accompanied by suggestions as to the means of increasing the general prosperity. The mining interests of the country are placed under the superintendence of the Minister of the Interior, who is assisted by a corp of mining engineers. There are many important quarries in the country, from which are taken marble, freestone, granite and limestone of the finest quality. The raising and spinning of flax is one of the oldest industries, and is now probably one of the most important branches of manufacture. Next in the order of importance should be mentioned the cotton industry, which is closely followed by the manufacture of woolen stuffs. Mention should be made of the manufactories of silk, lace, ribbons, beer, spirits, vinegar, sugar, salt, bricks, tile, porcelain, earthen ware, glass, crystal, paper, leather and ropes.

To United States Consuls Wilson, Stewart and Tanner we are indebted for information of an important and interesting character. The condition of the workman in Brussels may be taken as representative of their

class. The laboring classes, as a rule, are industrious, economical and sober. In the large manufacturing establishments good feeling exists and mutual confidence prevails between employers and employés. In no other country perhaps, do employers take more interest in the welfare of their workmen. Industrial disturbances are confined to the mining districts, where violent outbreaks sometimes occur. So contented generally are the mechanics and operatives with their lot that trades-unions are not a feature of life in Belgium. The main industries of the kingdom are conducted by large companies. The proprietors and managers of these establishments have adopted many measures looking toward the betterment of their employés. Invalid and pension funds are maintained by retaining three per cent of the wages paid. From these funds physicians are employed, and the operatives are paid half of their wages during illness. When a workman dies his widow is pensioned for three years, at the rate of half the wages of the deceased, if he has served ten years, and one-third if he had seen a service of less than ten years. The necessaries of life are purchased in quantities at wholesale prices, and sold to the workmen at an advanced price on the cost price of five per cent. The advance is charged to provide a fund for the payment of clerks and other incidental expenses.

Other establishments furnish physicians for their sick workmen, and gratuitously provide for the family of the sick man until such time as he may recover. When a workman is injured in the course of his employment, he is paid forty per cent of his wages until he is able to work again. Aged and decrepit workmen are awarded pensions. In some of the cities coöperative societies have been formed. In Antwerp there is a coöperative society which does work at the docks. Female labor is employed in the mines. In Belgium seventy-five per cent of the farm labor is performed by women. On many farms women alone are employed. It is not an unfrequent sight to see a woman harnessed to a wagon or even a canal boat, while her husband is comfortably ensconced on the tongue of the vehicle or the gunwale of the boat. Sixty-five per cent of the whole labor of the country is performed by women.

The agricultural interests of the country are superintended and promoted by a council or commission of competent men, nominated by the government. There is one of these bodies in each province, and it is their duty to report annually the condition of agriculture within their jurisdiction. Nearly one-fourth of the entire population is engaged in agricultural pursuits, and since 1830 the industry has greatly improved. Of the farms, forty-three per cent do not exceed fifty acres, while the

remaining farms range from two and one-half acres upward. The farming implements are rude and clumsy, and, as a rule, the farmers are averse to the introduction of improvements. Notwithstanding this fact, Belgium is not surpassed in agriculture by any country. Flemish husbandry partakes of the nature of gardening. While the plow and the harrow are frequently brought into requisition, yet the standing implement is the spade, that earliest and simplest of agricultural tools. As a rule, the farms are subdivided into small square lots or patches. Each little field has its highest point in the center, and slopes gently in all directions. This incline is so disposed that the slope of the subsoil corresponds to that of the surface. Filtration is promoted by a system of trenching, in which the Flemish farmer displays both skill and ingenuity. "The performance of the whole at once," writes Mr. Chisholm, in his "World As It Is," "would be a formidable and not a very efficient process. In a few years a new subsoil would be formed, and the trenching would be required to be renewed. This is rendered unnecessary in the following manner: The land is laid out in ridges about five feet wide, and when the seed is sown it is not covered, as usual, by the harrow, but by earth dug from the furrows to the depth of two spades, and spread evenly over the surface. By changing the ridges, and throwing the furrow of the previous year into the ridge of the next, the whole ground becomes fallow in the course of five successive crops, and is consequently trenched to the depth of eighteen inches. This process of trenching never ceases, and is unquestionably one of the most important characteristics of Flemish husbandry."

CHAPTER VIII. — SPAIN.

EXPULSION OF THE MOORS—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS AND THE MOORS—DEGRADATION OF LABOR IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES—IMPROVEMENT IN THE LAST TWO HUNDRED YEARS—ANTIQUE METHODS IN AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES AND MECHANICS—SPANISH ARTISANS—MINING—AGRICULTURE IN A BACKWARD CONDITION—THE CURSE OF MESTA—WAGES—POVERTY THE RULE AMONG THE TILLERS OF THE SOIL—FOOD, CLOTHING AND HABITS OF THE PEOPLE.

MEDIEVAL Spain was the one bright spot in surrounding darkness. The one civilization of that epoch was that of the Arabs or Saracens. That civilization attained its acme among the Spanish Arabs or Moors. Never has the Spanish peninsula enjoyed so protracted a period of prosperity in the mechanical arts and agriculture as during the reign of the Caliphs. For many centuries the Moriscoes were the industrial life and character of Spain. With their gradual extermination and final expulsion, a blow was struck at her industries from which they have never recovered.

It is estimated that during the struggle between the Spaniards and the Moors, aside from the slaughter and loss of war, more than 2,000,000 non-combatant Arabs departed the country with their portable wealth and knowledge of the industrial arts. This stupendous tragedy ended in 1609, when at least 600,000 Moors were driven out of the country forcibly in a body. With the last number went all that remained at that time to Spain of skillful husbandmen and ingenious mechanics. The place of the expatriated Moors could not be supplied by the proud and indolent Spaniards who had dispossessed them. The bigoted and foolish Spaniards did not have the patience, the industry, nor the ingenuity of the unfortunate Moors. The disastrous effects of this most injudicious policy soon became manifest: "the Moors had carried with them their skill in the arts and agriculture; and though the bright and fertile Vega still smiles at the foot of the sunny Sierra, and the rich soil of Andalusia still preserved its wonted fertility, they were not taken advantage of by the Spaniard. He was either too indolent to work, or too ignorant to work to the best advantage." It followed, therefore, that these fertile regions were only partially cultivated, and then but imperfectly. The

numerous villages that had dotted the landscape fell into ruin, and the crops decreased more and more, year by year. The large cities, too, which had once teemed with people, in time dwindled down till they did not contain a twentieth, and in some cases about a half of their former population. Under the Omniad Caliphs, Cordova contained a population of 1,000,000; today, its inhabitants do not exceed 40,000. There was a time when Toledo contained 200,000 souls; now its inhabitants number about 13,000. In the thirteenth century, Seville numbered 300,000 inhabitants, whilst at present she does not possess more than 90,000. In the fourteenth century, under Yussef I., Granada is said to have contained 450,000 people; at the present day there are scarcely 80,000; and this kingdom is now inhabited by 500,000 Spaniards, while once it contained 3,000,000 Moors.

In 1600 the province of Valencia presented an instructive contrast between the Spaniards and the Moors, and their respective influence for good or bad on the industries of the peninsula. So great was the thrift and prosperity of the Moors that it was apprehended they would shortly monopolize the riches of the province. Not only were they frugal and industrious, but even parsimonious. While the Spanish hamlets throughout Andalusia and Castile had fallen into decay, those of the Moors had flourished and increased. Such of the Moors who had devoted themselves to agriculture inhabited the most barren parts of the province; yet not only were they able to pay the one-third part of their crops for rent, but also to support their families well, and annually increase their capital stock. The Spanish farmers occupied the fertile lands of the country, but could not pay their rents, to say nothing of supporting those dependent upon them, or accumulating wealth. The expulsion of the Moors was one of the most unjust transactions known in history; and it has been said the event was followed by an almost total neglect of agriculture. So low had this industry fallen in public opinion, and so indifferent were the Spaniards to its dignity and necessity that it was in vain that the Duke of Lerma offered an order of nobility to every man who would give evidence of industry and skill in agriculture. Later it was found necessary to encourage the immigration of farmers from other countries. It was with manufactures and the mechanical arts as with agriculture. An effort was made by her rulers, at the time of the expulsion of the Moors, to teach their subjects the industrial arts by permitting six Moorish families out of every hundred to remain. The endeavor seems to have been fruitless, and it was found necessary to import artisans and mechanics from other European countries.

Motley says of labor in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that it was more degraded than ever before; and that "the industrious classes, if such could be said to exist, were esteemed every day more infamous. Merchants, shop-keepers, mechanics, were reptiles, as mildly esteemed as Jews, Moors, Protestants, or pagans. As a natural consequence, commerce and the mechanical arts fell almost exclusively into the hands of foreigners — the Italians, English and French — who resorted in daily increasing numbers to Spain for the purpose of enriching themselves by the industry which the natives despised. The capital thus acquired was at regular intervals removed to other lands, where wealth resulted from traffic, and manufacture was not accounted infamous. Moreover, as the soil was held by a few great proprietors, it was nearly impossible for the mass of the people to become owners of any portion of the land. To be an agricultural laborer at less than a beggar's wages could hardly be a tempting pursuit for a proud and indolent race. It was no wonder, therefore, that the business of the bregan, the smuggler, the professional mendicant, became from year to year more attractive.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the condition of the Spanish peasant was deplorable, as a result of his indolence and inaptitude. He was clothed in rags, and into his dilapidated dwelling the wind and rain had unlimited entry. His food consisted of a little black bread, sour milk and bad vegetables. Even of this food, wretched in quality, he oftentimes had not enough to satisfy his hunger.

What Spain might have been but for the expulsion of the Moors is a matter for conjecture, and not of knowledge. What Spain became without the Moors is historical. That in agricultural and industrial arts she is not what she might have been but for that event, is obvious. That Spain has improved in both respects within the last two hundred years must be conceded. But even today Spain has been called the land of antique methods in her agriculture, manufactures and mechanics. The turning lathes in use are like those of Persia, Palestine, and other Asiatic countries. In construction and ornament the methods, although primitive, are rough and ready.

For instance, the varied and effective quantities formed of brick, in combination with common roofing tiles, may be mentioned. So simple is this kind of ornamentation that it can be made by the crudest brick-layer. The tile mentioned is manufactured as follows: A four-sided frame is constructed in such a way as to be narrower at one end than at the other. This mould is laid upon a table and filled with clay. The

soft tile is then lifted from the mould and left standing in the sun to dry. When dry the tile is burned in a kiln. The carpentry of Spain, like the brick and mason work of that country, is crude, yet solid, genuine and effective. The prevailing style of building is the framing of small panels with a very simple moulding. Decorating the interior of houses with ornamental paper is not practiced by the Spanish artisan. In its stead the walls and ceilings are painted by him. He divides the surface into panels with stencilled lines, and then frescoes each panel with free-hand ornament. The iron-smith is an important tradesman in the cities. His art is called into requisition in architecture. Labor and material are so cheap that wrought-iron balconies of tasteful design are a feature of houses the most unpretending. It may be said that there are no blacksmiths, locksmiths, etc., in Spain, as one man would at times exercise all these trades. A general smith will iron a vehicle, shoe a horse, or make a lock. Crudeness and simplicity are not the rule in Spain. Many are the industries in which her artisans are not excelled by those of any other country. To substantiate this assertion, we have but to mention the many beautiful public buildings, well-constructed private houses, enameled tiles, brass and iron work, ornamental furniture, velvets, boots and shoes, leather work, blankets, flannels, cigars, gloves, cerillos, and confectionery.

Spain produces the finest wool in Europe. That country should not be surpassed, therefore, in the manufacture of woolen goods. There are woolen manufactories in Marrera, Tanagona, Guadalajara, and some in the provinces of Valencia and Aragon. Of late years the manufacture of cotton has largely increased and continues to enlarge. Silk-worms are reared in Granada and there are extensive silk factories in Barcelona, Valencia, Amalgro, Seville and Madrid. The operatives of Spain make excellent fabrics, but in the art of dyeing they are deficient. In the northern provinces tanning is a large and important industry. The cigar manufacturers of Malaga and Seville are famous. A superior quality of porcelain is manufactured at Madrid. The development of the manufactures of Spain has been seriously hampered by a system of monopoly. Another obstacle has been the policy of government manufactures, which has seriously interfered with private enterprise.

Since the dawn of history Spain has been celebrated for her richness of mineral deposits. These mines were in turn operated by the Tyrians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans and Arabs. Recently several silver and lead mines have been discovered. Iron ore is found in large quantities, principally in the northern provinces. Coal is mined in considerable

quantities. In 1856 upwards of 1,000,000 quintals of lead in bars were exported. It has been stated that some of the most important silver mines of the country were discovered by practical miners, who had returned to their native country from the mining districts of Mexico. They were led to this discovery by a comparison of the geological formation of their native mountains with those of Mexico.

It is estimated that about sixty per cent of the area of Spain is arable land. It is one of the most fruitful countries of Europe. It has a great variety of products. In almost all the provinces wheat, secale, barley, hemp and flax are cultivated. "In the south of Spain there is a great variety of delicious fruits, not only such as are common in temperate climates, but many which naturally belong to the tropical regions, The sugar-cane grows near the cotton plant and numerous olives furnish the oil, which forms an important branch of commerce. Of all the vegetable productions of Spain, the vine is the most important, land being almost everywhere favorable to its culture; the excess of the vintage above the quantity consumed in the country forms a considerable branch of the export trade."

The array of agricultural and horticultural productions in Spain is attractive to the inhabitants of less favored climes. But notwithstanding the amenities of that country, in climate and soil, agriculture is in a backward condition. Various attempts have been made to account for this. One of these, is what has been appropriately termed the curse of Mesta. This is the name given to a custom that permits the owners of flocks and herds to drive them from province to province in search of pasture. Extensive and destructive depredations are committed by the sheep and cattle while on their way from one pasture to another.

Another hindrance to the improvement of agriculture is the law of entail which exists in Spain in its worst form. By far the larger part of Andalusia is included in the estates of the Dukes of Osuna, Alba, Medina and Coeli. But, perhaps, the most serious hindrance to advancement in agriculture is the want of internal communication, and the laziness of the rural population. As a rule the farms of Spain are small. The farmers do not live upon the land they cultivate, but congregate in small villages which present a miserable aspect. Rotation in crops is not practiced, and the same land is sown, year after year, after a slight plowing.

The farm implements used by the Spanish farmer are of the rudest description. In the mountain districts the spade is used instead of the plow. The most carefully cultivated lands are in the Huertas of Gran-

ada, Murcia and Valencia, which are well irrigated by the waters of Segura and Jucar. These three provinces are considered the gardens of Spain, and yield yearly three or four crops of vegetables. Notwithstanding the fertility of some portions of Spain, it is estimated that all the arable land does not yield more than from one and one-half to two per cent annually to the owners. Scarcely a third of the arable land of Spain is today properly tilled. More land is devoted to the pasturage of cattle than is necessary for the maintenance of the flocks and herds of the country. The small farmers of the country, for the most part, are wretchedly poor, and are constantly at the mercy of the usurers, shavers, and pawn-brokers.

Until 1868, the wages of the agricultural laborer were extremely low; so low, indeed, as to threaten him constantly with want. Nothing could be saved by him for old age or sickness. When overtaken by illness or decrepitude of advanced age, he was either supported by relatives or sought refuge in one of the many asylums for the aged which abound throughout the peninsula. These institutions are conducted chiefly by the sisters of San Sula and the sisters of San Vicente de Pau. The agricultural laborer of Spain suffers seriously by reason of the protracted drought which is continuous from the end of the July harvest to the end of September. During this time the poor farm-hand can earn nothing and is driven to the pawnbroker for relief. In Spain there are two kinds of pawn-shops, distinguished respectively as the *montes de piedad* and the *agencia de prestamos*. The *montes de piedad* is not conducted as are the pawn-shops of the United States and England. The poor man when compelled to pawn his ancestral watch or cupboard has full twelve months within which to redeem the article by paying a reasonable interest. With the small farmer and agricultural farmer poverty is the rule. Although poor, yet he is said to be superior in mental and moral qualities to the same class in England, France and Germany.

“The Spanish peasant,” says Hugh James Ross, “is a child of nature, but a very noble child.” His nobility must be instinctive and natural rather than acquired, as for centuries illiteracy has been the rule among the Spanish peasantry. In 1803, only one in 350 could read, in 1865 one in fifteen, in 1875, one in six could read and write. The character of the Spanish peasant is largely the result of climatic influences. The atmosphere of his native clime is replete with the elements of vitality, and less solid food is required to sustain life than in more northern or southern countries. Today nutritious wine and good bread is cheaper in Spain than anywhere else in the world. Luscious grapes may be had for a

trifle. It is upon such food as this that the Spanish peasant subsists, wine, bread, and vegetables cooked in olive oil. Garlic is a favorite vegetable, and in Spain is less pungent and more delicate in flavor than that grown in other countries. Partridges and rabbits are plentiful in their season, and are killed in large quantities by the peasantry.

Soups and stews are the prevailing ways of preparing food. In the adage, "No stew without bacon, and no sermon without a quotation from St. Augustine," we have 'the key to Spanish cooking—stewing and salt meat; for every peasant woman of Spain, who can afford the coveted morsel, procures a piece of salt meat or fish for her stew. The cheapest food of the Spanish laborer is the veritable red pottage of sacred story. The ingredients of this compound, are olive oil, salt, red-pepper, water, and haricot beans, garbanzos, or potatoes. Another popular and economical dish is the *sopa de ajo*, or garlic soup. This dish is compounded of garlic, hard crusts of bread, oil, salt and water. The food that delights alike the rich and poor is the famous olla or punchero. Into this savory stew all the viands find their way—bacon and fresh meat, potatoes, cabbages, garbanzos, red-peppers, rice, etc. Sardines fried with tomatoes in oil are eaten in some regions during the early winter months.

In Spain, as in the East, the peasant and laborer sits on a low stool while eating. In the place of forks, spoons of wood or horn are used. As a mass, no nation is better mannered than the working classes of Spain. If approached when eating they are very pressing in their invitations to partake of what they have to offer. To quote from an observant traveler, "At night you pass the door of the Spanish peasant's shanty. He and his family are sitting on stones or three-legged stools outside the door, just as the setting sun sinks to rest, and beginning their evening meal. 'Will you dine?' is their customary greeting, and perhaps they will add, if it be autumn, 'we have a quince, or a Ronda pippin, in our stew tonight.'"

If a peasant be a Mercian or Valencian his common garb is a coarse white linen or cotton shirt, and baggy trousers of the same material. His feet are encased in strong hempen sandals. If a native of La Mancha his clothing will be a thick woolen jacket, rusty-brown trousers and heavy boots of untanned leather. In Andalusia the peasant wears the short, black jacket and striped woolen small clothes of that kingdom. The most picturesque costume of Spain is that of the charcoal burner. Like the hero of the old nursery rhyme he is absolutely "all clad in leather." "He wears a leather jacket with a double row of steel buttons

on either lappet ; leather breeches, loose above and tight below the knee, but as they are never buttoned below the knee they show a tight fitting and oftentimes coarsely embroidered stocking. This dress is very expensive, and as a rule the mountaineer can only afford a new suit once in two, three, or four years." In costume, food and habits the peasantry of the Basque provinces present a sharp contrast to the same class in other parts of Spain. Indeed, it may be said that in these matters each province of Spain differs from every other. The household utensils in common use in one town, village, or district can not be found in the next. In one section bread will be made in great perfection, in public shops. In the adjoining district baking, as a trade, will be unknown.

Many Spanish peasants dislike the inconvenience of undressing at night. No time is lost in the morning in making a toilet. Night and day for weeks they will wear the same garments, trusting to shower and sun to cleanse and bleach them.

To an American or English laborer the house of the Spanish peasant would appear comfortless. The walls are thick and the windows few and small. There are diminutive one-storied houses, nestling among the vines and the olives and overgrown with the gourd and the vine. Mercia and Valencia are dotted with tiny stone cottages, each surrounded by a fertile garden plot, in which are raised four crops of vegetables annually. Around the flourishing mines of Andalusia, the miners have excavated small caves in the rocks and cliffs. These subterranean dwellings are lighted by an oil lamp swinging from the roof. In the towns and villages the customary tenement of the working classes is a one-storied crumbling stone building. The floor is of baked earth or flagged. Around the rude walls hang wooden crucifixes, coarse pictures of the saints, and strings of melons, gourds, dry herbs and garlic intermingled with the bright flame-colored *pimientos picantes* or pungent capsicums. Within the walls of the sitting-room are accommodated dogs, cats, goats, small pigs and fowls. Sometimes there is a stray fox or a magpie. "In the cottage is a brick shelf with two little holes, about a foot deep and half foot in diameter ; these are called the hornillas, or cooking stoves. The charcoal is placed in the bottom of these holes, and is fanned into a flame by the shaking to and fro of a wisp in front of the outlet from the hornilla. On the top of the two hornillas are placed the two earthen ware pots or pucheras, which contained the viands to be converted into ollas or stews."

In the cities of Andalusia there are two classes of laborers, the native Andalusian, and the Gallegos, or natives of Galicia. The Andalusian

is generally a skilled mechanic or a clerk. The Gallegos are the unskilled workmen — “the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.” In the Jerez and the adjoining districts, a bitter feeling exists between the vine growers and their employés. There are, in this section, few if any small farmers and the land is possessed by a small minority of the inhabitants. Although not a student of history or political economy, the landless laborer of the Jerez realizes that “there is something rotten in Denmark.” But the general condition of the people in Andalusia has been summed up “as one of light-hearted cheerful poverty.” The Catalonians are the most active and laborious people of the Spanish peninsula. Drunkenness is a rare occurrence. The land is more widely distributed than in any other province, and the farmers more thrifty and prosperous than elsewhere in Spain.

In this principality a system exists called *rabassa marta*. Under this system a vineyard is planted by the cultivator, who pays the owner of the land half, a third or a quarter of the produce, according to the terms of the contract and the quality of the land. United States Consul Fhscheuch writes, that “by means of this contract thousands of acres of weedy soil have been converted into excellent vineyards, and many thousands of poor laborers now enjoy the consideration due to semi-proprietors and a relatively comfortable position, which stimulates them to work more earnestly.” It is, also, owing to this that pauperism, so general in other parts, is hardly known in Catalonia.

In Corunna blacksmiths received fifty cents a day, and tailors and shoemakers forty cents. To the mechanic of the United States this wage-rate is phenomenally low, but is an increase of ten per cent on the wages of 1878.

Prior to the revolution of 1868 the Spanish laborer was little if any better than a slave in political and social condition. As the constitution of Spain then existed he had no rights worth the name. The government invariably sided with capital as against labor, and persecuted every attempt among laboring classes to form protective and conservative associations. The constitution in 1869 established equality of political rights in Spain, and the laborers acquired thereby perfect liberty of organization.

Upon the restoration of the monarchy universal suffrage was abolished and the privilege of association was left to the discretion of the provincial authorities. Now, the right of suffrage has been conferred on all those who can read or write, or who have served creditably in the army.

CHAPTER IX.—PORTUGAL.

PRIMITIVE LUSITANIA—THE MOST ENLIGHTENED PEOPLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—THE CONSTITUTION OF 1821—SLOW RECOVERY FROM THE EVILS OF IMPERIAL OPPRESSION—AGRICULTURE—MANUFACTURES—WAGES—LAND TENURES—CONDITION OF THE LABORING CLASSES.

PORTUGAL is a country but little less remarkable in the history of romance than its near neighbor, between whose people and its own there is so close a national and traditional and social resemblance. Though it has ever been less famous than Spain, less a center of attraction to the chivalric world of the days with the passing of which the Portuguese glory vanished, there is an irresistible charm in the memory of this land from which sprang so much of the valor, enterprise and resolution that moved civilization forward when so many stubborn forces contended against it. One may not look to that dreamy land without some regret that it has fallen to so low a state among the proletariat nations of Europe; its people so much lower in grade, so much more ignorant and indolent than the still enervated Spaniards who are content to feed on the splendors of the past; too slowly responsive to the new democratic spirit struggling for effective existence. Inertia is the bane of these Latin countries, rather than the result of the pressure of systems that obtained in the sturdier people of the middle and eastern countries of Europe. But back of this was the old cause of retrogression, a luxurious, profligate nobility, a heavily taxed, legally wronged commons. The ancient inhabitants were Celtic tribes, and gave to primitive Lusitania the vigorous cast characteristic of that rugged, half barbarian people wherever they established themselves.

The first impulse toward cultured civilization came through the Roman subjection of the country. The influences then introduced continued to be felt for five centuries, when more of the old leaven was injected into the state by the incursions of the Visigoths, and other northern barbarians. In the eighth century, the Arabs and the Moors came with their contribution of elements to the making of the general character of the people, and when the kingdom of Portugal became independently established under the rule of Dom Alfonso, with its present area, there was a mixture of bloods and temperaments in the highest

degree favorable to the prosperity of the country. Portugal was raised to a high pitch of power and affluence. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese were the most enlightened and enterprising people of Europe; were generously experimental in all departments of wisdom and science; were given to exploration. Through their wise enterprise the scope of geographical knowledge was greatly enlarged, thereby adding greatly to the wealth of the state and extent of the Portuguese dominion. For nearly a century they held the domination, the decline of power beginning with the disastrous expedition of Dom Sebastian, in 1578, against the Moors of Barbary. He and his army perished, the power of Portugal was broken, and a few years later passed under the crown of Spain, and so continued for the better part of a century, until in 1640 the nation rose in revolt. A long war with Spain ensued, which was terminated in 1665 by the triumph of the Portuguese. A renewal of national prosperity followed through alliances with England and other countries. A war over the Spanish succession in 1704 once more crippled home industry by the exclusive power conferred on England by the terms of a new alliance. A reform period prevailed through the reign of Joseph, 1750-77, agricultural, social and political benefits being conferred, though England succeeded in gaining large control of commerce.

In 1799 England persuaded Portugal to join her and Russia in a war against France, which tended to plunge Portugal into dreadful commercial distress and a general bankruptcy amounting to national impoverishment. When, in 1801, Spain joined France against the other powers, and forced the Portuguese into hard concessions, Portugal became almost entirely dependent on England. Wars and revolts followed at intervals, until the bloodless uprising that secured the liberal constitution of 1821. By this there was gained for the people freedom of person and property, liberty of all citizens before the law, the abolition of privileges, the eligibility of all Portuguese to office, and the sovereignty of the nation. Such is the dark background of contention, destitution and suffering that stamps upon the imagination, more graphically and terribly than can words, what was the condition of the toiling masses who were unable to rise to industrial dignity against the exactions of domestic tax and foreign levy. It meant the degradation of the people, no less than the ruin of the State. And the picture of the unthrift and improvidence of today afflicting the country proves how slowly a constitutional government may recover from the evils thrust upon a people by imperial oppression. Sixty years are a short time in which to recover from the wrongs and injuries of centuries, and it is not surprising that agriculture is now backward,

and that the industries are not at a high pitch of development. That ignorant farmers should combine to weaken the soil by raising on the same patch the same crops yearly, without alternation, is a natural result of that impediment to improvement in cultivation which arose from the land being owned by crown, nobility or clergy. With the amendment of the mortmain laws, by which the soil became free, progress was made possible, and the Lusitanian farmers are beginning to appreciate the value of their labor. The gradual introduction of modern implements of agriculture indicates the awakened sense of productive possibilities. Improved highways, too, are doing much to promote the prosperity of the agricultural districts, in recent years \$10,000,000 having been expended from the treasury for the construction of national highways, district and communal roads, of which there are more than 2,460 miles in excellent condition. The extension of the railway system has been rapidly conducted, so that the producer now has a ready market for his commodities, the good results showing in the large crops of wheat, rye, maize and barley, and the great increase of the grape culture. The export of wine advanced from 4,715,386 gallons, in 1842, to nearly 9,000,000 gallons in these late years. The annual orange yield will average 630,000,000, lemons and figs being also a leading source of agricultural wealth. The oil industry, which is one of the most progressive, produces an average yield of nearly 6,000,000 gallons a year. Though wine constitutes more than one-third of the value of the entire exports, general foreign commerce is steadily augmenting, the exchange being chiefly with Great Britain, Brazil and France. Whatever may be the unfavorable aspect of certain districts, it is unmistakable that the upward tendency is prevalent, the entire people gradually undergoing a change that is very encouraging to the socio-political student. There are great differences perceptible in the inhabitants of different provinces. In the north, for example, the peasant not only attends to the culture of the vines, but in many instances rears silkworms, and has his little cluster of olive trees. The three departments of industry give him a comfortable maintenance and a respectable standing. In Almetjo, on the contrary, the peasant is content to live chiefly on chestnuts, while his whole available energy is expended in the care of his pigs and goats. That the Portuguese incline naturally to rural and agricultural pursuits, to the disrelish of mechanical toil, is clearly enough shown in the repeated failure of efforts to establish manufactories, a singular Arcadian spirit that cannot altogether be explained by the treaty provisions respecting the importation of English goods. There are about 1,150 establishments that hardly may be called

factories, such as tanneries, distilleries, flour mills, paper factories, soap works, tobacco shops, cork works, etc., employing something over 90,000 operatives, but they are conducted on the simplest basis. The total daily wages paid these workers is £3,129, the value of the products being £6,073,658, making an average wage of a trifle more than seventeen cents a day. Portugal has ample mineral wealth, but has neither the capital nor the enterprise to avail herself of these resources. This neglect is but another evidence of the essentially agricultural character of the country. Under a proper economic system there might be a vast increase of farm produce and stock, from fifty to a hundred per cent gain being possible in every direction of labor.

The tenure of land is not such as to hamper the peasantry. There are five kinds of tenure: the allodial, the emphytentic, the leasehold, the communal and the parcenia. This latter is a rural provision which differs little from the Magyar system of Bavaria, France and Italy, the landlord receiving part of the produce. The principal tenure is the allodial, and relates to the wide, fertile plains of Central and Southern Portugal. The holder of the fee-simple, with a minimum of capital and knowledge, tills his own broad acres, or, if his energy is unequal to the tax, or the estate too large, leases it on short terms to a tenantry quite as aimless and shiftless as himself, who produce simply the minimum for the supply of their own necessities. The communal tenure obtains in the wild and mountainous districts, and is the system perhaps best suited to the impecunious condition of the holders. Both landlord and tenants are penniless, and much on a social level. By diligence and honesty the peasant may come to acquire a part interest in the estate, the proceeds being shared on a basis of earnings.

The emphytentic system prevails among the northerly estates. This is perhaps the most prosperous region in Portugal — not through any richness of soil, but chiefly owing, it is thought, to the existence of a tenure by which the province is parceled out among small yeomen landlords, and are held at a fixed rent. These farms represent the excellence of agriculture as it is developed in Portugal, for the reason that the best energies of the peasants are put into a work that is wholly independent in its character, and is yet forced along by the necessity of the annual rental, apart from the question of yield. This fixity of tenure under unalterable conditions of rent, however burdensome they may have been originally, this contract having been made in unsettled times, and in a half-peopled country, causes these conditions to grow less burdensome with the increase of population, with the growth of security to life and

property, and with the general rise in agricultural prices. Such has been the result of the emphytentic system. The operations of farming in non-pastoral Portugal do not differ materially from those of other countries of Southern Europe. Crab-apple orchards and fig groves form no small part of a farmer's wealth. In marshy, sea-bordering land rice is grown. Olives afford the grower a good return everywhere except in the northern portion, and the chestnut tree gives him a precarious food and the best timber in Europe. The vineyard is an almost imperative part of the farm.

These farms are of small extent, from five to fifteen acres, a fifty acre farm being uncommon. The implements used in cultivation are antique, the ploughs generally being of the old Roman fashion, and machinery is practically unknown. The peasantry are great eaters of fish, the dried cod supplying their wants chiefly. Potatoes are seldom eaten by field laborers, who rely mainly on a coarse, wholesome bread, known as broa, made of maize and rye flour, a double bread food being almost universal in Portugal. The cost of living is nominal, a few cents a day sufficing, and yet it is nourishing and strengthening food.

The peasants work, when they have the acquisition of land in view, cheerily and faithfully through sixteen hours of the day. All things considered, the condition of the laboring classes in Portugal will compare favorably with that of any other European state, a result due as much to climate and fecundity of soil as to the industrial energy of the working people. Farm life being the chief employment, and affording in itself a happy life and a comfortable living, there is not a great deal of destitution in modern Portugal, and if wages are low in every line of labor, the cost of food, clothing and shelter is correspondingly cheap. Great enterprise alone seems to be needed to make of Portugal one of the most prosperous and healthful, socially, of European countries. It is necessary, however, that the enterprise should be extended to the matter of education. Though there are compulsory school laws, they are not enforced, and, despite numerous schools and a good system of instruction, the Portuguese commons are deplorably ignorant.

CHAPTER X.—ITALY.

ANCIENT ROME AND MODERN ITALY CONTRASTED—THE INDUSTRIES OF THE NATION—PRIMITIVE AGRICULTURE—LAND TENURES—THE LABORING CLASSES—THE HANDICRAFTS—WAGES AND MODE OF LIVING—INCREASE OF PAUPERISM—PHYSICAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THE word Italy does not suggest to the mind thoughts of industrial arts. To the world the name of Italy is identified with ideal perfection in sculpture and painting and with imposing magnificence in architecture. True, Italy is of interest as suggestive of an empire that once dominated the civilized world. But so vast is the gulf between Rome, empress of the nations, and modern Italy, the buffet of political forces and the toy of European intrigue, and so full the intervening centuries of varied incident, that the mind of today fails to identify the Latin peninsula with the mistress of antiquity. It is not of Italy as a political and military power that men now write and speak, but of Italy as the home of music, painting and sculpture. Holland, Belgium and Switzerland are suggestive of manufactures, trade and the industrial arts. Italy is suggestive of ecclesiastical splendor and architectural grandeur, the revival of letters, and all that is most beautiful in glowing canvas and breathing marble. Yet, in common with every other country, the social fabric of Italy is founded on the industry of her farmers, artisans and manufacturers.

Industrially, Italy is emphatically an agricultural country. By far the largest proportion of her people are engaged in agriculture, horticulture and grazing. Some of her manufactures are notable, such as the making of paper, the dressing of leather and skins, and the compounding of chemicals; still, modern Italy is so distinctively an agricultural country, that our remarks will be confined mainly to such features of that industry as are peculiar to that country. There are artisans, mechanics and day laborers in sunny Italy as elsewhere, and of them we shall have something to say, but as the farmers and gardeners of Italy are more numerous and important, they will be first considered.

Gardening on an extensive scale is confined to the neighborhood of such cities as Milan, Genoa, Florence, Catania and Naples. The vegetables most largely produced are cabbage, lettuce, fennel, asparagus,

spinach, beet, garlic, onions, gourds, melons and cucumbers, and tomatoes. The farmers in the vicinity of Verieto cultivate the sun-flower, those of Bologna and Lucca sesamum. In 1863, 27,000 acres in the province of Naples was devoted to the cultivation of madder. The two prominent features of agriculture in Italy are the raising of wheat and the cultivation of the vine. In the production of cereals, Italy is surpassed by Roumania, Denmark, Russia, Prussia, France, and Hungary, and in this matter is little if any better than Switzerland. The most important cereal is wheat, then maize, rice, oats, barley, rye and buckwheat. The potato and turnip are extensively cultivated. The vine flourishes throughout the length and breadth of the land. "The methods of cultivation are sufficiently varied, but the planting of the vines by themselves, in long rows of insignificant bushes is decidedly the exception. In Lombardy, Emilia, Romagna, Tuscany, the Marches, Umbria, Terra Di Livorno and other Southern provinces they are trained to trees which are either left in their natural state or subjected to pruning or pollarding. In Campania and Terra Di Livorno the vine is allowed to climb freely to the tops of the poplars much as they would do in their native woods; but the wines obtained by this system of cultivation are said to be of inferior quality. In the rest of Italy the elm and the maple are the trees mainly employed as supports. Artificial props of several kinds—wires, cane work and trellis work—are also used in many districts, and in some the plant is permitted to trail upon the ground. The vintage takes place according to locality and climate, from the beginning of September to the beginning of November."

Many fruits are produced in Italy—olives, oranges, lemons, limes, figs. In the middle provinces of Italy olive trees are cultivated in orchards, while in Bari, Chieti, Lecce, the tree flourishes without cultivation, like forest trees. Orange-growing has steadily increased during the last thirty years, and has now assumed important proportions.

Sheep-farming, on a large scale, is confined to Umbria, Apulia, the Capi Tanata, and the Calabrias. Throughout these provinces, in full development, is "a remarkable system of pastoral migration, which has been in existence from the most ancient times, and which has attracted attention as much by its picturesqueness as by its industrial importance."

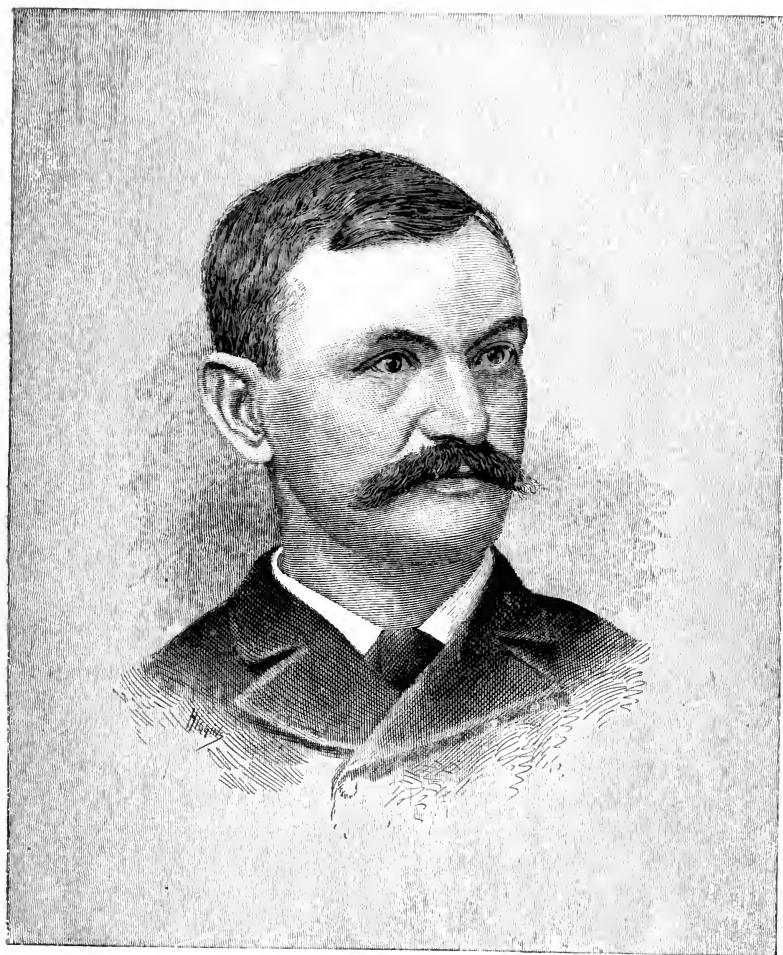
Agriculture is an important industry in Italy, not because it has been held in esteem by her rulers, statesmen and influential classes, but for the reason that her rural classes have turned to the soil as a matter of necessity for the means of subsistence. Circumstances, more than inclination, directed the rural population of Italy to farming. By the aris-

ocratic classes agriculture is held in contempt. As a rule, the landed proprietors do not reside on their estates; the highways of the country are generally neglected; and all this contributed in 1830 to keep the Italian peasant in almost absolute isolation. The Italian farmer is a creature of habit, and has been called a plowing, reaping and threshing-machine, and, as such, jealous and distrustful of mechanical invention. To all personal or technical improvement he opposes his force of inertia, and clings with tenacity to the unwieldy and clumsy instruments immortalized by Virgil and Columella. Some have said of him that he was not many degrees above the dumb and hardy brute, the sharer of his toil. This was the opinion of Mariotti, a fellow-countryman, who wrote of the Italian farmer in 1830. We are not inclined toward an opinion so harsh and uncharitable. The Italian farmer, per force of race instinct alone and the glories of history and tradition, cannot be the irresponsible and phlegmatic individual he is here depicted. It would be more just to say of him that he was the victim of untoward circumstances and an undeveloped system of agriculture. The Italian farmer, as a rule, does not own the land he tills, and from him is exacted for rent one-half or two-thirds of his annual crops. Under such circumstances, enterprise and improvement cannot be expected of him. So straightened is his condition that the expensive implements in common use elsewhere are denied him. Little wonder is it, then, that he clings to the crude implements of his forefathers. Yet in use is the old Roman plow, dignified by Latin history and honored by Cato. "In Sardinia the plow that figures on ancient monuments of the island might have been copied from that at work in the fields. * * * Even in the Veneto the heavy plow drawn by as many, it may be, as six pairs of oxen, cuts the furrow no deeper than nine inches. As we proceed southwards the fashion becomes more simple and antique. The spade, or vanga, is a favorite implement, and in some parts, as in Emilia, for instance, it is used to deepen the furrow made by the plow. Sowing and reaping machines have been introduced in the lowland regions, but a large proportion of the country is little fitted for their employment." Even as late as 1866, Mr. Wiley, in his "Awakening of Italy," writes that "the Italians were greatly in want of implements necessary to an advanced condition of agriculture. Wheelbarrows were then unknown to that country, and soil was carried in little baskets on the head. The plows were of wood, and, in watering their fields and gardens, a pail and bucket were used, as in Egypt. Their carts," he continues, "are little wooden boxes suspended between two enormous wheels, and drawn by

rather an imposing array of cattle—a horse, a mule, and an ox.” But of late years there has been an improvement in this regard in some parts of Italy. Threshing-machines, straw-cutters, corn-shellers, and other modern inventions have begun to make their way.

Thirty years ago, and we presume it is much the same today, few of the landed proprietors of Tuscany would grant leases for definite terms; still, so binding was the custom of prescription in that province, and so interdependent the interest of landlord and tenant, that removals were extremely rare, and the same farms would be occupied and tilled from father to son for generations. Many farms there are in that fair region that have been held by this tenure from the days of the Florentine republic. The prevailing system of tenantry is that known as metayer. That is to say, the farmer pays as rent one-half of his crops.

In Piedmont, and throughout Italy, in fact, the landlords never reside on their lands, and seldom does the farmer by whom the lands are tilled. Then, the farmers reside in dingy villages, and must often travel a day's journey to and from the fields they till. The farmer of Piedmont shares the profits in kind with his landlord, instead of paying in fixed money rent. During harvest the master comes or sends for his share of the crops. The land-owner seldom or never contributes to the improvement of the land or farm, although he sometimes furnishes a part of the seed and some of the implements and stock. The metayer system is more or less oppressive in proportion to the means with which the farmer starts his operation. His condition is not so bad when the land is fertile, and his capital sufficient to render him independent of his landlord. On the other hand, when the land is sterile or barren, and the poor farmer dependent on his landlord for plows, carts, animals and seed, his condition is pitiable, and even his means of subsistence are obtained by the charity of the landowner. Then it is that the poor farmer falls helplessly into the landlord's power, and finds himself involved in difficulties from which he may never extricate himself. In conscious dignity and independence of character the inhabitants of the high lands are greatly in advance of those who cultivate the plains of Northern Italy. Among the Apennines and Alps the material condition of the farmer is wretched; but there, at least, he is the owner of the little farm he cultivates. The mountain farmer, however, finds it impossible to eke out his scanty subsistence from the meager crops that are yielded by his thin and narrow lot. To mend this deficit he pursues, at home and abroad a trade or handicraft of some kind. All the land from Naples to Rome is owned in large estates, and is leased to metayer tenants. Sometimes



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the landlord provides the stock and utensils, and the tenant the laborer. The produce of the land is divided between the landowner and his tenant. The farms are leased either in perpetuity or for long periods of time, and the rent exacted is a heavy proportion of the annual crops.

In Naples, feudalism was not abolished until 1806. It was one of the first acts of the government of Joseph Bonaparte. This man, the most humane and just of the Bonapartes, did away with serfdom entirely. Although Joseph struck the blow that caused this hoary injustice to totter, yet it was left for his successor Joachim to finish the work. Not only in Naples but throughout Southern Italy, the larger part of the land is owned by the crown, the religious corporations, the communes, and by the few remaining members of the feudal aristocracy. The small landowners are few in number. For this reason the inhabitants of provinces are poor, many of them resorting to brigandage. The people have a right to pasture their sheep upon and obtain their fuel from the land belonging to the communes. The land belonging to religious corporations and the crown are generally let to poor tenants, who are without the capital requisite for its proper cultivation. It is unnecessary to say that these lands are improperly and shiftlessly cultivated. It is said, to make both ends meet, the peasants cut down the trees, and resort to every other makeshift condemned as improvident and injudicious. This miserable system of farming has reacted upon the landlord, and many of the Neapolitan aristocracy have been reduced to poverty although possessing thousands of acres.

In 1858 in many parts of Italy a plowman, reaper or gardener seldom received more than thirty cents a day for his work. In the mills men could be had for remuneration of fifteen or twenty cents a day. And the food of the poor peasantry corresponds with their wages. Even in the richest districts of the North the peasantry seldom partake of animal food. They subsist almost exclusively on corn mush and a mixture of bread and vegetables. In Como, Milan, Pavia and Lodi the food of the peasant consists of a heavy raised bread and a thin soup composed of rice of inferior quality and partially decayed vegetables. Even acorns are sometimes used by the poor, and some black bread. For clothing, the poor peasant is satisfied with a sheep-skin jacket or ragged coat. The house that shelters him is little better than a shed. In the matter of food the peasants of Southern Italy are better supplied than those who inhabit the northern provinces. In the former region, chestnuts, figs, fruits and Indian corn and small fish are plentiful and are easily and cheaply obtained.

The district, Maremma, is malarial and unhealthy. The farmers, therefore, inhabit the Sabine hills, and go down to the lowlands by thousands to plant and reap their crops. In the language of Mr. Samuel Laing: "When there is work to be done in this flat, unwholesome country, they leave the villages on the high ground to pass a few weeks or months in it, and wood being very scarce there, they lodge on the ground in temporary straw or reed huts, like bee-hives in shape, put up in the fields in which they are working; and into these huts the laborer crawls at night, and in the heat of day, and sleeps on the bare earth. Fever and ague ensue.

"The little towns, also, in which the people live when not employed in Maremma, furnish very unwholesome lodging to the lower and even the middle classes. The inhabitants occupy ill-ventilated cellars or coach-houses on the ground floors for the better classes. The cooking goes on just within the door, which must be left ajar for receiving light and letting out the smoke, it being door, window, and chimney in most of the houses of the laboring classes of these little towns. The beds are in the interior of the den, concealed by a bit of curtain, or more usually by wine-casks, jars, or such household goods, piled up before them."

We will now mention a few features that are peculiar to the handicrafts. The division of labor as understood in some other countries is not practiced in Italy. For example, on becoming a master mason, an Italian artisan is at one and the same time a bricklayer, plasterer, mason, roofer and slater. A blacksmith, again, will be a horseshoer, nail-maker, common lock-maker, etc. Wages are low, and the style of living simple and cheap. The clothing is scanty and poor in quality. In one room will be huddled together from four to eight persons of both sexes. Nothing can be saved from the meager wages for old age or sickness. Pauperism is, therefore, continually increasing in Italy, and to an American it would present many shocking features. It has been remarked of most Italian cities that there is an absence of the class of dwellings usually occupied by the middle and lower classes of other countries. In the cities of Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Germany, there are entire districts devoted exclusively to the homes of the artisan classes and laborers. In the cities of Italy, the streets are lined with stately palaces and splendid churches. But seldom, if ever, is a cottage to be seen. But where do these classes live? may be asked. The answer is, on the ground floors, underneath the marble halls and superb state rooms of the aristocracy. In a word, the same roof often covers the mechanic and the prince, the beggar and the cardinal. The

vaults, holes, and coach-house-like places opening into the streets, and in which the laboring classes of Italian cities live, resemble pig-stys rather than human dwellings. Of these cities, it has been well said: Here all is palace, and all is noblisse, public functionary and poverty-stricken labor. In the cities of Southern Italy, all tradesmen work in the open air, surrounded by the noise and activities of outdoor life. This is true of shoemakers, tinsmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, and other mechanics. Little wonder is it that the mechanic of Italy prefers the open air to the dingy, dirty, unhealthy den to which he is driven by the shades of night or the inclemency of the weather.

Florence is an exception to other Italian cities in this respect. The laboring classes of this famous and beautiful city are better lodged, better clothed, and better fed than in any other part of Italy. Indeed, it may be said that the physical and moral condition of the people of Tuscany is greatly superior to that of the Neapolitans, or of the neighboring people of the papal states that were.

During the past forty years it cannot be said that the laboring classes of Italy have advanced materially in their condition. In every country, and at all times, the condition of these classes is largely dependent on the wages received. Today, in Verona and Vicenza, the farm laborer receives from nineteen to thirty cents a day. This is said to be an advance of twenty per cent on the wages of thirty years ago. What is thus true of the agricultural laborer, is also true of every other hand toiler in Italy. How can any appreciable advance be hoped for from an increase in wages so inconsequential. In Italy, all adult males who can read and write their names can vote for certain officers.

CHAPTER XI.—AUSTRO-HUNGARY.

FEUDALITY PRIOR TO 1773—POLITICAL ASPECTS AND CHANGES—THE UNION—THE HOME OF THE AUSTRIAN PEASANT—AUSTRIAN MANUFACTURES—MANUAL LABOR IN AUSTRIA—IRON WORKS AND FOUNDRIES—AGRICULTURE—THE QUICKSILVER MINES—THE POPULATION OF HUNGARY—THE SAXON PEASANT FARMER—THE HUNGARIAN COPPER MINES—DWELLING OF THE HUNGARIAN PEASANT—THE FARM LABORER—THE PEASANT BEFORE EMANCIPATION—CONDITION OF THE WOMEN—THE BOHEMIAN PEOPLE, PAST AND PRESENT—GOLD MINING—THE SALT DISTRICTS OF STYRIA AND GALICIA—LAND TENURES—POWER OF THE LORDS—PEASANT NOBILITY—THE LABORER AND MECHANIC OF TODAY—TRADES AND OCCUPATIONS IN THE VARIOUS PROVINCES—WAGE RATES AND COST OF LIVING—GENERAL CONDITION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE—THE CARPENTERS OF VIENNA—THE BLAST FURNACES OF CARINTHIA—BOHEMIAN GLASS-WORKERS—THE MACHINE AND LOCOMOTIVE SHOPS OF LOWER AUSTRIA—THE DAY-LABORER AND THE AGRICULTURAL LABORER OF TODAY—THE POLITICAL STATUS OF THE WORKINGMAN.

THE extensive and populous empire of Austro-Hungary, having an area of nearly 230,000 square miles, and a population of 36,000,000, is, in natural resources, one of the richest countries of Europe. Though mountainous regions abound, there are extensive plains, remarkable for their uniform level, chiefly those of lower Austria, on both sides of the Danube, Hungary and Slavonia. The soil in such an extensive territory is as varied as the climate, and as all degrees of productiveness may be found, from the richly fertile plains of Hungary to the sterile promontories of the higher Alpine tracts, so may one encounter every gradation of temperature, from mildness to severity. Austria is well stocked with mineral wealth, hardly being excelled by any other European country. There is gold in Hungary and Transylvania; silver in Hungary, Bohemia and Transylvania, mercury and lead in Carinthia, tin in Bohemia, and copper, iron and coal in almost all the provinces. There are also numerous mineral springs, those of Carlsbad, Toplitz and Marisbad being most celebrated. Rock salt is plentiful, the mines at Galicia being the most important in Europe. Such is the general aspect of the country as it may be seen today, obedient to the bonds of intelligent industry, the people, so nearly akin to the Germans, hardy, thrifty—as rugged as parts of their country, as temperate and

docile as the mild breezes of Bohemia, but withal, spirited if need be, and courageous on occasion, these people bear with them evidences of their barbarian origin, their long struggle from serfage to freedom that made them fit for the strong work of this civilizing period. As the history of Austria is closely identified with the history of Germany, so the popular conditions of the two countries are much the same as we see them in the primitive time, and their experiences in growing to a higher state have not differed essentially. Austria takes its name from the words *oost ryck*, "lost country," and in the ninth and tenth centuries it was the frontier region of the German empire against the barbarians. In 928, Henry the Fowler invested Leopold with it; it was made a marquisate by Otho I., a duchy by Frederick Barbarossa; and Rudolph I. united it with the Tyrol and other parts of Switzerland. In 1283 Carinthia and Styria were annexed, and Vienna became the residence of the ducal court. In 1438, Albert II., duke of Austria, succeeded to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; in 1496, Philip, by marriage with the heiress of Arragon and Castile, added his wife's Spanish possessions to the house of Austria. In 1773, Galicia was seized from Poland. The peace of Utrecht gave her Milan and Mantua. Lombardy and the Netherlands were exchanged for the greater part of the Venetian territory, though in 1805 the Italian provinces and most of the German were lost. The overthrow of Napoleon restored Austria, which became an empire in 1806, to her present boundaries, leaving her more powerful, in respect to territory, than ever before.

Naturally enough the early tribes occupying this territory, Illyrians, Kelts, etc., came into conflict with the rapacity and provincial greed of the Romans. As early as 229 B.C. they felt the encroachment that finally overwhelmed them, the conquered countries being united with the Roman empire, and were held in subjection to that wonderful power for upward of 400 years. The influence of this incursion of the highest civilization of the age was decisive for good; roads were built, agriculture was stimulated, towns were founded, and the Roman leaven entered among the barbaric peoples of the lost country, to the excitation of trade and commerce, and the maintenance of an exemplary order. It is remarkable the thorough change wrought in the condition of the hitherto petty, warlike and divided tribes, by the Roman system. The inhabitants of these provinces were allowed to class themselves as Roman citizens, and very readily adopted the customs of Rome so far as the development of the industrial pursuits was concerned. In the second and third centuries the trades were in a prosperous state, and were

gathered into colleges or unions, representing thirty-five distinct trades, including woodturners, shoemakers, blacksmiths, etc., each order being dedicated to one or another of the Roman gods. The improvement of trades proved the wisdom of the association, and gradually such work was entirely withdrawn from the slaves who were formerly relied upon for service in unskilled mechanics.

The abundance of raw material, especially ore and animal products, greatly facilitated every species of industrial growth, and agriculture was carried to a high state of productiveness — Pannonia and Noricum being indeed classed as actual granaries — and the raising of hogs, made easy by the abundance of acorns in the forests, was so fecund that the supply was sufficient for the whole Roman Empire. Wool growing was another important industry of the time, and Rome found her richest revenues among the resources of the provinces. The peasants were serfs of the soil, and they continued so through Roman dominion and later feudalism until Joseph II., completing by an imperial decree what Maria Theresa had begun by moderate process, abolished feudal servitude and all seignorial rights, and proclaimed the equality of all before the law. The Romans taught the barbarians a practical system of mining, and the manufacture of jewelry was extensively carried on. The textile industry in wool was conducted to much excellence, and the pottery or ceramic work was interestingly developed. This country, indeed, was one of the few that really profited by falling under Roman arms, and its civilization was advanced without the utter oppression of the native inhabitants. To what extent commerce was developed may not be said, but it is interesting to find evidence that both Greeks and Phoenicians knew and profited by the products of the Hyperboreans, as they were erroneously styled. Possibly, as some historians would have us infer, Aquilya was at this time the market of Italy.

With the overthrow of the Roman empire, distraction came to the countries of modern Austria; they became scenes of bloody battles between rival nomadic tribes of Germanic Slavs and Asiatic hordes, the Huns being the dominating and usurping force. Toward the end of the ninth century, the Magyars occupied the country. These Magyars, the true Hungarians, were a free race, liable to servitude only as they might be guilty of an ignoble crime. No hereditary rights were recognized among them, the chiefs being elected by the community, and the general franchise being extended to whatever tribes became intermingled with the Magyars. This is the foundation class of Modern Hungary. When the feudal system came into operation, as it did thoroughly in the tenth

century, the peasant, as was the invariable misfortune of the commonalty in all European countries, fell under the most rigorous hardships and was steadily debased to a condition no whit better than abject slavery. The peasant was the creature of his lord, to be maltreated with the greatest brutality at the pleasure of his master, with no possible redress through the law, though there existed laws — the old Roman code, under which he was entitled to broader rights than were allowed him. This was the condition of affairs when the period of the Reformation set in. The peasantry, believing Luther's mission to be one of universal liberty, were quick to espouse Protestantism, and the new religion had gained a substantial footing when Leopold I. became emperor and resolved utterly to exterminate it from Austria. A most bloody, ruthless despotism was inaugurated, and among the acts of extreme violence was the seizure of 250 Lutheran ministers and their sale to the Neopolitans as galley slaves. The people found this last persecution, added to the other abuses, unendurable, and they arose in rebellion, summoning the Turks to aid them in their despair. The Turks came to the number of 280,000 men, and for a time spread terror before them; but it soon became manifest that they were not skilled in the tactics of war, and the imperial forces rallied in time to save Vienna from the invaders and disperse them. Leopold thereupon directed all his wrath against the deserted Hungarians, thousands of whom were imprisoned, tortured and put to death, thirty executioners being kept busy for nine months with the victims brought in by German troops for trial. The peasant and laboring classes were debased thereafter, with scarce any amelioration until Maria Theresa began her attack upon the enormities of the feudal system. These reforms were consummated by Joseph II. as we have said, and toward the close of the eighteenth century Austrian peasants, for the first time since the Romanic period, began to enjoy a certain right to their own labor. The discontented were allowed to leave their former masters and establish themselves on the land of another proprietor, entering into a contract to serve six months. The proprietor was obliged to surrender to the peasant a certain quantity of land, usually contrived to be the worst available, in exchange for which the peasant gave the landlord so many days' labor on the roads. But this freedom was yet far from independence. When at sunset the weary peasant quit work, sought his humble but for his frugal meal, and eagerly anticipated rest, the overseer or petty gendarme of the estate came to his door and with vigorous rapping called him forth to receive the warning that if he were not at work on the estate before daylight the following morning, prison or the bastinado

awaited him. Among other things exacted of the peasant by way of tribute were certain days of curbing and wood-cutting; service in beating up game when the proprietor chose to hunt; the payment of a tax of one florin on each hunt, and the yearly provision to the chateau of two capons, two chickens, nineteen eggs and five pounds of butter. If the proprietor was thrown into prison, the peasants were compelled to subscribe his ransom; when he attended the diet they contributed a certain amount toward the expenses; indeed of a laborer's product a nineteenth was given to the landlord, and a tenth to the clergy. This seems so much like serfdom in a new guise, that one wonders if the peasantry of the time thought the advantages of the new estate exceeded the privileges of the old. It is true they were free in name, they were allowed to appeal to the king when condemned to death; and they were permitted to become artisans, merchants, priests, and might, peradventure, be ennobled if they succeeded in distinguishing themselves on the field of battle. But peasants are a patient, one might say a special, race of creatures. To subsist is their chief idea of being, and they dawn slowly to a higher sense of the actual rights of man, differing from the conventional rights accorded him by a society arbitrarily organized and selfishly conducted. The peasantry of Austria and Hungary are, if not indolent, at any rate unenterprising. They are dangerously easily contented, their only spur to activity and productive energy being a sad greed of money with no lofty conception of the uses or advantages of wealth.

To all intents and purposes, the revolution of 1848 that sprang from France and swept over Europe like wildfire, found the Austrian peasant what he was when Joseph struck off his outer bonds, but held him still enslaved by the spirit of despotic institutions. The enthusiasm of the hour, smiting upon their thought-dumb souls aroused some of that old Keltic fire within them, awoke their Illyrian memories, fanned into a fitful life that long smoldering savagery of the Asiatic era, when their forefathers swarmed in and possessed that fruitful land. The Hungarians flung themselves into revolt, following the example of the South Tyrol, Venice, Trieste and Bohemia; declared themselves independent, maintained their independence for a term, and then, with some concessions were again flung back under the oppression of a despotism, then perhaps, the most cruel, odious and world-stigmatized of Christendom. No two forces more inimical than despotism and industry, and when the two come into conflict, the nobler is the weaker. What was the value of the revolution? Questionable? Before that none but the noble had the right to own land, to hold possession of the soil, so that

the peasant having nothing could not be deprived of what he had. Following the revolution came the right to the peasant of owning land; but under such grievous conditions, under such stringent taxation continually augmenting, it became a struggle of life extremes to keep not only the wolf but the sheriff from the door. Under the old laws the tenant was given a strip of land and a hut, which could not be taken from him, and though laborious duties that were onerous were exacted of him, he was at least free from anxiety as to the shelter of wife and babes and the wherewith to clothe and feed them, since the days of labor he could claim for himself were sufficient to make provision for these. Under the new form the petty land owner, suffering every form of distress, was often compelled to go into the Jew's quarters to borrow money on his little farm, which in due course of time passed from his hands into the Jew's. Yet for all that Hungary is the world of the Hungarian. Out of Hungary life is not life, is his proverb. Intense love of country, intense devotion to the old Magyar idea, intense patience, these are the motive forces in the hearts and minds of the Hungarians whose principal ambition, whose loftiest idea, is finally to possess a home.

The Slavonians, the real aborigines of the country, the conquered race, scattered over a great extent, are the most ignorant and backward of the Austrian population, being employed in mere rustic labors, some of them yet in a practical servitude. In Bohemia and Moravia public affairs, commercial transactions, and the chief mechanic arts are conducted by Germans, the superior qualities of that race fitting them easily to absorb and control the better business and industrial interests. In Hungary the Magyars, illiterate, but yet spirited and intelligent, the traditionary nobles of the country, numbering about 136,000 families, engage in the active employments and represent the military order, leaving the servile labors and meaner pursuits to the Slavonians. In the Polish provinces where almost the whole population is Slavonic, there is a manifest aversion to the mechanic arts and to commerce, the traders and dealers being, with comparatively few exceptions, Jews. It requires something more than revolutions to arouse such an inert and deliberately prone class, to an appreciation of the dignity of liberty or the great purpose of progressive civilization. In a measure it may be fortunate for the labor interests of the more forward and experimental countries, that there is small emigration from these regions of middle age memories, inasmuch as the day laborers of no other Christian country could successfully compete with these mere creatures of the soil—sods of the earth.

that do not resent being trampled upon by the thrifty and higher aiming toilers of other nations. In Bosnia, which the careless and lazily sentimental inhabitants call Golden Bosnia, gold, silver, quicksilver and salt, worked in the time of the Romans, and wasteful flowing mineral springs declare a possible wealth, and rebuke the incapacity of a people indifferent to the treasures in the bowels of the earth, or the rich soil that makes its inviting surface. Immense districts of productive land are still fallow; and the peasants have not yet risen above the mud huts with their thatched roofs, in which pigs, goats and fowl swarm with the children. Beds there are not, the peasant sleeping close to the fire in the winter, in the summer contenting himself with a bed of leaves in his garden or the weeds of the open fields. In the villages there may be found neither bakeries nor ovens, a bed of ashes serving to bake the bread that is made of flour mixed with milk, the flour being made from the maize and black wheat crushed in a hand-mill. Their drink is *silvoositza*, an acidulated spirit made from plums, the culture of plum trees, accordingly, being the dearest concern of this singularly rude and primitive people.

The Hungarian day-laborer presents in his home life, scarcely a more inviting picture. His house is built of stiff clay, one story in height, divided into two large rooms, in each of which from ten to eighteen persons huddle, the five or six hearths in the main room declaring how many families are congregated within those narrow limits. The floor, merely the beaten earth, is partitioned by lines to mark the boundaries of each family, for the exact observance of which they ferociously wrangle among themselves. A bench, a table, a chair or two, and a bed which affords the only sleeping room for the whole family, are the furniture of these squares with their imaginary partitions.

Each workingman on a general estate receives 30 florins annually, in addition to which he has allowed him lodging and fuel, nine bushels of corn and twenty-seven bushels of rye, and about half an acre of pasture land, on which he may feed a cow and fatten four or five pigs. The women and young girls are not paid for their services, except during harvest when they work in the field. This is the condition that obtains on the large estates, and is cited as a pleasing contrast to the wretched state of the day-laborer, who seeks for himself and friends little enough above misery and degradation.

A large number of men is annually employed by the government in felling timber and cultivating new plantations. These laborers are usually natives of neighboring villages, the sons of peasants or farmers

who own the land they till, but whose farms are too small to afford support for an increasing family. These woodcutters live in rough, extemporized huts, fir branches and a blanket being the chief materials used; a frying pan is at once plate, dish and table for the mess; the food a strange mixture swimming in grease, being of a character to sicken any but the most resolute appetite. Yet these cutters, used to nothing better, not being at all squeamish, consume great quantities of it three times a day. The wages paid these lusty young fellows varies from ninety to 140 kreutzers. Occasionally, to eke out their paltry wages, these woodsmen improve their opportunities to do a little poaching, though they receive ridiculously low pay for the kill, a roebuck fetching but two or three florins, and a chamois even less. Many of the hardships endured by the lower orders in Hungary, are due to the aversion of the Hungarians to office. The result is the authorities are generally Germans, who do not especially respect the interests of a race that is not strongly disposed to assert its rights. This arises in part from the fact that the revolution of 1848 found the serfs utterly unprepared for their political freedom, and being by nature and tradition lawless they failed to appreciate the benefits thrust within their reach, singularly enough by the unanimous consent of the nobles. When 8,000,000 serfs are suddenly converted to the dignity of freeholders, it is hardly within the possibilities of human adaptability, that they should become in a short time equal factors of society with those improved by many generations of freedom. The weaker class morally and intellectually must yield to the stronger in these respects even where their rights are as great. The Hungarian peasant of today is accordingly scarcely above the level of the Hungarian serf of 1848. Nevertheless, it is in testimony from German observers that the Hungarians are so chivalrous and hospitable in nature, so loyal in character that it is impossible not to respect them. Few races combine so many contradictory elements.

Grape growing is a profitable industry of Austria, and the famous vintages of Tokay are among the choice drinks of the civilized world. In good years the Tokay yield averages about 150,000 eimess, an eimess being equal to two and one half gallons; a limited quantity that explains the high price. In the Tyrol corn is a staple. The farm of the peasant, from three to four acres in extent, is devoted one-third to corn, the remainder to wheat, barley, flax, grass and a garden spot, every inch being ordinarily cultivated. This arrangement affords comfortable provision for the family, and allows a slight surplus for market trade, whereby the economic can make something of a money saving in the course of a few

years. In Bohemia the peasantry have a stout, healthy look, and live chiefly on rye bread and swine's flesh, drinking large quantities of a beer of excellent brew; they are comfortably clad in woollens, generally the product of home industry, only the meaner classes going with legs and feet bare. In Upper Austria the people are coarse and hard in feature, but not otherwise ill-favored, whose mode of life much resembles that described. The manufacture of salt, and gold mining employ large forces, though in some instances, as at Brockstein, the receipts have not always equaled the expenses, their operations being conducted rather from the motives of benevolence than the hope of profit, a sentiment that rarely enters into the relations between capital and labor in the old world. The iron foundries at Mariazell are the most important in Austria, supplied from mines eight miles distant, that yield thirty-five per cent of pure metal, and the force employed makes a very effective influence with the industrial element of the district. These works were established in 1740, by the Benedictine monks of St. Lambrecht, and were carried on by them until Joseph abolished the order in 1788. There are about one thousand men with their families supported by these mines. But for the paucity of machinery the work might be done with a considerably diminished force. Wages are sufficiently good to enable the workman to eat, drink and smoke to his heart's content. He does not seem to be troubled with any ambitious longings for such superfluities as leisure for education and the development of his spiritual nature. The laboring classes of Austria are not nearly as well circumstanced as the peasantry, nor are they as interesting, intelligent or valuable, socially. Their existence is a hand to mouth affair, cheered by no ideals, by no evidence of prosperity, by none of the hopefulness of purpose that distinguishes the settled classes who work for themselves. A wise and humane reform has been effected in the mining labor. Now no miner is required to give more than eight of the twenty-four hours to underground work, whereas, formerly, ten and twelve hours were thought not to be an excess. Though this is an unhealthy occupation, with pay wholly inadequate to the risks, the number of applicants for work far surpasses the demands. It is one of the remarkable characteristics of Austro-Hungarian peasants and laborers, that the distress of their local life, the arduousness of their toil, and the small pay received, never act upon them as incitements to emigration, it being their preference to remain in their native districts, shifting as they may, eking out a miserable existence, but fully in love with scenes of youthful memories and traditional ties. A more wretched, ghastly, emaciated people could not

easily be found than the miners of Bohemia and Idria, the Hungarian-Siberia of fifty years ago, being a spectacle to appal the foreign visitor. The majority of them enter the mines at the age of fifteen and sixteen years, before nature has done shaping them. The few who are of a constitution to last until they are fifty-five or have given forty years of service, are allowed to retire on full pay for life. It need hardly be said that the mine owners have not many of these retired pensioners. Premature death is their ally. There is one relief from the evils of extreme poverty; though it is becoming a sociological problem whether public charities are the best defense of a state against pauperism and criminal dependence. The Austrian empire is perhaps more generous than any other part of Europe in the establishment of charitable endowments, and it is a government care to provide for the exigencies of misery. Yet pauperism has been a curse to the country.

The most recent available statistics give the population of Hungary as 13,229,000, classified as follows: Magyar, 6,156,000; German, 1,821,000; Roumanian, 2,470,000; Slovack, 1,817,000; Serbian, 267,000; Croat, 207,000; Ruthenian, 470,000; others, 11,000. These are occupied, 1,925,000 as farmers and proprietors; 3,089,037 as laborers engaged in primary production; 647,000 in individual pursuits; 134,000 in commerce; 1,770,000 in the liberal professions; 1,143,000 as domestic servants and office help, leaving about 8,197,693 without vocations. Of these latter 5,166,466 are under fourteen years of age. The total fertile soil is 29,631,269 hectares, the barren lands amounting to 2,597,993 hectares. Some idea of the state of agriculture may be had from the fact that of a total of 1,109,460 ploughs reckoned to be used in the country, no less than 578,933 are of wood, the rest being of iron. The total number of workers in mines is about 46,000, of whom 39,000 are men; the rest being women and children, the children outnumbering the women three to one. The raising of fine sheep is a great branch of Hungarian industry. The annual export being valued at thirty to thirty-two million florins. The manufacture of sugar is an important branch of trade, and there are 262 factories devoted to that industry. About 30,000 people are engaged in making straw hats, chiefly female employment, at which girls earn from two to four florins a week, the general pay of sewing girls. The horse-hair industry is largely given over to children, and in the glove factories of Austria, numbering 1,400, there are about 10,000 sewing girls. The manufacture of porcelain ware in Bohemia has triumphed over all competition, including that of Germany. The making of pipes engages nearly 3,000 workers, and the button business

employs as many more. These figures seem to indicate an industrial character that should have an outer influence, and yet it has been truly observed that the Magyars, the class from which most is to be expected, have added nothing to the progress of humanity. They have not given a broad or single idea of culture, or sent into the world a national type of industry worthy to be emulated. Austro-Hungary is yet among the nations to be. Its noblest relation to the empire of nations is yet to be established. It is a land still suffering under the old bane of feudalism.

CHAPTER XII.—HOLLAND.

IN THE TIME OF CÆSAR—THE DYKES—CHARACTER OF THE DUTCH—AGRICULTURE AND GRAZING—THE TULIP CRAZE—THE FISHERIES—THE DIAMOND INDUSTRY OF AMSTERDAM—THE VARIED INDUSTRIES OF HOLLAND—ECONOMY A NATIONAL TRAIT—WAGES—CLEANLINESS OF THE HOLLANDERS—TREATMENT OF WOMEN—PAUPER COLONIES.

TO write the story of labor in a country the name of which, like that of Holland, has become typical of industry and thrift, is, indeed, a serious task. Small though the country is, the inhabitants, by virtue of their unremitting industry and habits of economy, have thrust it into a foremost place among the nations of the world. Though vast riches are centralized in the principal cities, yet the people of the rural districts are impoverished. For years Holland was the bank of the world. The United States is not the only nation that has been deeply in debt to the thrifty Dutchman. Yet the country is almost without natural advantages. Hardly a people on the broad surface of the earth have been so hampered by the conditions under which they existed as the Hollanders. Living below the sea level, in a country requiring constant drainage; engaged constantly in a warfare against the encroachments of the sea, the Dutch have conquered all obstacles and marched steadily forward. Nor has the sea been their most dangerous neighbor. War after war has brought invasion after invasion, until one can almost imagine a ceaseless procession of hostile armies across the waterlogged country. But the Dutch have fought bravely, and in desperate cases have not scrupled to cut their dykes and let the sea in upon their invaders, heedless of their own fortunes so that the foe be driven away.

When Julius Cæsar first invaded Holland, carrying in one hand the sword, in the other the message of civilization, he found the inhabitants living in squalid huts built on the sand-hills thrown up by the action of the sea. Their chief food was fish, which they caught with nets made of reeds and rushes. Great tracts of territory were so marshy that many of the invaders were in doubt whether to call it land or water. From this era began the series of improvements that have led to the Holland of today. Gradually the space between the sand-hills was filled up with earth and stones. Then rude dykes were built to keep out the ravenous sea, but

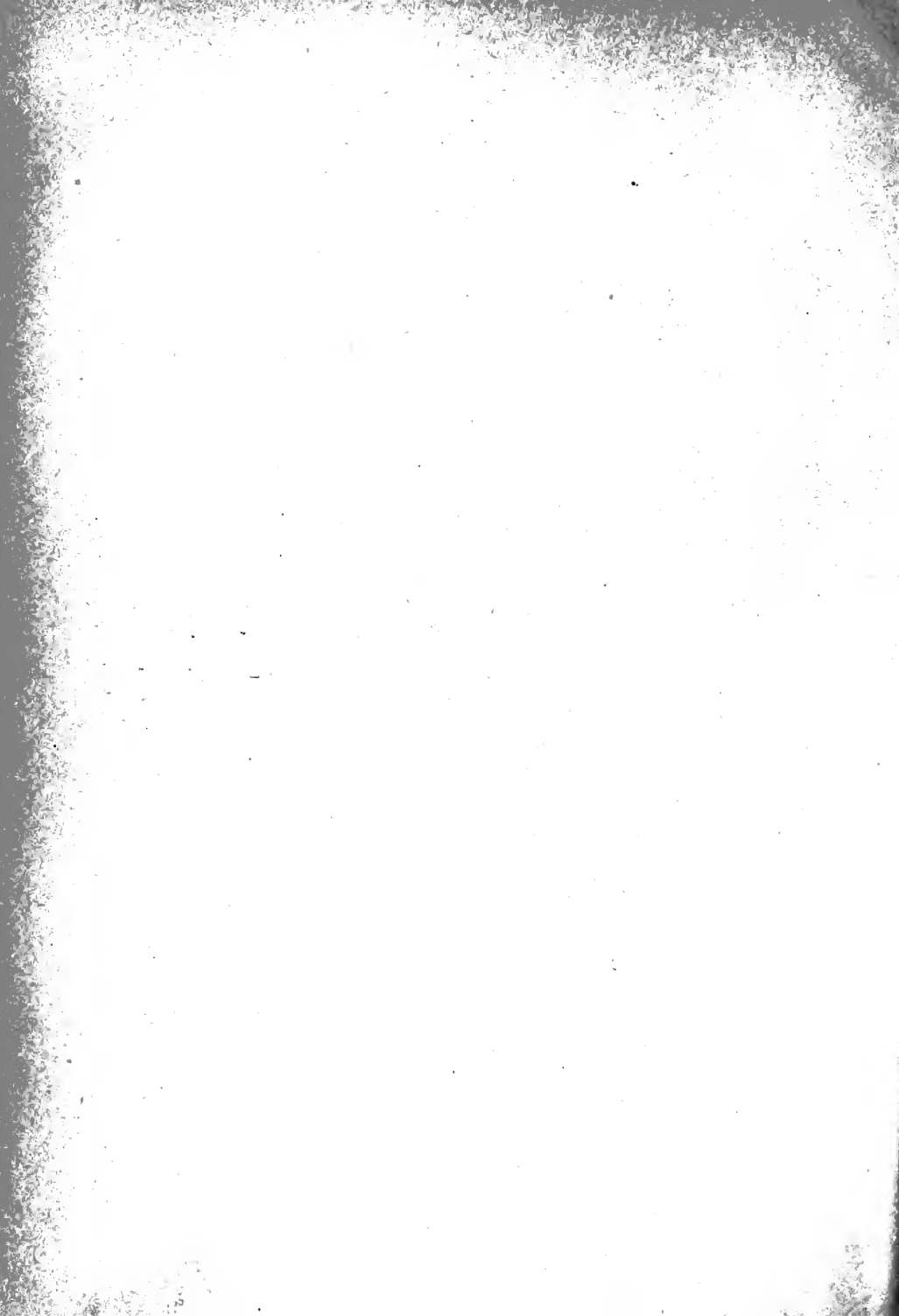
only too often the insidious waters would make their way through, first in small rivulets, then in mighty roaring torrents that swept before them houses, cattle and men into one great tossing whirlpool of destruction. Gradually improved methods of construction made these fearful crevasses less frequent. The dykes of earth were strengthened by rows of piles driven far into the ground on the inner side. Then came the idea of a foundation of basket-work filled in with earth; then heaps of hides. Outside the dykes, and at some distance from them, were long rows of piles to break the force of the waves ere they should reach the inner barrier. No exertion was too great, no expense large enough to deter the sturdy natives from the task of rescuing this seemingly unattractive territory from the ocean, to which it seemed by right to belong. Millions of piles were driven, and the cost of each pile, with the expense of driving it, was two golden ducats, or about four dollars. All citizens were forced to labor on the dykes as a public duty. Today the most massive dykes are to be found along the Helder, in North Holland. The Great Dyke, so called, is six miles in length, and four or five yards in width. Massive bulwarks of granite project beyond it into the sea, and against this solid wall the angry waves dash themselves into foam, as if furious at the restraint, while the curling waves toss high above the land under the dyke. Hosts of men are continually employed about the dykes, and, indeed, Holland may be not inaptly compared to a nation at war, and exerting every effort to beat back an invader. Armies of engineers under the direction of the Minister of the Interior continually traverse the country and carefully examine the state of the dykes. The expenses are borne partly by the general government, partly by the provinces, and each landed proprietor pays taxes for the support of the dykes in direct proportion to the extent of his lands and their proximity to the sea. Not content with the supervision of the general government, the freeholders of each district annually elect a dyke captain from among their own number, whose duty it is to see that the dyke is kept in proper repair. This officer's power is by no means small, for in case of need he is authorized to press into his service every able-bodied person in his district, and to seize any material which he may require in the protection of the dyke.

But hard and unceasing as this struggle against the waters has been, its effect in the development of national character has probably more than repaid the toil and expense. It is that necessity for a constant struggle, for continuous labor and perpetual sacrifice in defense of their existence, that has made of the Dutch a highly practical and econom-



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ical people. Good sense is their most salient quality, economy their chief virtue. Sparing of diversions, they excel in all useful arts. Simple even in their greatness, they succeed in what they undertake by dint of tenacity and a thoughtful and orderly activity. More wise than heroic, more conservative than creative, they are a race of patient and laborious artisans, and as such will go down to the end of history. Though their advance is slow, yet, being made with the aid of prudence, it is sure. What they acquire comes slowly, but is never lost. Though almost surrounded by the territory of two great nations, the Dutch yield not a bit of their national character, preserving it through every form of government, through foreign invasions and through political and religious wars. And in spite of the immense concourse of strangers from every country that is continually in their midst, the Dutch continues to be, of all the Northern races, that one which, though ever advancing in the path of civilization, has kept its own path most clearly.

Agriculture in Holland is pursued in an intensive, rather than an extensive manner. Gardening rather than farming is the chief industry of the people of the rural regions. Such a condition of affairs is inevitable in a country with so small an extent of arable territory and such swarming millions of inhabitants. An American farmer wandering through the rural districts of Holland would notice first of all the entire absence of fences, the place of which, in this amphibious country, is filled by ditches and canals which serve as boundaries, while effectually draining the water-logged earth. Much of the land which remains too marshy for cultivation is devoted to grazing, and whole provinces are like huge pasture fields, spotted with fat cows by the tens of thousands. The cattle are raised more for the milk, which is made into the familiar Dutch cheeses, than for their flesh or hides. Admirable care is taken of the stock. In every field great tubs are scattered about, from which the cows are fed at regular hours. The cattle sheds are kept with that devotion to cleanliness so characteristic of the Dutch, the cattle being penned in stalls and their tails often tied to rings in the ceiling to keep them clean. Agricultural methods are fairly scientific, varying somewhat according to the character of the soil, whether sandy or clayey. The crops raised are rye, clover, flax, barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes, but, so far from affording agricultural exports, the crops barely provide for home consumption. The grains are chiefly used for the distillation of ardent spirits, to the use of which every true Dutchman is addicted. Even for the light crops raised repeated applications of fertilizing material are necessary. In the stock-raising and dairy farming

regions the cereals give way to fodder plants. The total pasturage in Holland today extends over two and a half million acres, while at least four hundred thousand more are sowed in clover and similar forage plants. The production of milk, butter and cheese amounts yearly to about thirty-six millions of dollars, while the flesh of the cattle brings in some fourteen millions more. Kindred products, such as hides, wool and fowls, bring to the thrifty Hollanders four million dollars annually, while their trade in horses aggregates about the same amount. From these figures it can be readily understood that the trade in live stock is no small factor in the commercial prosperity of Holland. Intimately connected with both the agricultural and the grazing interests is the dairy trade. In the shops and on the tables of every civilized nation the little red, round, cannon-ball-like Dutch cheeses are to be seen, but few people so seeing them reflect upon the vast national industry of which they are the tangible product. Of these no less than twenty thousand tons are annually shipped from the ports of the country, accompanied by twelve thousand tons of butter. Another great rural industry is the growing of garden vegetables, not merely to supply the tables of the nation, but further to produce seeds for exportation. Flower seeds form no small part of the commerce of Holland, and one strip of land along the base of the downs stretching from Leyden to Haarlem astonishes travelers by the wonderful diversity of flowering and medicinal plants grown thereon. One outcome of this seed-raising industry, which is not likely to be soon forgotten in Holland, was the "tulip craze" that for a time made Holland first the wonder, then the laughing-stock of the known world. It was early in the seventeenth century that the interest in growing tulips, which had long been a passion among the Hollanders, grew into a craze. From the highest to the lowest, every Dutchman abandoned his ordinary duties and set about the cultivation of tulips. The bulbs of rare species brought fabulous prices. Brokers dealt in tulips upon margins, as today we buy and sell railroad stocks. Over sixteen hundred dollars is the recorded price at which one famous bulb was sold. Fortunes were amassed in the trade. A single speculator in bulbs made over fifty thousand dollars in less than four months. For a year the *furore* continued until the staid burghers, who had thought that the national common sense would put an end to the craze, in despair determined to apply a legislative remedy, and a law rendering invalid all contracts in connection with tulips finally terminated the mania.

The hungry sea that so besets the Hollanders on every side is not

altogether an enemy, for from its depths they manage to snatch no mean amount of wealth, and on its broad bosom it bears the immense fleets devoted to their commerce. A common saying in Holland is that "Amsterdam has her foundations upon herring bones." The fisheries of Holland are commercially of vast importance and furnish a means of subsistence to thousands of hardy fishermen. The Great Salt Herring fishery employs one hundred and fourteen vessels and one thousand six hundred and seventy-eight men. In the fisheries of the German Ocean are four hundred and ten vessels and two thousand nine hundred and sixty-five men; the Groningen and Friesland fishery gives occupation to five hundred and twenty-four men; the Zealand fishery to one thousand and twenty-six men, while the Zuyder Zee fisheries, greatest of all, employ one thousand two hundred and eighty-two vessels and three thousand two hundred and sixty-nine men. But extensive as this industry is to-day, it is far behind the proportions reached in 1610, when the waters of the German Ocean and North Sea bore no less than three thousand fishing smacks manned by some fifty thousand phlegmatic Dutch mariners. The retrogression is undoubtedly due to the discovery and growth of the fisheries on the Newfoundland banks. A fishery of less importance, but one which nevertheless affords a support to hundreds of poor people in winter, is the smelt fishery. In winter the broad surface of the lakes and canals is covered with people who sit patiently fishing for the smelts through holes cut in the ice. Many fish for mere amusement, but to more it is a serious matter undertaken to secure the necessaries of life.

Turning from the agricultural and natural industries to the trades and handicrafts, the student will first of all give his attention to that art which has made Amsterdam famous and has enriched generations of her citizens, chiefly Hebrews: the cutting and polishing of diamonds. Amsterdam is today the only city that supports large establishments for diamond-cutting, and her lapidaries have turned out the finest stones that are today numbered among the crown jewels of Europe. The trade was first established at Ghent in 1475, but soon found its chief center in Holland, where now are employed a very considerable number of lapidaries. Uncut diamonds from the African and Brazilian fields are usually sent straightway to Amsterdam, where they are carefully sorted and the inferior stones sent on to Antwerp, where they are cut into "roses." To thus classify diamonds is the first thing to be learned by the diamond cutter. He must be able at sight of the rough pebble to decide intelligently just what form of cutting will best bring out its good points and most effectually conceal its deficiencies. Notwithstanding his skill and knowl-

edge, the workman is often perplexed and confounded by the apparently inexplicable changes that take place in the stones during the operation of cutting. Some yellow or brown diamonds lose their color in cutting, while others that in the rough were limpid crystal of the first water, turn brown or yellow under the action of the wheel. To be able to foresee these changes is the highest quality of a successful cutter, and without this quality the losses of the lapidary may be enormous. The workmen themselves look upon their skill as something more than mere art and knowledge gained through study. They claim the quality necessary for a successful diamond-cutter comes by heredity, and that a master workman is born, not made. It is this theory that has enabled the Jews, in whose hands the trade now is, to monopolize it to the exclusion of all others. One of the principal companies formed in Amsterdam for diamond-cutting maintains three shops and employs six hundred skilled workmen and an army of clerks and correspondents. Their annual business is dependent entirely upon the output of the diamond mines, and therefore varies much from year to year, but the stones cut may be safely estimated to average two hundred thousand carats a year, representing a value of two million dollars. Cutters and polishers of diamonds differ greatly in the amount of their wages, as the work is paid by the piece, and the earnings depend upon the skill and industry of the workmen. From five to twenty dollars a week is the ordinary range of earnings, although unusually skilled workmen sometimes greatly exceed the larger figure. Even in Holland, where the cost of living is at the minimum, such prices as these cannot be considered liberal when the wonderful skill of the workman is considered, and especially when the confining and unhealthy character of the work is taken into account. Both London and Paris have in late years tried to establish diamond-cutting establishments, but both attempts have failed.

Besides the diamond-cutting, Holland supports many other mechanical and manufacturing industries. The earthenware of Delft is world-wide in its celebrity. Paper is largely manufactured in grades ranging from wall paper at four cents a roll to the celebrated "Holland plate paper" so much in demand for receiving impressions of fine engravings and etchings. Wooden ship-building is actively prosecuted in various parts of Holland, and in the early part of the present century this industry was the pride of the whole nation. It will be remembered that it was to Holland that Alexander the Great, emperor of Russia, went in the garb of a simple mechanic, to study shipbuilding in the busy yards of

the Hague. But this glory passed from Holland with the era of iron ships. Lack of coal precludes her from competing for a place in the new ship-building industry, and her skillful shipwrights see with sad regret their busy yards changing into grassy fields. The textile industries of Holland, though not extensive, are still far from being contemptible. At Tilburg there are woolen mills employing over three thousand men, and in various parts of the realm are extensive silk factories. Dutch linen has long been famous; its manufacture is actively carried on in more than five hundred factories. No comment upon the extent of the distilling works in Holland is needed. The country so uncivilized as never to have imported "Holland gin" and "Schiedam schnapps" can hardly exist today. At Schiedam are two hundred distilleries in constant operation. The worthy Dutchman does not manufacture his liquors for exportation alone, for a visitor to a house in Holland seldom departs without "a little drop," whether the owner be rich or poor. His devotion to schnapps and his pipe seem to be the Dutchman's only extravagances.

But amid all the failings that may be laid at the door of the phlegmatic Dutchman, extravagance is certainly not numbered. American workmen would be astonished to hear upon how small an income a Hollander can support in comfort and respectability himself, his wife and several children. Many a one who does not earn more than six guilders, about \$2.50, a week, marries and brings up his family in comfort. Yet in his food the Hollander is not inclined to stint himself. Cheap it may be, but substantial, and abundant it must be. Meat, it is true, is less often seen upon the table than is the case in America, but of bread, vegetables, fish and beer there is no lack. At noontide a stroller along the docks of the sea-coast cities can see the stevedores and porters sitting on door-steps and curb-stones eating their noon-day meal of stewed potatoes and bread brought from home in a basin.

In comparison with America, standard wages are low in Holland. Yet how they compare with the rates in England, may be judged by the following extract from an article in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, from the pen of a prominent English political economist. "With regard to wages, I affirm and can prove that the Dutch give generally more wages to all their workmen by at least two pence in the shilling than the English do." The following tabulated list of the wages of farm hands will also cast some light upon this subject. It must be borne in mind that the wages as set forth, include all necessary expenses of the laborer for board and washing:

Foreman.....	\$240.00	per annum.
Stable man.....	90 00	
Field hands.....	86.00	
Shepherds, 1st year.....	45.00	
“ 2d year.....	60.00	
“ 3d year.....	75.00	
Besides a premium amounting to ten or twenty dollars a year.		
Farm boys.....	30.00	
Millers.....	120.00	
Women domestics.....	40.00 to \$45.00	

While working as farm hands the Dutch are very regular in their habits of life. Breakfast consists of mush, buckwheat cakes, with bacon, and coffee. At ten A. M. the foreman circulates about the field with a large bottle of schnapps, giving to each workman a morning dram. At twelve comes dinner, made up of a thin soup, bacon and vegetables; at four a few sips of cold coffee, and at six or seven P. M., supper. The short pipe of the Dutchman seldom leaves his mouth and is smoked continually by men while at work.

The cleanliness of the Hollanders has long since passed into a proverb, yet even the most sophisticated visitor cannot fail to be struck by the spick-and-span air of their cities and dwellings. Their fondness for scrubbing prevails in farm-houses as well as in the cities, and adds to the attractiveness as well as the value of their dairy products. In the Netherlands, even in the humblest cottages, the woodwork is carefully painted and kept polished and dusted like the waxed floor of a French palace. Cooking utensils are of copper and shine like the helmet of Mambrino. There are but few households in which family antiquities of two hundred years are not carefully preserved and handed down from generation to generation. Whatever may be the daily vocation of the Dutch workingman, however begrimed he may be by coal dust, oil or smoke, his home is kept as neat as the cabin of a man-o'-war. On Sundays and holidays, the father of the family, robed in his best, with boots polished and cigar replacing the work-day pipe, strolls up and down the streets with wife and little ones, all scrupulously neat, gathered about him.

Woman's work in Holland is, by no means, purely domestic, although the exquisite neatness of the houses would seem to indicate it. In no other country are women forced to do such rough and fatiguing work. Along the canals, which intersect every part of Holland, it is no uncommon sight to see a woman and a dog harnessed, side by side, to a tow rope, painfully dragging along a heavy-laden canal boat, in which sits the husband calmly smoking the inevitable pipe. Nor is it an unusual spectacle to see a woman and an ox harnessed, side by side, to the plow.

In the city streets the women carry the heavy parcels while men walk beside them, the picture of indolence. Throughout the ranks of the poorer classes this anomaly exists: the women bear the burdens while the men choose the easier part of life.

Holland, like other countries, is not exempt from the curse of poverty, and even pauperism. A land of dense population and limited agricultural resources must always contain a certain number of people unable to earn their own living. Even the thrift and industry of the Dutch do not suffice to contradict this law. But by the charity of the people and the wise provisions of the state, the terrors of pauperism are greatly mitigated and great suffering avoided. When the long, hard winters set in and the canals, lakes and rivers become blocked by ice, the whole mass of people employed in internal transportation is thrown out of employment. Even with the private and governmental aid, so freely bestowed, winter brings to such unfortunates much suffering. At such times soup-kitchens are established by the contributions of the charitable, and remain in operation throughout the winter, giving food to many who would otherwise starve. Confirmed paupers are sent, when able to work, to the pauper colonies, established on the waste lands of the country, and are there employed in the work of reclamation. By this means large tracts of land are annually brought under cultivation, and the paupers are taught to become self-supporting farmers. Each colonist is allotted a small plot of land, which he cultivates under the eye of a general overseer. He is provided with a cottage, cows, pigs and sheep, and is told to earn his way. This system has proved to be a very successful method of dealing with pauperism, as the colonists are always self-supporting and often manage to lay by enough money to bid farewell to the colony and plunge again into the busy outer world, often to achieve success. A great and beneficent organization which demands mention here is the "Society for the Promotion of the Public Good," which was founded in 1784 by a few benevolent persons, and has spread until today it numbers fourteen thousand members, each of whom pays into the funds a small sum annually. Its work is carried on through two hundred and twenty branches which reach every part of the Netherlands. The purpose of this organization is to promote the establishment of schools, hospitals and asylums and other works of general public utility. Its sections hold meetings once a fortnight, at which questions and measures tending to advance the common welfare are discussed, politics and religion being excluded. It is by organizations such as these, rather than by direct governmental aid, that the Hollanders com-

bat the evils of poverty and give to their sea-girt country an air of almost universal prosperity.

The industrial study of Holland cannot be dismissed without allusion to the vast system of guilds and trades-unions, which, although not originating in that country, nevertheless there reached the highest stage of development. Early in the history of industry, these organizations made their way into the Netherlands, and, finding there a great body of artisans and mechanics, took root and flourished greatly. In the government of the cities, the guilds have always had a voice, and, by their closely-knit organization, they manage to exert a national power in the affairs of State. More detailed information as to the organization and history of these guilds will be found in the chapter treating of guilds and trades-unions.

In summing up generally the character, habits and condition of the Dutch laboring people, one may truly say that no population in the world presents a more uniform appearance of wealth, comfort and contentment. Their cosy cottages, with their glistening brick walls, white-painted woodwork and rails, and massive thatched roofs, nestle under the dykes and by the side of the canals, shut in by willow-trees, and looking the very acme of humble domestic architecture. Men seldom grow beyond the middle height, but are stout and sturdy. The women are tall and handsome, very domestic in their habits, and pay the most scrupulous attention to the cleanliness of their households. Though smoking is almost universal, and although brandy, gin and beer are constantly used, intoxication is uncommon, and sobriety, perseverance, steadiness, economy and industry are national characteristics.

CHAPTER XIII.—SWITZERLAND.

GEOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITIES — CLIMATE — ANTIQUITIES — HISTORY — POLITICAL REVOLUTION — THE ALP — CHEESE-MAKING — SUCCESS IN COÖPERATION — FARMS AND LAND TENURE — COTTON MANUFACTURE — SILK AND WOOLEN FACTORIES — WINE-MAKING — DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF MARRIAGE — MERCENARIES — IMPORTS AND EXPORTS — WHY THE SWITZER LOVES HIS HOME.

IN none of the countries of Europe does an American study more eagerly the institutions of the country and the habits of the people than in Switzerland. Here he expects to find kinship; in reality he finds much to gratify self-love, for Switzerland is behind the United States in very many respects, notably that she seems to be a monster with many limbs and never a head. Her people are veritable Dutchmen of the mountains—cold, unimaginative, money-loving, vigorous, energetic. The Swiss are utilitarian. Material interest occupies the top bottom, eye, even all their minds. Their very theology is based on the profit and loss system; and one is not surprised to find that, while the Swiss are ingenious, they are not an artistic people.

The story of Switzerland is a veritable romance, whether studied from the historical, religious, political, or sociological standpoint. In the material at our disposal, we are peculiarly fortunate, since the record of the Swiss reaches far into remote periods, when men built houses over water rather than on land, when fire was a luxury to be obtained by hard labor with flint and stone, when arrow-heads were made of bone, knives of stone, clothing of grass fiber, and men and women shared alike the toils of life and the honors held in the hands of fortune.

Switzerland has had the nearly unique experience of keeping the same geographical outlines throughout the centuries of her existence. The Helvetia of the Romans and the Switzerland of today alike contain 15,747 square miles, and this area is bounded north and east by Germany, south by Italy, and west by France. Rivers, lakes and mountains encircle and defend the republic, which comprises in its boundaries a great variety of scenery and climate. Magnificent mountain ranges rear their snow-clad summits high above the valleys and plains, rich in verdure as the Campagna of Italy; lakes diversify the surface, and deep

down under the hills and in the sides of the mountains is found mineral wealth of vast extent to reward the patient seeker. About two-thirds of the surface is made up of water, glaciers, naked rocks, and uninhabitable heights; of what remains the people make the best use they can, and the struggle with nature for existence makes of the Swiss a hardy people.

The climate is cruelly severe. Nestling far down in Southern Europe, in latitude 45 to 47, one would expect softer air, but the constant presence of snow on the mountains, and the near propinquity of the ranges, making narrow valleys through which the winter winds have play through a large part of the year, render the seasons very unlike those of neighboring states; and yet, where the sun does shine, and the lakes temper the bitterness of the snow-clad hills, one finds figs and grapes, grass and grain, and forests through which roam the few wild deer, chamois, ibex. There are plains, too, where wander fine breeds of cattle, sheep and goats, and the Swiss mountaineer and villager alike are bound by closest ties to their homes, and are seldom found domiciled in other countries. In fact, homesickness is the common malady of the traveling Swiss, and is often so intense as to unfit him for work or employment away from home. This presents an interesting problem for the psychologist who is called upon to answer the question, Why is the love of home so intense in a people whose native land offers so few attractions, while the inhabitants of more favored climes, France, England, Ireland, Germany, seek new homes and themselves become citizens of the new states which they adopt?

The early history of Switzerland's people is nearly lost among the traditions of the past. Students in geology have unearthed their graves, and found their weapons, have located their villages, and from such data hypothecated their habits of life. The houses of the ancient Swiss were built out in the water of the lakes and over marshes at the edges of rivers and water-courses. Piles were driven down into the soil under the water and on these the houses were built; they were connected with the shore by bridges, and sometimes in like manner with each other. So were built villages of one or two hundred houses, who formed with each other alliances offensive and defensive. This habit of building and the so-called "town defenses" are identical with the remains of ancient peoples in Ireland found on the borders of lakes and the shores of rivers, and called there "craunoges." These prehistoric Swiss had pottery made of the mud of the river bank, and some of it was quite ornamental. Their axes, knives, saws, needles, spears, pikes, even swords, were made of stone, horn or bone, and one is left to imagine how these were brought

to the keen edge fitting for use. In the graves which date as far back as this period, the nobles or warriors seem to have been buried with their armor, since near the bones of the long buried dead are found armor, sword and spear. With the hunter was buried his lance and arrows, with the fisherman his hooks, with the women jewelry, with the children toys. Near Zurich some graves have been found which contained the entire woman's dress, and from that we learn the underclothing was of linen, and over all came a woolen tunic. That slavery existed in these early days is evident, because about the graves of the nobles are found so many human bones, it can only be inferred that slaves were sacrificed at a funeral.

It is a matter of great interest to follow the course of this people as they emerge from the barbarism of "lake dwellers" into the perfection of their present high type of civilization. The step beyond the period which we have described might be called the "bronze age" of the Swiss, when they made use of the *aes* bronze of the Romans in the manufacture of their weapons, agricultural implements, fishing tools, and utensils for family use. Later we find the Helvetians appearing in history; and their first daring exploit was an attempt with the Cimbri and Teutons, 113 B. C., to invade Italy. Defeat awaited them but not discouragement. In the time of Cæsar, Orgetorix induced a tribe of Helvetii to attempt the conquest of Gaul, and that they should not at any moment yield to faint-heartedness, he readily persuaded them to burn their villages. Fortunately this plan miscarried, and Rome, conquering, gave to Switzerland her manners, laws and civilization.

The history of Switzerland, like that of all other continental nations, is a story of invasion, foreign ascendancy, revolution, persecution; but in all the romance of history there is none like hers. Home-lovers and daring fighters, the Swiss, from the fastnesses of their mountains, made brave defenses against France, Italy, Germany, Austria. By turns the conquered province of one or the other of these nations, she improved the few years of freedom between each invasion in perfecting, or rather evolving, a theory of government modeled upon that of the Grecian states. The instinct of the people is for coöperation, as will be shown in the history of labor in this country, and it is no wonder that attempts should be made toward forming a government in which the governed should have a share. And yet, strange inconsistency, at the very time the Swiss were striving for this republican form of government, the population was divided into free men and serfs. The latter men and women were considered as chattels or merchandise, and could even be

killed by their masters. The slaves or serfs were not allowed to wear weapons, their complaint was not listened to in court, and in nearly all respects their condition was similar to that of the slaves in our Southern States prior to 1863. A master could free his slave, but the gift was barren save of honor, for until the third generation the descendants of a freedman could not acquire property. As late as the ninth century the serfs of the cloister were taught trades, tailoring, shoemaking, glass-blowing, brewing, etc., but the proceeds of their labor went to the enrichment of the coffers of the cloisters. Fortunately this state of affairs is now done away with, and each person has a proportionate share in the political affairs of the republic. As late, however, as the eighteenth century the townspeople were divided into two classes, citizens and "established." The latter had not the same rights as the citizens, being not allowed to acquire property in the town, and they were often hampered in pursuing a trade. They were mostly day-laborers, were called established persons, and their wives were usually washer-women. They were buried in a separate cemetery and many petty rules were made to distinguish between the "established" and the citizens. They had a separate place in church, their children were baptized on special days, and people who did not pay 10 *gulden* of taxes were not allowed to buy wine. Today this is changed; the constitution of the republic says: "The established enjoys all rights of the canton in which he has established himself *except the vote* concerning the affairs of the commune."

In Switzerland during the eighteenth century the system of political unity was based not on the family nor the individual, but upon the commune. This is the base upon which the whole social organization was established. Every commune had its own laws, resources, army and assemblies. Each one was, so to speak, a state within a state, a republic within a republic, and in many respects quite alike in management to the states in the American Union. The mayor and the local aldermen were the fathers of the commune, and in themselves concentrated all power. The mayor had a right to build schools, install teachers, inspect classes (to this end he would need a better education than some American mayors possess), to perform the marriage ceremony, to accept or reject a proposed citizen. Switzerland has been by turns the thrall, unwilling, unsubdued, of neighboring nations. Tentative efforts had been made at self-government as before stated. In 1815 the federal diet adopted a constitution and it was ratified by the cantons, only to be overthrown by a violent political revolution in 1830,

a disturbance caused by sympathy with the revolutionists in France. Disturbances occurred again and again—now political, as when Louis Napoleon was ordered to be expelled; again religious, as when the delegates from certain cantons in 1834 attempted to regulate the affairs of the Catholic Church and force the expulsion of the Jesuits. One year Austria felt called upon to espouse the cause of some self-willed canton. Another year religious enthusiasm divided the little republic, and Catholics and Protestants stood arrayed, each against the other. And this was the people who only thirty years before had solemnly agreed that “no city or family shall have exclusive privilege, no canton shall have subjects; but every Swiss in city or country shall have equal rights and freedom in trade, and liberty to establish himself wheresoever he may please without hindrance from any one.” Switzerland has had the experience of all republics—nepotism, profligacy, shameless trading in offices, the extortions of the parvenus of power, but she is a nation still, and holds her place among the peoples of Europe by virtue of the inborn manliness and patriotism of her citizens. William Tell’s name is a household word. Every canton has her Tell, because in every canton the majority of the men are pure patriots. The people are nearly all workers—many wage-workers; and when it is remembered how small a portion of the little republic is available for tillage or pasturage, how few towns she possesses in proportion to her population, how difficult it is to send the products of her factories to market, is it any wonder that labor is underpaid, and that even young men who could get work at home are only eager to join some regiment, and in foreign service risk a life which, except to the mother who bore him, is valueless at home. With all this, pauperism, in the English sense of the word, is unknown. The dress and dwellings show sore need, but the beggarly spirit common in monarchies which expects a poor-rate and house-to-house visiting does not exist. Because the rye ripens readily and wheat slowly, the peasants’ bread must be made of the former grain; and because fuel is scarce bread is made only twice a year. Immense loaves are made half a yard in diameter, looking like huge buns, and these are stored on pantry shelves or in the loft waiting until the need to eat them comes. Fuel is sought up the mountains and in the water courses. An avalanche frequently brings down great trees which the villagers cut up; and in some districts cow dung which has hardened is collected and does its share toward keeping a cottage warm or making fire to cook food. Wages are small. A servant on a fruit farm is

paid only \$60 a year; a gardener \$180 for a full twelvemonth's work. Unskilled labor receives three and a half francs a day in summer; and in the factories, cotton, silk and wool, the hand barely gets enough in wages to keep body and soul together. Yet from the fact that many operators are the children of farmers, and that there is always before them the possibility of inheriting their father's farm, there is less discontent, and strikes, boycotts and anarchism are unknown now.

In Switzerland each parish has its *alp*, which is the name given to a pasture land used in common by all the cows of the citizens. It is part of the privilege of each inhabitant, ceded to him by law, that his cow shall have daily pasture on this *alp* from June until October. On these commons the grass is kept in good order, and the grazing privilege is highly prized by each man, for the love of a Swiss for his cow is proverbial, and to pass a winter without one would make life sorrowful indeed. The animal is a source of income to the farmer peasant, and the number of cows kept is an indication of the standing pecuniarily of the proprietor. Very few, however, have a sufficiently large number of stock to warrant the employment of a special herdsman to attend them at the grazing ground during the summer; so a number of the peasants join to employ one man for all. Each proprietor owns from one to six cows, and their small farms do not produce enough to keep many head of stock during the eight dreary winter months. A valuable lesson may be learned in coöperative industry from the successes of these small landed proprietors, and a careful summary of their methods will not be amiss.

A parish hires a man to take care of the herd, and others to make the cheeses, for to make cheeses and sell them is the ambition of every peasant farmer. The corps of workers consists of one cheeseman, one pressman or assistant, and one cowherd for every forty cows. These tend and milk the cows, and a book is kept in which the owner of the cows gets credit for the amount of milk given by each. Of course the whole amount of the milk is put together, and from this cheeses are made. At the end of the season each owner receives his due share, in exact proportion to the amount of milk furnished by his cows, whether he had one or forty. The advantage of this coöperative method can be seen at a glance, and workmen, small proprietors and petty tradesmen all the world over might imitate the Swiss. Instead of the small-sized, nearly unmarketable cheeses such farmers could produce from the milk of the three or four cows, he has the weight in large marketable cheese, super-

ior in quality because made by people who attend to no other business. The cheeseman and assistants are paid so much a head for each cow, and the Swiss cheese is excelled by none in the market. The experience of the Swiss in this dairy farming will go far toward disproving the modern theory that only large farms can be made to pay, and that extent of domain is the *sine qua non* in making cattle pay for themselves. This may be true when the object is merely the breeding of large herds for the slaughter-house; but surely there are other uses for both cows and goats, and the agriculturist can not afford to lose sight of this, especially if he be not a "cattle king."

The making of cheese for export would seem, of all the operations in husbandry, to require both a large stock and a large capital, yet by the well understood coöperation of small farmers in Switzerland it is easily accomplished. What a lesson from this, verily, "he who runs may read." Draining or irrigation, lining or fencing, manuring, plowing, any operation whatsoever in farming, for which ordinarily large capital is required for an individual owner may also be accomplished by small farmers, simply by coöperation in expenses and in gains. But one point must not be overlooked, the farmer must be owner of his farm, be it large or small. Rent ruins the lessee. For success a man must be the proprietor, like the Swiss. It may be objected that the employed, responsible to no one person, may be unfaithful to their trust and the cows go un milked and the dairies unclean. Observation has proven the contrary, and although no woman is occupied about the dairy, its utensils and surroundings are strictly neat. Cheese, next to cotton goods, is the largest export from Switzerland, and, as may be inferred, the Swiss cows are handsome animals and of great value.

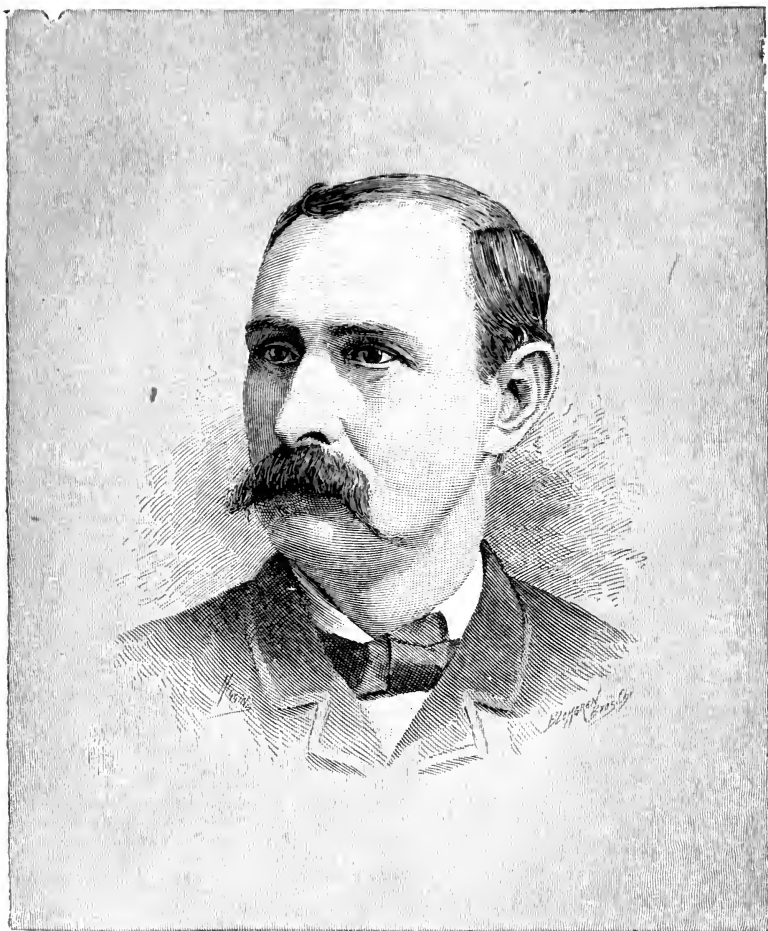
The journey to the *alp* usually takes place the latter part of May. The cattle instinctively know the hour and require very little leading or driving by their keepers. It seems almost like a triumphal march from stall to pasture, and the peasant farmers make it a holiday. A line of cattle, sometimes nearly a mile in length, is led by a Bernese bull, the patriarch of the herd, decorated with a leathern belt from which depends a bell, and the cows following in his wake are garlanded. The lowing of the cattle, the calls of the herdsmen, the merry laughter and singing of the children, the barking of the dogs, the scolding of the matrons, all combine to make alive with homelike sounds what was so lately but a desolate snow-covered road winding through grandly gloomy solitudes.

Life at the *alp* is joyous both for cattle and herdsmen, and into the

manufacture of the cheeses enters the heart of the people so engaged. Cheese is made always once, usually twice a day. The milk, warmed, has then the rennet added, when it is allowed to stand for half an hour. The curds after being drained are immediately put under the press, which is turned daily, and salt is rubbed over the surface of the cheese with a stiff brush. Three qualities of cheese are made on every *alp*: the *gras* (rich), the *demi-gras* and the *maigre*. The first is made of new milk with cream added to it; the *demi-gras*, or half rich, is made of half rich and half skim-milk, and the poor cheese, or the *maigre*, is made of skim-milk alone. A fourth variety is always made from the whey, to which a little rennet is added, and the result is like English cream cheese, which is always the herdsman's perquisite and is usually eaten fresh.

Watch-making is an important industry in Berne, Vano, Geneva, and other cities, giving work, according to reliable statistics in 1871, to 40,987 persons, men and women. In Berne alone 500,000 watches, averaging forty francs each, are made every year. The manufacture of these watches requires skilled labor, for, unlike the great factories in the United States, hand and brain combine in the production of different parts of the watch. Here all is done by machinery, and when one realizes the rapidity with which a watch can be created by means of the machines used at Elgin and Waltham, the wonder is that the Swiss watch-maker can make a living at all—and yet all manage to live.

Switzerland must import all of its grain and its breadstuffs as well. Yet such is the habit of methodic work among the Swiss, and such their genius for associate labor, that their small farms make a very fair exhibit. From the very nature of the country one cannot expect extensive tracts sown in one kind of grain, but really agriculture is carried to the greatest degree of perfection that climate and soil will allow. The hillsides are manured, the valleys drained; each inch is made, by scientific treatment, to do its best for its tiller, who is the owner thereof. And in this fact is found the reason for the comparative success of husbandry in a country apparently cut off by nature from any such privilege. However poor the patch of land, the ownership of it glorifies any service wrought for its sake. The intense love of the Swiss for his home grows out of the fact that nearly every man is, or hopes to be, proprietor of the soil. This sense of proprietorship is evinced by the constant building, repairing, and altering of dwellings. Sometimes the cottages are ornamented with texts of scripture painted over the door, or the pedigree of the owner, printed on the front of the house, tells that the house has been in the same family two hundred years.



Louis Ferrington.

District Master Workman o' the Green Glass Bottle Blowers'
District Assembly of Knights of Labor.



Far in advance as Switzerland is in the matter of the great diffusion of landed property among her people, and the wonderful success to which coöperative industry has attained, yet one is amazed to find all work in the vineyard and on farms done generally by men, and in some agricultural villages a horse is not to be found. Women work in the field with men, but not as serfs, rather as the equals of their husbands, and this work is not considered in any wise degrading, since wives and daughters of very substantial peasant proprietors share the labor of the farm. Naturally being part owner, the woman chooses the lighter work as best suited to her strength, and while at one time she prunes and tends the vine or helps in making hay, she usually does all the planning for indoor and family affairs, her husband being merely her executor, after all plans are made.

One grave source of anxiety with the "house mother" must necessarily be her children. Her daughters she may keep with her; the sons must look afar for work, until the time comes when nature makes the parent give place to the heir. The labor of the sons not being needed on the parental farm, and the land being usually overtaxed, it behooves the young men to seek new places of labor, and because manufactures are overcrowded, and farm hands in excess of demand, they enlist readily in Swiss regiments for foreign service. They are mercenaries, the *condottieri* of the middle ages, serving for their pay, with utter indifference to the cause for which they may have to give up life itself.

Under these circumstances what wonder is it that peasants put off their marriage until late in life, for the habit of prudent forethought prevents a man taking a wife until he sees a way to support her. The condition of each canton is known—the possibility before each proprietor and each common laborer; hence only the most reckless are willing to risk marriage and parentage upon a worse than uncertain income. This will account for the small number of births in proportion to the population, and to this training in self-control, and almost stern asceticism, is to be referred the very small number of illegitimate births recorded in Switzerland.

The vine is cultivated on the slopes and in the valleys, and clusters of grapes are often found rich in purple ripeness two thousand one hundred feet above the sea. The pruning and binding up of the vines is woman's work, and the luxuriance of the clusters in the fall well repay for the work, although so few places are adapted for grape culture that Switzerland cannot supply enough wine for her own use, and imports large quantities. At the time of the gathering of the grapes, men,

women and children join in the work, and the vineyards put on a very festive appearance. The deep baskets, made to fasten on the back, are quickly filled, then carried to the wine-room, where they are emptied into tubs and the grapes crushed with a kind of fork made of a stout bough from a tree, or even a sapling. The Swiss, in all the centuries in which they have made wine, still use this rude instrument for crushing the fruit, while in California, a state less than half a century old, very modern labor-saving machinery is in use, and the wine is equally good.

After the juice is expressed it is collected in skins or barrels and taken to the houses, where it is emptied into vessels which are wide and shallow. Each day the wine is carefully strained until fermentation takes place, when it is put away in barrels or bottles, according to the quantity.

Silks are woven in Zurich and Basle. While not by any means equal to the silks produced in France, either in lustre, finish or shading, the Swiss silks surpass those of France in durability and evenness of thread. The amount made far exceeds what is needed for home consumption, and hence it is one of the largest articles of export.

As said before, cotton leads the exports of Switzerland. The manufacture of thread, as well as of cotton goods, is the most important industry of the country, employing the largest number of persons, and is also a business flourishing in most of the cantons. Like England, the raw material is not grown on the soil, but imported. It is estimated that 57,500,000 pounds of raw material are made into 52,500,000 pounds of thread every year, which is exported to the east, to Africa, and even London is used as a distributing point for Swiss thread. England was for a long time a noted rival. With the English mills the competition both in regard to quality of goods and prices was most keen. However, steady, hard work has won in this race. The machinery is perfected, and the yarns and cloth now made compare well with England's best goods, and find a ready market. It is worthy of note here, that no tariff is laid on foreign goods, but free competition is allowed, and the success of the Swiss in the manufacture of cotton is the more marked when it is remembered that Switzerland is so far away from all the great centers of trade. She has to ship her manufactured goods over the mountains to the Mediterranean that it may seek a market in Africa, and over the Atlantic till it finds a sale somewhere. Her raw cotton she imports from Africa and Asia Minor. In the canton of Zurich alone are employed from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand hand-loom weavers, and the result of their labor is one million or more pieces of cotton cloth every year. Collectively the other cantons find work for ninety thousand

weavers, and from the looms result several millions of pieces of cloth of various grades every year. Men, women and even children are employed in the cotton factories, and because of the excess of population over the demand for labor, the wages are pitifully low, yet so frugal is the Swiss by nature, so hardy in constitution, that the little pittance does much toward making life endurable, and some operatives have even saved from their gains to become themselves stockholders. But this is not by any means so common an occurrence as in the United States. And the reason is obvious: it costs so much more to import raw material and send the product to market. The cotton made into cloth had to risk nearly the same dangers in transit to a market as the raw material in reaching the looms. It must find its way over the Jura or Alpine Mountains, be conveyed along water-ways, either rivers or lakes, until at last it is free from the fastnesses of the little republic; and yet the products of the manufactories of Switzerland are found in all the markets of the world. Why is this true? Simply because industry has been left to itself. Wealth has not been diverted from its own natural tendencies. There has been no struggle encouraged by government between the protected monopoly of the few and the unprotected interests of the many.

CHAPTER XIV.—SCANDINAVIA.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SCANDINAVIANS—AGRICULTURE, MINING AND MANUFACTURES IN NORWAY—LAND TENURES—WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND PROPERTY—CHARACTER AND HABITS OF THE PEOPLE—THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF SWEDEN—NOMADIC FARM LABORERS—CHILD LABOR—SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS—HOUSEHOLD INDUSTRY—THE DANES IN HISTORY—THE CURIOUS REVOLUTION OF 1660—THE INDUSTRIES OF DENMARK—CONDITION OF THE PEASANTS AND THE WORKING CLASSES.

NORWAY, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland are known collectively as Scandinavia, although the three first named are now politically distinct nations. From the earliest time the Scandinavians have displayed a vigorous, enterprising and determined character. They were first known to the civilized world in the year 112 B.C. They then burst upon the Roman world and defeated successively general after general of the Romans. Their career was stopped by the great Marius, the hero of many wars.

For centuries succeeding their repulse by the army of Marius, the history of the Scandinavians is shrouded in darkness. They again appeared upon the stage of history as the invaders of England and the founders of Normandy. The Danes were expelled from England, but in time the Normans, the kindred race, firmly established themselves in that country. It is from the Scandinavian element in her people that England received her tendencies to maritime adventure and enterprise, as well as her propensity to colonize and traffic. It is to the Scandinavians that the great English-speaking nations owe their free institutions, trial by jury, popular representation by legislative assemblies, and the popular elective system.

Until the time of Harold Harfager—the year 863 A.D.—the inhabitants of Norway were distributed into a number of petty tribes. This monarch commenced the work of unification. During the reign of Olaf Skatkonung, Christianity first gained a permanent foothold in the country. Canute, the Danish king of England, conquered Olaf in the eleventh century A.D., and assumed the crown. Before and after this event the Norsemen scourged the seas, and were remarkable for prowess and maritime prosperity. After the defeat of Haco V., off the west

coast of Scotland, there ensued a protracted period of national depression. The national exchequer had been exhausted by foreign wars, the industries of every kind languished, and for two years following 1347 the plague prevailed throughout the land, depopulating the country more than fifty per cent. During this period of multifiform distress, not only the nationality but the language passed away.

In 1380 a union with Sweden was accomplished which endured for 400 years. All Scandinavia was conquered by Margaret of Denmark near the close of the fourteenth century, and by virtue of the treaty of Calmar the three kingdoms became one. This treaty remained in force until 1523, when Sweden acquired political independence and conferred the crown upon Gustaf Vasa, her deliverer. For more than 200 years after this event Norway was a mere province of Denmark. During the reign of Charles XIV., Norway and Sweden were again united. In 1818 Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's marshals, was elected to the united throne. Under King Bernadotte and the succeeding generations of his dynasty, the government of the country has steadily advanced in the direction of liberalism. Norway, although united with Sweden, is, according to the constitutional union, "free, independent, indivisible and inalienable." In form the government is a constitutional monarchy. The legislative power is vested, by the constitution of November 4, 1814, in the Storting or assembly of deputies. The members of this body are not elected directly by the people, but by electors chosen for that purpose. One deputy or elector is chosen for every fifty voters in the town, and in the rural districts one deputy for every 100 voters. To exercise the right of franchise, a man must be twenty-five years of age and possess property in land to the value of \$150, or must have been a tenant of such property for the period of five years, or must be at the time, or must have been a public functionary or a burgess of a town.

The farmers of the country devote considerable attention to grazing. The reindeer is probably the most valuable domestic animal, but large numbers of horses, sheep, goats and horned cattle are raised by the agricultural classes. There are few miners in Norway. Although that country is rich in mineral deposits, yet, on account of the scarcity of fuel and the restrictive policy of the government, these resources are not developed. The mountains of the country have large deposits of silver, iron, copper, nickel and cobalt, and in the mining industry Norway should be second to no country in Europe. Large numbers of her people are engaged in fishing. The cod fisheries are the most important, and is confined to two seasons of the year. The largest

returns are realized from what is called winter fishery, which begins in January. The autumn fishery is less remunerative. The mackerel fishery is an important industry on the south coast. The manufacturing interests of Norway are relatively unimportant. Such manufactures as exist are confined to the production of inferior cotton, woolen and linen goods for domestic use. The farmers of Norway are extremely conservative and opposed to innovations and improvements. The methods of this class are very crude. Manuring is seldom practiced, and under drainage never. It is doubtful, however, whether agriculture could flourish in Norway as in other countries more favored in climate and soil. It would seem that the most strenuous industry of her farmers cannot produce enough bread-stuff for home consumption. Large quantities of rye and barley are exported annually from Denmark and Russia. Crops are generally precarious. This has led to the establishment by the government of corn magazines, where the surplus produce may be deposited for times of scarcity. One fortunate feature of Norwegian life is the wide distribution of land property. In this respect Norway differs from Sweden and Denmark. In 1869, out of 147,000 landed estates, 131,000 were tilled by owners. In 1865 there were less than 65,000 tenant farmers in all Norway.

Although nominally a monarchical government, Norway is essentially a democracy. The feudal system never obtained in that country. The government has been representative in character for centuries, and the peasantry have enjoyed comparative freedom. Feudal tenures, therefore, were never a feature of the land system of Norway. The *udal* laws have existed from time immemorial, by virtue of which every man held his land without service or the acknowledgment of any superior in title. The farms of the Norwegian yeomen generally contain from forty to sixty acres of arable land, adjoining which is sometimes a considerable tract of pasture land, as in the highlands of Scotland and in Switzerland. During the summer months the slopes and valleys of the neighboring mountains are used for grazing. Of course, primogeniture, a feature of feudal tenure, never existed in Norway. From this fact there would naturally follow a tendency of subdivision of estates, until they would be frittered away. This tendency was provided against in Norway by the law known as the *odelsbaarn ret*. This law provides that when land is sold, at the death of the owner, all of his children and the next of kin, in the order of consanguinity, may redeem the land within five years by repayment of the purchase money and for any outlay and improvements. By this principle of succession, the accumulation of landed

property, by one person, in large masses, is prevented. The udal estates are rarely augmented, and as seldom diminished. Notwithstanding the smallness of the Norwegian farms, the produce usually supplies the owner, not only with the comforts of life, but with some of its luxuries. The Bonder or agricultural peasantry, each the proprietor of his own farm, occupy the country from the shore side to the hill foot, and up every valley or glen, as far as corn can grow. This class is the kernel of the country. They farm not to raise produce for sale, so much as to grow everything they eat, drink and wear in their families. They build their own houses, make their own chairs, tables, plows, carts, harness, iron-work, basket-work and wood-work; in short, except window-glass, cast-iron ware and pottery, and everything about their houses and furniture is of their own fabrication. "There is not probably in Europe so great a population and so happy a condition as these Norwegians. A body of small proprietors, each with his thirty or forty acres, scarcely exist elsewhere in Europe, or if it can be found, it is under the shadow of some more imposing wealthy proprietors. Here they are the highest men in the nation. There is no money-getting spirit among them, and none of extravagance. They enjoy the comfort of excellent houses, as good and large as those of the wealthiest individuals, good furniture, bedding, linen, clothing, fuel, victuals and drink, all in abundance and of their own providing."

As a nation the Norwegians are better lodged than any other people in Europe; of food and fuel they have abundance and are generally well clad. The feverish and exciting pleasures of a more complex and active social condition are denied them; yet they largely enjoy those inestimable blessings, leisure, contentment and ease of mind. The working people, indeed, are said to be in a better condition than the same class in any other European countries. Their quiet and comfortable life is manifest in their manners. A kind politeness characterizes their intercourse with friends and strangers. Courtesy seems to be common to all classes of society, laborers, soldiers, fishermen and mechanics.

The farm-laborers are well conditioned. They are furnished with comfortable cottages, usually situated on the outskirts of the farm, and with pasturage for half a dozen sheep and goats and two cows. This cottage and pasturage can be held for the life of the cotter and that of his widow. As a consideration for these privileges the farm-laborer works a certain number of days in the year on the main farm. He can abandon this holding upon three months' notice. His employer, on the

other hand, cannot dispossess or deprive him of it, so long as the stipulated rent is paid or labor rendered. It is the sons and daughters of these farm laborers, or house-men as they are called, who constitute the domestic servants of the country.

Aside from the Bonder, there is another class of yeomanry less fortunate in their condition. We refer to the inhabitants of the glens and forests of the mountain ranges which divide Norway from Sweden. This class possess a little land and small but comfortable houses. A rigorous climate prevents the raising of grain, and they subsist upon the produce of their cattle, the sale of game, and by felling timber. In winter they live largely upon salted trout and a bread made of ground bark and unripened oats. This class, in condition, constitute the connecting link between the Laplander and the Bonder of the old country.

In Norway all classes eat from four to five meals a day, the laborer begins his day with a cake of oat or barley bread, with butter, and a drink of brandy. Breakfast is eaten at nine o'clock in the morning, and consists of bread and milk, or bread and soup, or pottage with oat cakes. From twelve to one o'clock is the dinner hour. At this meal the laborer has herrings, potatoes, bread and barley broth, or salt meat and black pudding. Generally, the work people of Norway eat meat only two or three times a week.

Every homestead consists of several buildings. One apartment in every house is set apart for the female members of the family. In this room wool is carded, spun and woven, under the direction of the mistress of the family. In the homes of Norway are manufactured coarse but substantial woolen cloth, excellent table linen, and checked or striped cottons for female wear. One large room is reserved for the tailor, shoemaker, harnessmaker, and other tradesmen, who go from place to place, and farm to farm to work at their business.

Rank and privilege have been abolished in Norway. In no quarter of the world, of equal population, is property so universally diffused among the inhabitants, and an equal scale enjoyed by all classes.

The sea-faring peasantry occupy the coast side of the fiords and the provinces of Norland and Finmark. Their farms are small and are generally held for life. They sometimes keep a couple of cows and some sheep, and in favorable situation raise a little corn and a few potatoes. They subsist in the main, however, upon their fishing.

Sweden, during the reign of Gustaf Vasa, enjoyed a period of great prosperity, but much that was gained in material welfare during this period was lost under succeeding reigns. The cause of this

depression was a succession of exhausting wars. Until the time of the union with Norway, the people of Sweden were in a deplorable condition. From that event there has been a continuous improvement in every respect. Until the year 1738, agriculture had been almost the exclusive industry of Sweden. During that year a so-called progressive party came into power, and manufactures were encouraged by all the means known to the government. Factories were established in all the cities, and with such rapidity that in 1754 there were no less than 718. Today, in Sweden, there is considerable activity in the manufacture of cotton, woolen, linen and silk stuff, and of sail-cloth, cutlery, hardware, paper, glass and earthen-ware. As in Norway, so in Sweden, articles for home use are manufactured by the peasantry, within their houses, during the long winter evenings. But, notwithstanding recent progress in this direction, the manufacturing industries of Sweden are but little developed. The mining districts of Sweden comprise perhaps 16,000 square miles. The iron mines only are successfully operated. Within the last thirty years, agriculture has made considerable progress in that part of Sweden situated between the sound and the river Dal. In the middle and southern provinces, potatoes, peas, beans, oats, wheat and rye are successfully cultivated. Barley can be raised in all parts of the country. For many years the farmers of Sweden were not successful in the raising of grain; but with the past seventy years there has been a gradual improvement. In 1777, 640,000 barrels of grain were imported; this number was reduced to 233,000 in 1810. The importation had ceased in 1832, and the exportation amounted to 177,589. During the year 1873, Sweden exported 11,852,049 bushels of cereals. Such improvements as have been made in the methods of agriculture are confined, mainly, to the large estates. Generally, the peasant farmer adheres doggedly to the old system. In the northern provinces, not more than one crop out of three succeeds. Owing to the poverty of the soil and the short duration of the summer, agricultural operations require a large number of persons, for whom, during the long winter, there is little or no employment. According to some authorities, the farm laborers of Sweden are a nomadic population. They seldom stay more than a year or two in one place, and then go somewhere else. This class do not remain long enough in one locality to take an interest in farming on their own account. But even had they the inclination they seldom have the time to work for themselves. Not only the father and mother are constantly employed, but even their children are required to labor at an age when they should be in the nursery. The

hours of toil are from five in the morning until eight at night. Several years ago, a Mr. Swartze attempted a reformation in the habits of the farm-laborers. He set apart, to each of his farm hands, a garden-plot, and allowed time enough from the general work of the farm for their cultivation.

The people of Sweden are divided into four classes, the nobility, the clergy, burgesses and peasants. The burgesses are about 70,000 in number, and comprise persons of both sexes who possess real property to the amount of fifteen dollars and upward. In the cities they are members of guilds or handicrafts, iron manufacturers, and magistrates. The privileges secured to this class have operated injuriously upon the trade and industry of the country. In Sweden, there are 2,250,000 peasant farmers. This class are prudent, industrious, intelligent, and well educated. "They are all landowners, and by their wealth they are gradually absorbing much of the land that is passing from the hands of the nobility." Below the peasant-farmer is the torpar or cottager, who hires his cot and garden spot.

In Sweden the law once prescribed the dress for the peasantry; now all are free to dress as they please, and the peasant of each parish has a different costume. "Men, women and children labor together in the fields. Women do various kinds of outdoor work in the towns, such as mixing mortar and the tending of masons, and most of the drudgery of factories."

"Every male Swede twenty-one years of age and over, who owns real property of the assessed value of 1,000 riksdalers, or holds a five year's lease of property of the value of 6,000 riksdalers, or pays an income tax on 800 riksdalers, is entitled to vote in the elections of the landsting; and if he is twenty-five years old and has possessed these proper qualifications for one year preceding the election, he may be elected a member."

The Dalecarlians are those who occupy the dales and valleys of the mountain regions. They number about 133,339 individuals, and maintain their ancient simplicity of manners, dress, and mode of living. Like the Highlander of Scotland the Dalecarlian considers himself of a superior order. They are very industrious and ingenious workmen. Many of them go about the country mending basket-work, garden tools, wooden clocks, and even watches of their own manufacture. Upon this class press heavily the restrictions that have been placed upon the sale of wares in this way. Notwithstanding the complaints of privileged tradesmen and dealers the government winks at the petty traffic of the poor Dalecarlian.

In every household of Sweden it is the rule to do everything possible by household industry before resorting to the market. The peasantry buy only what they cannot possibly manufacture at home, or do without. Such has become the established feature of Swedish society, and as long as this state of affairs continues no important advance can be made in trade or manufacture.

Corporal punishment may be inflicted upon the Swedish peasantry by their masters. This is considered necessary for household discipline, and is sanctioned by the law. Such a practice reduces this class to the condition of serfs.

The peasantry of Sweden are oppressed by a mode of traveling that is enforced by the government. At all hours of the day and seasons of the year they are obliged to furnish horses for the accommodation of travelers. This, of course, must greatly inconvenience the farming community, and some are of the opinion that this practice has been a serious obstacle to agricultural prosperity.

The Danes first appear in history, as piratical invaders of England, in the ninth century. About two hundred years later the Danish Canute added England to his dominions. The people of Denmark enjoyed considerable prosperity under this great king, but after his death foreign wars and internal dissension exhausted the kingdom. In time a powerful aristocracy arose, who greatly oppressed the people and reduced them to a servile condition. Until the year 1660 the crown of Denmark was elective. For several centuries the nobility of Denmark had assumed the exercise of the most despotic powers. On his own estate every noble was an absolute ruler, and the sole judge in settling matters among his peasants. In criminal matters his decision was final, and the law permitted him even to inflict the death penalty.

The tyranny and oppression of this nobility became unendurable, and in 1660 the people transferred all power, political and civil, from the nobility to the crown. The people went further than this, and in order that they might rid themselves of an insolent and oppressive aristocracy surrendered all their own privileges and rights into the hands of their monarch. Thus, at one stroke was an elective and constitutional monarchy made hereditary and absolute. Prior to this revolution the national exchequer had been depleted by military expenditures and disasters, and much misery prevailed among the people of Denmark. The nobility enjoyed all the privileges and did not bear any of the burdens of the state. The revolution of 1660 deprived the nobles of their privileges and made them subject to taxation. However, they were given some juris-

diction over the peasants, who were not permitted to leave the estates of their lords. For more than a hundred years, thereafter, the peasantry continued in a state of serfdom. This system was finally abolished in the eighteenth century. The despotic government established in 1660 continued until 1849. The constitution of June 5, 1849, which was subsequently modified in 1855 and 1863, established a hereditary and constitutional monarchy, and in 1866, two houses of legislature, named respectively the Folkething and the Landsting. When a Dane has attained his thirtieth year, and can provide himself with bed and board, and does not occupy the position of domestic servant he may vote for the Folkething or lower chamber. His right of franchise may be lost by receiving assistance from the poor rates which he has not subsequently repaid.

For several centuries in Denmark large numbers of the Danish peasantry were engaged in the felling of timber. To such an extent was this industry carried that the country had been nearly denuded of timber. The manufactures of Denmark are not important, and afford employment to but few of her inhabitants. Some manufactures there are of woolen, cotton, linen and silk goods and of leather, lace, gloves, hats, sail-cloth, earthen ware, plated ware, and iron ware. In Denmark, as in Norway and Sweden, the peasantry make their wearing apparel and domestic utensils with their own hands. One of the most important industries of Denmark is the manufacture of porcelain. The nucleus of this industry was the factory of F. H. Meil, established in 1772. Nine years later this enterprise passed into the hands of the state and has since remained there.

Denmark is rich in clays, but the poorest country in Europe in minerals. Indeed, the mining industry, in Denmark, is not of sufficient importance to mention here. In the Island of Bornholm are fine quarries of marble and free stone. In food and clothing the manufacturing operatives and mechanics of Denmark are not inferior to the same classes in Norway and Sweden. The houses occupied in the provincial towns have two more rooms, and are surrounded by a small garden patch. The same class in the capital too frequently live in but one room. These rooms are in large barrack-like buildings, located in the poor quarters of the city. They are deficient in light, air, space and comfort.

In Denmark the land is minutely subdivided. The law is partly responsible for this, as it interdicts the union of small farms, and in various ways encourages the subdivision of the estates. By far the greater part of the land is possessed by the peasantry in this way. Below this

class are the cotter free-holders, called junsters, with land sufficient to keep one or two cows.

It has been said of Denmark that it is preëminently a corn land. The soil is light and sandy, but all the cereals grown in other European countries are successfully cultivated. For domestic consumption buck-wheat takes the place of rye, wheat, barley, and oats. "More than half the population are engaged in agriculture, which was conducted with great industry ; but from the subdivision of land into small farms it is seldom carried on with appliances requiring much outlay. The art of husbandry, however, is steadily progressing." Greater value is attached to the produce of the dairy than to that of the soil. Aside from the stock obtained from the large dairy farms this industry has developed a class of men who hire cows by the year.

CHAPTER XV.—RUSSIA.

A COUNTRY WITH AN ASIATIC INTERIOR AND A EUROPEAN EXTERIOR—PETER THE GREAT—HIS REIGN THE BEGINNING OF MATERIAL PROGRESS IN RUSSIA—MANUFACTURES—ST. PETERSBURG—THE KREMLIN IN MOSCOW—SERFDOM—OPPRESSION OF THE PEASANTRY UNDER CATHERINE THE GREAT—EMANCIPATION—MODE OF LIFE AMONG THE PEASANTRY—THE WRETCHED LOT OF WOMAN—THE CITIZEN BURGHERS—MERCHANTS AND ARTISANS—GUILDS AND TRADE-CORPORATIONS—MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES—WAGES AND COST OF LIVING—POLAND AND FINLAND.

IT has been said of Russia, politically and socially, that it is the country with an Asiatic interior and a European exterior. When it is said that Russia has an Asiatic interior, it is meant that her government is despotic in form and that her people are oriental in character. Her outward aspect is said to be European, because of the attempt made by her ruling classes to appropriate the externals of western civilization. Compared with other European states, Russia is in her infancy. Scarce two centuries ago, by the rest of the world she was estimated as barbarian. Until that time her government was not reckoned one of the great powers, and her people were far removed from the thought of the world and the grand stream of its progress. As a factor in civilization, Russia did not exist until the reign of Peter the Great. It was in 1689 that this man, her material Moses, became her ruler. With his accession to the throne began her real importance.

His character transcended his opportunities. His mind was universal notwithstanding he was by birth, physique and temperament a Russian. He was truly a child of nature, above his family, beyond his people and ahead of his age.

He was without education as that term is popularly understood. Perhaps, considering the traits he displayed, this was not a misfortune. The student of books is apt to become introspective and onesided. A book records the subjective or personal experiences or characteristics of its author. This is as true of science and history as it is of philosophy and poetry. A writer upon natural science seldom speaks of nature as it is, but as he sees it, or understands it. The isolated facts of science he may observe with more or less correctness and distinctness; yet the

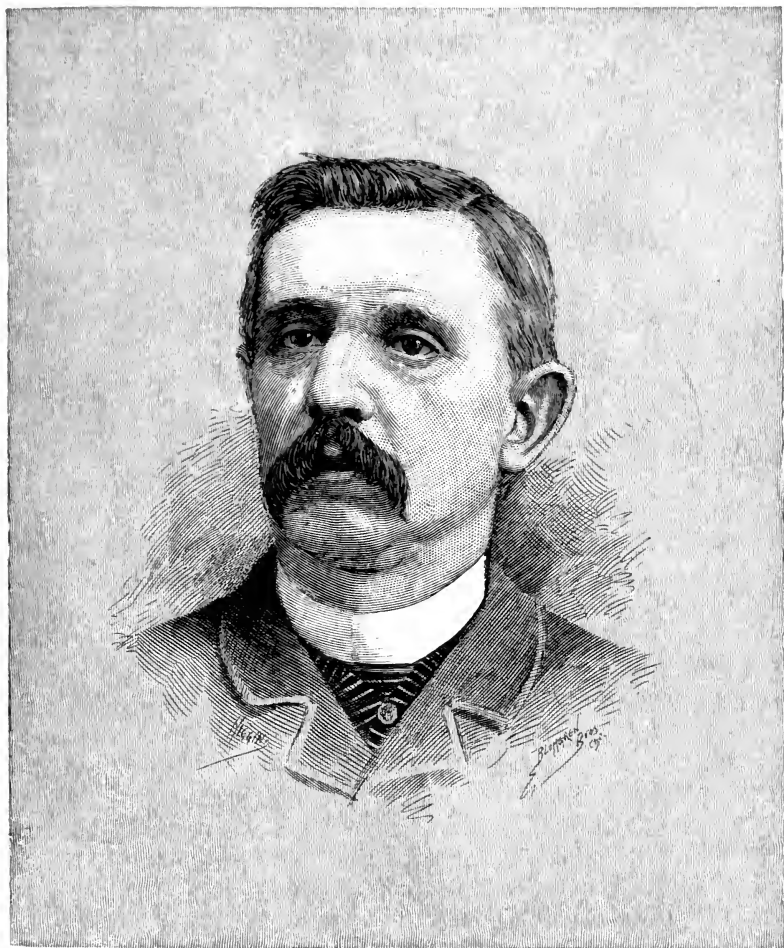
instant he attempts an explanation of the facts, the personal equation begins and it is the man and not nature that we see.

One would think that political, social and military events might be impartially narrated. To be disabused of this illusion it is necessary to become but a cursory student of history. In her ideal aspects, the historic muse is clothed with the dignity of truth, and the sober earnestness of philosophy. For ages the wise and the great have bowed before her throne; for centuries have men vaunted her wisdom and chanted her praise. But let the student for a while draw between himself and her august and dignified form the curtain of forgetfulness, and scrutinize critically and impartially the pages of her devotees, and he will see how far they have departed from her ideal. He will find the pages of even the greatest historians distorted by prejudice and passion, and disfigured by self-interest, spite, malice and uncharitableness. At the behests of party or faction he will find truth suppressed, and for the sake of mammon and power her facts misstated and exaggerated. For the sake of truth and justice, it is better always to study facts at first hand and not by report — to observe them personally and immediately, and not through the medium of another intellect. But truth and equity are not the only issues at stake, although their moral significance cannot be overestimated. Men do not study a particular fact or principle for the inherent value in either alone; it is for the purpose of combining that fact with other facts, and comparing that principle with other principles, in order that an expressive and comprehensive generalization may be reached. A single fact is meaningless unless studied in its relation to other facts. Perception, psychologically considered, is the lowest of the mental faculties. It but grasps facts in their isolation, and this ends its function. Singular existence alone is given the meaning of that existence which is not expressed. It is only when the facts are seized by reflection and reason that knowledge begins. “There is nothing great on earth but man; there is nothing great in man but mind.” Without reason mind is not. Reason is the central sun of the mental world. All observation, all study, has for its object the cultivation of human reason or judgment. The judgment is cultivated and developed by a study of facts and principles in their relations. Every judgment should be personal, and after an immediate observation of the facts. The facts in books are mediate. Books contain facts as observed by others. To be seen with any degree of correctness facts should be observed by ourselves. The best practical judgment is the personal judgment. Practically, the best educated man is he who has the best judgment. Books are not necessary to wisdom. A man

may be wise and yet not be able to read. Such a man was Peter the Great of Russia. Of schools, colleges and universities he knew little; of the world about him he saw and knew much. Through childhood and youth neglected, and in early manhood ignored, his mates were the roistering officers of the imperial militia. His boon companions were a Scotchman and an Italian, characteristic soldiers of fortune and social adventurers. Reading little, they had observed much. These adventurers were not only the companions of Peter in his coarse and dissolute sports, but unwittingly became his teachers.

From them he learned of the institutions, laws, customs and manners of Western Europe. Judging his native land by the information thus obtained, this great man was made to realize her deficiencies. Then it was that he found her people were barbarians, her army a mob, and her navy inconsequential. He began to think, this uncouth and intemperate youth. Thought ended in resolution. He determined that all this should be changed on his coming to the throne, if example and precept could work that change. On ascending the throne, without delay he set about his reforms. Departing his realm, he traveled extensively in Western Europe, studying her arts, sciences and manufactures.

In Holland and England he worked as a ship carpenter, and studied architecture, medicine, law, physiology and anatomy. Returning to Russia in 1699, he brought with him "generals, military officers of all grades, engineers, shipwrights, architects, gunsmiths, cutlers, medical men, artificers and mechanics of all kinds, naval officers and experienced seamen. * * * * Great Britain and Ireland, Holland and the Netherlands furnished the greater part, but artists were allured from France and Italy, by the tempting offers of the Czar, to undertake a residence in the cold climate of the north." The western world has been wont to date the beginning of material progress in Russia from the reign of Peter, and not incorrectly. True it is, that manufactures were first introduced into Russia in the fifteenth century, but they were unimportant until Peter Romanoff gave them an impetus that has accelerated with each passing year. For example, at his death in 1725, there were twenty-one imperial factories and a number of smaller ones. The number had increased "in 1837 to 6,450, in 1845 to 7,315, in 1854 to 18,100." It is now estimated that Russia contains nearly 90,000 manufactories, which employ about 1,000,000 workmen. Moscow is the main seat of manufactures. The following governments, in the order mentioned, are important manufacturing centers: Vladimeer, Nizhegorod, Saratoo, St. Petersburg and Poland. Moscow is notable for its manufac-



George Harris.

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ture of silk and woolen goods ; and in other sections cotton and linen of all kinds are manufactured, as well as leather, candles, soap and metallic wares.

The first important and emphatic example that Peter set for his people was the founding and building of a new capital, St. Petersburg, in 1703, which, although the youngest, is yet the richest of the European capitals. "Its site was but a desert swamp in the province of Ingria when Peter announced his intention of erecting his new capital there, and its erection was indeed a *tour de force*, both from the point of view of the engineer and that of the statesman."

The most formidable obstacles were those arising from the swampy nature of the ground and the insalubrious climate. Peter personally superintended the works and overcame all difficulties by his indomitable energy and by the exercise of his despotic power. Workmen were brought from all parts of his dominions to labor in digging the canals. It is said that in this work more than 100,000 men perished from disease and exhaustion.

"Peter drained the marshes and embanked the Neva, which, by many overflowing channels, carried the waters of Lake Ladoga to the gulf of Finland. There are fourteen arms of the river, the whole spanned by no less than 150 bridges. Only one of the bridges, erected in 1870, is a permanent structure; all the rest are built upon boats or pontoons, and have to be removed during the winter. For much of this work of canalization, and for many other improvements, the city is indebted to Catharine II." A broad avenue runs through St. Petersburg, called Neoski Prospect. It is 130 feet wide and four miles in length. Many splendid edifices adorn this street and among them are the fine churches Izak and Kazan. A superb and stately dome surmounts the Izak church. The dome is covered with bronze plates overlaid with burnished gold. The gold for the dome is said to have cost \$200,000. The interior of this church is of surpassing magnificence. The walls and pillars are adorned with malachite, lapis lazuli, etc. About seventeen miles down the river is the great fort and arsenal of Cronstadt, also erected by the indefatigable Peter.

Although it is popularly understood that the era of arts and manufactures in Russia began with Peter the Great, yet this is not strictly true. Any particular advance in the mechanical arts is not to be inferred from the founding and building of St. Petersburg. The city was designed by foreign artists and architects, and the skilled labor performed by foreign artisans. The unskilled labor was performed by native workmen.

Some knowledge of architecture and the mechanical arts must have been possessed by the Russians before Peter's time, as is indicated by that famous structure, the Kremlin, in Moscow. The word Kremlin signifies a citadel, or fortified place. This noted architectural pile comprises within its walls several palaces, churches, cathedrals, and arsenals, two monasteries and other public buildings. The churches are ornamented with a wealth of marbles and jewels. Above all stands the "Tower of Ivan," 269 feet high, containing a peal of thirty-three bells.

In speaking of Russia the mind at once recurs to the poor serfs, who were emancipated but comparatively a short time ago. Thirty years ago the name of Russia was as intimately associated with the institution of serfdom, as were the Southern States of America with the institution of slavery.

Serfdom originated in an ukase issued by Boris Godounoff, who usurped the throne after the death of Fedor, and who, as the assassin of young Demetrius, may be regarded as the author of all the troubles that resulted from the disappearance of the rightful heir to the throne. It was with the view of restraining the nomadic habits of his subjects that Boris decreed that every peasant should remain permanently on the land he had cultivated on the preceding "Yurieff's day." In the national ballads the burden of the peasant's refrain was not complaint of slavery so much as regret at his inability to migrate from locality to locality. It has been maintained by some writers that with the Slavonians, as with the Arabs, nomadic habits are natural. This has been disputed by other authors of equal weight. The latter have contended that the peasant of Russia is as much attached to his native village as any Breton; and it is argued that estates were so frequently devastated, under the Mongol domination, that the Russ peasants were compelled to travel about in search of mere subsistence. Be this as it may, originally the peasants were free, and farmed lands upon a yearly lease for the nobles. All the annual terms expired on St. George's day. The brief tenure of these lease-holds were not conducive to long residence in one locality. Whether the peasant farmers were nomadic in their tendencies or not, such a custom as the above would make them restless and foster unsettled habits. Certain it is the evil was so manifest as to arrest the attention of a man as unscrupulous and brutal as Boris Godounoff. Thus was the first step taken that ended in making the free peasant a serf.

The condition of the rural serf differed widely from that of the *deorovie*, or slave. The latter attended on his owner's person; the former could not be separated from the estate. He could not, therefore,

be separated from his family nor removed against his will from the village community. Few were the estates at first, on which the nobles resided. The early practice was to leave the peasants in possession of the lands, taking as a compensation a tax from the village. Presumably, Boris Godounoff did not intend by his ukase to change the social status of the peasant.

Serfdom in Russia never was authorized by a ukase from the decree of Boris until their emancipation by Alexander II. The condition of the Russian serf at the time of his manumission was consequent upon placing him at the mercy of the rich, and subjecting both master and serf to an absolute government.

Peter I. instituted the piecing of the rural serf instead of the estate to which he was attached. This led in time to a severance of the poor serf from his village commune. He was hired out to other masters, or was sent away to learn a trade in his master's interest. In consideration for the labor of his serf, the master received either an annual sum in money, or a proportion of the earnings. The nobility were satisfied to receive, prior to the development of arts and manufactures, a moderate yearly tribute from the village commune. The produce of the land could be disposed of by the community. The condition of the Russian commune has been likened unto that of a Hindoo village. The rural serf of Russia, as well as his noble master, had an interest in the soil. It was universally recognized then that the serf was entitled to labor a part of the time for himself. "Even when a resident lord demanded individual labor instead of a general tribute, the law restricted his claim to three days in the week. The remainder belonged to the serf, which explains how he could be possessed of property, though himself accounted the property of another. The introduction of manufactures materially altered these relations. The lord assumed the right of employing his serfs the whole time, in any kind of labor which promised remuneration. The materials were furnished by the owner, and the profits appropriated to himself, paying no wages to the laborer beyond his food and clothing. This system produced, of course, but indifferent workmen, and the nobles generally were obliged to hand over the speculation to the serfs themselves, by granting them permission to work as they pleased, on payment of their annual tribute."

At no time did the peasantry fare worse than during the reign of Catharine the Great. This tyrannical though able empress made it a practice to present a few hundreds or thousands of these unfortunate people to her favorites. In time, it became customary to express royal

favor in this way. Alexander I. put an end to this practice, and to other tendencies unfavorable to the condition of the poor serf. Not only this; but this gentle monarch did much to ameliorate the harshness of their lot. The serfs, during his reign, were, by imperial ukase, permitted to acquire and hold property. Masters were encouraged to liberate their serfs, and it was made illegal to sell them apart from the land. In their worst days the serf had some privileges that their masters were bound to respect. For example, a definite quantity of land was set apart to their use. The land was accorded to the commune. Each member of the commune was entitled to an equal share, with a hut and garden.

Serfs could be owned only by hereditary nobles. This rank could be easily gained, however. It was open always to officers of the lowest military grade, but civilians found it more difficult of attainment. Some nobles could count their serfs by thousands, and others by hundreds. Some possessed as low as twenty, which number they were not permitted to increase. These serfs upon large estates fared better than those on small estates. When the noble owned thousands of acres it was impracticable for him to manage the whole. This rendered it necessary for him to apportion it among his serfs, receiving from each a certain sum annually. This system prevailed as to all crown serfs—serfs attached to the crown lands. The landlord or noble was responsible to the State for the taxes levied upon the serfs, and was compelled to support them if they were destitute, aged or in ill health. Not residing, as a rule, upon his estates, the noble could not well regulate the conduct of the individual serf in this respect. He would therefore exact a tax from the whole village or commune.

The decree emancipating the serfs was promulgated Feb. 19, 1861. This step marks a new era in the history of Russia. Emancipation first received official attention in 1857. Alexander II., the late Czar, at the time of his coronation in the month of August, 1856, alluded to his wishes in the matter to the nobles assembled on that occasion. The sentiments expressed by the emperor at this time scarcely found a response in public opinion. The intentions of Alexander, however, found an earnest exponent in the person of his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine.

Two years later, by imperial order, a committee was created, whose duty it was to consider preliminary questions concerning emancipation. In the autumn of that year, the nobility of the Lithuanian provinces, Vilna, Kovno and Grodno, memorialized the government on the subject of eman-

cipation, and in their address expressed a desire to arrange with their serfs in a manner suitable to the age, and to regulate their relations definitely. On the second day of December 1857, by an imperial rescript, the government expressed its gratification at the proposal, and formally proclaimed to the empire the wishes of the Czar. In this rescript Alexander requested of the nobility that they consider the matter of emancipation. The government of St. Petersburg first responded practically to the imperial wish. Soon after the publication of the rescript, the nobles of that province requested of the Czar permission to call a committee of deliberation. Subsequently, this example was followed in other places. Alexander, of course, granted the request of the St. Petersburg nobility. Another rescript was published Dec. 17 as follows: "For this object that of the reorganization of the relations of the peasant, I command that from this day forward a committee, presided over by a marshal of the nobility, shall meet within the jurisdiction of St. Petersburg, consisting of representatives, two of whom to be chosen by the proprietors of every district, and of two members chosen by your excellency, which members shall be taken from the most enlightened of the landed proprietors. This committee being formed, it shall proceed to prepare a sketch for the organization and improvement of the position of the peasant class, and shall take the following principles for its direction: 1. The landed proprietor retains the right of property in his whole estate; but the peasants retain their house and garden ground, and acquire the right to obtain these as property by payments within a stated period. The peasants are further to have the use of that extent of arable land which is necessary to secure their maintenance, and to afford them the means of fulfilling their engagements toward the state and the landed proprietor. For the use of this land, the peasants are to be bound, either to give the proprietor payment in money, or to labor for him. 2. The peasants are to be divided into communities, over which the landed proprietor acts as the rural police. 3. All other relations between the proprietors and peasants are to be so arranged that the regularity of the tribute paid to the state, as well as the provincial import and taxes, may be stated with certainty.

During the year 1858 thirty-three districts had expressed their desire to discuss the matter, but only nineteen of the number established committees for the purpose. Even in these, notwithstanding, the emperor's exhortation, the excuses for delay were innumerable. The Czar soon realized that moral pressure alone was not sufficient. Therefore, near the end of the year 1858, he took the initiative into his hands.

In 1859, the now historic "Great Committee" was formed to deliberate upon the serfdom question. It was composed of twelve members, and the Czar presided in person at the first meeting. His majesty afterward resigned the presidency to Prince Alexis Orlov. Another committee was established, over which presided the Grand Duke Constantine. The duty assigned it was a consideration of the various plans and suggestions that had been made upon the subject of emancipation.

At the time of emancipation, as we have said, the peasants were divided into two general classes, into farm-laborers or household servants and settled peasants. By the law of emancipation freedom was bestowed upon both classes, and, henceforth, their members were free to adjust their own affairs, acquire property, and make choice of a vocation. In regard to household servants, it was provided that they should remain in their positions for the period of two years after the act of abolition. In the meanwhile they were to be paid a definite salary by the lord. During this period of service they were exempt from recruiting and from all other burdens of the State. When it should terminate they were clothed with freedom, and could, henceforth, sit as members of the country communities. After the 19th day of February, 1863, those serfs who had acquired a trade or an art at their master's expense were to be free from other service or from further compensation to their master. Those household servants who had previously joined the peasant community were classed with the other peasants. Those individuals who were working away from the commune estate, and paying the master for the privilege, were continued in their serfdom for the period of two years. The bond might be terminated earlier in case of ill-treatment, or by voluntary agreement between masters and their servants. Until the involuntary service was ended, it was the master's duty to maintain and care for those of his serfs who were feeble and incapable of labor. The settled peasants, during this term of two years, were to make arrangements with their masters in respect to the relation existing between them in the future. Until that time their condition was to remain the same.

Arrangements were made between master and peasant in respect to agriculture. The following was one of the leading principles accepted: "1. The whole community were to enjoy the hereditary *usufruct* of a part of the lands belonging to the estate, while they pledged themselves either to purchase these of their master or to offer him a corresponding equivalent in farm rent or labor."

The common land could really be the property only of the whole community, while the "farmstead was marketable" by any member of

the community who held it in possession. The landed proprietors were obliged to consent to a proposition made by the peasants on this subject. If disagreements arose between the parties as to price, the purchaser was to pay about sixteen and one half times what he had formerly paid for rent. If the price paid was worked out by the peasant he would receive, for his services, wages reckoned in money, according to an agreed standard, and then converted into capital according to the measure stated above.

In emancipating the common peasants, it was only necessary to remove restrictions to locality and property by a series of ukases, the first of which was dated July, 1858. But in the case of the serfs belonging to private owners different measures were required. When twenty-two million five hundred thousand human beings were to be freed from serfdom, great care in methods must, necessarily, have been exercised. These serfs were not merely to be made free, but arrangements must be made for their acquirement of the soil. The average grant of land by the lords to each male peasant was about nine acres. The government organized a loan system by which the peasants could pay their obligations to the lords, remaining debtors to the state only. Domestic servants gained personal liberty by serving their masters two years more. Only one-fifth of the land must be paid immediately by the serf; the remaining four-fifths was advanced by the government and repaid in installments, covering a period of forty-nine years. Thus was brought about, with peace and with justice to all concerned, one of the greatest revolutions in the history of the world. About the same time in Russia and America was enacted a practical protest against the enslavement of any human being.

The huts of the peasant villages are usually formed of round logs mortised together, their ends projecting from the corners of the buildings; the chinks between are caulked with tow; the roofs are of plank covered with thatch or straw; within are usually two apartments, each having one small window. A huge stove of brick or tile is built in the separating partition, and upon the stove top the inmates sleep in winter time. A table and some benches are the only furniture; a wooden platform, built a few feet below the ceiling, is the ordinary sleeping-place of the whole family. Foul air and filth are the most noticeable characteristics of these rude huts; no chimney is provided, and the stove smoke escapes from the small windows as best it may. In winter evenings a dim light is given by a pine torch thrust into a crevice, and chickens, lambs, calves and pigs often share with the inmates their uncomfortable dwellings.

Discomfort and dirt reign supreme. Few of the refinements and blessings of family life can be expected when all ages and both sexes are huddled together in the same apartment. The condition of woman is always a fair indication of the culture of a country, and certain it is that in no civilized land is woman's lot more wretched than among the Russian peasantry. In the provinces where the soil is poor, most of the men are absent from home, as traders, during a large part of the year; consequently upon the women devolves the work of both home and field, and by their male relatives they are esteemed for their strong muscles and robust health rather than for beauty or character. The sheepskin serves the peasant for a great variety of uses; clothes, beds, carpets and tents are made of this material. The wants of the peasant are few and are mainly food and shelter. When these simple requirements are provided he asks little more. When wealth increases, it is used only in animal satisfaction. Potatoes, onions, radishes and cabbages, rye bread and a sour kind of beer are the principal kinds of food.

During severe weather the houses are plastered with mud within and without, making them air-tight. The fire is built in the oven, and thus the inmates protect themselves from the cold. The men who own horses often hire sledges and are employed in the cities as public carriers.

With all his seeming brutality the Russian peasant has many excellencies of character. He is hard-working and clever at handiwork, patient, and of wonderful endurance. He seems to have learned that great secret of happiness, in whatever state he is therewith to be content. He is respectful to strangers, and to those of superior rank, and when in the presence of the landed proprietor remains bare-headed, often prostrating himself to the ground.

The citizen burghers of any city or town are: the natives and those established in business, the owners of real estate in the locality, the members of the three guilds or any local corporation, and those persons who have paid the communal taxes and are enrolled in the general register. The three principal classes of citizens in the towns are the merchants, artisans and the burghers. The merchant possesses a certain amount of capital and must be enrolled in one of the three guilds, admission to which is allowed because of his capital. The artisan is enrolled in his trade-corporation. The burghers are the registered inhabitants not belonging to a guild. In these corporations life-members are the native born citizens, and the temporary members are the foreign artisans and free peasants. Persons of bad character and those failing to pay the communal taxes are excluded from citizenship. Admission to these guilds

and trade-corporations is almost unrestricted depending mainly upon the perseverance and industry of the applicant; but the consent of the community which one leaves, and also of that to which he seeks entrance, must first be obtained. The legal age for the right of voting is twenty-five years. Citizen burghers are not admitted to the civil service, and when they enter the military, have no special privileges. But a burgher of the merchant class is freed from the general recruiting.

Below these classes of burghers come a lower class of farmers and day-laborers who live in the neighborhood of the towns and are under municipal control. This class are but one remove above the peasants.

Household servants of the lower class in Russia are not provided with either rooms or beds. They sleep here and there in the corridors, their covering the clothes worn by day, their only bed equipment a large square pillow. Their clothes are removed only once a week, when each Saturday they go to the hot vapor bath.

The manufacturing industries center in the districts surrounding Moscow and St. Petersburg. Here are the largest cotton and silk factories. In the seaport, as well as in many inland, districts, flax spinning and the manufacture and the making of ropes and sail-cloth are carried on extensively. At St. Petersburg, at Perm, in the Ural and in Poland are large metal works; and in some other places the government factories for cannon and small arms employ large forces of men. Some villages are inhabited solely by manufacturers and their employés, and often by those of one trade. One village contains hatters only; another, tailors; another, metal workers. The larger portion of the factory hands are still connected with the rural villages, and leave their families for months, and sometimes for years at a time, while they work in the factories. The Russian artisan often shows great skill in his work, but the almost universal habit of strong drink impairs his usefulness. The forced absence from home which falls to his lot is probably the principal cause of his dissipation.

The wages of the artisans vary greatly, by reason of locality and especial skill. In the rope factories near St. Petersburg the laborers earn in a ten-hour day from twenty-eight to fifty-five cents, with free lodging and fuel. In the glass works common laborers earn from forty-eight to sixty-seven dollars a year, with food and lodging. Master hands work by the piece, and make good wages; while overseers and clerks receive from sixteen dollars to forty-eight dollars a month. So small are the wants of the Russian laborer that the cost of living is very small. A rope manufacturer of St. Petersburg estimates that a laborer can live

on .096 cent a day. But living thus, in crowded and filthy quarters, the Russian workman falls an easy victim to fevers and contagious diseases. In many of the factories, however, great pains have been taken by the employers to furnish suitable dwellings for their workmen, but the vast mass of the laboring population live in wretchedness and squalor.

Trade associations, called *artels*, exist among the artisans, and membership in an *artel* is necessary to obtain work. All wages of the members go to a common fund, which is divided among them in equal shares. The *artel* is responsible for the honesty of its members, and compels the workmen to do the task assigned. The wages of women and children employed in factories and in agricultural labor are pitifully small.

The mountains of Russia and the various river-beds abound with precious metals, and iron of fine quality is produced. Two hundred thousand tons of pig-iron and 120,000 tons of bar-iron are the yearly output. In the marshy tracts bog-iron is common, yet the supply scarcely suffices for the country's wants.

Much of Russia's wealth consists of horses and cattle. The head of one tribe sometimes owns 10,000 horses; each peasant, a few head of cattle; and even a beggar often possesses a cow or goat. Much of the live stock, however, is small and ill-bred.

The streams of northern Russia are bordered by huge forests, and upon their waters, at certain seasons, are floated down to the gulf of Riga so great a quantity of timber, that the rivers seem like moving masses of wood. The trees are felled in winter and roughly hewn to form the millions of railway sleepers which are annually exported to England for the new railways, and through England sent to all parts of the world.

While Poland was independent the peasants were in the absolute power of the nobles, and their condition was far more pitiable than that of the Russian serfs. But the constitution of Napoleon I. abolished serfdom in 1804, although no provision for lands or money was made for these freedmen. They were thus compelled to pay rack-rents, or give their labor for the lands. By 1864, 1,338,830 peasants had surrendered all land rights; but at that time the Russian government gave all peasants working lands an opportunity to become proprietors, by paying stated sums yearly to the state. Fifteen acres were allowed to each family.

Finland, the most important province of northern Russia, produces marbles and granites in abundance. The red granite used in St. Peters-

burg and in the tomb of Napoleon I. at Paris comes from the quarries of Finland. Agriculture, cattle breeding and fisheries are the principal industries. Rye and barley of good quality are produced. Horses, cattle, sheep and reindeer find good pasturage. The manufactures are few and mainly domestic. The peasants are upright, hospitable, and of great industry. The very poorest peasant can read and write; and the relations between the various classes of people are harmonious. The principal food is butter, milk and potatoes; and the reindeer flesh is provided in great quantities.

Hard as seems the condition of the lower classes of Russia, it is well for us to remember that this country of huge extent and great resources is yet in its infancy. Scarce two centuries have passed since it first became a nation, and not twenty-three years since a large proportion of the population was held in serfdom. Great as are the inequalities of life, greater still have been the efforts of the noble Alexander and many of the higher classes to better the condition of the people. When this young nation shall have reached its full maturity, let us trust that to noble and peasant alike may be granted the fullest liberty.

CHAPTER XVI.—MODERN GREECE.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CENTURY—PRESENT POLITICAL AND MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY—MANUFACTURES AND AGRICULTURE—THE FOOD AND MANNER OF LIFE OF THE IONIAN FARM-LABORER.

POLITICALLY, Greece fell with Constantinople in the year 1453. As a people, or as a government, the country was of little importance for upward of 400 years. For four centuries the Greeks were known to history only by reason of their misfortune. Politically they were annihilated, and as a people practically dispersed. Greece, during this time, was not the home of the Greeks, as her sons were scattered broadcast over Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Of course we are speaking relatively, for there yet remained on her classic soil a sparse, but noble people. During all this time the rule of the bigoted, intolerant and tyrannical Turk was supreme in the land of Pericles and Demosthenes. Wretchedness but augmented with the march of years. Heavier and heavier pressed the iron heel of despotism. Deeper and deeper pressed the thorns of persecution. More and more galling became the yoke of oppression, until the accumulated woes and misery of four times one hundred years stung the Greeks into a struggle for independence. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greeks sprang to arms, impelled by the voice of tradition, the memories of a heroic past, and the bitter exactions of their oppressors. Terrible, indeed, was that desperate and heroic struggle which enlisted the sympathies of the whole Christian world. "Thousands upon thousands perished, and their victory seemed only less terrible than utter defeat, yet the spirit of life remained. The kingdom of Greece was established, and within forty years, notwithstanding the deplorable mistakes in management, the population is doubled, and the country becomes consolidated into a constitutional realm."

An investigation into the political and material condition of the country should begin with the treaty of Adrianople in September, 1829. From this event must be dated the beginning of the security for life and property in modern Greece. Under the Turks, the industries of the country had disappeared. The war of Independence ruined even the

vestige of manufactures and agriculture. The prostration of the country was complete. The fugitive and expatriated Greeks returned to the deserted towns and fields, and Greece entered upon her new life. At first the Greeks were not accorded a constitution, which created a widespread dissatisfaction. As a result, the peasantry left their lands, refused to cultivate them, and in every way sought to avoid the payment of the taxes imposed upon them. In large bands they deserted their currant gardens and vineyards, and resorted to robbery and rapine for the means of subsistence. Such of the agricultural population as remained upon their farms were pillaged by their lawless fellow countrymen, or robbed by the tax collectors. King Otho abdicated 1862, and in the autumn of 1863, George, second son of the king of Denmark, was elected king of the Greeks. A new constitution was adopted November 29, 1864. It established a chamber of representatives, called the *Boule*. The right of franchise was conferred upon all male citizens twenty-one years of age, who "have a property, a trade, or any fixed occupation."

The manufactures of Greece are few and unimportant at present. The famous marble quarries of Pentelicus and Paros are still worked. The only mines of any importance are those at Laurium, from which a considerable quantity of lead is taken. Today, as of old, the maritime commerce of Greece is considerable, and large numbers of her people are engaged in this service.

In 1861 fully one-half of the population were engaged in agriculture. This industry, however, is in its infancy and a large part of the arable land is uncultivated. A serious drawback to improvement in the agriculture of the country is the want of a resident proprietary. Under Moslem rule two-thirds of the land belonged to the sultan. At the time of the revolution, this land became national property and the government has been selling it to private owners. Good results are obtained by irrigating the light and thin soil; however, the methods in vogue are ancient, and the plow in use has not changed since the days of Homer. Rotation in crops is not practiced nor is the land manured or allowed to rest. Drainage is a thing unknown. "The houses of the peasantry are sheds of wood or huts of mud without either chimney or window, but, always with a picture of the Virgin inside. A large variety of produce is cultivated by the Greek farmer. The mulberry and olive tree are raised in artificial groves. Cotton is grown in large quantities. There are many vineyards, and corn, rye, barley, and oats are grown.

The lands yet belonging to the government are granted in small par-

cels to peasants with small or no capital. Some of these holdings are so small that one man can not find employment all the year. From July to October the soil lies fallow, parched by the sun. When the first autumnal rains have softened the hard crust, the land is broken with a wooden plow.

Ansted gives the following description of an Ionian farm-hand's home: "The house only consisted of two dark rooms on the ground floor. A large part of one was taken up by an oven, while the corners appeared to serve as general receptacles for odds and ends. Adjoining this was a room with a very small opening in the wall to let in light and air. There was besides these two rooms only a kind of loft with a floor of loose reeds on the beams of the sleeping-rooms, and reached by a ladder. It is usual for the men to sleep wrapped up in their cloaks in any corner they find convenient. The floors of all the rooms consisted of dried beaten earth and the furniture of the very smallest amount of movables. The whole food of such a family was stated to consist of a very coarse bread, made of Indian corn. This bread was sweet and good of its kind. Beyond this bread nothing in the way of food was expected, except a little oil and occasionally olives and a fowl on very special occasions. For this hovel, a dollar a year was paid, and fuel cost nothing but time, the women picking up stray branches and brushwood sufficient for the ovens, which is all the climate required. For clothes, the expenditure must be wonderfully small, if one may guess from the bundle of rags covering the women and children."

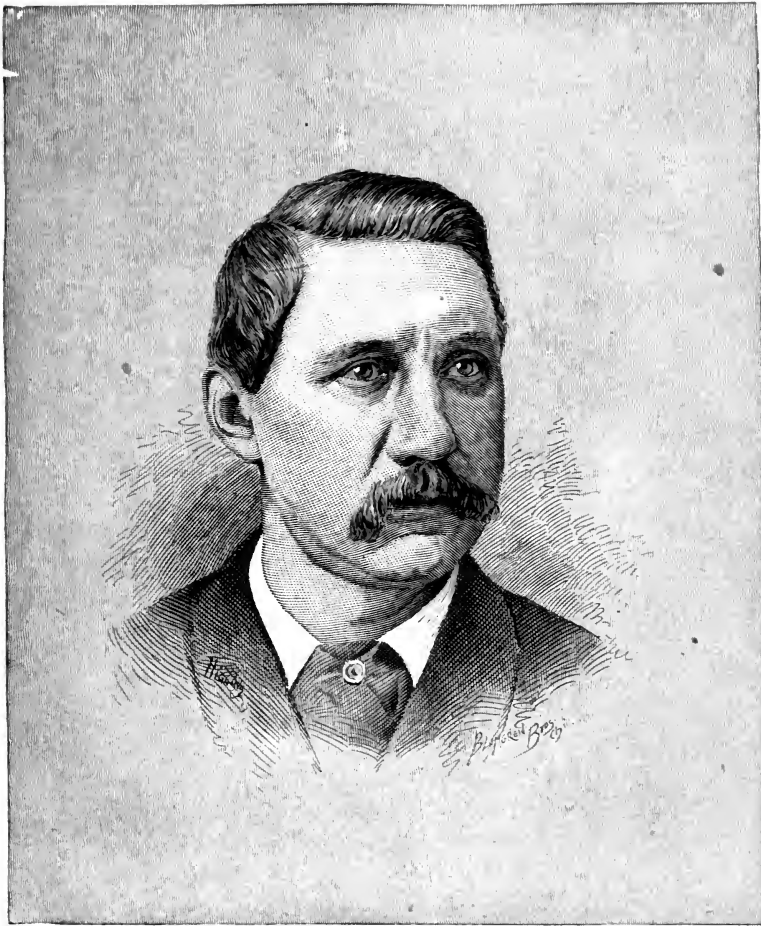
CHAPTER XVII.—THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

EXTENT AND POPULATION — TURKEY IN EUROPE — TUREULENCE AND OUTLAWRY — CHARACTER OF THE TURKS — AGRICULTURE — BEGGARLY WAGES — FOOD — FAMINES — DRESS — SLAVERY — MARRIAGE — MECHANICS AND ARTISANS — GUILDS — WAGES — CHARACTER OF THE TURKS AND CHRISTIANS CONTRASTED.

WHEN Mahomet, the Arabian prophet, gathered his few followers about him and, pointing derisively at the sufferings of the followers of the religion of meekness preached by Christ, declared that his faith should triumph by the sword, he set the key-note of the Mohamadan civilization. By the sword have the Turks fought their way and extended their power from the part of Arabia in which they had their origin, into Africa and Europe. Before the fierce hosts, nerved to most desperate bravery by the Prophet's assurance that he who died in battle went straightway to Paradise, the soldiers of Europe faltered long and oft retreated. In the east, at Constantinople, and in the west, at Spain, the fierce Moslems entered the Christian territory. From Spain they were expelled, but their eastern foothold was too firm to be shaken, and today the Turk remains in Europe, an eyesore to the advocates of civilization and a puzzle to diplomatists. It is not our purpose to trace the growth of this mighty power, founded upon religious fanaticism. For us the task is to decide what message of civilization or barbarism the Turk brings to the world; what part, among the world's workmen, is filled by the followers of Mohammed. Before entering upon such an inquiry some clear idea of the extent of the Moslem territory must be gained. The Ottoman Empire is commonly divided into Turkey in Europe, Turkey in Asia, and Turkey in Africa, aggregating, in all, over a million square miles, populated by about forty millions of people. Of Turkey in Europe, as the most extensive, most populous and most important, commercially and industrially, we shall treat first.

Turkey in Europe comprises about 197,000 square miles and numbers its inhabitants at sixteen millions. Its climate is delightfully mild and its soil fertile to the highest degree. Rugged mountain ranges intersect the country in all directions, and in their rocky fastnesses bands of wild banditti range, unharmed by the authori-

ties. In the neighborhood of Salonica, nestling beneath the towering mountains of Macedonia, are simple little dwellings surrounded by peaceful vineyards and olive groves, but showing, in their fortress-like architecture, the presence of the ever-threatening mountain banditti. Though the climate is warm and dry, the lower story of these little houses is built of massive blocks of stone, unpierced by windows and affording entrance through a suggestively narrow door. Once within the walls, the family mount to their quarters on the second floor by means of a ladder, which is carefully drawn up after them at night, leaving them snugly installed in a stone fortress that can defy the most savage enemy. The upper story projects far out over the basement on all sides that the besieged may, in case of attack, thrust the muzzles of their long Turkish rifles through loop-holes in the floor and shoot down their enemies. In England every man's house is his castle by virtue of the strong arm of the law: in Turkey every man's house is his castle by virtue of the bars, bolts and fortifications he incorporates in its architecture. No comparison could more truthfully describe the state of society in the rural districts of Turkey in Europe. Nor does the danger of violence arise altogether from the banditti. Throughout all European Turkey are two powerful factions, the conqueror and the conquered, the Moslem and the Christian. The Moslem yoke is heavy and hard to bear, and the barbarities of their oppressors no less than the promptings of their religious natures rouse the Christians to revolt. Then the warfare is desperate and bloody. The Turks, cruel by nature and hating the "Christian dogs" with a pious hatred, give no quarter, and massacre men, women and children alike. The Christians of that savage region, little less barbarous than the Turks, and roused to fury by the cruelties of their enemies, retaliate in kind, and long wars, made of petty skirmishes and marauding attacks upon helpless villages, continue year after year. The character of the country, with its precipitous mountain ranges, narrow passes and tortuous defiles, makes it impossible to wholly stamp out any armed power, however insignificant. Add to this the unsettled political character of the principalities on the north and the steady encroachments of the Russians, thirsting for the city of Constantinople, and it will readily be understood that the political condition of Turkey in Europe does not present that aspect of peace which alone can conduce to any great advancement in the arts, sciences or industries. Nor is the growth of industry hampered by the turbulence of the empire only; the indolent, phlegmatic and unprogressive character of the Turk is, in itself, enough to account for the commercial and industrial stagnation in the country. With his long



Wm. Weibe.

President Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers



pipe and cup of black coffee he sits idly before his booth in the bazaar, day after day, caring little whether a customer comes or not, and making no sign to attract trade. In the workshop he is slow of hand and slower of thought, and in the field he dozes under his olive trees and accepts a bad crop as significant of the will of Allah rather than as the result of his own shiftlessness.

The predominating interest of Turkey is undoubtedly agriculture, although the manufactures of various kinds are not contemptible in quantity or class. But the mild and moist climate and fertile soil of European Turkey afford opportunities for agricultural efforts and rewards that even so shiftless a people as the Turks could not fail utterly to grasp. The land is divided into small holdings, each owned and farmed by peasants. The average farms owned by these peasant proprietors range from five to forty acres, but many proprietors, by thrift, industry or rapacity, managed to secure larger holdings which they themselves supervised, while the work was done by hired laborers. But even these estates seldom exceeded five hundred acres in extent. Lands well cultivated yield rich returns in that climate. The farms of Bulgaria make the whole country seem like a vast and smiling garden save where the blight of war has fallen and swept the country bare of fruits and farmers alike. The Mussulman farmer seldom equals in prosperity his Christian neighbor. His lesser energy and duller intellect handicap him in the march of progress. But his industry, though slow, is constant, and his habits economical, so that, if blessed with a few years of peace, both Christian and Mussulman may see their lands smiling with plenty, and their savings reaching comfortable proportions. The use of machinery in agricultural operations is almost unknown. Some years ago, some more than ordinarily enlightened proprietors endeavored to take advantage of the inventions of foreign minds, and placed upon their estates some common agricultural implements for plowing and cultivation. The neighboring Turks looked on in undemonstrative amazement, but made no attempt to imitate their more enterprising competitors, and when the innovators, needing their machines repaired, found no capable mechanic in all Turkey, the conservative Mussulman looked at the idle machines and murmured, "It is the will of Allah." Upon farms too large to be wholly cultivated by the owner and his family, two classes of agricultural laborers are employed. In one class the laborer is in some sense a resident partner upon the farm, the actual proprietor residing at a distance. The owner furnishes all necessary buildings and seed, while the laborer, with his family, works the farm, paying all incidental expenses. When

the reaping, threshing and winnowing is over, the produce is equally divided between master and man, the laborer's share in the contract being fulfilled when the master's crop is housed in the granary. Ordinarily the laborer is expected to furnish cattle, and should the master supply a yoke of oxen for plowing, the laborer's share in the final division is reduced to two-fifths of the total produce. Although this is the usual form of partnership, it is not unusual for special provisions to be inserted in the contract. Sometimes half an acre of land is set aside for the personal use of the tenant. At other times the landlord stipulates for a specified quantity of produce, instead of half of the total crop; thus leaving the tenant to profit or lose by a good or bad harvest. The second class of agricultural laborers are those who work merely as laborers for a specified time. Their engagements are usually for a year, and their wages differ immensely in the different states. They are usually paid in produc , which they sell or barter. In one province, forty-five bushels of rye, barley, or millet, thirty-three and a half pounds of salt, half a horse load of cabbages or leeks, and half an ox hide for sandals, make up the year's earnings of an able-bodied man. In a second district, sixty-eight to seventy-five bushels of rye or maize, with one hundred *paistres* (about \$4), will secure a man's labor for a year. And in a third district seventy-three bushels of wheat, with no bonus whatever, is the laborer's munificent stipend. Most labor is free to the extent at least of granting the laborer liberty to leave one master for another, provided he owes the first nothing. The slavery of Turkey, which is more of a social than an industrial evil, may be well deferred for treatment until later in this chapter. Should the agricultural laborer be in debt, he becomes a serf to his creditors in everything except in name. Compound interest is charged, and the debt grows so rapidly that the unhappy debtor soon sees all hope of repayment far beyond his reach. The creditor may transfer the debt to a third party, and with the debt goes the person of the unhappy debtor. By buying up such debts, large land-owners can secure great retinues of serfs to work their estates, to whom they are obliged to give only enough grain to keep them and their families alive, often in a state of semi-starvation. But so long as the Turkish peasant can avoid this thralldom he is not badly situated. Small though his wages are, his penuriously economical habits enable him to live. The fertility of the soil gives him food with but little exertion. A dish of earthenware, bought for a coin so small as to have no equivalent in American or English money, is his sole cooking utensil. His food is almost entirely vegetable, meat being reserved for holidays, which,

indeed, are rather frequent. From the extravagance of strong drink he is saved by the clause of the Koran forbidding its use by all pious Mussulmans. At his simple repasts, the chief dish is a stew of beans, onions, salt pickled cabbage, garlick and grain. Cheese, olive oil and hempseed oils are luxuries reserved for the holidays, which come to the Christians once in about ten days. Many live altogether upon bread, with perhaps a sop of olive oil as a relish. With such simple wants, the inhabitant of Turkey, be he Mussulman or Christian, who avoids debt and keeps out of the hands of the usurers, need not fear starvation unless at the time of a panic. Famine, that terror of agricultural regions, often reigns supreme over the outlying provinces of Turkey, and its horrors are the greater since the Porte, unlike any civilized government, pays little or no attention to the cries of the starving, leaving them to shift for themselves. Lack of roads and other means of transportation prevents the general movement of food products, so that the people of one province may starve while those of adjoining sections bask in prosperity.

In their habitations the rural population are no less simple than in their food. Their houses, substantial enough to last through generations, are nevertheless simple and unpretentious. The ordinary farm hand lives in a one-roomed house, built of square sun-dried brick laid upon a foundation of stone rubble cemented with wetted clay and chopped straw. The brick walls are bound at intervals by strips of tough oak or pine running along the inner and outer walls and joined at the corners by cross-pieces nailed to them. In some sections the roofs are covered with slabs of slate, but more commonly light kiln-baked tiles are used. The room thus inclosed is eight or ten feet high, and measures from twelve to fifteen feet square. One or two small unglazed windows pierce the wall, giving to the room more the appearance of a prison cell than the home of a free laborer. The walls are neatly whitewashed and bear shelves and pegs for the reception of the household goods. Three feet is no uncommon thickness for the wall of one of these dwellings. Such a house costs about \$125. More prosperous laborers have houses of two or three rooms, but though with prosperity they increase the size of their houses, all are alike in their destitution of furniture. The homes of the farmers are more apt to be clustered together in little villages than scattered about the country, but in either case the architectural type is the same. The villages are often surrounded by high palisades, which keep out hostile intruders, whether human or brutes, and prevent the cattle from straying away by night.

The rooms are all bare of furniture, chairs, tables and bedsteads being unknown or at any rate undesired articles. Straw-stuffed cushions, or sometimes bits of straw matting spread upon the clay floor, supply all the sitting or sleeping accommodation the occupants require. In summer the house is seldom tenanted, the family sleeping on the grass or in the bushes outside the door. They sleep in clothes, covering themselves with coarse blankets. The dress of the people of Turkey differs a good deal according to the locality, but is uniformly picturesque. Along the Bulgarian frontier the women wear long undergarments of thick woolen or cotton, deeply embroidered around the bottom in red and black. It has wide open sleeves worked in the same colors. Over this garment is worn a short petticoat similarly embroidered. About the waist is wound an enormous girdle of goat's-hair rope, fully half a yard wide and so voluminous as to take the place of pockets. A large apron of black and red falls over this, so that the waist of a Bulgarian woman is infinitely the largest part of her costume. Down her back dangle a number of little braided cords of horsehair. On the head is worn a turban of white cloth, the ends of which dangle down the back almost to the heels of the wearer. Such a dress as this cannot be bought in the stores, but each girl works busily through her maidenhood to make herself a wedding outfit, and as the cloths and fabrics are very durable, they pass down in the family as heirlooms. The Arabs of Turkey in Asia wear an even more picturesque costume. The universal fabric is of scarlet cloth, with a yellow pattern, and covered with embroidery. Of this is made a short coat or tunic that hangs from the shoulders to the thighs. Below this come baggy white trousers. The color for women's clothing is blue.

We have already spoken of the baleful results of debt in Turkish society, but before dismissing the subject some descriptions of the usurious customs of the money-lenders and tax farmers will be of interest as throwing light upon the financial condition of the people. Taxes are enormous, and the money-lenders, ever anxious to get into their clutches more of the working people, urge ceaselessly upon the rulers the desirability of increasing the assessments. The effect of this is simple and immediate. Unable to pay the extortionate demands of the tax-gatherers, and fearing to be dispossessed of their little farms, the people flock to the money-lenders, who supply them with money, taking as security the crops and homesteads. Enormous rates of interest are charged. City merchants often pay twenty-five per cent a year, while the less acute rural laborer is often forced to pay twenty-five per cent a month. When the crops are harvested, but not sold; when the olive oil has been ex-

tracted, but not sufficiently clarified to be marketable; when the silk cocoons are just ready for winding, then money-lenders and tax-gatherers with one accord come down upon the unhappy people with loud demands for immediate payment. The peasant or farmer sees his year's crop, upon which he was about to realize handsomely, put up and sold at ruinous rates to a horde of confederated usurers, who have agreed not to bid against each other. The proceeds barely bring in enough to pay off his taxes and first debt, and the next season sees him become the serf of the usurious scoundrel who worked his ruin. The highest officials of the government connive at this scandalous despoiling of the people, and the long repeated and piteous appeals of the people to the supreme authorities bring no response. The very servants about the persons of the Ministers of Finance are money-lenders or tax-farmers, and papers and appeals sent through them to the chief seldom reach his hands. Not all the lethargy of the Turkish character, not the illiberality of the Mohammedan religion, not even the constant warfare betwixt Turk and Christian has done so much to retard the growth of industry and the prosperity of Turkey as this legalized usury.

Even more revolting to a refined Christian mind than the system of usury is the institution of slavery as at present in vogue in all parts of the Ottoman empire. In the middle ages when men's blood was hot and the promptings of the heart were not stifled by the insidious suggestions of diplomatic policy, the story of Christian men laboring on the burning sands of Algeria under the lash of Turkish slave-drivers, and Christian maidens dragged shrieking from their homes in Greece or Bulgaria and carried to the slave marts of Constantinople, there to become the inmates of Turkish harems, was enough to start thousands of knightly soldiers on the march to Constantinople, vowing that such outrages should no longer continue. The world has grown more civilized, perhaps, but less chivalric. Mighty England, wearying never of boasting of her part in ending the African slave trade, takes under her protecting wing Turkey with her thousands of slaves, white as the fairest lady of all England's peerage. Instead of armies of mailed knights, demanding at the point of the sword freedom for all Christian slaves, England sends a modest protest through her Foreign Office, and, finding the Sultan immovable, waives the matter away as trivial. It is idle to compare the advanced civilization and industrial freedom of England with the serfdom and semi-barbarism of Russia, yet in the diplomatic maneuvering now going on England appears as the champion of the

“unspeakable Turk,” with his bestial slavery, while with the advance of the Russians toward Constantinople comes freedom for all.

Among the Mussulmans slavery is more than a mere political institution. They regard it as of divine origin, and point to the Koran, which provides that one can become a slave by birth or by the chances of war. Before we leave this subject we shall see that in Turkey are slaves who are reduced to their servile condition by neither of the above causes, and that while holding such persons as slaves the Mussulmans admit tacitly that they might be free had they the power to demand their freedom. But the person who becomes a slave by the fortunes of war or by birth is wholly the property of his owner and without even a right to life. All persons not Mussulmans who are captured in battle become slaves, and may be sold as chattels by their captors. Should they choose to embrace the faith of Mohammed after their capture, they are not freed by so doing, although no one actually born in the faith can be enslaved. A Mussulman captured in battle becomes a prisoner, but not a slave. The constant warfare of the Turks with the wild tribes on their northern borders keeps this class of slaves constantly recruited. Negro slaves, who are commonly trained for house servants, come from the northern countries of Africa, and are bought and sold like cattle in the markets of Alexandria. The slave markets are kept rigidly closed to foreigners and but few Christians have ever seen the interior. The slaves, children and adults, men and women, are brought out from ante-rooms at the call of the purchaser and walked up and down, placed in different postures, and exposed naked that any physical defects may be discovered. As the blacks are commonly used for domestic service they bring a larger price when used to service. The younger ones fresh from Africa require an enormous amount of training to become even tolerable servants. Perfectly formed men sell for about \$150, while women bring much higher prices, especially when they have fitted themselves to do cooking or other household duties. The black slaves and those taken in war are more fortunate than their more pampered sisters of the harem in one respect. One of the sections of the Koran, the Bible of the Mohammedans, provides that the master who frees his slave frees himself from all earthly pains and insures to himself a place in Paradise. Among the devout Turks this has led to the growth of a custom of freeing slaves after a service of seven years, although neither the custom nor the period is invariable. Many slaves gain their independence this way, though they leave their children in slavery. It is not unusual for a slave, seeing no way to self-support, to voluntarily refuse his

freedom when offered, a course greatly encouraged by the Moslems, who often are impelled by their religious zeal to offer freedom to a slave whose training has just become complete. Slavery of this class, however, is slowly dying out in Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, while in Tunis and Tripoli it has been prohibited.

It is the enslaving of white girls and women that is most revolting to the mind of civilized peoples, and which, nevertheless, gains rather than loses ground in Turkey. These poor creatures are obtained from the rural districts of Circassia, where the slave trade is carried on in enormous proportions. However bad is the part taken by the Turks in this scandalous traffic, it must at least be recorded that they are ably seconded by the Circassians, who, so far from looking upon the Turkish harem as a place of slavery to be avoided, seek for their daughters a place therein. A family in which there are several daughters will choose one whose part it is to be a candidate for purchase in the slave marts. Throughout her youth this girl is shielded from all harsh usage; her work is delicate embroidering rather than rude labor which might destroy the symmetry of her form. Her food is delicate and nourishing, though the rest of the family go half starved. As the time passes on every exercise that may develop her body, make her joints supple and her carriage graceful, is taught her. All the arts that can tend to render her charming in the eyes of Turkish voluptuaries are instilled into her mind, and finally she is sent to Constantinople in charge of a wandering slave merchant. The money received by the sale of the young girl will support the rest of the family in comfort, and should the returning merchant bring the news that the maid was chosen for her matchless beauty to be one of the concubines of the Sultan, the mother and sisters feel that they have truly done their duty by the absent one, and her success reflects honor on their name and lustre upon their course of training. From the fair chattel they never hear again. Once within the walls of a harem, she never again holds communication with any man save her lord, and in all her little stock of knowledge writing has no place. For many years the troops of these girls coming down to the slave markets of Constantinople were conveyed in the cabins of English steamers plying upon the Black Sea and the Bosphorus.

The possession of one or more of these white slaves is the greatest luxury to which the Turk aspires. The humbler people, such as small farmers or artisans, too poor to support wives properly, raise money enough to buy in the slave-market female slaves who serve them as handmaids, laborers and concubines. Their children they can legitima-

tize or sell for slaves at their will. The wealthier Moslems keep harems in which almost any number of girls are secluded and carefully guarded by eunuchs. The prices of the slaves vary according to age and beauty, \$300 being an average price for a Circassian in Constantinople, while often as much as \$5,000 is paid for a slave of extraordinary beauty.

The Turks themselves admit that neither by the laws of the empire, nor the ecclesiastical law laid down in the Koran, have they any right to hold these girls in slavery. But the authorities countenance the custom, and as the women seldom are enslaved except upon their own consent and often at their own request, the authorities are seldom appealed to. The sales are held in secret in dwelling-houses, to which no unbeliever can gain admittance. The wives of rich merchants often buy girls of eight or twelve years old, and educate them for the purpose of selling them at a profit when they reach maturity.

Such a widespread social evil as this cannot fail to have its effect upon the marriage relation, and in Turkey marriage has become almost purely a business contract. All the fruits of a wife's labor go to the husband, and hence a wife is often more valued for ability to work than for any other reason. Polygamy being lawful, the man of many wives often subsists upon their earnings. Particularly is this the case in the province of Ushake, where the Turkish rugs, so prized in this country, are made. The rugs are woven by women, and the thrifty husbands marry wife after wife, as they see their business increasing.

Turning from this feature of Turkish life, let us look somewhat at the state of skilled labor in the Ottoman empire, and the rewards reaped by artisans and mechanics. Skilled labor, deserving of the name, is scarce, indeed, but the supply very nearly equals the demand, for cheapness and not quality is the great desideratum in the Turkish market. Indeed, it is probable that the number of artisans in Turkey is even smaller now than it has been at any time heretofore, for the Turks have become accustomed to the use of foreign fabrics, cutlery, and allied articles, and are importing them to the great detriment of their home manufactures. Yet among the few mechanics who ply their trades within the Turkish borders an extensive system of trade guilds has sprung up, and regulations have been established for the government of trades. The guilds enjoy royal favor and patronage, for the Sultan himself is personally associated with some one of them. The property of the guilds is exempt from taxation; for what reason it is hard to imagine, for their illiberal laws and hampering regulations rather restrain than encourage the trades they are presumed to protect. Many

of the prescribed rules are observed to the highest degree. Often they discriminate against, or in favor of, certain nationalities or creeds, and thus it comes about that in Constantinople all saddlers and seal-engravers are Moslems, and all watchmakers, furriers, jewelers, tailors and silk-workers are Christians. Prescribed terms of apprenticeship, ranging from three to seven years, are required of applicants to these trades. The apprenticeship served, the workman becomes a *kalfa* or companion, receiving wages from an *oosta*, or room-master. When he has accumulated enough money to hire a room and pay wages himself, he reaches the dignity of an *oosta*. Should the narrow confines of a room be too small for his ambition, and he decide to take a house, his rental will reach the sum of twenty-five shillings a month, but it is seldom that a mechanic is not willing to share his house, thus reducing his expenses. Most mechanics live and carry on their trades in huge houses called *odas*, which closely correspond to the worst class of our tenements. In these places they are crowded together like cattle. A room, fifteen by twelve feet in area, is tenanted by five men, who pay for the privilege two shillings each per month. The bedding is spread upon the floor, and beyond this no other furniture is used. Sometimes coffee-houses are attached to the *oda*, in which the lodgers get their food. The *odas* are each tenanted by people of different nationalities, and in Constantinople the Jews, Christians, Armenians and other foreign peoples have each their own quarter of the town. Wages are low in all the trades, as the country artisans flock to the cities in great numbers, glutting the labor market. The hours of work are from sunrise to sunset, regardless of seasons. Workmen having small shops of their own employ journeymen and apprentices. The latter get only their board and lodging, with an occasional gift in the shape of a new hat or pair of shoes. Journeymen earn from \$80 to \$100 a year, supplying themselves with homes and board out of this scanty pittance. Those who are unable to secure yearly engagements are hard put to it to secure a bare living. When times are brisk, they can earn forty cents a day, but the slightest dullness of trade cuts down their day's earning to eight cents. Workmen who are successful and earn reasonable wages, live comfortably in large two-story houses of stone. The day-laborers are reduced to the crowded *odas*. In the cities, food is seldom cooked at home, but, after being duly prepared, is sent out to a bake-house for cooking, thus working a great saving in fuel. The frugality indicated by this custom exists in all classes of Turkish workingmen, who are only able by the most rigid economy to

secure the necessaries of life. In Turkey in Asia wages are higher than in any other part of the Ottoman empire, but even there they are beggarly, as the following table of maximum rates will show:

Coopers.....	37½ cents per day.
Dyers.....	40 " " "
Bakers, butchers, tailors and saddlers.....	42 " " "
Coppersmiths and tanners.....	50 " " "
Shoemakers and blacksmiths.....	55 " " "
Painters and gunsmiths.....	60 " " "
Silversmiths.....	62 " " "
Masons and whitesmiths.....	75 " " "
Quarrymen.....	85 " " "
Plasterers.....	\$1.00 per day.
Carpenters.....	1.15 " "
Joiners.....	1.25 " "
Marble workers.....	1.35 " "
Cabinet makers.....	1.50 " "

In considering the condition of the Turkish artisan, as indicated by the foregoing table of wages, it must be recollected that, unless a citizen of Constantinople or one of the other chief cities of the Ottoman empire, he is his own landlord and has commonly a patch of land upon which he raises the few vegetables needed for his table. His needs are simple and his thrift great, and even upon his pitiably small stipend, and paying far more than his share of the national taxation, he manages to live and bring up his family, unhampered by debt and untouched by poverty. He is not progressive. Outside of certain ruts he never ventures. From his brain never came a new or inventive idea. Upon labor-saving machinery, he looks with suspicion, and foreign workmen he regards as intruders, to be driven away by fair means if possible, but if not, by foul. Today he shows no more signs of advancement than he did a hundred years ago, and a century from now, unless with conquest new blood is infused into Turkey, the industries of the Ottoman empire will continue in the same state of stagnation which now enthralles them.

In this sketch of the condition of labor in the Ottoman empire we have consoled ourselves merely with the habits and condition of the purely laboring classes, the agriculturists and the artisans. Of the immense hordes of men who, giving nothing to the common wealth, yet manage to extract from it a living, we have said nothing. With sultans, beys, effendis, viziers and titled officials of all classes we have nothing to do. The outlaws that swarm in the mountain passes, and the soldiery

that spend their lives in ceaseless and usually unsuccessful pursuit of the banditti, are alike without the pale of a work such as this. The tribes of wandering shepherds in Asia Minor and the nomadic Bedouins of the Egyptian deserts, though not altogether non-producers, are still of too little importance to receive more than a casual mention.

Regarding the political and industrial future of the Moslems little speculation is necessary. Surrounded as is the country by the followers of the Cross, the further spread of the Mohammedan religion will be attended with great difficulty. Yet in the past these people have met and surmounted obstacles that seemed impassable, and who can say that in the future the wondrous spread of this religion will be checked. But the weakness of the civilization of the Crescent lies where the civilization of the Cross has its strongest point: in the sturdy laboring people. Among the Turks they are slow, dull and unenlightened. Among the Christians they are ever alert, inventive and quick to seize the opportunity of the moment. With two such forces in opposition the result cannot long remain doubtful.

CHAPTER XVIII.—MODERN PERSIA.

MECHANICS AND INDUSTRIES—THE ARTISANS OF PERSIA AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS
—WOOD-TURNING AND METAL-WORKING—ARCHITECTURE—CARPET-WEAVING
—AGRICULTURE—SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE MANUAL LA-
BORER.

IT seems to be natural for men to be interested in certain things, not because of the nature of the thing itself, but because of the surrounding circumstances. An object the most complex and wonderful fails to interest us because of our familiarity with its aspects. Again, an object commonplace in itself may be interesting for the reason only that it is new to us. This element of human nature has been recognized by those who have been successful in literature and art. Curiosity and a desire for novelty is not confined to childhood, but controls men and women as well. The novelist or poet will locate his story in a foreign land or remote country. The artist places the subject of his study in a distant clime, or a period of time far removed from the epoch of the painter, thereby awakening in the beholder an interest in the subject matter alone, aside from the method or detail of composition. What lends charm to foreign travel is the ever-recurring sense of novelty—the unwonted appearance of things to the traveler. The traveler is constantly interested in the vast panorama of manners, customs, peoples, institutions, costumes and architecture. So is it with the artisans of Persia and their occupations. From the standpoint of perfection attained by the western world in mechanical arts and manufactures, the mechanics and industries of Persia seem rude and simple indeed, yet our story would be incomplete without some mention of the matter, which cannot fail to be of interest on the ground of newness to the reader.

Speak of the architecture of a country and it calls to mind carpentry as a trade. In house building in modern Persia, poplar, oak, palm and chestnut timber are used. This material is brought from the forests on the backs of mules or camels, and is sold in the bazaars of the cities and towns.

Like the other artisans of the East, the Persian carpenter pursues his trade while sitting on the ground. He does not use a bench, but in its stead a strong stick driven into the ground. Against this stake he rests

his work while sawing or hewing. Modern tools and implements are used in the royal arsenal of the kingdom, where a better system of labor is employed than in the native workshops. In the latter the workmen may still be seen sitting on the ground. As all the tools and implements in use are adapted to this posture and to this method of working, there is small possibility of any change for some time to come; more especially is this true of the people who are slow in their adoption of new customs.

In wood-turning the workman drives two stakes into the ground some distance apart, and supports between them an iron spindle to which is attached a small drum. The wood to be turned is placed upon the spindle, which is made to revolve rapidly by bow and string passed around the drum. The cutting tool is held in the right hand, supported on a block of wood, while the bow is worked backward and forward with the other hand. In this crude way many useful articles are manufactured in Persia. One traveler in the northern provinces of the country observed that nearly everything in use was constructed of wood: "The gates and portals, were constructed of wood, and a wooden bridge was thrown across the ditch; the very domestic implements, instead of being formed of earthen ware or metal, were here made of wood; we saw trays, platters, cups, and bowls, of this material."

All metal-working in Persia is on a small scale and in a primitive way. The iron in use is of Russian manufacture and is brought from the military stations of the Caspian Sea on the backs of animals. In some of the northern provinces, a little iron is manufactured from the ore. In iron working, the smiths use charcoal as a fuel, as little if any coal is to be found in that country. While heating the metal, the smith stands, but in fashioning it he sits upon the ground. Blacksmiths use a hearth without a chimney, and the bellows is protected from the fire by a low wall on one side of the platform. His tools are the hammer, anvil, drill and tongs.

In Persia buildings are mainly constructed of clay or brick, and stone cutting as an adjunct of architecture is little practiced. Working in stone is confined chiefly to the cutting of grave-stones, mill-stones and a few other articles of the rudest pattern. In this industry, the workman uses double-pointed picks and chisel-shaped nails, rather than mason-irons. With these rude implements it is only by immense and protracted labor that he reduces his material to the required shape. In boring stone an iron rod tipped with steel is used. The end of this instrument has a flat surface, across which are two deep parallel grooves, intersected

at right angles by three others. The stone-worker keeps the hole full of water while boring; and the rod is turned slowly around with the left hand while the blows are struck with a hammer held in the right hand.

In Persia more houses are constructed of brick than of any other material. This renders the art of brick-making one of the most important industries of the country. Bricks are either kiln-burned or sun-dried. A vault excavated in the ground is the kiln, and this is surrounded by a wall of sun-dried bricks. In building houses of clay the mortar is mixed with straw and lime. The clay is reduced to the proper consistency by mixing with water and treading with the feet. Bricks have a large surface and are laid in such a way, some vertical, some horizontal, as to leave the walls full of hollow spaces, although presenting a smooth outer and inner surface. The foundation in both instances is a trench filled with clay and small stones. Whether of brick or clay, the walls are constructed in courses of about three feet in thickness. Each course is allowed time to consolidate before another is laid. The mechanic stands upon the wall, and is supplied with pieces of clay by an assistant below. He receives the clay in his arms, throws it forcibly down, and then treads the mass firmly together with his feet. Clay walls are soon rendered firm and hard by the extreme heat and dryness of the climate.

The work of the artisan of Persia is not completed until he has surrounded the village, town or city with walls of clay, constructed as are the houses within its limits. The wall is usually flanked with towers at every angle, and surrounding all is a rude ditch from which the material was excavated for the construction of the dwellings and ramparts.

The carpets of Kurdistan, Khurasan, Feraghan and Karman are famous the world over. Those of Kurdistan are unquestionably the finest, both in texture and in style. The flowers are so designed as to appear strewn upon the ground, or as if growing beneath the feet in wild profusion. In value the carpets of Karman rank next to those of Kurdistan. Next in order of superiority are the carpets of Khurasan. Those of Feraghan are loose in texture and simple in pattern. It is a matter for surprise that these notable fabrics are woven in the tents of the nomadic Turco-mans. The machinery in use for the purpose is a simple frame, on which the warp is stretched. The woof is woven into the warp without a shuttle. In tightening a row of the woof a sort of comb is inserted into the warp and pressed against the woof. The shawls of Persia are woven by hand, as are the carpets. Shawls are made from the wool of a white

goat peculiar to Persia. This material is called kurk. Silk was once the staple produce of Persia.

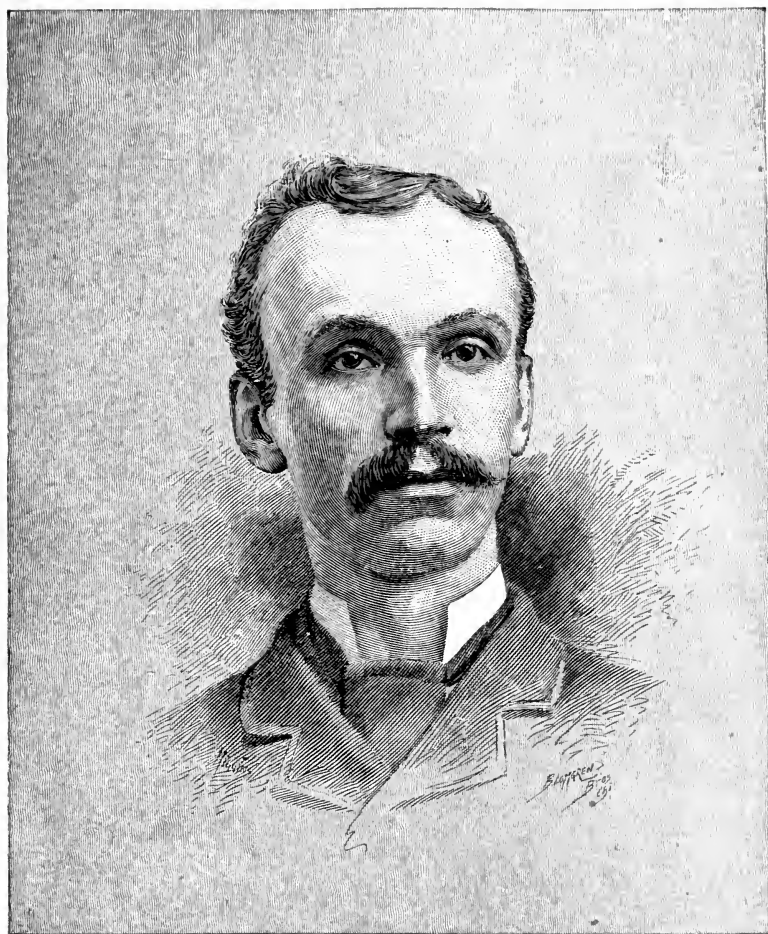
The time was when that country exported 1,400,000 pounds of that commodity annually. In Persia, today, the manufacture of silk is of little importance.

In agriculture Persia is, probably, the most prosperous country of Western Asia. This industry does not flourish in all parts of that country. Two-thirds of the table-lands are sterile, but in those sections where irrigation is feasible, the soil yields bountifully, and wheat, barley, tobacco, cotton and rice are produced in large quantities. "Rice is husked under tilt-hammers worked by a water-wheel apparatus, a rude and clumsy contrivance, but strong, simple and cheap. Corn and barley are ground by water mills of primitive construction; the best wheat flour produced is inferior to 'English middlings.' They are callous to the use of rusty corn; the effect of eating bread made with flour containing any of the noxious element is to render those unused to it very giddy." Thus writes Consul Bearsford Lovett, of England.

S. G. W. Benjamin, formerly consul-general to Persia, in a report to the state department, dated September 6, 1884, says that discontent among the laboring classes is not a feature of Persian society. This is not because their condition is better than that of the same classes in other countries; for the laborer and artisan of Persia is not to be envied by his brothers elsewhere. It is because they are ignorant of their condition as compared with other people's, and because they are less conspicuous than those of high degree, and, therefore, further removed from the royal caprice, rage or injustice. It is true of the Persian laborer, as of the Shah or Khan, he lives in the present hour and looks little to the future. "Elevated by the sudden favor of his superior, he wondered only why this did not take place long before; deprived as suddenly of his position and wealth, he bows before the will of his master as if it were a decree of fate. He has given it, he takes it. But he lives, works and builds accordingly. He enjoys and labors for the present, leaving the future to the care of the Allah. His palaces crumble away as rapidly as his greatness and power. His artificially irrigated gardens dry up with the sources of his wealth. Nothing is made, as nothing is expected to last."

The manual laborer of Persia is without voice in the affairs of his native land. Politically, he is a nonentity, but, worse than this, he is deprived of even the rudiments of education. Public schools do not exist. Such schools as may be established are private enterprises, and

depend upon the fees of the students for their support. Here and there may be found a man who can read the Koran a little and keep the accounts of his small business. The women of the laboring classes of the country are universally illiterate. Their position among the middle classes is low, and they are required to perform the most menial and arduous tasks. It is said that most of the field labor is done by them. They are, also, employed at the turquoise, gold and silver mines. The present outlook is not favorable for the working classes of Persia. Progress is not a law of Persian society. The Persian of today is the Persian of centuries ago. Politically, now as then, he is the subject of despotic government. Industrially, he has not changed for two thousand years. He does not ask for freedom. He does not seek for progress.



Hugh Miller.

President German Typographical Union.



PART V.

LABOR IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION.

THE FALLOW FIELD OF THE WESTERN WORLD—THE INDIANS, THEIR ORIGIN AND THEIR CIVILIZATION—RELICS SHOWING THE HIGH ORGANIZATION OF LABOR IN PREHISTORIC AMERICA—INDIAN METHODS—THE POSITION OF WOMAN—THE DIVISION OF LABOR—THE LAND SYSTEM AMONG THE ABORIGINES—THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN.

NOT quite four centuries have passed since the western world was merely a fairy tale in Europe. There were old legends of Atlantis, the sunken continent, which lay somewhere west of the pillars of Hercules. St. Brendan had passed to the Blessed Isles through the red gleams of the sunset. The Norse sea rovers had found bleak, inhospitable shores rising out of the ocean on the other side of the world, and indeed everywhere in Europe there was a half belief that the tossing waste of waters bore somewhere on its bosom islands and continents which, teeming with wonders and with wealth, awaited the lucky adventurer.

And they were right. Three thousand miles away lay that old world which is the new. Its forests, covering thousands and thousands of miles, sheltered only the wild deer and the cruel wolf and the no less wild and cruel savage. Its vast prairies, in which European kingdoms might be lost, pastured the buffalo, and knew no sign of life save when the wild goose called in the air above, or the coyote yelped from the plain below. Its mighty rivers rushing downward to the sea, bore no argosies of commerce, the rich detritus nourished but the rank tropical weeds and gave a lurking place to the serpent and the alligator.

In Europe and Asia religions and philosophies were being founded

and destroyed, thrones were built up and broken down, civilizations flourished and faded. Commerce and learning, art and law were lifting manhood up to higher planes, but America lay fallow, awaiting the fullness of time. Europe resounded with the harmonies of progress; in America all was still save "the wolf's lone howl on Oonalashka's shore," and the booming of the bittern in the weedy lagoons of the Atlantic coast. Savage tribes, incapable of progress, remnants perhaps of a broken-down race, wandered aimlessly through a country which was and is the veritable garden of the gods, unable to realize the richness that surrounded them, satisfied if the venison was plenty and captives abundant. It was the old Jewish law that land should be fallow one year in seven. When the cycle of the centuries was run America was brought into line with the world which had forgotten it, and human progress was given a field in which the processes of development might hasten forward unchecked by error, unhampered by custom, fostered by every influence which God's providence could put about it.

It is amazing how little we really know about the land in which we live. The geologists tell us that the Laurentian continent is the oldest land in the world. The Rocky mountains give evidences of a hoary age, beside which the Alps are still in hoydenish juvenility. Who the men were who first peopled these continents, and whence they came, no man can say. America is the standing puzzle of the archæologists. It baffles all their methods. It seems to be settled that the Esquimaux on either side of Behring's straits are one people, but the Indians south of the Esquimaux are radically a different folk. The Esquimaux at one time covered more than half of North America. Evidences of their presence have been found as far south as Pennsylvania and Northern California. They were thence pushed steadily northward by a stronger race coming from the south. Throughout North America we find the relics of a civilization which was neither Esquimaux nor Indian. The Indians were incapable of organized effort except in the direction of war. Their civilization was that of the stone age; their utensils of the crudest; their ideas but little above savagery. Their predecessors, the Mound Builders, have left monuments to themselves which testify to a very considerable progress. Such a mound as that thrown up at St. Louis could only have been erected by the well disciplined labor of thousands of men. The animal mounds in the Ohio valley indicate a well defined artistic and, perhaps, religious purpose, and the organized services of hundreds of workmen. The ornaments in the tombs, the pottery, the weapons, the cloth, the skulls themselves, testify a high grade of culture. The

Indian flood came, no one knows from where, and swept away the great population, which must have filled the valleys, so utterly that only its graves remain. No living remnant was found when the white man came, except the Natchez tribe, whose connection with the Mound Builders is denied by some of the best archaeologists. The Zunis in New Mexico, and the Aztecs further south, as well as some of the races of Central and South America, were highly civilized and enlightened. The whole of the country from Mexico to the Arctic sea was filled by a shifting, unsettled race, loosely banded together in roving tribes, depending for a livelihood chiefly on the natural produce of the forest and the stream, and forced by their very mode of life to go on being nomads and vagabonds forever. It has been calculated that it requires an area of twenty-five square miles to furnish food for one person in the savage state; hence it will easily be seen how impossible it would have been for the Indians to form cities, or even large aggregations of people. Agriculture, after a rude fashion, was followed by many of the tribes, particularly by the Seminoles and the Shawnees; but there was little security that the sower would reap the crop. Every influence impelled to barbarism. A close scrutiny would show, however, that there were the beginnings of civilization. A rude justice was administered; wampum was used as we use money. Hunting grounds were held as tribe property, and encroachments were bitterly resisted. The boundaries of each tribe's territory were fixed and well understood, the ownership residing in the whole tribe and not in any individual. Communism did not go further than property in land. Private property was respected and secured. The United States Bureau of Ethnology in its report for 1879-80 publishes the result of an examination into the organization and laws of the Wyandots, from which the following extract will give a clear notion of Indian ideas of property. It should be understood that among the Wyandots women occupied a peculiar position. The woman was the head of the family. The social organization consisted of the family, the gens, the phratry, and the tribe, names which explain themselves:

“RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.—Within the area claimed by the tribe each gens occupies a smaller tract for the purpose of cultivation. The right of the gens to cultivate a particular tract is a matter settled in the council of the tribe, and the gens may abandon one tract for another only with the consent of the tribe. The women councilors partition the gentile land among the householders, and the household tracts are distinctly marked by them. The ground is re-partitioned once in two years. The heads of households are responsible for the cultivation of

the tract, and should this duty be neglected the council of the gens calls the responsible parties to account.

“Cultivation is communal; that is, all of the able-bodied women of the gens take part in the cultivation of each household tract in the following manner:

“The head of the household sends her brother or son into the forest or to the stream to bring in game or fish for a feast; then the able-bodied women of the gens are invited to assist in the cultivation of the land, and when this work is done a feast is given.

“The wigwam or lodge and all articles of the household belong to the woman — the head of the household — and at her death are inherited by her eldest daughter, or nearest of female kin. The matter is settled by the council-women. If the husband die his property is inherited by his brother or his sister’s son, except such portion as may be buried with him. His property consists of his clothing, hunting and fishing implements, and such articles as are used personally by himself.

“Usually a small canoe is the individual property of the man. Large canoes are made by the male members of the gentes, and are the property of the gentes.

“RIGHTS OF PERSON.—Each individual has a right to freedom of person and security from personal and bodily injury, unless adjudged guilty of crime by proper authority.

“COMMUNITY RIGHTS.—Each gens has the right to the services of all its women in the cultivation of the soil. Each gens has the right to the service of all its male members in avenging wrongs, and the tribe has the right to the service of all its male members in time of war.

“RIGHTS OF RELIGION.—Each phratry has the right to certain religious ceremonies and the preparation of certain medicines.

“Each gens has the exclusive right to worship its tutelal god, and each individual has the exclusive right to the possession and use of a particular amulet.”

The Indians have never successfully practiced individual ownership of land. The first article of the Cherokee constitution provides, “The lands of the Cherokee Nation shall remain the common property, but the improvements made thereon and in possession of the citizens of the nation are the exclusive and indefeasible property of the citizens respectively, who made or may be in rightful possession of them.” The most industrious and most progressive Indians now under the wardship of the government refuse to partition their lands, but all hold them jointly. Their system of land tenure had its drawbacks as well as its advantages.

Labor, in our sense of the word, the Indians did not understand. The whole drudgery of life fell on the woman. She was the hewer of wood and the drawer of water. When the tribe moved to a new locality, it was she who was the aboriginal beast of burden. The duties of the chase and of war fell upon the man, all else was the woman's. Only such work was done as made provision for the wants of the family. It is needless to say that wages were wholly unknown.

Neither the systems of the Indians nor the results which they achieved are of interest, save to the antiquary. They are gone like the bison and the deer. Their places are filled by a new race following new methods in a new home. On the ruins of their savagery, the great edifice of the civilization of the future is being built.

No ship ever carried a more precious freight upon the waters than did the vessels which pushed out from Palos in 1492, and turned their bows toward the west. These barques carried not alone Columbus and his crew, but they carried tidings of peace to all the world. They carried liberty and equality of men. They carried the seed of the new system which was to displace the old. They blazed the road for the pioneers of the modern world to pass along. On that clear October morning when the yearning eyes of the white man first saw the new world, it requires no extravagant fancy to imagine the phantoms of the things to be which must have clustered around Guanahani. It was the most portentous and the most fortunate day in the history of the race.

The path once found, hardy adventurers from every nation came to the conquest. The Spaniard and the Portuguese went to the soft and evervating south. The Anglo-Saxon came to the less inviting but more vigorous north. Men escaped from kings, they left behind them the feudal system, they forsook the errors and the crimes of Europe to join in founding the new nation beyond the seas.

Here was a virgin land, teeming with plenty. Here was no cruel past to undo, no national sins to expiate. It was a fresh start. It was a new birth for humanity. The westing impulse which carried the Aryan from the Hindoo Koosh into Europe, carried him once more to the very gates of the sunset.

CHAPTER II.—THE COLONIES.

THE FIRST COLONISTS—WHY THEY CAME—OVERCROWDED EUROPE—WESTWARD, HO—THE LAND SYSTEM OF THE COLONISTS—CROWN GRANTS—FEUDALISM IN AMERICA—THE IMPORTATION OF PERSONS BOUND TO SERVITUDE—ORIGIN OF SOME OF “THE FIRST FAMILIES”—THE PURITAN AND THE CAVALIER—THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SLAVE POWER—ITS GEOGRAPHICAL SPREAD—THE PIONEERS—THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION.

THE news of the finding of a new world spread rapidly throughout the old. Europe was crowded by a population which was fully equal to its capacity for support. The struggle for existence was bitter and fierce. The feudal system was at its zenith. War was the rule on the continent. The Reformation had not begun. The shackles of the Dark Ages still bound humanity hard and fast. There seemed to be no hope anywhere, when suddenly the Western Continent appeared a refuge for the oppressed, a field for the adventurous. The Spaniards overran Mexico and South America, seizing and holding the fairest and richest occidental empires by a series of crimes which have become historic, and whose retribution is now being worked out before our eyes. The other nations were not idle in the race for America. Our interest lies chiefly in the work which England did.

The era of Anglo-Saxon colonization in America is coincident with the Stuart dynasty in England, although the abortive efforts of Raleigh began in the reign of Elizabeth, and the colonization of Georgia was not begun by Oglethorpe until 1733.

Numerous attempts to plant colonies in the New World were made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. The grand conception of the latter to found a State on the North American Continent, whose people should be entirely devoted to the business of agriculture, was worthy of the ablest statesman of his day. He recognized the fact that the foundation stone of civilized society is the family. He chose his colonists from among the married men. They clearly understood that they were going to Virginia to live. They were to construct their own dwellings, till their own soil, and protect their own rights. The treachery of his subordinates, who were lured by the glittering prospect of prizes, and the terror aroused in England by the Invincible

Spanish Armada, rendered him powerless to carry out the details of his plan.

The domestic convulsions of the Huguenots in France during the era of the Reformation induced one of the prominent leaders in that movement to undertake the task of founding, in the New World, a colony of French Huguenots, which he hoped might be the nucleus of a great French empire. The French admiral, Jasper Coligny, having obtained a commission from the feeble-minded king, fitted out a squadron, which landed at what is now St. Augustine, Florida, in May, 1562. They sailed northward, and built a fort at Port Royal, which they called Carolina. They remained but a short time, and, after undergoing many hardships, returned to France. Not disheartened by this effort, Coligny fitted out a second expedition, which unfortunately comprised a number of dissolute characters. On their arrival in Florida their vices reduced them almost to the verge of starvation. A number of them compelled the commander to give them a vessel, on the pretense that they desired to return to France. They embarked in a scheme of piracy, and soon met with the fate they deserved. A fresh arrival of emigrants, with agricultural implements, seeds for planting, and a full supply of all the necessities of life, encouraged those who remained, and everything promised well for the permanent establishment of a French colony, until Philip II. ascended the Spanish throne. When this monarch learned that a colony of French Protestants had dared to settle in a province that he deemed within his own dominions, he gave orders for their extermination. He found an able executive for this nefarious work in the person of one Pedro Meléndez de Aniles, who carried out the orders of the king with cruel exactitude.

The next attempt to plant an English colony was made by a company composed of "noblemen, gentlemen and merchants" of great wealth. They organized an association known as the London Company, under a charter from King James, granting them the exclusive right to occupy the territory from the 34th to the 39th degree, and from the Atlantic Ocean west as far as they chose to go. At the same time the Plymouth Company, composed of the same class of men, received a charter giving them the exclusive right to establish plantations from the 41st to the 45th degree. These two grants embraced nearly one-half of the land occupied by the United States to-day, excluding the territories. The nature of the grant compelled the colonists to remain Englishmen. English laws were to regulate the tenure of the soil. Emigrants were not conceded the elective franchise nor a single right of self-government.

They were entirely subject to the Council in Virginia, which, in turn, was subject to the Supreme Council in London, and that was subject to the king.

The first expedition sailed in 1606 and carried one hundred and five men. The material chosen to compose the colony is an indication of the estimation in which the workingman was held. There were a dozen common laborers, half as many mechanics, four carpenters, and forty-eight "gentlemen" who were no more capable of getting a living in the woods than would be as many girl graduates of a fashionable boarding-school. They had, however, in their company one man of sagacity and prudence, Captain John Smith, afterward famous for the energy with which he managed the affairs of the Virginia colony, and his mythical connection with Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. The Virginia colony passed through many vicissitudes before it emerged from a thriftless, do-nothing existence to a vigorous, substantial growth, which latter was mainly owing to the exertions of Smith. In his letter to the Council, in 1609, he used the following explicit language, as conveying his opinion of the class of emigrants that had been sent out: "When you send again, I entreat you, rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishers, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees and roots, than a thousand such as we have." In dividing up the work in the colony Smith enforced six hours work a day, for six days in the week. "He who would not work might not eat," was the first item in Smith's code.

After many vicissitudes success was won; a new rule was established giving to each man a portion of land which he was to cultivate for himself. The old rule had been that the land should be cultivated as the common property of the company. The colony became prosperous, laws were introduced by which the cultivators became the proprietors of the soil. Tobacco became the most profitable product of agriculture and was so extensively cultivated that it began to be used as money. To the present day Virginia has not lost the ascendancy gained, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the cultivation of this commodity.

The Virginia colony was now in fair way to prosper. At different times one hundred and fifty young women were sent over as wives for the colonists. Their passage was paid by their husbands. The people were granted the right to "assist" in making their own laws. The first legislative assembly in the new world, the Virginia House of Burgesses, met in July, 1619. They passed laws against vices and in favor of industry and good

order. "In detestation of idleness" the idler was "to be sold to a master for wages till he shewe apparent signs of amendment." Emigration was stimulated and in a few years Virginia had a population of four thousand.

In the year 1620 two vessels crossed the ocean, buffeting the same sea and tossed by the same waves. One was the *Mayflower*, containing the Pilgrim Fathers, "consecrated to human liberty," the other was a Dutch ship containing a cargo of twenty slaves, the first that were ever brought to the shores of the North American Continent; they were landed at Jamestown.

The passengers of the *Mayflower* came in sight of Cape Cod, November 10, 1620, and landed at Plymouth on December 22d.

The population increased rapidly after the first success in colonizing was won, and in 1630, seventeen vessels arrived, with fifteen hundred emigrants. Settlements were made at various places around the bay. The governor and some other persons settled near a spring on the peninsula, called Shawmut. The position was central, it became the capital, and was called Boston. In 1635 more than three thousand persons came from England.

The welfare of the community was carefully guarded. The rate of wages for all classes of labor was fixed by law. The number of hours for a working-day was fixed at eleven in summer and nine in the winter time. The sale of everything was regulated by law with such minuteness as to reach the cost of a meal at an inn, and even the price of a pot of beer between meals. The law fixed the price of all commodities. No advantage could be taken of new settlers, or of the scarcity of laborers. Any possible want of food was provided for by making it the duty of the magistrates to ascertain the probable demand, and to meet it with a sufficient supply. The use of tobacco was early forbidden in all public houses, and, though one might smoke it in his own house, he was forbidden to do so before strangers, or for one person to use it in company of another. Idleness was made inexcusable, and agriculture encouraged by allotments of land, and their compulsory cultivation. In 1640 it was enacted that each family should sow at least one spoonful of English hemp seed, and cultivate it in a "husbandly manner," for a supply of the seed the next year. The importation of cotton was provided for at the public expense. The cultivation of tobacco was encouraged by a decree fining any one five shillings a pound who should smoke any other tobacco than that raised in the colony.

Fashion in dress was the subject of much anxious and stringent legis-

lation. In 1651 the laws were amended so as to apply only to men and women of "meane condition, education, and calling." The court felt itself called upon to declare emphatically their "utter detestation and dislike" "that such persons should take upon themselves the garb of 'gentlemen,' and the women of the same rank to wear silk or tiffany hoods or scarfs."

Before the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, slavery, with its attendant evils, became a recognized institution in Massachusetts. Indians were captured, sent to Barbadoes, and exchanged for negroes, and both negro and Indian slaves became common. In consequence of this, the persons of "meane condition" became much more degraded. Those who had escaped from the fierce polemics of Boston by emigrating to Rhode Island or Connecticut, while continuing to regard the interests of religion as paramount, were not disposed, on that account, to look upon all material interests with indifference. It was, perhaps, not on account of any radical difference in their character, but there was a fortunate difference in their circumstances and opportunities. By their emigration, they gained more freedom than they sought. They were led to take a wider view of the possibilities of the new country, than as merely an arena for theological discussion. "They saw that they might be prosperous without ceasing to be pious, and that worldly thrift was not necessarily incompatible with everlasting life." They were too busy in clearing forests, planting crops, and building towns, to be absorbed in attempts to find out the whole counsel of God in dim and subtle distinctions of theological controversy. Thus the Puritans began their work in the north, as the cavaliers had done theirs in Virginia, both making forward unconsciously to the day when America would join the rugged virtues of the one to the high courage and generosity of the other, making a people which has a birthright to sovereignty.

In 1621 an association was formed under the title of the Dutch West India Company. The States-General of Holland granted them the monopoly of trade from Cape May to Nova Scotia, and named the territory New Netherland.

The first settlers were a company of Walloons or French Protestants who had fled to Holland to avoid persecution. Some settled in the vicinity of what is now the navy-yard in Brooklyn, others went up the river to Fort Orange. They numbered in all about thirty families. The agent of the Dutch West India Company, Peter Minuits, chose the Island of Manhattan as his residence. The few cottages erected at the south end of the island were dignified by the name of New Amster-

dam. The island itself belonged to the company, having been purchased from the Indians for about twenty-four dollars. An effort was made to found a state. Every emigrant was conceded as much land as he could cultivate, provided it was not on lands owned by the Company. To encourage emigration it was ordered that any member of the Company who should, in four years, induce fifty persons to emigrate and settle in New Netherland, anywhere except on Manhattan Island, should be recognized as a "Patroon" or "Lord of the Manor." Under this arrangement the Patroons could purchase a tract of land sixteen miles long by eight in width. The Company agreed also that if their speculation was successful they would furnish the Patroons with African slaves. To insure success, even at the expense of the colonists, the people were forbidden to manufacture the most common fabrics of clothing. Everything must be purchased from the Company's store at New Amsterdam, which was to be the center of the trade of New Netherland.

The data for satisfactorily determining the progress of the colony and the condition of the people at this epoch are scanty and scattered. We may form some conclusions from the rate of wages and price of provisions in 1637. Rye was worth \$1.33 per bushel; corn 80 cents to \$1.10 per bushel; wheat \$1.60 per bushel; vinegar 80 cents per gallon; pepper \$1 per pound; gunpowder 60 cents per pound; candles 20 cents per pound; pork 14 cents per pound; tobacco 24 cents per pound; 500 nails cost \$1; brick were \$4 per thousand; a scythe cost \$2.40. A laborer in harvest got about 80 cents a day; on other occasions 60 cents a day; a bookkeeper received \$14.40 per month and was allowed \$80 per annum for his board; a mason received \$8 per month; a house carpenter got \$10 per month. Even at these wages and with these apparent high prices for provisions the ordinary workingman must have been fully as well off as he is today. The necessities of life two hundred and fifty years ago in comparison with the present time were perhaps not one-quarter as great, and usually in those days all classes cultivated their home gardens and thus supplied themselves with nearly all the articles of vegetable food. So that their wages had to be expended for little else than clothing, and perhaps a few groceries, as sugar, coffee, pepper, vinegar, etc.

As far back as 1628 slaves constituted a portion of the population. Their introduction was facilitated by the establishments which the Dutch possessed on the coast of Guinea. The expense of obtaining labor from Europe was greater than that attached to the purchase of slaves. In consequence slave labor was preferred to free labor. In 1644 several negroes and their wives, who had originally been captured from

the Spanish, were manumitted "on account of long and faithful services." To enable them to provide for their support they obtained a grant of land. Attached to their articles of manumission was this significant clause. They were to pay yearly, 22½ bushels of corn, wheat, peas or beans, and one fat hog, valued at \$8. Failing in this payment they again lost their liberty. The value of a slave at this period was from \$100 to \$150. The price of the produce that he was required to pay annually for his freedom was from \$40 to \$50, or from 33¼ to 50 per cent of his value. At this rate manumission was not much of a sacrifice on the part of the owner. The children were detained in slavery after the manumission of the parents.

The houses in those days were low-sized wooden buildings, with roofs of straw or reed, and chimneys of wood. Wind and water mills were erected here and there to grind corn and wheat and saw lumber. One of the latter, located on Governor's Island, was leased in 1639 for five hundred merchantable boards yearly, one half oak and one half pine. A brewery was constructed previous to 1637 at Rensselaerswyck, by the Patroon, who had the exclusive privilege of supplying the people with beer. The Patroon of New Netherland was really the feudal lord. His colonists were obliged to swear allegiance to him, and at his summons to take up arms in his defense. He in turn was obliged to render the same service to his sovereign, the Dutch West India Company, or their representative. In 1646 the wage of a day laborer was 60 cents per day; that of skilled mechanics ranged from 80 cents to \$1. The cost of food and clothing can readily be determined from the following prices: Sugar sold for 30 cents per lb.; cheese, 6 cents per lb.; prunes, 4 cents per lb.; butter 16, and pork 18 cents per lb.; mackerel, \$6.40 per 100; wheat, \$1.33; corn, \$1.05; barley, \$1.33, and oats, 40 cents per bushel. Beer sold for 36 and brandy 50 cents per gallon. In the line of clothing, kersey sold for 64 cents; linen, 30 cents; and cloth from 90 cents to \$2 per yard. Shoes for grown people, 88 cents, and for children, 48 cents per pair. A hat cost \$4, a beaver coat \$10. As for agricultural implements, a plow complete cost \$11.50; a plowshare, \$10; a winnowing fan, \$1.80; a scythe, \$1; a spade, 24 to 40 cents; a wagon, \$12; a horse cost \$64 and a cow \$20. In mechanics' tools, an ax or hatchet cost 24 to 40 cents; a chisel, 90 cents; an iron hammer, 28 cents; an English knife, 24 cents; an iron anvil, \$40; a blacksmith's bellows, \$18.80. In building material, brick sold for \$6 per 1,000; nails, 16 cents per lb. (of 100). Plank, 60 cents each, for inch plank 12 inches wide and 12 feet long.

From the figures given it will be readily observed that the actual prices of the necessaries of life were about the same in the seventeenth as they have been in the nineteenth century, while the wages of the day laborer and mechanic were somewhat less in the former period, and it may be argued, therefore, that the condition of the working classes was relatively less prosperous. This conclusion does not necessarily follow, for the fact must be continually borne in mind, that as the world advances in intellectual development the actual necessities of life increase in the same ratio. In the seventeenth century books and learning were considered not only as beyond the reach of the workingman and his family, but as absolutely prejudicial to his best interests. The furniture in his house was of the very simplest construction and usually manufactured by himself. Carpets were only used by the rich, and many of the little articles of household use, that are now considered absolute necessities, were then only luxuries to be afforded by the wealthy. Again, all the workingmen of that epoch had, attached to their homesteads, a sufficient amount of land for gardening purposes, and invariably cultivated all the vegetables necessary for their families, including potatoes, cabbage and turnips, to store away for winter use. Each family raised their own pork, and usually kept a cow for butter and milk. Relatively speaking, the condition of the free working classes in New Netherland in 1646, was much better than it has been at any time during the nineteenth century.

When the Dutch ship entered the James river in 1620, with its twenty negroes for sale, the people of that colony were not favorably disposed towards the institution of slavery. For a third of a century the number of slaves increased slowly. While not positively prohibiting the slave trade the people of Virginia discouraged it.

A number of reasons conspired to extend slavery, which otherwise would have probably died a natural death. The cultivation of tobacco, and eventually of cotton and sugar cane, made slavery extremely profitable to the land owners, who had a system of labor, working without wages, and forced to be content with whatever provision the master was pleased to make for it. Of course this was demoralizing both to master and man, and the consequences could only be bad. A reference to the map will show that slavery followed the lines of distribution of the cotton plant. It never really flourished north of the Ohio river, nor north of the line where tobacco could be profitably cultivated. It was an essentially agricultural institution, and despite its cheapness it could not compete with free labor, a fact which the industrial development of the south since the war abundantly proves.

As the previous part of this chapter shows, the colonists first secured a foothold on the Atlantic coast, and after establishing themselves they naturally began to penetrate the wilderness. The axe of the pioneer resounded through the forests primeval, founding new states, penetrating new empires, beginning a new people. That separation between the nation-builders on this side the Atlantic and their nominal lords on the other must some time come, was as certain as the result of any mathematical formula. People point to the unwise and unfair legislation of Great Britain as the cause of the revolution, but this was simply an aggravation—it was not a cause. America could not be ruled from over the seas. The new vistas opened up before the settlers, the new views of life which time had ripened, the strong leaders who had arisen, the natural strength even of this sparsely peopled land, and the great destiny which awaited all, impelled America irresistibly to independence.

We all know the history of the War of the Revolution; we remember how the constant aggression of the British government finally drove a free and spirited people into open rebellion and the founding of a new state. With the story of that war, as a war, we have little to do. Its consequences will be felt in the story of human labor as long as man and the world shall endure.

CHAPTER III.—FREE AMERICA.

THE NEW POSITION OF THE WORKINGMAN—THE NEW POLITICAL THEORISTS—RELICS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM STILL ON THE STATUTE BOOKS—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY—THE INVITATION TO EUROPE—IMMIGRATION—CONQUERING THE WILDERNESS—“THE HOME OF THE OPPRESSED”—WORK AND WAGES FROM THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—THE REFLECTION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—“AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY”—THE RISE OF CORPORATIONS—THE DEVELOPMENT OF SLAVERY.

IT is now generally conceded that American freedom had its birth in the apparently purposeless discussions of the schoolmen of four centuries before. The idea of liberty, of popular government, of the just functions of the state did not spring, Minerva-like, into full vigor and adolescence from the continental congress. For centuries, as the Story of Labor shows, there had been a distinct movement upwards. Humanity had been ripening, but the theorists had been centuries in advance of the practical men. The war of the revolution was fought out and the word “finis” was written across the last leaf of the history of servitude. True, there were several blank leaves before the new testaments of manhood can be said to have really begun. The revolution wrecked the old systems, but the debris had to be cleared away before the new edifice could be commenced.

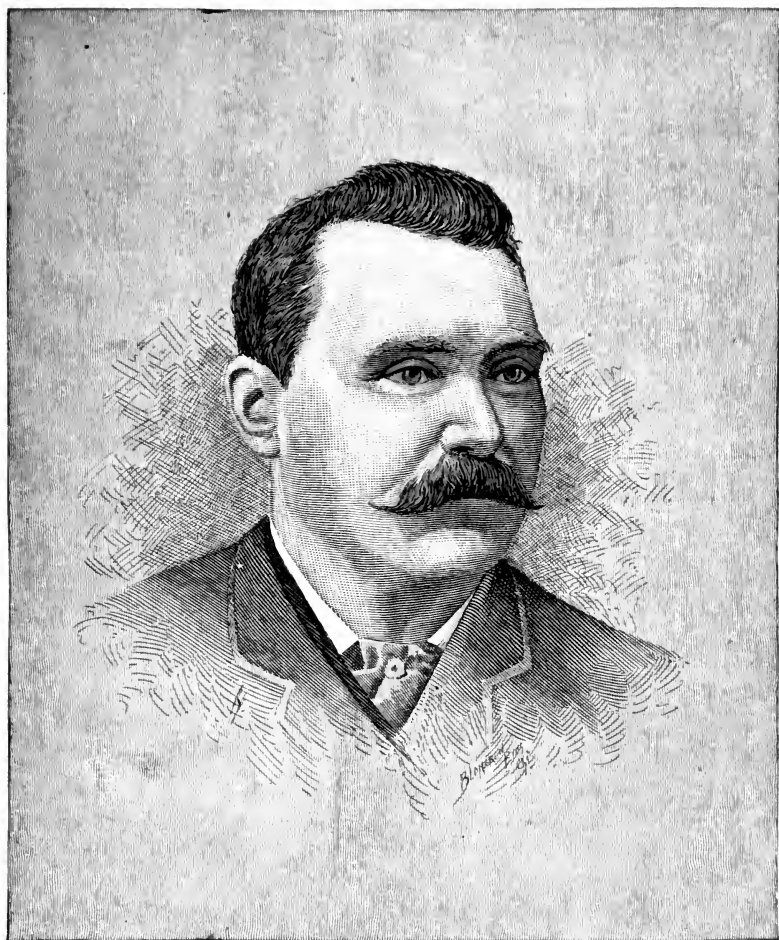
America was, in the first years of her separate existence, an aristocratic rather than a democratic republic. Many of the fathers certainly did not recognize the end which must follow from the principles which they laid down. We know that George Washington could, had he chosen, have founded a royal house instead of an elective presidency. The chrysalis of the old order was broken and done for, but the new was not thoroughly disentangled. True, the first work had been well done. Royalty was abolished, aristocracy had, without knowing it, received a mortal hurt, the people were unshackled, and it was but a question of time when they would assume the sovereignty which was theirs by right divine.

Relics of the feudal system were still to be found on all the statute books. There were still patroons in New York, there was a distinctly

separated and highly protected landed class in all the states. The momentum given by centuries could not be checked in a year or a decade. The ruling class went on ruling less and less each year, it is true, like a pendulum coming to a stop, but its influence was felt, and its influence was not all bad. It was certainly better than the corporation rule which is now replacing it. The institution of slavery in the south, which every one will now agree was a national crime, proves the condition of mind of the men who declared the truth to be self-evident, that all men are born free and equal and entitled to certain inalienable rights. The contradiction in terms did not begin to strike even the non-slaveholding people at the north for more than half a century. It was a matter of course, and the white laborer at the north was not looked on as exactly a being of the same race as his employer. There were, and in some states there are yet, laws affecting the worker which do not affect his employer. Class legislation can not be said to be over while there are statutes making a combination of workmen conspiracy, while a combination of employers is not a subject for legislation.

The formation of a new state in the west gave the greatest possible impulse to the settlement of the North American Continent. The pioneer, ax on shoulder, made his way into the wilderness, pushing onward to the west. The people not yet sophisticated, put all their efforts into the development of the country. The virgin forests were cleared away, and thriving farmsteads appeared where but a few years before the savage wandered, and the wild animals made their lair.

It was not long before the glad tidings of the work for humanity which had been done in the west spread throughout Europe. Everywhere the people understood that there was a new world to be divided, where kings and nobles were not known; where the barrier of three thousand miles of storm-tossed ocean stood as a bulwark between man and his hereditary masters. Thus immigration began. Under the earlier dispensation the obstacles that lay in the path by which America was gained were so great that only the bold, the adventurous and the worthy could make their way through. There was a long and dangerous voyage to make, there was a final leave-taking from friends and kinfolk who would never be seen again, there was a plunge into the unknown that only the hardy would dare. Thus until 1848 America got from Europe the flower of its people. We gained men and women who were not crowded out because they were unable to hold their own in the struggle for existence, but who had within them the true pioneer spirit which made this nation great. We drew the additions to our



Robert Howard.

Secretary Cotton Spinners' Union.



population from the best and most available material in the old world, just as changed conditions now give us the worst and most ineffective. Early in the century the voyage to America cost money, time, and often life. Now it can be made by any man in a week's time who has twelve dollars. When the republic was in its childhood it opened its arms to the oppressed of all nations. It welcomed to its shores the political exile, the fugitive from the rotten systems which obtained three thousand miles away, the victim of tyranny, the quarry of the birds of prey born in the dark ages and still fatly prosperous in Europe.

The war left the finances of the confederation in a wretched condition. The country was filled with an almost worthless paper currency, credit was at a low ebb. European jealousy cut off our trade with foreign ports. The disorganization and demoralization of the great struggle were still manifest and it took years to settle the country to its normal condition and to bring order out of the elements which were still in confusion. Thus in 1786, as a reference to the wages chart in the appendix will show, the average pay of a laborer was 33 cents a day. Flour sold at £1 12s 6d a barrel, potatoes ranged from one shilling to thirteen per bushel, and other articles were in proportion. In 1800 shoemakers received \$5.52 per week, painters 60 cents a day, masons \$1.50 a day, laborers about 70 cents, carpenters something over 90 cents a day, agricultural laborers about 42 cents. Flannel 37½ cents a yard, flour 6 cents a pound, pork 15 cents a pound, rum 15 cents a quart, sugar 13 cents a pound, tea (Bohea) 48 cents.

The figures show a decided gain made by the laboring class, in wages, although the changes in the purchasing value of money make this advance more apparent than real. The opening up of the continent to civilization should have made this advance very much greater, but there were many reasons coming together to retard it. Humanity never made such rapid progress as it did in the score of years lying between 1780 and 1800. Action and reaction of popular forces went on until "the red fool fury of the French" blazed up and frightened the world back into conservatism. There was a reaction in America as well as in Europe, and the consequences of that backward impulse are still manifest. Then began that system of plutocracy which has replaced the feudal system, the first seeds of that peculiar institution misnamed "American aristocracy" were sown. We began with a bad land system which was good in theory, perhaps, but altogether worthless in practice. Every one will admit the constant tendency of the land to pass from the small holder to the large. We are forming a class which rents the

ground for cultivation—which is displacing the former proprietor. This movement has not yet gone so far as to become dangerous, but we can see its beginnings and its direction. America had to do in a century what the older peoples have had the world's whole age to accomplish in. Wealth poured in upon us in a golden stream. The figures of its increase in the United States are startling. Mullhal, in his "Dictionary of Statistics," and Spofford, in the "American Almanac," have both published statistics showing this growth. Following Spofford's figures, the estimated true valuation was :

	Valuation.	Per Capita.
In 1850.....	\$7,135,780,228	\$308
In 1860.....	16,159,616,068	514
In 1870.....	30,068,518,507	780
In 1880.....	43,642,000,000	870

A very significant fact is furnished by one of the line of totals in Spofford's tables, which shows that the difference between the assessed and the true valuation was in round numbers: In 1850, \$1,100,000,000; in 1860, \$4,070,000,000; in 1870, \$15,800,000,000; in 1880, \$26,700,000,000.

Counting the average family as five persons, these figures would give each household, \$4,35⁰ per domum. Can any fact point more clearly to the unequal distribution of wealth? Not one family in a thousand controls this much property. On the other hand we see that twenty-six billions of dollars bear no part of the burden of government. Since 1850 thirty-six billion five hundred million dollars have been added to the wealth of the country, or in other words, the amount of capital has been increased six-fold. Wages along the whole line of industry have increased in the same time about fifty per cent.

In Mr. William A. Phillips' very carefully written and well worked out book on "Labor, Land and Law," the author says :

"In the present state of our statistics we are not in possession of accurate data as to where this great increase of wealth has gone, but if we consider the condition of wage workers in 1850, and the condition of wage-workers in 1880, in the United States, it is extremely doubtful if the laborers are any better off, or even as well off today as they were then. In 1850 wage-workers had occasionally a little property. In our own observation we are firmly persuaded that more of them, in proportion to their number, had homes of their own at that time than have them now. It is to be granted that the number of persons included in what is styled the 'middle classes' has probably increased, although nothing could be more vague than the term 'middle classes' in the United States. We

will borrow a mode sometimes used by British statisticians, and fix a salary or an income of \$1,000 for the head of a family as indicating the 'middle classes.' In a table of Mr. Spofford's, condensed from the state reports, and which includes the wages paid to bakers, blacksmiths, bookbinders, bricklayers, cabinet makers, carpenters and joiners, laborers, porters, painters, plasterers, plumbers, printers, shoemakers, tailors and tinsmiths, we find that only one of them, the plumbers, with their wages computed at the highest rate in the highest market, Chicago, reaches \$1,040. The table in this case is a weekly wage to working plumbers in Chicago varying from \$12 to \$20 a week. At the latter rate I have computed it. The laborers run about \$350 per year. The 'middle classes' in the country would probably include employers, business and professional men, merchants and middlemen generally, whose income was from \$1,000 to \$10,000 per year, and whose property did not exceed \$100,000."

There is but one explanation to this mysterious advantage given to the wealthier class against the wage earners, and that is to be found in the corporation system which is yearly becoming stronger and more effective as a bulwark for the few against the many. It is the direct fountain of the power of a share-holding oligarchy against the masses. Surely no more ingenious weapon ever menaced American freedom and progress. The statistics about corporations are wretchedly, and one might almost say, criminally wanting.

An appeal is made to what the railroad magnates facetiously call our reason, meaning thereby our credulity, that great enterprises like railroads can not be carried on without corporate capital. Following the calculations in "Poore's Manual" that at the close of 1884 there were 125,379 miles of railroad in the United States upon which there was stock and debt to the amount on an average of \$61,400 per mile. It becomes an interesting question to know what these roads cost. The actual stock and debt was \$7,676,399,054. Taking again Poore's estimate that securities were issued at the rate of two or three dollars for every dollar of cash paid, the problem becomes an easy one. Use the lower figure as a divisor and we find that there is \$3,838,199,527 alleged to be invested in railroads which is not invested in them. This fictitious sum draws dividends, however, and the laborer in the end must pay with the sweat of his brow for this phantom and unreal capital — this water with which the stock is diluted. Assuming the return at six per cent, there is yearly taken from the laborers on the railroads the tremendous sum of two hundred and thirty millions of dollars, which is wholly an unfair

and unearned return for the capital invested. The railroad corporations have so exaggerated the evils of the corporation system that it becomes easy to see in their work what these evils are, but the same principles make even the smaller corporations dangerous. The tendency to water is one which apparently cannot be resisted, and the burden of the requital of the real capital and the false are both thrown on labor.

The spread of slavery was also a factor in the formation of an "American aristocracy." In the south there was a land-holding class distinct in blood, in traditions and in methods from the tillers of the soil. For nearly a century they thrived marvelously, at the expense of the labor in their own section, and in unfair competition with the labor at the north.

All of these evils may be fairly traced to the mistakes made in the formative period of American industry between the revolutionary war and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

But there was good as well as bad done in that time. Side by side with the seed of evil was planted the seed of good. The freeman armed with the ballot — with his rights guaranteed by the most solemn pledges that a nation could make — needed only time to undo the mistakes and to found firmly a system which would stand. We must not criticize too harshly the errors of men who upbuilt so great a structure as that of American liberty. Peoples as well as persons must learn out of their own mistakes. There is no other road to wisdom.

CHAPTER IV.—THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA FOR LABOR—THE FARMERS' CLUBS—CAUSES OF THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR IN AMERICA—AGRICULTURE AS A PURSUIT—ITS EFFECT ON THE MECHANICS—WORK FOR ALL—THE EXTENT OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN—THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE—THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY—PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE—THE DEVELOPMENT OF MECHANICAL INDUSTRIES—THE INVENTIVE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN ARTISAN—CONSEQUENCES OF THE DIVERSION OF LABOR FROM AGRICULTURE TO MANUFACTURES—THE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN POPULATION—THE APPEARANCE OF THE TRAMP.

IN that very excellent work, "The Labor Problem," edited by William A. Barnes, occurs the following succinct and striking tabulation of the history of English labor for five centuries, giving a starting point from which we can estimate the progress of the American, that which has grown out of the English:

Fluctuations in the Relative Value of One Day's Wages of the Workingman, Caused mainly by Legislation, during Five Hundred Years—Measured by the cost of certain Necessaries of Life.

	Serf prod		Good Old Times.		Fam-ine.		Pauper Period.					
	13th cent.	14th cent.	15th cent.	1597	1610	1651	1661	1684	1715-1750	1750-1790	1795-1820	
	cts.	cts.	cts.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.	\$ ct.
1 bushel wheat.....	18	18	18	1 70	1 21	1 54	2 12	1 26	99	1 54	2 95	
½ bushel malt.....	6	6	5½	43	23	68	1 04	73	57	80	1 32	
20 pounds beef.....	8	13	22	80	80	1 00	1 00	80	1 40	1 40	2 80	
2 weeks' rent.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	36	45	50
2 weeks' fuel.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25	30	50
<i>1 day's wages of</i>	32	37	45½	2 93	2 24	3 22	4 16	2 79	3 57	4 49	8 07	
Carpenter	10 6	13 8	13 10	20 12	18 13	31 28	31 28	24 20	42 30	36 30	48 40	
Laborer												
<i>Value of common rights estimated.</i>												
<i>Proportion of 1 day's wages to cost of articles named above.</i>												
Carpenter.....	31	35	29	7	8	9.6	7½	8.6	12	8	6	
Laborer.....	19	27	22	4	5.8	8.9	6.7	7.1	8.4	7	5	

Thus we can see the fluctuations of work and comfort in the history of our race from the time of the crusades to the beginning of the new era. The nineteenth century opened with every promise of good fortune to America. Out of a weak and disunited confederacy of half friendly

states, a nation firm and well welded together had been built. Confidence was restored. In every direction work was being pushed forward. A valuable money had taken the place of the badly depreciated continental currency. The tremendous wealth of the country lying west of the settled seaboard was beginning to be understood. Immigration was coming at a healthy rate, and made up of healthy material. The people had not lost their primitive simplicity and vigor. In a word a new era dawned on humanity with the opening of the century.

Labor in 1800 was not organized; the economic conditions of the time had not made that step necessary. The immense demand for agricultural labor drained the cities of their surplus population and kept mechanics' wages high. The only organizations known at the time were the farmers' clubs, which can in no way be considered akin to the modern trades-union. The farm work was the great industry of the country. The cities were small, there was not one in the country with half a million inhabitants until 1840. Whoever wanted work could have it almost for the asking, while on the other hand mechanical pursuits were backward and uncertain. The youth of the United States kept to the farms, and when the community became somewhat more crowded, moved a little farther to the west.

The public domain was then, and for many years afterward, far in advance of the needs of the people. It was a constantly increasing reservoir to swallow up the surplus population. The Louisiana purchase was the first great addition to the nation. It comprised an extent of country, out of which half a dozen commonwealths have been carved. The Mexican war added to the United States a territory which rounded the nation out from ocean to ocean, making a zone across North America of the richest land on earth. Alaska was next added and the country now contains 3,600,000 square miles to support a population of fifty million. What this means will become more apparent if we look at it in another way. Working backward from the per capita calculation there are $45\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land for every man, woman and child in the United States. In France there are $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres per head; in Germany, 3; in Great Britain, $2\frac{1}{4}$; and in Belgium, $1\frac{1}{2}$. Even in the year 1886 it is accordingly evident that we have a safety valve which should relieve the pressure on the industrial pursuits. That it does not do so comes from several well understood causes.

In the first place a protective tariff, whose ultimate reasonableness or unreasonableness, it is not here the place to discuss, certainly fosters manufacturing. It puts a premium on home-made goods and tends to

induce both capital and labor to go into the field of mechanical production. The whole purpose of the tariff is to put upon imported merchandise, of equal cost with the home product, an additional tax, which will prevent it from competing in the home market. As a consequence the development of mechanical industry in this country has been remarkable. The whole character of New England has been changed from farm life to factory life. The same changes are now going on in Georgia. The Atlantic seaboard is now a manufacturing rather than an agricultural region. Millions of dollars are invested in mechanical industry now, where thousands were at work a few years ago.

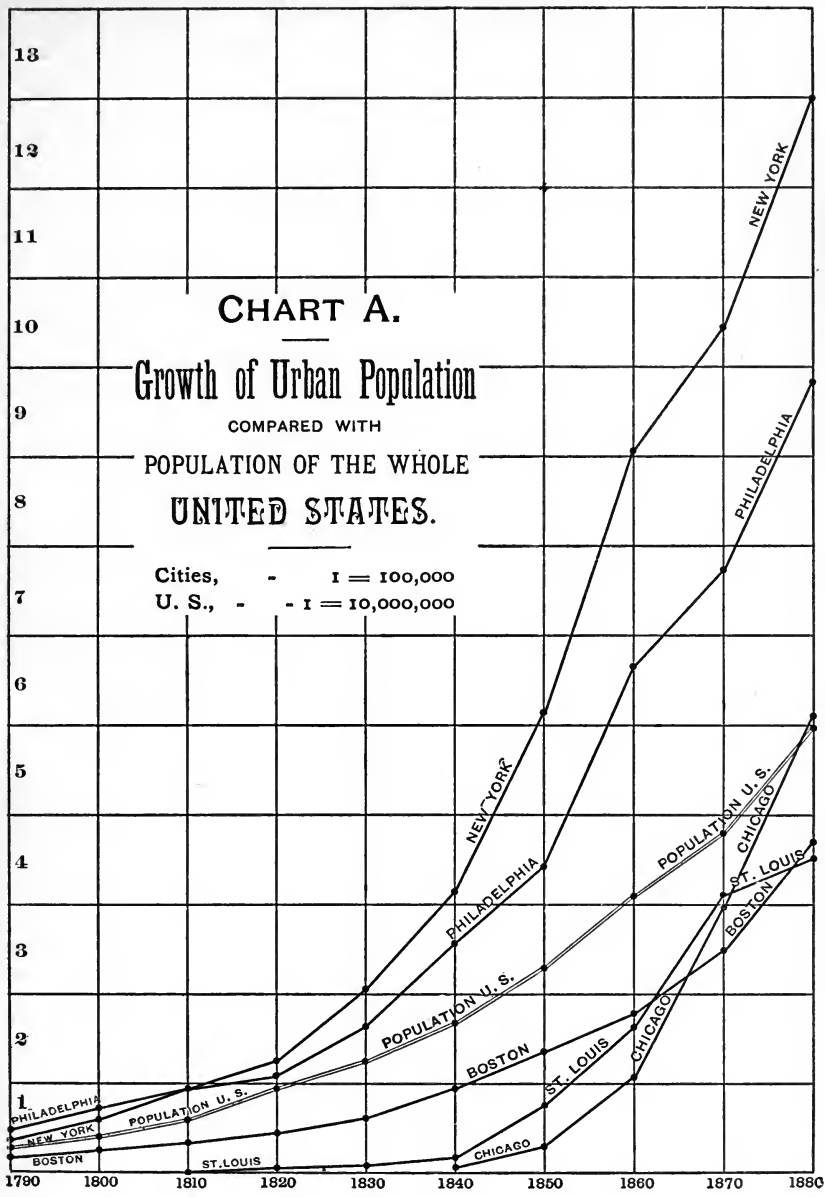
The stimulus has not alone been felt by both labor and capital, but it has also been apparent in the domain of invention. The patent office at Washington illustrates this fact in a most peculiar manner. In Connecticut there is each year one patent issued to every 705 of population; in Massachusetts, one to every 820; in Rhode Island, one to every 845. In Alabama there is one to every 16,000; in Arkansas, one to every 13,000; in Florida, one to every 11,000; in Georgia, one to every 13,000; in Mississippi, one to every 22,000; in North Carolina, one to every 16,000; in South Carolina, one to every 21,000, and in Virginia and Tennessee, one to every 12,000. And this is not a new thing. The New England states manufacture more raw product twice over, in proportion to the population, than any other section in the country. Their whole energies are bent in one direction to the exclusion of all others. The inventive genius of America has been fostered in the eastern states and brought to a point where for years it has been proverbial. Yankee notions have been synonymous, even before the days of Sam Slick for ingenious devices to save money and to save trouble.

Thus one section of the country has been, by every possible means, some of them healthy, some manifestly unwholesome, forcing its development in one direction at the expense of others. There have been good reasons for this. New England has not the same grade of agricultural lands which are found to the south and to the west. It has accordingly looked in another direction for profit, and certainly it has richly found it. It was to be expected that imitators would spring up. The highly protected factories of the east were making large returns upon the capital invested. It was natural that capital in other parts of the country should seek similar channels. Thus there has been throughout the country a distinct tendency to divert labor from the farm to the factory. Let us glance at the facts in the case. In 1752, for instance, agricultural laborers received thirty-three cents a day. The same rate

was paid in mechanic pursuits. The following table shows how these prices gradually drew apart in the United States :

Year.	Wages Agricultural Laborers.	Wages Mechanical Laborers.	Year.	Wages Agricultural Laborers.	Wages Mechanical Laborers.
1752.....	\$ 33	\$ 33	1845.....	\$1.00	\$1.25
1756.....	33	48	1860.....	1.00½	1.50
1763.....	33	35	1864.....	1.12½	1.33
1770.....	33	34	1870.....	1.15	1.50
1781.....	41	46	1875.....	1.00	1.35
1790.....	33	40	1878.....	94	1.21
1801.....	57	61	1880.....	90	1.20
1810.....	1.00	1.10	1884.....	92	1.30
1820.....	75	1.00	1886.....	96	1.45
1826.....	78	1.00			

The above table has been constructed by taking an average, reported from different States on the Atlantic seaboard. It will be seen that there has been, since the beginning of the century, a constant premium offered for mechanical labor as against agricultural. The quality and the quantity of the work required is either equal or against farm work. The hours in the latter calling are longer, the work not less easy, the skill certainly not on the side of the mechanical pursuits. The consequence of this increased premium has been constantly to divert work from the country to the town. The laborer, as well as the merchant, will naturally sell in the dearest market, and the legitimate consequence has been the much more rapid growth of the cities in population than the country. A reference to the accompanying chart will show at what strides the great cities have grown. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and St. Louis have been selected for purposes of comparison, and with these has been given a graphic representation of the growth of the whole population of the United States. The chart comes very near telling its own story, without textual illustration. For almost a century we have been adding continually to our already over-populated cities. Every factory established draws about it first a hamlet, just as the castles built in the feudal times had each its neighboring village of serfs. As the years roll on the hamlet grows into a village, the village to a town, the town to a city. Fresh, ruddy-checked boys and girls from the surrounding country come in to share the smoke and the evil influences and the high pay which rules where men are crowded together. And thus we find that in 1880 there are thirty-six cities in the United States with a population of over fifty thousand, and five hundred and seventy-five with a population of over four thousand. While it would be hardly profitable to figure up



the amount of the whole urban population, it is evident that a very large proportion of the people of the United States live in cities. There are many consequences—some good, and some bad. In the first place, there are in Massachusetts eighty-five cities with a population of over four thousand out of a total population of one million seven hundred and eighty-three thousand, while the whole United States, with a population of fifty millions has five hundred and seventy-five. In other words, there is one town of over four thousand to every twenty-one thousand people in Massachusetts and one to every eighty-seven thousand in the whole country. Massachusetts and Iowa have nearly the same population. Massachusetts has eighty-five towns, Iowa nineteen. Texas has two hundred thousand less population than Massachusetts, and seventy-four less towns of four thousand people. Connecticut has half the population of Alabama, and eight times as many towns. The same proportion will hold good, in a general way, for the New England and Middle States. A high tariff has done much toward accomplishing this work, although due credit must be given to the other influences as well. Out of the complicated plexus of causes we come to the result, to which attention cannot be too earnestly called: the disproportionably large growth of our urban populations. Were it not for the congeries of workingmen thus brought together, labor organization would be impossible. Agricultural guilds have never, in the history of the world, scored a continuous success. We have seen one of the most promising experiments in this direction rise, flourish and fall, in the Granger organization. There cannot, in our condition of society, be formed successful trades-unions of farm workers. All of the circumstances are against them. In the towns, however, the proximity of man to man, the action and reaction constantly going on, naturally tend to social crystallization and the development of higher and better forms of society. Life is fuller, richer and more comfortable in the towns, just as it is freer, healthier and more vigorous in the country. But the result is one not wholly to be praised, nor wholly to be blamed. There are compensations in either direction. If the workingman has higher wages and greater comforts, he has more temptation and greater expense. His family is exposed to the dangers of the streets, the demoralizations of a city life. We are producing at one and the same time an artisan class and a surplus population. Engel never said a truer thing than when he remarked that the appearance of the tramp was a symptom that a country was coming to be an industrial nation. The Story of Labor has reached a point where the tramp is one of the institutions of American civilization.

CHAPTER V.—THE FORMATIVE PERIOD.

THE REORGANIZATION OF LABOR — THE EARLY GUILDS AND THEIR INFLUENCE — THE CAULKERS' CLUB AND THE BOSTON MASSACRE — THE FIRST AMERICAN TRADES-UNION, 1803 — THE SAILORS' STRIKE — THE NEW YORK TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, 1817 — THE FORMATION PERIOD FROM 1825 TO 1861 — THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE LABOR PRESS — "THE WORKINGMAN'S ADVOCATE," "THE SENTINEL," "YOUNG AMERICA" — THE FIRST LABOR PLATFORM — THE WORKINGMAN IN POLITICS — THE CAMPAIGN OF 1830 — THE LOCO-FOCOS — "THE GENERAL TRADES-UNION OF NEW YORK" — THE FIRST LABOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS — THE CONSPIRACY LAWS — CHILD AND FEMALE LABOR — A DAY'S WORK — FACTORY MANAGEMENT — THE NEW ENGLAND ASSOCIATION — COMBINED ACTION — TEN YEARS' GROWTH OF TRADES-UNIONS — THE SITUATION IN 1860.

IN ancient Rome, labor organizations were unknown, for the reason that the men and women who did the heavy work of the world were mostly slaves. The free citizens who were supplanted in the ownership of the land by wealthy slave holders, joined the legions engaged in foreign conquest, or crowded into the cities to be fed from the free grants of corn instituted by Caius Gracchus and corrupted by the free shows of the ædiles. After the Roman system in western Europe had been overthrown by barbarian conquerors, the first glimmer of returning civilization, seen through the darkness of the middle ages, came from the trade and labor guilds of the free walled cities. These guilds are the logical predecessors of the modern labor union. They were simply societies of artisans and tradespeople organized for the promotion of their several industries. A very important part of their function was to afford mutual protection against the rapacity of the feudal barons.

Each craft had its guild with its own laws, its own rules governing apprentices and the qualifications of master workmen. Under the influence of the guilds, commerce and industry were fostered. The cities they occupied were the only oases of civilization in the dreary waste of robbery and violence of mediæval feudalism.

During the first hundred and fifty years of the English colonization in America, there was little need of protective organization among the workingmen. There were no large cities and but small accumulations of capital. The country was so full of undeveloped resources that any

laborer with a stout heart, a strong arm and a moderately skillful hand had about as good a working capital as his wealthiest neighbor. Hence, the few labor societies that existed previous to the Revolution were mainly social and political in their objects. The Caulker's club, of Boston was one of the earliest of these. It took an active part in the agitations preceding the battle of Lexington, and its younger members were foremost in the demonstrations against the British soldiery which culminated in the "Boston massacre" of March, 1770.

The self-reliance forced upon the people by the Revolutionary War, and the new impetus given to industry by its successful termination, caused a decided increase in the numbers and variety of pursuits of American craftsmen. In Philadelphia, then the largest American city, there was a grand civic and military procession on the Fourth of July, 1788. An eye witness mentions the following trades as being represented in this patriotic pageant, each trade carrying an emblematic flag, and many of the tradesmen being at work as the procession moved: There was a Federal edifice drawn by ten white horses, and followed by 500 architects and house-carpenters; pilots of the port with their boat, boat-builders, sailmakers, shipjoiners, ropemakers, cordwainers, coachpainters, cabinetmakers and chairmakers, brickmakers, house-, ship- and sign-painters, porters, clockmakers, watchmakers, weavers, bricklayers, tailors, instrumentmakers, turners, spinning-wheelmakers, carvers and gilders, coopers, planemakers, whip- and canemakers. Then came the black-smiths, whitesmiths, nailers and coachmakers. After them the potters, hatters, wheelwrights, tinplate workers, skinmen, breechesmakers and glovers, printers, bookbinders and stationers, saddlers, stonecutters, bread- and biscuitmakers, gunsmiths, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths and jewelers, brass-founders, stocking-manufacturers, tanners and curriers, upholsterers, sugar-refiners, brewers, perukemakers and barber-surgeons, engravers, plasterers, brushmakers and staymakers. This was the first grand labor demonstration ever made in America.

In this Philadelphia display it is seen that the industries connected with shipbuilding bore a prominent part. The construction and navigation of sea-going vessels were indeed favorite vocations in all the eastern cities. So it is not surprising that the first American trades-union, of which there is authentic record, was the New York Society of Journey-men Shipwrights, incorporated on the 3d of April, 1803. The house-carpenters of the city of New York formed a union in 1806. The predecessor of the great Typographical Union No. 6, whose first president was Horace Greeley, was the New York Typographical Society. Thurlow

Weed was elected a member in 1817, and procured its incorporation in the following year. Thurlow Weed, in his reminiscences, also tells of a typographical society in Albany, which, in 1821, ordered a strike in an office where Weed was working because employment had been given to a "rat." These in New York State, and one or two elsewhere which bore a stronger resemblance to our latter-day mutual and benevolent societies than to a modern trades-union, practically fill the list of labor organizations incorporated during the first quarter of the century. That a good many similar organizations were formed, if not incorporated, in Philadelphia and other cities, there can, however, be little doubt. The rapid concentration of craftsmen into unions, which began in the latter half of the decade, 1820-30, surely indicates not a little informal combination among them.

The formation period of the present vast system of labor societies and trades-unions in the United States may be said to begin with John Quincy Adams' accession to the presidency in 1825, and to continue till the incoming of President Lincoln and the outbreak of the civil war in 1861. The rapid increase of population during the first quarter of the century, the settlement of new territory west of the Alleghanies, and even west of the Mississippi river, the multiplication of industries and the growth of cities, had brought, and was constantly bringing, new conditions to which working people in the older communities of the seaboard could adjust themselves only through concerted action. The majority of artisans no longer worked in their own little shops, and the accumulation of capital was beginning to raise questions of conflicting interest between employer and employé. The drift of sentiment to which this situation gave rise was accelerated by the advent to New York of two English labor reformers, the brothers Evans, who shortly after 1825 began the publication of the *Workingman's Advocate*, probably the first labor organ ever printed in the new world. This publication after a few years gave place to the *Daily Sentinel*, and this in turn to the *Young America*, which last printed at its head the first American labor platform. For the following copy of this document we are indebted to Mr. Ely's "Labor Movement in America." Some of its twelve demands have already been acceded to, some abandoned and some are still urged:

- "First. The right of man to the soil, 'Vote yourself a farm.'
- "Second. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank.
- "Third. Freedom of public lands.
- "Fourth. Homesteads made inalienable.
- "Fifth. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts.

“ Sixth. A general bankrupt law.

“ Seventh. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages.

“ Eighth. Abolition of imprisonment for debt.

“ Ninth. Equal rights for women with men in all respects.

“ Tenth. Abolition of chattel slavery, and of wages slavery.

“ Eleventh. Land limitation to one hundred and sixty acres; no person after the passage of this law to become possessed of more than that amount of land. But when a land monopolist died, his heirs were to take each his legal number of acres, and be compelled to sell the overplus, using the proceeds as they pleased.

“ Twelfth. Mails in the United States to run on the Sabbath.”

Radical for that day as were principles thus formulated by the Evans brothers, they found great favor with the working people, and were the basis of the “ Workingmen’s Party,” whose convention at Syracuse, N. Y., in 1830, nominated Ezekiel Williams for governor of that state. He received only 3,000 votes, but in New York City his supporters “ pooled issues ” with Whigs, and elected several of the labor candidates to the legislature. The Loco-Foco party, which occupied so large a place in the politics of New York State for a time was the outgrowth of this movement, and as the Democratic party offered greater concessions than the Whigs, it gained the Loco-Foco support. The first popular demand for the nomination of General Andrew Jackson for the Presidency came from Pennsylvania, and the cry was echoed enthusiastically by the labor element and small farmer interest throughout the East. The claim, therefore, of the Loco-Focos that it was their influence which made Jackson’s election possible, is perhaps a little too broad. It is, however, true that Jackson always looked upon Martin Van Buren as the prince of politicians, and that Van Buren was on the best of terms with the labor vote, from which he received valuable aid in carrying New York for Jackson.

It was during Jackson’s second administration that the first labor representative was elected to the congress of the United States. The gentleman who won this distinction was Ely Moore, who in 1833 was president of “ The General Trades-Unions of the City of New York.” Like the Central Labor Unions and Trades Assemblies of the present day, it aimed to unite under one central head all the unions of the city and vicinity. Its objects, as stated in an address delivered by Mr. Moore in December, 1833, were both political and economic ; to guard the laborer against the encroachments of wealth ; to preserve his natural and political rights ; to narrow the line of distinction between employer and employed ; to promote the latter’s pecuniary interest, and to aid those out of employment. He also advanced the theory, since so generally

adopted by all labor organizations, that the General Trades-Union would diminish the number of strikes and lockouts, instead of increasing them. One significant clause of the constitution of this central body is, we believe, universally adopted by all recent central unions. It is: "No trade or art shall strike for higher wages than they at present receive without the sanction of this convention."

The anti-monopoly issue of that period was sharply drawn in President Jackson's relentless fight upon the United States Bank, and the popularity among working people of New York gained by Mr. Moore through his connection with the Central Trades Assembly led to his election to congress.

Political discussion was all the more important in efforts at labor reform at that time, since the combination and conspiracy laws existing in most, if not all the states was a sharp check upon strikes. The "Sailor's Strike" in New York City, in 1802, was probably the first in America. Desiring to exact of ship-owners an increase to fourteen dollars a month instead of ten, they quit work and paraded the streets with a band, inducing their shipmates to join the procession. The constables turned out, arrested the leader, locked him in jail, and thus put a summary end to the strike under the conspiracy statute. Thirty-five years later this relic of the old English law was bitterly assailed by a labor pamphleteer, who proclaimed that "the laws have made it a just and meritorious act that capitalists shall combine to strip the man of labor of his earnings," whereas, "if mechanics combine to raise wages, the laws punish them as conspirators against the good of society, and the dungeon awaits them as it does the robber." The first victory of laboring-men against this law was won in the famous "Journeyman Bootmakers' case," in Massachusetts, in 1842. The prosecution brought against the bootmakers' union, under the old conspiracy laws, was then decided in favor of the defendants, and no question as to the legality of labor organizations has since been raised in that state.

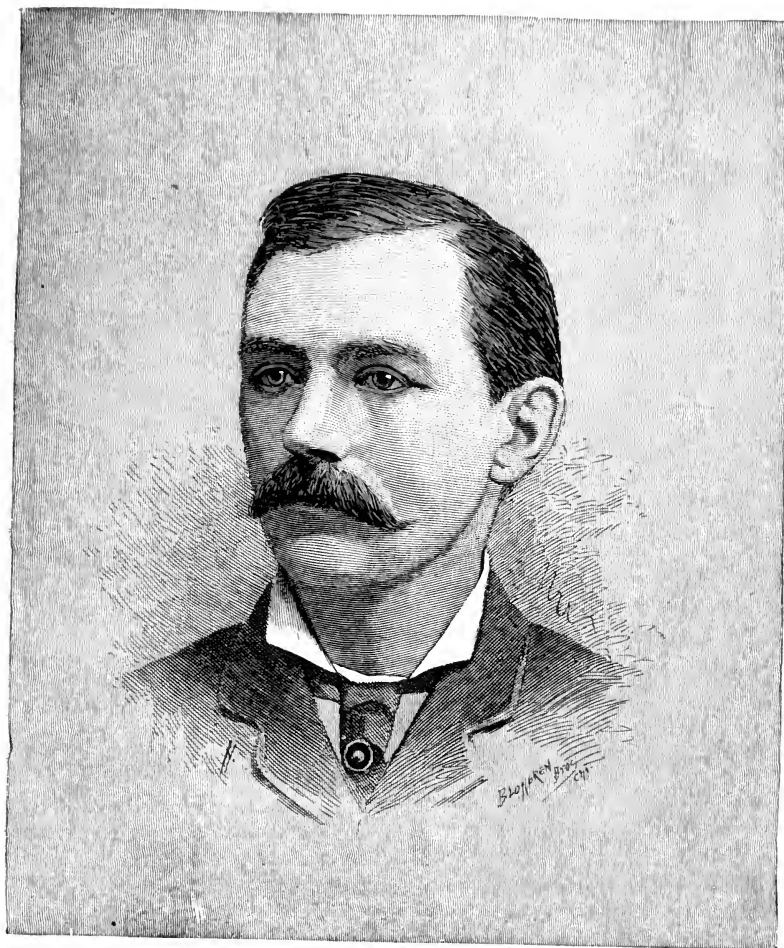
In the decade from 1830 to 1840, the agitation for the reform of labor abuses was more active than in any period of our history, previous to the civil war. Seth Luther in a lecture delivered at a number of places in New England, vigorously assailed the hard usage of children that had become a feature of New England factory life. Not only were earnings of parents insufficient to educate their children, but both women and children were often treated with a brutality that would not for a moment be tolerated at the present day. Luther tells of a girl of eleven whose leg was broken with a club by the taskmaster, of a boy of

twelve who drowned himself to escape from the horrors of the factory, and of a rebellion by 1,000 women against the brutal tyranny of the factory overseers. Both women and children were habitually goaded on to work by the use of the cowhide. Almost simultaneously with Luther's work the advocacy of an improved system of education was being pressed by other labor advocates. Carter, Rantoul and Horace Mann a little later took up the advocacy of measures that should protect child operatives, and enable them to obtain, at least, some rudiments of education. Their efforts were not wholly unsuccessful, but the most effective blow to the oppressive system which bore so heavily upon women and children in the factories, was the overthrow of the conspiracy laws, leaving working people more free to right their own wrongs.

Fifty years ago the eight-hour movement would have seemed to both employer and employé little short of midsummer madness. For women and children, as well as for men, the working day in New England factories was from eleven to twelve hours a day, and in many employments the old basis of "from sun to sun," which in summer meant sixteen hours a day, was still in vogue. Twelve and thirteen hours were not at all unusual. The revolt against this system was the ten-hour movement, which was brought to a successful issue in Baltimore, late in the thirties. A few years later, on the 10th of April, 1840, President Van Buren issued an order making ten hours a day's work in the navy-yards at Washington, and in all the government establishments. It was gradually adopted by private employers, though there are unfortunately a few employments in which twelve or more hours are exacted.

The tyrannical regulations of New England factory management in President Jackson's time were the subject of many and bitter complaints by the operatives. For resting or amusing themselves on Sunday instead of going to church they were fined by the mill-owners, who also taxed them to aid in supporting the churches out of their scanty earnings. During working hours they were locked in the mills as cattle in a barn, and out of working hours the employers claimed the right of controlling their actions, as absolutely as any southern planter did with the negroes. Facts and incidents of this sort are necessary to a full understanding of the great labor agitations of the period.

A powerful agent in alleviating these oppressions was the New England Association, which first met in Boston in 1831, and again in 1832. It set on foot organized action in favor of the ten-hour day, improvement of the educational system, abolition of imprisonment, removal of restrictions upon the right of suffrage and for a mechanic's lien law.



D. Ross Martin.

Secretary Federated Trades and Labor Organizations
of the Pacific Coast.



For elevating the condition of working people it proposed the organization of the whole laboring population of the United States, the separation of questions of practical reform from mere party contests, dissemination of labor literature and a judicious selection from among political candidates of the party to which workingmen may happen to belong, of those who would give the best guarantees of promoting the reforms in which working people were most deeply concerned.

The political and industrial reforms of the Jacksonian era were not fought out without a heavy cost both to capitalist and workingman. The unsettled condition of public opinion, the financial disorders growing out of Jackson's blow at the old United States bank, and the wild speculations that followed, brought on the financial crisis of 1837, resulting in an era of industrial depression which deprived many of employment. This wore away by the end of Van Buren's administration, and there was comparative prosperity until 1847, when another reaction came. Relief soon came, however, from the California "gold fever" of 1849, which started an active shipping trade to the Pacific coast and took so many men to the gold fields and other industries in California that wages rose in the east. The output of the gold mines and the general impetus to business growing out of the California emigration made an era of active prosperity throughout the United States.

Under such conditions the labor movement entered upon the last and most active decade of the formation period. Local labor unions, now, were not only rapidly increasing in numbers but were consolidating into national and international organizations. A national convention of compositors that met in New York in 1850, laid the foundation of the present International Typographical Union, including Canada and the United States, and having today a membership of 30,000 or more. National or international unions of hatters, metal workers, machinists, molders, blacksmiths, and a score of other trades were formed during the decade.

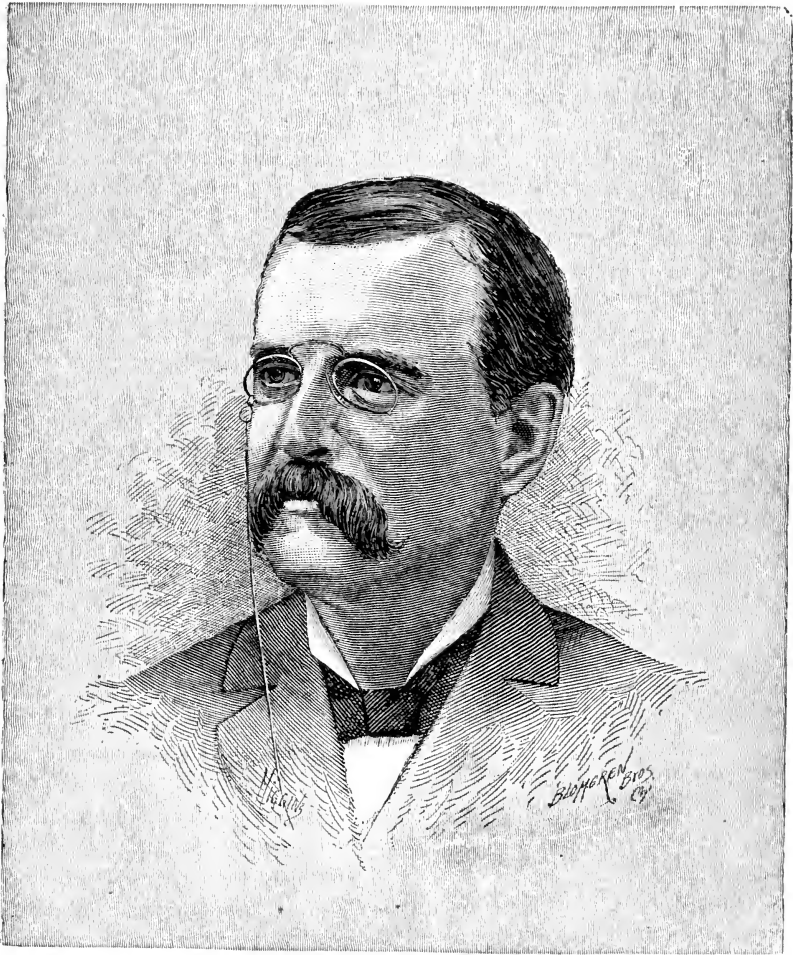
The stout contest of the past thirty years had broken down many of the abuses and lifted many of the oppressions under which labor had suffered in the past, and in spite of the financial crash of 1857, some of whose evil effects still lingered, the workingmen of America found themselves in 1860 in a better position than they had ever occupied before. The multiplication of industries had broadened the avenues of employment, while improvements in the factory system had immensely increased the productive capacity of the workingmen, cheapening the product to the consumer and giving increased wages to the employé and to labor a larger relative share of the product.

During this period of thirty years there had been a considerable increase in the price of food products used by the workingmen, but in all other articles there was a diminution of prices. The increase in wages during the thirty years is shown in the following table, compiled by the Labor Bureau in Washington.

COMPARISON OF WAGES BY PERIODS: 1830 AND 1860.

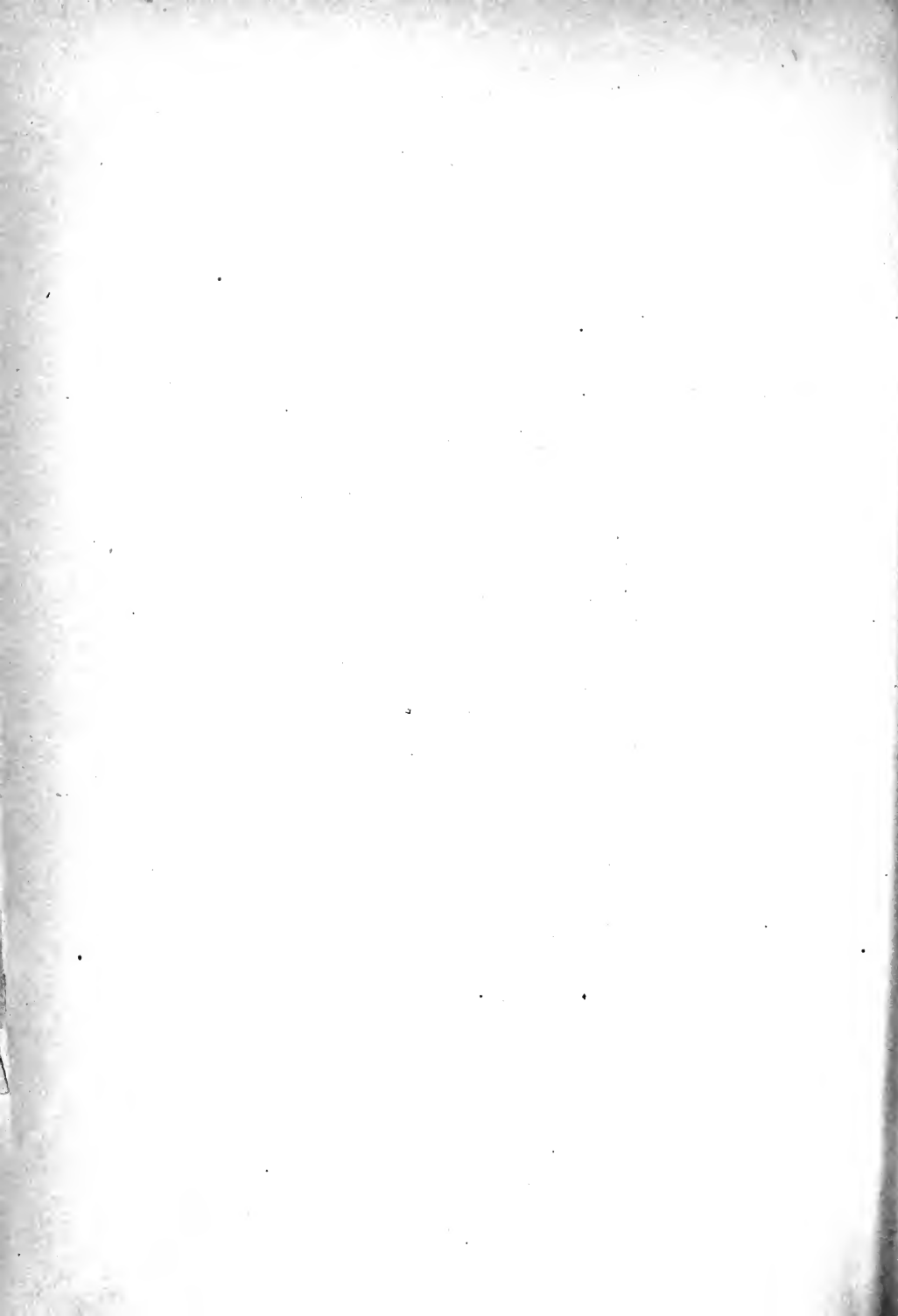
OCCUPATIONS.	Average Daily Wages for the Period end'g with 1830.	Average Daily Wages for the Period end'g with 1860.	Percentage of Increase or Decrease.
Agricultural laborers	\$0.803	\$1.01	25.8
Blacksmiths	1.12	1.69	50.9
Carpenters	1.07	2.03	89.7
Clockmakers	1.29	1.96	51.9
Clothing makers	1.27	1.43	12.6
Cotton mill operatives .....	.886	1.03	16.3
Glass makers	1.13	2.96	161.9
Harness makers	1.13	1.65	46.0
Laborers .....	.796	.975	22.5
Masons	1.22	1.53	25.4
Metal workers	1.23	1.35	9.8
Millwrights	1.21	1.66	37.2
Painters	1.25	1.85	48.0
Paper mill operatives .....	.666	1.17	75.7
Printers	1.25	1.75	40.0
Ship and boat builders	1.40	3.65	160.7
Shoemakers	1.06	1.70	60.4
Tanners and curriers	1.13	1.67	47.3
Wooden goods makers	1.25	1.72	37.6
Woolen mill operatives .....	.946	.873	7.7

This shows a general average increase of over 50 per cent for all the kinds of labor indicated. How much this may be offset by increased cost of living there are no means of ascertaining with certainty. Balancing the cheaper rate at clothing and other manufactured products are sold against the increase in the price of food it is probable that labor has gained very nearly the full 50 per cent of enhanced wages shown by the table.



Charles H. Litchman.

General Secretary of the Knights of Labor.



CHAPTER VI.—THE NEW ERA.

THE CIVIL WAR—ITS EFFECT ON LABOR—THE DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY—
THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AT ITS CLOSE—THE IMPETUS
GIVEN TO MANUFACTURES—RAPID GROWTH OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS—
ATTEMPT AT NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN—THE EIGHT HOUR MOVE-
MENT—THE GRANGERS—RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT, ITS CAUSES AND CONSE-
QUENCES—THE GROWTH OF CAPITAL—THE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF 1886.

A NEW era in America began with the civil war. Old systems were swept away, old prejudices passed into history, the last debris of feudalism was cleared away and the United States made ready for the good time to come. It is no part of this work to enter into the causes or the story of the war. Labor is chiefly concerned with peace; war is a disturbance and an interruption; nor is this a drum and trumpet history, it is rather a hammer and anvil history. But we know why the war came. There were two unreconcilable theories of government; and, as in all the annals of the world, they had to come at last to the arbitrament of force. The war wrecked slavery and furnished a new bond of union among the common people, as the workingmen are contemptuously called by others, and proudly by themselves. During the years while the struggle was in progress the whole machinery of commerce was thrown out of gear, hundreds of thousands of the best men on either side of Mason and Dixon's line were at the front, while, at home, in the factories and at the farms, were left not quite the best class, or the most valuable to the community. The drain into the armies carried away the labor from the country behind, wages fluctuated greatly, owing to the disturbed condition of the country, and the period, as far as labor is concerned, may be dismissed as an abnormal one, where accidental and unusual conditions combined to render any study of wage-making economics futile.

But the war once over, he must be blind, indeed, who cannot see the tremendous impetus that was given to every branch of industry. The boys came marching home eager to hammer their swords into plowshares. They had behind them years of hardship, of steady discipline, of that exultation which comes from sacrifice for truth. Within six months over a million and a half of men, North and South, began pro-

ductive work. The country was full of a depreciated, but intrinsically, valuable money. Confidence in the future was never at a higher flood. The great West was waiting for development. There were railroads to be built, factories to be worked, mines to be dug, farms to be plowed. The wheels of commerce began to revolve again. Industry had not suffered by lying fallow for four yea

Some great work had been done for humanity. The abolition of slavery was a step forward worth years of fighting. It raised the laborer of the South at a bound from the condition of the beast of burden to manhood, with all its responsibilities and rights. Naturally a suddenly enfranchised people were, for a time, blinded in the full glare of the dim light. They, like others, had to learn, and to learn, through suffering and mistakes, what freedom meant. But the lesson is being received. The negro is, through training and heredity, a worker on the farm rather than in the factory. Unaided he would not have achieved his emancipation for centuries. The race clings to the soil yet and to habits of servitude. The black seldom learns any trade, save that of the barber and the waiter. Better farm workers, when they will work, are not to be found in America. But the emancipation of the negro was not a benefit to the negro alone; it was a distinct gain to all the farm workers in the land who came into competition with slave-labor, or who produced the commodities which slave-labor consumed. As convict-labor is today, slave-labor was up to 1861. Its effect was to force free labor to come to its condition and its wages. It worked for a bare subsistence, and produced under high pressure. It had only the scant necessities of life, and none of the comforts; it was not a purchaser in the market, but only an unfair competitor. It was broken up at last, and even the most prejudiced in the land, North and South, will come — is coming — to reverence the dead hand that wrote "A. Lincoln." under the charter that swept away the relic of barbarism. The consequences were not at once apparent. It was believed that the South was ruined, but the New South is now prospering in full concert with the rest of the country. The ravages of war, which destroyed millions and millions of property in the national battlefield, were soon made up and the march of progress once more taken up. The negro is training himself as a citizen and forgetting himself as an escaped slave; and so far as the process goes he is a profitable unit of society. The South, itself, with free labor is getting larger returns for the capital invested than it did under the old dispensation, with its slovenly processes and wasteful methods.

At the close of the war, the credit of the nation had been used to an

extent theretofore unprecedented in the history of America. The debt at its highest point was \$2,700,000,000; the assessed valuation of the property held in the United States in 1860 was \$12,000,000,000: the debt was somewhat more than one dollar in five of the assessed valuation. At the South, the Confederacy had gone to wreck. There was neither money nor property in the land. The finances of the seceding states were in a confusion greater even than that of the Continental Congress. Appomattox extinguished even the last flickering spark of value that lingered in the Confederate dollar. Gold and silver had been almost wholly drained out of that section, and state bankruptcy seemed imminent. At the North things were not so bad, but the condition was dangerous. How prosperity was retrieved nothing tells better than the highest price of gold in greenbacks, which ran as follows:

1864.....	\$2.85	1869.....	\$1.62½	1874.....	\$1.14⅞
1865.....	2.34¾	1870.....	1.23¼	1875.....	1.17⅝
1866.....	1.67¾	1871.....	1.15⅜	1876.....	1.15
1867.....	1.46⅜	1872.....	1.15⅝	1877.....	1.07⅞
1868.....	1.50	1873.....	1.19½	1878.....	1.02⅞

and in 1879, and since that year, one dollar in paper has been worth one dollar in gold, through the resumption of specie payment. In fourteen years from its lowest point, national credit reached a place in the highest rank. The disorganization of the finances had its effect on the business of the country. The period immediately following the war was a time of great inflation. In 1865 the currency in circulation was \$983,000,000, or \$28 per capita; in 1879 it was \$734,000,000, or \$14.87 per capita. New enterprises were pushed forward, new channels of industry found, and the whole commerce of the country had an impetus, whose traces are to be found in every page of the census reports. In the general, even if fictitious, prosperity, the laborer to a certain extent shared. Wages were higher, as a corollary of money being more plentiful. Side by side with the unhealthy and too rapid growth of mechanical industry, the foundations of a more stable prosperity were being laid in the west by the men who were developing the prairies and clearing the forests. In 1866 there were \$600,000,000 worth of public lands sold, in 1869 there were \$4,000,000,000 worth sold. Thus a large part of the population was taking up real production and making the country ready for that large and wholesome prosperity which was to come after the froth of the war time had been blown away.

The period was essentially one of organization. Army life had educated the masses into a knowledge of the value of discipline and com-

bined effort. They were trained to apply to the services of peace the system which they had been taught in the school of war. Never in the history of the world did labor advance so rapidly as in the time lying between the close of the civil war and the year 1886. The history of the time is a history of organization and combination. Capital was setting the pace by constantly growing corporations and pools, and labor was following along the well-blazed path with strong unions and federations of workmen stretching throughout the United States.

Many of the local unions grew very strong and the next step, that of national federation, was an easy one to make. In some cases, as in that of the Knights of St. Crispin, the federation ended in failure, in others it has been a complete and lasting success. Perhaps in no single part of the struggle has the effect of organization been so apparent as in the eight-hour movement elsewhere described, and in the record made by the Knights of Labor.

A most important episode in the Story of Labor was the rise and progress of the Granger movement, which began in 1866, and which nine years later had a membership of 763,263. The Patrons of Husbandry were not strictly a combination of wage-earners, but their work has been done along the same lines. The Grangers have steadily put their influence against the growth of railroad and corporation monopoly. There is a constantly increasing likelihood of a juncture, or at least a strong alliance between the Patrons of Husbandry and the Knights of Labor. Both of these great bodies watch with alarm the work illegitimately done by the railroads and the corporations. Their ends are almost identical and there seems to be no inherent antagonism in the means by which they pursue their ends. The manner in which the railroad development of the country has been achieved is not altogether a blessing either to the farmers or the wage-earners. A sum of money larger than the national debt is carried by the transportation industry of the country as a result not of cost, but of dishonest finance. The earnings of this fictitious capital come finally upon the workman to pay. No one can legitimately object to capital receiving its fair share in the product of its employment, but capital which is not wealth, but water, which is nothing but the notoriously bad result of stock jobbing pools, is a burden which neither the laborer nor the farmer should rest quiet beneath.

Fairly and unfairly capital has grown in America with strides greater than that known in any country in the world. Its distribution is closely akin to the distribution of steam horse-power which is tabulated on

another page. It is very interesting to note the wealth per capita of the different states in 1880 as compared with 1850. It must be remembered that in 1850 the negroes were property in the southern states while in 1880 they were divisors to be used in ascertaining the per capita. Virginia and West Virginia were one state in 1850. The showing is as follows:

	1880	1850		1880	1850
Alabama	\$299	\$ 296	Montana	\$741	\$—
Arizona	569	—	Nebraska	641	—
Arkansas	307	190	Nevada	1,100	—
California	1,654	239	New Hampshire	945	326
Colorado	767	—	New Jersey	1,267	409
Connecticut	1,368	420	New Mexico.....	251	84
Dakota.....	503	—	New York	1,499	349
Delaware.....	941	230	North Carolina	319	261
Florida.....	353	261	Ohio.....	1,032	255
Georgia.....	359	370	Oregon.....	721	381
Idaho.....	368	—	Pennsylvania	1,259	313
Illinois.....	1,005	183	Rhode Island	1,519	546
Indiana.....	758	205	South Carolina.....	297	431
Iowa.....	871	123	Tennessee	432	201
Kansas.....	577	—	Texas.....	455	248
Kentucky.....	534	307	Utah.....	465	87
Louisiana.....	449	452	Vermont.....	870	294
Maine.....	772	210	Virginia.....	458	303
Maryland.....	929	376	Washington.....	639	—
Massachusetts.....	1,568	577	West Virginia.....	496	—
Michigan.....	837	150	Wisconsin.....	737	138
Minnesota.....	817	—	Wyoming.....	962	—
Mississippi.....	286	377	District of Columbia ..	1,255	271
Missouri.....	706	201			

The discovery of gold and the consequent great development of the state accounts for the great growth of wealth in California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois each show a per capita of over \$1,000. In each of these states the proportion of pauperism is high, and in some it is at its highest. In all of them wages certainly do not grade higher than in states whose progress has not been so apparent. In all of them the percentage of men having \$50,000 is higher than in the rest of the country. Thus it will be seen that there is a greater proportion of capital in New England especially, and in the middle states, than in other parts of America and that the wealth is held in fewer hands.

The economic conditions of 1886 are thus the results of a develop-

ment which we can trace back to the middle ages. The early guilds were the forerunners of the federated labor unions of today. The people have been coming to higher things from year to year, now making a great stride forward, now losing some, but not all of the ground won, so that on the whole the progress has been real, the advance certain. In 1886 we see labor organized as it never was before in the history of the world. The wild revolts of the Jockerie, of Wat Tyler, of the peasants of Germany, were the old forms of the same impulse which in this year of grace has shown us the strength of the Knights of Labor against the pork packers during the autumn, and against the Gould Southwestern System in the spring. The difference is the difference between civilization and barbarism. The only weapon of the workingman of the dark ages was the bludgeon or the cuttle. We have changed all of that. Labor now is as thoroughly organized and homogeneous as was the feudal system, or as is the railway pool. We have seen the "common people" arming themselves with new and constitutional weapons before which the injustice of the ruling minority must go down. Manhood suffrage is the most important factor in the economics of today. It is a fact that we can safely trust the people; it is a fact that we must trust the people whether it is with our will or against it. The currency of the country is as good as gold and somewhat better than silver. The pendulum seems to be swinging toward an era of good times undisturbed by financial panics or commercial depressions. All that is needed in America is fair play between master and man to make this the most happy as well as the most prosperous country whereof the history of the world holds record.

CHAPTER VII.—THE EVENTS OF 1886.

THE SOUTHWESTERN STRIKE—A SYNOPSIS OF THE FACTS IN THE MOST STUBBORN FIGHT OF THE CENTURY BETWEEN ORGANIZED CAPITAL AND ORGANIZED LABOR—THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT—THE “FOUR EIGHTS”—THE NUMBERS ENGAGED IN THE MOVE, AND THE RESULTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

THE preliminary signal for the great Southwestern railroad strike was the shriek of a steam whistle calling out the workmen in the Texas and Pacific railroad shops in Marshall, Tex., at three o'clock p. m., on Monday, the first of March. On the same day there was a walk-out of all the men in the Texas and Pacific shops at Big Springs, Tex. At Fort Worth a general strike was declared against the Missouri Pacific and the Texas and Pacific roads, three hundred men going out. Not only were the shops deserted by mechanics, but all freight traffic was suspended at that point. The railroad officials declared, “officially,” that they were ignorant of the cause of the strike.

The news was promptly telegraphed to Receiver Brown at Dallas. To the reporters who interviewed him, Mr. Brown did not pretend ignorance of the origin of the strike; he declared that no employé had laid any grievance before him or any agent of the road. Such complaints, he claimed, would have been promptly attended to. But, he added, any man who feels that he has cause of complaint “must state his own grievance, and present his own case in person, and not invoke the officious interference of persons who do not appear on our rolls and who are unknown to us.” The position of the railroad corporations, thus forcibly and concisely expressed by Mr. Brown, explains the long and bitter struggle that followed. In beginning the quarrel the Texas and Pacific road was really the aggressor, the discharge of Hall being a thinly disguised attack upon the Knights of Labor. The fight, throughout, was conducted solely upon the issue of recognizing or not recognizing their organization.

J. J. McGarry, Judge Advocate of District Assembly No. 1, K. of L., was in Texas for some days before March 1st, looking into the situation. From his account of the trouble published on March 3d, it appears that District Assembly No. 101 held a largely attended convention at Marshall, beginning on the 15th of February, and lasting for several days.

C. A. Hall, foreman of the wood-workers in the Texas and Pacific car shops at Marshall, was a delegate. He had made an arrangement with the master car-builder, Crosby, which left him at liberty to attend the sessions of the convention without seriously neglecting his duties. The convention adjourned at noon on the 19th of February, and Hall returned to work as usual. Before quitting the shop that night he received a note informing him that his services were no longer required. Crosby claimed that he had discharged Hall for incompetency and for neglect of duty, but the time and manner of the dismissal suggest a different reason.

The local grievance committee of the Knights of Labor took up Hall's case, and ordered a strike in the Marshall shops to last until he should be reinstated. As this measure did not seem likely to prove effective, the matter was taken in hand by the executive board of District Assembly No. 101. S. O. Bissett, a conductor on the New Orleans division of the same road, had also been discharged in December, in alleged violation of the agreement of March 15, 1885. "And it is now determined by the executive board," says Mr. McGarry in the interview already referred to, "that these men shall be reinstated within a given time or every wheel of the system shall stop." What is called the Southwest Gould system comprises five lines of road running through five states and one territory—Missouri, Kansas, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana and the Indian Territory. District Assembly No. 101 is in exclusive possession of all this territory under the rules of the order. They number at the present time 9,000 members, and consider themselves strong enough to bring the roads to their terms sooner or later.

In what is called the Gould Southwestern system there are five thousand miles of road, and the country whose commerce it moves has a population of scarcely less than five millions. From Central Missouri to Central Texas the Gould system includes all existing roads except the Frisco line from St. Louis, so that a blockade of traffic upon that system would place the whole Southwest in a state of siege. The Texas and Pacific had, in December, 1885, been nominally taken out of the Gould system through the appointment by the United States Circuit Court at New Orleans of John C. Brown and Lionel A. Sheldon as receivers. But the employés did not accept the theory that the action of the court had released the road from the agreement of March 15, 1885, nor that it equitably relieved the Gould management of all responsibility for the conduct of the Texas and Pacific road in dealing with the men. This agreement was the one proposed by Governor Marmaduke of Missouri,

and Governor Martin of Kansas for terminating the strike of 1885. By it the scale of wages of September, 1884, was restored, and the men claimed that it also guaranteed that no one should be discharged without notice. Alleged violations of this agreement in respect of wages formed part of the strikers' grievance.

The Texas strikes of March 1st revealed a situation which left little hope of avoiding a disastrous conflict. Citizens of the threatened territory actively bestirred themselves to avert the impending calamity. At Marshall and other places in Texas mass-meetings were held and committees appointed to bring about a compromise, if possible. All their efforts were rendered futile through the stubborn refusal of Receiver Brown to recognize the existence of any organization among the road's employes. It was at one of these citizens' meetings in Marshall on the 2d of March that Martin Irons, chairman of the Executive Board of District Assembly No. 101, first appeared publicly in the transactions that were to make his name known throughout the world.

The order stopping the wheels of commerce in the Southwest was sent out from Marshall, Tex., by Chairman Irons at 10 o'clock on Saturday, March 6th. This order covered most of the territory, but some portions of the Gould system were controlled by District Assemblies No. 17 and No. 93, and these also joined in. The immediate effect was a complete blockade of freight traffic. Through passenger trains, carrying the mails, were at no time interrupted. Eight to ten thousand men went out the moment the signal was received, and this action involved the temporary laying off of ten thousand others in the various departments of railroad work dependent upon the movement of the trains. A history of the strike would fill a large volume. The chief facts in this bitter struggle are here arranged in chronological order:

March 8.—Business was practically suspended in the freight department of the Missouri Pacific. Strike of St. Louis bridge and tunnel yardmen and switchmen. Eastern traffic blockaded. Sharp decline in all produce usually shipped by St. Louis to Southern markets.

March 9.—About 1,200 Missouri Pacific employes, clerks, etc., in freight department, in enforced idleness. Over 100 telegraph operators suspended and more to follow. Flour mills, factories and furnaces closed for want of supplies.

March 10.—Order posted in Missouri Pacific shops and freight yards, dismissing all strikers and ordering them from the premises. Attempt to employ new men. Detectives hired to guard property.

March 11.—Passenger trains moving on time. The 'Frisco raises the western freight blockade. Overtures for a settlement from interior merchants. Thirteen engines "killed" at De Soto, Mo. U. S. court removes the blockade at Big Springs Texas.

March 12.—Engineers and firemen at St. Louis abandon their posts at the request of strikers.

March 13.—Missouri Pacific engines captured by strikers in three states.

March 14.—Strikers arrested by U. S. marshals in Texas. Kansas militia under orders. Great decrease in mail; one St. Louis carrier reports collection of only 600 letters, whereas the usual number was 2,000.

March 15.—Active demonstrations against the Missouri Pacific at Sedalia. St. Louis suburban train side-tracked at Cheltenham. Jay Gould telegraphs from Jacksonville, Fla., that the strike causes him great surprise. Martin Irons telegraphs Mr. Hoxie from Sedalia proposing that he meet a committee of railroad Knights for conference.

March 16.—Hoxie declines the proposed conference and says the road's revenues are so reduced by the strike he shall not soon need so many men as before.

March 18.—General Master Workman Powderly arrives in Kansas City to investigate the strike. He telegraphs Mr. Hoxie asking for a conference.

March 19.—Hoxie declines to meet Powderly in his official capacity. With the aid of Receiver Sheldon, an attempt is made to bring Hall's case before the U. S. court for arbitration. Jay Gould sends out a manifesto from Charleston, saying that the Missouri Pacific employs 14,319 men, of whom only 3,700 are in the strike, so that these deprive the other 10,600 of their daily earnings.

March 20.—Governor Martin of Kansas and Governor Marmaduke and Labor Commissioner Kotchitzky, of Missouri, arrive in St. Louis; they have a long conference with Mr. Hoxie and submit a plan of settlement. Governor Marmaduke says the trouble is costing the strikers \$20,000 a day. Scarcity of lime from kilns on Iron Mountain and Missouri Pacific roads threatens to stop all building in St. Louis.

March 21.—Mr. Hoxie declines the proposal of the two governors.

Two hundred switchmen strike at Kansas City on March 22d. All engines ordered into the round-houses; traffic entirely stopped.

Violent demonstrations along the southern system on the 23d. Freight trains ditched and several persons injured at Sedalia. Entire St. Louis police force under orders. Strikers defeat attempt to move a Missouri Pacific freight train out of St. Louis. Railroad shops stoned. Traffic east of the river reduced fifty per cent. Arkansas farmers suffering for supplies.

March 24.—Missouri Pacific attempts to move freight under police protection; six engines "killed." Kansas City switchmen go back to work. Switchmen strike at St. Joseph, Mo. St. Louis merchants demand that traffic be resumed.

March 25.—East St. Louis switchmen called out. Skirmish between strikers and detectives at Pacific, Mo.

March 26.—Force employed to stop trains in East St. Louis. Deputy marshals and regular troops ordered to protect property there. Freight trains moving on all divisions of the Gould system.

March 28.—Queer developments from a conference between Powderly and Jay Gould in New York. Gould hands Powderly copy of telegram to Hoxie, saying: "We see no objection to arbitrating any difference between the employés and the company." Powderly telegraphs Irons to order the strike off, as Gould has consented to arbitrate. Hoxie received no such telegram from Gould.

March 29.—Gould says papers handed Powderly were personal and should not

have been published. He cancels the proposed telegram to Mr. Hoxie authorizing arbitration.

March 30.—Fred Turner, Secretary and Treasurer of General Executive Board, K. of L., thinks he has reached a basis of settlement with Mr. Hoxie. He telegraphs Irons to order the men to work and appoint a committee of employes to wait on Hoxie. Illinois militia under orders. Coal selling in St. Louis at 35 cents a bushel. Governor Oglesby and Adjutant-General Vance, of Illinois, arrive in East St. Louis. Mr. Hoxie telegraphs Gould: "Moved 139 freight trains, containing 1,714 car-loads, on the entire system yesterday."

April 1.—In accordance with orders from Chairman Irons, of Assembly 101, Coughlin of No. 93, and Sullivan of No. 1, the strikers apply for work to Gould's agents throughout the system, each local assembly appointing a committee for that purpose; all such committees were denied recognition, and none of the Knights returned to work. No freight trains moving in East St. Louis. Governor Oglesby addresses the Knights in East St. Louis, saying their demands were perfectly just, but warns them not to interfere with the men at work.

April 2.—First Regiment Kansas National Guard, 400 strong, arrives at Parsons in response to call of the sheriff.

April 3.—Strikers armed with Winchester rifles waylay a freight train near Fort Worth, and fire upon the guard of deputy marshals; brisk skirmish results, in which four of the marshals are badly wounded, two of them fatally. One or two of the strikers were hit.

April 4.—Quorum of the General Executive Board, Knights of Labor, sitting in St. Louis, revoke the New York order calling off the strike, Mr. Hoxie having declared that he would consider personal applications only, and pay heed to no society or committee. Fort Worth full of soldiers, and more coming.

April 6.—Bitter denunciation of Jay Gould in address to workingmen of the world by the Executive Boards of District Assemblies Nos. 101, 93 and 17. Jay Gould says the Missouri Pacific has brought over 1,200 suits against persons who destroyed or injured its property.

April 7.—Two hundred strikers going the rounds of freight yards in East St. Louis ordering men to quit work and fall into line.

April 9.—Seven men and one woman killed by rural braves who fire into the crowds in East St. Louis. These ruffians had accepted service under the Louisville and Nashville railroad in response to the following advertisement posted in many towns along its route: "Wanted—Good men to act as deputy marshals and to protect the property of this company in East St. Louis. Five dollars a day paid and board furnished. None but men of grit need apply."

April 11.—Funeral of those killed in East St. Louis massacre attended by 1,000 Knights of Labor. Central Labor Union of New York denounces Jay Gould and pledges support to Southwestern strikers.

April 13.—Mass-meeting at St. Louis Court-house appoints arbitration committee of prominent citizens.

April 14.—Correspondence between Powderly and Gould. Powderly reviews the New York conference, taxes Gould with double dealing and trickery, and challenges him to combat in the courts. Gould replies in sarcastic vein and lays responsi-

bility for strike upon Powderly. Powderly directs the full support of Knights' organization to be given to the strikers. Contributions now averaging \$2,000 a day.

April 16.—Mr. Hoxie replies to the citizens' arbitration committee, chiding the Court-house meeting for its resolutions saying that commerce is obstructed. He declares that the roads are now in full operation and there is nothing to arbitrate. Committeemen Coughlin, Martin Irons and others indicted for alleged wire-tapping conspiracy.

April 20.—Curtin's special Congressional committee to investigate the strike holds its first session in Washington. Mr. Powderly the first witness examined.

April 22.—Jay Gould goes before the Curtin committee at Washington, and is subjected to long and tedious cross-examination.

May 1.—Curtin committee begins investigation in St. Louis. Merchants testify that the only interruption of business now is at East St. Louis. Prospect for spring trade before the strike the best since 1880; increase of 25 per cent expected. Owing to blockade, business from March to May not half what it was in 1885. E. C. Simmons tells of a car-load of hardware shipped to his firm from Belleville, Illinois, on March 17th, which has not yet arrived. One great cause of business depression is distrust of the future, many country merchants fearing the strike would grow into a civil war. Country merchants daily writing to St. Louis wholesalers for an extension of time on their notes, as business is paralyzed. Owing to lack of confidence, as well as lack of facilities, all branches of the building trade in St. Louis reduced to less than one-third of what they are in ordinary seasons. In all the cities and towns of the Southwest the interruption of business has been equally bad, and in many of them worse.

May 3.—Through the request of ex-Governor Curtin, chairman of the Congressional committee, and the efforts of the St. Louis citizens' committee, who represent that the prolongation of the quarrel was doing the country harm, the Knights of Labor decide to end the strike unconditionally. The order to that effect, telegraphed to local assemblies in East St. Louis and throughout the Southwest, was signed by John W. Hayes, general executive board; Martin Irons, chairman D. A. No. 101; A. C. Coughlin, chairman D. A. No. 93; M. A. Sullivan, master workman and chairman D. A. No. 17.

Thus ended the most stubborn fight of the century between organized capital and organized labor. During the eight weeks and a half of its duration it cost the Knights of Labor over \$1,000,000 in lost wages, seriously curtailed the financial resources of the railroads, and caused incalculable losses to trades-people in all branches of business and industry.

THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

In the winter of 1885, it became generally understood that on the 1st of May, 1886, there would be a general demand made by the organized labor throughout the country for an acceptance by all employers of the proposition that eight hours should constitute a day's work.

St. Louis was, throughout the labor troubles of the first half of the

year, the center of disturbance, and, as a consequence, the differences between the employers and the workingmen were studied perhaps more closely in that city than anywhere else in the United States. In the following sketch of the effort and its results, accordingly, the St. Louis experiment has been treated at greater length than that of other cities.

The Federated Trades of the United States and Canada, in the New York convention of 1843, formulated a demand for shorter hours in a day's work. Previous to this the matter had been agitated by individuals and by isolated bodies for many years. President Van Buren really inaugurated the ten-hour day by his proclamation in 1840. From that year to 1884 there was little combined agitation for a further decrease, although there had been two abortive strikes; but in the latter year many facts combined to make the agitation reerudescere. In the first place, of course, there was, among the workingmen, the general feeling that eight hours a day was all that should be demanded. The feeling was not a recent one, as the old English quatrain, called "The Four Eights," exhibits:

Eight hours to sleep,
 Eight hours to play,
 Eight hours to work,
 And eight bob a day.

The successful working of the Four Eights in Australia was well known in America, but, beyond the decreased comfort coming from his prolonged exertion, there were other reasons urged by the workingman which merit attention. The ten-hour day, which was the rule, would be shortened one-fifth; to do the work of the country there would at once be required one-fifth more men at work, but, as the leaders of the movement pointed out, there were, and are, more than one-fifth as many men idle as at work. Immigration had been pouring in labor, improved machinery had been displacing it, business depression had been decreasing wages, and the situation for labor was distinctly bad. A change, which would take up some of the surplus labor, would be a good thing for the country.

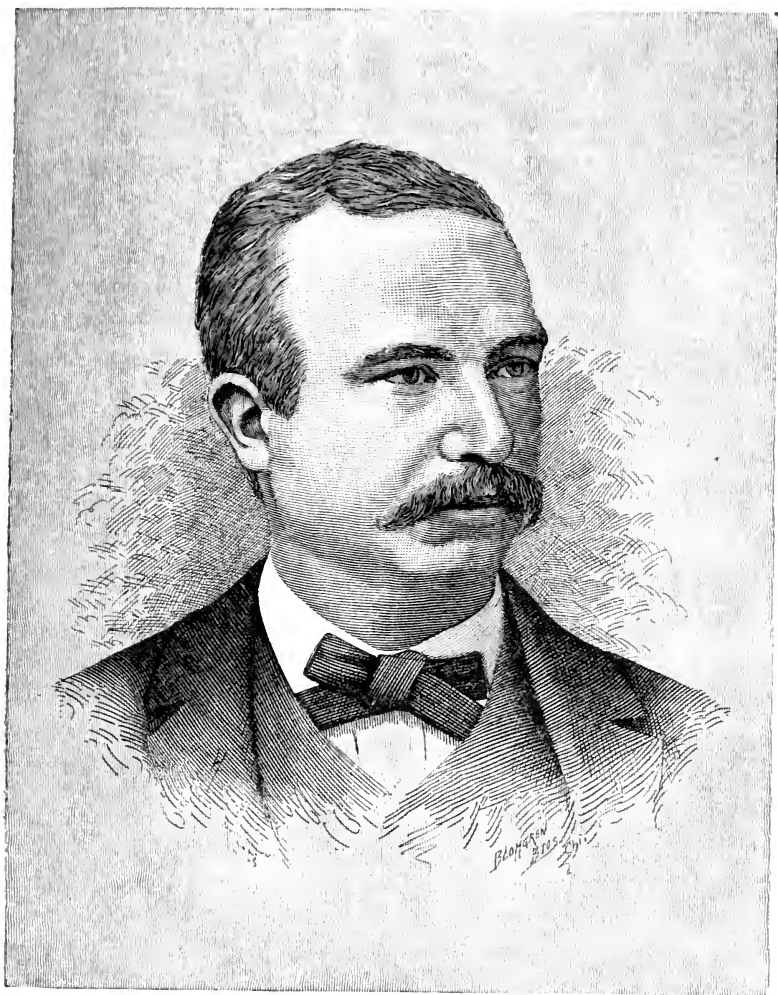
The great majority of the trades-unions declared in 1884 for eight hours. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen held aloof and declined to go into the agitation.

In February, 1886, the Central Labor Union of St. Louis, a body in which all the trades of the city were represented, declared for eight hours as a day's work. The great strike on the Gould system interfered

seriously with the movement, discouraging trade and throwing many men out of employment who took the places of the eight-hour strikers.

All unions under the control of the Central Labor Union were instructed as to the time and manner of making the demand for shorter hours. May 1st was selected as the time for the general demand. In making the demand, the various unions were instructed to ask for the eight-hour day of work, with no reduction of wages. If those terms could not be had, they were advised to accept eight hours' work and eight hours' pay. Strikes were not contemplated in the movement, and members of all unions under the control of the Central Labor Union were instructed not to strike under any circumstances. In a great many instances the eight-hour day was voluntarily inaugurated by proprietors before the 1st of May had arrived, and in other instances the demand was acceded to immediately. But in the majority of instances there was a cessation of work and a consultation. There was only one strike among the members of any labor union which was connected with the Central Labor Union, and that was by the furniture-workers. They were allowed the eight hours' work at first, and then the bosses receded from the position they had taken, and demanded ten hours' work. A long and disastrous strike of over a month followed. The appended statistics will give a good idea of the situation in St. Louis during the first week of the movement. It will be remembered that none of the strikers of the local trades-unions were under the control or indorsed by either the Central Labor Union or the Trades Assembly. There had been no organized opposition offered against the movement, and the general feeling was toward the successful inauguration of the eight-hour system. The majority of employers in the city, if the business in which they were engaged would permit the eight-hour system of labor, were willing to give it a trial, but in a great many instances work that was contracted for completion at a certain time could not be finished under the new order. In some branches of business the employés, of a necessity, worked by turns of twelve hours. Such was the case with millers, brewers, bakers, etc. The movement had an effect upon these trades, but only in the matter of shorter hours.

At the end of the first week in May, by correct estimation, 23,881 men were working shorter hours after making the demand, 500 men had struck for and lost the move, and 1,250 men were yet striking for the reduction of hours, making the total number of men engaged in the move during the first week 30,331. During this week both trade and labor in St. Louis were in a very unsettled and unsatisfactory condition,



D. F. McGuire.

**Executive Secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners of America.**



and a number of employers of labor expressed dissatisfaction with the eight-hour system. Between the 8th and the 16th days of May but few strikes occurred, and but few of those which were on were settled.

The introduction of the eight-hour system into some of the factories was only an experiment, the managers and owners not knowing themselves whether it would prove practicable or not. This was especially the case with the owners of furniture manufactories and planing-mills. It took just two weeks for the proprietors of the latter-named industries in St. Louis to discover that the eight-hour system of labor was not practicable in their business, and they gave out that they would, after the 17th of the month, require all their employés to work the usual ten hours. This action of the planing-mill and furniture factory owners caused the longest and most disastrous strike among the workmen of St. Louis during the whole of the eight-hour agitation. As soon as the bosses had announced their intention of requiring employés to work ten hours the men resolved to resist the move to the end, and accordingly, when the 17th day of May arrived, a general strike was inaugurated among the furniture workers and planing-mill hands, which aggregated fully two thousand men. This strike continued until Saturday, June 19th, when the workmen were absolutely starved into submission, and were forced to return to work on the ten-hour schedule.

The following are the numbers and occupations of those actually engaged in the movement in St. Louis during May, June and July : Tobacco factory employés, 4,500 ; the building trades, 6,300 ; marble-cutters, 150 ; boiler-makers, 250 ; weavers, 60 ; brewery employés, 10,000 ; chemical workers, 75 ; cigarmakers, 650 ; moulders, 800 ; bakers, 450 ; cornice makers, 125 ; gas-house coal-handlers, 60 ; plumbers, 105 ; railroad laborers, 50 ; wire workers, 160 ; furniture workers, 700 ; planing-mill hands, 650 ; chairmakers, 600 ; wood carvers, 65 ; coopers, 200 ; architectural iron-workers, 150 ; composition roofers, 80 ; gas-house laborers, 40 ; sugar refiners, 60 ; lumber pilers, 65 ; match-makers, 125 ; bucketmakers, 100 ; white lead makers, 135 ; miscellaneous, 375.

A careful estimate places the loss in money suffered by the strikers at \$78,000

St. Louis was only one of a score of large cities in the Union the business interests of which were greatly affected by the wide-spread agitation for shorter hours of labor. New York and Chicago both suffered heavier losses to business than did St. Louis through the agitation, to say nothing of the unenviable notoriety they gained through demonstrations made by the anarchist element, of which St. Louis is

almost entirely free. A review of the results of the move for shorter hours among the trades of some of the other large cities may be of interest here.

In New York city and Brooklyn the workmen of the following trades got shorter hours of work on demand, without strike, during the first week of May: Cigarmakers, 18,000; furniture-workers, 10,000; machinists and metal-workers, 10,000; pianomakers, 3,500; building trades, 7,000. Total, 48,500.

In Chicago the total number of men who were granted shorter hours without strike, during the first week of May, were as follows: Packing-house employés, 35,000; building trades, 5,000; cigarmakers, 1,800; brewers, 1,000; clothing cutters, 1,600; railway shopmen, 1,800. Total, 16,200.

In Baltimore the number of workmen granted shorter hours, without strike, during the first week of May were: Tobacco factory employés, 5,000; building trades, 2,000. Total 7,000.

At Grand Rapids, Mich., 3,000 furniture workers were given shorter hours on demand.

During the first week in May almost all of the trades in the large cities had strikes on their hands. Following is a record of the more important strikes in New York city and Brooklyn for the first week: Pattern-makers, 2,000; pianomakers, 3,000; cabinetmakers, 3,000; furriers, 1,000; carriagemakers, 750; marble cutters, 300; machinists and metal-workers, 500; furniture-workers, 285. Total, 10,825.

The more important strikes in Chicago for the first week were: Furniture workers, 7,000; lumber yard and planing-mill men, 12,000; freight handlers, 2,220; building trades, 5,300; machinists and metal-workers, 1,000; sausagemakers, 700; agricultural machinists, 1,700. Total, 30,820.

In Cincinnati during the first week the notably large strikes were: Furniture workers, 7,000; building trades, 5,500; carriagemakers, 2,500; iron-workers, 1,500; freight-handlers, 600. Total, 17,100.

In Milwaukee the strike movement for the first week was as follows: Building trades and laborers, 5,000; railway shopmen, 1,700; brewers, 3,000. Total 9,000.

In Baltimore only two large strikes occurred during the first week, as follows: Building trades, 3,600; brickmakers and helpers; 1,000. Total, 4,600.

In Boston there were only two strikes of importance during the first week: building trades, 5,000; furriers, 800. Total, 5,800.

In Pittsburg the record for the first week was as follows : Building trades, 3,000 ; rolling mill employés, 500 ; cabinetmakers, 350 ; glass-workers, 300. Total, 4,150.

In Detroit there were several large strikes of importance, as follows : Car-builders, 1,200 ; springmakers, 400 ; matchmakers, 230 ; stave and head makers, 122 ; brewers, 300. Total, 3,252.

In some of the large cities only one strike of importance occurred during the first week, as follows : Washington, building trades, 2,000 ; Louisville, furniture works, 900 ; Newark, N. J., building trades, 1,500 ; Jersey City, machinists, 4,000 ; Jersey City, building trades, 500 ; Indianapolis, wheel-founders, 500 ; Pullman, Ill., car-builders, 3,000 ; Chicago, machinists (lockout), 12,000.

Accurate estimates show the total number of men engaged in the shorter-hour movement in the United States during the whole of the time was, in round numbers, 450,000. Of that number 185,000 men were granted shorter hours of labor. Up to the 22d of May last, 240,000 were working shorter hours, but 58,000 have been forced back into the old schedule since that time. During the two months of May and June, 290,000 were on a strike. The greatest number of men out on strike at any one time was 125,000, which was during the first week of the agitation. The total number of men granted shorter hours on demand and without strike or other difficulty was 100,000.

It will be noticed that the names of some of the large cities do not appear in the list as having labor troubles. In some cities the agitation was much greater than in others. In the city of Philadelphia no trouble occurred until the 10th of May, when 1,000 tailors' cutters struck for shorter hours, and the movement resulted in the lockout of 1,500 tailors' hands. The lockout was broken seven days later when the 1,500 tailors' workers accepted settlement of ten hours' pay for nine hours' work. The only other large strike in Philadelphia during the trouble was that of the planing-mill men for shorter hours on the 17th of May. After a strike of twenty-one days they went back again on the old schedule of time and pay. The curious feature of the short-hour move was the fact that it did not extend into the South, or further west than St. Louis, to any great extent.

The question of loss to employer and employed is a very pertinent one in connection with the shorter hour agitation. According to *Bradstreet's* the losses were as follows:

	Wages.	Current Business.	New busi- ness stopped.
New York City.....	\$ 300,000	\$ 300,000	\$ 2,000,000
Philadelphia.....	60,000	50,000	5,000,000
Smaller Pennsylvania cities.....	70,000	50,000	.....
Detroit, Michigan.....	97,000	25,000	850,000
Cincinnati.....	375,000	300,000	1,000,000
Milwaukee.....	466,000	200,000	4,000,000
New England cities.....	275,000	.....	6,000,000
St. Louis.....	75,000	.....	.....
Troy, N. Y.....	75,000	.....	150,000
Washington, D. C.....,	54,000	.....	2,000,000
Indianapolis.....	2,000	.....	.....
Pittsburgh.....	30,000	75,000	300,000
Louisville, Ky.....	23,000	5,000	500,000
Coal strikes.....	200,000	500,000	.....
Chicago.....	700,000	700,000	3,000,000
Totals.....	<u>\$2,802,000</u>	<u>\$2,105,000</u>	<u>\$24,800,000</u>

CHAPTER VIII.—THE FIELD OF THE TRADES-UNION.

INSINCERE ARGUMENTS AGAINST TRADES-UNIONS—THE REAL REASON FOR THE HOSTILITY TO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS—COMMUNISM *vs.* ANARCHY—THE FAULT ON BOTH SIDES—LABOR AS MERCHANDISE—THE WORKINGMAN'S LIMITATIONS—THE GOAD OF WANT—THE TRUCK SYSTEM—EMPLOYMENT FOR THE TRADES-UNION—THE BLACK-LIST—THE IRON-CLAD OATH.

IT has often been objected against trades-unions in America that their tendency is to destroy all individuality among workingmen; that under their methods the good and effective artisan is held back, while the bad and negligent are protected. It is claimed that the unions discourage individual industry or excellence, and tend to make the average the rule, restraining and frowning down those who, out of a love of work and an innate honesty, would do more than their allotted task, and thus set a pace which the others would have to keep. It is urged, in a word, that labor organization is a bar in the way of good workmanship.

It is argued that the trades-unions are constantly making the breach between labor and capital wider and more difficult to span; that they have substituted for the old confidence and good feeling which existed between master and man a condition of suspicion and distrust out of which have naturally arisen those bitter and brutal quarrels which are the peculiar feature of the annals of the nineteenth century.

It is reasoned further that besides the tendency to reduce all excellence to the level of the worst member of the organization, besides the antagonism between employer and employé which the unions foster, they have a still more mischievous tendency towards the rule of ignorant demagogues and the spread of communism as a political faith.

While there are facts which seem to justify each of these objections, it is evident that the arguments are afterthoughts. They are flaws picked out by those who have gone to seek for them. These are not the real reasons for the opposition to labor organization, but justifications for a hostility whose real ground is selfishness. If we examine closely we will see that trades-unions do not tend any more towards communism than combinations of capital tend towards anarchy; that if one side has fostered hostility to the employer, the other has raged with equal bitterness

against the laborer ; that organization of labor produces the same kind of an average of work as the influence of the corporation system in great factories, to which method industry is tending. In drawing up the balance-sheet we can set labor-saving machinery against the average day's work, we can put the lock-out against the strike, the black-list against the boycott, the great corporation herding its employés to the polls like sheep against the windy demagogue who labors only with his mouth.

There are faults—there are crimes—there is folly on one side; but they are paired with those of the other. It is only by taking a high plane, and regarding the question impartially, that we can come at the truth.

Dr. Richard T. Ely of the Johns Hopkins University, one of the clearest thinkers and most judicious political economists now at work in America, has examined very closely the economic value of trades-unions and cognate societies, his conclusions falling in with those of Professor Brentano's "*Gewerbliche Arbeiterfrage*," which is the pioneer work in this field. Both are so clear, so convincing, so full, that "*The Story of Labor*," while acknowledging its debt, goes further, and recommends Ely's "*Labor Movement in America*" to all who wish to study this part of the subject further and in more detail.

After all it is the advancement of the mass of labor which should be the ideal of every person who attacks this subject. The greatest happiness to the greatest number is a political theory which is based upon a truth that becomes self-evident when we reverse it and put it the least unhappiness to the least number.

Ninety per cent of the laboring class will remain laborers all their lives. The loop-holes of escape to a condition less arduous are growing narrower and narrower every year. We are forming distinct divisions in America. The laborer's son will be a laborer, and so will his grandson. There will always be a great and growing division of the people of America who will have to labor for their bread. The cunning hand will never be wholly displaced by labor-saving machinery. It is for the amelioration of this class that the workingmen's organizations have been formed. These combinations gather up all the strength of the scattered units, and their impact on society is so strong that they force us to a line of action which the single workman, uncombined with his fellows, could never command.

Within recent times the laborer was a serf. One by one class laws have been swept from the statute books, until American labor at least is able to stand upright and struggle unshackled for existence.

Labor is merchandise. It is something offered for sale, and its price is governed by supply and demand. It is the legitimate purpose of labor organizations to control these laws of supply and demand, and thus fix the price of labor. Unorganized labor cannot accomplish this result. If the price of wheat is too low, the farmer puts the grain away in his granaries and waits for a higher market. The single laborer cannot wait. He must work or starve. He cannot hold back his merchandise. He cannot cause a scarcity of the commodity, which is all he has to sell, by himself. It is only when labor is in the mass that it is effective. The pool is the solution.

Even the organization of labor, chiefly from its mistakes, from the ignorance of the workingmen, from their selfishness, and from their inherent lack of solidarity, has not wholly covered the field. The sale and purchase of labor differs from any other commercial transaction in that the buyer and not the seller fixes the price. There is no equality between the parties to the contract. The laborer cannot take advantage of a better market at a distance. He is compelled to sell his work where he is. If the demand grows less he cannot come out of the market with his goods, but he must go on competing with the greater number of laborers, thus himself adding to the factors of the decline. Production in any other line of trade is regulated by consumption, but in labor it is not. The workingman must continue producing work till he dies. As Dr. Ely remarks, misery and death are the factors which must bring about a decrease in the supply of labor and raise its price to the cost of production. Dr. Ely says:

“Few now starve outright, but a large number, especially of the young, starve gradually, as has been abundantly shown by recent investigations; but many more deaths are occasioned in other ways. A carpenter is ill, and previous hard times have exhausted his resources. He dies; whereas a more generous supply of delicacies, better nursing and more skillful medical attendance would have saved his life. A second mechanic is so poor that he feels that he cannot afford an umbrella. In a severe rain-storm to which he is exposed, the seeds of consumption are laid. A third is unable to afford new shoes, and wet feet at a time of feebleness, and insufficient nourishment, cause his death. These examples may be multiplied *ad libitum*. Thus it is, that every pressure of hard times kills thousands upon thousands even in America. The most distinguished statistician of our day, Dr. Engel, calls the causes of most deaths ‘social.’ The difficulty is not to prescribe a remedy, but to apply it. A physician cannot tell a man, working for a dollar a day, to take a trip to Egypt for weak lungs! No current fiction is more widely removed from the truth than the common assertion that workingmen and their families enjoy exceptionally good health. The exact opposite is the truth, and statistics have established the fact beyond controversy that laborers are shorter-lived by many years than those who belong to the wealthier social classes.”

Many may think the statement that the contract between labor and capital is one in which but one party is free to contract, is not borne out by the facts. Yet even a cursory examination will show how all the power is on one side and all the feebleness on the other.

The payment of wages at long intervals leads to the credit system and debt. This is demoralizing, and its consequences are extravagance and hopelessness. The laborer cannot escape. He is as much bound to labor as were the serfs of the middle ages. The truck system is a development of this idea. The employer establishes a store at which the workingmen are, by means more or less high-handed and arbitrary, forced to deal. Thus a double profit is accrued — the profit on the labor which the employer buys at his own price, and the profit on the necessaries of life which the employer sells at his own price. Where the truck system has been permitted to take root and flourish, it is the experience of all that the consequences are all bad to labor. Those who do not deal at the company stores exercise their freedom at their peril. When business slackens, by a remarkable coincidence, those who have not long accounts with the employer's grocery venture are the first to go. Even under the most honest administration the evils of the system are notorious, but when, as is often the case, the method is administered dishonestly, it is simple robbery. The company store can make its own weights and its own profits. It can sell inferior grades of goods for better ones. It has its customers bound to it by the unspoken threat of discharge. Hence in many of the states the truck system is forbidden, although corporation influence has made the law a dead letter.

The sanitation of factories is a matter which the employé has almost wholly within his own hand. The safeguards for life and limb are costly and unproductive. Hence it happens that there are in the United States fifteen thousand accidents to railway employés every year, while the casualties among mill operatives, owing to defective safeguards around dangerous machinery, are more than twice as great.

In every great city, at each election, we see the crowds of corporation employés herded to the polls and voting as the employer dictates, thus furnishing the very strongest argument, politically, for labor organization. Any system would be better than that which permits one man at his own caprice to control the votes of hundreds or thousands.

Again, the employer can put penitentiary-taught tradesmen side by side with honest labor; he can take the woman of the streets and put her with honest girls; he can, if he chooses, demoralize his laborers at his will, and there is no power in the state outside of the organization and self-

protection of labor which can control the situation and forbid the disgrace and wrong.

Against all of these things the trades-union has been the most powerful and most successful force. Where labor has been thoroughly organized the truck system, the demoralization of labor, the voting *en bloc* of employés, has been weakened and destroyed. As the laws against workmen's combinations were one by one forced from the statute book, the condition of the workingman bettered. In England, in 1824, the law making trades-unions conspiracies was abolished, but up to 1869 they were regarded by the courts as conspiracies in restraint of trade, and in New York, in this present year of grace 1886, Justice Potter granted an injunction against the Musical Union to prevent them from forbidding their members playing with non-union musicians, on the ground that such a command was in restraint of trade and was opposed to public policy!

The black-list is a boycott pure and simple. It is a notification sent by one employer to others warning them of the discharge of certain men and describing the unfortunates, under the understanding and agreement that, having lost work in one factory, or under one corporation, they shall not be permitted to get employment at any other. In that excellent work "The Labor Problem," which is a symposium of views from many sources on the question of the hour, Fred Woodrow, one of the most humane writers on the subject of labor, says:

"Blacklisting has the merit of being very effective; its edict is final: it troubles no jury and sends for no sheriff; it has its watch-dog by every door, and woe to the man who, with its brand on his brow, seeks for work. He is proclaimed by a corporation czar. I well remember a workmate of my own being put under this ban of ostracism. He was discharged without notice, and the reason refused him. I did my best for his reengagement; previous successes made me confident, but this case baffled me. I suggested application to another department, under the management of a humane and kindly man. He refused. Another was tried — the same result. I completed the circle, and in every case blank but unwilling refusal — my unfortunate comrade sent adrift with the onus of some unknown disgrace staining his name, for more than six hundred miles. It came to my knowledge subsequently that he was blacklisted at the request of *one man*, whose personal ill-will was gratified in his discharge. Such cases are not few, as many a hungry man and shoeless child can testify."

Next to the black-list in unfairness comes the iron-clad oath, which is often made the *sine qua non* of employment, and which usually compels the laborer to withdraw from any trade organization to which he may have belonged. One of these oaths runs as follows:

I, —, hereby agree to work for — at my trade, at the regular established prices, withdrawing from the Knights of Labor, and ignoring all outside parties, committees, and trade or labor associations, and also agree not to connect myself with the Knights of Labor or any similar organization, or to join in any meeting or procession of any such organization while in the employ of —.

[Sign here.] _____

Sworn to and subscribed before me, —, this — day of —, —

_____ [L. S.]

Attest : _____,

_____, Witnesses.

It is against such developments of class prejudice and class antagonism that trades-unions make their bitterest fight. As long as they confine themselves in this field is it a wonder that the impartial citizen of America should bid them "God speed"?

CHAPTER IX.—STRIKES IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

THE WAGE SYSTEM A RELIC OF FEUDALISM—COMPROMISE THE ULTIMATE LAW OF NATURE—THE TRADES-UNION THE EMANCIPATOR OF LABOR—THE ETHICS OF THE LABOR QUESTION—A SELF-ADJUSTING APPORTIONMENT OF PROFITS TO BE SUBSTITUTED FOR THE ILLOGICAL SYSTEM NOW IN VOGUE—AN APPEAL FOR INDUSTRIAL EMANCIPATION.

THE wage system is, after all, a relic of feudalism. On the one hand it is admittedly an awkward and obsolete method of apportioning to labor its share in the results of work, a method which can only be adjusted to the conditions of modern industry with infinite trouble and annoyance. On the other hand if it is difficult for the laborer to bring wages up with a rising market, the very clumsiness makes it no easy task for the employer to reduce them in a time of general depression. The inconvenience of the system thus presses both ways; and were it not for our inherent conservatism, something better would long since have been found.

In spite of the demagogues of labor, capital has rights and purposes which must be protected by society if industry is to go on at all. And in spite of the equally fatuous demagogues of capital, labor must organize and ameliorate itself from within, and all good people should give aid and comfort to the worker in his task. If we listen to one set of thinkers, we are told that the goal to which the laboring classes are tending is communism and anarchy—two utterly irreconcilable conditions. If we listen to the other school of declaimers, we will be told that capital inevitably tends to monopoly, that America is becoming a plutocracy pure and simple, that the laborer is being defrauded of his wage and that the rich man is growing richer and the poor man poorer. This statement is just as unfair and illogical as the other. If the truth is to be found anywhere it is between these two errors. There is a tendency toward communism on one side, and a tendency toward anarchy on the other, which must come sooner or later to a stable compromise, for compromise is the ultimate law of nature. It may be a new statement to many readers that the real tendency of the great corporations of the country is towards a limited anarchy, the legitimate consequence of the *laissez faire* doctrine, which Mr. Gould and his lieutenants preach so thoroughly.

The line along which capital and labor touch is the wages system. As we have said, it is a crude and clumsy way of dividing profits, as much a part of the dark ages as the cross-bow or the astrolabe. Its unfitness for the work which it is called upon to do is the prime cause of the irritation between labor and capital. It seems to be generally admitted, after we have winnowed away the straw of controversy, that labor is entitled to a share in the combined product of work and capital, which is to be ascertained by the real or artificial scarcity of workers, the real or artificial scarcity of capital and the real or artificial scarcity of the commodity prepared. Under these conditions labor's proportion should shift and vary in obedience to a complex set of laws. Under our system we ignore the plexus of reasons by which wages ought to be computed and come to a rough working result by paying the laborer a dollar or a dollar and a half a day. In other words, we proceed as would an astronomer who desired to calculate an eclipse if he took the ratio of the circumference to the diameter as $3\frac{1}{7}$ instead of 3.14159. Our errors are the consequence of obvious mistakes. Yet we stupidly repeat our blunders in the blind hope that Providence will interfere and make the total somehow right. As long as labor was an inconstant, loose aggregation of ignorant units, it did not make very much difference whether there was error in the calculation or not, as the error was not on the side of those responsible for the computation. But with labor organized, vigilant and powerful, we can not go on in the easy old-fashioned way. We must reason together and strike out a new path along which labor and capital can travel hand in hand. We must change the system by which labor is recompensed, and base the new method upon justice to both sides. Thus we will attack the very core of the labor question, whence, if we can dispose of the original cause of irritation, we may come to a time when permanent peace may be declared and guaranteed. Before we can do this, the laborer must admit that capital has rights to its profits; that it is the essential and indisputable corner-stone of the fabric of our industry, without which the whole superstructure must tumble to ruins; and capital must allow that labor is an intelligent as well as a mechanical force, with rights certainly as precious as its own. Out of these admissions alone can reconciliation come.

Labor has hardly been enfranchised for more than a century. In the statute books of many of the states, in the dark and forgotten corners of legislation, lurk acts which are relics of a time when classes were further apart than they are in this year of grace 1886. Like everything else worth the having in this world, the amelioration of labor came from

within. It was an evolution. When we get far enough away in time to grasp the history of the present struggle in all its details, we will all admit that the trades-union was the emancipator of labor. Just as we will all now admit that slavery was a curse and a reproach, although less than a quarter of a century ago good men were ready to give up their lives for the peculiar institution. The present commanding position of the workingmen has been achieved by organization more than by any other single factor. It is to the trades-unions that the credit is due for the progress made in the last half century.

To many this will seem a radical and hardly a defensible position.

And yet let us look at the facts. Let us take the average workingman and the average employer, and follow them throughout their mutual relations. The laborer has much to learn, so has the master. Both have to adjust themselves to a complex and delicately arranged industry. Imagine the workingman as a unit, unaided by any organization, and what can he do for himself? Nothing.

He has not the means to support himself in a struggle with his employer when the wages cease coming in. His life at best is from hand to mouth, and if the supplies are interrupted he must starve. Again, if there be not concert of action among the workmen, each individual is helpless. One man cannot by himself exercise any effect at all upon the labor market: it is only when he acts in the mass that he is effective. By working in the mass, by pooling his issues with those of his fellows, he finds himself after all master of the situation. In union there is strength. In the first place he finds that a large trades-union ramifying, as it does, over many cities, has a command of money sufficient to support those who are fighting the battle of all the members. In the next place he discovers that while the willingness or the refusal of one man to do given work at a given price has no effect upon the average employer, the joint action of a hundred or a thousand men has a very marked effect. We have seen this problem worked out so often that the result has become almost a truism. Labor is a commodity in the market just like grain or dry goods or capital, and when from any cause the supply is checked the price must rise. Thus effects prove to the laborer the efficiency of the trades-union. He has tried it and found it not wanting.

On the other hand the employer, accustomed by long habit to the complete control of his labor, suddenly finds it self-asserting, and, if pressed, defiant. He does not examine far enough into the situation to grasp the principles which govern the revolt, but attempts, as his fathers have done to suppress the rebellion with a strong hand.

Unfortunately for the employing class, the strong hand is now on the side of the opposition.

Out of the fifty millions of Americans there are ten millions of employers and forty millions of employed, roughly speaking. Man to man the laboring class certainly outnumbered the class buying labor four to one, if not greatly more than that. And one man cannot successfully coerce four, when the four have been educated to the duties and privileges of citizenship. When manhood-suffrage was made the rule in the United States, the old order of things was destroyed, and it is only a question of time and of organization when we must come to the new. But we are yet in the transition stage. New systems are crystalizing all about us, and we feel the shock of force against force in the political world as in the religious.

For more centuries than men can count, might has been, practically, right. The greater insect has preyed upon the lesser, the greater bird upon the smaller; mice have eaten cockroaches in obedience to nature, and cats have eaten mice. The rat ate the malt, the cat ate the rat, the dog worried the cat, and the cow with the crumpled horn tossed the dog, the cow herself being milked in her turn, as all readers of the old nursery rhyme will remember, by the maiden all forlorn. And so it goes. The cry of murder is going up day and night from every blade of grass in the fields, from every leaf in the forests. The law of life is death; the law of right is force. We may cloak it under nice words and high-sounding phrases, but the nineteenth century is no better and no worse than its predecessors; it is more polite, not more gentle, nor more Christian.

The ethics of the labor question are soon decided. Every man, whether he has money or work to sell, has the right to make the best bargain for himself in his power; there is no immorality in labor's most extravagant demands, just as there is no immorality in capital's demands, no matter how excessive. The only law governing the case is the ability to take and hold a strong position. The weaker must go to the wall. Our industry is the diagonal of a parallelogram of forces of which the master is one side and the man the other. Our knowledge of economics is not yet exact enough to permit us to draw this diagonal accurately. The world is still settling the question which is the stronger force. It is still governing itself by the good old plan of working out questions of justice and economics by thickness of skull and hardness of fist. Experience is a dear school, but fools will learn in no other. When labor began to organize itself, it began dimly to recognize its own strength, and

after the manner of our kind it tried to find a way out of the trap in which it lay by simple brute force. The industrial world was divided into two bitterly hostile camps, becoming yearly, as attacks on one side and reprisals on the other followed each other, more deeply inimical. The protagonists of labor were experimentalists; they were discoverers in a new field of research. Their logic was the bludgeon and the torch; in their attack on the employers they attacked all society, and they were met and convinced of the erroneous major proposition of their syllogism by the bayonet and ball cartridge. It took nearly half a century to even partially clear the strike of open and nefarious brutality; these flowers of crime yet blossom out of the fallow field of human weakness and ignorance. The labor question was for years purely a question of physical force in which one side was as bad as the other. When a trade had organized itself into a union, taking in a majority of the workingmen in a particular line, it demanded an increase of wages, or objected to a reduction. If its demand was not obeyed a strike was ordered, and then followed a contest in which each party did its utmost to damage and cripple the other. It was a battle in which no quarter was given or received. It was a servile revolt at first in which one side at least was not given combatant rights, and it certainly accorded no more courtesy than it received.

One of the first laws upon which political economy was founded was that supply and demand control all the processes of industry. The laboring class was not the last to discover that combination could not control supply, and that artificial conditions could supplant natural ones. Thus far they were strictly within the metes and boundaries of their rights; but when they tried to supplement combination by rattening, by machine-breaking, by arson, and even in some cases by murder, they arrayed against themselves all of that force in society which makes for law and order. We cannot blame them too much, for they knew not what they did. We cannot blame them more than we blame their opponents, who added to a similar brutality education, which should have taught them better methods.

The wages system, as we have said, was the chief factor in the trouble. Workingmen were paid a certain fixed sum per diem, for a fluctuating result in value. They were naturally unable to locate the exact factor which was the chief cause of the industrial disturbance. It has taken some of the best thinkers years of study to fix and study the disease; but we do know now where the trouble lies, and we should be able to apply the cure.

The consequence of work and capital is an added value to the raw product. This must be shared in some proportion between the laborer and the owner of the wealth employed. It makes no difference what the ratio is, it should be a constant one, and as the values of manufactured material fluctuate in obedience to a number of conditions, the result in money should also fluctuate. Under our present system the result is fixed and the ratio fluctuates—an abnormal and indefensible method. We will not have peace between labor and capital until the ratio is fixed and master and man share good and evil portions together. Then both will labor to one end, and an impetus will be given to industry which will lead it to the conquest of newer and larger fields. We will have to replace wages by an elastic, self-adjusting apportionment of the profits which will rise and fall in automatic harmony with the results of the toil. In the French system of “participation” and in our own rather crude system of “profit-sharing” we probably have the germ of the system upon which all can agree.

But we have not yet reached the goal to which all good citizens should strive.

Careful statistics compiled by a trustworthy statist, Mr. Charles Waring, go to show that the strikes in England during the decade ending with 1879 cost \$134,060,000 to the workmen and \$20,947,500 to the employers, the total loss being \$155,011,500 in all. This, however, is merely the direct and apparent damage. The loss to commerce could only be put in figures so large that they would be met by incredulity. In America the loss would not be smaller; and throughout the civilized world it has been estimated that \$75,000,000 is annually thrown away in strikes, lockouts and similar disturbances. Certainly the war is a costly one.

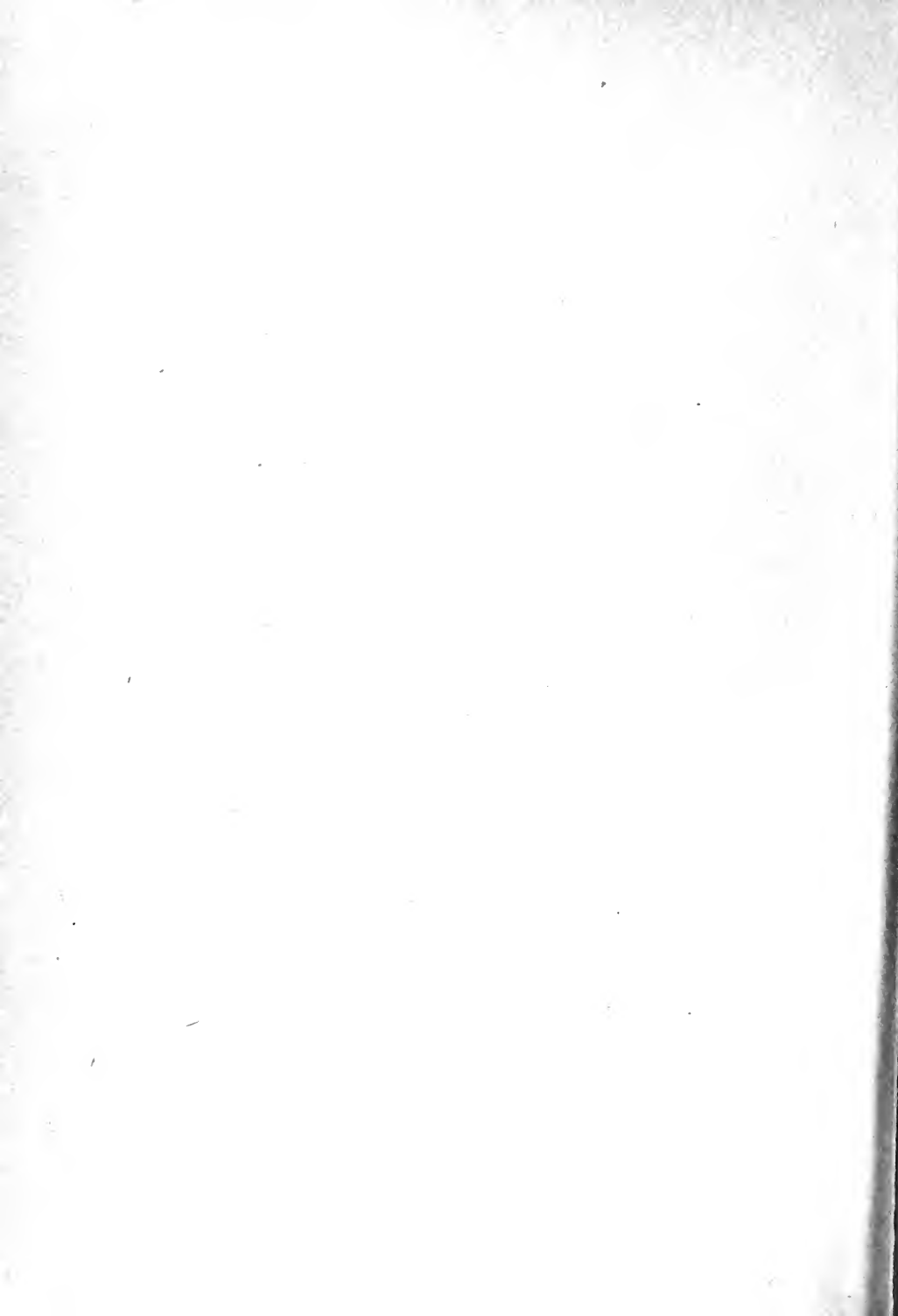
It has taken many years to bring the conflict to the plane of humanity upon which it now runs its course. The rancorous cruelty of fifty years ago has given place to a more reasonable and more civilized dispute. Labor has discovered that it is more powerful to injure the employer than to win benefits for itself. It can do more harm to others than it can do good to itself; but out of many mistakes, out of the bitter school of experience, it has learned the paramount necessity of keeping its campaign within the limits of the law. Since this lesson was learned the power of organized labor has immensely increased, because in a righteous cause, not disfigured by violence, public sentiment, the very strongest power in America, is sure to be found on the side of justice and fair play.

Thus the theory and practice of strikes are wholly different now from their attitude in the times of our fathers. Labor, better organized and



Christopher Evans.

Executive Secretary of the National Federation of Miners
and Mine Laborers.



better equipped than it ever was before in the world's history, is coming to proceed along peaceful and lawful lines to its certain victory. A strike now is a wholly different thing in theory, and a materially different thing in practice, from what it was a generation ago. In principle it is now all for peace, law and order. The right of men peaceably to combine to do or not to do something which each individual has a right to do or to leave undone, cannot be gainsaid. If men want to quit work in a free country, they may. If they wish to persuade others to quit, that is within their rights. Unfortunately it is at this point that the rank and file of the army of labor mutinies and rejects the wiser counsels of its leaders. We still hear of intimidation, threatening language and actual violence, and until we can get wholly rid of these, the strength of organized labor can never be truly tested.

Many makeshifts have been suggested by many men who have seen the absolute necessity of making labor and capital come to some sort of a *modus vivandi* if progress is to continue. Each of these will be treated in its proper place in this volume. Unfortunately the schemes are all empiric—all unsatisfactory. They imply the continuance of the wage system, and while it endures strikes and lockouts will also endure. The history of strikes goes to show that the greater proportion of them is to be attributed to disputes about the rates of wages. The method is so clumsy that it can only be readjusted by a convulsion of industry. If this bone of contention could be removed we would come to lasting peace. We would reach a final settlement.

Wages are unjust to the laborer and unjust to the employer. They are illogical. They are obsolete. They have no true relation, no scientific nexus to their origin and cause. The accompanying chart exhibits the history of a century of American labor and of American capital. The fluctuations of wages compared with the cost of living are illustrated and the steady growth of wealth—seemingly influenced but slightly by those conditions which affect wages strikingly—is also shown. The chart will bear careful study. It is an indictment of our American civilization. It is in itself an appeal for industrial emancipation.

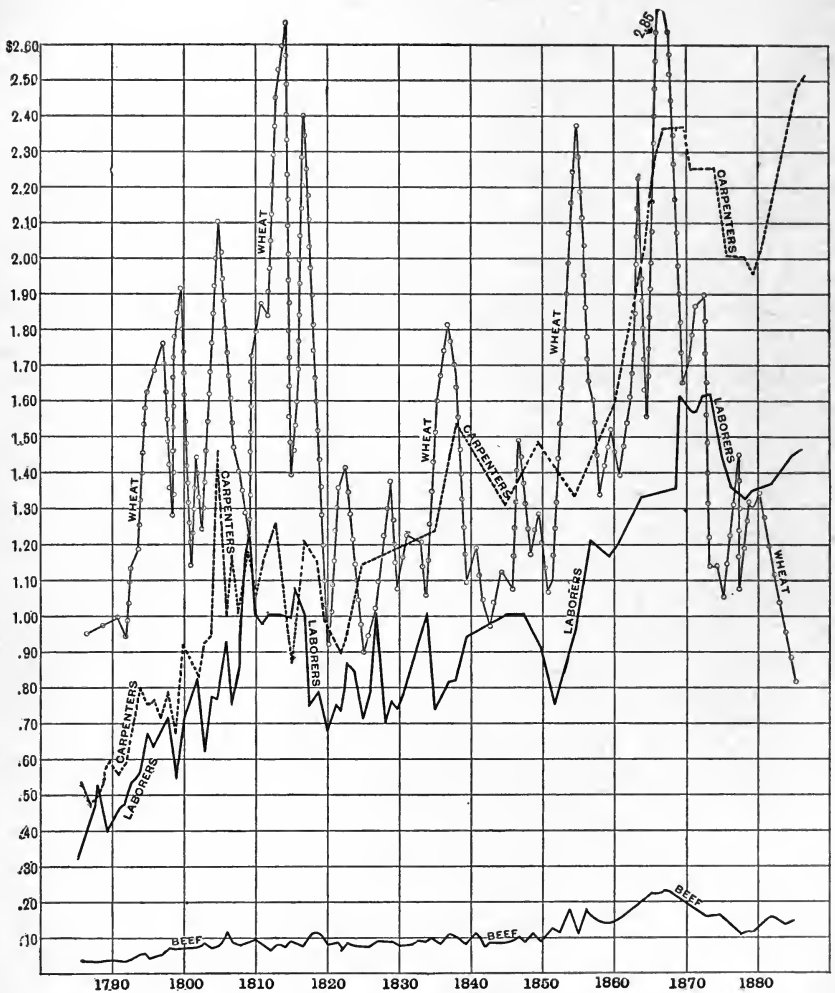


Chart B.—A CENTURY OF WORK AND WAGES.—The Wages of Skilled and Unskilled Labor compared with the Cost of Living.

CHAPTER X.—THE RIVALS OF AMERICAN LABOR.

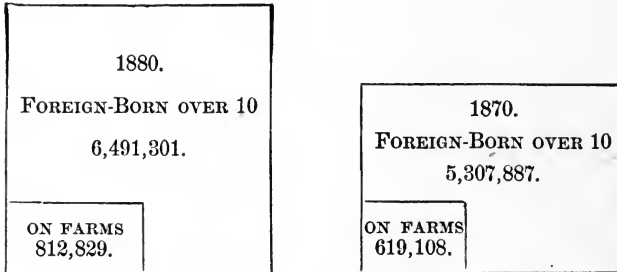
IMMIGRANT COMPETITION—THE PRODUCTS OF AMERICAN LABOR PROTECTED, BUT NO PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN LABOR ITSELF—THE CONNECTION BETWEEN IMMIGRATION AND BANKRUPTCY—CONVICT COMPETITION—THE WHOLE DOMAIN OF NATIONAL INDUSTRY AFFECTED BY CRIMINAL LABOR—MECHANICAL COMPETITION—THE EFFECT OF MACHINERY ON MANUAL LABOR.

ONE of the most illogical things in our applied economics is the fact that while the government protects assiduously the products of American labor, it takes no care to protect American labor itself. The protection does not begin until the industry has reached a point where the laborer does not participate as he should in the results. It is no part of this inquiry to go into the relative merits of protection and free trade, but it is pertinent to question where the benefit of a protective system applies, when we see our ports jealously quarantined against the output of the pauper labor of Europe, while that pauper labor itself is invited in, to come and compete with American labor. We keep out the effect and welcome the cause. We will not let the symptom in, and we go out to meet the disease. Of course this is unfair. If a tariff is to be put on the result of the cheap labor of Europe, surely there should be, in justice to the American workingman, an equally effective tariff on the cheap labor itself. This would be only justice.

The subject is one not generally understood. We have heard so much talk about the development of the country, we have dangled before our eyes such glittering rhetoric about America being the home of the oppressed, we have waved the star-spangled banner so proudly over the exiles from the effete monarchies of the old world, that we have wholly lost sight of the facts. Like the flowers that bloom in the spring, all these pansies and hollyhocks of declamation have nothing to do with the case. It has seemed so noble and so generous to us to exercise a magnificent hospitality that we have never yet counted the cost—and the cost is tremendous.

We have a tremendous national domain whose development and cultivation would be a source of wealth to all of us, and our fond delusion is that the flood of people yearly pouring into our ports spreads over the great West, and at once begins its work of making the wilder-

ness blossom like a garden. But it does not. In 1870 there were 5,307,887 foreign-born persons in the United States over ten years of age; of these but 619,108 were engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1880 there were 6,491,301 foreign-born persons over ten in this country, of whom but 812,829 were engaged in agriculture. To make it a little more plain, $11\frac{2}{3}$ per cent, only, of the foreign-born population over ten years of age was on the farms of the land in 1870, and $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in 1880.



The above diagrams will illustrate the point to be made even more plainly than a statement of the figures. The small number of foreigners at farm work shows the larger proportion pressing steadily upon all the other departments of industry. Yet it is for the development of the unsettled portion of the country that, according to our theory, we have thrown our doors open to all who wish to come. We have put every premium upon immigration. After a very short residence we confer upon the newcomers citizenship, we give them farms, we give them everything that they ought to have, and a great deal more. But look at the result!

Nor is this the worst of it. A very singular law seems to bind together in a mysterious nexus the fluctuation of immigration and the fluctuation of the amount of liabilities of bankrupts in the United States. This has been made the subject of another chart to which the reader will please refer in order to follow the line of argument presented.

The statistics of immigration go back to 1820. The exact figures of bankrupt liabilities begin with 1857. The former are given in the census reports. The latter are drawn from the excellent publications of R. G. Dun & Co. But even prior to 1857 we know, in a general way, that 1837 and 1847 and 1848 were years of great business depression, which was felt deeply by the whole business community, and which resulted in the loss of much money by bankruptcy. A glance at

the chart will show that the number of immigrants had gone up from 45,000 in 1835 to 79,000 in 1837, when the crash came. Immigration then decreased steadily so that in a year it fell to 38,000. After some fluctuations of which we cannot trace the causes closely the figures rose to 104,000 in 1842, and to 234,000 in 1847. There was great financial and economic disturbance, but the immigration did not stop, and in 1854 had reached the hitherto unprecedented figure of 427,000. It dropped for a while, and business became easier and better. In 1856 it was 195,000, and it rose the next year, 1857, to 247,000. There was another industrial catastrophe; the liabilities of the bankrupts in that year were \$291,000,000. In 1858 immigration dropped to 119,000, liabilities to \$95,000,000. Then came the war time, when so many new elements of disturbance occurred that the comparison would hardly be worth attention. From 1868 to 1873, immigration increased from 282,000 to 459,000, and bankrupts' liabilities during the same years grew from \$68,000,000 to \$228,000,000. From 1879 to 1884 immigration increased from 177,000 to 518,000 and liabilities of bankrupts grew from \$98,000,000 to \$226,000,000. Even the lesser fluctuations are rhythmic. There is no one who will not admit that the connections in the sympathetic increase and decrease of immigration and bankruptcy are too close and too long continued to be explained away on the ground of accidental coincidence. The only escape is the argument that the commercial depressions checked immigration. But an examination of the facts destroys this hypothesis, unless we are willing to admit that immigration is prophetic and can tell when bad times are coming, and how long they mean to continue. We do not question that the country's prosperity should invite and stimulate a folk-movement this way, and that depression should check immigration, but the facts go to show that this is a reaction rather than an action.

When some of the balder facts as to the importation of foreign labor are examined, it is very easy to see the consequences which follow from them. Take the importation of foreign labor under contract, which Congress has already attempted to restrict, as the following most important act will show:

AN ACT to prohibit the importation and migration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its territories, and the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful for any person, company, partnership, or corporation, in any manner whatsoever, to prepay the transportation, or in any way insist or encourage the importation

STATISTICS SUPPLEMENTARY TO CHART.

IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES.

BANKRUPTCY.

Years.	Immigrants.	Years.	Immigrants.	Years.	Immigrants.	Year.	Amount of Liabilities.
1820.....	8,385	1844.....	78,615	<i>Fiscal year ending June 30.—</i>		1857.....	\$291,750,000
1821.....	9,127	1845.....	114,371			1858.....	95,749,000
1822.....	6,911	1846.....	154,416	1867.....	298,967	1859.....	64,394,000
1823.....	6,354	1847.....	234,968	1868.....	282,189	1860.....	79,807,000
1824.....	7,912	1848.....	226,527	1869.....	352,768	1861.....	207,210,000
1825.....	10,199	1849.....	297,024	1870.....	387,203	1862.....	23,049,000
1826.....	10,837	1850.....	369,980	1871.....	321,350	1863.....	7,899,000
1827.....	18,875	1851.....	379,466	1872.....	404,806	1864.....	8,579,000
1828.....	27,382	1852.....	371,603	1873.....	459,803	1865.....	17,625,000
1829.....	22,520	1853.....	368,645	1874.....	313,339	1866.....	53,783,000
1830.....	23,322	1854.....	427,833	1875.....	227,498	1867.....	96,666,000
1831.....	22,633	1855.....	200,877	1876.....	169,986	1868.....	68,694,000
1832.....	60,482	1856.....	195,857	1877.....	141,857	1869.....	75,054,000
1833.....	58,640	1857.....	246,945	1878.....	138,469	1870.....	85,242,000
1834.....	65,365	1858.....	119,501	1879.....	177,826	1871.....	85,252,000
1835.....	45,374	1859.....	118,616	1880.....	457,257	1872.....	121,056,000
1836.....	76,242	1860.....	150,237	1881.....	669,431	1873.....	228,499,000
1837.....	79,340	1861.....	89,724	1882.....	788,992	1874.....	155,239,000
1838.....	38,914	1862.....	89,007	1883.....	599,114	1875.....	201,000,000
1839.....	68,069	1863.....	174,524	1884.....	518,592	1876.....	191,117,000
1840.....	84,066	1864.....	193,195	1885.....	395,346	1877.....	190,670,000
1841.....	80,289	1865.....	247,453	Total..		1878.....	234,383,000
1842.....	104,565	1866.....	167,757			1879.....	98,149,000
1843.....	52,496			1880.....	65,752,000	1881.....	81,156,000
				1882.....	101,548,000	1883.....	172,874,000
				1884.....	226,343,000		

POPULATION.

1820.....	9,633,822	1850.....	20,191,876	1880.....	50,155,783
1830.....	12,866,020	1860.....	31,443,321		
1840.....	17,069,453	1870.....	38,558,371		

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

Year.	Value.	Year.	Value.	Year.	Value.	Year.	Value.
1820.....	\$74,450,000	1837.....	\$140,989,217	1854.....	\$304,562,381	1871.....	\$541,493,708
1821.....	62,585,724	1838.....	113,717,404	1855.....	261,468,520	1872.....	640,338,766
1822.....	83,241,541	1839.....	162,092,132	1856.....	314,639,942	1873.....	663,617,147
1823.....	77,579,267	1840.....	107,141,519	1857.....	360,800,141	1874.....	595,591,248
1824.....	80,549,007	1841.....	127,946,177	1858.....	282,613,150	1875.....	553,906,153
1825.....	96,340,075	1842.....	100,162,087	1859.....	338,768,130	1876.....	476,677,871
1826.....	84,974,477	1843.....	64,753,799	1860.....	362,166,254	1877.....	492,097,540
1827.....	79,484,068	1844.....	108,435,035	1861.....	335,650,153	1878.....	466,872,846
1828.....	88,509,824	1845.....	117,254,564	1862.....	205,771,729	1879.....	466,075,775
1829.....	74,492,527	1846.....	121,691,797	1863.....	252,919,920	1880.....	760,989,056
1830.....	70,876,920	1847.....	146,545,638	1864.....	295,562,895	1881.....	553,240,125
1831.....	103,191,124	1848.....	154,908,928	1865.....	248,555,652	1882.....	767,111,964
1832.....	101,029,266	1849.....	147,557,439	1866.....	445,512,158	1883.....	751,670,395
1833.....	108,118,311	1850.....	198,138,318	1867.....	417,833,575	1884.....	705,123,955
1834.....	126,521,332	1851.....	216,224,932	1868.....	371,624,808		
1835.....	149,895,442	1852.....	212,943,442	1869.....	437,314,255		
1836.....	189,980,035	1853.....	267,978,647	1870.....	462,377,587		

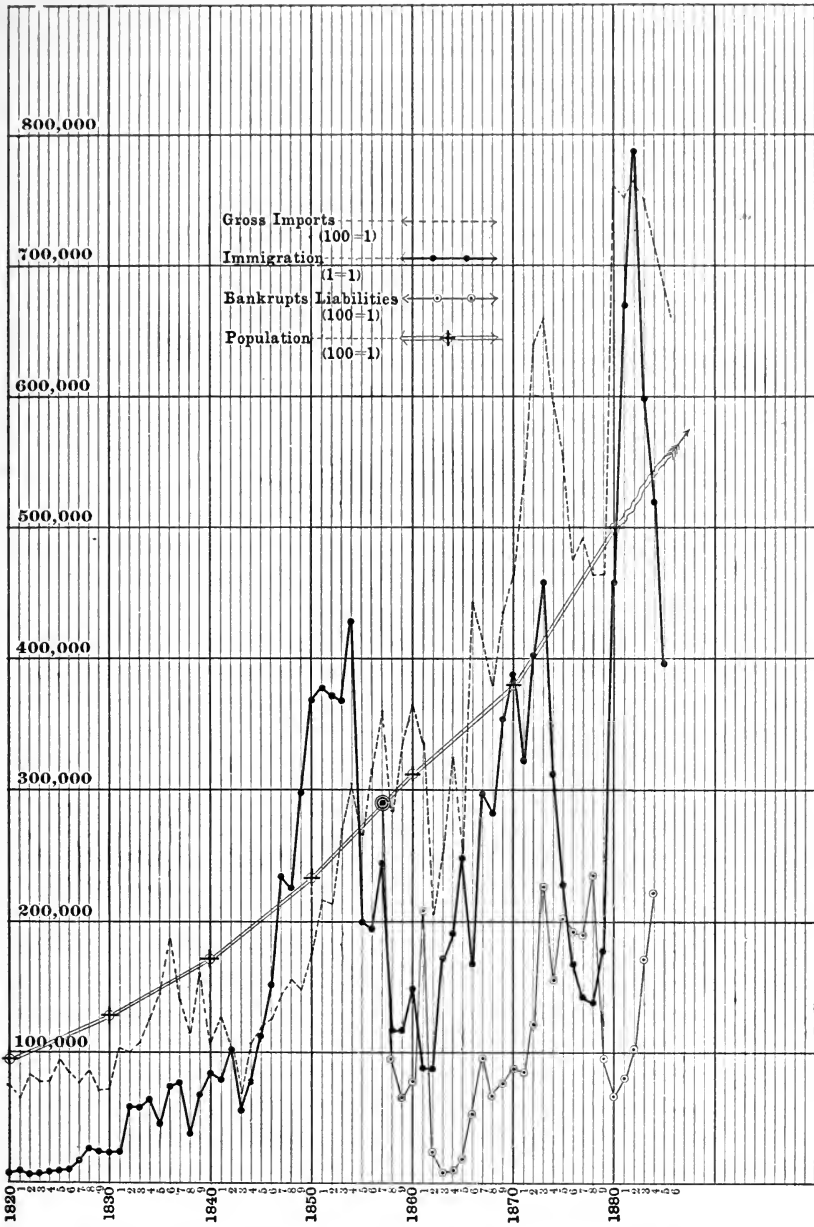


Chart C.—The Connection between Immigration and Bankruptcy.

or migration of any alien or aliens, any foreigner or foreigners, into the United States, its territories, or the District of Columbia, under contract or agreement, parol or special, express or implied, made previous to the importation or migration of such alien or aliens, foreigner or foreigners, to perform labor or service of any kind in the United States, its territories, or the District of Columbia.

SEC. 2. That all contracts or agreements, express or implied, parol or special, which shall hereafter be made by and between any person, company, partnership or corporation, and any foreigner or foreigners, alien or aliens, to perform labor or service or having reference to the performance of labor or service by any person in the United States, its territories, or the District of Columbia, previous to the migration or importation of the person or persons whose labor or service is contracted for into the United States, shall be utterly void and of no effect.

SEC. 3. That for every violation of any of the provisions of section one of this act the person, partnership, company, or corporation violating the same, by knowingly assisting, encouraging or soliciting the migration or importation of any alien or aliens, foreigner or foreigners, into the United States, its territories, or the District of Columbia, to perform labor or service of any kind under contract or agreement, express or implied, parol or special, with such alien or aliens, foreigner or foreigners, previous to becoming residents or citizens of the United States, shall forfeit and pay for every such offense the sum of one thousand dollars, which may be sued for and recovered by the United States or by any person who shall first bring his action therefor, including any such alien or foreigner who may be a party to any such contract or agreement, as debts of like amount are now recovered in the circuit courts of the United States; the proceeds to be paid into the treasury of the United States, and separate suits may be brought for each alien or foreigner being a party to such contract or agreement aforesaid. And it shall be the duty of the district attorney of the proper district to prosecute every such suit at the expense of the United States.

SEC. 4. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States on any such vessel, and land, or permit to be landed, from any foreign port or place, any alien laborer, mechanic, or artisan, who, previous to embarkation on such vessel, had entered into contract or agreement, parol or special, express or implied, to perform labor or service in the United States, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each and every such alien laborer, mechanic or artisan so brought as aforesaid, and may also be imprisoned for a term not exceeding six months.

SEC. 5. That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent any citizen or subject of any foreign country temporarily residing in the United States, either in private or official capacity, from engaging, under contract or otherwise, persons not residents or citizens of the United States to act as private secretaries, servants, or domestics for such foreigner temporarily residing in the United States as aforesaid; nor shall this act be so construed as to prevent any person, or persons, partnership, or corporation from engaging, under contract or agreement, skilled workmen in foreign countries to perform labor in the United States in or upon any new industry not at present established in the United States: *Provided*, That skilled labor for that purpose cannot be otherwise obtained; nor shall the provisions of this act apply to professional actors, artists, lecturers or singers, nor to persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed as prohibiting any individ-

ual from assisting any member of his family, or any relative, or personal friend, to migrate from any foreign country to the United States, for the purpose of settlement here.

SEC. 6. That all laws or parts of laws conflicting herewith be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

Approved, February 26, 1885.

As to voluntary immigration the remedy is not so easy, although a remedy must be found. Mechanical competition is displacing labor in the old country even more rapidly than it does here, and the superfluous workmen seem to have no choice between America and death. More than thirty per cent of the people now employed in mechanical industries in the United States are of foreign birth. No truer statement in a few words of the whole question has been made than that of Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the United States Labor Commissioner: "However much foreign immigration has aided the development of railroad building, public works, rivers and other enterprises, these industries have been obliged to assimilate labor faster than the demands for products have warranted." This, it must be admitted, is rather a remarkable statement for a government officer to make, and yet the facts more than bear out the deduction.

It is the development of machinery, of labor-saving devices, which has interfered with the benefits which immigration, up to a certain point, undoubtedly has produced. Our home-made surplus population is increasing annually in numbers, as it must under our industrial conditions. Labor-saving machinery, it is estimated, annually displaces 70,000 workers, who are thrown on the market to find some other avenue of work. To these must be added the immigrants who also annually come to our shores. There are honest, industrious, intelligent and effective men who cannot find work in the United States. The supply of labor is already greater than the demand, and yet we go on adding to the supply by every steamer which crosses the Atlantic, and subtracting from the demand by every patent filed in the patent office. A certain amount of immigration is good; a surfeit of it is bad.

The matter must be examined without prejudice, and solely from the point of view on what is for the best interests of American labor. There is no "know-nothingism" in wise adjustment of the supply of labor to the demand. There is no injustice; it is after all the working of nature's first law, self-preservation, which impels us to protect American labor, even at the expense of Europe. The oppressed of all nations are becoming, by the mere weight of their numbers, the oppressors of this nation. No one wants immigration stopped. Every one who

will examine the facts will desire it regulated and adjusted, so that it will no longer be an annual and constant disaster to the business of America. We can assimilate safely a quarter of a million a year, but a larger number is unfortunate for us in direct ratio to its volume.

CONVICT COMPETITION.

The question of what should be done with the convicts was supposed to have been solved when a system was introduced wherein manufactures of different sorts were introduced in the prisons, and the felons were made to learn and work at different trades. The supporters of the system pointed out with truth that several very important ends were gained. In the first place the convicts were made self-supporting. The cost of their keeping was taken off the state. The felons were taught trades which would enable them to make an honest living after leaving the penitentiary. The work in itself had an influence for good and toward reform, being in itself a powerful disciplinary force.

All of this goes to show how very little social economics are understood, and how it is only after many blunders that we can come to the truth — how only after exhausting the possibilities of error we cease to err. That the cost of keeping the convicts was taken off the state, was true, but the cost was paid by some one, as all should have known, and it was paid by the honest labor with which convict work came into competition. Convicts working at an average of fifty-one cents a day produced shoes which were put in the market side by side with those made by free labor at an average of a few cents over two dollars a day. The prison contractor had thus a margin of \$1.50 per day per laborer against outside rivals. He could still sell at a profit while they were selling at a loss. The consequence was easy to forecast. The free laborer had to adjust himself to meet enslaved competition, and he was assisted in his adjustment by the pressure upon his employer. Instead of taxing the whole community for the support of the convicts in the shoe shops, the shoemakers of the country are ingeniously compelled to pay for their imprisoned co-workers. The free coopers must pay for the convict coopers, the free saddlers support the immured saddlers, and so the vicious circle is completed along the whole line of industry. As far as the careful investigations of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics have gone, the following industries are to be found in the prisons of America, with the number of felons employed:

SKILLED PRISON LABOR.

KINDS OF WORK.	NO. EMPLOYED.			KINDS OF WORK.	NO. EMPLOYED.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Males.	Females.	Total.
Adobe and buildings.....	113		113	Harness and collars.....	127		127
Agricultural tools.....	174		174	Harness and saddles.....	203		203
Bakers—crackers.....	40		40	Hats.....	163		163
Baking and kitchen.....	24		24	Hatmaking.....	314		314
Baskets.....	2		2	Helm-making.....	48		48
Beds.....	14		14	Hollowware.....	193		193
Bedsteads—wood.....	84		84	Hollowware and castings.....	295		295
Blacksmiths.....	286		286	Hose.....	50		50
Blacksmiths, painters, fur- niture and wagons.....	40		40	Hosiery.....	30	75	75
Blacksmiths, masons, tail- ors, carpenters, farm.....	398		398	Hosiery and knitting.....	50		50
Bolts.....	42	8	50	Hosiery and woolen good.....	184		184
Bolts and nuts.....	107		107	Jute.....	310		310
Bone ash.....	10		10	Knitting.....	4		4
Boneworkers.....	6		6	Knitting, sewing, etc.....	181		181
Bookkeepers.....	4		4	Knitting socks.....	535		535
Boots and shoes.....	2,799		2,799	Knitting and tailoring.....	61		61
Bricklayers.....	14		14	Laundry.....	185	82	267
Brickmaking.....	634		634	Leather.....	17		17
Brooms.....	321		321	Machinists.....	100		100
Brooms and brushes.....	8	22	30	Matmaking.....	35		35
Brooms and trunks.....	9		9	Mattresses.....	4	3	7
Brush blocks and backs.....	15		15	Milling.....	2		2
Brushes.....	836	35	871	Molding.....	55		55
Brushes and shoes.....	232	47	339	Nebraska Mfg. Company.....	121		121
Brushes and wire work.....	160	40	200	Overalls.....	3		3
Building boats.....	2		2	Painters.....	65		65
Canes.....	271		271	Pantaloons.....	30		30
Caning chairs.....	1,147	9	1,156	Paper boxes.....	38		38
Cane seat chairs.....	91		91	Planing mill.....	11		11
Carpenters.....	187		187	Printing.....	26		26
Carpenters and blacksmiths.....	17		17	Saddlery hardware.....	525	20	545
Carpenters' and joiners' tools.....	110		110	Saddle trees.....	173		173
Carriage bodies and shafts.....	105		105	Saddle trees and stirrups.....	35		35
Carriages and trimmings.....	60		60	Seamstresses.....	231		231
Castings.....	10		10	Sewing.....	25	25	50
Chair cane seating.....	93		93	Sewing and knitting.....	50	284	284
Chairs.....	1,078		1,079	Sewing machines.....	50		50
Chairs and cradles.....	162		162	Self hardware.....	300		300
Chairs, flag seating.....	35		35	Shirts.....	334	129	463
Chairs, seating.....	35	54	89	Shirts and laundry.....	100		100
Chairs and woodwork.....	24		24	Shoemaking.....	944	13	957
Children's carriages.....	35		35	Shoemaking and tailoring.....	26		26
Cigars.....	313		313	Shoes.....	3,063	31	3,094
Cigars and cigar boxes.....	55		55	Socks.....	75		75
Clothing.....	811	27	838	Steampipe fitters.....	2		2
Coal mining.....	1,652	19	1,671	Stockings.....	467	10	477
Coats and vests.....		40	40	Stoves.....	1,045		1,045
Collars.....	160		160	Stoves and hollowware.....	114		114
Coopers.....	797		797	Stoves and stove castings.....	80		80
Cots.....	5		5	Tailoring.....	451	40	491
Cutts.....	100		100	Tinware.....	56		56
Cutting and dressing stone.....	482		482	Tinware, toys, garden, etc.....	130		130
Doors.....	191		191	Tobacco.....	94		94
Dressing granite.....	170		170	Upholstering.....	2		2
Dressing granite and mar- ble.....	60		60	Wagons.....	959	32	991
Dressmaking.....		40	40	Weaving.....	35		35
Dressing marble.....	246		246	Weaving carpet.....	11		11
Farming implements.....	120		120	Wheels and spokes.....	35		35
Farm implements and wag- ons.....	291	15	306	Whips and brooms.....	121		121
Foundry and machinery.....	74		74	Window shade rollers.....	15		15
Foundry workers.....	131		134	Wire and wire fence.....	143		143
Furniture.....	204		204	Wirework.....	12		12
Hame and saddlery hard- ware.....	100	14	114	Woodworkers.....	138		138
				Woolen boots.....	152		152
				Woolen goods.....	29		29
				Total.....	28,825	1,567	30,393

UNSKILLED PRISON LABOR.

KINDS OF WORK.	NO. EMPLOYED.			KINDS OF WORK.	NO. EMPLOYED.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Males.	Females.	Total.
Breaking stone.....	62	78	140	Green-house.....	10		10
Building and working on railroad.....	515	11	526	Helpers.....	24		24
Building railroads and levees.....	820	44	864	Improvements and repairs..	7		7
Building railroads, mining, etc.....	1,104	38	1,142	Mining coal and burning coke.....	400	15	415
Burning lime.....	46		46	Mining coal and construct- ing.....	291		291
Chopping wood.....	325		325	Mining iron ore.....	130		130
Constructing prisons and roads.....	420		420	Phosphate works.....	76		76
Constructing public sewer..	65		65	Picking cotton waste.....	8		8
Constructing public streets..	80		80	Plantation.....	1,148		1,148
Constructing public works	1,166		1,166	Quarrying granite.....	200		200
Constructing roads and work on plantation.....	197		197	Quarrying lime stone and burning lime.....	23		23
Cutting timber and sawing lumber.....	55		55	Quarrying stone.....	1,170	4	1,174
Engine house.....	11		11	Quarrying stone, breaking and grading.....	147		147
Farm, construction, garden and prison duties.....	1,530	65	1,595	Quarrying stone and crush- ing.....	210		210
Farm and garden.....	276		276	Quarrying stone and cut- ting.....	361		361
Farm, garden and live stock.....	56		56	Rag cutting.....	139	46	185
Farming.....	1,891	30	1,921	Sawing lumber.....	21		21
Gardening.....	51		51	Sewing rags.....	14	4	18
General work.....	154	3	157	Prison duties.....	6,854	1,996	8,850
Grading public park.....	55		55				
				Total.....	20,012	2,334	22,346

SUMMARY.

	Male.	Female.	Total.
Skilled.....	28,826	1,567	30,393
Unskilled.....	20,012	2,334	22,346
Total.....	48,838	3,901	52,739

If to these figures be added the 4,592 prisoners who are for various reasons idle, the prison population of the United States, which amounts to 57,331, will be accounted for. In order that the statistics in the case may be made complete, the distribution of convicts in the different states is also appended :

STATES.	Total population.	PRISONERS AT WORK.			Idle.	METHODS OF EMPLOYMENT.				
		Male.	Female.	Total.		Under contract.	Under lease.	Piece - price plan.	On public account.	In prison duties.
UNITED STATES.....	57,331	48,838	3,901	52,739	4,592	14,339	9,291	2,980	16,679	8,850
Alabama.....	899	867	32	899			863			36
Arkansas.....	597	582	15	597			597			
California.....	1,621	1,547	14	1,561	60			769	407	385
Colorado.....	455	431	3	434	21				287	147
Connecticut.....	930	643	207	850	80	200		60	348	242
Delaware.....	89				89					
Florida.....	197	197		197			197			
Georgia.....	1,659	1,630	39	1,659			1,659			
Illinois.....	3,320	2,730	89	2,819	502	1,873		110	340	486
Indiana.....	1,737	1,714		1,714	23	1,172			436	106
Iowa.....	1,011	892	13	905	106	318			350	237
Kansas.....	1,376	1,342	16	1,358	18	245			932	181
Kentucky.....	1,384	1,300	84	1,384			1,142		169	73
Louisiana.....	864	820	44	864			864			
Maine.....	183	174	3	177	6				168	9
Maryland.....	1,214	491	31	522	692	439				83
Massachusetts.....	3,819	2,749	649	3,398	421	649		898	876	975
Michigan.....	2,628	2,377	250	2,627	1	900			1,195	522
Minnesota.....	549	515	10	525	24	330			130	65
Mississippi.....	812	780	32	812			741			71
Missouri.....	2,000	1,604	133	1,737	263	869			543	325
Nebraska.....	376	363	13	376			278		56	42
Nevada.....	132	126	3	129	4				105	23
New Hampshire.....	224	203	16	220	4	99			93	28
New Jersey.....	1,579	1,325	60	1,385	194			625	511	249
New York.....	9,032	7,474	670	8,144	888	4,330			2,255	1,539
North Carolina.....	1,085	1,020	65	1,085			1,085			
Ohio.....	3,224	2,665	430	3,095	129	1,199		463	992	441
Oregon.....	291	282	1	283	8	170			50	63
Pennsylvania.....	5,533	4,099	649	4,748	785	402		45	2,698	1,603
Rhode Island.....	744	661	79	740	4	122		10	465	143
South Carolina.....	945	901	44	945			526		398	21
Tennessee.....	1,339	1,293	46	1,339			1,339			
Texas.....	2,539	2,359	33	2,392	147	109			2,128	155
Vermont.....	170	150	20	170		70			84	16
Virginia.....	1,024	956	68	1,024		808				215
West Virginia.....	275	269	6	275		215				60
Wisconsin.....	1,052	989	33	1,022	30	340			456	226
The Territories.....	420	327	2	329	93	60			207	62

From these figures we come to the very important facts depending upon them. Taking Illinois as a basis of calculation, we can very soon see how prison competition operates. There are 120,558 males of 16 and over engaged in the industries of Illinois. There are eight specific industries employed in the Illinois penitentiaries,* while there are in round numbers a hundred specific industries followed by the hundred and thirty thousand free laborers. Making a general average then, which, however, would be misleading, there are 2,819 convicts competing against 1,205 free laborers. While the proportion would not really arrange itself this way, it must be borne in mind that convict competition is a serious and often a fatal

* At the election in November, 1886, convict labor was abolished in Illinois.

thing to free industry. The saddlery business of St. Louis is in the hands of the convict contractors. The census report of 1880 shows 2,297 coopers in Illinois, of whom 686 are employed in Chicago. Of the convicts at Joliet 204 are employed in making cooperage for the Chicago market exclusively, by a firm of Chicago contractors. Even yet the figures are delusive, for the penitentiary work competes directly with that part of the Chicago coopers who are engaged in making pork barrels. The same firm of contractors owns the labor of one of the Indiana penitentiaries, and as a consequence no free labor at all is employed in making pork barrels for the Chicago market. The honest workingman has been driven out of the field utterly. The manufacture of boots and shoes employs 883 convicts in Illinois, while the free labor engaged in the same and cognate branches of industry in the state amounts to 3,443. The convicts are therefore one fourth of the free labor in this department of work. The number 3,443 represents the whole shoemaking labor in all its branches. There were 2,060 persons in the factories and it is directly against these that the 883 felons are fighting. Thus the competition is 43 per cent instead of 25. In the states immediately surrounding Illinois, viz.: Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, there are, as a reference to the table will show, 1,431 convicts employed in shoemaking. Under such a condition of things is it any wonder that the shoe-making business in Illinois is languishing. Free labor must come to convict labor rates. It is an actual fact, which will be found true in all save isolated instances, that wages are lower than they were thirty, twenty or ten years ago in the trade, and that the number of idle men is larger. And we can see how this must be true. The average price paid for prison labor in Illinois is 52½ cents a day. Against such figures how can the honest man compete?

And these are after all only isolated instances. The whole domain of industry is affected by this criminal labor. It does not need that the percentages of felons to honest men should be larger. If there is enough prison output to make any appreciable effect on the market the honest product must come to the price set by the dishonest product. The markets are sensitive and sympathetic and they govern wages. The end of it all must be that free labor will approximate nearer and nearer in pay and treatment to prison labor if we keep on in the vicious road in which we are now traveling.

And there are other points to be considered. It is simply rot to talk about either the disciplinary value of the work done in these prisons, or the reformatory value of the contract system. The felons are

mere machines held to labor by the dark cell and the scourge. They do not learn trades; they simply learn parts of trades out of which an honest living can not be made. The advantages claimed for the system simply do not exist. When we examine them closely they fade away. But even if the method was all that the fancy of the most enthusiastic prison reformer painted it, it would still be bad, dangerous and demoralizing. The state has no right to fit to the backs of one class of workers the burden which should be shared by all.

In this year of grace 1886, the evils of the contract system are generally admitted by all legislators. Laws have been passed in most of the states sweeping the system away, and in others at the termination of existing contracts the method will terminate; but, somehow, the remedies proposed by the economists simply change the form and not the substance of the evil.

It seems to be still held as a cardinal principle that the convict must be made self-supporting, and herein lies the radical defect of all the remedies suggested. It is overlooked that a convict can only be self-supporting by working at some business in which the product of his labor can be sold. He thus competes, no matter under what name, with free labor, and as a consequence free labor suffers much more than the extent to which the state is benefited.

The public account system makes the state furnish the plant for manufacture, and sell the goods in open market. It dispenses with the contractor, but does not help the free laborer, who is met, just as before, by slave labor.

The piece-price plan involves the setting up of factories by the state, and the making of raw material furnished by outsiders into finished product at a fixed price per piece. Here again the convict competition is manifest.

Indeed exhaustive study of the works of prison reformers shows that they base their systems invariably upon making the convict a money-making machine. The prisons are to be factories of some sort, rather than penitentiaries. It is here where the workingmen should insist that the line be drawn. He should argue that the prison should *not* be a factory, but a prison. He should agitate until the penitentiary is a penitentiary, and not a device for fixing the cost of crime upon a part of the community instead of upon the whole, as it would be in a rightly ordered society.

It is not our business, it is not the business of labor, to find a remedy which shall meet the exigencies of the case. It would be better for this

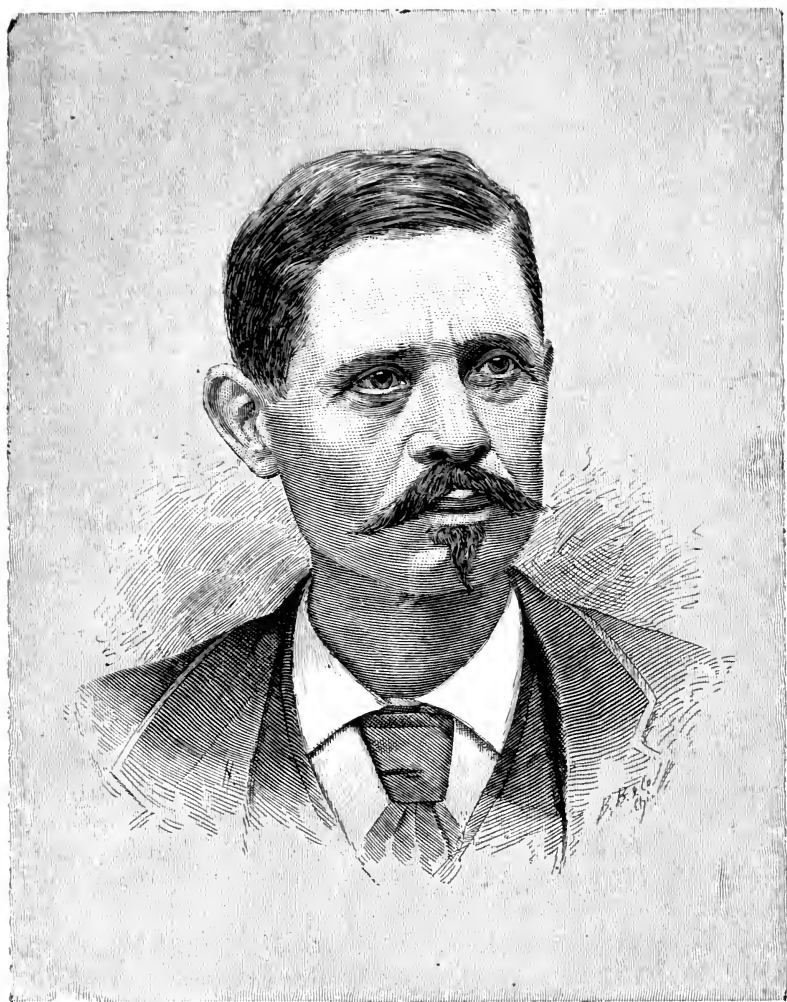
country to have the convicts in utter idleness, than to force them into a pernicious activity which destroys the free workingman. When the real remedy is found it must, at least, take wholly out of the market convict competition. Slave labor should not be employed against free. It makes no difference who is to benefit by the difference, whether the contractors, the state, or the middlemen; it is not just to make labor pay that difference, and the sooner our lawgivers realize this fact the better it will be for American industry.

And thus we see how we are even more extravagantly burning our candle at both ends than the first two departments of this chapter indicated. We are adding to the supply of labor by a constant stream of immigration, and subtracting from the demand not alone by labor-saving machinery, but also by a system of prison industry, which adds a new and wholly unjust competition that is insidious, dangerous and pernicious, and against which honest labor cannot hold its own.

MECHANICAL COMPETITION.

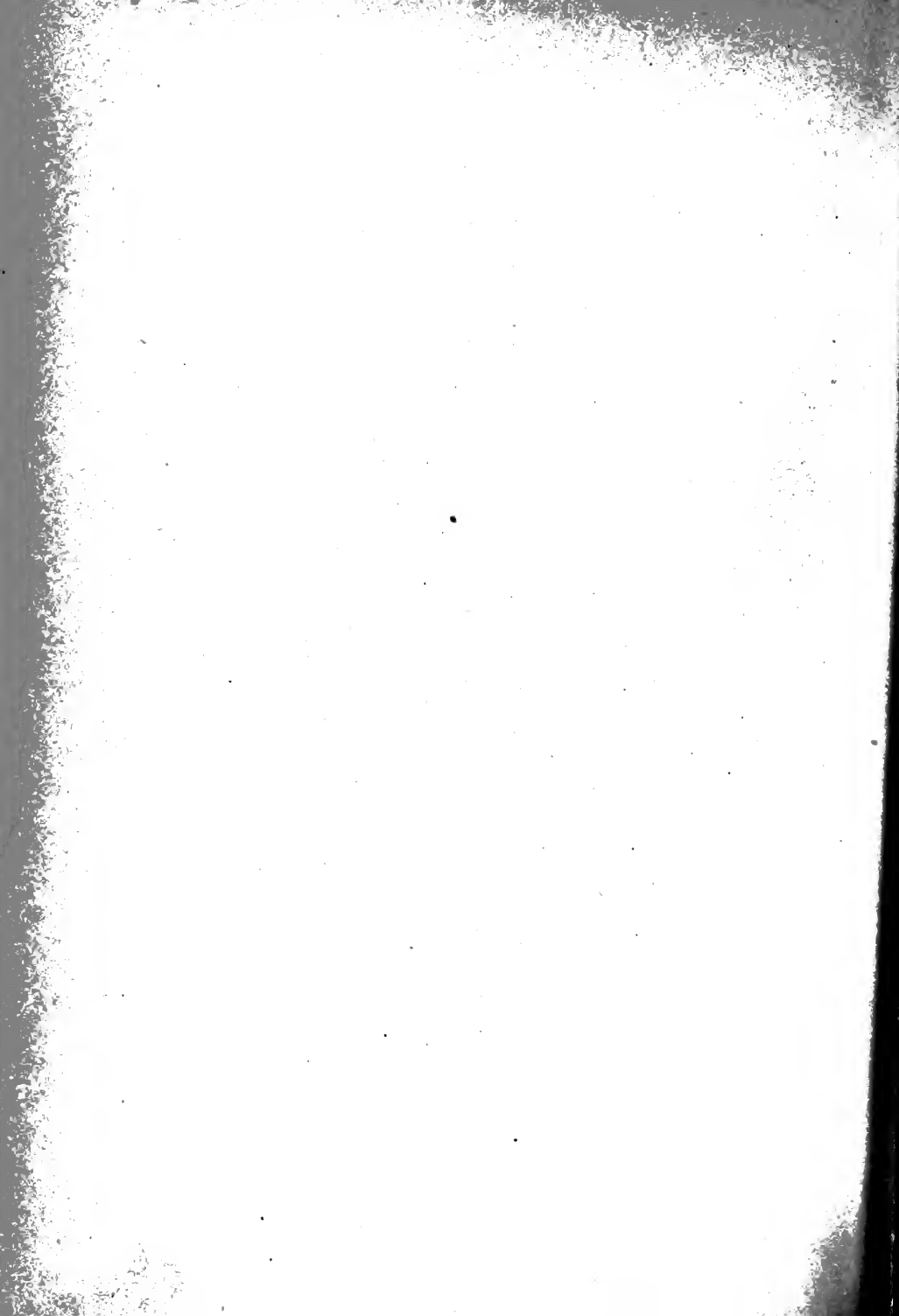
The chart in the statistical appendix to this work shows in a graphic manner the displacement of manual labor by machinery in various industries. In the manufacture of wall paper, for example, one man now does the work formerly requiring a hundred men without machinery. It is an admitted fact that in the past thirty years mechanical devices in the shoe trade have made unnecessary six men for every one now employed, while within a comparatively recent period, eight per cent of the shoe factory operatives have been displaced. In the six years last past machinery has made it possible for one man to do the work of two. In carriage-making, twice the present number employed have been displaced; the same in cotton manufactures; while the proportion in other branches is still greater. We could, if we wished, go through the whole catalogue of industry and show similar facts in all.

The ultimate effect of machinery on labor has been so thoroughly debated that it has been moved out of the arena of dispute. We know that while immediate disturbance follows the introduction of labor-saving machinery the product is greatly cheapened, and the workingman participates in this benefit along with the other classes of the community. Whether labor thus gets back into one pocket all that it loses out of the other is not so clear. In the statistics collected by the United States Government occur some figures so very interesting in this connection that they are worthy reproduction and comment. In agricultural machinery, it is estimated that the displacement of labor owing to the



Wm. Amison.

President International Typographical Union.



improved machinery brought into use in the last fifteen or twenty years amounts to fully fifty per cent. The actual facts in one factory are given as follows :

Department.	Number of Employés.			Proportion.
	Required with machinery.	That would be required without machinery.	Displaced by machinery.	
Engine.....	60	540	480	1 to 9
Boiler.....	70	210	140	1 to 3
Foundry.....	110	165	55	1 to 1½
Wood-working.....	60	300	240	1 to 5
Setting up.....	50	50	.....	1 to 1
Blacksmiths.....	45	90	45	1 to 2
Machinists.....	45	405	360	1 to 9
Erecting-room.....	35	70	35	1 to 2
Paint-shop.....	30	30	.....	1 to 1
Teamsters.....	10	20	10	1 to 2
Pattern-making.....	5	40	35	1 to 8
Draft-room.....	15	150	135	1 to 10
Tool-room.....	10	10	.....	1 to 1
Shipping and stock.....	30	30	.....	1 to 1
Lumber.....	10	10	.....	1 to 1
Bolt and nut.....	5	5	.....	4 to 1
Belt.....	7	14	7	1 to 2
Watch.....	3	6	3	1 to 2
	600	2,145	1,545	1 to 3.57

It will be seen that the place of the 2,145 men who would have been working in this factory to produce its present output is adequately filled by 600 men. From this losing of labor one would naturally look for a large decrease in the price of the product. By the census report we find that plows which had sold for \$6.37 in 1866 were sold for \$4.00 in 1880. Another grade was reduced from \$8.50 to \$5.90; still another from \$11.90 to \$8.00, and a fourth from \$10.90 to \$9.33 in the same period. Thus an economy of somewhat more than 70 per cent in the labor has produced a saving to the consumer of a little more than 30 per cent on each plow. Nor is this all. Wages in agricultural shops are very much lower now than they were in 1866 and for some years subsequently. In 1866 the percentage of wages to the cost of the whole manufacture of the plow was 37, in 1880 it was 29, and it is in 1886 even less than that. There are not alone less laborers at work in the agricultural machinery business as a consequence of the development of labor-saving devices, but those in employment are paid less per capita. The price of the product has gone down, but it has not gone down in proportion to the increased economy in manufacture. The whole loss to labor has not been made up by an equal profit to the community.

The result of the government inquiry has shown that 35,000,000 horse-power of the steam engines and water powers equals in muscular effect the strength of 21,000,000 men. The report of the Labor Bureau is so interesting that we quote from it the following:

“Twenty-one million men represent a population, according to the ratio of the census of 1880, of 105,000,000. The industries are now carried on by 4,000,000 persons, in round numbers, representing a population of 20,000,000 only. There are in the United States 28,600 locomotives. To do the work of these locomotives upon the existing common roads of the country, and the equivalent of that which has been done upon the railroads the past year would require, in round numbers, 54,000,000 horses and 13,500,000 men. The work is now done, so far as men are concerned, by 250,000, representing a population of 1,250,000, while the population required for the number of men necessary to do the work with horses would be 67,500,000. To do the work, then, now accomplished by power and power machinery in our mechanical industries and upon our railroads would require men representing a population of 172,500,000, in addition to the present population of the country of 55,000,000 or a total population with hand processes and with horse-power of 227,500,000, which population would be obliged to subsist on present means. In an economic view the cost to the country would be enormous. The present cost of operating the railroads of the country with steam-power is, in round numbers, \$502,600,000 per annum; but to carry on the same amount of work with men and horses would cost the country \$11,308,500,000. These illustrations, of course, show the extreme straits to which a country would be brought if it undertook to perform its work in the old way. The figures are only interesting because a condition represented by them is utterly impossible. They are, to a certain extent, valuable to show the enormous benefits gained by the people at large through the application of improved motive-power. They illustrate, too, the extreme view of the displacement of labor, which, as already remarked, has been positive, and, it may well be said, to some extent permanent. Certainly, to the men individually involved, the displacement has been severe indeed. It is not necessary to show that all the effects of the introduction of power machinery have been to raise the standard of life wherever the introduction has taken place. It is true that in those countries where machinery has been developed to the highest, the greatest number of work people are engaged, and that in those countries where machinery has been developed to little or no purpose, poverty reigns, ignorance is the prevailing condition, and civilization consequently far in the rear. These statements are simply facts which common observation teaches. They could be easily illustrated by statistics.”

Every thinker will agree with Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the Labor Commissioner, in his conclusion that to machinery is due the progress of our industrial development, but that the workingman has not received his rightful share of the benefits which labor-saving machinery has conferred upon America.

CHAPTER XI.—THE ARMY OF THE DISCONTENTED.

BY T. V. POWDERLY.

THE NUMBER OF THE UNEMPLOYED—THE DOWNWARD TENDENCY OF WAGES—THE "LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND"—THE RELATION OF WAGES TO THE COST OF PRODUCTION—CHILD LABOR—THE PLEA FOR SHORTER HOURS—THE EFFECT OF LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY—THE EIGHT-HOUR SYSTEM—"THE SIN OF CHEAPNESS"—"TOO MUCH WHEAT," YET MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN IN WANT OF BREAD.

IN January, 1884, the following paragraph appeared in one of the daily papers:

It is estimated that at the present time one million and a half of men are out of employment in the United States; it is safe to predict that, if opportunities were offered to these men to drop into useful occupations, a large majority would not avail themselves of them.

Since then, the number of the unemployed must have increased, for nearly every day we read such items as this:

The worsted mill connected with the Bigelow Carpet Mills, which employs about 300 hands, shut down this morning for three weeks. This, with the five per cent cut down at the Lancaster Gingham Mills, where 2,500 hands are employed, which also went into effect this morning, makes Clinton's business outlook decidedly poor.

In the two years ending December 1, 1884, those employed in and around the coal-mines worked but little over half-time, and for the length of time that they were not at work they must be counted in with the unemployed. If the figures above quoted were correct in January, it is safe to assume that at present the number will not fall short of 2,000,000. The census of 1880 shows that the number of persons engaged in gainful occupations was 17,392,099. Of this number 3,837,112 were engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining pursuits, while 5,183,099 gained a livelihood as laborers (agricultural and otherwise). Thus in 1880 we had in the United States, between laborers, mechanics, miners, and those engaged in manufacturing establishments, 9,020,211 persons.

From a personal experience, I am led to believe that the greater portion of those who are now out of employment comes from occupations

that go to make up the 9,020,211. It is safe to assume that the 2,000,000 unemployed persons are discontented with their lot; and not only are they discontented, but those who labor at the same occupations that they previously followed have every reason to be dissatisfied also. With so many men and women seeking employment, the tendency of wages must be downward. It does not follow, because men are out of employment, that such articles as their fellow-workmen produce should decrease in value, or that the profit on the manufactured article, accruing to the owners of the establishments in which they work, should be any less; on the contrary, the expectation is that diminished production will increase the price of the manufactured article, or at least prevent its depreciation when thrown on the market. Notwithstanding the reduction in the expenses of the mining company, we pay the same price for coal that we paid a year ago. It matters not that the carpet mills "suspend 300 hands," the price of carpeting remains unchanged. The gingham mills and the cotton and woolen mills may reduce the wages of employés five and ten per cent, yet the price of gingham and calico continues as before. Whether the manufactured article commands the same price in the market or not, the employer, knowing that he can secure an abundance of help, reduces the wages of his employés. Those who are out of employment are no longer producers, and they certainly are not customers to any increased extent. The wages of those employed having been reduced, their powers of consumption are limited. The merchant whose shelves are stocked with goods becomes discontented when he views the rows of men and women that stand in front of his store, peering with hungry-looking eyes through his windows at the goods so temptingly held to view, willing and anxious to buy these goods, but deprived of the means, through enforced idleness or inadequate compensation for services rendered. Ask the business man what the cause of the depression is, and he, parrot-like, will say, "It is all regulated by the law of supply and demand." A moment's reflection would show him that the law of supply and demand, like all other laws, is open to different constructions. On his shelves is a supply of goods; outside of his window is a demand for these goods—a demand that is at all times equal to the supply. Why is it that the demand does not reach forth and secure the supply? The answer comes, "Because the medium of exchange is lacking; because labor is too cheap and plenty, and money too dear and scarce." That a deep-rooted feeling of discontent pervades the masses, none can deny; that there is a just cause for it, must be admitted. The old cry, "These agitators are stirring up a feeling of dis-

satisfaction among workmen, and they should be suppressed," will not avail now. Every thinking person knows that the agitator did not throw two millions of men out of employment. The man that reads such paragraphs as this will not lay the blame of it at the door of the agitator:

Mrs. Sarah Jane Geary, an Englishwoman, residing in this city, committed suicide a few days since. Her husband is a miner, and owing to the frequent suspensions of business in the mines during the past winter, his meager earnings were insufficient to support the family. The fact preyed on Mrs. Geary's mind, and she resolved to end her life, that her children might receive her share of the food, otherwise they would go hungry.

That the army of the discontented is gathering fresh recruits day by day is true, and if this army should become so large that, driven to desperation, it should one day arise in its wrath and grapple with its real or fancied enemy, the responsibility for that act must fall upon the heads of those who could have averted the blow, but who turned a deaf ear to the supplication of suffering humanity, and gave the screw of oppression an extra turn because they had the power. Workingmen's organizations are doing all they can to avert the blow; but if that day dawns upon us, it will be chargeable directly to men who taunt others with unequal earnings and distort the truth as was done in an interview recently had with Mr. William H. Vanderbilt:

One of the troubles in this country just now is the relation of wages to the cost of production. A skilled workman in almost every branch of business gets every day money enough to buy a barrel of flour. I don't refer to ordinary laborers, but to men skilled at their trades. The man who makes the article receives as much wages in many instances as the article is worth when it is finished. This is not exactly fair, in my opinion, and must be adjusted. Until wages bear a truer relation to production, there can be no real prosperity in the country.

I have seen no denial of the above, and take it for granted that it is a correct report. Mr. Vanderbilt starts out well enough, but he is in error when he says that "a skilled workman in almost every branch of business gets money enough every day to buy a barrel of flour." I know of no business in the United States in which a skilled mechanic, working regularly at his trade day by day, gets money enough for his day's labor to buy a barrel of flour. That they earn the price of a barrel of flour, I do not deny; but that they get it, is not true. It may be that Mr. Vanderbilt refers to superintendents, foremen or contractors, for they are the only ones that receive such wages. The average wage paid to the skilled mechanic will not exceed \$2.50 a day. I know of but few

branches of business in which men can command that price. The wages of skilled mechanics are on the decline, while the price of flour remains unchanged, from \$5.75 to \$8.50 a barrel. If Mr. Vanderbilt will demonstrate how one can purchase a six-dollar barrel of flour for two dollars and a half, he will have solved a very difficult problem for the workingman. It is not the labor of the skilled mechanic alone that must be taken into account in computing the cost of the manufactured article; the average price paid to labor in the establishment should be the standard, if a standard of wages is required.

An examination of the last census report shows that the number of manufacturing establishments in the United States was 253,852, and the amount of capital invested was \$2,790,272,606; the average number of hands employed was 2,732,595; the value of raw material was \$3,396,823,549; while the product of the manufactured articles was \$5,369,579,191. Deduct the sum paid for the raw material from the product of the manufactured article, and we have \$1,972,745,642. This sum represents the difference between the price paid for the article when in a raw state and that received for it when manufactured. It is evident that something more than interest on money invested was required to give this additional value to the material. That something was the labor of the hands referred to. The total amount paid in wages to the employés of these establishments was \$947,953,795. Deducting this amount from the \$1,972,745,642, we have left \$1,024,791,847. This sum goes to the manufacturer. It is estimated by some that the amount paid for raw material includes taxes, insurance, salaries and repairs; but, in the absence of reliable statistics, I am not prepared to prove that such is the case. By adding the sum paid for raw material to the amount of capital invested, we have \$6,187,096,155, the total investment of the manufacturer. From this sum we have, pitted against every one of the 2,732,595 employés, a fraction over \$2,264. While the average yearly earnings of each employé were \$720, he received in wages but a fraction over \$346, or a trifle over one dollar a day for every working day in the year. Subtract the wages of the employé from his earnings and we have left \$374. The employé receives an average of \$346 a year for his labor, while his employer receives \$374 on an investment of \$2,264. Instead of basing the cost of the manufactured article on the wages given to the highest-priced skilled mechanic, it should be based on the average wage paid to the men in these establishments. It thus appears that a barrel of flour costs several days' labor.

It may be said that many of the employés of the manufacturing

establishments are minors, and consequently cannot perform as great an amount of labor as a corresponding number of adults. That argument might have had some weight years ago, but now it is fruitless. The age and strength of the workmen are no longer regarded as factors in the field of production; it is the skill of the operator in managing a labor-saving machine that is held to be the most essential. It is true that a child can operate a machine as successfully as a man, and that muscle is no longer a requisite in accomplishing results. It is also true that less time is required to perform a given amount of labor than heretofore. This being the case the plea of shorter hours is not unreasonable. Benjamin Franklin said, one hundred years ago, that "if the workers of the world would labor but four hours each day, they could produce enough in that length of time to supply the wants of mankind." While it is true that the means of supplying the wants of man have increased as if by magic, yet man has acquired no new wants; he is merely enabled to gratify his needs more fully. If it were true in Franklin's time that four hours of toil each day would prove sufficient to minister to the necessities of the world's inhabitants, the argument certainly has lost none of its force since then. At that time it took the sailing-vessel three months to cross the ocean; the stage-coach made its thirty or forty miles a day; the electric wire was not dreamt of; and the letter that traveled but little faster than the stage-coach, was the quickest medium of communication.

It required six days' labor at the hands of the machinist, with hammer, chisel, and file, to perfect a certain piece of machinery at the beginning of this century. The machinist of the present day can finish a better job in six hours, with the aid of a labor-saving machine. In a yarn mill in Philadelphia the proprietor says that improved machinery has caused a displacement of fifty per cent of the former employés within five years, and that one person, with the aid of improved machinery, can perform the work that it took upward of one hundred carders and spinners to do with the tools and implements in use at the beginning of this century. In Massachusetts it has been estimated that 318,768 men, women and children do, with improved machinery, the work that it would require 1,912,468 men to perform if improved machinery were not in use. To insure safety on a passenger train, it is no longer necessary to have a brakeman at each end of the car; the automatic air-brake does the work, while one brakeman can shout "All right here!" for the whole train. The employé that has had a limb cut off in a collision, must beg for bread or turn the crank of a hand-organ and gather his

pennies under the legend, "Please assist a poor soldier who lost his leg at Gettysburg." He is no longer stationed, flag in hand, at the switch; the automatic lever directs the course of the train and renders the one-legged switchman unnecessary. It is said that the iron-molder recently invented is capable of performing as much labor as three skilled workmen; while the following dispatch to a Philadelphia paper, from Mahanoy City, shows what is being done in the mines:

For the past three years the reduction in wages has been systematic and steady. When one of the officials of one of the great companies was interviewed on the matter, he replied that the advance in labor-saving machinery had lightened the labor of the men. A miner at one of the Reading collieries says that some months ago he expended a large sum for a patent drill, which enabled him to do five times the usual amount of work. He was employed in driving a gangway, the price paid being \$10 a yard; but at the end of the week, when the officials saw the amount of work he had done, the rate was reduced to \$4.50 a yard.

Take the iron-molder as an illustration. Three flesh-and-blood men, who require shelter, clothing, recreation and social intercourse, who must eat or starve, who must pay taxes to support the state, and whose bodies can be taken to defend the state in case of invasion or rebellion; one iron man, who does not feel, sleep, eat, or drink, who never tires and never rests. Three flesh-and-blood men, who have children depending upon them for bread; one iron man, who has no family to support; and the three men whom he has displaced must continue to support families or enlist in that ever-increasing army of tramps. Heat, steam, electricity, labor-saving machines pay no taxes, municipal or national; the men thrown out of employment through the introduction of these agents are deprived of the means of contributing to the support of the state, and an extra burden is shifted to the shoulders of those that continue to work. The existence of such a state of affairs gives evidence that the introduction of machinery, from which the many should derive an advantage, is being used for the benefit of a few, who already feel the blow given to trade through the displacement of so many consumers.

A great many remedies are recommended for the ills that I speak of; let me deal with what seems to be the most unimportant—the reduction of the hours of labor to eight a day. Men, women and children are working from ten to eighteen hours a day, and 2,000,000 men have nothing to do. If four men, following a given occupation, at which they work ten hours a day, would rest from their labors two hours each day, the two hours taken from the labor of each, if added together, would give the tramp that stands looking on an opportunity of stepping

into a position at eight hours a day. It is said that a vast majority of those who are idle would not work if they had work to do. That statement is untrue; but let us admit that 500,000 of the 2,000,000 idle men would not work, we still have 1,500,000 who are anxious and willing to work. If but 6,000,000 of the 17,000,000 producers will abstain from working ten, fifteen and eighteen hours a day, and work but eight, the 1,500,000 of idle men that are willing to work can again take their places in the ranks of the world's producers. Need it be said that 1,500,000 of new hats will be needed; that a corresponding number of pairs of shoes, suits of clothing, and a hundred other things, will be required; that the wants of these men and their families will be supplied; that shelves will be emptied of their goods, and that the money expended will again go into circulation. It would entail hardship on some branches of business to require men employed in them to work eight hours a day. Miners and those working by contract could not very well adopt the eight-hour plan without lengthening their hours of labor. Before giving the matter a second thought, many of these men look upon the eight-hour agitation as of no consequence to them. If a mechanic is thrown out of employment and cannot find anything to do at his trade, he turns toward the first place where an opportunity for work is presented. If he is reinforced by 2,000,000 idle men, the number that apply at the mouth of the mine, or seek to secure contracts at lower figures, become quite large, and the miner and contract-man grumble because so many men are crowding in upon them in quest of work. Every new applicant for work in the mine makes it possible for the boss to let his contract to a lower bidder; therefore it is clearly to the interest of the miner to assist in reducing the hours of labor in shop, mill and factory, to the end that the idle millions may be gathered in from the streets to self-sustaining positions.

The eight-hour system, to be of value to the masses, must be put in operation all over the country, for the manufacturers of one state cannot successfully compete with those of other states if they run their establishments but eight hours while others operate theirs ten or twelve hours a day. The movement should be national, and should have the hearty co-operation of all men.

A Scottish clergyman, Dr. Donald Macleod, in a sermon on "The Sin of Cheapness," says that "the craving for cheapness and hunting after bargains is not only economically false, but a cause of great suffering to thousands of men, women and children." If men worked shorter hours, they would learn that when a man begins to look for cheap bar-

gains he strikes a blow at trade everywhere. The employer looks for a better bargain in labor, and reduces his force or hires cheaper men. His employé must practice enforced economy, which is no saving; he drives sharper bargains for articles manufactured by others; he cannot purchase so good an article, or in such quantities, as before; and the effect is felt where these articles are made, taking the shape of a reduction either in the working force or in the wages. When the President of the United States issued his Thanksgiving proclamation in 1884, there were millions of men and women in want of bread, notwithstanding "the abundant harvests and continued prosperity which God hath vouchsafed to this nation," and the cry, not of thanksgiving, went up from millions of farmers of "Too much wheat!" Doubting as to the exact meaning of the Creator in growing so much wheat, they invoked the aid of such institutions as the Chicago Board of Trade, in the hope of thwarting the will of God by cornering wheat. These men invoked blessings on their Thanksgiving dinners, and thanked God for the turkey, while they hoarded the wheat away from those who asked for bread.

Give men shorter hours in which to labor, and you give them more time to study and learn why bread is so scarce while wheat is so plenty. You give them more time in which to learn that millions of acres of American soil are controlled by alien landlords that have no interest in America but to draw a revenue from it. You give them time to learn that America belongs to Americans, native and naturalized, and that the landlord who drives his tenant from the Old World must not be permitted to exact tribute from him when he settles in our country.

CHAPTER XII.—MEXICO.

ANTIQUITY OF MEXICAN CIVILIZATION — PREHISTORIC MEXICO — THE CITIES OF CHACO — THE PYRAMIDS OF XOCHICALO AND PAPANTLA — AZTEC CIVILIZATION — INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN — SLAVERY — DRESS AND FOOD OF THE WORKING CLASSES — CONDITION OF MEXICO AT THE TIME OF THE SPANISH INVASION — MINING — AGRICULTURE — TRADES — WOMEN — THE CITY OF MEXICO — BAREARITIES OF SPANISH RULE — MODERN MEXICO — SLAVERY ABOLISHED — AGRICULTURE — MINING — ARCHITECTURE AND HOMES OF THE PEOPLE.

UNTIL within a few years, in Mexico, the dust of oblivion covered the ruins of a civilization antedating by centuries the discovery by Columbus of the new world. While Indians hunted and waged their fierce warfare on the wooded heights surrounding New York bay; while the cry of the wild-cat and the war-whoop of the savage still rang through the forests on the hills now covered by the business palaces of Boston; while Columbus in Spain was vainly trying to awaken confidence in the existence of a western continent; while Englishmen lived in huts, and when Rome thought herself mistress of the whole world, there existed in that part of the western continent bordering upon or inclosed by the tropics, a people far advanced in the arts of civilization, and whose origin is lost in antiquity. Spanish adventurers came, conquered and returned to Spain laden with the spoils of the plundered people. English, French and Dutch settlers laid the foundations of mighty cities along the Atlantic coast of the continent of America. Population in the newly-settled country increased. Spain, jealously holding on to her territory in tropical America, let her colonies languish and fall into the same decay that even now holds all the Spanish peninsula in its grasp. The settlers in the north flourished, and all thought of that luxuriant civilization in the south soon passed from the minds of the people who finally built up the United States of America.

But how full of interest are the evidences of that ancient civilization in Mexico so contemptuously spurned by the Spaniards after they had wrung from the people all that could be carried to Spain and turned into gold to fill the pockets of the conquerors. It was reserved for a French writer in the nineteenth century, amazed at modern discoveries in Mexico and Peru, to cry out: "America is to be again discovered! We must

remove the veil in which Spanish politics have sought to bury its ancient civilization." And so exclaiming, he set the example for a host of modern scientists who now study the long-neglected records of the life of the ancient Mexicans.

The student of early Mexican civilization finds himself embarrassed, at the outset of his labors, by the paucity of written records dealing with the subject. The destruction of the priceless treasures of the Alexandrian library by the infidel Mohammedans was not more complete than the obliteration of Aztec and Mexican literature by the hordes of fierce and fanatical Spaniards who, under Pizzaro, Cortez and De Soto, ravaged the fair countries of Central and Southern America. But literature is not the only nor the grandest record of civilization a people may leave to posterity, and thus we find today, in the pueblos, temples and monumental ruins which dot the face of the country from Peru to Arizona, the records of a people skillful in architectural designing and industrious in carrying their designs into effect. The record of the laborer was not to be obliterated by the Spaniards, aided though they were by fire and sword. In the valley of the Chaco, in New Mexico, stand in sombre silence today seven ruins in the space of about ten miles. These ruins are the remains of the seven cities of Cevola, destroyed and their inhabitants put to the sword by the Spaniards in 1540. The ruins show that each of these "cities" was a single huge structure built in pueblo style; that is, a huge hollow square of buildings, piled one on top of the other, and facing an inner court. One side of the square is built up to the height of one story only, giving entrance by means of ladders to the court. The outer walls were three feet thick and built of huge, regularly cut blocks of sandstone. The inner walls were of cobble stones laid in mortar. The foundations were laid deep in the ground, showing a knowledge of constructive engineering. The piles of dwellings towered to a height of five, or sometimes six stories, and had their only entrance from the outer side, by dizzy ladders reaching to narrow windows. Speaking of one of these structures an officer of the United States army, Lieutenant Simpson, writes: "It discovers in the masonry a combination of science and art which can only be referred to a higher stage of civilization and refinement than is discoverable in the work of Mexicans or Pueblos of the present day. Indeed so beautifully diminutive and true are the details of the structure as to cause it, at a little distance, to have the appearance of a magnificent piece of mosaic." Passing southward into the Mexico of today, the traveler encounters still more gigantic monuments to a race now lost from the

face of the earth. At Xochicalo, in Mexico, is a most extraordinary monument of pyramidal form, yet unlike any of the pyramids of the eastern continent. It stands on the brow of a towering hill, under the earthy surface of which is a mass of rock. The pyramid itself is built in five stages or stories, but in the rocky hill on which it stands are huge excavations; chambers six feet high, floored with cement and plastered on the sides and ceilings with some white glistening substance of great durability; galleries extend in every direction through the mass of rock. Through the center passes the main gallery, sixty yards long, and terminating in two huge chambers, the roofs of which are upheld by massive pillars, carefully left by the excavators. Over a part of the inner chamber rose a dome six feet in diameter and eight or ten in height. The inner surface of the dome is faced with cobble stones set in mortar, and from its apex rose a circular tube, nine inches in diameter, which passed out of the pyramid at the apex. The purpose of this massive structure, with all its elaborate details, is now a mere matter of conjecture. Other pyramids are found scattered throughout Mexico. One at Cholulu covers an area of forty-five acres and rises grandly into the air to a height of one hundred and sixty feet. At present, however, it is a shapeless ruin, and to the superficial observer seems like a huge mound of earth. Nor are the prehistoric ruins of Mexico confined to pyramids of problematic age and utility. Ancient bridges of carefully constructed masonry, and flanked at either end by obelisks, are noted by many travelers. The distinguished explorer Humboldt describes at some length a pyramid examined by him at Papantla, in the state of Vera Cruz. This structure rested upon a base of eighty-two feet square, and its seven stages carried the apex to a height of about sixty feet. Up the face of this pyramid stretched a broad flight of steps. "The facing of the stones," writes Humboldt, "is decorated with hieroglyphics, in which serpents and crocodiles carved in relief are visible. Each story contains a great number of square niches, symmetrically distributed. In the first story there are twenty-four on each side, in the second twenty, and in the third sixteen. There are 366 of these niches in the whole pyramid, and twelve in the stairs toward the east." Besides these monuments to the industry of an extinct race in Mexico there are other and still more imposing structures of the same character in the Central American states and in Peru. Of these latter edifices, some description will be found in the chapters dealing with the countries in which they are situated. The foregoing descriptions are sufficient to show that there existed in Mexico, at some period, a race of people among whom

the arts of architecture, stone-cutting and masonry had been carried to an advanced stage of perfection. All records, and even all traditions of this race, have passed away. In the works of learned antiquarians can be found only conflicting theories as to their origin and their fate. For us, it is enough to note that they were a race in which labor had been so far systematized, and had reached such a state of efficiency, that they were enabled to leave monuments which have withstood the ravages of centuries of time.

For us, the story of labor in Mexico must begin with the time of the Aztecs. Strange, indeed, has been the history of this peculiar people, who built up in Mexico a civilization fairly oriental in its luxuriance, and then fell before the swords and matchlocks of the invading Spaniards, ultimately being almost as thoroughly blotted from the face of the earth as were their predecessors, the unknown builders of the cities of Chaco and the pyramids of Xochicalo and Papantla. Today the name of the Aztec is only kept in popular remembrance by certain weak-minded and deformed children who, decked out in absurd and savage toggerly, are shown about the country by unscrupulous charlatans as "Aztecs"—a despicable insult to the memory of a race at once civilized, brave and industrious. The first appearance of the Aztecs, as the dominant race in Mexico, was early in the eleventh century, or about five hundred years before the Spanish invasion of Mexico. Ruins of their earliest capital city at Tezcuco (which was abandoned later for the City of Mexico) show them to have been a people skilled in the builder's art and with some insight into the sciences, especially astronomy. Ingenious and complicated astronomical instruments have been found in numbers amid the ruins of Tezcuco, now densely overgrown with rank tropical vegetation. But at this period in their history, the works of the Aztecs did not equal in grandeur the monuments of their mysterious and unidentified predecessors. Not until the era of the Montezumas do we find the civilization of the Aztecs putting on those aspects of opulence and voluptuousness which, arousing the cupidity of the marauding Spaniards under Cortez, were the primal cause of the downfall of the Aztec power. Rumors of the magnificence of this empire in the new world reached Spain within ten years of the discovery of America. Columbus, on one of his adventurous voyages, was stopping in a harbor of an island off the coast of Yucatan, when there came into the port a vessel of the mainland, carrying sails of ingenious cut and presenting all the appearance of hailing from a country of commercial and maritime importance. Astonished by the spectacle of so much knowledge of

naval architecture, in a region supposed to be inhabited by savages, Columbus boarded the craft and had long and interesting interviews with the commander. The Spaniard described the crew as well-clothed, intelligent and far superior to any American natives he had yet seen. The cargo of the vessel consisted of a variety of textile fabrics of various colors, wearing apparel, weapons, household furniture and cacao. Marveling much, Columbus secured specimens of the various articles and returned to Spain, where he laid his report and trophies before the throne. The cupidity of the Spaniards was aroused. Here was a people advanced in civilization, well versed in arts and sciences; doubtless in that country there was gold to be had for him who could win it with his sword; and in an incredibly short space of time lumbering Spanish galleons, laden with hordes of desperate and unscrupulous soldiers of fortune, were on the seas bound for the new El Dorado.

The people whose intelligence and industry had raised for them the civilization that thus attracted the Spanish marauders, are well worthy a place in the history of industry among mankind. So fully was the importance of the laborer to the welfare of the state recognized by the ancient Mexicans, that an elaborate system of industrial education was prescribed by the authorities, and every boy of the classes below the nobles was brought up to be a worthy member of the grand brotherhood of labor. Hardly could the children walk firmly upon their feet, when they were straightway made to understand that to live in this world means to work. The boy was provided with small vases pendant from a yoke about his shoulders, in which he brought water from the village spring. The girl, while she was yet four years old, followed her mother to the cotton field, and was there taught how to pull the fleecy bolls from the waving stalks. As the children grew older the loads carried by the boy grew heavier, while the girl learned to spin the cotton she had learned to pick the year before. At six years old the boy was expected to bring home daily from the village market some bit of meat or vegetables which he had received in exchange for his labor. At the age of seven the boy was thought to be old enough to begin the study of his trade, which was generally chosen for him by his parents. Then began the divergence of the education of the sexes; from that age thenceforward the girl's duties became purely domestic. She learned to weave cotton cloth, and then to cut and sew it into garments for herself and the members of her family. From the fleecy boll that whitened the broad fields, to the mantle that covered the body of her father and brothers, every stage passed through by the cotton was familiar to her. The division of

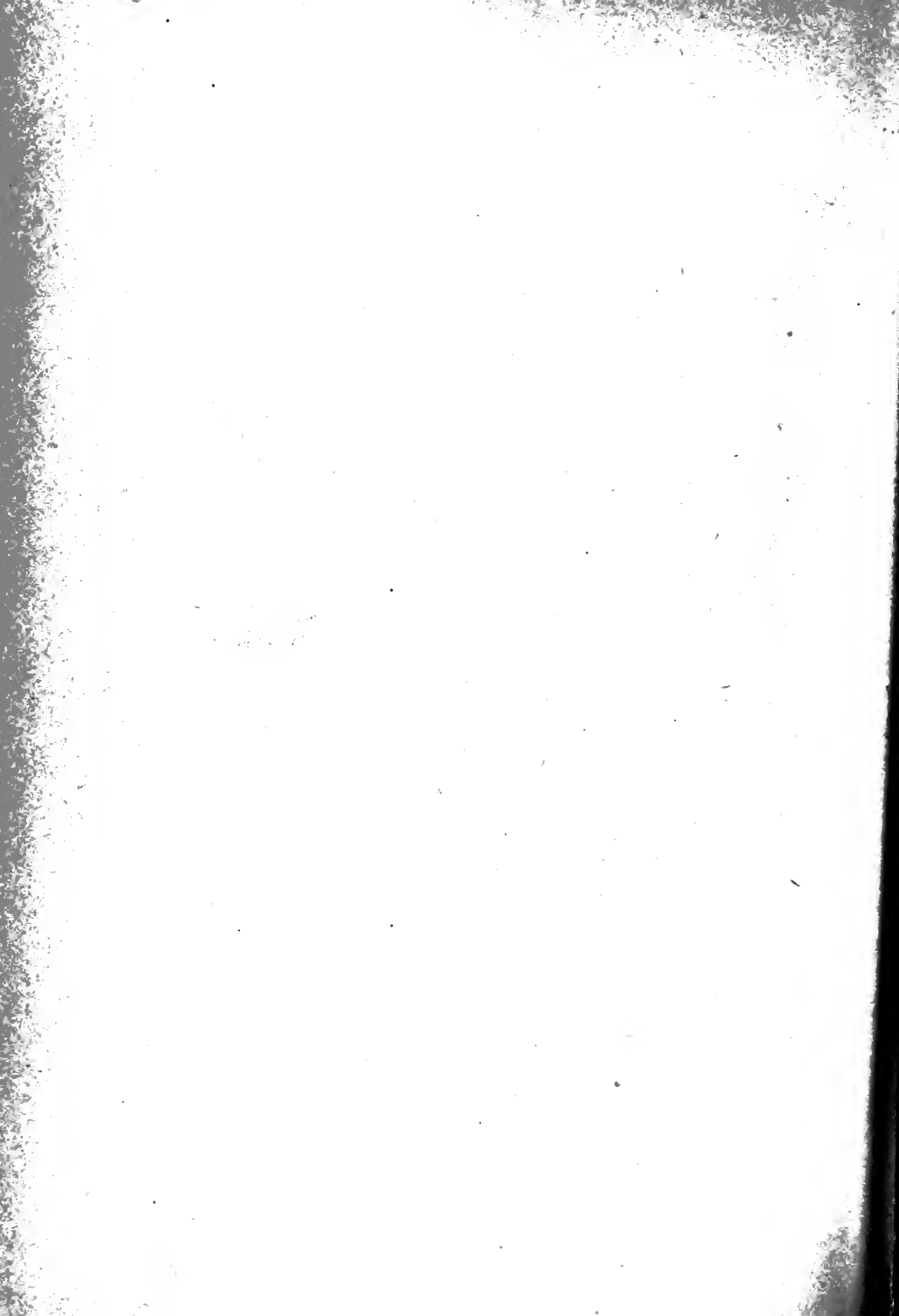
labor, so stimulating to great production and so dwarfing to individual intellect, was not encouraged by the people of Mexico. As the time went on, there was introduced into the Aztec system of education a curious feature which is probably unparalleled in the educational system of any people, save the Spartans. Children were put through a regular course of training, to make them hardy and able to stand pain and fatigue. Boys and girls of eight or nine years of age, for the slightest offense, and often without committing any offense, would be stripped naked, their hands and feet bound, and then thrown prostrate on the ground, to accustom them to bear without a sigh the most severe floggings. To the credit of the humanity of the Aztecs, it is well to record that the girl was recognized as the weaker creature, and the severity of her whipping was much less than that dealt out to the hapless boy. As the children grew older, the pain thus inflicted upon them was made more severe, and to it were added sundry other torments, all intended to work the same end. When eleven years old, boys and girls were forced to stand naked, exposed to the scorching and stifling smoke of burning leaves. When the boy was twelve years old, his parents refused him a bed and made him sleep naked on the earthen floor of the parental hut. The girl, at this age, was rudely awakened at midnight and ordered to clean up the house. When the children entered upon their "teens," the boy who had not been apprenticed to a trade was obliged to fetch wood from the forests for the family fire, to cut and bring in grass for the domestic animals, and was taught by his father to drive the slender canoe against the foaming torrents of the woodland streams. This accomplishment led naturally to his acquisition of the art of angling, and this again to the knowledge of bird-calls, snares and all the myriad means by which men catch the lower animals for their use. So, by the time he was fifteen years old, the Mexican boy was prepared to earn his own living by woodcraft or was well embarked in the study of some useful trade.

By the side of the great mass of industrious citizens of Mexico worked large numbers of slaves, but, though enslaved, this class was ruled in accordance with a wise and gentle code of laws. The servile population was created and recruited in several ways. Prisoners of war were commonly made slaves, although, in the earlier years, such captives were sacrificed with barbaric ceremonies at the altar of the Sun God, and, even down to the time of the Spanish conquest, such sacrifices were offered whenever, in the opinion of the priests, the propitiation of the deity was necessary. The Mexicans were most devout in their worship, and to the friendly aid of the Sun God they ascribed all their successes in war.



John McBride.

President Ohio Coal Miners' Union.



Hence they argued that all prisoners taken in battle should be devoted to the service of the Sun God, and therefore, when such prisoners were not sacrificed, they were treated with the most gentle consideration and, although enslaved, were hardly forced to do any work whatever. The second class of slaves were known as the free-will slaves, and, as this appellation would indicate, were reduced to the station of slaves by their own act. The most common cause which led to a man's relinquishing his rights as a free man was poverty and an inability to provide for his own necessities. When a Mexican saw starvation staring him in the face, he knew of one final resource: he could sell himself into slavery. Commonly, the sale only enslaved the man himself, and his children, even though born in slavery, were free. Sometimes, however, men sold themselves into what was known as "perpetual slavery," and, in this case, all descendants of the slaves were born into bondage. Children were also sold by their parents into slavery, that the sellers might live free. Slaves of the third class were called "law slaves" and were enslaved as punishment for some crime or even misdemeanor. Should a Mexican father find himself burdened with an incorrigibly wayward son, he could, upon getting a decree from a magistrate, sell the boy into servitude. By a curious provision of the laws, the money so gained was ordered to be expended in a grand dinner to the remainder of the family; a provision probably intended to prevent the father selling his son for pecuniary profit. Some crimes, though capital by statute, were sometimes expiated by lifelong slavery. Thus, a man who murdered a father of a family was doomed to death, but should the widow of the murdered man so elect, the murderer might live to serve forever the family of his victim. The life of the Mexican slaves seems to have been a rather easy one. They were hedged about with humane laws for their protection and provisions for regaining their freedom that show how entirely the institution of slavery was at variance with the character of the Mexican people. To be made a free man, a slave had but to secretly pass outside the boundaries of his master's dominion and then, besmirching his feet with human excrement, present himself before a magistrate begging for liberty. In response to such an appeal, it was the duty of the magistrate to wash the fugitive's body, give him the clothes of a free man and then take him before his former master, with the announcement that, by his industry, he had liberated himself and the law pronounced him free. Every facility was afforded the slave in his attempts to escape. The fugitive slave law, unlike the one formerly upon the statute books of the United States, prohibited all persons from obstructing a slave in pursuit

of freedom and imposed upon offenders lifelong slavery—a veritable poetical justice. But the master of a slave was justified in taking any steps necessary to prevent the escape of his chattel, and, should he detect his slave in three attempts to escape, he might put a heavy collar about the culprit's neck and send him to the market-place to be sold. Never, in the times of slavery in Mexico, were slaves looked upon as legitimate articles of commerce. They could be sold only with their own consent or as a punishment, and if, at any time, a slave offered for sale could control the price asked for him, he could buy his freedom of his master. Sometimes the slaves standing for sale in the market place, weighed down with heavy wooden collars, made frantic dashes through the surrounding crowd and won their freedom through the law that any slave bearing a collar was liberated by gaining the shelter of the royal palace. But should the slave be unfortunate in his master or idle in his habits, so that he was offered for sale four times, he became the property of the priests of the Sun God and was offered as a sacrifice to the pagan deity. Lastly, a slave might, and great numbers did gain liberty through the custom prevalent among masters who noted the approach of death of liberating those slaves who had well and faithfully served them.

The dress of the Mexicans of the time before the Spanish invasion was simple, yet far more adequate to the needs of refined human beings than the clothing of the poorer people of any nation of Europe of a similar degree of civilization. Cotton was the chief material used, and the Mexican women, trained from early childhood in the use of that fleecy staple, wove from it fabrics the beauty of which astounded the Spanish invaders. The dress of the men consisted of three pieces: a mantle, trunks and sandals. Simplicity in dress was enjoined upon the poorer classes, in whose ranks were enrolled most workmen and artisans, by rigid sumptuary laws, which prescribed the dress of the plebeians. The mantle was a square piece of cloth, woven of cotton or palm fiber, that hung down to the lower part of the legs. The short trunks were large and baggy, and the sandals were made of buckskin and fastened to the feet with strings. The dress of the women was more elaborate. They wore two or three long cotton chemises, without sleeves, that were tightly confined at the waist by the belt of a petticoat of gaudy fabric, that reached to the ankles. Their heads were bare, and their locks of raven black hair hung in profusion down their backs or were sometimes confined by bright-colored cotton cords or bits of bright green grasses.

The food of the working classes of ancient Mexico was almost entirely vegetable. Unaccustomed to herding cattle or keeping domestic animals

for the sake of the flesh, they relied for animal food upon the fruits of the chase. Small wild animals they had occasionally, and fowls of all kinds were common as well as fish, both salt-water and fresh. Maize or Indian corn grew plentifully in the fertile valleys, and its use was known to all the peoples who, at different times, inhabited that region. The women were adepts in the art of grinding the hard kernels of this grain into meal and making therefrom a great variety of edibles which, with hominy and *frigoles* or black beans, formed the staple diet of the Mexican peasantry: Although hardly to be classed as a food product, tobacco was used in great quantities by the ancient Mexicans, and thousands of workers earned their daily bread by toil in the tobacco fields or by preparing the leaf for use.

At no time in the history of ancient Mexico do we find that heartless oppression of the poor by the rich, that lack of humanity toward the wage-worker, that blackens the annals of so many European peoples. Luxury existed in the court of the Montezumas, it is true, but to support that luxury the poorer classes were not plunged into poverty and degradation. They were a simple people, and their needs were small and easily satisfied. Living in a tropical climate, upon a soil that repaid a thousandfold the slightest effort of the farmer; surrounded by forests full of game and rivers teeming with edible fish, the Mexican lived a life of comfort that to the Saxon churl or French bourgeoisie of the same day would have seemed idyllic.

The second period in the history of Mexico begins with the invasion of the country by the marauding Spaniards under Cortez, who were determined to gratify their insatiate thirst for gold even though, in their search for the precious metal, they should be forced to wade through seas of blood. In a work of this character an account of the Spanish conquest would be out of place. The reader, whose interest in the subject may tempt him to study further the history of that expedition of licensed freebooters, will turn to the picturesque pages of Prescott, where the cruelty and rapacity of the Spaniards, as well as the nobility and dignity of the people whom they subdued, are delineated with a master hand. But in one way the march of the Spaniards into the heart of the country is of importance to the historian of the laboring classes, since many of the Spaniards who marched with Cortez have left on record their impressions of the country through which they passed and the character of the people whom they conquered. Thus we read that as the invaders marched inland, they found "beautiful whitewashed houses" scattered all over the country. At Cholulu, one of the more important

interior towns, one Bernal Diaz writes in his journal: "I well remember when we first entered this town and looked up to the elevated white temples, how the whole place put us completely in mind of Valladolid." And as the invaders pressed on, the signs of a great industrial civilization became more and more evident until at last an officer, pressing on in advance of the column, scaled the precipitous sides of Mount Popocatepetl and saw "the valley of Mexico with its city, its lagunas and islands and its scattered hamlets, a busy throng of life being everywhere visible."

The people who inhabited this charming valley were peaceable and industrious. Though living under the sway of the warlike Montezumas and paying into the imperial treasury huge sums for taxes, their industry and thrift were such as to make signs of squalor and degradation rare. Their occupations were diverse enough to give every youth just coming into manhood a wide choice of occupations by which to earn his bread. Mines were known and scientifically worked for silver, lead, tin and copper. Gold was obtained by placer mining, and the precious metals were fabricated into vessels and ornaments carved and decorated in the most skillful manner by cunning goldsmiths. Agriculture was in a tolerably advanced state, the fields being laid out regularly, drained and irrigated by canals and artificially fertilized when necessary. Granaries of admirable construction were provided to receive the harvest. In these fields the Spaniards saw growing the banana, cacao, or chocolate plant, the vanilla bean, maize and maguey; the latter a plant which the Mexicans put to various uses, making paper of its leaves, while its juice was fermented into an intoxicating drink called *pulque* which still remains the national beverage of the Mexicans. Weapons and cutlery were forged by skillful smiths from an alloy of tin and copper, which was the only substitute for iron. Of *itzzli* or obsidian, a dark, transparent and exceedingly hard mineral, they made knives and swords almost equal in temper to steel. On the tables of the people were cups, bowls and dishes of earthenware and of wood, painted in the most barbaric gaudiness. Their cotton clothing was dyed in most brilliant hues, the scarlet of cochineal being a favorite color. The wealthier classes wore robes of silk, the fiber of which was obtained from the cocoon of a species of caterpillar much resembling the silk-worm proper. In the manufacture of this fabric great numbers of people were employed. But the industry which most delighted the eyes of the color-loving Spaniards was the work of the feather-workers. These skillful artists constructed the most resplendent cloths for the decoration of the houses and persons of the rich, by past-

ing gaudy feathers upon fine cotton cloth. The wild birds of that tropical region gave feathers of scarlet, of green, blue and bronze, glistening with opalescent iris and soft and flexible in tissue. The coloring of the cloths made from these was resplendent beyond description, and the patrician, clothed in a robe of feathers, inspired envy in the minds of the Spaniards, accustomed though they were to luxury and magnificence.

The different trades followed by the Mexicans were grouped into a species of guilds, and although the artisans carefully avoided the error so common in Europe, of encouraging caste distinctions, yet a custom arose of the son following the trade of his father. Both merchants and artisans were people of standing in the community and often rose to high and responsible posts in the government. The position of women among the ancient Mexicans was an honored one. At no time were they treated with the contempt which too often fell to their lot in European countries. They partook, equally with the men, in all festivities, and their duties in life were essentially feminine, such as spinning, weaving and sewing. At no time were they forced to perform rude out-of-door work as is common today among the peasant women of France and Holland. Marriage was a religious form, entered into with due solemnity, and its obligations were held to be equally binding upon either party. Monogamy was the invariable rule among the humble people, but the nobles and monarchs sometimes had a plurality of wives.

After a long and bloody war, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the country and established their seat of government in the City of Mexico. This magnificent city, the imperial capital of the Montezumas, was at that time even grander than it is today, although in 1803 Humboldt wrote of it that it was equal to any city of Europe, and he had fresh in his memory the cities of Paris, Rome, Naples and Vienna. When, on a bright November afternoon, the Spanish line of battle was drawn up before the city, the wondering invaders saw before them, in the heart of what they had considered a savage country, long lines of stately edifices looking like a thing of fairy creation rather than the work of mortal hands. "Below them," writes Prescott, "the city lay spread out like a map with its streets and canals intersecting each other at right angles, its terraced roofs blooming like so many parterres of flowers. Every place seemed alive with business and bustle; canoes were glancing up and down the canals; the streets were crowded with people in their gay, picturesque costume, while from the market place a confused hum of many sounds and voices rose upon the ear. They could distinctly trace the symmetrical plan of the city, with its principal avenues issuing,

as it were, from the fair gates of the temple and connecting themselves with the causeways which formed the grand entrances to the capital. They could discern the insular position of the metropolis, bathed on all sides by the salt floods of the Tezcuco, and, in the distance, the clear, fresh waters of the Chalco; far beyond stretched a wide prospect of fields and waving woods, with the burnished walls of many a lofty temple rising high above the trees and crowning the distant hill. The view reached in an unbroken line to the very base of the circular range of mountains whose frosty peaks glittered as if touched with fire in the morning ray; while long, dark wreaths of vapor rolling up from the hoary head of Popocatatpetl told that the destroying element was indeed at work in the bosom of the beautiful valley."

The next day the Spaniards entered the city and found within the walls even more to wonder at. Water was brought to the city by a massive aqueduct many miles long. The dwelling-houses were massively built of a red porous stone, and the flat roofs were protected by stone parapets, so that every house was a fortress. The great streets were intersected by numerous canals, spanned by substantial bridges. Occasionally, they entered a broad square surrounded by porticos of stone or stucco; sometimes a huge pyramidal temple of colossal size, crowned with tapering sanctuaries and blazing altars, was passed. The palace of Montezuma was near the center of the city, and was a pile of low, irregular stone buildings, so vast that one of the conquerors says that, though he often visited it, fatigue prevented his wandering through all its spacious rooms and interminable corridors. In a huge *plaza* stood the great *teocali* or temple, guarded by a garrison of 10,000 soldiers. The temple was pyramidal, solid, and on the lofty summit blazed an eternal fire. But magnificent as was this capital city of the new El Dorado, Cortez was too good a soldier to occupy with his forces a hostile place cut up by canals, and in which every house was a fortress. Reluctantly he determined to destroy this city, which he himself called "the most beautiful thing in the world." His innumerable Indian allies were called to his aid, and in a few weeks seven-eighths of the proud city of 300,000 people was leveled to the ground, the canals filled up with the rubbish and the erection of a new city on its present plan begun.

It was no gentle government that the conquering Spaniards instituted, and a very few years of their rule sufficed to plunge a once prosperous and contented people into misery and degradation. The first thought of the conquerors was to extort from the conquered people all their riches to glut the coffers of the grandees in Spain, and, with this end in view.

a system of merciless extortion, oppression and fraud was begun, and continued unchecked for three centuries. Soon those who had been free lords of the soil, and whose lives had been spent in peaceful enjoyment of the gifts of a fertile country and a balmy air, were reduced to the position of mere ignoble and degraded beasts of burden, stinted in the very food necessary to sustain their miserable lives. The only distinction, in the mind of a Spaniard, between a native Mexican and a mule was that one could carry heavier burdens and live on less food than the other. The working people were regarded merely as pieces of machinery, and were driven as though made of insensate steel and iron. The whole country was looked upon as the "mine and mint of Spain." Gold was all the Spaniards wanted. The fertile fields were not only neglected, but agriculture was positively repressed by taxing heavily all fruits of the field. This was a particular hardship, for the ancient Mexicans considered agriculture the basis of all productive industry—a truth in political economy that is generally recognized today. Among the Spanish colonial officers who at different times ruled over the hapless Mexicans, the most frightful corruption prevailed, and they stayed in the country only long enough to enrich themselves by plundering the people; then returned to Spain with their ill-gotten gains. The people of the colony were not allowed to manufacture any articles which could be supplied by the mother country, and hence many flourishing industries were obliterated and artisans degraded to the station of serfs. Books were prohibited, schools discouraged, and every means taken to prevent the growth of intelligence among the people. The Mexicans did not bear with tranquility the Spanish yoke, but broke out again and again in revolt against such oppression. Nevertheless, the power of Spain was sufficient to hold the province in subjection for three hundred years until, in 1821, a popular uprising of the Mexicans, coupled with a revolution in Spain, enabled the long subjugated race to gain their independence and the era of modern Mexico began.

In the present condition of the laboring classes in Mexico, there is much of interest to the American student of labor. Though bordering so closely upon the United States, there is little similarity between the habits and customs of the two countries. The enervating influence of a tropical climate has done much to deprive the Mexican of that energetic industry which is so characteristic of his Yankee brother, while the long centuries of Spanish oppression have left the stamp of servility upon a people so long enslaved. It is true that the institution of slavery no longer flourishes in Mexico, but neither is the dignity of labor recog-

nized as in the United States. Under the Spaniards the Indians were all enslaved, but in 1829 a law provided that slavery should be thenceforward abolished in the republic. All slaves then in servitude were set free and their owners recompensed for their loss from the public treasury.

Class distinctions still flourish in Mexico, and it is today the most aristocratic of all republics. The line is sharply drawn between the conservative governing families and the millions of uncultivated, frugal, industrious and submissive wage-workers. To elevate himself socially is impossible for one of the laboring class; hence a great incentive to industry is withdrawn and the working people have fallen into a rut of contented indolence. Farmers still adhere to the most primitive forms of cultivation, using wooden plows of the form in vogue among the ancient Egyptians, but getting good returns for their labor, owing to the great fertility of the soil. To the list of agricultural products hardly anything has been added since the days of the Aztecs. Rice, which is largely produced, is cleaned of the husks by beating in wooden mortars instead of by machinery, as is the custom in more progressive countries.

Today, the chief productive industry of Mexico is mining. The mountains of Mexico abound in veins of gold and silver, in the extraction of which are employed great numbers of the people of the country. The condition of the laborers in some of the mines is thus described by a traveler: "From five hundred to a thousand men are employed in each of the mines we visited; they are strictly searched at three different gates on leaving the mines. Any one caught stealing is severely dealt with; he is imprisoned or sent to be a soldier. In aggravated cases a man is never heard of after he enters the prison door. An order arrives to transfer him to some other prison and he is generally shot (by accident) on the way." The minerals obtained in the mines are fashioned into ornaments by the gold and silver smiths of the country, who show a skill in the manufacture of jewelry hardly excelled by the jewelers of Europe. The delicate articles wrought in silver filagree are quite as artistic as the best efforts of the silver workers in the Iberian peninsula.

The wages of the working people of Mexico are low to a pitiable degree. Workers in cotton mills, who stand at their posts for fifteen hours a day, receive the munificent stipend of thirty-one cents for a day's labor and one-third of this must be taken in supplies from the company's store. Agricultural laborers are still worse off financially. They are chiefly Indians and are paid by the *hacenderos* or landed proprietors about thirteen and a half cents a day. Their condition is rendered still more

hopeless by the custom of the *hacien*deros keeping their workmen always a little in debt, and as the debts descend from father to son they become the perpetual slaves of one family.

Ordinary day-laborers in the cities can earn about twenty-five cents a day and generally manage to acquire a bit of land on which they raise vegetables for home use.

In the trades, Mexicans show a marked adaptability. Tailors in small country villages produce clothes that fit the human form with a nicety that would delight a Fifth Avenue tailor. Their hand-made shoes, which they make gladly for four dollars a pair, seem to be modeled upon Parisian lasts.

The dwellings of the Mexicans, both in country and city, are usually built of *adobe*, or sun-dried bricks about fifteen by eight by five inches. These bricks are now often made by women. The houses are well adapted for dry climates, and, indeed, resist moderately well the most inclement weather, and while cool in summer are easily warmed in winter. The better situated working people build their houses with both doors and windows, whilst the half-breed Indian enters and leaves his adobe hut through a hole in the roof, and, once within, draws up his ladder and is cut off from all unwelcome guests. Interior decoration is simple in these abodes of humble industry. The walls are whitewashed with an earthen color. Along the longer wall is an adobe bank covered with blankets that serves as bed for the whole family. The whole furniture of the house consists of a crucifix, a table, a few chairs and some cooking utensils. Nearer the sea-coasts houses are sometimes built of reeds — canes interwoven until the structure resembles a huge bird-cage. On the great farms, cabins of adobe for the laborers are built in long rows like barracks. The dress of the working people of Mexico is picturesque and shows a marked resemblance to the national costume of Spain. The prevailing color of the dress of the man of the people is white — shirt, jacket and trousers are all of white cloth, but seldom spotless. On his head is a huge sombrero, usually of straw, but sometimes of felt embroidered in gold and gaudy colors. Over his left shoulder is flung carelessly a gaily colored woolen blanket called a *serape*, which nestles in loose folds about his bronzed throat. From his lips protrudes the ever-present cigar, and his presence is always announced by a cloud of fragrant smoke. Shoes he seldom wears. The women of the same class are comely in person, their thick blue-black hair, bright dark eyes and white teeth making them among the most attractive of their sex. Their dress is usually of calico

print, cut so as to fall barely below the knees. Around their heads is wound the *rebosa chiquita*, a small scarf of cotton or silk, gaily colored. Often the folds of this scarf serve as baby carriage or cradle, and the black eyes of some chubby little youngster peep roguishly out from behind its mother's head.

The great food staple of the Mexicans is maize, and its chief use is in the form of tortillas, or fried cakes of corn meal. But little cookery is done in the home of the laborer of Mexico. He buys his tortillas, ready fried and seasoned, of one of the old Indian women who squat by the side of their baskets at the roadside. The cost to the consumer for a meal thus procured is about one and one-half cents. Besides the tortillas, the edibles described as in use among the ancient Mexicans are still used, particularly among the rural classes. Frugality is the predominating characteristic of the Mexican laborer. It is this quality that enables us to see in the Mexico of today a country in which the rewards of labor are less, and the condition of the laborer more degraded, than in any other civilized nation—so much content, and so little actual suffering or misery.

CHAPTER XIII.—CENTRAL AMERICA.

EVIDENCES OF PREHISTORIC LABOR—THE RUINS OF COPAN AND PALENQUE—CENTRAL AMERICANS OF TODAY—OCCUPATIONS—THE INDIANS—AGRICULTURAL LABORERS—DRESS—FOOD AT STARVATION PRICES—LOGGING—MINING—WAGONERS—THE CITIES OF GRANADA AND LEON—HABITS AND CUSTOMS—SPINNING—POTTERY—FOOD.

TO the southward of Mexico, and forming the narrow neck of land that binds together the continents of North and South America, extends that wild tract of tropical country known as Central America. Lying between the sapphire waters of the Gulf of Mexico and the mighty surges of the Pacific Ocean; basking in the rays of a tropical sun, and repelling by the heat of its climate and its deadly miasmatic vapors the progressive people of the North, this region still retains the uncivilized characteristics of a barbarous country. The surface of the earth is diversified by low, marshy jungles, the thickly matted tropical vegetation of which gives shelter to savage beasts and poisonous serpents. Farther from the sea-coast are wooded hillsides and fertile valleys and meadows, while as the explorer penetrates to the center of the isthmus he finds his progress blocked by the rocky barriers of a towering mountain range that forms the backbone of Central America. Although wholly comprehended within the limits of the torrid zone, Central America, by virtue of its varying altitudes, possesses a wide range of climate, and therefore produces the cereals of the temperate zone as well as the guava, fig and banana of the tropics. Small though the area of Central America is, there exist within its boundaries no less than six distinct and sovereign states, which, in their form of government, are now republics, now monarchies, consummating the most revolutionary changes with a rapidity bewildering to one bred under a stable government. That same tropical sun whose rays make vegetation grow so rankly that the hoe of the farmer can scarce keep pace with the growth of the weeds, seems to stimulate in the same way the political growths which overshadow and choke the rise of an intelligent civilization. The territory of Central America extends over 192,564 square miles, or a trifle more than the area of the state of California. Over this territory six states hold sway: Guatemala, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and British

Honduras. Less than two million and a half people are distributed throughout this region—hardly as many as make their homes in that populous region visible to the stroller upon the airy platform of the mammoth bridge that joins the sister cities of New York and Brooklyn.

The traveler in Central America often comes upon ruins which show the existence in ancient times of a race far in advance of the almost savage people that today inhabit the isthmus. Under the thickly-matted vines and bristling palmettos of the hummock-ground lie hid the relics of ancient civilization fallen into oblivion. Such structures as we have described as existing in Mexico, are found in all the Central American states. Indeed, it would seem that the seat of this prehistoric American civilization was south of the southernmost boundary of Mexico, and in the region now pointed to as the abode of idleness, savagery and sloth. Here the ruins of many ancient cities have been discovered—cities which must have been deserted and left to decay in ages previous to the beginning of Aztec supremacy. Most of these ruins have been found in dense forests, and doubtless the still unexplored jungles hide many more such evidences of a defunct nation. Ages will elapse before all the mysteries of this region are made clear to man. By far the greater portion of the country is in the primeval state, and covered with dense, tangled and almost impenetrable tropical forests, rendering fruitless all attempts at systematic investigation. There are vast tracts untrodden by human feet, or traversed only by Indians, who have a superstitious reverence for the moss-covered and crumbling monuments hidden in the depths of the wilderness. Such a forest covers the southern half of Yucatan, and extends far into Guatemala. Its vast depths have never been fully explored. In it are somber ruins, which none but wandering natives have ever seen, and doubtless some upon which no human gaze has ever fallen. In this forest, according to the old Central American books and traditions, was the site of the earliest civilization—that of the Colhuas. In their time the whole country was cultivated and filled with inhabitants. Cities arose, and an urbane society was formed. Mankind passed from the station of the nomadic hunter or herdsman into the more civilized state of the skilled workman and farmer. But of the life and habits of this people we know nothing. To us nothing remains save vague traditions of mighty ruins in the depths of the forest and more detailed descriptions of the ruins of Palenque and Copan, on the southern border of that gloomy jungle.

The two groups of ruins known as Palenque and Copan may be taken as typical of the archæological remains of northern Central America.

Ruinous as they are now; crumbling with the disintegrating action of time, and overgrown with weeds and trailing vines, the fragments of masonry nevertheless attest the handiwork of a people skilled in stone-cutting and joining. All who have visited them bear witness that the workmanship was of a high order. The rooms and corridors in these edifices were finely and often elaborately finished, plaster, stucco and sculpture being used. Speaking of a room in one of these ruins, an explorer says: "The walls were coated with a very fine plaster of Paris, equal to the best seen on walls in this country;" and of the construction of the edifice he says: "Throughout, the laying and polishing of the stones are as perfect as under the rules of the best modern masonry." Antiquarians have always been impressed with the similarity existing between these vestiges of an unknown race and the baths at Rome, which have been described in a foregoing chapter. The edifices of which the ruins now remain generally surmounted a pyramidal mound of earth, which was faced with hewn stone and provided with spacious stone stairways. The building on the summit was of hewn stone laid in a mortar of lime and sand. To the credit of the masonry, no other testimony is needed than the duration of their walls through so many ages. It is probable that the buildings, the ruins of which still exist, were the public buildings and temples, and that they were surrounded by populous cities, the residences and less important structures of which, being wood, have long vanished from the earth. We have no means of judging the size of these dead cities, though one enthusiastic explorer writes: "For five days did I wander up and down among these crumbling monuments of a city which, I hazard little in saying, must have been one of the largest ever seen." To us the ruins are of importance only as showing that at some era, when all the western continent was considered a desert, there nevertheless existed men trained to use their hands skillfully, and able to rear massive edifices worthy to stand alongside those of Rome or Athens. No race of untutored savages could have put up that building at Palenque, of which Mr. Stephens writes: "We saw before us a large building richly ornamented with stuccoed figures on pilasters, curious and elegant; trees growing close to it, and their branches entering the doors; the style and effect of structure and ornament unique, extraordinary and mournfully beautiful." And again: "It would be difficult, in arranging four sides facing a court-yard, to have more variety, and at the same time more harmony of ornament." But volumes might be, and have been, written about these ruins, which, though owning the existence of a people skilled in labor, yet keep the details of the life and customs of that people locked

in their gloomy fastnesses. To unravel, bit by bit, that tangled and mysterious tale, must be the part of the archæologist and the antiquary. Let us turn our attention to the living race that today peoples Central America.

However surely founded may be the claims of the builders of Palenque and Copan, the Central Americans of today can neither, by their habits nor their works, show themselves worthy of a high place among the world's workers. Like the Mexicans, and, indeed, like the inhabitants of most tropical regions, the people of the isthmus are indolent, living on the plenteous fruits of the earth, and caring little for the accumulation of riches or intelligence. Their occupations are chiefly farming, cattle-herding, and searching the swamps and jungles for logs of precious woods—mahogany, rosewood, copal and cedar. In Central America, as in Mexico, the body of day laborers, and particularly the agricultural class, is made up of Indians and half-breeds. The Indian type of character seems to have engulfed the negro type, and the latter is seldom found. The whites form less than one-third of the population, while the great body of workers possess the appearance of Indians, or "dagos." The Indians of Nicaragua are docile and industrious, and constitute an excellent industrial population. In stature they do not equal the Indians of the United States, nor are they, like the latter, fierce and treacherous. Their muscular development is magnificent; their countenances mild and soft. In the field of labor they are no longer looked upon as inferiors, but work by the side of the whites with the most perfect equality. The predominance of the Indians and half-breeds in the state effectually breaks down all caste founded upon color. A caste founded upon wealth and landed estates has arisen, however, and in this the whites are prominent in the highest ranks, for a majority of the *hacenderos*, or landed proprietors, are white. In the wild interior regions of the isthmus, notably in Honduras, are savage tribes of Indians, acknowledging fealty to no one save their own chiefs, and living aloof from whites and civilized Indians alike. Sometimes, when game becomes scarce, or famine hangs over the land, these wild tribes come down from their mountain fastnesses, work a few days in the mahogany cuttings, and, taking their pay in ammunition or articles of cutlery, return again to their homes. They are known as the *Xicaques* and *Payas*, and are described as having long, black hair hanging over their shoulders, very broad faces, small eyes, with a peculiar expression of sadness and docility, which prepossess all persons in their favor. Slavery is now unknown in Central America, but the peculiar character of the industries chiefly carried on, as well as

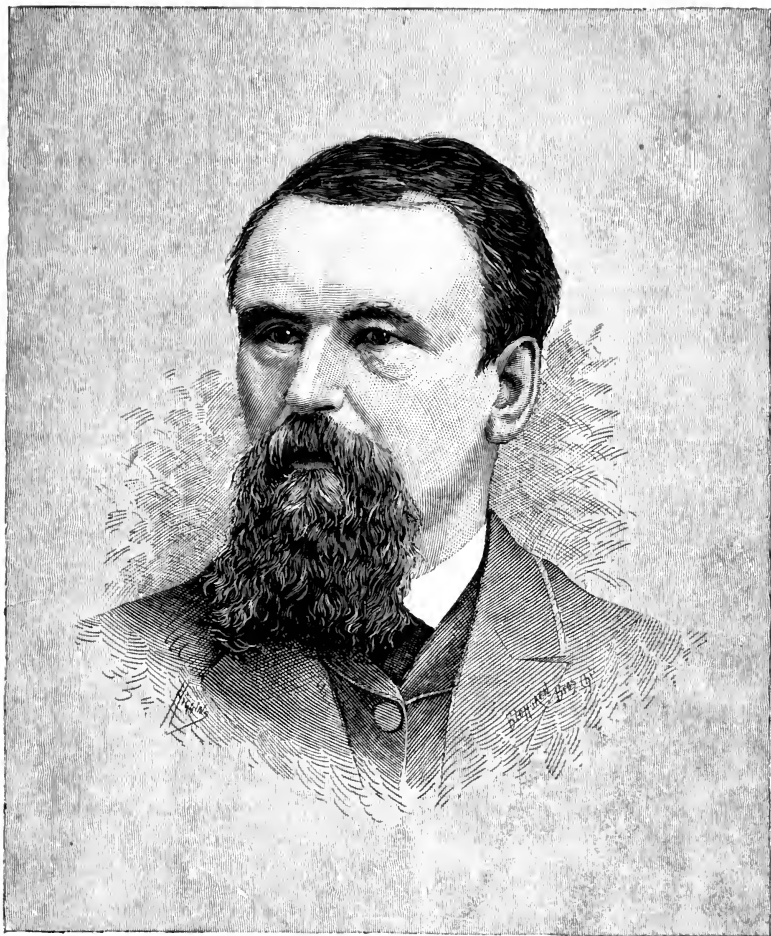
the peculiar character of the laborers, has led to a system of "padrones," which is little better than slavery. The condition of the agricultural laborer is miserable in the extreme, although the bounty of nature in those fruitful regions enables workmen to leave a brutal or oppressive master without fear of suffering for the necessities of life. The lordly *hacenderos* live in spacious country houses, with wide piazzas, high ceilings, and every invention that may help to mitigate the pitiless heat of an equatorial sun. Their broad acres are given over to the cultivation for export of indigo, or to growing bananas, plantains, oranges and kindred fruits for home use. The laborers are housed in quarters on some portion of the plantation hidden from the windows of the planter's house. Their homes are squalid cabins; their food fruits and vegetables, with now and then a bit of fish or flesh of some wild animal. Their children go naked, and they themselves are robed in rags barely sufficient to cover their bodies. For meal and cloth they are dependent upon their master, who manages so to keep them in debt that they can seldom revolt against the tyranny of his overseers, who watch and goad them at their work. The women, who work with the men in the fields, wear but a single garment, a shirt, fastened about the waist and reaching to the knees. All the upper part of the body is usually bare, but on holiday occasions a gaudy handkerchief is sometimes worn about the neck, partially covering the bosom. The men clothe themselves in a kind of cotton drawers, generally cut off at the knees. Sandals are sometimes worn, but ordinarily the feet of both men and women are bare. Living, as they do, almost entirely upon vegetable food, the cost of living to the Indian laborers is but little. Sometimes, however, there comes a period of scarcity over the land, and then prices of agricultural products rise. On one such occasion the following scale of prices was in use throughout Central America: One *medida* or twenty-five pounds of maize, \$1.25; the same quantity of wheat, \$1; one pound of coffee, ten cents; one pound of refined sugar, twenty cents; thirty-six oranges, five cents; a fowl, half a dollar; thirty-five potatoes, five cents; one hundred bananas, five cents; a cow, \$8; an ox, \$10. At the same time, saddle horses were selling at from fifty to eighty dollars. It will be readily understood that if such were the prices of the necessities of life in times of the greatest scarcity, the ordinary cost of living for a Central American family of the laboring class could not have been very great.

A branch of industry in which are employed great numbers of the working population of Central America is the logging business. In the dim recesses of the mighty swamps and tangled forests that line the

coast of Central America, are thousands of mammoth trees whose woods are prized as one of the most precious means of decoration known to civilized man. The ponderous and durable mahogany, the richly colored rosewood, *lignum-vitæ* with its almost rocky hardness, the tree of the dragon's blood, iron wood and cedar abound in those dense forests, needing but to be felled and shipped to some more civilized country to take on vast value. Cunning woodsmen are continually employed leading great parties of men through the woods in search of these trees, and immense numbers of laborers are employed in getting them out. Profitable though the business is to the employers of labor, to the workmen themselves it is death. The swamps and forests are filled with wild and savage animals; deadly serpents are coiled by every pool and hang in loathsome loops from the branches of the trees that overhang the paths. Thinly clothed as are the wretched Indians and half-breeds who earn their living in this precarious manner, they are easy prey for the poisoned fangs of a serpent, the lacerating claws of a wild-cat, or the hardly less dangerous thorns of the thick under-brush. In that air, heavy laden with miasmatic vapors of decaying vegetation, a scratch becomes a sore, and a sore leads surely to death. Many are the Indians who each year plunge into the dark and boundless forest at the bidding of some contractor, and who never again see the fair unclouded face of heaven.

In the mountainous regions of Central America are vast deposits of gold, silver, lead, iron and tin, but the mines today are but little worked. During the Spanish occupation of the country the search for the precious metals was actively prosecuted, and the mouth of many a deserted shaft in the precipitous mountain ranges marks the scene of the labors of those indefatigable captains of industry. When the Spaniards left the country, however, the people relapsed into their old lethargic habits, bred of long residence in that enervating though balmy climate. The mines were suffered to fall into decay, and the very location of many of them has been forgotten. Although incalculable riches now lie buried in that rocky range of mountains, the annual output of all the mines in Central America hardly exceeds half a million dollars.

A feature of Central American life, often commented upon by travelers, is the absence of any isolated country life. The people all dwell in towns or villages. A laborer's cottage amid the trees is seldom seen. The people live in small villages, often going five or eight miles to their work in the fields. The villages are seldom situated on the great public highways, but are reached by narrow paths so obscure that the traveler seldom notices them. One traveling through Nicaragua or



Josiah B. Dyer.

General Secretary Granite Cutters' Union.



Honduras, and keeping closely to the highways, might very naturally conclude that the country was devoid of all inhabitants, so few would be the houses that met his eye. Occasionally he might meet a cumbrous cart drawn by two oxen jogging along to the nearest market town laden with country produce. The carts are rude contrivances at best. The body is made of light boards firmly fastened together, while the wheels, instead of being skeletonized with spokes, are solid circular slabs of wood, usually mahogany, and by themselves are a heavy load for any horse to draw. They are not sawed, but are chopped into shape with an axe and naturally are far from being regular or symmetrical. The oxen, which are compact and hardy animals, are not harnessed by means of a yoke as is customary among us, but carry a broad bar lashed to their horns, throwing all the resistance of their burden upon their foreheads. The team generally consists of two pairs of oxen, although sometimes in hilly regions a string of three pairs are harnessed together. Commonly an extra pair or two follow meekly behind the cart ready to relieve their toiling comrades. Such an outfit as this is known as a *carreta* and is generally conducted on its journey by two men, one of whom goes ahead to clear the way of obstructions, while the other plods along behind the oxen, touching them up with a long goad when they show signs of shirking. The beasts are trained to follow the man who goes in advance, but their driver keeps up a constant fire of commands and curses which, with the rolling and creaking of the cumbersome wheels, are heard all over the country. Though the progress made by these *carretas* is small, yet their loads are immense. Twenty-five hundred pounds is the usual freight and is hauled from twenty-five to forty miles a day. The carters form a distinct class in the industrial society of Central America. Their adventurous and roving lives make them objects of admiration to the simpler home-keeping folk, and they possess that importance in the community that once was held by the stage drivers of the Pacific Slope of the United States.

The tendency of the people in Central America to settle together has led to the growth of cities of considerable size. In Nicaragua, the city of Granada is a place of about fifteen thousand inhabitants, while all around the city are stately plantations, each of which is rather like a village than a single plantation. Granada is beautifully situated on a gentle slope of land which descends to a broad and placid lake. At one side of the town the mighty volcano Manobacho rises majestically into the blue sky, and from its peak a wreath of smoke curls in stately waves. From its site upon the great lake of Nicaragua, Granada has

derived importance commercially. A large fleet of vessels owned by people of the city ply upon the lake and the river by which it has its outlet. The town contains many boatmen, for sailors they can hardly be called, and these hardy travelers, visiting other countries, have brought back to the city foreign manners and customs that give the place almost a cosmopolitan aspect. The architecture of Granada is distinctly that of a city of the tropics. Its streets are wide and grassy, the houses low, spacious and surrounded by broad piazzas. The only structures likely to be permanent are those of the Catholic Church, which is firmly established and has built churches and monasteries in various parts of the city.

The chief city of Nicaragua is Leon, situated on the Pacific slope near the coast. In population the city numbers about thirty-five thousand inhabitants, but like most cities in the tropics it covers an area of land far out of proportion to the number of its people. Its broad streets run at right angles or parallel to each other, and at regular intervals are spacious squares or plazas. The houses are chiefly built of adobe and rarely reach a height of more than one story. On the side toward the street the houses present a forbidding expanse of wall broken by few windows, but within is inclosed a spacious *patio* or courtyard filled with fruit and shade trees. Here is found the family life—the children playing on the grass; the women twirling their spinning-wheels in the grateful shade. Sometimes there is yet another court, in which are kept the domestic animals. Architecture, both domestic and public, has the same characteristics of solidity and severe absence of ornament throughout all Central America. The reason for this is found in one cause: the prevalence of earthquakes. The buildings are all low, with broad foundations, while the ornamentation is such as will withstand the most severe seismic disturbance. The influence of the Spaniards is clearly shown by the prevalence of Moresque architecture in Leon. Above the horseshoe arches may even now be seen the remnants of coats of arms placed there in days when Nicaraguan aristocracy was as haughty and powerful as that of Spain herself. Other doors bear above them carved prayers or passages from the Bible. The interior of the houses of the better class presents an aspect of great comfort in a country in which room and ventilation become necessary conditions of existence. The rooms are generally open clear to the roof, thus permitting a free circulation of air between the tiles. The floors are paved with large square tiles, or sometimes with slabs of marble, and are often kept sprinkled with water for coolness. A dwelling of this character is commonly

inhabited by people of the wealthier classes. The homes of the working people and middle classes are on the outskirts of the city, and are usually built of wood and roofed with thatch. The great cathedral of St. Peter in Leon is one of the most wonderful pieces of masonry in the world. Thirty-seven years and five million of dollars were expended in its construction, and it has withstood earthquakes, typhoons and the ruthless hand of hostile armies for over a century. It stands in the center of the city, fronting the grand plaza. As an example of massive masonry it is unrivaled. On its spacious roof, in time of war, as many as thirty pieces of artillery have been planted, and on its eastern side is hardly a square foot of wall not dented by the blows of hostile cannon-shot.

The people of all the states of Central America show that mechanical skill which has already been commented upon in connection with Mexico. With the rudest tools they are able to produce articles of utility and ornament which often show the most delicate and elaborate workmanship. Passing along a street in a village or town of Central America, one sees, sitting in the open doors of the houses, women, naked to the waist, busily engaged in spinning cotton. The most common device they adopt to aid them in their work is the little wooden spinning wheel, with treadle, such as was in the house of every good New England housewife one hundred years ago, and now can be found elevated to the position of *bric-à-brac* in the houses of many of their descendants. But a device even ruder than this is in the hands of a majority of Central American women. This consists of a spindle of wood about fifteen or sixteen inches long, passed through the center of a wheel of heavy wood some six inches in circumference, giving the whole the appearance of an enormous top. This contrivance is set in a calabash, or hollowed bit of wood, and the operation of spinning begins. In her lap the woman holds a heap of cotton, and twisting some of this into a thread, she attaches it to the spindle just above the fly-wheel. The wheel and spindle are then turned rapidly, and the thread, constantly drawn by the nimble fingers of the operator from the pile of cotton in her lap, is wound tightly upon the spindle. Rude though this method of spinning is, so great is the industry of the women that large quantities of cotton thread are thus made, much of which is woven into home-made cloths, which are tastefully dyed and stamped. This industry, like most others, is in the hands of the Indians, who form the industrial population of Central America. Some agency, probably climatic, seems to interfere with any growth of industry among the whites. Pottery of an admir-

able grade is made by the Indians and sold at prices that seem hardly to pay the manufacturers. Their ideas of form are artistic, and they have discovered a color and glaze by the aid of which they make their finest pottery as smooth as glass, and black with a polish like jet. Fragments of ancient pottery found in the ruins of Palenque and Copan show that the art of the potter was familiar to that ancient people, whose name is now a mystery.

In their habits the people of Central America are generally scrupulously neat and clean, at any rate in their outward appearance. The parlors and halls of their houses are always kept in perfect cleanliness, but if one penetrates to that portion sacred to the family use, the appearance is by no means so immaculate. The sleeping apartments occupied by families of the highest classes are often left unswept for months, and though the beds be draped in the most snowy linen, the floor beneath them is covered deep with dirt. As a rule the people of Central America are temperate, strong liquors are seldom used, and the grog-shop is an uncommon sight, even in the large cities. In their food they are exceedingly simple. Beef, pork and poultry are to be had in all the markets at low rates, but, as in most tropical countries, the diet of the people is mainly vegetable. As in Mexico, tortillas and frioles are found on every table. Rice and plantains are eaten in great quantities by the laboring people on account of their cheapness. Six cents' worth of plantains will support a small family for a week. A pair of chickens cost from a *quartillo* to a *medio*, that is, from three to six cents. This very cheapness of all the necessaries of life doubtless does much to dwarf labor by removing the chief incentive to industry. When the possession of a dollar insures food for a month, a debilitating climate is not necessary to make men slothful. Fruits of all kinds are displayed in the market place, and for a *quartillo* (the smallest coin in the country) one can purchase as much as can conveniently be carried away by one man. Great difficulty is experienced in trade in Central America owing to the lack of subsidiary coinage. Change for small amounts is universally made in the aboriginal coin of the country, namely, cocoanuts. As four of these equal a cent in American money the disadvantages of such a circulating medium are obvious. In their habits of life the people are frugal, eating but two meals a day and knowing no extravagant pleasures. Tea is used only by foreign residents; among the natives its place is supplied by *tiste*, a compound of parched corn and chocolate.

What then can be said of the condition of labor in this country? Industry in its highest sense does not exist. The desire for wealth or for social

position, which forms the chief incentive to industry in more civilized lands, has no place among the simple people of these tropical countries. For them the earth yields fruits that need but to be plucked to give them food. In the balmy days of everlasting summer they pass their lives, knowing nothing of the pangs of cold and hunger all too familiar to their brethren of the north. Small wonder is it that, contented with their humble lot, they mingle not in restless struggle for something better that today engages the people of all more civilized countries.

CHAPTER XIV.—THE WEST INDIES.

EXTENT AND OWNERSHIP OF THE ISLANDS—POPULATION, NATIVE, NEGRO AND WHITE—GENERAL PRODUCTS—SLAVERY AND FREE LABOR IN CUBA—IN THE FREE ISLANDS—COOLIES—COFFEE—SUGAR GROWING AND MAKING—TOBACCO AND THE MANUFACTURE OF CIGARS.

WHEN about four centuries ago Columbus and his little band of storm-tossed and murmuring followers saw day break after their long night of watching, and saw across the waters the low blue line of the long-sought land, their voices rose over the water in hymns of praise to God, who had enabled them to win the glory of discovering a new continent. In the morning a gentle breeze sprung up, wafting the Spanish ship over the smooth sea, until the shore with all its tropical splendor of vegetation lay spread out before the weary voyagers. The sight that met their eyes was one of rare beauty, the like of which cannot be seen in this day, when travelers have ransacked all corners of the earth and pristine moral innocence is no more. Nature's orchards, lawns and parks extended in all directions, and were separated from the pellucid waves of the sea by a narrow strip of white sand, glistening like silver in the rays of the tropical sun. Out from the groves and forests burst multitudes of natives, naked as the primal parents of all mankind in the garden of Eden. To them the Spaniards were unknown, and seemed more than human, coming thus mysteriously from the sea. As the voyagers landed, the natives, knowing no fear, gathered about, admiring the gaudy trappings of the men-at-arms, who in their turn looked with admiration upon the clear, golden complexion, rounded limbs and forms of the natives, from which might have been modeled the statues of Venus or Apollo. From the West Indies of that time to the West Indies of today the change has been slow but great. The natives soon learned to know the harsh, avaricious and cruel character of the Spaniards, and under their domination died away, until now no trace of the original native population of the islands remains, and nothing but the ever-beautiful tropical verdure is left to awaken in the minds of visitors the feelings of wonder and admiration that filled the breast of Columbus and his adventurous companions.

The West Indies are a group of low-lying islands that stretch athwart the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, between Florida and the northern coast of South America. Chief of them all is Cuba, an island with an area of some 45,000 square miles, and a population of about two million people. This island, with some smaller ones, is the property of Spain. Jamaica, the Bahamas and most of the Windward islands belong to Great Britain, and support nearly a million people. France asserts her sway over Guadeloupe Martinique and a number of lesser islets, the total population of which is about 260,000. The flag of Holland waves over a number of unimportant but fertile islands, of which the chief is Curaçoa, whence comes the liquor, dear to all *bons vivants*, that bears the island's name. Denmark, Sweden and even Venezuela have each an island or two to give them, or, at least, the two former, a foothold on the western continent. San Domingo and Hayti are independent republics, the former under the protectorate of Spain, the latter governed and populated almost entirely by negroes; an island known as Hayti holds both these republics, San Domingo occupying the eastern portion. The republic of Hayti deserves mention here on account of its history, which has been a long continued struggle of a vast but undisciplined body of slaves against a few wealthy planters, backed by all the warlike resources of France under Napoleon. Tremendous as were the odds, the slaves, after many defeats, triumphed, and in 1804 declared their independence, which, with short intervals, has been maintained ever since.

Physically, the islands of the West India group differ widely; the Bahamas are low, flat and sandy, of coralline formation; Cuba is hilly, with a beautifully diversified country, while the Antilles are mountainous, and in Jamaica and Hayti the mountain peaks scale as high as 6,000 feet. Save for the differences in altitude the climate is much the same, being the continuous heat of the tropics. But the mountain sides of Hayti and Cuba are blessed with a delightfully temperate climate in winter and summer alike, while the low-lying Bahamas are parched with fearful heat, mitigated only by the sea breezes that for a part of the day temper the atmosphere. The population of the islands is a heterogeneous mixture of all nationalities. All trace of the aboriginal inhabitants has died away and their places are all filled by the negro descendants of the slaves imported by the European settlers. France, Spain and England were most active in colonization, and accordingly these three languages are spoken on all the islands, except in Hayti, where a patois of all combined, with fragments of African tongues, makes up a combination hard to be understood by the most accomplished linguist. The

European peoples who colonized the islands did not flourish, as the climate seemed prejudicial to their health, but their African slaves found in the equatorial heat a favorable atmosphere and multiplied with great rapidity. Today the whites form less than one-third of the total population of the islands, and even in Cuba, where they are most numerous, they form less than half the population. In St. Vincent and Trinidad are a half a dozen families of Caribs, the sole remnant of the savage tribes whom Columbus found enjoying the fertility of the islands. Trinidad, by the way, is notable for containing a Mohammedan negro colony, the only one on this side of the Atlantic.

The exports of the West Indies, in which their chief wealth lies, consists almost entirely of tropical fruits and plantation produce. Tobacco, sugar and coffee are universally grown. Cotton is raised to some extent. Hard cabinet woods are found in the forests. Pine-apples, pomegranates, mangoes, guavas, oranges, lemons, limes, bread fruit and bananas thrive in the fertile gardens, and such as will bear transportation are annually shipped in large quantities. Spices and dye stuffs are staple products. The larger islands are rich in minerals, both the precious and base metals. The mines, however, are but little worked. The vast agricultural resources of the islands have never been perfectly developed. Of Cuba it is written that although hardly an acre of its soil is unfit for cultivation yet less than one-nineteenth of the whole is improved. Methods of agriculture are wasteful and unscientific, and the labor performed chiefly by slaves, has all the unsatisfactory and uneconomic characteristics of labor of that class. Of this island sugar is the chief staple, and of it nearly a million pounds are annually exported. Hayti and San Domingo also export large quantities of sugar, coffee and tobacco. Of Hayti it is recorded that the agricultural exports, when the people were in a state of slavery, were from five to six times greater than now that the people are free. But though the exports of agricultural products have decreased, the exports of natural products, like timber, have largely increased, thus indicating that industry has not been relaxed, but has rather been turned into other channels.

Slavery has at one time or another been established in all the islands of the West Indies, but today the institution exists only in the islands under Spanish rule. The struggle of the blacks in Hayti for liberty has already been referred to, and to give in detail the history of that movement would require volumes. In the English and Dutch colonies the abolition of slavery was accomplished peaceably. Cuba, the greatest of the West India islands, now harbors nearly 400,000

slaves. The negroes were introduced in 1524, and by their natural increase and an active and continued importation have attained their present vast numbers. Their life is that of animals, housed in hovels which however are ample shelter, in that climate, dressed in rags that barely hide their persons and left to get their own subsistence from the wealth of natural products about them. They differ from the brutes only in being forced to labor untiringly for their masters. The family relation is hardly known; marriage is an unknown bond. On the sugar plantation their work is arduous and ceaseless. During the "grinding season," which extends from November to May, the slaves are often worked nineteen hours in the day. Not infrequently their masters and overseers are cruel, sometimes to the point of brutality, and goad them on to their work with blows, punishing idlers with tortures. They are degraded alike in body and mind, loose in morals and filthy in their habits. Yet seemingly passing their laborious days with all that careless African jollity that has enabled the race to bear up against constant oppression in all times and in all countries.

Of course, against a servile and unsalaried class of labor like this no free laborer can compete, and accordingly we find the free wage-working population of Cuba plunged in the most abject poverty. Of skilled labor there is none. There are no manufactures to attract their labor, no thriving towns to give them employment. Trade is in the hands of foreign residents who sell the manufactured goods of Europe at extortionate prices. Besides the slaves, the free laborers have as competitors hordes of Chinese coolies who are imported in colonies. These workmen though nominally free are practically slaves, both in the smallness of their earnings and their utter subservience to their employer's will.

But for the fact that land in Cuba is to be had almost for the asking, and needs but to be gently tilled to yield bounteous crops, the condition of the free laborers of Cuba would be a miserable one indeed. As it is they merely manage to provide for the meager necessities of a life in the tropics, and die leaving their children to carry on the same lifelong struggle against the encroachments of want.

In the other islands of the West Indies labor is dear and scarce. The negroes recently freed find the productions of the soil sufficient for their support, and so far from showing any anxiety to secure employment rather scorn it. Islands which might be covered with richly productive sugar plantations remain almost trackless wastes, because the planters, unable to secure labor, have withdrawn and left the country to the idle shiftless blacks. Bad and utterly defenseless as is the system

of slavery, it is that and that alone, that enables Cuba to outstrip, not only all her sister islands in the race for prosperity, but even to force the sugar growing states of the American Union out of foreign sugar markets. Since slavery was abolished in the South nothing but a high protective tariff has enabled the sugar planters of America to hold their own in home markets against the slave-grown products of Cuba. But to return to the West Indies. The planters of the various islands in which slavery no longer exists did not abandon the fertile regions to the shiftless blacks without a struggle. Laborers were first brought from Europe, but the climate soon rendered them unfit for work. South Americans imported in colonies soon became as shiftless as the blacks, and the planters were in despair, when at last came the conquering idea, Chinese coolies. The first colony of these hardly human creatures proved them to be so diligent, so obedient and so heedless of the enervating effects of the torrid climate that the planters straightway set about importing them in great numbers, thus fighting fire with fire. To the friend of free and enlightened labor the spectacle now presented by the West Indies is far from a pleasant one. We see the only thoroughly prosperous island is the one in which slavery remains firmly established. We see on the other islands a race, once enslaved and industrious, fast relapsing into the habits of their savage homes in Africa, careless of dress, of home and of habits. Production languishes for lack of labor, and at last there is imported to fill the need a class of laborers fully as bad as slaves, by whom the prosperity of the islands is being gradually reëstablished. These generalizations must not be applied to Hayti, for in that country, whether by virtue of superior political leadership or some special and stimulating industrial trait in the national character, the enfranchised blacks seem to be carving their way, slowly but surely, toward success. The change in the character of the exports and its cause has been already adverted to, but the change in the national character, and the increased refinement in the habits of the blacks, are more clearly shown in the character of the imports. Dry good and clothing are imported in greatly increased proportions. Agricultural implements, hardware, tools and house-furnishing goods all show signs of increased civilization and a steady march forward of prosperity.

The productive industries of the West Indies are so few as to allow for an extended notice of each. One state of the American Union affords its citizens more diverse means of money getting than do all the islands of the West Indian group. The raising of coffee, the growth of sugar cane and conversion of the sap into sugar and syrup, the growth

of tobacco and its manufacture into cigars engross the attention of a large majority of the working people of the West Indies. Industries of such importance demand detailed attention and some account of the methods adopted in each class will be of interest.

Coffee is grown in large quantities in the West Indies, but is not one of the native plants. In 1715 Louis XIV., of France received as a gift from the magistrates of Amsterdam a fine coffee tree, then bearing both green and ripe fruit. This, according to Du Tour was the stock of all the West India coffee, and certainly the plantations do credit to their owners. The coffee plant is a tree usually allowed to grow about eight or ten feet high. Its upward growth would reach thirty feet did the cultivator not prune the top and spread out and bend the slender branches so as to be able readily to reach the fruit. In preparing for a coffee farm or plantation as they are called in the West Indies, a space is allowed for each tree from five to eight feet square. Here a little slip is planted, and in three years is in full bearing, to continue for at least twenty years. One peculiarity of the coffee plant is that the green and ripe fruit is always on the tree together, and the blossoms, which are white, are scattered over the trees nearly all the time. Of course there is a season when they are more exuberant than at others, and although the fruit seems to be all the time forming and maturing, yet there are really two harvests each year. In each berry are two coffee seeds or stones, and at the proper season the laborers pick the berries, and proceed to the "pulping." This operation is performed in a mill made for the purpose, whereby the outer covering is beaten off, and the stones enter a second mill, where the inner skin is all peeled off and winnowed away like chaff from wheat. The seed or stone is then felt to be very moist, so, to prepare it for shipment, and save from decay, it has to be cured. This is accomplished by spreading the coffee out on large open clay floors called "barbecues" where it is exposed to both sun and air. When well dried the "house picking" follows, which is nothing more than separating by hand all the broken and inferior seeds from those of a better quality. Women do this part of the work, while the men grind at the mills.

The coffee is packed in sacks or barrels which in many cases are conveyed to the place of shipment, strapped on a mule's back, or if the roads are good, the mule drags his load on a wagon. Each coffee tree is expected to produce at least one pound of coffee at one harvest. The quality of coffee improves by age, and if one could put in stock the coffee produced in these islands and keep it ten years its taste and aroma would

equal any grown in any part of the world, and the drink made from it would surely be as fine as that of which Burton wrote of, which he said, "it helpeth digestion and procureth alacrity."

The sugar interest of the West Indies is very extensive. It is not known with certainty if the sugar cane was indigenous to the soil, or if it was brought to Hayti by the Spaniards or Portuguese, but certain it is that sugar was made at Hayti as early as 1495, and in 1518 there were on this one island twenty-eight works for making sugar in operation. Of course then, and until within the past twenty years, all the labor in the manufacture of sugar was performed by slaves, who, at the time of the grinding, were cruelly overworked.

The first step in the manufacture of sugar is the planting of the cane, which is always from cuttings. These cuttings are planted in rows four to six feet apart and each cane two to five feet from another. The ground between the furrows is carefully hoed or plowed, and no weed or grass is allowed to steal the nourishment from the cane. Planting is done in the fall in the West Indies and the cutting of the cane is usually performed in March and April. The planting does not have to be done every year, the plants renew themselves in ratoons sometimes for as many as twenty crops. The cane is cut close to the ground, its top and leaves left to protect the roots during the winter, and the lower two-thirds of the cane is put in the mill as soon as possible, where the sugar juice is pressed out.

In nothing is the marvel of science more plainly shown than in the perfection to which mills for grinding the cane and making the sugar have been brought. In some of the smaller estates in the West Indies rude mills are used, exceedingly slow in action sometimes even worked by negroes, but on the richer plantations are found powerful machines formed of a series of plain and fluted rollers between which the cane is pressed by all the force of steam, and yet withal not more than three-fifths of the juice is extracted. This juice, about the consistency of milk and of a dirty yellowish color is brought from the mill through a pipe into the first vat where it is tempered, that is the natural acidity of the juice is removed by the addition of lime, being slightly warmed the while, then from the vat it goes in kettles where it is boiled; and during the boiling, which must never stop, day nor night, until the sugar is fairly made, negroes or other laborers stand beside the kettles and carefully skim off the skum which rises to the surface of the liquid. All the juice passes through at least four of these kettles, and in the very last one the miracle of crystallization takes place and sugar is made. The

work at the grinding season is very severe, and each plantation now has two gangs of laborers, who regularly relieve each other. The fire must never go out after the grinding begins, and sad stories are told of the cruelties of slave owners who worked their men thirty-six hours at a time, keeping them awake by the whip. Today, with improved machinery and free labor, sugar is made with the greatest success; and to insure the future of that industry in the United States, Cuba must free her slaves or else a heavy duty should be put upon her export.

Tobacco has its home in the West Indies, and Columbus was sorely amazed, so history states, when he saw "the natives puffing smoke from their mouth and nostrils. Said smoke being the product of a dried leaf which had a pleasant odor, and which was said to produce a pleasing sensation." The white men were not long in following the example of the aborigenes, and they soon began to cultivate the plant for export. Immense tobacco plantations are found on all the islands but the finest tobacco is produced in Cuba. The cultivation is simple, the great care being to protect the plant from worms, which prey upon it. Turkeys are fond of these worms, and as soon as they appear the turkeys are turned into the field and they kill a great many more than they can eat. The worm is the foe of the plant, and the hands watch carefully to pick them off before they do any damage.

When the tobacco ripens it is cut down, sorted into the different qualities and species, and is ready for shipment to market, or else part of it is used for the manufacture of cigars, which is the chief organized industry in Cuba, employing a large number of person, paying fair wages to all but the slaves, and remunerating the employer very handsomely. The house of Cabanas has been for many years at the head of the trade in cigars, and their brands bring as high as \$200 a thousand. The consumption of tobacco is immense among the people of these islands: in Cuba alone it is estimated that 1,460,000,000 cigars or ten dozen for each person, are annually consumed. The export in 1855 was 251,313,000 cigars. Think for one moment of the profit. A Cuban planter has made the following interesting calculation: 600 pounds of tobacco will yield 75,000 cigars, which at \$10 a thousand amounts to \$750. The cost of the leaf is \$300, and manufacturing at \$2.50 a thousand, is \$187.50, which gives a total cost of \$487.50, a profit to the manufacturer of \$260.50.

Besides these staples the West Indies also count cotton and maize among their chief products, while dye stuffs and spices, gums and medicinal plants are treasures to be had for the gathering. The forests are rich in valuable woods, mahogany, rosewood and lignum vitæ, and if

skilled labor were once in possession, and traditions in favor of idleness set aside, the future of the islands will be one of great prosperity. But strange to tell there is no single labor organization in any of the islands, and men are content to eat and drink without ambitions for the morrow.

In the life of the industrial classes of the West Indies there is apparent that general indifference to the luxuries and refinements of civilized life which is so characteristic of the people of the torrid zone. Why should the free negro or half breed work in the sugar field or learn a trade, when he knows that in almost every part of the island are broad and fertile lands on which he can settle without the formality of rent or purchase, and which will repay in plentiful harvests the least labor on his part? With breadfruit, bananas, plantains, yams and other nourishing fruits growing wild in the forests, what need exists for him to stoop beneath the rule of an employer? For shelter from the rains he builds for himself and his family a hut of reeds skillfully interwoven and supported by posts at the corners. One room generally suffices, but more industrious and ambitious peasants sometimes indulge in the luxury of two. The thatched roof overhangs the walls so as to form an encircling verandah upon which open the doors and windows with which the walls are plentifully broken. The floors are made of clayey earth and land shells pounded into a firm cement. Cottages such as this can be easily erected by the labor of one man and his family and in such houses live the majority of the small farmers and rural classes. On the great estates where laborers are employed, rows of such structures, each with its bit of arable land, are assigned to the farm hands, thus enabling them to save their wages for buying animal food or clothing, since their rent is free and all necessary vegetables may be grown by them. It is right to say that in all the free islands the laborers are negroes or half-breeds, for the poor whites look upon labor as a disgrace, preferring even to subsist upon the charity of the workers whom they despise. These two causes, the small cost of living, and the disinclination of the whites to work, lead to a scarcity of labor which makes wages high in all the free islands, save in such places as have been colonized by Chinese coolies.

CHAPTER XV.—SOUTH AMERICA.

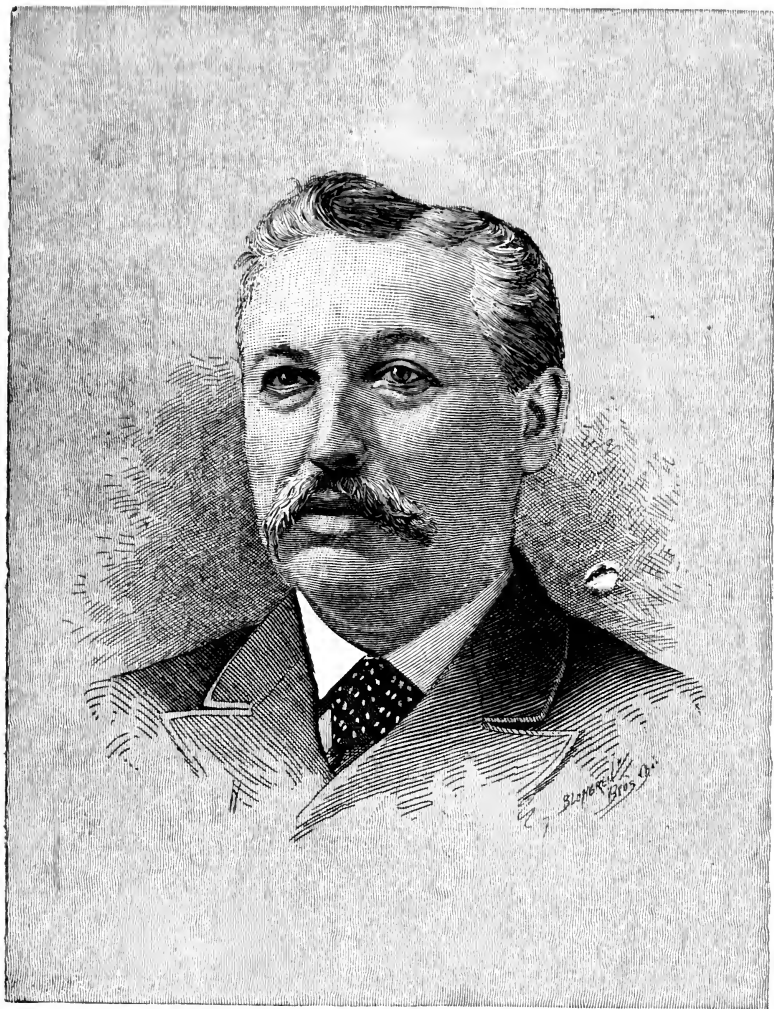
GEOGRAPHY—CLIMATE AND CHIEF PRODUCTIONS OF THE SEVERAL SOUTH AMERICAN STATES—LABOR IN BRAZIL—COTTON—COFFEE—CAOUTCHOUC—MINERAL WEALTH—SLAVERY—IMMIGRATION—WAGES—FOOD—HOUSES—PERU—EARLY HISTORY—DEIFICATION OF LABOR—AGRARIAN LAWS—MINING—CLOTHING—FOOD AND DWELLINGS—LABOR IN MODERN PERU—COOLIES—STATUS OF LABOR IN CHILI—BOLIVIA—ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION—THE MINOR STATES.

MINDFUL of the rapid increase of the human species, nature with benevolent foresight seems to have held in reserve the two mighty continents of the Southern hemisphere until such time as mankind, finding the lands of the north overcrowded, shall flock to Africa and South America and carry to those countries the developing influences of European civilization. As yet this movement has hardly begun. Along the northern coast of Africa, the civilization of the Moors is firmly established, and in some of the greater states of South America exists a native civilization of no despicable degree, but the great body of each of these continents is open to immigration and development. Brazil, with an area almost identical with that of the United States, supports a population of barely 10,000,000 people. Over the 515,700 square miles of the Argentine Confederation are distributed fewer people than live upon or do business within the narrow confines of Manhattan Island. Such being the condition of population in the South American countries, we will naturally expect to find, as is indeed the case, agriculture and cattle herding flourishing while manufactures and the labor of the artisan languish.

Before proceeding to an inquiry into the state of labor in the various South American states some consideration of the geography and physical characteristics of the chief political divisions is desirable. In extent of territory, population and civilization Brazil stands easily first. Its natural advantages are very great. Its climate is cooler and healthier than that of any other great tropical country, its soil is extremely fertile and its commercial facilities unequalled. It is rich in mines of gold and diamonds, and its list of exports is extensive. Mountain, plain and valley diversify agreeably the face of the country and the varying degrees

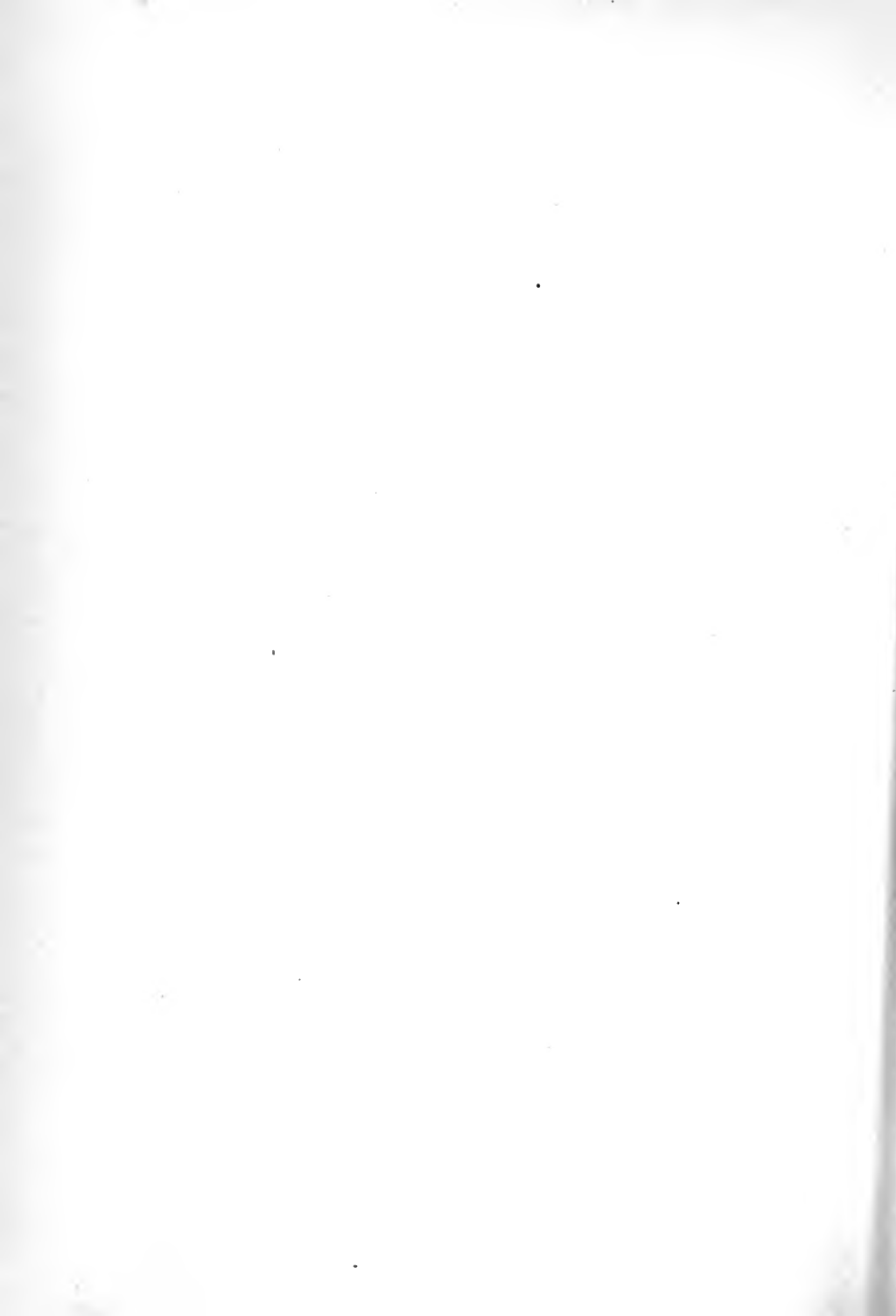
of altitude aid the farmer in producing almost every known agricultural product. Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador are essentially agricultural. Their lofty table-lands on the Pacific slope bear all the productions of the temperate zone, while the warmer climate of the lesser altitudes breeds the rich fruits of the tropics. The eastern part of these countries is made up of broad and grassy plains tenanted by a hardy race of herdsmen. The three Guianas, British, French and Dutch, lie side by side north of Brazil on the Atlantic coast. Their southern boundary is a range of mighty mountains and thence the face of the country slopes gradually to the sea. The products of these countries are chiefly tropical fruits and spices which are largely exported. French Guiana has been hampered in her attempts at advancement by France which uses the fertile colony as a penal settlement. Peru is one of the foremost of the South American states, carrying on a large trade with both Great Britain and the United States. Here are found the relics of that old Aztec civilization, the magnificence of which so astounded Cortez and inflamed the cupidity of the covetous Spaniards under his command. Both in agriculture and minerals this country is wealthy and the industry of its people is leading to the fullest development of its natural resources. Bolivia, lying east of Peru, has the mineral wealth of its neighbor, but is inferior in agricultural facilities. Chili, too, is rich in minerals, but it is estimated that only one-fiftieth of her territory is fit for agriculture. The Argentine Confederation fills the southern portion of the South American peninsula and exports great quantities of wool and tallow. Uruguay and Paraguay are small states lying in the southeastern part of the peninsula, and mountainous in character. The manufactures of these states are insignificant and their commerce but small. A number of large landed proprietors reap fortunes from stock-raising, but the bulk of the people are ignorant, degraded and impoverished. The climate is mild, though severe frosts sometimes prevail in the uplands.

Such, then, are the physical characteristics of this vast continent. How have they, then, the opportunities afforded by the fertile plains, and the rugged mountain peaks, rich with precious metals, been improved by the people whom fate has placed there? What has been done to combat the disadvantages of the region—the hot, stifling winds, the burning sun and the rank tropical vegetation of the northern part; the dry or rocky fields of the South? For an answer we must turn to the records of labor in the different States. We must see what use man makes of the power over nature, granted him by the Creator, as well as what use



James Hamilton.

Secretary Amalgamated Carpenters' Association, American District.



the rich and politically powerful make of their power over the lives and happiness of their fellow beings, granted them by wealth, intrigue or chance.

Glancing first at Brazil, we find a broad expanse of fertile country watered and drained by, perhaps, the mightiest of all water systems, the valley of the Amazon. Yet of this enormous expanse of fertile land, needing but the tickling of the cultivator to burst into a laughing wealth of vegetation, not the one-hundredth part is under cultivation. Thousands of miles of sea-coast are indented with hundreds of spacious ports; but the vessels that ride in those snug harbors bear not the flag of Brazil. The waters that on every side wash the coast of the empire teem with fish; but scarcely a fishing-smack sails from all the ports of Brazil. A high protective tariff proves vain as a barrier against the productions of European looms, and the cotton grown on the soil of Brazil goes abroad to be woven. Yet to this statement one exception must be made. A beginning, small but nevertheless gratifying, has been made in cotton manufacture. The fiber, though cultivated with the aid of the rudest agricultural implements, is fine in quality, and produced in large quantities. At one time the cotton of Pernambuco and the neighboring provinces was highly prized by English manufacturers, but the short-sighted dishonesty and avarice of the planters, who mixed with the superior cotton quantities of inferior and even damaged fiber, soon robbed it of its preëminence. In different parts of Brazil forty-seven factories have been established for the manufacture of cotton fabrics, and in them are employed three thousand six hundred workmen, many of whom went to England or the United States to learn their trade, and are paid wages of about the same grade as are paid their fellows in Massachusetts. Agricultural products, raised in quantities sufficient for home consumption, are maize, black beans, potatoes, rice, wheat, rye, oats and barley. But for exportation the planters, large and small alike, concentrate all their forces upon coffee, of which, in 1882, Brazil produced over half the total production of the entire world. The coffee plantations cover a great part of the national territory. The trees are planted in rows about ten feet apart, and, by constant pruning, are kept down to a height of about five feet. The berries are closely watched as they ripen, and when they turn from a deep red to a brownish-black they are picked, dried in the sun, and the outer hull broken off by hand or in a rude mill. The coffee plantations are largely worked by slaves, who toil in gangs under the watchful eye of the overseer. The labor-saving devices, even of the simplest character, used in civilized countries, are unknown among the

Brazilian coffee-planters. At harvest-time long files of slaves can be seen, each with a huge basket filled with coffee balanced on his head, bearing the crop to the drying floor. The simple device of the wheelbarrow seems unknown. Next in importance to the coffee planting is the production of caoutchouc, or crude Indian-rubber, for exportation. Great bands of native Indians, or negroes, range the mighty forests of the Amazon basin in search of the tree which yields the precious gum. On the discovery of a tree the leader chops an incision in the trunk, while a second Indian places beneath the cut an earthen cup of rude manufacture, in which the sap collects. Four hours later each tree is visited, and the cups filled with the milky fat are gathered, and the substance allowed to harden into gum. At one time these Indians did a large business in rubber shoes, which they made by dipping a clay last into the sap and holding it in smoke until dry, then adding coat upon coat until a shoe of pure gum was produced. But now the rubber shoe, built up upon a web of cloth, has put an end to this industry of the industrious though untutored savages. Caoutchouc ranks fifth in the list of Brazilian exports. Sugar, though cultivated and manufactured in a most primitive manner, is exported largely, although in quality it is far below that of other American countries. The mineral products of the country are diamonds, rubies, sapphires and gold, the latter being found in the beds of streams, and extracted by washing. It has been reserved for a British company to introduce anything like scientific mining into the country. Such mines as are in the hands of native Brazilians are worked entirely by slaves, who are provided with pans, and work day after day by the side of running streams washing pans of gravel and extracting the merest pittance of gold, which is promptly seized by their master. The gold and jewels thus obtained are sent to the large cities, where goldsmiths and jewelers show considerable artistic skill and drive a thriving trade, although from their prosperity Brazil reaps little benefit, as they are generally foreigners.

The slavery that exists in Brazil, although unnatural and degrading as all ownership in mankind must be, is, nevertheless, more humane than that which formally existed in the southern part of the United States. The Brazilian year is cut up by a great number of holidays, religious and political, and on these days as well as on Sundays, custom prescribes that the work done by the slaves, if they choose to work, shall redound to their own benefit. This opportunity is eagerly seized by the slaves working in the diamond fields and gold washings and, although they must seek out some unappropriated ground

on which to work, yet the records show that the largest diamonds and the weightiest nuggets have ever been found by the slaves on their free days, a fact which may be taken as indicative of dishonesty among the slaves, or a striking instance of the superiority of free labor, according to the pessimism or optimism of the reader. To gain his freedom is a far easier task for the Brazilian slave, than it was for the English villein of old. At any time he may demand, before a magistrate, that a fair price be fixed upon himself, then with industry upon his free days and frugality at all times, the sum necessary to purchase his freedom is easily raised. Once free there is no obstacle, either legal or social, in his pathway to the highest honors and, today, some of the foremost men of Brazil are Africans who have been slaves. But mild as is the form of slavery in vogue in Brazil its doom is sealed. In 1871 a law was passed to provide for the gradual and peaceful abolition of slavery throughout the realm. This law is a model of political wisdom dealing with a perplexing industrial question. It provides that all children born of slave mothers shall be free. But, notwithstanding their freedom, they are bound to serve their mothers' masters as apprentices for twenty-one years, and any refusal to enter such service is punished by severe penalties. But should the apprentice be cruelly treated, a complaint before a criminal court, accompanied with evidence of the cruelty, will gain for them their freedom. Before the passage of this act great numbers of slaves were held by the government and employed upon the roads and other public works. They were at once emancipated but are required to hire themselves out and lead lives of industry, living for five years under government supervision. If, during this time, they are found to be idle and living in vagabondage, they are set to work in public establishments. The action of the government has been followed by hundreds of private slave-holders, and it seems certain, that by the end of the nineteenth century, slavery, the chief obstacle to the growth of self-respecting and self-supporting free labor in Brazil, will be obliterated.

Desirous of populating their broad empire and recruiting the ranks of the free laboring people the rulers of Brazil offer, to intending immigrants, inducements unequaled by those of any other country. A legislative act of 1881 assured to all immigrants on their arrival, eight days' support, at the cost of the state, in quarters on the little island of Das Flores, in the bay of Rio; a free passage thence to their place of destination, and the right to purchase land from the government, paying for it in easy installments. But by applying to one of the many immigration or colonization companies the immigrant might secure even greater priv-

ileges than those offered by the state, and many thousands of European Mechanics and laborers have thus been attracted to Brazil. In 1879 a wealthy coffee grower brought over from Spain a large number of families to work upon his plantation, paying their passage money and guaranteeing them certain advantages. Each family was to be provided with a house, furniture and medical attendance when ill, free of charge. Able-bodied laborers were to work ten hours a day, receiving for a day's labor about sixty-five cents, boys to be paid in proportion to the work they performed. Young children were to receive a primary education. To each family was granted land enough to serve as a garden for raising articles for home consumption. Lastly, although the entire crop went into the planter's hands, half the entire profits was divided among the pickers. Yet this attempt at coöperation failed utterly, for in less than two years every colonist insisted upon entering the ranks of the day laborers. Indeed, the outcome of most of the colonizing schemes of the Brazilians has been disastrous. Notwithstanding the zeal with which the work of attracting immigration has been prosecuted, the results have been far from satisfactory. It would seem that the climate, soil and character of the productions are all unsuited to the needs of the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic peoples, among whom immigrants have been assiduously sought, and these, together with the necessity of a total change in language, customs and legal relations, have made the struggle for success of the European immigrant in Brazil an herculean task.

The wages of Brazilian workmen are high in comparison with European standards. Day laborers on the sugar plantations receive from sixteen to twenty *umbreis* a month with board and quarters. The wages of unskilled labor in general may be set at from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred *reis* for outdoor work, and from twelve hundred *reis* to two *umbreis* a day for factory hands. Children in factories receive from two hundred to eight hundred *reis* a day. By piecework a laborer receives one *umbreis* for cutting, binding and loading a cart load of sugar cane. Day laborers at wool-shearing time get two and a half *umbreis* a day with their board.

Although the life of the working people of Brazil is, by virtue of the mild climate, sufficiently comfortable, a traveler used to ways of northern life would find in their dress and habitations evidences of poverty and squalor. The slaves and poorer freemen seldom wear shoes and their dress is scanty and made of the thinnest cotton. Their principal food is manice, the roots of a flowering shrub, native to the country. In appearance these roots are like unto long parsnips. When prepared for

cooking the manioc or cassava is like a coarse farina or tapioca. This substance with maize, black beans and sweet potatoes form the chief food of the Brazilians, and from the ease with which the fertile soil yields increase, the poorest are enabled to live in comfort. Little meat is eaten, and indeed in that tropical climate a vegetarian diet is the more hygienic.

In the materials and character of their houses the Brazilians again profit by the warmth of their tropic regions. With his rude hut of canes and brush the poor farmer or mechanic is housed with as much or perhaps more comfort than the wealthy merchant in his city house of brick. A palm-thatched roof, which sheds the rain and wards off the rays of the burning sun, is cooler than the burning tiles that roof the palace of the wealthy cotton planter. Hammocks swung from the bare rafters above a cool floor of pressed clay conduce more to gentle sleep than the beds imported from European cities to furnish the mansions of the nobility. Often the light residences of the rural folk are elevated on piles some eight feet above the ground, thus letting the air circulate beneath, and affording protection against wild beasts.

Next to Brazil in extent of territory, population and commercial importance among the South American states stands Peru. But in wealth of historical association Peru stands first. There was the seat of that wonderful civilization of the Aztecs that spread northward and left upon the soil of Central America and Mexico those monuments which we have already considered. In Peru, long before the earliest settlement of New England, there lived a people so refined, so industrious and so civilized that invading Spaniards, fresh from the wonders of the Alhambra, Madrid and Toledo, saw in this almost unknown country palaces and dazzling evidences of wealth that threw into the shade all the grandeur of Spain. Before Spanish avarice such a civilization could not maintain itself. Beaten and cowed by the invaders, the Incas paid enormous ransoms only to find their conquerors perfidiously demanding more. When in response to the demands of Pizarro the Inca filled with gold a room twenty-two feet long, seventeen feet broad, and eight feet high, the Spaniard, maddened by the sight of so much wealth, swore a mighty oath that unless another room of similar size was filled with silver he would kill the helpless monarch. The ransom was duly paid. Temples, palaces and homes were stripped of their ornaments, and for weeks a steady procession of Peruvians marched to the royal palace, bearing contributions toward the release of the Inca. The treasure once collected the Spaniards, in the name of

that Christian religion which it was their boast to profess, burnt at the stake as a heretic the unhappy captive. Full of interest and pathos is the political history of the ancient Peruvians, but with it a history of labor has but little to do. The history of their industrial organization in itself might fill volumes. Labor was exalted to the point of deification. Not even the Inca was exempt from its laws, but with his imperial hands was forced each year to turn out some bit of handiwork.

Agriculture was extensively followed, and indeed so honored was the profession of the farmer that his knowledge was thought to be of divine origin. The Sun—the mother of all mankind—was fabled to have sent her two children to the earth: the one “Manco Capac” to teach men the culture of the earth; the other “Mama Oella” to teach women to spin and weave. How well these two divine missionaries performed their tasks, the remains of the ancient Peruvian farms with their systems of irrigation, and the Spanish traditions of Peruvian fabrics, testify. Guano, now one of the chief sources of wealth to Peru, was known and used by its ancient people. Land was held by the state and rented out to the people in shares proportionate to the size of the family. The doctrines of communism were put into practice to an extent impossible under any save a strong paternal despotism. The tenure of land, while it rendered poverty unnecessary, nevertheless removed the chief incentive to thrift, as no one could become more wealthy than his neighbor, unless a noble or a member of the Inca’s family. From the age of twenty-five to fifty years every man was forced to work for the good of the community, and until a code of agrarian laws was enacted women worked by the side of their husbands in the fields.

The laws by which the ancient empire of Peru was ruled were simple and few in number. Twenty-four laws only were upon the statute books of that time, and of these four related directly to labor. One section provided that in every town there should be mechanics and artisans skilled in every trade known to the realm, and that should this be impossible, every town should at least be possessed of facilities for the manufacture of every article essential for the needs of mankind. A second provision of the statutes, and one always most scrupulously observed, was that at the time for harvesting or sowing, every one from the emperor himself down to the poorest peasant, should be in the fields and perform his share of the work for the good of the community. Again it was provided that every man should show care and discretion in his choice of crops to be grown on his home acre. A nation that understood the use of artificial fertilizers was not one to permit wasteful

or ignorant farming, but notwithstanding this they were not familiar with the simple device of plows, but did all their tillage with spades. The proper education of the children was left to the parents, but a special statute commanded that every parent should carefully observe the habits, tastes and mental characteristics of his child and found his choice of a trade upon such observations. Whenever feasible, however, it was thought best for the son to follow the father's trade. A national interest in the training of youth, such as this, could not fail to foster a race of competent workmen in every branch of industry. Therefore we find the Peruvians growing enormously wealthy and making rapid strides in civilization. Their weaving was skillful and the fabrics soft and durable. In shape, color and finish their pottery was admirable. Their jewelers were artists of skill and taste and the fruits of their handiwork astounded the Spaniards who straightway appropriated all. Such were some of the results of that wise system of laws of which Prescott, the immortal historian, writes as follows: "A more thorough and effectual agrarian law than this cannot be imagined. In other countries where such a law has been introduced, its operation, after a time, has given way to the natural order of events, and under the superior intelligence and thrift of some and the prodigality of others the usual vicissitudes of fortune have been allowed to take their course and restore things to their natural inequality. Even the iron law of Lycurgus ceased to operate after a time, and melted away before the spirit of luxury and avarice. The nearest approach to the Peruvian constitution was probably in Judea, where, on the recurrence of the great national jubilee at the close of every half century, estates reverted to their original proprietors." And later the same author writes: "By a constant rotation of labor it was intended that no one should be overburdened and that each man should have time to provide for the demands of his own household. It was impossible—in the judgment of a high Spanish authority—to improve on the system of distribution, so carefully was it accommodated to the condition and comfort of the artisan. The security of the working classes seems ever to have been kept in view by the regulations of the government, and these were so discreetly arranged that the most wearing and unwholesome labors, as those of the miners, occasioned no detriment to the health of the laborer; a striking contrast to the subsequent condition under Spanish rule." The regulation of the mines to which the famous historian alludes, was essentially this: The mines of gold, silver, lead and copper were worked for the benefit of the state, and all mining operations were under the direct charge of the Inca.

Drafts for workmen were made upon all the people of the country, and the laborers obtained by this conscription were obliged to serve for four months, when they returned to their homes and were replaced by a new draft.

In their habits this people who, in a by-gone age, solved so largely the political problems that perplex the wisest statesmen of today, were very simple. The dress of a man of the people in those days was of coarse llama cloth or cotton. A long shirt or chemise-like garment, sleeveless and hanging from the shoulders straight to the ankles, was the foundation. A kind of thin shawl or blanket was wrapped about the shoulders and straw sandals protected the feet. This was the dress of man and woman alike. Their diet was simple, almost ascetic. Two meals a day was the quota, and seldom did flesh of any kind appear at either meal. Maize grew luxuriantly in their fertile soil and when converted into meal by laborious rubbing betwixt two stones, could be made into bread and cakes. Earth nuts, too, were made into a paste with honey and baked. Water was the universal beverage. Unlike the Brazilians, the Peruvians of early times were accustomed to build durable houses and had distinct architectural characteristics of their own. The edifices throughout the entire country seemed to have been cast in the same mould. Porphyry or granite were the chief materials, but brick was not infrequently used. The bricks were much larger than those in use among us today and were made of clayey earth mixed with chopped reeds or tough grass, much as were the bricks made by the captive Israelites before Pharaoh's order deprived them of the straw. Although merely sun-dried, the peculiar composition of these bricks gave them a hardness and durability that enabled them to set at naught the onslaughts of protracted rainy seasons, and the fierce rays of the tropic sun.

Abandoning our study of the ancient Peruvians and coming to the present inhabitants of Peru, we find a race sadly declined from their condition under the ancient Incas. All signs of progressiveness, of refined tastes, of enlightened self-government have vanished. Living like beasts of the field, content with the most miserable subsistence, showing no desire for self-advancement, the Peruvian of today finds his highest gratification in drinking brandy and chicha to excess, the latter an intoxicating beverage distilled by the natives from corn. A great part of the industrial population is made up of the native Indians, who, although no longer slaves (slavery having been abolished in 1855), are nevertheless in a condition of the most abject servitude. The *cholos*,

or agricultural laborers resemble much in their station the *umjik* of Russia, inasmuch as in the agricultural districts every laborer belongs to his employer, whose debtor he is for sums of money advanced in the prospective security of the labor to be performed by him. The debt is never paid in money, but by its equivalent in manual toil, a method which seldom liquidates the account, as the poor man's daily needs are apt to equal or often exceed his earnings. On many of the large sugar plantations and in almost all the mines the labor is performed by Chinese coolies, who are imported in large colonies by the heavy employers of labor. These wretched beings, although paid workmen, are notwithstanding in the position of slaves. They are directed in their labor by brutal overseers, who do not hesitate to enforce each command with a blow. As the coolie has not the meek and long-suffering nature of the negro or South American Indian, they often rise in servile insurrections, and massacre overseers and employers in the outburst of their savage passion. For the slightest offenses the coolies are punished unmercifully. Curtailing their already scanty rations and beating the culprits mercilessly are the mildest punishments. Not infrequently a coolie will be seen working in the fields weighted down with ponderous chains, yet forced to keep pace with his unhampered comrades. Agricultural labor is further performed by a large class of wandering laborers who correspond to the journeymen harvesters of England, and go by the name of *peons*, a name that in itself means footman, or one traveling on foot, as distinguished from *cabellero*, horseman or gentleman. Among the *peons* are classed numbers of Bolivian immigrants who make long journeys, often of three hundred miles in order to reach Peru and profit by the scarcity of labor. In comparison with English rates their wages are good, as they are commonly paid \$2 a day and are housed by their employers in rude tents made of coarse sail-cloth, supported by poles of all sorts and sizes. Their habits of life are most simple. Living on boiled rice, a handful of beans and a little chili, they can often at the end of the farming season return to Bolivia with money enough to enable them to pass several years in comparative idleness. A picturesque feature of the Peruvian work-fields is the sight of the workmen at the dinner hour, each cooking his own meal. The *peons* come to the field in the morning carrying small iron pots in which are the rice, beans, and sometimes bits of beef or mutton which is to form the day's dinner. When the dinner hour comes little fires are kindled and each kettle sings merrily over the coals while the *peon* prepares his dinner with no mean skill. On holidays

or great occasions a kind of beer is added to the repast by the generosity of the employer.

Besides farming, the Peruvians turn their hands to mining and mechanical labor. The guano beds which form the chief wealth of the country are governmental monopolies, and are worked altogether by Chinese coolies, as no Peruvian will undertake such unwholesome labor. The minerals of Peru still form a vast proportion of the national wealth, although after the occupation of the country by the Spaniards, a reaction set in against the forced production of gold fostered by those avaricious conquerors. So rich in this precious metal are all the mountain ranges of Peru, that not a stream rushes down the hill-sides from whose bed the golden grains may not be taken by careful sluicing. The chief mines are on the eastern side of the Andes near the sources of the Purus, but throughout all the country solitary miners are diligently working with rude appliances. For this reason it is hard to estimate the total production of gold.

In the mechanical arts, the Peruvians show considerable skill. The excellence and delicacy of their work in straw is well known. By plaiting and weaving the fine white straw of the country, flexible hats, mats and cigar cases are made. By the use of colored straw the plaiters form all sorts of ornaments of figures and flowers. Some are clever enough to be able to copy any figure of which a model is shown them, be it a fish, fowl or human being. The prices of these goods vary immensely, but the average earnings of the artists are about four dollars a week. Bricklayers, carpenters and skilled mechanics of that class can command high wages in Peru, but labor under the disadvantage of being forced to accept their pay upon the well-known and wholly indefensible "truck system."

The status of labor in most of the remaining countries of South America differs but little from that in Brazil and Peru. In Chili the workman goes by the name of *peon*, and has the same wandering instincts as his Peruvian brother. His dress is simple in the extreme. A shirt, short trousers and a slouched hat, together with a poncho, or blanket with a hole in the center through which the head is thrust, constitute his raiment. Wages are poor, the field hands never receiving more than fifty cents per diem in harvest time, and are reduced to twenty-five or thirty in other seasons. In one respect the laborer of Chili is in advance of his fellows in many other states. The rude agricultural implements of ancient times have given way to the most improved machinery, and mills and factories rival those of England. The agricultural products are

identical with those of Brazil and Peru, while the list of minerals includes gold, silver, lead, antimony, copper, zinc, cobalt and nickel. Manufactures have been encouraged by the government, which has lately offered monopolies for a term of years to manufacturers seeking to establish themselves. In Bolivia the population is idle, rough and ignorant, careless of the opportunities of life and living only in the present. Agriculture is only followed to secure the necessaries of life; let there be a superfluity and the fields are deserted. The people drink heavily of chicha and pass their time in idleness or carousing. Coffee, cotton, cacao and tobacco all thrive in that soil and climate but the indolence of the people prevents the cultivation of either for export. Coca is a governmental monopoly and brings in some revenue. The wide and grassy plains afford unequalled advantages for stock-raising but the people have not enterprise enough to raise this most profitable industry to a point sufficient even to supply the needs of the country. Mining offers a field for most productive labor, but is prosecuted languidly since the termination of the Spanish occupation. Such mines as are worked are owned and managed by foreigners. The Indians and peasant women weave wool and cotton with some skill and derive some income from their sale. Good fire arms are turned out in the cities, and every Indian understands the art of making gunpowder. Observing travelers record that the only industry that seems prospering is that of the distillers of whisky. The Argentine Confederation in its industrial aspects presents a more gratifying spectacle. The cattle ranches are wide and numerous and the ranchers get from eight to fifteen dollars a month and are housed and fed at the cost of their employer. In cities like Buenos Ayres and Montevideo wages are high, but expenses are so great that the wage-workers seldom become independent. House servants are greatly in demand, good ones receiving as much as twenty dollars a month.

Each city contains many large factories, but the workmen are constantly harrassed by the fluctuation of the rate of wages, which is changed several times a year. Artisans and mechanics who can work on their own account are prospering. Shoemakers get \$10 for a pair of boots; trousers cost \$15 for the making; coats \$50; a hat, \$5. Everything pertaining to building or furnishing is held at the highest price: bricks are \$12 to \$15 a thousand; a lounge costs \$120; a chair \$5 or \$6, and an easy chair \$25. Competent carpenters and joiners are very scarce and can easily earn as journeymen \$25 a week. But the state of labor in the cities can hardly be thought indicative of the state of labor

throughout the Confederation, for the cities are almost entirely European. The national industry of the Argentine Confederation is agriculture, and this has been pursued intelligently and profitably. The laboring population of the rural districts is roughly divided into *peonada* and *guachos*. The former are the farm hands on the great estates, while the latter are herdsmen and in character and position show a striking similarity to the American cowboy. Wandering over the country, a true vagabond without being an outlaw, constantly breaking the peace, the *guachos* are regarded with mingled feelings of fear and admiration by the simple peasantry. The life of the *peon* is an easy and contented one. Working sufficiently to keep himself in comfort, and taking little heed for the morrow, they can, nevertheless, in case of need, develop a wondrous activity and intelligence. But notwithstanding their industry, their numbers are insufficient to handle the ever-increasing produce of the fertile soil, and immigrants are eagerly welcomed by the government, and earn wages that would seem high, even to an American.

The state of Uruguay is far from being an industrial commonwealth. Labor, properly so-called, is actually non-existent. Yet such labor as is carried on repays the laborer at a rate which, taken in connection with the cost of living, puts him in circumstances ten-fold more prosperous than the English laborer of similar degree. Common farm hands earn from \$185 to \$190 per year, with board and lodging; female domestics get \$200 to \$250 per year. Even masons and carpenters are supplied with board and lodging besides their wages, which will average from \$2.75 to \$3 per day. Shoemakers, tailors, smiths and wheelwrights, etc., earn even more. Even children can earn a comfortable living. These rates are caused by the scarcity of population, and with the broad plains almost untenanted seem likely to persist for many decades. Truly there seems to be no cause for a condition other than prosperous for the workmen of Uruguay, whose living expenses are paid by the employer and whose wages come to him in hard and ready money. Slavery existed until 1843, but at that date all negroes were freed, and of late the government has turned its attention to the education of this large class of freedmen who are rapidly becoming valued members of the industrial society.

Like the foregoing country, Paraguay is an essentially agricultural country. Its natives are docile, sedate and intelligent. There are but few European residents, who are chiefly found in the large towns. In their methods of agriculture they are unscientific to such a degree that only the unrivaled fertility of the soil enables them to extract a meager return for their labor. The loose sandy soil demands but little dress-

ing and is merely scratched superficially with the rudest of plows made from a thick bough with two short protruding branches cut to points and hardened by burning. Two oxen drag this implement up and down the fields until the soil is thus rudely broken. The women of Paraguay spin and weave the native cotton into domestic fabrics. Their spinning is done by means of a distaff or slender spindle of wood twirled between the fingers and thumb of the right hand, while the fiber is drawn from a tuft held in the left. This method is almost identical with that described in the chapter on Central America, and resembles also the spinning of Tartar peasants in the Crimea. An industry in which the women of Paraguay excel, is the fabrication of lace which they weave with wonderful delicacy. The patterns for laces, however, are commonly drawn by men. The finished piece usually is in the form of a towel or scarf, the ends of which are finished with a border of embroidery. These articles find a ready sale at prices from seventy-five to one hundred dollars. Cloth-weaving is chiefly done by men who wander about the country carrying their looms and calling at house after house, to see if the housewife has a store of cotton thread she wishes woven. When an employer is found, the weaver sets his loom up under a tree and works away by the road-side until the fabric is completed. Besides their spinning, the women occupy much of their time in the manufacture of cigars.

Sugar-cane grows luxuriantly in Paraguay, and in its cultivation a large part of the male population is occupied, but the cultivation, like all forms of agriculture in the country is wasteful, and unscientific. The stools are planted so closely together that the soil cannot nourish the stalks properly, and the saccharine property in the sap is not properly formed. The crushing, too, is wasteful, hardly half the juice being extracted. The mill would be a curiosity in the sight of an American sugar planter. A massive frame of timber holds up two heavy rollers of hard wood, geared together with cogs. A slow-stepping yoke of oxen furnishes the power, and the canes are thrust, a few at a time, between the revolving rollers. The juice is caught in open pans beneath, strained through a coarse cloth and boiled in open evaporators. They seldom succeed in getting a dry and perfectly granulated sugar, but ordinarily stop the process with a delicious but very costly molasses, which is stored away in leather bags. In the preparation of corn for food a similar ignorance of improved methods is manifested. The kernels are placed in wooden mortars made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and are beaten by heavy wooden staves until a coarse meal is obtained. This is

tossed into the air, that the wind may blow away the husks, which it does with great efficaciousness, taking about one-third of the meal away in the operation. The intoxicating drink chiefly used by the Paraguayans is maté, a wood product, the manufacture of which is monopolized by the government.

Ecuador, though blessed with a soil of wondrous fertility and a climate of perpetual spring, is wretchedly poor. Within her borders hardly a thing is manufactured, and to satisfy their wants her people must enrich the manufacturers of Europe. No dress goods, no glass, not a single nail, not one of all the articles necessary for the existence of even a savage people is made in Ecuador, save in the mountain regions where the people make coarse woolen cloth, saddles and pottery. All other articles are purchased abroad, and brought into the country in panniers swung across the backs of mules, for railroads they have none. In the fields are produced cacao, sugar and tobacco, and in the forests are great numbers of caoutchouc, but all these products go to the English in exchange for manufactured goods. Panama hats and straw mattings are the sole manufacture of the people, whose industry is devoted mainly to hunting or agricultural pursuits. Technically, slavery no longer exists, but practically in the form of service for debt the Indians and negroes are as much enslaved as ever. This pernicious custom is common to all South American states.

In Colombia no trades are followed save domestic vocations of weaving, dyeing, tanning, blanket-making and basket-weaving. There is almost no manufacturing industry in the country, although the basis for some future productive industry has been laid by the establishment at Bogota of glass works, distilleries and one or two other manufactories. The natural products gathered or grown by the natives and exported in considerable quantities are cedar, caoutchouc, vegetable ivory and tobacco. The mineral deposits of the country are vast, but little known and less worked. The three Guianas, British, French and Dutch, are industrially unimportant. Along the coast is a shallow belt of civilized territory in which indigo, cotton, cocoa, sugar and coffee are produced. So long as the planters were enabled to employ slave labor the exports of the country were quite considerable, but since the abolition of slavery the production has been largely decreased. Slavery at one time also existed in Venezuela, but has been abolished, and the freed negroes are now cultivating great tracts of fertile territory on the table-lands and in the valleys of that country. Although they enjoy equal political rights with the whites, yet the latter retain all power in their own hands. As

a class, the working people of Venezuela are light-hearted, sober, and industrious.

The dress of the South Americans differs but little in the different states. Cotton is the almost universal fabric, and white the almost universal color, save in the case of the poncho, a relic of the Spanish influence. This latter garment is of wool and often striped in gaudy colors. The feet are often uncovered, but sometimes leather stockings, made from hide taken from a horse's leg, are worn. Once put on, these stockings are not removed until worn out, for the hide is softened in water, and wrapped tightly around the leg, to which it adheres closely when dried. Hats are small, made partly of wool and partly of straw, and have a havelock or suspended cloth for protection against the sun. The dress of women is commonly European in form, *i. e.*, shirt and waist, made often of the gaudiest fabrics. Underwear must be white, however, else the poorest woman would scorn it. In Uruguay the women wear a kind of short skirt instead of trousers, the sides of which are tucked up under the belt, leaving the thighs bare. Sombreros with enormous brims are worn in this state and as the custom of decorating them is very common no small part of a man's income goes for his hat, for which \$125 is no uncommon price. The dress of the women is simple but becoming—a long chemise, or *tupoi*, cut low in the neck, with a deep border of black or scarlet wool forms the chief garment. The sleeves are loose and deeply edged with lace. From the waist hang silk or muslin skirts, puffed out by artfully starched petticoats and fastened at the waist by a broad sash. Except in the capital few women wear shoes.

The food products utilized by the South American have already been described. One principal article of diet to which we have not alluded is beef cut into strips and dried in smoke. This is almost a universal article of food, and forms almost the sole diet of the *guachos*. Fermented or "raised" bread is little known. The natives prefer corn bread, or cakes made from manioc. Ordinary cooking is simple and good, yet the people set but little store by the pleasures of the table. A common expression of contempt is, "he is not even fit for a cook." Tobacco, in the form of cigars or cigarettes, is seldom absent from the mouths of the South Americans of every grade.

In the Argentine Confederation the people of the poorer classes live in adobe houses, except out on the pampas, where huts made of branches plastered with mud seem to fill every requirement. Some steps from the main house is a smaller structure that serves as a kitchen, and

around the whole homestead fig trees are planted. The interior of such a house, as may well be conjectured, does not present an aspect of much luxury. The bed boasts of merely an ox-hide for a mattress, while tables, chairs and benches are of unplanned boards. In Uruguay domestic architecture is no less simple. Four upright posts are fastened in the ground on which is placed a roof covered with thatch, or often with sheet-iron. The walls are made of wattled reeds daubed thickly with clay. This completes the structure, thousands of which stand in different parts of the country.hovels as they are, these structures harbor a people contented, though neither rich nor intelligent.

PART VI.

GUILDS AND TRADES-UNIONS.

CHAPTER I.—MERCHANT GUILDS.

MOTIVES FOR COMBINATION — DIFFERENT CLASSES OF GUILDS — MERCHANT GUILDS THE PROTOTYPES OF THE MODERN CORPORATION — THEIR SPREAD OVER GERMANY, FRANCE AND ENGLAND — ORIGIN OF ENGLISH LIVERY COMPANIES — COMBINATION OF GUILD BRETHERN AND LAND-OWNERS — CONTROLLING CITY AND TOWN GOVERNMENTS — CRAFTSMEN ORIGINALLY MEMBERS OF MERCHANT GUILDS — THE SEPARATION OF MERCHANT FROM CRAFT GUILDS — SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE CORPORATIONS OF TODAY AND THE MERCHANT GUILDS OF THE MIDDLE AGES — OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE BY THE MERCHANT GUILDS — THE TWELVE GREAT COMPANIES.

GUILDS, or associations of individuals for a common purpose, are of immemorable antiquity. It is useless to attempt to ascribe to any one nation, race or period the leadership in the inauguration of these institutions. Although it is only within the past quarter of a century that the subject has been considered of sufficient importance to demand the attention of antiquarians, and the honor of their origin has been assigned to various periods and countries, no one can positively assert when or where they originated. They existed in Egypt, they flourished in Greece and Rome, they exerted an immense influence in all European countries during the middle ages. Always and everywhere there have been combinations for the purpose of accomplishing, “by the united efforts of numbers, what could not be accomplished by the detached efforts of individuals.” Often diverted from their real objects, they have invariably resulted in benefit to their members.

In tracing their history we find the merchant guilds, the prototypes of modern corporations; the religious guilds, the prototypes of modern church societies; the social guilds, the prototypes of Masonic, Odd Fel-

low and kindred organizations ; the craft guild, the predecessor of the modern trades-unions ; and, finally, guilds of lawyers, and guilds of literateurs and artists.

It is in the evolution of the merchant and craft guilds, more especially the latter, that we will find our principal interest.

In their inception the merchant guilds were sworn fraternities for the protection of right and the preservation of liberty. As their powers increased they developed a spirit of aristocracy and became institutions of oppression. Although there are records of merchant guilds in Egypt and other nations of antiquity, we have no reliable data as to their objects and accomplishments, until we meet them in Europe during the middle ages. The first that presents itself is the guild of Hanse merchants and watermen of the Seine and Yonne, the most ancient chartered French guild ; it is supposed to have sprung up from the sailors or boatmen existing in the time of the Romans. Like the modern corporations, this institution realized the advantage of possessing monopolistic privileges. Even at this early date, it seems, "influence" could be exerted to secure these privileges. This body had the absolute control of the trade carried on by the watercourses of the Seine and Yonne between Nantes and Auxerre. No merchant could bring wares to Paris without becoming a member of the guild. Similar guilds sprang up in most of the commercial towns along the rivers and on the sea shore. In the seventh and eighth centuries they appear simultaneously in France, England and Germany. The annals of the Merovingian kings mention a guild of jewelers, or workers in gold. Merchant guilds are mentioned in the laws compiled by King Athelstan. There were guilds of drapers, grocers, haberdashers, furriers, hatters and jewelers, in the Hanseatic towns of Germany. It is conceded that Flanders and Holland secured the benefit of self-government, before France or Italy, through the influence and power of the guilds. Charlemagne, who had felt their power, laid down rules limiting the growth of merchant guilds. The Emperors Frederick II. and Henry VII. vainly attempted to suppress them. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the merchant guilds banded themselves together and gradually acquired such power in the cities of Germany that they rivaled the nobles in influence, and aimed at controlling the municipal government. Philip I., in 1061, granted special privileges to the guild of chandlers, and Louis VII., one hundred years later, is mentioned as granting the same privileges to the butchers' and harnessmakers' guilds.

At the time of the Norman conquest in England, merchant guilds existed in nearly all the chief towns. In each borough they formed a

body politic, with common rights and interests. They had each their meeting-place, in which they deliberated and passed borough laws. They possessed by lease or purchase houses, pasture and forest lands for common use. Under the Norman rule their growth was somewhat interfered with. Henry I. subjected them to heavy fines for being established or exercising their functions without royal license. They were encouraged, however, by Henry II., and, increasing under this patronage, they became so numerous that, in their annual or other celebrations, they often came in collision with each other. Under Henry IV. they were forbidden to wear liveries, but in a subsequent reign they were again endowed with that privilege, which, finally, gave them the name of "livery companies," which name has attached to the prominent merchant guilds of England ever since. The merchant guilds of England, in the middle ages, were far in advance of those of any other country in power and influence. The landed proprietors, on or near whose estates the towns were built, exercised great influence in them, and constituted their aristocracy. In many of the cities the condition of becoming an alderman was the possession of an inalienable estate. As the aldermen were chosen from the guilds, it became necessary to have as members some of the landed gentry. The constitution of the city of London was based upon a guild, and it became the model for other English cities and towns. In the time of King Athelstan the merchant guilds of London united, that they might carry out their aims more vigorously. This united guild governed the town. A similar union took place in the latter part of the thirteenth century, of the guilds in Berwick-upon-Tweed. The union provided "that all separate guilds heretofore existing in the borough shall be brought to an end," and that "no other guild shall be allowed in the borough; all shall be as members having one head, one counsel, one body, strong and friendly." At this time only the inhabitants owning land, and the merchants, were "guild brethren" or citizens.

There is no doubt that the principal membership of the merchant guilds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in all the countries of Europe, was composed of people of rank, social considerations or wealth. They strove hard to, and did in a great measure, obtain the entire control of the city and town governments. Many of the towns, whose government was in the hands of such guilds, had been founded by merchants. In all other towns a great majority of the burghers lived by trade. In Cologne, in the eleventh century, the term "burgher" and "merchant" were used as synonymous. At Spire the patrician families of the town, from whose ranks the council was taken, all carried on trade. In like

manner the leading families of Ratisbon consisted of merchants. As to Denmark, the Danish word for town (*Kiöbsted*, bargain-place) sufficiently denotes its character. In Scotland the merchant guild stood at the head of the town governments. Though the merchant guilds consisted chiefly of merchants at first, craftsmen were not excluded from them if they possessed full citizenship of the town, which citizenship depended upon the possession of estates of a certain value, situated within the territory of the town. The strict separation of the merchants and crafts arose only by degrees. Originally, the craftsmen traded in the raw material with which they worked. In the time of Edward III. the London tailors were the importers of woolen cloth, and as late as the sixteenth century the brewers of Hamburg were the principal grain merchants. It was only as the merchants accumulated wealth and aristocratic notions that they began to be exclusive. They then sought for means to eject and exclude craftsmen from the merchant guilds. The famous, or infamous, ordinance, repeated in the Danish, German and Belgian guild statutes provided that no one "with dirty hands" or with "blue nails," or "who hawked his wares in the streets," should become a member of the guild; that craftsmen, before being admitted, should have forsworn their craft for a year and a day. The statutes of Berwick-upon-Tweed provided that no butcher, so long as he carried on his trade, was to deal in wool or hides, except he were ready to forswear his axe. This was to protect the guild, whose members were principally merchants, and who traded in wool and hides. The craftsmen were not only excluded from the guilds, but they were governed and oppressed by them.

The similarity that exists between the wealthy corporations of today and the merchant guilds of the middle ages is singularly striking. All laws were made by the guilds for the privileged classes, who were the members of the guilds. In the formative period of the merchant guilds, as long as freedom from the oppression of episcopal and baronial tyranny was to be obtained, the "guild brothers" were modest and benignant toward the poor. They did not then consider it humiliating to associate and fraternize with craftsmen. The possession of freedom and power rendered them insolent and hard; with the enjoyment of their dominion the descendants of the simple associates of the early merchant guilds became proud, ambitious and tyrannical. The freer and more independent they became the less they needed the assistance of their former associates of the crafts, and the more haughty, overbearing and contemptuous became their conduct. The accumulation of riches helped to widen the ever increasing breach. These riches were employed in the

purchase of estates and lucrative privileges, which enabled the possessors to live in idleness. Idleness finally became an attribute of rank and honor. The laws were made to clearly discriminate between the patrician and the man "without hearth and honor who lives by his labor." The chief burden of the taxes was thrown upon the poor, while the income which they afforded and the revenues from the guild or corporation property were employed for the exclusive use of the ruling families. Laws were partially administered, redress being entirely refused to the unprivileged classes. It was feared by many that a new serfdom might arise. In some cities the craftsmen had almost become serfs to the patricians. This was especially true of the craftsmen of the city of Cologne. A general and deep hatred of the governed toward their oppressors existed. One idea, the abolition of the patrician, seemed to have animated the souls of the craftsmen of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Finally the merchant guilds became divided by internal dissensions. They began to fight for political supremacy in the towns. Cologne, Strasburg, Basle and Ratisbon, were the scenes of intense political conflicts. The craftsmen united and presented an unbroken front against the hated patricians. Violent struggles ensued between the two factions at Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, Cologne, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and other towns in Germany, and toward the end of the fourteenth century the victory was almost everywhere on the side of the craft guilds.

England was at the same time undergoing a revolution of the same character. Many concessions were made to the craftsmen. Nevertheless in England, as in Germany, the power ultimately remained in the hands of the old burghers, or members of the merchant guilds, with which some of the more powerful craft guilds united. Finally, in London, the separation of the richer companies from the poorer was obtained, and the former gained paramount influence in the common council. From this time dates the still existing custom of choosing the Lord Mayor of London exclusively from the so-called twelve great companies. Originally established as charitable institutions, to afford mutual aid to their members, these great companies gradually assumed control over the trades and manufactures represented by their titles. By the payment of large sums of money, they obtained various monopolies, with power to make by-laws for the regulation of their respective trades. From the gifts received for charitable purposes, from entrance money, from fines, and the proceeds of their vast monopolies, they divided large sums of money among their members, and amassed enormous wealth. Within

the limits of the city of London alone, the rents on lands belonging to them amounted to nearly \$3,000,000 per annum, and it is believed the lands they possessed outside the city were of equal value. The changes in trade maxims and in social life have now left them little more than a shadow of their former authority over trade and manufactures. They now exist principally as charitable institutions, and most of their income is supposed to be devoted to charitable objects. The names and the charter dates of the twelve great companies are as follows: The Skinners, 1327; the Goldsmiths, 1327; the Grocers, 1345; the Fishmongers, 1363; the Vintners, 1363; the Drapers, 1364; the Mercers, 1393; the Haberdashers, 1448; the Ironmongers, 1464; the Merchant Tailors, 1466; the Clothworkers, 1480; and the Salters, 1530. The hereditary connection of these companies with the corporation, their large ownership of property in the city, and their control of so many charities enable them to exercise great influence in municipal affairs.

CHAPTER II. — CRAFT GUILDS.

THEIR ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY — IN GREECE — ROME — PLUTARCH'S ACCOUNT OF THE GUILDS INSTITUTED BY NUMA — THEIR PROGRESS UNDER THE REPUBLIC — UNDER THE EMPIRE — IN EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES — WARFARE TO SUPPRESS CRAFT GUILDS — VICTORY FOR THE GUILDS — THEIR POLITICAL POWER — THE ACME OF PROSPERITY — SIGNS OF DEGENERATION — THEIR STATUTES AND CUSTOMS.

CRAFT GUILDS are doubtless of more ancient origin than the merchant guilds. Whether in the nations of antiquity, they were associations of free laborers, possessing the democratic character of modern trades-unions, or whether they were mere bond-servants ranged by the despotic rulers into companies, according to their different crafts, each company under the superintendence of a government official, are questions which have excited some keen controversy. The evidence would seem to substantiate the former, but such a well recognized authority as Brentano inclines to the latter opinion.

The history of the associations of craftsmen prior to the Christian era is somewhat meager. It is only occasionally that we find any trace of their existence outside of the Roman republic. We know that in Egypt at the time of the Ptolemies the people were divided into priests, warriors, agricultural laborers, and workmen; that in most employments the son was compelled to follow the trade or business of his father. These divisions evidently denoted the social rank of the people. Whether these different castes or classes were subdivided, in accordance with their relative positions or crafts, is at least, questionable. If so divided, whether the artisans would have been permitted to organize free associations is still more questionable. The Athenians formed a separate class of citizens of the skilled workmen. Their history mentions many trades, but it was the warrior upon whom was conferred the special privileges. Among the Greeks there were doubtless independent associations among the freemen. In the second and third centuries, B. C., these associations were numerous at Rhodes, in the islands of the archipelago, at the Piraeus, and at other important places. These societies partook more nearly of the character of the mediæval craft guilds than did those of the Romans. The members paid contributions to a general fund, aided one

another in necessity, provided for funerals, met in assembly to deliberate on their affairs, and celebrated feasts and religious sacrifices in common. Strict rules for disorderly conduct were enforced by fine. He who did not pay his yearly dues to the society was excluded from any participation in its affairs, unless he could show good cause for his failure. Women could be members, and were admitted to the meetings. Our first introduction to craft guilds in Rome would seem to confirm the opinion of Brentano, that they were divisions of the craftsmen into companies, made under the supervision of the government, for the purpose of more easily subjecting them to control. We quote the language of Plutarch, who is the principal and, in fact, the only authority for the early Roman craft guilds. In his life of Numa he says, "But the most admired of all his institutions is his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city consisting, as we have observed of two nations, or rather, factions, who were by no means willing to unite, or to blot out the remembrance of their original difference, but maintained perpetual contests or party quarrels, he took the same methods with them as is used to incorporate hard and solid bodies, which while entire will not mix at all, but when reduced to powder unite with ease. To attain his purpose he divided, as I said, the whole multitude into small bodies, who, gaining new distinctions, lost by degrees the great and original one in consequence of their being thus broken into so many parts. This distribution was made according to the several arts or trades of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers and potters. He collected the other artificers also into companies, who had their respective halls, courts and religious ceremonies peculiar to each society. By these means he first took away the distinction of Sabines and Romans, subjects of Tatius and subjects of Romulus, both name and thing, the very separation into parts mixing and incorporating the whole together." Here, undoubtedly were the associations or companies of craftsmen. They had for each society their separate halls, or meeting places. They probably met and discussed matters pertaining to their several arts and trades. But was not their organization detrimental to all the principles of craft guilds. They did not "combine to win," but were "divided" that they might be more easily governed. It may be possible, however, that in the division of the people into companies according to their several arts and trades, King Numa "built better than he knew." The artisans may have been taught that "in unity there is strength." There is evidence that these associations grew in numbers and strength, as the successor of

Numa, Tullius Hostilius, thought it necessary to issue an edict to suppress them. This attempt to extinguish them, however, only increased their numbers. Their organization was once more encouraged by Servius Tullius and they were again suppressed by the proud Tarquin.

Under the Republic they made rapid progress. They became the protecting bulwarks of the various trades, and kept a vigilant watch over the rights of their members. After the substitution of slave for free labor, and the invasion of the Republic by Greek artisans, which caused great competition, this protection became very difficult, and the associations gradually lost all their influence until the Romans began to acquire foreign territory, into which they always endeavored to introduce Roman customs. They sent large numbers of artisans with the armies of invasion. They organized their associations, and in due time their membership became enormous. With their growing strength they undertook to engage in the political affairs of the nation. This tendency greatly offended the aristocratic element, which in the year B. C. 67, succeeded in obtaining a decree abolishing the guilds. Only those were allowed to exist which were absolutely necessary to the state. Under the early Cæsars, the government continued to make war upon them. Later they were incorporated, and spread all over the empire. Trajan desired to destroy them, but the guilds had become so powerful that he hesitated. Under Constantine the Great, there were more than thirty guilds in Rome. Their privileges were multiplied and confirmed under Theodosius and Justinian. The Christian religion found them among the laboring classes of the Eastern and Western empire, and infused into them its active spirit of charity. In A. D. 354, Valentinian confirmed the privileges already obtained, and each trade became a separate guild, whose members could embrace no other calling. The guilds were empowered to accept donations, and inherit the property of intestate members. Theodoric the Great found some guilds in Constantinople when he conquered the place. They seemed to please the old warrior, who was not in sympathy with the aristocracy. It is unfortunate that history does not furnish a more complete and reliable account of the character, objects and power of the ancient Roman guilds. It is only another illustration of that historical despotism which ignores the really vital elements of history. The men who tear down, burn, and destroy, are honored with a high place on the pedestal of fame. The unselfish, uncomplaining silent worker, he who builds both history and fame, receives barely the unconscious esteem of his contemporaries.

The progress from the guild to the municipal corporation can be readily

traced in England, but in Germany the two are co-existent almost from time immemorial. All through the middle ages the Dutch and Flemish guilds exercised a preponderating influence. In Germany the immunities enjoyed by the craft guilds under the Roman dominion, were nearly swept away by feudalism. The condition of the workman was almost one of serfage up to the time of the Emperor, Henry I. (919 to 936). The clerical monks at that time began to engage in various trades and exercised considerable influence. They endeavored to prohibit the masons of Lombardy from constructing the convents, and other religious institutions. The result was an obstinate struggle by the guilds against the clerical workmen, and the serfs and bondmen employed by the aristocracy and nobility. The monks did not succeed in preventing the guilds from obtaining employment on religious structures.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, many craft guilds were found in Italy. They became so powerful that the heads of their organizations controlled the government. In Piedmont, some charter guilds date from the year 707. The Records of Ravenna mention a guild of fishermen in 943, and a guild of butchers in 1001. In Southern Gaul, from time immemorial, the municipalities had their guilds, which formed the great bodies of free citizens.

Foremost among all the craftsmen, from the tenth to the fourteenth century, were the weavers. They formed a kind of a great middle class between the aristocracy and the bond craftsmen. Other crafts worked to supply mere local demands. The products of the loom found markets in the most distant countries. This naturally invested them with greater importance. They were distinguished above all others by their wealth, self-respect and sense of freedom. Their unions enjoyed, from the beginning, the greatest independence.

We find the weavers' guilds of Mayence in 1099, and of Worms in 1114. The weavers' guilds of London and Oxford, chartered by Henry I., of England. The weavers' guild of Cologne, 1149, "formed a fraternity with the consent of the judges, sheriffs, and aldermen," and thenceforth all who wished to carry on the trade within the town were obliged to join the fraternity and submit to its rules. The records show, however, that the union of these crafts existed at Cologne long before 1149, and that its rights were merely confirmed that year. At Frankfort-on-the-Main also wool-weaving ranked first among the crafts. In Flanders and Brabant, the first manufacturing countries of the middle ages, the influence of the wool-weavers' guild was most prominent. In the reign of Henry II., of England, weavers' guilds, confirmed by the

king, existed at Nottingham, York, Huntington, Lincoln and Winchester. It is probable that, among the stubborn weavers of Flanders and Brabant, the first exclusively crafts guilds of the middle ages originated. Prior to that, the guilds of ancient Gaul and Germany, while composed, to a large extent, of craftsmen, included in their membership also traders or merchants.

After the weavers' guilds came the butchers of Augsburg in 1104, and of Paris in 1134; the fishermen's guild of Worms in 1106; the shoemakers' of Magdeburg in 1157. In 1162 there were five craft guilds in Halle—the shoemakers, bakers, butchers, smiths, and doublet-weavers. In 1180 there were fifteen craft guilds in London. In the thirteenth century they spread rapidly over all the countries of Europe. They appear in great numbers, as the traces of bondage disappear. When obtaining their charters, they were frequently put under obligation to pay certain taxes. In proportion to the degree of independence obtained, were these taxes greater or smaller.

The existence of the craft guilds was developed, by the want of protection of the free craftsmen from the abuse of the lords, who tried to reduce the free to the level of the bondman, and by taxes and otherwise to encroach on the freeman's earnings. The guilds provided for the maintenance of the customs of the craft, framed ordinances for its regulation, saw these ordinances properly executed, and punished the brethren who infringed them. The maintenance of their independence against the city authorities, and the possibility of carrying out and making efficient their trade rules, depended on the condition that all who carried on the craft should belong to the guild. Thus, though the craft guilds as voluntary societies did not need confirmation by the authorities at their birth, yet this confirmation became afterward of the greatest importance, when they desired to be recognized as special and independent associations, which were thenceforth to regulate the trade. The transfer of all trade concerns, from the authorities of the towns to the management of the craft guilds, was accomplished by a confirmation of their ordinance that every one carrying on a craft within a town or a certain district should join and belong to the guild.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the craft and trade or merchant guilds, which until that time had worked together in comparative harmony, began a divergence of their mutual relations. In the early period of the middle ages it was common for the same person to act both as craftsman and merchant or tradesman. Those who produced the articles of the forge and loom purchased their own material, and

when their productions were completed, sold them directly to the consumer. There were but few middlemen. As trade and manufactories increased, the small trader developed into the extensive merchant, and, as his riches increased, he grew arrogant and selfish. Instead of manufacturing their own wares, as had been done almost from time immemorial, the merchants would deal only in the manufactures of others. With the assistance of the craftsmen, with whom they had almost always acted in concert, they had secured privileges which had developed into monopolies. They now undertook to exercise these monopolistic privileges against their former associates and co-workers. Their wealth enabled them to purchase the assistance of the king and the constituted authorities. They began a separation of their members, craftsmen were no longer admitted into the merchant guilds. Those that were members were gradually weeded out. An active warfare was begun, not to suppress, but to subdue the craft guilds. This contest was carried on all over Europe. It continued for more than a hundred and fifty years. It was the craft guilds against the merchant guilds and the government.

Germany was the scene of some of the fiercest struggles. The craft guilds had grown powerful both in England and Germany. In 1254 for the first time in history, two master of the guilds, a furrier named Henry, and a ropemaker named Arnold, were selected as members of the town council of Leipsic. In 1272 was organized the first baker's guild of Berlin. In 1280 came the furrier's guild. In 1284 was organized the shoemaker's guild, which is still in existence, and two years ago celebrated its 600th anniversary. In 1285 the tailor's guild was organized, and in 1295 the woolen-weaver's guild. Magdeburg the scene of some of the fiercest struggles, also witnessed some of the most glorious victories of the crafts. In 1330 they secured several seats in the town council, and exercised an immense influence in municipal affairs; but the very next year, the aristocracy, jealous of their power, robbed them of their recently secured privileges, and, with the assistance of the government, put all the masters to the flame. While the guilds were thus annihilated and their leaders burned alive, the determined spirit of the artisan masses still lived, and after years of cruel oppression and hardship, they again secured their rights in spite of the persistent and united opposition of the aristocracy. The influence of their victory was not confined alone to Magdeburg. Brunswick procured many concessions. Zurich admitted several masters of the guilds to her town council, after the place had passed through a terrible and bloody conflict. In 1368 and 1372 members of the guilds held seats in the city councils of Aix-

la-Chapelle, Cologne, Mayence and Dortmund. With this great change in the external condition, there occurred also a marked change in the organization and life of the guilds. The struggle lasted from 1330 to 1390, and was commonly considered a war between the aristocracy and the artisans.

In the meantime the craft guilds of England were also undergoing a severe struggle for existence. The citizens of the towns or members of the merchant guilds, showed themselves everywhere extremely jealous of the influence that the crafts were exerting in their midst. They therefore strenuously opposed the establishment of craft guilds. The Norman kings, ready to make the most of these clashing interests virtually, put up at auction the confirmation or suppression of the guilds. The contest of the weavers in the city of London furnishes a striking example of the struggle. They had obtained from Henry I. the privilege "that nobody should introduce himself into their mystery, in the city or in Southwark, or in other places belonging to London, except by becoming a member of their guild." This exemption from the jurisdiction of the city excited the jealousy of the citizens to such a degree, that the weavers had to maintain a most violent struggle for their privileges and their property. King John promised the citizens "that the guild of weavers shall not henceforth be in the city of London, neither shall be at all maintained," but as the guild had been in the habit of paying eighteen marks the citizens "shall pay twenty marks as a gift." The attempted suppression was, however, as ineffectual in England as it had been in Belgium and Germany.

For the complete independence of the craft guilds it was indispensable that they should be permitted to freely elect wardens for regulating their trade and managing their guild. This privilege had never been denied them in England. In Germany and France the right was restricted, depending entirely upon the degree of independence enjoyed by the craft at the time of the recognition of the guild. Some of the guilds possessed absolute independence in this particular. Others, that sprang from companies of bondmen, had their warden appointed for them by the bishop. In Paris, in the thirteenth century, the provost appointed and deposed at pleasure the wardens of the different guilds. Later free election became the rule in France, but Charles IV. deprived the craftsmen of this privilege, and Charles VI., in 1408, actually appointed one of his valets to the wardenship of the "barbers' guild." In the thirteenth century it had become the almost universal rule to permit the guilds to elect their own wardens. During the contest between the

artisans and patricians the guilds had to submit to the appointment of their wardens by the latter. With the triumph of the craft guilds, however, this was changed. In the reign of Edward III. the guilds appear in the full possession of mastery. The privileges which they had until then exercised only on sufferance were now confirmed to them by charter. The authorities of the city of London, who had in former times contended against the craft guilds, now found it advisable to approve their statutes. They were so popular that Edward III. actually became a member of one of them, the linen armourers, and his example found numerous imitators amongst his successors and the nobility of the kingdom.

Political power did not everywhere remain in the hands of the craft guilds, but they everywhere maintained independent jurisdiction over their trades. The fundamental principle of their trade policy, "to live freely and independently on small capital and labor" prevailed. This was clearly shown by the statute passed during the reign of Edward III., which provides "that all artificers and people of mysteries shall each choose his own mystery before next candlemas, and that having so chosen it he shall henceforth use no other." This was a legal recognition of the trade policy of the craftsmen. They insisted that provision should be made to enable one, with small capital and his labor, to earn his daily bread in his trade, freely and independently. This was in direct opposition to the cry of the rich for "freedom of trade" which meant freedom to purchase and hold from the market all vendible articles, until by their scarcity the selling price would be advanced manifold and they could realize enormous profits. The principle of "cornering" the market for the necessities of life is not new. It was actually practiced by the rich merchants at this time. Complaints were made to the king that "great mischiefs had newly arisen as well to the king as the great men and commons, from the merchants called grocers, who engrossed all manner of merchandise vendible, and who suddenly raised the prices of such merchandise within the realm, putting to sale by covin and by ordinances made amongst themselves, in their own society, which they call the 'Fraternity and Gild of Merchants' such merchandises as were most dear, and keeping in store the others until time of dearth and scarcity." It was in response to this complaint that the act above recited confining artificers and traders to their own particular trade or calling was passed. This principle became prevalent among all the craft guilds of Europe and was emphasized and formulated with special clearness by the Emperor Sigismund in his "Secular Reformation" in 1434.

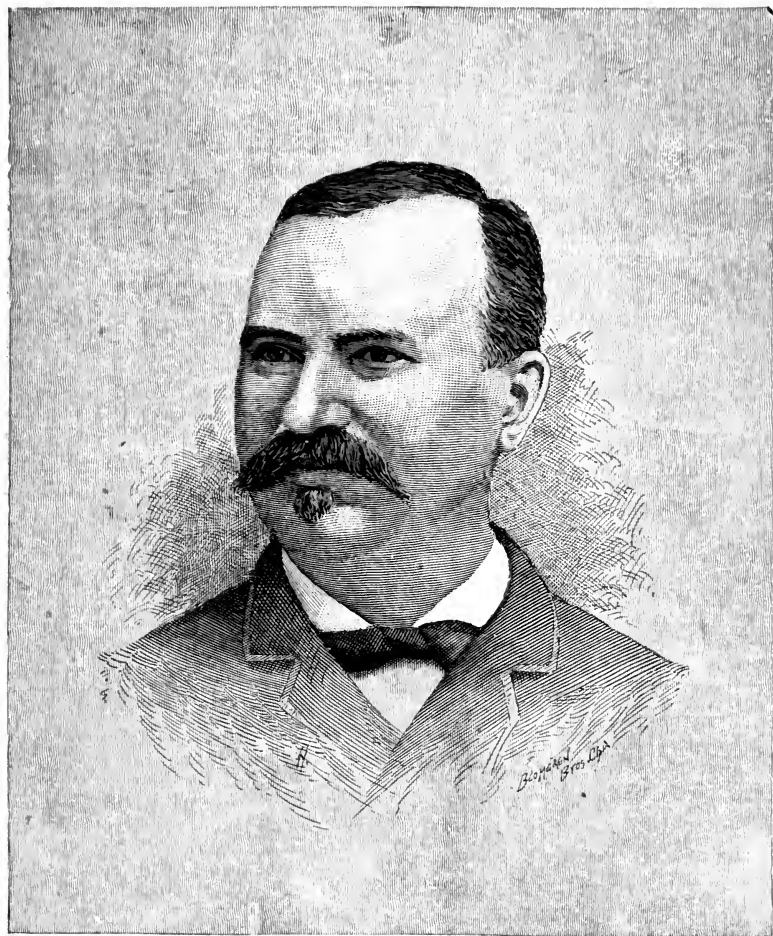
In the fourteenth century the craft guilds of Europe may be said to have attained the height of their prosperity. But the privileges they had won by their mighty contests with the aristocracy were not destined to continue long in their possession. Supremacy weakened instead of strengthening them. When fighting the common enemy there was universal cohesion among the crafts. When victory perched upon their banners, disintegration began. Many causes may be, and have been, assigned for the loss of the liberties they had gained. Internal dissensions may have assisted in their downfall. Their lack of appreciation for the necessity of their existence may have tended to their gradual decline. Numbers may have made them unwieldy and difficult to govern. Their desire to accomplish too much may have prevented them from accomplishing anything. But over all, and above all other causes the corrupting influence of money and power led to their final disintegration and gradual decline. The liberties that might have been were pawned for the slavery that was to be. The aristocracy snatched from the hands of the people the priceless boon of political freedom. Inordinate greed conquered moderate apathy, and from this time forward for three centuries, the story of the laboring classes is one of sad oppression. The ruling classes never forgave them. Every opportunity was seized to crush the spirit of independence.

In the first stage of their growth, the constitution of the craft guilds was but the perfect expression of the wants that called them forth, and the tasks they had to perform. Excluded from the fraternities of the "Firth guilds," the predecessors of the merchant guilds, the free craftsmen first, and later the bond-men, organized the craft guilds. Their object was brotherly relations and to render to their members mutual assistance. In their early inception this assistance concerned the protection of life, limbs and property. As civilization advanced, the necessity for this protection ceased, in a large measure, to exist. The objects of the guilds then changed so as to secure their members, in the independent, unimpaired and regular earning of their daily bread by means of their craft. As these guilds came to be legally recognized and brought into the state organism as special associations for the regulation of their trade, their quality as a police authority was added to the element common to all guilds. The strength of these guilds was their weekly, monthly, or quarterly meetings, which were held with certain ceremonies intended to add to their solemnity. The box containing the charter of the guild, the statutes, the money and other valuable articles was opened, and all present had to uncover their heads.

Their officers were elected, except in cases mentioned, where they were appointed by the bishops, king, or town authorities. A member who declined to serve when elected was subjected to a fine. The wardens summoned and presided at the meetings, and with their consent enacted ordinances for the regulation of the craft. They saw these ordinances properly executed, and watched over the maintenance of the customs of the craft. They had a right to examine all manufactures, and to search for all unlawful tools and products. With the assistance of a quorum of the guild brothers, they formed the highest authority in all concerns of the guild. No guild member could be arraigned on account of trade matters before any other judge. The severity and justice of the wardens were proverbial. Their courts were held with special forms and solemnities. The wardens were brought every year before the mayor, and sworn to "faithfully execute their offices." The punishments decreed for slight offenses were the payment of fines. Serious offenses, such as perjury, persistent disobedience, or theft, were punished by expulsion. Expulsion was accompanied by the loss of the right to carry on the craft. For the enforcement of the payment of the entrance fee and dues, they took away the tools of the debtors, sold them, and paid themselves out of the proceeds. This process of compelling the payment of dues is the *rattening* so much talked of in connection with the Sheffield trades-unions, and has existed from the time of Edward II. It called forth much pharisaical indignation from the press of the united employers a few years ago. It is simply the right of distraint of the creditor against the debtor. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was legally utilized to enforce the payment of dues, while the trades-unions of the nineteenth century in the absence of such legal right, enforced payment by seizing and hiding the tools.

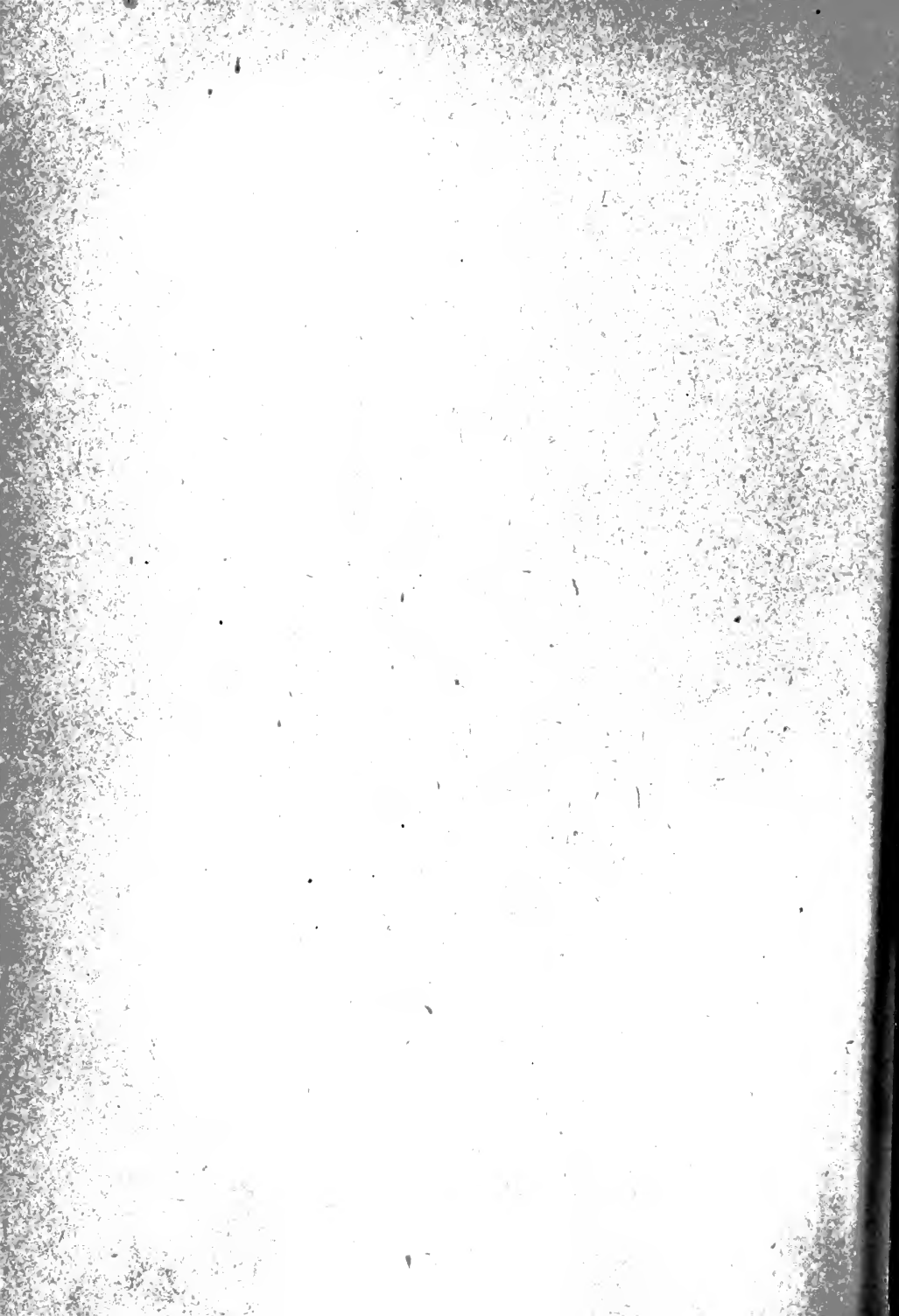
In their incipency and early history there were no monopolistic tendencies in the craft guilds. Their laws provided that all persons carrying on the business of the craft should be members of the guild, but no one honorably carrying on the business of the craft was debarred from membership. It was not until the period of degeneration that the membership of the craft guilds became exclusive.

The income of the craft guilds originally was derived from a small entrance fee to pay the current expenses, and assessments which were levied for special purposes, such as the death or impoverishment of a member from any cause. Later, regular periodical assessments were levied to create permanent funds for the benefit of sick or disabled members.



Adolph Strasser.

President Cigar Makers' International Union.



The rules laid down by the guilds for government of the members had reference to securing a good quality of work, and also provided for the temporal and eternal welfare of the members. No one who had not proved himself a proper workman could be a guild member. All were required to have served a regular apprenticeship. The duration of this apprenticeship differed in the various trades and countries. In England it lasted seven years; in France from three to four, and sometimes six years; in Germany from two to four years.

No one was admitted to any trade, even the lowest, whose moral conduct and honor were not stainless. The admission of an apprentice was an act of special solemnity. It was the beginning of a novitiate to citizenship. The ceremony took place in the town hall in the presence of the town authorities, or in a solemn meeting of the craft guild. The apprentice was especially instructed in his duties, both as to the trade and as to his moral conduct. On this occasion the indenture was drawn up which contained the conditions under which the apprentice was placed with the master. By his admission the apprentice became a member of the family of his master, who not only instructed him in his trade, but, like a father, was bound to watch over his morals as well as his work during the apprenticeship. At the expiration of his time the apprentice was received into the guild with special forms and ceremonies.

Proper tools and well adapted processes of manufacture were also concerns of the guild. No member was allowed to possess tools "unless the same were testified to be good and honest." Minute details as to the method of working were contained in the statutes. The mixing of inferior with better material and the selling of patched up articles for new were stringently prohibited. To protect the public against the spoiling of materials entrusted to members of the guild for manufacture, it was provided that members should, when called upon, assist the guild brother who did not know how to go on with his work.

It was provided that "no one shall work longer than from the beginning of the day until curfew" nor "at night by candlelight." This was nominally to insure good workmanship, but doubtless, in reality, to procure leisure for the guild brethren to fulfill their domestic duties, and to prevent the collective body from being forced into competition with over-zealous or greedy members. An ordinance forbidding work on Saturday afternoon was common to all countries. It had its origin in the customs of the Roman church to solemnize the eve of festivals and Sundays by religious services.

No member was allowed to entice away a guild brother's customers.

Regulations were made as to prices for different commodities. No member was permitted to work for one who was indebted to any member of the guild. Any member who became poor "from adventures on the sea, the advanced price of merchandise, or by borrowing and pledging, or by any other misfortune," might claim relief from the fraternity's funds. No member was to work with non-members. A member was always allowed to employ his wife and children and maid in his work. The entire household of a guild brother belonged to the guild.

Statutes were made forbidding guild brothers to appear before a court of justice against each other in disputes about debt and other matters until the entire transaction had first been examined by the guild wardens and every compromise proved impossible. Also to prevent insults and ill usage among the members, and to control their domestic conduct. Morality and concord were assured by stringent regulations; illegitimate children could not become apprentices. Known immorality was sufficient cause for expulsion. Each guild had its patron saint. Crispin and Crispinian were the patrons of the shoemakers; St. Joseph of the carpenters, etc.

CHAPTER III.—DECLINE OF THE CRAFT GUILDS.

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD—THE BLACK DEATH—ITS EFFECT ON LABOR—PROCLAMATION OF EDWARD III.—THE PROFITS OF THE LANDOWNERS—THE FREEMASONS—IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN WORKMEN—THE HOURS OF LABOR—FIRMNESS OF THE GUILDS OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES—CONFEDERATIONS—SEPARATION OF THE GUILDS—THE PROSPERITY OF THE WORKMAN—TRANSFORMATION OF GUILDS INTO EXCLUSIVE SOCIETIES—STRIKES—THE FIRST EFFORT TO STAMP OUT INDEPENDENCE—WORKINGMEN FORBIDDEN TO COMBINE—BRANDING THOSE WHO REFUSED TO WORK AT STATUTE PRICES—THE CONSPIRACY STATUTE OF EDWARD I.—THEIR CONSTRUCTION BY THE ENGLISH JUDICIARY—CONDITION OF WORKINGMEN IN GERMANY AND FRANCE—DIVISION OF GUILD MEMBERS INTO CLASSES—THE TRAVELING ARTISAN—STATUTE OF APPRENTICES—COÖPERATION.

THE twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries constitute a transitional period in the history of the European workman. It was a transformation from slavery to the wage system. From the moment that free labor entered the field, trade organizations appeared almost spontaneously in all trades, and they comprised nearly all the laborers of the period. Organization became the order of the day. No man could work at a trade who was not a member of the union. The guild had absolute command over the entire body of operatives. When the weavers of Augsburg struck, not a man who could toss a shuttle was available throughout Germany. The masters might send to the shores of the Baltic, to Bohemia, to the confines of Holland but could not procure a man to sit at their looms. They were compelled to come to terms with their workmen—there was no help for it.

At the end of the year 1347 what is known in history as the black plague attacked Europe, devastating and depopulating every European country. The mortality was appalling. Sixty thousand persons are said to have perished in Norwich, between January and July, 1349. It is probable that one-third of the entire population of England perished. No doubt the ravages of the pestilence were more severe among the poorer classes, but the rich did not escape. The "Black Death" forms an epoch in European history. The immediate effect of this horrible pestilence on the working classes was a dearth of labor, an excessive enhancement of wages, and a serious difficulty in harvesting the crops, which

are said to have been especially luxuriant and prolific. The few workmen left would only work for enormous wages. Produce was suffered to rot in the field. Cattle and sheep roamed at large over the country for lack of herdsmen. Much land went out of cultivation, utterly impoverishing the owners. Rents were remitted to the tenant farmers to induce them to remain and cultivate the land. The few surviving serfs that remained in England were almost emancipated. The lords were quite willing to accept a money rent instead of a stipulated amount of labor, as had been the rule. The laborers were the masters of the situation, and wages, according to all previous experience, were excessive. The clergy even raised their fees for masses and prayers. Edward III. issued a proclamation, circulated among the sheriffs of the counties, in which he directed that no higher than the customary wages should be paid, under penalty of a fine. The mandate had little or no effect. Many laborers were thrown into imprisonment for disobedience. Many fled to avoid punishment. Those who were captured were compelled to swear that in the future they would exact no more than the customary wages. All expedients, however, were in vain. Labor continued scarce. Parliament met and the proclamation of the king was enacted into a statute which provided: 1. No person under sixty years of age, whether serf or free, should decline to undertake farm labor at the wages which had been customary in the king's twentieth year (1347), except they lived by merchandise, were regularly engaged in some mechanical craft, were possessed of private means or were occupants of land. The lord was to have the first claim to the labor of his serfs, and those who declined to work for him were to be sent to the common jail. 2. Imprisonment was decreed against all persons who might quit service before the time which was fixed in their agreement. 3. No other than the old wages were to be given, and the remedy against those who endeavored to get more was to be sought in the lord's court. 4. Lord's of the manors, paying more than the customary amount, were to be liable to treble damages. 5. Artificers were to be liable to the same conditions, the artificers enumerated being saddlers, tanners, farriers, shoemakers, tailors, smiths, carpenters, masons, tilers, plasterers, carters, and others. 6. Food must be sold at reasonable prices. 7. Alms were strictly forbidden to able-bodied laborers. 8. Any excess of wages taken or paid could be seized for the king's use.

These statutes, reënacted from time to time with accumulated penalties, remained in force until the latter part of the sixteenth century. The effect was to cause a combination on the part of the peasants to

resist their provisions. The lords found it impossible to enforce the law, and while there was some pretense of submission it was wilfully and openly violated and evaded. The laborer, if he did not receive his full demands in wages, was compensated in some other way. In spite of all the efforts of the land-owners, a great rise in the wages of labor was effected. We have the statement of Mr. Thorold Rogers, however, that the average net profit, after deducting all charges, and an average allowance for rent from agricultural operations in the year 1332-3 to the lord who occupied his own land, was fully twenty per cent on the capital invested.

The general advance in farm labor for the next fifty years ranged from fifty to sixty per cent, most of which was the direct result of combination. The artisan class was not less favorably affected, the advance in their wages during the same period averaging fully fifty per cent. In some trades, notably the masons, it was sixty per cent. To the masons' superior organization, probably the noblest of all the guilds of the middle ages, is doubtless due the greater portion of this increase. This brotherhood arose from the circumstances in which the traveling builders of the middle ages found themselves. "They were brought together from distant homes to be employed for a considerable time on such great works as our mediæval churches and cathedrals. Near the rising structure, on which they were engaged, it was necessary that they should provide for themselves a common shed or tabernacle." This was the original masons' "lodge." Before all things it was necessary that masons should be "free and accepted." The entrance into all guilds of the middle ages was surrounded by mysterious rites and ceremonies. They each had their peculiar lore and traditions.

One of the great questions even now, between master and workman, concerns the right of the former to import foreign workmen and so keep down the price of native labor. It is interesting to trace the progress of this question during the middle ages. In Germany it was customary for the mechanic to travel all over his own country and even over Europe, in search of work and experience, wherever these could be found. The reverse was true in England. English artisans seldom left the town in which they were born. They maintained a jealous suspicion of foreigners. The revolt of the London apprentices is familiar to all readers of English history. In 1517, on the eve of May day, they arose against the foreigners who had come to the city for the purpose, as they said, of taking away the profits of English industry. The result was not very disastrous to either side. What might have ended in a great tragedy

culminated in almost a farce. In 1586 another conspiracy was formed in London to massacre the foreigners, but the plot was discovered and the ringleaders were sent to Newgate.

The question of the number of hours that should constitute a day's labor was also met and disposed of by the artisans of this period. And it is a singular fact that 600 years ago, during the ascendancy of the craft guilds of England and Germany, artisans worked on an average during the year not more than forty-five hours in the week. The working-day was ushered in and closed by the ringing of the church bell and lasted from sunrise to sunset, with three hours for meals. It was sought also to reduce the number of working-days in the week from six to five—and at a very early date Monday was conceded as a holiday except when a festival or holiday should occur on a week day of the same week.

The craft guilds in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were bound together more firmly than at any other period. Whoever would support himself by his trade must enter the association of that trade and submit without appeal to all its laws. As there was no salvation without the church, so was there no working at a trade outside the guild. All the family of a member were received into the union and subjected to its laws. Whatever concerned a member touched the body and affected the whole trade. "An injury to one was the concern of all." Whoever transgressed a law of the union paid the penalty—a money fine or exclusion for a longer or shorter period from the privileges of the guild. During such excommunication no workman dared follow his trade. Offenses against morals were punished as well as infringements against trade regulations. The whole life of the member was placed under the supervision of the guild which was armed with the power of fining, imprisoning and confiscation to an almost unlimited extent. This bond of discipline was common to all trades, even to those specially composed of women, as the guilds of midwives and seamstresses.

The guilds of the several towns were confederated. The masters assembled at certain times in a parliament and determined upon the laws that should be enforced in their confederation. There is a record of meetings in 1457 and 1484 of the tailors of the upper Rhine at Spire, in which the guilds from twenty towns were represented. In the sixteenth century the bakers of a number of towns met at Hildesheim, and, according to an old chronicler, "ate up on that occasion all the calves in the town."

The larger trades extended their unions throughout Germany. At their diets laws were passed for a fixed period of eight or ten years. These

laws regulated everything that concerned the trade, and especially the manner in which wages were to be paid, the proportion in which they should stand to the net receipts, and the treatment of the artisans and apprentices. A master who made an arrangement with the workman different from the rules prescribed by the guild was fined. If he repeated the offence he was expelled. A workman who would not accept the wages agreed to was obliged to leave, and no other master dare give him work. No employer dare deduct on any account any portion of his employé's wages.

In the early period of their existence, as has been said, the guilds comprised both masters and workmen. When the masters began to grow rich, however, they endeavored to introduce a principle of exclusiveness in the guilds and to exert a tyrannic sway over the members. Thereupon the men organized, and the masters were met face to face with a union which sought to, and did for a time, escape from their subjection. The relations became rapidly inverted. The union of the workmen became as powerful as the old trade guilds, and exercised exclusive control over its members. The questions of wages and of the duration of a day's labor having been settled, disputes arose as to the amount of work performed by different individuals of the same craft. Piecework was then introduced and the masters paid only for work done. This system encouraged application and technical skill, but it was found to be detrimental to the quality of the work. It was also found to be impossible in numerous trades. Many artisans declared it was injurious to the quality of the work and gave an advantage to the unscrupulous workman. As the quality declined, the price of goods went down, and honest workmen suffered for the dishonesty of others. The workmen finally abolished the system. The tailors of Basle in the fifteenth century refused to continue piece-work, and the guilds forbade it peremptorily.

The prosperity of the laboring classes in England during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought on events that seriously alarmed the privileged classes. The emancipation of the serfs proceeded rapidly. Mr. Thorold Rogers, writing on the fourteenth century, says: "In the many thousands of bailiff's and manor-rolls which I have read, I have never met with a single instance of the sale of a serf." This shows conclusively that at that time serfdom was almost a thing of the past. The improved condition of the serfs created amongst them an independence that was almost phenomenal. Sir Robert Sale, Captain-General of Norwich in 1381, was born a serf, as was also Grosëtê the great Oxford scholar of the thirteenth century.

The serf became possessed of property and was enfranchised. He could recover wages due him from his employer by distraint. It began to be perceived that laborers worked not alone for themselves, but to enable others to live without labor. They began to realize that they were oppressed by a privileged class whom accident, fraud or force had placed in a superior social position. In their quasi-independent position they began to listen, to think, and to combine. They awaited the signal to strike, and when it was given they did strike. That strike is known in history as Wat Tyler's Rebellion. It was the uprising of the peasants against the poll-tax, led in Essex by a thresher called Jack Straw, and in Kent by a ditcher known as Walter, the Tyler. The former accomplished nothing, but the latter rallied a vast mob, marched upon London, destroyed the palace of the Duke of Lancaster, killed the High Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and succeeded by violence in wringing from Richard II. charters allowing the laboring class a few cardinal rights. The peasants demanded "the abolition of slavery for themselves and their children forever, reasonable rent, and the privilege of buying and selling like other men in all fairs and markets." Although these charters were soon revoked, and the concession of the king proven insincere, good was accomplished in showing the temper of the populace and inspiring a wholesome awe of the peasant.

When the transformation of the craft guilds into exclusive societies began in the fourteenth century, petty rivalries and hateful egotisms took the place of the great idea of association and combination, under which the unions had grown up and flourished. The richer craftsmen withdrew from their poorer brethren into separate guilds. The shoemakers left the cobblers; the tanners left the shoemakers. Disputes arose concerning what belonged to the several trades. The crafts followed their own advantage only to the public detriment. After the great plague, when the villeins rushed from the country into the city to take up trades, the old guild members became jealous of the newcomers, and thus there arose two separate classes, whose interests, though really identical, were apparently antagonistic. Under the pretense of making rules to regulate the relations of the workmen to the masters, oppressive statutes were adopted by the guilds. It was provided "that if any serving-man shall conduct himself in any other manner than properly toward his master, or shall act rebelliously toward him, no one of the trade shall set him to work until he shall have made amends before the mayor and aldermen, and before them such misprision shall be redressed." In the case of the tailors of Vienna, the rule was adopted

that "no workman shall be allowed to leave his master fourteen days before a festival;" that is, at a time when there would be the greatest demand for work. Some of the statutes made it a requisite of mastership that every one should have worked as a journeyman for a certain number of years. Some beneficent regulations in favor of the workmen were made. For instance, it was provided: "If any serving man of said trade who has behaved himself well and loyally toward his masters whom he has served, shall fall sick, or be unable to help or maintain himself, he shall be found by the good folks of said trade until he shall have recovered and be able to help and maintain himself."

Accounts of strikes in the building trades in the latter part of the fourteenth century are numerous, and are explained by the peculiar circumstances of this trade. There was great similarity in their institutions to the unions of the present day. There were fewer persons who carried on the trade on their own account, and a greater number of dependent workmen, than in other trades. An ordinance had been passed by the guilds, providing that, whereas, in disputes between the master and workmen, the latter had availed themselves of strikes to procure satisfaction, it was, therefore, "ordained that from henceforth, if there be any disputes moved between any master and his man in the said trade, such disputes shall be settled by the warden of the trade." If the workman did not submit to the warden, he was "to be punished by the mayor and aldermen at their discretion." If the workmen could have had any part in the selection of the warden, which it appears they did not at the time this ordinance was passed, this would have been a reasonable and satisfactory method of averting strikes. As it was, the statute gave great offense, led to innumerable troubles, and assisted the growing spirit of antagonism between masters and men.

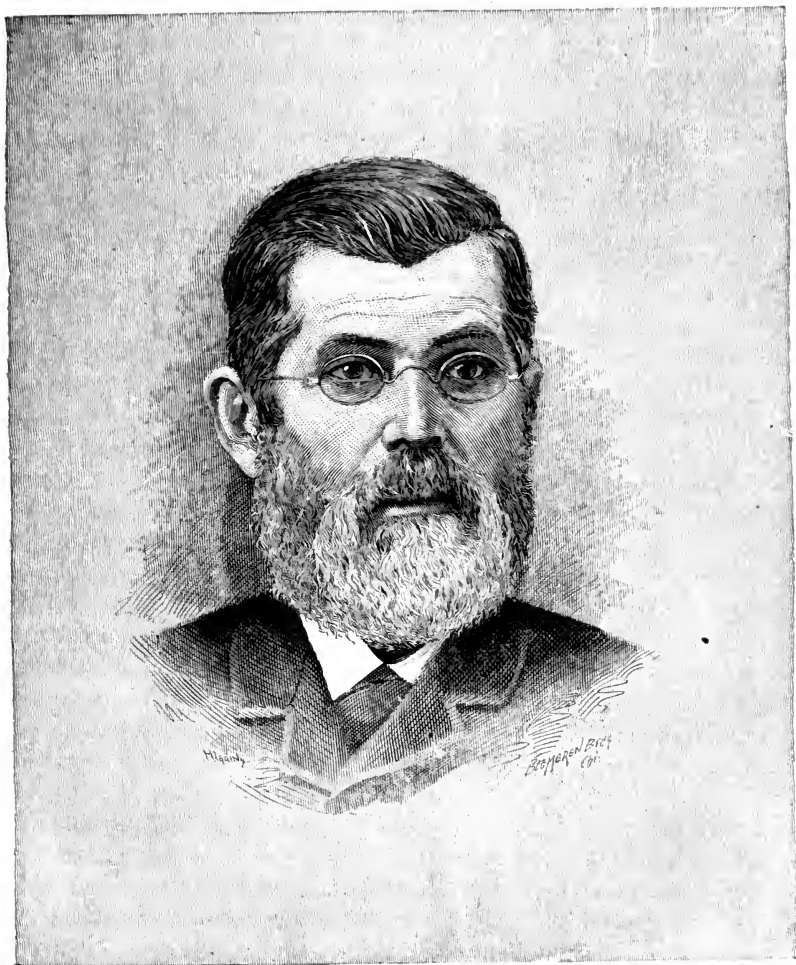
The rise of a class of journeymen with special interests and views necessitated an organization. Accordingly, we meet with special fraternities of journeymen in the building trades formed on the model of the craft-guilds. The "Compagnennage" of France, which originated about this time, and continued to exist for centuries, was an association of journeymen in the building trades. The statutes of these unions refer to common divine service at stated times, to common meals, to burials, to support and nursing of the sick, to entrance fees, contributions, etc., and provides that every journeyman in the town must belong to the union.

The relation between the employer and the employed in the building trades was direct. As a rule the owner himself conducted the work,

engaging both the masters and the workmen, the position of the masters being similar to that of foreman of the present time. Work was seldom let by contract. The men worked but eight hours a day. Doubtless it was to the direct relations existing between the employer and employé of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the high remuneration of the artisan was due. The owner, as a rule, supplied the plans; if not, the master mason and the master carpenter could draw their own plans. The employer bought all the raw material direct from the manufacturer and placed it ready for use on the spot. Under this system there was doubtless a great saving in the cost of a structure. There was, also, much better workmanship, and the relations between the employer and the employed were much more satisfactory than under the present system of letting by contract.

Under the favorable auspices, subsequent to the great plague, the wealth of the masters increased, and as, in their arrogance, they prohibited the workman from joining the guilds to which they belonged, or placed abject conditions on his membership, the laboring classes formed unions among themselves. This independent move frightened the masters. They feared that the workmen would "abuse their privilege, and use the unions as a means for raising wages." From this began that "conspiracy concocted by the law and carried out by parties interested in its success, to cheat the English workman of his wages; to tie him to the soil; to deprive him of hope, and to degrade him to irremediable poverty." This conspiracy extended over the European continent. Palliatives were used from time to time, as they were found to be absolutely necessary to mitigate some of the burdens of the workingman, but every opportunity was taken to weld more firmly the chains of slavery by which he was enthralled. "For more than two centuries and a half the English law, and those who administered the law, were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping out every expression or act which indicated any organized discontent, and of multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural rights."

The first effort to stamp out the independence of the workingman in England took form in the infamous statutes of Edward III., just after the black plague, to which we have already referred. These laws, however, owing to the union which existed among the working classes of that period, could be safely, and were almost totally disregarded. In 1363 the prosperity of the peasantry was so great, on account of the continued rise in wages for the previous dozen years, that it was thought



Wm. M. Danks.

General Secretary Improved Glass Blowers' League.



necessary to restrain them, and an act was passed enjoining carters, plowmen and farm servants generally not to eat or drink "excessively," nor to wear any cloth except "blanket and russet wool of twelvenpence." Domestic servants were declared to be entitled to only one meal a day of flesh and fish, and were to content themselves at other meals with "milk, butter, cheese, and such other victuals." In 1383 a proclamation was issued in London forbidding all congregations, "coonis and conspiracies of workmen." In 1387 three journeymen cordwainers undertook to organize a union, with a charter to be obtained for them from the Pope. They were arrested and carried off to Newgate before their plan could be carried out. In 1396 the saddlers' journeymen's union, which had existed for thirteen years, was suppressed by the city authorities, because "the masters were of the opinion that this fraternity might be made the means of raising wages." The same fate befell the brotherhood of tailors in 1415. As a substitute for these attempts at independent action the city authorities always decreed "that the serving-men in the trade aforesaid should, in the future, be under the governance and rule of the masters of such trade, the same as serving-men in other trades in the city are wont and of right bound to be." The city authorities found it necessary, on this occasion, to reproach the wardens of the tailors' guild "that societies existed among the workmen, though those workmen were subject to the warden's control." An effort was made to put all the workmen under the control of the wardens, or guildmasters, and it was enacted by the leather sellers "that from henceforth no one shall set any man, child, or woman to work in the same trade if such person be not a bound apprentice and enrolled in the trade." The enrolling in the trade meant that they must join the masters' guild and subject themselves to his jurisdiction.

In the reign of Edward VI. an act was passed to brand with the letter "V" and reduce to slavery any one who should refuse to work at statute prices. If he attempted to escape from that condition he was branded with the letter "S" and made a slave for life. If he objected to that condition he was hanged. The laws against combination were also made more stringent during this reign, and it was enacted that "whereas, artificers, handicraftsmen and laborers had made confederacies and promises, and had sworn mutual oaths, not only that they should not meddle with one another's work and perform and finish what another had begun, but also to constitute and appoint how much they shall do in a day, and what hours they shall work, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, and the great impoverishment of his majesty's

subjects." Any one convicted the third time of having joined such a combination should have his ears cut off. This act was confirmed during the reign of Charles II., and remained in force until it was finally repealed at the beginning of the present century. For 250 years, among other definitions of conspiracy of the law, in text books of England was "combinations of workmen to raise wages." The laws of conspiracy enacted at the beginning of the fourteenth century, during the reign of Edward I., provided, "conspirators, be they that do confeder or bind themselves by oath, covenant or other alliance, that every of them shall aid the other falsely and maliciously to indict, or cause to indict, or falsely to move or maintain pleas, and also such as cause children within age to appeal men of felony, where they are imprisoned and sore grieved, and such as retain men in the country with liveries or fees to maintain their malicious enterprises, and this extendeth as well to the takers as to the givers." The offense aimed at by this statute is a conspiracy to indict or maintain suits and pleas falsely. And it is this statute that for 250 years was construed to embrace "combinations of workmen to raise wages." At the close of the eighteenth century the judges who were supposed to be "learned in the law" became ashamed of longer fathering such an apparent misconstruction, and the legislative department was called upon to help them out of their difficulty. They did so by passing an act of parliament providing all contracts except between "master and man" for obtaining advance of wages, altering the time of working or decreasing the quantity of work and the like, to be illegal. Workmen who entered such illegal combinations were punishable by imprisonment, and a similar punishment was inflicted on those who entered into a combination to procure an advance of wages, or sought to prevent other workmen from hiring themselves, or procuring them to quit their employment. Meetings and combinations for effecting such purposes were punishable in a like manner, and offenders who informed against their associates were to be indemnified. This act was passed when wheat was selling at from ten to fifteen shillings a bushel. The English judiciary after the repeal of the combination act, in 1824, discovered that the common law against combinations was still in force, and several persons were prosecuted, convicted and punished under its provisions. We also find recorded several prosecutions and convictions under this so-called "common law of conspiracy" in the United States in the early part of the present century.

In Germany in the sixteenth century we find the government of the guilds entirely transferred to the rich masters. In the laws of the em-

pire, however, we meet frequent ordinances intended to restrain the abuses of the craft guildsmen, and especially to prevent the exclusion of whole classes of persons from the guilds on account of pretended intamy of birth. On the admission to the craft guilds, it was demanded that real proofs of nobility should be furnished at the examination. Enactments were made by the individual German states against the heavy expenses that were required on the admission of apprentices. As the apprenticeship only lasted from two to four years, the journeyman was laid under obligation to travel for five years after completing his apprenticeship. The making of a masterpiece of work before admission to the independent exercise of a craft was also insisted upon. Moreover in spite of the ordinances of individual states to the contrary, the most luxurious inaugural dinners were required. All these restrictions could have but one purpose, to make the society exclusive. The sons of masters only, in England as well as in Germany, were exempt from these provisions.

In France, also, after the middle of the fifteenth century, the craft guilds extended the same exemptions to the sons of the masters. They became so exclusive that in 1614 the "third estate" demanded the suppression of these guilds.

The overbearing spirit of the old craft guilds is everywhere apparent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It became common to require from an apprentice an oath that when his apprenticeship was ended he would not carry on his trade on his own account without the consent of the master. Large sums of money were exacted for purchasing the freedom of the guilds. The price exacted by the guild for binding an apprentice at length became so exorbitant that only the rich could afford to pay it. It increased from £10 to £20, £40, £60, £100, and finally, in 1720, £800 was demanded by the guildmasters for the freedom of the guilds.

In the sixteenth century the guildmembers in England were divided into three classes: The livery companies, to which only the rich masters were admitted; the householders to which the rest of the masters belonged; and the journeymen, who were called freemen, or yeomen, or bachelors. Instead of the meetings as formerly, in which all the guild associates took part in the enactment of the laws, there was now a "court of assistants" who made the laws and governed the guilds. The king appointed the first members of the court for life, and as these withdrew or died their places were filled by the remaining members of the court from the masters or wardens of the livery companies. Many protests

were made against these arbitrary measures, but without avail. The possession of wealth was the only opportunity for a workman to rise to the dignity of a master. The old craft guilds of England had become mere corporations for the investment of money. Their dividends were entirely dependent on the exclusion of competition.

It may be wondered why the workmen did not arise in their might and overthrow the arrogant craft guilds as the craft guilds themselves had overthrown the merchant guilds. Although they were only nominally members of the aristocratic institution, the artisans hoped that they would be able in time to reform them, and did not therefore consider their abolition necessary. The character of government had also changed. After the sixteenth century every European nation had what might be called a "strong central government." It became, therefore, a much more difficult task for the working people to accomplish anything by force. As for any assistance they might expect from the State, this was obviated by the guilds themselves, which resorting to tactics similar to those adopted by the corporations of today, succeeded in controlling the judiciary and legislature, as well as the executive department of government.

In Germany, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is interesting to note the formation of special fraternities, which have a striking resemblance to the modern trades-unions. An inn was established in each town for the accommodation of wandering journeymen. The host was called father, the housewife mother, the daughters and maid-servants sisters, the sons and men-servants brothers. To call them otherwise was an offense punishable by fine. In this inn the workman could find lodging for a penny, and procure a meal for two and half pennies. The fraternity of each town was governed by the whole body which met twice a month for that purpose. The members contributed a small amount at every meeting. They received support in illness, for which they were compelled to reimburse when they recovered. In the event of death they were buried at the expense of the fraternity, and the funeral of a journeyman was attended by all the members. They had regulations for promoting orderly conduct and good morals. No one was allowed to go about the streets except in decent clothes. Insults and calumnies were punished by fines. Every guild and journeymen kept a blacklist in which the names of those who had offended against the order were inscribed. No member in good standing would work with one whose name was contained amongst the reviled or blacklisted. This blacklisting was the most severe punishment that could be inflicted,

Strikes were not *infrequent. When a master infringed the trade customs of the journeymen or attempted, with the assistance of the town authorities, to coerce them by any oppressive measures, the men would quit work and write to the journeymen of other towns warning them to keep away until the dispute was adjusted. The most famous strike in Germany occurred at Augsburg, in 1726. Disputes seldom arose about wages, but generally on account of the infringement of privileges or innovation in the trade customs.

In those days there were no large manufactories with hundreds of workmen, but there were a host of masters, each of whom took a fixed number of apprentices. The rattle of the loom sounded from every house. In the middle ages the workmen were under the master, but they were not doomed to be under subjection all their lives. After a few years they obtained their freedom and became masters themselves. The apprentice system was an important element in the early craft guilds. Every master was bound to train his apprentice to become eventually independent. In accordance with this rule the apprentice received a thorough training in all the details of his craft, and acquired not only a technical knowledge and skill, but was given also an insight into all that pertained to the commercial part of the business. He was informed as to the cost of the raw material, the expense of working it up, and the net profits in the business. If the master failed to thus acquaint the apprentice with all the mysteries of the trade, he was punished by the guild. Knowing exactly the economy of the business, the apprentice and journeymen knew what wages it would afford. Under this system difficulties about wages were less likely to arise than under the system that now prevails.

The statute of apprentices passed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth provided, that no person could lawfully exercise, either as master or journeyman, any art, mystery, or manual occupation, except he has been brought up therein, at least, seven years as an apprentice; that whoever employed three apprentices must employ one journeyman, and for each apprentice above three one journeyman; that no person could employ a servant for less than one year, and that no servant should leave his master or be discharged by him without three month's warning; that the hours of work shall be twelve in summer and for the whole period of daylight in winter; that wages should be fixed annually by the town magistrates, who should also settle all disputes between the masters and apprentices. No one could be bound as apprentice except he was under twenty-one years of age. Town ordinances supplemented these laws by

prohibiting masters who had not served seven years from bringing their wares to market. This statute was in force practically for about 150 years, but was not repealed until 1809. It was considered by the employers, not without reason, that its repeal would cause a rush of able-bodied men into the trades, and thereby cause a decline in the rate of wages. To the abolition of the apprentice system may be justly attributed the inferior workmanship in all departments of manufacture.

Coöperation was introduced by several of the guilds from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The receipts of the week were thrown into a box, this was unlocked on Sunday and the contents divided according to a pre-arranged plan. There is, however, no evidence of any remarkably successful attainments in this line. The recent attempts to introduce this principle have been much more successful.

The utility of the craft guilds passed away in England in the sixteenth century. In Germany they maintained a feverish existence for perhaps a hundred years longer. They had lost their acquired character and had become merely benevolent clubs.

In France the craft guilds, having degenerated into corporations, were swept away by the sovereign people on the night of the 4th of August, 1789. In Germany they suffered death by piecemeal, and the last remnants were destroyed by the North German industrial code of 1869. In England all that remains of the ancient craft guilds are the so-called livery companies.

CHAPTER IV.—ENGLISH TRADES-UNIONS.

THE JUSTICES REFUSE TO ENFORCE THE LAW—ADOPTION OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM—LAW PROHIBITING COMBINATIONS OF WORKMEN TO RAISE WAGES—UNION OF THE WOOLEN WEAVERS—THE SHIPWRIGHTS—THE FRAMEWORK KNITTERS—INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY—THE CUTLERS OF SHEFFIELD—THE SILK WEAVERS—SKILLED LABOR SUPPLANTED BY MACHINERY—INDUSTRIAL DISORGANIZATION—REPEAL OF THE COMBINATION ACT—PEACEFUL PROGRESS—BEGINNING OF STRIKES—THE COTTON-SPINNERS—THE NEWTON ENGINEERS—MOVEMENT FOR ABOLITION OF OVERTIME—COMMENCEMENT OF AMALGAMATION—THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS—LOCKOUT IN THE BUILDING TRADES—THE SHEFFIELD OUTRAGES—“COMBINATIONS IN RESTRAINT OF TRADE—THE TRADES CONGRESS—ITS MAGNIFICENT WORK—MISTAKES OF TRADES-UNIONS—THE OBJECT OF TRADES-UNIONS—WHAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED—TRADES-UNIONS OF WOMEN—THE GROWTH OF TRADES-UNIONS—STRIKES.

THE motive which induced the English workmen to combine into trades-unions at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the same that created the craft guilds at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Under the law known as the “5th Elizabeth, c. 4” no one could exercise either as master or journeyman any art, mystery, or manual occupation, unless he had been brought up therein seven years at least, as an apprentice. As long as the provisions of this statute were maintained the position of the workmen was secure, as it assured them what they desired above everything, regularity of employment. This act also contained a provision for the assessment of wages by the justices. In 1756 the workmen employed in the woolen manufactories petitioned the justices to fix the rate of wages in compliance with the law. The masters had made a counter petition, and the justices refused to act. The weavers struck, and the masters were compelled to yield to their demands. The justices were then directed by law to settle yearly the rate of wages in the woolen trade. The manufacturers, who, until this time, had had their work done at the homes of the masters, began to adopt the factory system. In 1806, at Armley, a manufacturing village of 4,000 or 5,000 inhabitants, there were more than 100 apprentices bound for seven years. Each master employed, on an average, ten journeymen and apprentices, besides being assisted by his wife and children. Sometimes the journey-

men worked at their own homes, and were assisted by their wives. Under this system there was great stability and regularity of employment. As a rule, journeymen were hired for a year, and, when single, boarded with the master, receiving board and washing and from £8 to £10 a year as wages. The introduction of machinery changed the entire system. Factories were erected on streams where suitable power could be procured. The various processes of manufacture, which had heretofore been chiefly performed by hand under the master's own roof, were now executed by machinery at the public mills. These changes led to a great transformation in the position of the journeymen. Apprentices were no longer bound by indenture, although at first, as a matter of custom, they still served their seven years. Gradually the masters began to violate the law by employing those who had served no apprenticeship, and large numbers of women and children. The children were employed at a very early age—much earlier than would have been possible without machinery. The number of employés who had served no apprenticeship increased more and more. The trustees of the Cloth Hall of Leeds, Bradford and other towns repealed the ordinance which required that all cloth exposed for sale should be manufactured by masters who had served a seven years' apprenticeship. Wages, which formerly had been settled yearly, now began to change with every fluctuation. The opulent cloth merchants "made it a rule to have one-third more men than they could employ, and these had to stand idle part of the time." When the factories were first erected the manufacturers enticed the workmen with high wages to leave the small domestic masters. Fluctuation in prices soon brought lower wages. The position of the domestic masters changed also. They were unable to compete with machinery, and gradually sank to the level of the journeymen, whom they supported in their resistance to the change.

The statute of George III. prohibiting combinations of workmen was passed in 1800. The tradesmen or domestic masters however, formed a society whose object was to enforce the apprentice laws against the manufacturers who used machines. After several convictions the manufacturers petitioned parliament for a repeal of the statute. On these petitions the laws were in 1803 suspended for one year for the woolen manufacturers, and all prosecutions under them were stopped. This suspension was renewed in 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807 and 1808, and in 1809 the laws were repealed. Notwithstanding the severe prohibition of the combination of workmen under the statute of 1800, they combined under the cloak of "friendly societies." An organization was formed in 1803 to which all

journeymen belonged, and contributions to which were received also from members of other trades yet unorganized. The chief object of this organization was to carry out the regulations as to apprentices, and to provide for the assistance of the sick, and the care of widows of deceased members. The moneys were collected in the name of the sick or the widows in order to evade the law prohibiting combinations for raising wages. Twice a year a committee of thirteen was elected to manage the affairs of the union. Seven formed a quorum. Fines were imposed for not accepting office when chosen. Domestic masters were also members of the union, but when the members undertook to assist striking workmen the masters left it. When the master manufacturers heard that the union, was organized to petition parliament to maintain the apprentice and other laws of the "5th Elizabeth," they ordered their men to leave it. The men refused and were discharged. The manufacturers then formed a combination to suppress the union. The workmen presented a united front and in some places forced the owners of mills who worked for others on hire to join their institution, and prevented them from working for the hostile manufacturers. Finally the manufacturers signed a contract agreeing to employ no more workmen contrary to the apprentice law of "5th Elizabeth."

In 1805, when the trustees of the cloth halls agreed to take up the petitions for the maintenance of the apprentice statute, the union dissolved and turned over its funds to the trustees. The committee of the house of commons appointed to investigate the questions at issue between the workmen and the manufacturers, were not favorable to the former. They recommended the maintenance of the laws prohibiting the export of raw materials, machinery and skilled workmen to foreign countries, and the combination of journeymen. They also advised the repeal of the apprentice law. From this time on combinations among the workmen in the woolen trade became chronic.

The shipwrights of Liverpool had formed a union during the eighteenth century, nominally as a benefit society but really to oppose and check the employment of apprentices. Earlier than either union was that of the hatters, called the "congress." The apprentice's statute had been confirmed for this trade by several statutes after the Fifth Elizabeth. During the eighteenth century a system had prevailed of carrying on this industry by means of sub-contractors, or "sweaters." These received their material from the manufacturers, and in working it up used only apprentice labor. This custom led to a combination of the journeymen, and a vigorous trade society was organized in 1772. When the employ-

ers undertook to give the work to the "sweaters" the journeymen struck and forced them to take it back. The masters then petitioned parliament for the repeal of the legal restrictions as to apprentices for their trade and the prohibition of the combination of journeymen. Both petitions were granted.

The industry of framework, or hosiery knitting, had not been established when the apprentice statute of the fifth Elizabeth was passed. In 1663 Charles II. granted a charter to an incorporation of "several persons by the name of master warden, assistants and society, of the art and mystery of framework knitters of the cities of London and Westminster, the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, forever, with power to exercise their jurisdiction throughout England and Wales, and, from time to time, to make by-laws for the regulation of the said business of framework-knitting, and to punish persons who should offend against such by-laws." By Section 33 of the charter, the master was directed "to enforce the statute of the 5th Elizabeth, c. 4, or any other statute, as respects apprentices and the occupations of the trade."

As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century the masters and wardens of the company began to employ apprentices in unlimited numbers, often in the proportion of ten or more apprentices to one journeyman. One master is mentioned as having employed twenty-five apprentices to one journeyman. In addition to getting the work of the apprentices for nothing, the masters were paid £5 for every boy taken from the work-house. After the expiration of apprenticeship the workman fell into the deepest misery. They could not obtain employment anywhere. In 1710 they appealed to the company to carry out the regulation of the charter with regard to apprentices and the company refused. The consequence of this refusal was a riot in which the workmen destroyed one hundred frames, threw them out of the windows and thrashed the masters and the opposing apprentices. The frightened masters thereupon made the concessions demanded and agreed to observe for the future the provisions of the charter with regard to apprentices. The market was so overstocked with journeymen, however, that the manifestations of dissatisfaction continued. In 1727 an act was passed prohibiting, under penalty of death, the destruction of frames.

May 22, 1745, the company ordained, and the Lord Chancellor confirmed new by-laws reënacting the old restrictions in regard to apprentices. They also provided that persons not in the trade might purchase the frames from the company and let them out on hire. This is the first

introduction of purely capitalistic employers. The trade gradually left London and went to Nottingham. The company sent deputies to that town to look after their interests and to enforce the apprenticeship laws. The manufacturers there, who had purchased the frames, declined to recognize the company. They employed all classes, including women and children. The company threatened to enforce the law of apprenticeship and were met with a reference to their own action in 1710. The workmen hailed with joy the action of the company, which asked the assistance of the men, promised to re-establish the apprenticeship law, and declared itself the true friend of the workman. The manufacturers petitioned parliament and accused the company of endeavoring to ruin the trade by monopoly. Parliament came to the assistance of the manufacturers, and henceforth the company ceased to exercise any influence in the trade.

When all hope of relief by the exercise of the franchises of the company was gone, the workmen formed a trade-union. Thence arose the Stocking-makers' Association for Mutual Protection. It soon became a power in Nottingham and influenced the elections for Parliament. The workmen, however, were completely abandoned to the discretion of the employers, and much misery ensued. In 1778 they petitioned Parliament for a legal regulation of the rate of wages. The masters made a counter-petition and a committee was appointed to investigate. They found the condition of the workmen deplorable. They were unable to maintain themselves and their families after paying the frame rent. The committee reported in favor of the petition of the workmen, but Parliament refused to enact the necessary laws. Thereupon the masters undertook to reduce the prices paid for work, twenty-five per cent, and a strike was the result.

On the second of February, 1779, the frameknitters again petitioned parliament and another committee was appointed. During the past twenty years wages had been steadily reduced, while the price of food had constantly risen. Workmen were barely able to earn six shillings weekly. A frame costing from £6 to £8 rented at from one to two shillings per week, or at the rate of eighty-six per cent of its value per annum. The workmen were obliged to hire the frames or go without work. The rent must be paid whether he worked or not. Many of the employers stinted the workmen on material so that they could not manufacture more than so much per week. In this way they employed a larger force and rented more machines. The workmen, said the report, were in a state of starvation. They were compelled to submit to any

condition of their employers. Those workmen who had signed the petitions of the preceding year had been discharged.

On the reception of this report a bill was introduced for the avowed purpose of correcting the evils. Leave was given to report the bill with only one dissenting voice; but before it could finally be heard the employers presented a counter-petition and the measure was eventually defeated.

The rejection of the bill caused great excitement throughout the districts where the industry was carried on. The workmen assembled *en masse*, broke the frames of those masters who had been instrumental in defeating the bill, and burned a house belonging to the employers. Public opinion in this trouble was on the side of the workmen. The masters finally promised to redress the grievances of the knitters, and peace was restored.

During the next thirty years the construction of machinery grew rapidly. The system of renting the stocking frames became fully established, and the rents increased. The cost of the frames bore so small a proportion to the income from rents, that many persons embarked in the business. Apprentices were everywhere used to the exclusion of journeymen. The knitting districts were in a constant state of turmoil. In their distress, the workmen once more sought the good offices of the chartered London company. The company attempted to give them some relief and undertook to prosecute one of the masters for violation of the law. The man was convicted and fined one shilling, and all hope for any legal redress was at an end. In 1872 Parliament again passed an act inflicting the death penalty on any one convicted of destroying frames. This act only remained in force two years. In 1814 the workmen in all the branches of the trade formed a union which still exists.

The workmen in nearly all the prominent trades of England passed through the same bitter experience as the woolen and stocking weavers. The cutlers of Sheffield organized a union in 1791 under the name of the "Scissors-smiths' Benefit Society." Although a trade society, it was compelled to organize under a Friendly Society Act to evade the workmen's combination law.

The calico printers had been fairly well organized for several years, and had a system of traveling cards on presentation of which a wandering journeyman was entitled to relief from his brethren of the craft. In Scotland each workman contributed a penny, and in England a half-penny to the destitute journeyman bearing the society's card. In 1802

they presented a petition to parliament, and as there was great hope of their grievances being redressed, they agreed and did cease their combinations and relied entirely upon the law for protection from the oppression of the masters. The committee appointed by the House made a favorable report and warmly recommended measures for relief. The report dwelt at length upon the fact that the previous legislation, nominally in favor of the workmen, "had operated only in favor of the strong against the weak." "Everything," it said, "was made subservient to the interest of the masters, and exclusively, too; for the diminution of expense, considerable as it is to the manufacturers, arising out of their multiplication of apprentices at reduced wages, and the introduction of machinery did not appear to have produced any reduction whatever in the price of the fabric to the consumer." Mr. Sheridan brought in a bill in accordance with this report. Among other things, he proposed to lessen the number of apprentices. Parliament, at the instigation of Sir Robert Peel who opposed it, refused the bill a second reading. On the rejection of the measure the workmen reorganized their union which remained intact until 1831, when it was supplemented by the Trades Society of the Apprentices of Calico Printing.

The silk weavers had organized a society late in the eighteenth century and had maintained their union through all the vicissitudes of trade. In 1813 they had a membership of eighty-three and had £5, 8s. 11½*d.* in the treasury. In 1817 they issued a circular calling on their members for contributions to replenish the exchequer, which had been exhausted in sustaining some of the brethren, who had evidently been on a strike, as the circular says: "Within the last nine months upwards of fifty persons by means of the trade society have obtained the lawful process for their work, which was withheld from them by the masters. The expenses of obtaining which, with other things, have borne so heavy upon your finances that you are embarrassed to a very large amount."

In 1814 the masters combined and petitioned parliament to repeal the statute of Fifth Elizabeth. They claimed that the seven years apprenticeship restricted the number of workmen and thereby enabled them to combine against their employers, and that the persons most competent to form regulations with respect to trade were the master manufacturers. The workmen presented counter-petitions, but in the end the arguments of the masters prevailed and the statute was repealed. The victory of the 2,000 as against the 300,000 was complete; the statute was repealed.

The state of industrial disorganization was now complete. Parliamentary reports ascribe to the immediate effects of the repeal, the growth

of the system of "sweaters" and the great increase in the number of half-pay apprentices. "The journeymen were driven to famine and the female workers to prostitution."

William Pitt had said in Parliament in discussing the Arbitration Act some years before: "The time will come when manufactures will have been so long established, and the operatives not having any other business to flee to, that it will be in the power of any one man in the town to reduce wages, and all the other manufactures must follow. If it ever does arrive at this pitch Parliament, if it be not then sitting, ought to be called together, and if it can not redress your grievances its power is at an end." So long as the workmen had hope for a legal redress of their grievances, they continued to petition parliament. Now all hope of assistance from that source was gone, and they tried self-help. Combinations and unions arose in all trades. The workmen were refused legal protection; self-help was considered a crime. The Combination Act was still the law. In 1818 workmen accused of combination were required to give bail in £200 each for their appearance at the sessions. Workmen were in no humor to reason on the principles of political economy. They were starving. To their eyes the new machinery and the repeal of the apprentice laws cut off every hope. The combination laws, by confounding right and wrong, led men to regard with less aversion things really vicious. The workmen in their despair did not shrink from deeds of the greatest violence, and the most infamous crimes. They formed the strongest and most secret combinations ever known in England. For three years the havoc they perpetrated in the destruction of machinery and otherwise was terrific. Enormous powers were granted to magistrates, to the military and the police. Thirty of the ringleaders were executed. The Luddite rising, as this disaffection was called, was intensified by the fact that while the workmen were starving, the manufacturers were hoarding. Green says: "The war enriched the landowner, the capitalist, the manufacturer, the farmer, but it impoverished the poor." Everywhere the combination laws were rigorously enforced. The truck system was universal. The workman was paid at long intervals. His hours of toil were generally sixteen out of every twenty-four. The application of steam to the processes of manufacture, followed by the patents of Arkwright, Peel and others, completely annihilated the domestic system of manufactures.

In 1824 the Combination Act was repealed. Combinations of workmen "for improving wages and reducing the hours of labor," were rendered legal, and from that time dates the rise of trades-unions.

Workmen were no longer compelled to evade the law by organizing as "friendly societies," or to hold their meetings secretly. The workman was not indeed entirely free to find the best market for his labor, for the law of "parochial settlement" remained. But membership in a trades-union ceased to be a crime, although the organizations were not yet under the protection of the law. In 1825, the masters demanded a new inquiry into the question of the combination law. The act of the previous year was repealed and a new enactment substituted. The workmen protested, but in vain. The new act, however, gave considerable power to the workmen. It permitted them to combine, and nearly all the former prohibitory statutes were repealed. A period of comparatively peaceful progress followed. Under the new law the unions grew and extended, and their actions became less violent. The act of 1825 was condemned only on account of reviving the old common law doctrine of conspiracy, which the act of 1824 suspended. During the first eight years after the passage of the act numerous unions were formed, and those previously established were extended. Members of trades-unions began to act as freemen. They combined in such numbers that their strength gave them courage. They founded benevolent institutions amongst themselves, and funds were created for resistance if strikes should occur, or to assist the brethren who were out of work. A system of yearly congresses or meetings of the different organized trades was also inaugurated.

In 1834 occurred the prosecution and conviction of six Dorsetshire laborers for conspiracy. This event caused a great sensation. These men were sentenced to transportation for seven years. A great mass-meeting was held in Copenhagen fields to protest against their conviction. A procession nearly seven miles long proceeded to the residence of Lord Melbourne, to present a petition for their release. Public opinion demanded that they should be pardoned, and the pardon was granted, but several of the men were not informed of it until they had served a number of years in the far-off penal settlement.

In 1845, a movement was made to effect a federation of trades. The movement received strong support but was not wholly successful. It received a great impetus from the conviction of Selby and others in 1847, and the twenty-one masons in 1848. In both cases the indictment was for conspiracy and greatly irritated the workingmen. Other prosecutions a few years later, particularly that of Drury and others, at Sheffield, influenced the workmen in favor of federation. The strikes of the Newton engineers in 1847, the razor grinders at Sheffield in 1848,

and the tinplate-workers of Wolverhampton, in 1851, in each of which cases prosecutions were instituted for conspiracy, greatly assisted in molding public opinion against the misconstruction of the conspiracy laws. The total cost for defending the men prosecuted in these cases was more than \$38,000, all of which was borne by the unions. The lockout of the engineers in 1852, the Preston strike in 1853, the Wolverhampton strike in 1855, all gave great prominence to the labor question and helped to popularize unions. One of the most important events in the history of trades-unions since the repeal of the combination laws of 1825, was the movement of the engineers for the abolition of overtime, in 1848-9. At that period the trades were divided into independent sections, each body having its own union. All the sections were favorable to the abolition of overtime. Having a common purpose, and having closely identified interests, it was ultimately decided to consolidate. This was effected in 1851 and the union thus formed became known as the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. This society included pattern makers, molders, smiths, fitters and turners, and every trade connected with the manufacture or direction of machinery. They made their organization not only a trade society but a huge benefit society as well. According to its thirty-third annual report it had, in 1883, 424 branches; the number of members was 50,418.

The central authority of the different branches is vested in a general committee, consisting of thirty-seven members, eleven of whom must represent metropolitan branches; the others being from the provinces, including Scotland and Ireland. This council hears appeals from branches, advises, forbids, inaugurates and terminates strikes. The general secretary receives a salary of £4 a week, he also receives 1s. 6d. for each council meeting he attends and is paid extra for any special journeys undertaken, or work done; he also gets his house rent free. His assistants receive £2 10s. a week and are required to give all their time to the association. They compile and issue monthly, quarterly and yearly reports. The hours of business are fixed at from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M. The secretary has the power to authorize members that are on donation to be removed from one branch to another where there is a likelihood of obtaining employment. In this society the usual contribution is 1s. a week from each member. The members receive assistance in case of accident, sickness, superannuation or death, and when unable to obtain employment. The income of the organization in 1883, was \$620,000 and the funds on hand amounted to \$866,845.31. The expenditures during the year, for strikes were \$39,292.10; sick benefits, \$133,575.69; acci-

dents, \$7,299.75; superannuation, \$138,675.78; funerals, \$41,949.43; grants, \$10,993.42; members out of work, \$153,143.88, or a total of nearly \$600,000.

This is an outline of the character and functions of nearly all English trades-unions. The principle of amalgamation, though not yet entirely universal, is rapidly approaching that state. Among the more important trades that have adopted it may be mentioned the carpenters and joiners, the boilermakers, the iron shipbuilders, the steam engine makers, the iron founders, the tailors, the railway employés, the miners, the agricultural laborers, the lace makers and many others.

A lockout in the building trades occurred in 1859, and continued during the following year. Many industrial and social movements originated with that lockout. The unions acquired public recognition such as they never had received before. Many leaders came to the front as social and political reformers, and have maintained their positions to the present time. The Reform League, for extending the franchise, was one of the results of the movement, as was also the formation of trades councils for general purposes. Beginning in London in 1861, they rapidly extended to the provinces. Now almost every provincial town has its trades council. The newly-acquired power of the unions was jealously watched by the employers. The rumored outrages in Sheffield and other places offered a favorable opportunity for attack, of which the enemies of trades-unions were not slow to avail themselves. Accusations of complicity in crime were indignantly repelled by the leaders, who met their accusers with demands for proof. It is true, outrages were perpetrated by some members of the unions, but they were, at all times, execrated by the great body of the workmen. "In order to compel men to join their unions and comply with the rules, a system had been adopted of taking away the tools and driving out bands of non-union or defaulting workmen." On application to the secretary of the union and compliance with the conditions required, the articles were always restored. Other means were adopted to enforce compliance with their demands, which the most ardent trades-unionist cannot but stigmatize with the utmost abhorrence. Masters and workmen who refused or failed to comply, were subjected to the most diabolical treatment. They were shot at, their ricks set on fire, their cattle destroyed, and, in one instance, a master was killed with an air-gun. A Royal Committee was appointed in 1865 to investigate these outrages by trades-unions. The inquiry was long and searching. A number of outrages were brought to light, and their perpetrators were unmasked and identified. Out of

sixty trades-unions then in existence, twelve were implicated. Of these it was shown that the greater proportion of the members knew nothing of the action of their officers, and that the offenses were committed by small local unions, which had always refused to federate with the trades councils. The final report of the commission was not unfavorable to the unions. Legislation was recommended, not to suppress the unions, as was vainly hoped by the employers, but to protect the property of employers.

Up to 1867 the trades-unions had no protection whatever for the funds they might accumulate. The judges decided that all combinations which were "in restraint of trade" were criminal. The Queen's Bench in 1867 confirmed the decisions of the magistrates that societies having rules enabling them to combine to raise wages could hold no property, not even for benevolent or charitable purposes. This decision created a great sensation. The London newspapers, which had always been on the side of the employers, declared that it was a death-blow to unionism. The members of the unions were greatly alarmed. A conference was convened by the "Workingmen's Association." There were present delegates from sixty-five London societies, twelve provincial trades councils and twenty-five provincial trade societies. A resolution was adopted as follows: "*Resolved*, That taking into consideration the late decision of the Court of Queen's Bench, in reference to trades-unions, depriving them of all legal recognition and of protection for their funds; further taking into consideration the benevolent purposes for which the bulk of such funds are subscribed, this meeting of trade delegates is of the opinion that it is the bounden duty of the legislature to enact such laws as will protect their funds, and thereby place the members of those societies on the same footing, in respect to their funds, as all other classes of her Majesty's subjects; and also bearing in mind the fact that the workings of these trades-unions are to be inquired into by a royal commission, and that legislation in respect to them may hereafter take place, we consider that a bill of the following nature will answer that purpose." The bill submitted embodied the following points: 'That the same protection should be given to the funds of trades-unions as was given to the funds of friendly societies; that their funds should be recoverable from defaulters in the same manner. A temporary act was passed in 1869 giving the relief asked for. This was followed by the Trades-Union Act of 1871, amended in 1876, and which is now satisfactory to the entire body of unions. The congress established in 1868 has continued to the present time. The committee during the past eighteen years has suc-

ceeded in having the Master and Servants Act repealed, abolishing the common law of conspiracy ; it has also had repealed the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871, which was intended to perpetuate the legal disability of members of trades-unions. It has carried an arbitration act, the employers' liability act, and many other useful measures. As a crowning honor to its intelligence and integrity, it has forced through parliament a law that adds 2,000,000 wage-workers to the voting population of Great Britain, thus making them citizens in fact, as well as in name. Trades-unions are no longer under the ban of the law. Their funds and property are fully protected. Their leaders are treated with becoming respect, and the unions have a recognized status in the country.

The first trades-union congress was held in 1857. It represented a considerable number of trades and of large and small unions. From 1868 sessions have been held every year. Their motives were to compel recognition by unity, of their demands for corrective legislation, and to bring about a consolidated effort to secure suffrage and other political reforms. In the beginning the latter aim was not made prominent, but after the agitation of 1867-68 it became of prime importance. The trades-union congress of 1879 passed a resolution in favor of a federation of all the trades in the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER V.—CONTINENTAL TRADES-UNIONS.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE GERMAN GUILDS AT THE CLOSE OF THE LAST CENTURY — THE INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY — THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 — AGITATION OF THE SOCIAL REFORMERS — FORMATION OF TRADES-UNIONS IN 1869 — TRADE REGULATIONS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE — THE EMPLOYERS' UNIONS OF GERMANY — COMBINATIONS IN FRANCE — REGULATIONS OF THE CODE NAPOLEON — THE PRESENT LAWS GOVERNING TRADES-UNIONS IN FRANCE — THE TRADE ORGANIZATIONS OF BELGIUM, HOLLAND, SWITZERLAND, DENMARK, AUSTRO-HUNGARY, SPAIN, ITALY, RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

THE suppression of the German guilds at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century was practically the abolition of all forms of labor organization in that kingdom. During the period of their existence, the masters were the aristocracy of labor, but under the ancient system it was possible for any workman to aspire and rise to the dignity of a master. After the abolition of the guilds and the introduction of machinery into nearly all classes of manufacture, the large manufacturers began to squeeze out the small masters just as they did in England. The domestic masters were gradually forced to become journeymen, or perhaps, foremen in the large factories. When the German Confederacy was formed in 1815, it was attempted to revive the stagnant industries that had become paralyzed by the Napoleonic wars, but the government failed to recognize the necessity of fostering skilled labor. No attempt was made to elevate the sunken handicrafts. It was not until 1847 that any movement was made looking to the organization of labor. The agitation was conducted chiefly by such social reformers as Engels, Marlo, Rodbertus, Lassalle, Karl Marx and others, who gave to socialism if not a firm scientific basis at least a theoretical position. No attempt was made to organize the workmen into societies representing distinctive trades.

It was not until 1869 that any effort was made to organize the German handicraftsmen into societies modeled upon the English trades-unions. This work was inaugurated by Max Hirsch, Franz Dunker and Schulze Delitzsch, who organized "The Unions of the German Workmen's Association." Their object was announced to be the protection of the working classes against their employers, and to aid and further the business of the small traders, through the medium of association.

Political discussions were strictly prohibited at the meetings of these associations. A number of their members belong to what is known as the Liberal and Progressive parties. The great bulk, however, are socialists. They aid and protect each other by providing for the sick, superannuated and disabled members from the common fund. The funeral expenses of deceased members are also paid. Members out of employment on account of lockouts or strikes are supported by the society. They compile labor statistics and establish intelligence bureaus for those seeking employment. The local or district organizations are subject to the control of a general council. No strikes can be inaugurated without the consent of the central body and without a previous attempt at a settlement. This association now has more than 400 local unions with a membership of many thousands.

There still exist some remnants of the old German trade guilds in all parts of Germany. Though formerly suppressed by the government they maintained their organization in secret. Since 1869 their existence and organization has been patronized and encouraged by the government and they have apparently begun to flourish again. They have very little resemblance to the modern trades-union. As a rule their membership consists principally of masters or employers. Workmen are permitted to join them, and, in fact, are encouraged both by the government and the masters to do so. But under the present condition of affairs there is little chance for social or other affiliation between them. The government of these guilds is generally in the hands of the masters.

Since 1869 the organization of unions of workingmen has made some progress. The effort to amalgamate the trades has not proven entirely successful, so that as yet the unions are mere local organizations. In Hamburg a majority of the trades are organized and have flourishing unions. They fix and regulate the rate of wages. All disputes are settled by the court of arbitration appointed by the government. The printers, shoemakers and tailors of Germany have also good organizations in nearly all the cities. And nearly all the trades have societies for mutual aid in case of sickness, disability or death. The restrictions placed upon the workmen's unions by the government have greatly retarded their growth. In no instance are they permitted in their meetings to discuss politics or governmental affairs. The government is somewhat afraid of workmen's clubs and watches them very closely. The least attempt to criticise the government or its officers by these clubs subjects them to suppression or heavy fines.

It is worthy of note that where the workmen of Germany have succeeded in organizing they have, in almost every instance, procured an advance in their wages, and while strikes have not been frequent their result has generally been in favor of the strikers. In Stettin in 1883 the building trades succeeded in getting an advance of twelve cents a day by striking. The potters followed the movement with the same success.

In France combinations of workmen for the purpose of influencing wages were prohibited with great severity by the penal code of 1810. This code also punished combinations of employers organized for the purpose of depressing labor. It declared that "whoever, by the aid of violence, blows, menace, or fraudulent manœuvres, shall bring about, or attempt to bring about, a cessation of work with the object of forcing a rise or fall in wages, or infringe the free exercise of industry, shall be punished by from six days to three years' imprisonment and a fine of from 16 to 3,000 francs, and that workmen, employers and contractors who by means of fines, prohibitions, restrictions or interdictions resulting from any concerted plan for infringing free exercise of labor shall be fined to the same extent and be imprisoned for from six days to three years." It is a fact worthy of note that this is the first law that recognized the equality of the employer and the employé by meting out to each the same punishment for the same offense.

Trades-unions did not have much influence in France until 1864 when "combinations free from violence or show of violence" were sanctioned. During the next few years the combinations of workmen spread rapidly. "There is scarcely a trade in France," said Mr. Ward, writing in 1868, "of which during the last three years the members have not combined for the purpose of increasing the rate of wages and diminishing the hours of labor, and their efforts to this end have usually met with success."

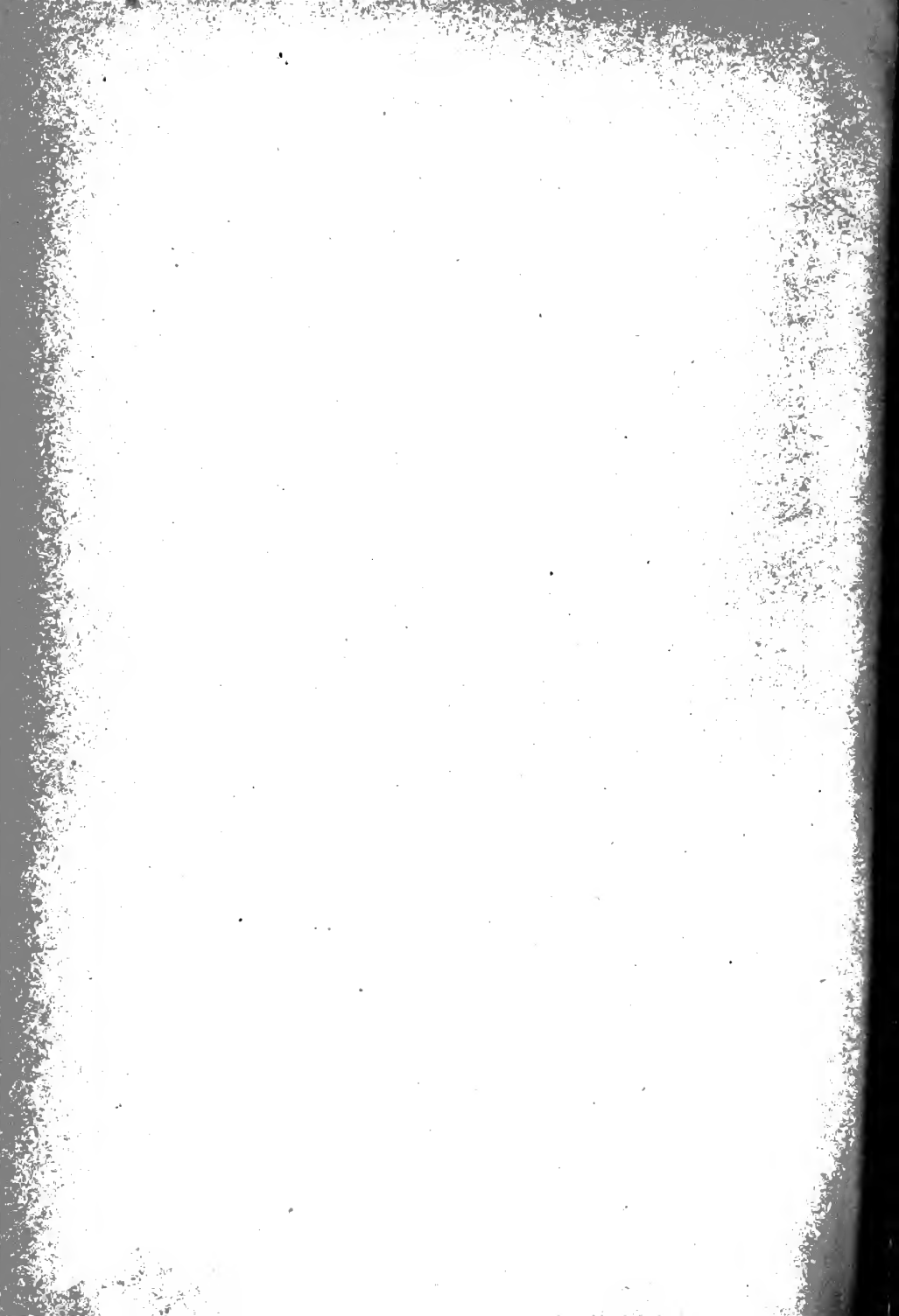
At the present time each trade in France is represented by its distinctive union, the object being the study and protection of industrial and economical interests, the welfare and advancement of members, and the regulation of wages. Each union selects a committee chosen from its most skillful workmen, which is known as the trades council. In all cases of dispute arising between employé and employer this trades council, with a like number of employers, forms a board of arbitration.

The remnants of the ancient craft guilds that survived the revolution have but little influence or effect either for good or evil. Some of them still maintain their organization, and have a master or director in



Frederick Turner.

General Treasurer of the Knights of Labor.



each province to whom mechanics may apply for employment, but they are rapidly disappearing, owing to the neglect of members.

Trades-unions are quite extensive in Belgium. Within the past few years they have begun to exert an influence commensurate with their organization. In many instances wages have been raised and the hours of labor reduced. Among the other labor organizations there are two assemblies of Knights of Labor, which are attached to the General Assembly of that order in the United States.

The cigar makers are well organized, having branches in all the large cities of the kingdom. In the city of Antwerp alone they number 2,000 members. This society forms a part of the International Union of Workmen, and among its other objects is political agitation, which has been exerted with considerable effect during the past few years. In the rules regulating their trade they prohibit a member from working in a shop where non-union men are employed. The prices for manufacture are fixed by the union, and must be agreed to by the employer. If a member is wronged by his employer he may leave his work and he will be supported by the union until he succeeds in getting other employment.

The diamond cutters of Antwerp have a powerful union called the Society of Mutual Assistance. It numbers 800 to 1,000 members. The ship carpenters are also well organized. The tailors have a society known as the "Cutters' Union." Some of the rules of this society will be of interest:

No member of this association may present himself for employment at any tailoring establishment where other members of the society are employed without first ascertaining whether, by so doing, he will prejudice their interests.

In the event of any member presenting himself as a candidate for employment otherwise than according to the rules of the society, he will be immediately expelled.

Any member having been out of employment one month or more may apply to the committee for assistance.

This application is submitted to and decided by the general assembly, and the committee may be empowered by it to advance a certain sum, as a loan, without interest for three months.

The entire loan must be returned within six months from the time of resuming work.

In cases of extreme urgency, however, the committee may act without waiting for a reference to the general conference. No member, however, can avail himself of this aid unless he has belonged to the society at least one year.

All members in search of fresh employment must enter on a register the exact day on which their present employment will cease, and they must acquaint the secretary or committee when they have obtained other employment.

Any member knowing of a suitable vacancy is required to acquaint the committee of its existence.

In order to obtain admission to the society the applicant must undergo an examination in tracing and cutting, before an examination committee composed of seven members.

There is also, we are told, a somewhat similar society existing in Brussels among the salesmen in the tailoring establishments.

All the principal trades of Belgium have similar organizations, and are rapidly approaching a state where their influence can and will be exerted to some purpose.

Trades-unions in Holland began in 1866 with the organization of the Typographers' Union. The agitation of the International Workingmen's Association exerted considerable influence, and in 1871 the General Dutch Trades-Union was organized. At the present time this association unites under a central administration more than fifty different unions, the majority of which represent distinct trades. In addition to this central organization there existed in 1884 thirty-two local distinctive trades-unions and sixty-eight mixed unions. Among the latter two female organizations, one at Amsterdam and one at Rotterdam.

Among the other trades-unions of Europe, all of which are modeled after the English unions, are the Handworkers Association of St. Gall, and the Typographical Union of Geneva, both in Switzerland. The various trades of Denmark have all been more or less completely organized since 1870, and in the capital of that kingdom there are more than forty trades-unions, the most important of which are the bakers, with 900 members; the blacksmiths and machine makers, 1,600 members; house carpenters, 1,100 members; shipcarpenters, 300 members; printers, 500 members; painters, 600 members; saddlemakers, 200 members; tailors, 400 members, and cigarmakers, 1,200 members. Up to the beginning of these organizations the rate of wages was continually on the decline. From 1870 to 1875 a rise was effected from one-quarter to one-third.

Trades-unions exist in Austro-Hungary, Spain, Italy, Russia and Turkey. But it is only within the past few years that any appreciable advances in this line have been made in those countries. The present outlook is favorable, and prospects for increased organization are good. Especially in Russia are the Handicraft Artels on the increase. These institutions have existed in Russia for centuries, but it is only within the past ten or fifteen years that they have shown any signs of

vigor. The watch that is maintained by the government over all societies of workingmen makes it extremely difficult for them to get out of the old grooves in which they have run for so many ages, but with the increased liberty that is sure to be obtained by conservative and constant agitation, the hope for the Russian laborer in the time to come is bright.

CHAPTER VI.—LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE FRANKLIN SOCIETY OF PRINTERS—THE TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION—THE HAT-MAKERS' UNIONS—THE IRON MOLDERS—THE SONS OF VULCAN—THE MACHINISTS AND BLACKSMITHS—THE GLASSBLOWERS—BROTHERHOOD OF THE FOOTBOARD—LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS—CIGARMAKERS—THE STONEMASONS—THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY—THE NATIONAL GRANGE—ORDER OF RAILWAY CONDUCTORS—THE KNIGHTS OF ST. CRISPIN.

LABOR organizations in the United States date back nearly to the close of the Revolutionary War. In that portion of this work treating of the Story of Labor in the United States will be found a full account of the early guilds and their influence, and of the rise and growth of American workmen's societies. In the following pages we will endeavor to give a brief history of those organizations now in existence or which have exerted a direct influence on recent events in the field of labor.

In 1852 began the confederation or grouping into one general body of all the local unions of a given trade. The Franklin Society of printers, organized in Cincinnati in 1827, had led a checkered life until 1851, when it went to pieces in a strike. It was reorganized in 1852, and upon reorganizing called a meeting of delegates from all typographical unions in the United States. A National Convention of Journeyman Printers had met in New York in 1850, and at Baltimore in 1851, but little of permanent organization had been effected. At the meeting in Cincinnati in 1852, the National Typographical Union was formed, which existed until 1869, when the annual meeting at Albany, N. Y., changed the name to International Typographical Union in order to admit the printers of Canada. At that time the membership numbered 7,563. The Chicago Typographical Union had organized in 1852, and entered into the national union at its organization. The International Typographical Union regards the resort to strikes as inexpedient, except where the rules or principles of the International or of a subordinate union may have been violated. Recognizing strikes as detrimental to the best interests of the craft, it directs subordinate unions not to order a strike until every possible effort has been made to settle the difficulty by arbitration. But as resistance to unreasonable demands will at all

times be necessary, its constitution provides the following protection for members when called upon to sacrifice their positions in defense of their principles:

“An Executive Council, consisting of the president of the International Typographical Union, the chief organizer and a vice-president or state deputy, shall be convened, when necessary, by the president of the International Typographical Union. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to consider all appeals for aid for strikes or lockouts from subordinate unions, to investigate such matters, and it shall decide in all cases. When a strike has been approved by the Executive Council, it shall notify the subordinate union, and, in its discretion, order an assessment of from two to twenty-five cents per capita to be paid to the subordinate union making the appeal. Any union inaugurating a strike, without the approval of the Executive Council, shall receive no benefit on account of such strike from the strike funds; *provided*, that where a union strikes in case of emergency, without consent as above, they shall be entitled to all benefits if the strike be subsequently approved by the Executive Council.”

The International Typographical Union allows one apprentice to every five journeymen, and apprentices are taken into the unions, without vote, in the fourth year of their apprenticeship. At first the struggle against the union by employers was determined and desperate. All the larger cities are now thoroughly organized, and opposition to the union has substantially ceased. There are over 350 subordinate unions, and in 1885 18,000 members were reported. Since then the membership has increased very materially. The President of the International Typographical Union is William Amison, of Nashville, Tennessee, and under his administration the organization has made rapid advances. Its General Secretary-treasurer is David M. Pascoe, of Philadelphia. Its official organ is *The Craftsman*, published weekly in Washington, D. C., and edited by H. V. Bisbee. The income of the union for 1885 was \$55,888.

The pressmen were formerly a part of the Typographical Union, but now compose a separate organization, though under its charter.

Following closely upon the printers came the hatters. Local unions of hat-makers had been formed in several cities at an early date, and in 1854 these came together and organized The National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of the United States of America. The objects were to protect journeymen from “excessive decrease in earnings,” and to regulate apprenticeship. In 1868 this union divided into two, one retaining the old name and the other taking that of Silk and Fur Hat-finishers. The older organization had 3,392 members in 1885. The Silk and Fur Hat-finishers reported 643 members. D. J. Haggerty is President of the older society and resides in Brooklyn. The headquarters of the Silk

and Fur Hat-finishers is in New York City, and W. S. Higby is its General Secretary. Two other branches of the hatmakers also have national unions. The Hatmakers Union has its headquarters in Brooklyn; Geo. L. Gill is its President. The Wool Hatmakers also have a national organization, with A. M. Taylor, of Matteawan, N. Y., as its General Secretary. The organized hatworkers of the United States number approximately 10,000 men.

The iron-molders had local organizations early in the century. In Cincinnati they were sufficiently organized in 1849 to maintain a strike that lasted for nine months, and in which they were eventually successful. On July 5, 1859, the various local unions came together under the directorship of the ablest labor leader of his time, William H. Sylvis, and formed the Iron Molders' Union of North America. Under the management of Mr. Sylvis the organization grew to be quite powerful. Its present President is P. F. Fitzpatrick, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and the General Secretary-Treasurer is John O'Keefe, of Troy, New York. The constitution of the union provides the following stringent regulation for the government of strikes:

Any subordinate union requiring the assistance of this union to vindicate its rights and privileges under this constitution, shall be required to conform to the following sections, and shall await an official answer.

When a difficulty occurs under the jurisdiction of any local union through a reduction of wages or through the principles of our organization being jeopardized in any manner, the union under whose jurisdiction the trouble exists shall hold a meeting at once to consider the same. If, in its judgment, the matter is worthy of attention of the executive officer, it shall lay the case before him. The President shall then, either by deputy or in person, proceed to the place at once and make a thorough examination as to the facts in the case. He shall do his utmost to settle the trouble amicably between employers and employed. Failing to adjust the difficulty, he shall lay the matter before the executive board immediately, which board in conjunction with the President, shall have absolute control of all strikes and lockouts. They shall see that no more strikes are on hand at any one time than the organization is able to handle. They shall concentrate the whole prestige and force of the National Union, financially and otherwise, in the direction most needed. It shall be considered sufficient cause for expulsion from the National Union should any local union attempt to assume responsibility of striking without their grievance being considered by the President and having the sanction of the executive board before going out. Members out on authorized strike shall receive the following sum per week: Single men, \$5 per week; married men and single men with others depending on them for support, \$7 per week.

The income of the Iron-Molders' Union is \$60,000 per annum; it has 300 local organizations, and a membership of 20,000. In February, 1880, it commenced paying a death benefit of \$100 to the families of all mem-

bers in good standing at death. Up to January 1, 1886, it had expended \$41,000, or fifteen per cent of its income, in death benefits. There is no union more cautious or conservative in the matter of strikes than the Iron-Molders. From April, 1879, to January, 1886, \$65,924 had been expended on strikes. Its organ is the *Iron-Molders' Journal*, which is issued monthly from Cincinnati.

The Sons of Vulcan were organized April 17, 1858, and maintained their organization until 1876, when, with two other unions, they joined in the formation of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. On March 2, 1859, representative machinists and blacksmiths met in convention in one of the eastern cities and organized the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union of North America. In 1859 the union was incorporated by congress, and was the only trades-union ever receiving a charter from the United States government. At first this body was composed only of blacksmiths and machinemakers, but afterwards boilermakers and patternmakers were added. In 1877 it took the name of the Mechanical Engineers of the United States of America. Its membership in 1872 was 18,000, but the strikes of 1876-7 reduced it to 5,000 in 1878.

The glassblowers of Philadelphia had organized in 1848. In 1852, a convention was held in that city, to encourage organization among the glass-workers. Representatives from Glassboro, N. J., were present, and upon their return attempted to organize Glassboro and Temperanceville. A meeting of the glassblowers was called at night, under a tree, near the Temperanceville factory. Quite an extensive discussion was entered upon, but, just before organization was completed, one of the "bosses" was seen skulking in view of the meeting. One by one the men sneaked away, and went that night to the proprietor, Samuel Whitney, to secure their own position, and to tell the names of those who were "attempting to form a union." At that time the manufacturers did not acknowledge the right of workmen to have anything to say about rates of wages; and the New Jersey courts had imprisoned men for refusing to accept the "wages offered by their masters." In 1856 the glassblowers of Glassboro were, however, organized by John Samuels, sent from Philadelphia for that purpose. Wm. M. Manks, though then an apprentice, was elected Secretary of this union. The organization of the New Jersey factories was delegated to the Glassboro union. To expedite the work, Mr. Manks, assisted by Chas. H. Simmerman, drew up a constitution, and, being too poor to print it, wrote several copies to be used by organizers. Written copies of the constitu-

tion and ritual were sent to Millville, Williamstown, Waterford, and other points. Millville was an important point, and the manufacturers were bitterly opposed to "unionism." Philadelphia and Glassboro at length sent a "joint committee" to organize Millville. This committee was chosen for its daring rather than its ability, as it required an amount of bravado to face the Millville manufacturers in an attempt to organize their men. In the winter of 1856-57 several places were organized, and in the spring of 1857 Wm. M. Manks, John Samuels, and Mr. Congdon were sent to Pittsburgh to organize the glassblowers of that city. This they succeeded in doing, and, in the summer of 1857, the first national convention was held, and the Grand Union of Glassblowers of the United States was formed. Barclay Rinear was its first President, and Carl Newman its first Secretary. A constitution for the grand, and for subordinate unions, was then printed. In 1857, the blowers at Philadelphia went on a strike, which lasted five months. Owing to the financial panic of that year, and to the prevalence of the truck or store-order system, then universal, the men of other points were unable to send money to the strikers, but wagon-loads of provisions were sent them from the truck-stores. A strike had also been entered into by the combative element of the Pittsburgh union, against the better judgment of the more conservative members. This caused a split in the organization between the "striking" and "non-striking" elements. When the Grand Union met in convention in 1858, neither Millville nor Pittsburgh were represented. At that time, of the 600 members in and west of Pittsburgh, it was said that not more than 250 could be depended upon to stand by the union. The meeting in Millville, in 1859, was an eventful one to the trade. Great efforts had been made to get a full representation, and this was secured. Just as the contending factions in the convention began to show their belligerency, John Samuels began singing a song he had written for such an emergency, should it arise. The prayerful plea for harmony and good-will in the interest of the common good was electrical in its effects. All schisms vanished before the breath of song. The convention lasted two weeks. A complete schedule of prices was made. There had been no intention of taking any action upon the matter of apprentices at this meeting, but the employers, learning that the two factions had been harmonized, immediately prepared to fight the union. Before the convention adjourned, three manufacturers had taken on thirty apprentices each, and had intimated that, if they must pay the scale, they would hire very few journeymen, and, by thus throwing a great many men upon the union for support, soon

break it down. Learning of this, the convention passed a rule that only two apprentices should be allowed to each factory. It was purely a defensive measure.

At this convention William M. Manks was elected President and John Samuels Secretary. On the return of the delegates the general strike was inaugurated. Judge Porter, proprietor of the Waterford factory and another smaller establishment, accepted the union rules and prices; otherwise the strike was general. The central battle ground was Glassboro, the manufacturers having pooled and concentrated their energies in that place. The men there who, though not members of the union, had promised to stand out for the scale, were induced to return. Eight non-union men were brought from Pittsburgh, apprentices were employed, and every means tried to overcome the men. In September fourteen of the strikers were arrested for conspiracy. In October the Grand Union called a convention to meet in Philadelphia to consider the advisability of abandoning the strike. It was a memorable meeting. The report says: "Strong men shed tears. The inevitable had come, and the strike was abandoned." With the failure of the strike the whole union collapsed." From 1859 to 1866 there was no central organization of the trade. In December, 1865, the scattered remnant of the unions held a convention and organized the "Glassblowers' League," electing George Dunley President. Mr. Dunley was annually reelected until 1870. In 1866 was inaugurated the great glassblowers' strike, which proved as successful as the one of '57 had proven a failure. The league rules were everywhere adopted. In 1868 the league passed the "summer rule," by which work is suspended during July and August. In 1870 Mr. Dunley resigned the presidency, and James Congdon was elected. Mr. Congdon, however, resigned two months afterward. The organization was then demoralized, there being less than 300 members in good standing. The league had had its day. The Millville union, seeing the collapse, resolved to reorganize the trade and appointed a committee to draft a plan, constitution and ritual for a new organization, which was perfected under the name of the "Glassblowers' Improved League of the United States." Before the close of 1871 the new league embraced nearly every place in the East where the trade existed. Delegates from all these local unions met in Philadelphia in the fall of 1871 and organized the Grand Improved League, under the presidency of C. H. Simmerman, who was succeeded in 1872 by Mr. Joseph Ferrell. The Improved League was not simply a new name for an old organization. The Grand Union and the old league had made strikes the panacea for all evils; the aim of the Improved League

was to prevent strikes. It enhanced wages and reduced hours of labor steadily and almost without friction. The western blowers were organized under the Improved League, and remained with it several years. The flint-glass workers were also organized under the league, and retained their affiliation until 1877. The administration of Joseph Ferrell was a very successful one. The panic of 1872 and 1873 came, and with it a reduction in wages, but the glassblowers suffered less than any other trade. In 1877 Mr. Ferrell resigned, and his brother, T. M. Ferrell, was elected. During his term the league improved more rapidly than at any preceding period. The odious "truck system" has been abolished entirely in New Jersey, and nowhere is a glassblower allowed to take "truck." Eight hours per day, ten months in the year has been the rule, and this has had the effect of making abundance of work at good wages.

In January, 1883, Mr. T. M. Ferrell having been elected to congress resigned his position as President of the league, and F. S. Tomlin, of Brooklyn, N. Y., was elected his successor. Mr. Tomlin was twice reelected, and when on July 1st, 1885, the Improved Glassblowers' League merged into the Knights of Labor, and became district 149 of that order, Mr. Tomlin was elected District Master Workman, and William M. Manks, District Recording Secretary. A recent conference with the manufacturers' association fixed the scale of wages and tried to regulate apprenticeship. Upon the last point, however, the glassblowers and the manufacturers have not as yet agreed.

The organizations that have sprung from the Glassblowers' League may be appropriately mentioned here: The Western Division of the Glassblowers' League comprised the territory west of the Alleghany Mountains. For some time both were one; and the cause of the separation was purely a question of the expense of sending delegates such long distances. The best of feeling and perfect harmony of purpose and action have always existed between the two divisions. William Campbell was the first President of the Western Division, elected in 1877. In October, 1878, the Western Division met in St. Louis, where the constitution was revised and the union reorganized upon a different basis. Samuel Simpson, Jr., of Pittsburg, was elected President. He was reelected at the Pittsburg convention the year following. In July, 1880, the convention met in Louisville, Ky. Louis Arrington, of Milwaukee, Wis., was elected President. He was reelected in 1881, and again in 1882. When the St. Louis convention met in 1878 there were but three local lodges, one at Pittsburg, one at Alton, Ill., and one at St. Louis.

The membership was 200. In 1883 there were nine lodges and 400 members. In 1883 the convention met at Milwaukee, and Wm. C. Burt was elected President; in November he resigned, and Louis Arrington, as Chairman of the executive board, became President. The convention met again in Alton in 1884, when Mr. Arrington was reelected, and he has retained the office under each succeeding convention. Under his management the league has prospered, notwithstanding the fact that for three years, or since September, 1883, there has been a strike against a reduction in wages proposed by the firms composing the manufacturers' association. Nearly 400 men were affected by this strike, which was settled in September, 1886, by a victory for the league. At the convention held in Pittsburg, July 12, 1886, it was decided to join the Knights of Labor as a body, and on the 13th of July the Western Division of the league was organized as District Assembly 143 of the Knights of Labor. There were then fourteen local lodges and 671 members. Since then three local lodges have been organized, and in October, 1886, there were 712 members. Upon reorganization, Mr. Louis Arrington was elected District Master Workman.

The flint-glass-workers withdrew from the Glassblowers' League in 1877. In July of 1878, they met in Pittsburg and formed the "American Flint-Glass-Workers' Union." Its membership at date of organization as a separate union was 1,000. The leaders of the movement were B. F. Kearney, R. A. Steen, and Alexander Smith. The business of the union is controlled by the President and an advisory board of eleven members. Its object is stated to be mutual protection of members. Strikes can be ordered only after all honorable means have failed to adjust difficulties, and then only upon a majority vote of all the members of the union, after presentation of the circumstances by the executive board. Its present President is William J. Smith of Pittsburgh, its Secretary William J. Dillon of Brooklyn, N. Y. It now has fifty-seven local unions, and a membership of 5,000. The window-glass workers are also organized, and all these organizations fraternize and work together harmoniously. The organized glass-workers number approximately, 30,000. Their organization is not so remarkable for its numerical strength, as for its compactness and adhesiveness. No trade has clung so closely to its organization, and no organization has accomplished more for its members. The *American Glass-Worker* is the official organ of the various branches of the trade.

One of the most successful trades-unions, that of the engineers, was organized August 17, 1863, in Detroit, Mich., as the "Brotherhood of

the Foot-Board." August 17, 1864, it was organized in Indianapolis as "The Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers." Its executive officer is P. M. Arthur of Cleveland, Ohio. Its objects are "to combine the interests of locomotive engineers, to elevate their character as men, and to improve their efficiency." No person can become a member except he be a white man, twenty-one years of age, able to read and write, and of good moral character, temperate habits, and a locomotive engineer in good standing and actually employed at such occupation when proposed for membership, with at least one year's experience. Any member guilty of drunkenness is liable to expulsion. The same penalty attaches to any member who neglects his duty, or injures the property of his employers, or who willfully endangers the lives of persons while under the influence of liquor or otherwise. In case of the death of any member in good standing, inquiry is made as to the pecuniary condition of his family, and if it is found that assistance is necessary, the members are bound to provide relief. Sick benefits are attached to the order. The organization seeks to prevent by "honorable means" the hiring of men for firemen who will not make "respectable, competent and intelligent engineers," and also to abolish the classification of engineers in vogue on some railroads. The insurance branch has 4,261 members. There are 289 local lodges, with a membership of 17,000. It has been very successfully managed, and most of the strikes in which it has engaged have proven successful. No member of the brotherhood is allowed to join or belong to any other labor organization, under penalty of expulsion. The constitution provides every possible safeguard for avoiding strikes, and the organization has had very few. The insurance department is conducted upon the assessment plan, and each member, upon loss of hand, limb, arm or eyesight, receives \$3,000. In cases of death, the family of the deceased receives a like sum. Since its organization it has paid \$1,650,000 in insurances, besides distributing \$500,000 to needy members. Mr. Arthur, as its chief, receives a salary of \$5,000 per annum. Four-fifths of the engineers of the United States belong to the brotherhood.

The cigarmakers were not slow in organizing for their own protection. The first cigarmaker's organization of which we have record was at Baltimore, in 1851. Local organizations sprang up rapidly in various cities, and in 1856 a convention was called in New York City to organize these into a national union. This attempt proved a failure, and the organization of the International Cigarmakers' Union was not effected until 1864, when its first convention met in New York City. The following is an extract from the preamble to its constitution :

Labor has no protection—the weak are devoured by the strong. All wealth and power center in the hands of the few, and the many are their victims and bondsmen. In all countries and all times capital has been used to monopolize particular branches of business until the vast and various industrial pursuits of the world are rapidly coming under the immediate control of a comparatively small portion of mankind, tending, if not checked by the toiling millions, to enslave and impoverish them.

Labor is the creator of all wealth, and as such the laborer is entitled to a remuneration sufficient to enable himself and family to enjoy more of the leisure that rightfully belongs to him, more social advantages, more of the benefits, privileges and emoluments of the world; in a word, all those rights and privileges necessary to make him capable of enjoying, appreciating, defending and perpetuating the blessings of modern civilization. Past experience teaches us that labor has, so far, been unable to arrest the encroachments of capital, neither has it been able to obtain justice from the law-making power. This is due to a lack of practical organization and unity of action. "In union there is strength." Organization and united action are the only means by which the laboring classes can gain any advantages for themselves. Good and strong labor organizations are enabled to defend and preserve the interests of the working people. By organization we are able to assist each other in case of strikes and lock-outs, sickness and death; and through organization only, the workers, as a class, are able to gain legislative advantages.

No one will dispute the beneficial results attendant upon harmonious and intelligent action, and it is imperatively the duty of man to do all in his power to secure, thorough organization, and unity of action. In the performance of that duty we have formed the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, for the purpose of elevating the material, moral and intellectual welfare of the craft, by the following means:

1. By gratuitously furnishing employment.
2. By mutual pecuniary aid in the case of strikes and lock-outs, sickness and death.
3. By advancing money for traveling.
4. By defending members involved in legal difficulties, consequent upon the discharge of their official duties to the union.
5. By the issuing of a trade journal defending the interests of the union of the trade.
6. By using all honorable means to effect a national federation of trades-unions.
7. To use all honorable means to secure, first, the prohibition of child-labor under fourteen years of age; the establishment of a normal day's labor, to consist of not more than eight hours per day for all classes; the abolition of the truck system, tenement-house cigar manufacture, and the system of letting out by contract the convict labor in prisons and reformatory institutions; the legalism of trades-unions, and the establishment of bureaus of labor statistics.

All persons engaged in cigar making, except employers and foremen, are admitted to membership. The dues per member are twenty cents per week, and from this revenue the Cigarmakers' Union has been placed upon a better financial basis than any trades-union in the United States. Any member in good standing for six months, unable to get

employment, and desirous of seeking work elsewhere is entitled to a loan sufficient to carry him to the nearest local union. Sick benefits of \$5 per week are paid, and \$40 is allowed to pay the funeral expenses of a deceased member. The International Cigarmakers' Union was the first to call public attention to the curse of tenement-house manufacturing in New York City. Between 1881 and 1883 the Cigarmakers' Union has engaged in 194 strikes, at a cost of \$77,203.47 to the union, besides \$40,000 voluntary aid. Ninety-seven of these strikes were for an increase, fifty-two against reduction, and forty-five for other causes. Of these, 135 were successful, the others failed. Mr. A. Strasser, the president of the union, estimates that the advance in wages secured by these strikes amounted to \$1,800,000 per annum, while they prevented reductions which would have amounted to \$500,000 more. Between 1883 and 1885 the union had 152 strikes, affecting 3,153 members, and costing \$210,526.88. Of these, 102 were against reductions, seven against the "truck-system," five for increased pay, four against apprentices, seven were lock-outs and the rest for various causes. Sixty-nine were successful. The Cincinnati strike alone cost \$143,302.70. No strikes for increase of pay are allowed by the union between the first day of November and the first day of April, but this does not prevent a strike against reductions. Since May 1, 1886, no member of the union is allowed to work more than eight hours per day at his trade. Apprentices are required to serve three years. The union has a copyright upon a label used in marking all boxes of union-made cigars, thus enabling friends of organized labor to distinguish between union and non-union-made goods.

The discussions which sprang up in the order, and which led, in 1883, to a split in its ranks, began in the Rochester convention in 1879, when a Detroit delegate offered a resolution somewhat socialistic in its phraseology. The conservative wing of the International Union, impatient with the radical element, rapidly drove the latter away, until, in 1881, the rupture became irreparable, and in 1882, at Detroit, "The Cigarmakers' Progressive Union of America" was formed, comprising all the cigarmakers whose opinions had been branded as socialistic by the International. The war waged hot between these two unions, even going so far as to issue boycotts against each other, as was done in Decatur, Illinois, and elsewhere. In the Cincinnati convention in 1885, an attempt was made to "bury the hatchet" and harmonize the two unions. The Progressives demanded two small but significant changes in the wording of the preamble. These changes were made, but the two unions

remained separate until September, 1886. The Progressives had grown rapidly, numbering at the time of the coalition 11,000 members. The International had over 200 local unions, and a membership of 20,000. The combined unions on November 1, 1886, represented approximately 30,000 members. For the steady growth and remarkable success of their organization, the cigarmakers owe much to the ability and untiring industry of their president, Mr. Adolph Strasser; and his success is, perhaps, due as much to the financial solidity of the organization as to his personal effort. The high dues have kept the treasury full, and the organization has always had in abundance the sinews of war. The wages of cigarmakers have been advanced fifty per cent by the organization, so that the high dues have, after all, been a profitable investment. The organization publishes the *Cigarmakers' Official Journal*.

On the 17th of October, 1865, the Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' International Union of America was formed. Its preamble says:

At no period of the world's history has the necessity for combination on the part of labor become so apparent to any thinking mind as at the present time; and perhaps in no country have the working classes been so forgetful of their own interests as in this great republic. All other questions seem to attract the attention of the workman more than that which is most vital to his existence. Whereas, capital has assumed to itself the right to own and control labor for the accomplishment of its own greedy and selfish ends, regardless of the laws of nature and nature's God; and whereas, experience has demonstrated the utility of concentrated efforts in arriving at specific ends, and it is an evident fact that if the dignity of labor is to be preserved, it must be done by our united action; and whereas, believing the truth of the following maxims, that they who would free themselves must strike the blow; that in union there is strength, and self-preservation is the first law of nature, we hold the justice and truth of the principle that merit makes the man; and we firmly believe industry, sobriety, and a proper regard for the welfare of our fellow-men, form the basis upon which the principle rests. We therefore recognize no rule of action or principle that would elevate wealth above industry, or the professional man above the workingman. We recognize no distinction in society except those based upon worth, usefulness and good order; and no superiority except that granted by the Great Architect of our existence; and calling upon God to witness the rectitude of our intentions, we, the delegates here assembled, ordain and establish the following constitution.

This organization has grown in numbers until it now registers 16,000 members. Its general executive secretary is Thomas O'Dea, of Cohoes, N. Y.

"The Patrons of Husbandry," or "National Grange," was organized in Washington, D. C., in January, 1866, by seven men, most of whom were employed in the government agricultural bureau. They were O. H. Kelly, William Saunders, Wm. M. Ireland, J. R. Thompson, Rev. A. B.

Grosh, Rev. John Trimble and T. M. McDowell. The growth of the organization was marvelous. In ten years it had issued charters to 24,290 granges, and had a membership of 763,263. The preamble to its constitution is as follows :

Human happiness is the acme of earthly ambition. Individual happiness depends upon general prosperity. The prosperity of a nation is in proportion to the value of its productions.

The soil is the source from whence we derive all that constitutes wealth, without it we would have no agriculture, no manufactures, no commerce. Of all the material gifts of the Creator, the various productions of the vegetable world are of the first importance. The art of agriculture is the parent and precursor of all arts, and its products the foundation of all wealth.

The productions of the earth are subject to the influence of natural laws, invariable and indisputable, the amount produced will consequently be in proportion to the intelligence of the producer, and success will depend upon his knowledge of the action of these laws and the proper application of their principles.

Hence, knowledge is the foundation of happiness.

The ultimate object of this organization is for mutual instruction and protection ; to lighten labor by diffusing a knowledge of its aims and purposes ; expand the mind by tracing the beautiful laws the great Creator has established in the universe, and to enlarge our views of creative wisdom and power.

To those who read aright, history proves that in all ages society is fragmentary, and successful results of general welfare can be secured only by general effort. Unity of action cannot be acquired without discipline, and discipline cannot be enforced without significant organization ; hence we have a ceremony of initiation which binds us in mutual fraternity as with a band of iron ; but, although its influence is so powerful, its application is as gentle as that of the silken thread that binds a wreath of flowers.

In 1874, at the National convention held in St. Louis, it made public the following declaration of its purposes :

We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects :

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and coöperation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and to produce more in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops, and crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on the hoof and in fleece, less in lint and more in warp and woof. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

We adopt it as our fixed purpose to "open out the channels in nature's great arteries, that the life-blood of commerce may flow freely."

We are not enemies of railroads, navigable and irrigating canals, nor of any corporation that will advance our industrial interests, nor of any laboring classes.

In our noble order there is no communism, no agrarianism.

We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between capital and labor removed by common consent, and by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest and exorbitant per cent profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens and do not bear a proper proportion to the profits of the producers. We desire only self-protection and the protection of every true interest of our land, by legitimate transactions, legitimate trade and legitimate profits. We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves, and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges, that practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home, shall be thoroughly taught.

The order established a large number of coöperative stores in all parts of the country. It made an especial fight upon excessive railroad charges, and the "Granger legislation" of 1874 to 1878 placed laws upon the statute books of nearly every state in the Union relative to unjust discriminations, etc. In several states railroad commissioners were appointed to regulate freight rates. The enactment of these laws, however, had a bad effect upon the Grange. Its members, thinking its mission accomplished, grew negligent and deserted it by hundreds of thousands. The laws were enacted, and the Grange disbanded; but the laws were never enforced. Traffic was "taxed all it would bear," despite the laws. Over one million and a half of people have been initiated into the Grange. Charters have been issued to nearly 30,000 Granges. In 1885, 150 lapsed Granges were reorganized, and the order is again rapidly building up. Its general secretary, Rev. John Trimble, of Washington, one of the ablest of organizers, recently said in an address, that the order has answered the call for its existence, if not all that was expected of it, more fully than has ever been done by any similar organization, is now known and acknowledged of all men.

The principles and teachings of the order, its ritualism and its laws, inculcate and enforce the spirit and the practice of fraternity, of good neighborhood and good citizenship.

No man can be a consistent member without being made thereby a better man in all the relations of life. But the brightest jewel in its crown is what the order has done for woman. It is the first secret order that ever admitted woman to a full and free participation in its secrets, its benefits and its honors. In former times, and even now, where the

benign influence of the Grange has not been felt, the lot of the wife and daughter of the farmer is more deplorable than that of the farmer and his son. While the farmer occasionally met his fellows at the store or the mill, or spent a social day with them at court or election, the poor wife was left at home to perform the monotonous drudgery of her daily rounds, with little of joy in the present or hope in the future.

You know that the Grange came to woman as a Savior, and that its enunciation was to her "full of glad tidings of great joy." To this audience I need not enlarge upon the advantages and pleasures that have come to our sisters through the Grange. I saw the first few timid sisters take their seats in the National Grange abashed by the novelty of their position. I have seen them subsequently participating in the important work of the session with as intelligent a comprehension of their duties, as prompt, careful and conscientious discharge thereof as the most zealous of their brethren. They have always been among the most faithful and conservative members of the order. They, too, have been educated in the school of the Grange.

At this time the Grange numbers 800,000 members, and is growing with a rapidity equaled by no other organization, except the Knights of Labor. The master of the National Grange is Mr. P. Darden, of Mississippi. The Grange has an organ in nearly every state in the Union. At least forty-eight weekly journals are published in its interest.

The Conductors' Brotherhood was formed in 1868, at Mendota, Illinois. In 1879 it changed to the Order of Railway Conductors. The order has now 7,700 members.

In 1869 the "United States Wool Hat Finisher's Association" was organized. The same year saw the rise of one of the most important of the defunct labor organizations, the Knights of St. Crispin. At one time this society had 100,000 members, the local lodges were joined together in state and district lodges, which were in turn joined into the International Grand Lodge. The Knights of St. Crispin at one time controlled the boot and shoe manufactories of the country, and the order was recognized by nearly all the employers of labor in that industry. A separate branch, composed of women, was called the "Daughters of St. Crispin." This order looked beyond the mere trades-union idea, and agitated a coöperative instead of a wage-system. The last meeting of the Grand International Lodge was held in 1873. The order gathered strength enough to take a part in the great strike of 1877; but it was substantially crushed in 1873 by the combined opposition of employers.

CHAPTER VII.—THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

THEIR BEGINNING—URIAH STEVENS' THANKSGIVING DINNER—THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN—"THE FIVE STARS"—THE LEADERS—THE ABANDONMENT OF THE SECRET POLICY—STATISTICS SHOWING THE GROWTH OF THE ORDER—THE PLATFORM AND ITS METHODS—THE STRIKE OF 1886—THE PRESENT STRENGTH, DISTRIBUTION AND ATTITUDE OF THE ORDER.

NO labor organization in the world has ever had the strength, as well as the solidarity, of the Knights of Labor. It is a new factor in the labor problem, and one whose consequences can hardly yet be computed. In 1869 it had eleven members; it now numbers about 1,000,000 in the United States and 300,000 more in Canada. It is not a trades-union nor an assemblage of trades-unions. It accepts the unskilled worker to as full fellowship as the most cunning artisan. It is a society for mutual defense and united attack, which is so well entrenched that every careful thinker must recognize it as one of the social forces of the day. The marvelous rapidity of its growth is in itself the best proof of its utility. The fact that it lives and waxes strong, is *prima facie* evidence that it has a right to live and to grow. At the present time it is the strongest weapon which civilization has put in the hands of labor.

Its beginnings were sufficiently humble. It arose out of a failure. In October, 1869, the "Garment-Cutters Society, of Philadelphia," had its last meeting, and greatly discouraged at the outlook, resolved to disband. After the meeting was over Uriah Stevens requested those who were in favor of forming a union on different and new principles to remain in the room. Wm. Cook, James L. Wright, R. C. McCauley, I. M. Hilser, James L. Kennedy and R. M. Keen, all of them clothing cutters, remained and discussed with Stevens the plan which he proposed. A couple of subsequent meetings were held, and on Thanksgiving day, 1869, nine men, the seven named above and two others, met at Uriah Stevens' house and joined themselves together in the society which is now known as the Knights of Labor. The cardinal principle of the constitution was to form a union of all wage-workers irrespective of race, creed or color. The principles of trades-unionism had obtained in the country for half a century previously, but this was the first effort in the

direction of national organization of labor. From the first Stevens seems to have had this consummation in view.

The society was at first strictly secret. Even its very existence was unknown for several years, except to those who belonged to it. The name was indicated by five asterisks, thus :

* * * * *

and the public came to hear alarming rumors about an order known as "The five stars." When the asterisks were chalked up on Independence Hall a gathering of several thousand men would follow, and the newspapers and the alarmists worked most earnestly at the mystery. The clergy anathematized it on general principles, as they did not know what it was. In June, 1878, the managers felt that the society was strong enough to come out into the open, and accordingly a call was sent out signed by the Grand Master Workman, Uriah S. Stevens. It began :

N. AND H. O.

OF THE

* * * * *

OF NORTH AMERICA.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO THE FAITHFUL !

TO THE FRATERNITY WHEREVER FOUND, GREETING—

SPECIAL CALL.

The object of the meeting, in Mr. Stevens' words, was "to consider the expediency of making the name of the order public, for the purpose of defending it from the fierce assaults and defamation made upon it by press, clergy and corporate capital, and to take such further action as shall effectually meet the grave emergency."

The hostility of the Catholic church was appeased by the rule that the pledge of secrecy did not bind in the confessional.

The actual figures of the growth of the order are interesting, a close census is made each year and the following are the results as far as they have been published: 1878, 80,000 members; 1883, 52,000; 1884, 71,000; 1885, 111,000; 1886, 729,000. The unprecedented increase of the order in 1886 will be observed. So rapidly were new assemblies formed that it was decided to check for a time at any rate, the growth, in the fear that the mass of new members could not be properly assimilated.

The name of Knights of Labor was first adopted in 1871, when local assembly No. 1, of Philadelphia, framed the new ritual which has since been observed. While the society was still secret it spread over Pennsylvania and the neighboring states, following, by a natural law, the rail-

road lines, whose workmen carried the seed into new fields continually. The order is still secret in places where lodges are being formed, and where, for any reason, it is deemed prudent not to avow its existence. As soon, however, as the leaders deem the time ripe, an open stand is taken and the consequences met. In 1881 women were first admitted to the order, and many assemblies are now in existence composed wholly of females. There is at the present time a female Master Workman at the head of a mixed assembly in Chicago. The first purely colored assembly was organized in 1883, and during 1886 the increase in the colored membership has been phenomenally rapid.

The organization is very simple and effective. The order is classified into local assemblies, district assemblies, state assemblies and the general assembly. The officers of the local assembly are Master Workman, Worthy Foreman, Venerable Sage (retired Master Workman), Recording and Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Worthy Inspector, Almoner, Unknown Knight, Inside and Outside Esquires, Insurance Solicitor and three Trustees. District assemblies are now optional, the state assembly being supreme. The officers of the state assembly correspond to those of the local. Under the present law the General Master Workman receives \$5,000 a year, the Worthy foreman \$4 a day and expenses while actually engaged; the Secretary and the Treasurer \$2,000 a year each. Several changes were made in the constitution during the general assembly of 1886. General officers' terms are now two years instead of one. Representation in the general assembly is one for every 3,000 members and fraction thereof. Working cards are exchanged with trades-union who reciprocate. Cigarmakers cannot belong both to the International Union and the Knights of Labor. They must elect which they will have.

The condensation of the preamble and constitution of the Knights of Labor next presented was prepared some time since for the *Missouri Republican* by the writer.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses.

It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that a check be placed upon unjust accumulation, and the power for evil of aggregated wealth.

This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

Therefore, we have formed the order of the Knights of Labor, for the purpose of organizing and directing the power of the industrial masses, not as a political party, for it is more—in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole

people, but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes only such candidates as will pledge their support to those measures, regardless of party. But no one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority, and calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number," to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

1. To make industrial and moral worth the true standard of individual and national greatness.

2. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create, sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreations and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share the gains and honors of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the state:

3. The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral and financial condition of the laboring masses.

4. That the public lands, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers; not another acre for railroads or speculators, and that all lands now held for speculative purposes be taxed to their full value.

5. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays and discriminations in the administration of justice.

6. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining and manufacturing, building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

7. The recognition, by incorporation, of trades-unions, orders, and such other associations as may be organized by the working masses to improve their condition and protect their rights.

8. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employés weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

9. The abolition of the contract system on national, state and municipal works.

10. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employer and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

11. The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines and factories.

12. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

13. That a graduated income tax be levied.

And we demand at the hands of Congress:

14. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue direct to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks, or create any banking corporations,

15. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit, or notes shall never be issued by

the government; but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal tender, non-interest-bearing money.

16. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

17. That in connection with the postoffice, the government shall organize financial exchanges, safe deposits, and facilities for deposit of the savings of the people in small sums.

18. That the government shall obtain possession, by purchase under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraph, telephones and railroads, and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the state and national governments, we will endeavor to associate our own labors —

19. To establish coöperative institutions such as will tend to supersede the wage-system, by the introduction of a coöperative industrial system.

20. To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.

21. To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than eight hours.

22. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employés, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

The first score of pages of the constitution deal solely with the organization and management of the order, matters which have already been made public, and which do not differ from the fundamental law of other societies. As to secrecy, the following provision is article 14 of the constitution :

Any district or local assembly working in any locality where the members would be liable to be victimized in case the existence of the order were known, may work secretly until such time as the strength of the membership will permit the local to work openly, and any member of a district or local assembly working openly visiting a district or local assembly working secretly, shall conform to the regulations of such locality.

An assistance fund is formed by a tax of five cents for each member, which is forwarded to the district assembly and held there and controlled by the district assembly; but it is liable to assessment by order of the general executive board for the relief of any other district assembly whose funds have been exhausted by reason of lockouts and strikes. These assessments must be subsequently repaid by the assembly receiving the money, unless exonerated from repayment by the general executive board. The article, after establishing the fund, goes on to say :

SEC. 12. In the establishment of this fund, for the purpose hereafter set forth, we declare that strikes are deplorable in their effect and contrary to the best interests of the order, and therefore nothing in this article must be construed to give sanction to such efforts for the adjustment of any difficulty, except in strict accordance with the laws laid down in this article.

SEC. 13. No strike shall be declared or entered into by any member or members

of any local assembly without the sanction of the executive board of the district or local assembly, as the case may be.

SEC. 14. Any member or members of any local assembly attached to a district assembly having a grievance requiring adjustment, shall report the facts of the case in writing to the officers of the district, who shall take the matter into full consideration, and use every effort to avoid a conflict. When any member or members of a local assembly strikes or quits work without the sanction of their executive board, they shall not be entitled to the benefits of the assistance fund.

SEC. 15. Members of local assemblies attached to the general assembly shall submit any grievance directly to their executive board.

SEC. 16. In cases of lockouts, where members are refused employment because of their adherence to the principles of the order, the executive board of the district or local assembly may, after a thorough investigation, draw upon the assistance fund for the relief of such members; but this shall not apply to cases where members are discharged for incompetency or for other just cause.

SEC. 17. Individual cases where members are victimized or otherwise suffer loss solely through their connection with the order, shall be provided for from this fund in such manner as the executive board of their district or local assembly may determine.

SEC. 18. No disbursements shall be made from this fund except as provided for in this article.

SEC. 19. Relief from the assistance fund shall not exceed \$1 per day to any one member.

SEC. 20. All assemblies shall be exempt from the payment of the assistance fund for the space of six months after date of organization.

Article xvii. deals with practical coöperation and details a scheme for a coöperative fund to be used by the trustees in the manner prescribed.

The conditions of membership are set forth fully in the constitution for local assemblies, which provides

SEC. 2. At the option of each local any person over the age of sixteen years, except as hereinafter provided, is eligible to become a member of the order; but no organizer shall admit any person under eighteen years of age at the organization of a new local; the admission of persons of the age of sixteen is left to the option of such new local after the organization:

SEC. 3. No person who either sells or makes a living, or any part of it, by the sale of intoxicating drink, either as manufacturer, dealer or agent, or through any member of the family, can be admitted to membership in this order, and no lawyer, banker, professional gambler or stock broker can be admitted.

The whole document is skillfully prepared and well written. The same excellent judgment appears throughout its pages which has been displayed in the work and spread of the organization.

Uriah S. Stevens, the founder of the Knights of Labor, was born in Cape May county, New Jersey, in 1821, and was a tailor by trade. In

1869 he took the first step toward the foundation of the order which has since made his name famous. When Assembly No. 1 was organized he was elected Master Workman, a position he held until the General Assembly was founded in 1878, when he was again placed at the head of the whole order, where he remained for nearly two years. His rapidly failing health compelled him to decline a reelection in 1879. He died in Philadelphia shortly afterward. The last general convention at Richmond, in 1886, authorized the purchase of a residence in Philadelphia to be presented to his family.

Terrence Vincent Powderly was born at Carbondale, Pa., January 24, 1849, of Irish parentage. He attended school from his seventh to his thirteenth year, at which time he became a switchtender for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. At the age of seventeen he entered the machine shops of that company, where he worked for three years, learning the trade of a machinist. In 1869 he went to Scranton and worked in the shops of the Delaware, Lackawana and Western Railroad. He joined the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' National Union and became President of that association. In November 1874 he joined Local Assembly No. 88 Knights of Labor. He soon after induced the members of the organization of which he was President to join the Knights, and they organized Local Assembly No. 222 in November, 1876. A District Assembly was organized the same year, of which he became the Secretary. In January, 1879, he was chosen General Worthy Foreman of the National Assembly, and in September of the same year he was chosen General Master Workman, succeeding Uriah S. Stephens, to which office he has been continuously reelected. He was married in 1872. In 1878 he was elected Mayor of Scranton. The nomination for various political offices, including Governor, have been tendered him since the expiration of his term as Mayor, but he has persistently declined.

Richard Griffiths, of Chicago, the General Worthy Foreman, elected October 13, 1886, was born in Wales in 1825. He was a shoemaker and a prominent member of the Knights of St. Crispin. He was first elected to his present position in 1879; with the exception of two terms as General Treasurer, he has occupied the position ever since. He keeps a cigar and stationery store in Chicago.

Charles H. Litchman, of Marblehead, Mass., the General Secretary, was born in Massachusetts in 1849. He has been a shoemaker, an editor and a publisher. He was a member of the legislature. He has held the office to which he was in 1886 reelected from 1878 to 1886. Mr. Litchman intends to remove to Philadelphia.

Frederick Turner, of Philadelphia, the General Treasurer, was born in England. He is by trade a gold beater. He has held the office of Secretary and Treasurer since 1883. He is now engaged in the grocery and provision trade in Philadelphia.

The Executive Board consists of the following six gentlemen :

Thomas B. Barry, of East Saginaw, Mich., is an ax maker, and has been a member of the state legislature. He is an energetic worker.

John W. Hays, of New Brunswick, New Jersey, is engaged in the tea business. He was formerly a telegraph operator, and has unfortunately lost an arm. He is a warm friend and trusted lieutenant of Mr. Powderly.

William H. Bailey, of Shawnee, Ohio, is a miner. He was foreman for the Central Glover House Coal Co. He was engaged in mining on his own account. He was the successful manager of the Gloverville strike.

Albert A. Carlton, of Somerville, Mass., is a shoecutter by trade. He spent the last year in the service of the order as a lecturer. He is a capable, intelligent worker.

Thomas B. McGuire, of New York City, is a marble rubber by trade. Latterly he has followed truck driving. He has been employed as a lecturer by the order during the past year.

Ira B. Aylesworth, of Baltimore, Md., is a stair builder. He is a member of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and was chosen an auxiliary member of the Executive Board at the Cleveland special session. He is a prominent member of District Assembly No. 49.

One of the most notable as well as the most hopeful signs for the future is the position taken by the Knights of Labor toward women. The order has steadily taken the part of the female laborer and has been a force in the direction of the amelioration of female labor. When girls have struck work on account of bad or indecent treatment the Knights have supported them and fought their battle. A great many instances of the really chivalrous manner in which the quarrel of female labor has been taken up has not been without its effect on the attitude of women towards the order. The Knights are gaining recruits in England and in Belgium at a rate which forecasts strength for them in the old world similar to that already achieved in the United States. What the position in the United States is, we all know. Says the *New York Sun* :

“Manufacturers who a few years ago would have had nothing to do with the Executive Board, and would have resented any interference in their affairs by it, now send for it to arbitrate between their help and themselves. For instance, in a potters’ strike, in 1882, the employers

in Trenton refused to resume work until their men quitted the Knights of Labor. This year, in the face of another difficulty between their men and themselves, they agreed to submit their difficulty to the Executive Board. The men were out on strike, and the Board declined to do anything until the men were taken back at the old prices. In three days they submitted a new scale to the employés and strikers, and, as Secretary Turner says, 'succeeded in pleasing both sides for the first time in our history.' The Potters' Association passed a vote of thanks to the Board."

The first serious check which the order received was in the great railroad strike of 1886, an account of which will be found on a preceding page. The order did not win, although it did not completely lose. Its membership is larger in the Southwest than it was before the strike. Mistakes were made which will hardly be repeated; and as we have endeavored to show in other parts of this book, it is only by their mistakes that the workingmen of the world have been able to find out, painfully and with grave losses, the right path to the position which labor in a free country like America ought to assume. Strikes will not win. Violence simply invites counter violence. If it came to the test, capital could secure more dynamite than labor, and could apply it more successfully. The only road out of the wilderness is to be won by careful organization and peaceful and constitutional remedies. It may take time to accomplish the complete enfranchisement of labor, but the evil work of uncounted centuries can not be undone in a day, nor in a decade.

The Knights of Labor may fail, but whether the organization dies or lives, it has taught a lesson which will never be forgotten as long as man shall earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. It has demonstrated the overmastering power of a national combination among workingmen. If the Knights of Labor were to dissolve tomorrow, on the next day a new society would be formed to push on their work. No fair man can object to the ends which they propose. Labor must win, and the sooner we all come to a realizing sense of this fact the better will it be for America.

CHAPTER VIII.—LABOR UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES — *Concluded.*

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION—BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN—THE NATIONAL HORSESHOERS' UNION—THE AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS—THE GRANITE-CUTTERS' NATIONAL UNION—THE LAKE SEAMEN'S UNION—THE LASTERS' PROTECTIVE UNION—THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF BOILERMAKERS—THE AMERICAN BRANCH OF THE AMALGAMATED CARPENTERS' AND JOINERS ASSOCIATION OF ENGLAND—BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA—THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA—"THE MOLLY MAGUIRES"—THE AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF MINERS AND MINE LABORERS—THE JOURNEYMEN BAKERS' NATIONAL UNION—THE SWITCHMEN'S MUTUAL AID ASSOCIATION—THE KNIGHTS OF INDUSTRY—FEDERATION OF TRADES.

IN 1873 the National German-American Typographical Union was organized in Philadelphia with seven local unions in various cities of the United States and a total membership of 400. It now has seventeen local unions and 1,200 members. But few German printers in the country are not members of this union, and perhaps no organization has more complete control of its trade. It pays a sick benefit of \$5 per week, an out-of-work benefit of \$5, and a strike benefit of \$7 per week; it pays \$200 to the widow upon the death of a member, and \$25 to a member upon the death of his wife. The business of the organization is thoroughly systematized and centralized. It is controlled by the National Secretary, Hugo Miller, of New York City. The dues of the organization are very high, and twice each year there is an equalization of the funds. The union is a part of the federation of trades, and its members work but eight hours per day. It is in complete harmony with the International Typographical Union. It has also a connection with the typographical union of Germany, so that German printers coming to this country can deposit German cards in their union here without payment of initiation fee, and *vice versa*.

December 1, 1873, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen of North America was organized at Port Jervis, N. Y., by eleven firemen on the Erie Railroad. The Brotherhood now has lodges in every state and territory in the union, and in Mexico and Canada. It was organized principally for benevolent purposes, and with the object of elevating the intellectual, social and moral status of firemen. In 1885 it was made a

distinctive labor organization, and protective laws were established. It has now 334 subordinate lodges, and 17,000 members. The first grand master was Mr. J. A. Leach, of Kansas City. He was succeeded by Mr. W. R. North. The third Grand Master was Mr. F. B. Alley, of Indianapolis. Mr. Alley was succeeded by W. T. Gundie, now general manager of the New York elevated railway. Mr. F. W. Arnold, of Columbus, Ohio, was elected his successor. S. M. Stevens, of Lowell, Mass., was for many years grand organizer, but in 1885 he was succeeded by J. J. Hannahan, of Englewood, Ill., who is also Vice-Grand Master of the Brotherhood. The present Grand Master is F. P. Sargent, of Terre Haute. The *Fireman's Journal*, of Terre Haute, Ind., is the official organ of the Brotherhood. The Grand Secretary is Mr. E. V. Debs, who is *ex-officio* editor of the *Journal*.

In 1874 the National Horseshoers' Union was formed, although the horseshoers' union of New York City, from which the National Union sprang, dates back to 1849. In 1874 six of the larger cities sent delegates to Philadelphia to organize a National Union. The strike of 1877, which killed so many trades-unions, stunned this one also, but it never disbanded. In 1880 another convention was called. There are now twenty-eight local unions, with 5,784 members. The treasury fund is never disturbed by strikes, or by death of members, as these call for special assessments. In case of the death of a member, the widow or relatives receive fifty cents per capita of the entire membership of the National Union. The union has had very few strikes, and Mr. James Rafferty, of Allegheny City, Pa., the President, states that wages are generally satisfactory. A strike in 1885, in Newark, resulted in such a decisive victory that little further trouble is feared.

The order of "Sovereigns of Industry" was founded in 1874, by William H. Earle, in Worcester, Mass. In the language of its preamble, it is "an association of the industrial laboring classes, without regard to race, sex, color, nationality or occupation; not founded for the purpose of waging any war of aggression upon any other class, or for fostering any antagonism of labor against capital, nor of arraying the poor against the rich, but for mutual assistance in self-improvement and self-protection." Its principal aim was distributive co-operation; its hope, to do away with the "middle-man." In 1878 it numbered 10,000 members in Massachusetts alone, and built a block in Springfield, Mass., at a cost of \$40,000. Its organ was the *Sovereign Bulletin*, which in 1878 claimed that the order had 180,000 members. It died in 1880. The legislation which relaxed the zeal of the Grangers killed the Sovereigns' organiza-

tion. But the experience that the coveted laws are but dead letters is having a revivifying effect, and the Sovereigns of Industry reorganized in 1886.

In 1873 the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, and the Iron and Steel Roll-Hands' Union, were organized. In 1876 these two unions and the Sons of Vulcan came together and formed the strongest trades-union in the United States, the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. The business of this large union has been thoroughly systematized. Each mill has a "mill committee," whose duty it is to watch the interests of the members, and attend to any complaint that may arise. The Amalgamated Association admits the following classes of workmen to membership: Puddlers, boilers, heaters and their helpers, roll-hands (except drag-outs in muck-mills), nailers, spike-makers, nail and spikefeeders, hammermen, shinglers and knobblers, refiners, roll-turners; also picklers, annealers, washmen, assorters, and tinmen in tin-mills, hot and cold straighteners and their helpers, gaggers and drillers working by the ton, chargers, pull-outs, hot-bed men, and clippers in rail-mills, wiredrawers, tackers, springmakers, springfitters, axleturners, watertenders, rivetmen, axlemakers, their heaters and helpers, heaters and welders in pipe-mills, gasmakers in crucible steel and iron works, after they have been working at the business one year, shearmen in bar, plate, sheet and nail-mills, engineers and blacksmiths directly connected with iron, steel or tin works; also stokers, chargers, cupolatenders, speigel melters, runnemen, vesselmen, bottommakers, ladlemen, pitmen, cindermen, stagemen and blowers working by the ton, and pipefitters connected with Bessemer steel works; also keepers and their helpers, bottom-fillers, engineers, ironmen, cindermen, and watertenders at blast-furnaces directly connected with Bessemer steel-mills.

"The elevation of its members, to maintain the best interests of the association, and to obtain by conciliation, or other means that are fair and legal, a fair remuneration for labor performed, and to protect members against broken contracts, unlawful discharges, and obnoxious rules," are the objects of the organization. Each member pays twenty-five cents per month to a protective fund, for the support of "victimized members," "legalized strikes," etc. No subordinate lodge is permitted to strike unless authorized by the executive committee of the district. No trades-union has done so much to introduce and render arbitration popular as the Amalgamated Association. Its former President, John Jarrett, rarely lost a strike upon which he was forced to enter. The employers have generally acquiesced in the rules of the association. A

scale of prices is agreed upon once a year, usually the "sliding scale,— that is, so much is to be considered wages, at the price at which iron is selling at the time of the agreement. If, during the year, the price of iron advances, wages are to advance in a certain ratio; if iron decreases in price, wages are to decline. The association fixes the quantity of iron which shall constitute a heat, or, in other words, fixes the limit of a day's work. No one is allowed to work boys under fifteen years of age; and if any member goes to his work drunk, or loses work through drunkenness, he is expelled from the union, and can never be reinstated. Wm. Weihe, of Pittsburgh, is President. The present membership numbers 60,000, which is nearly double that of any other distinctive trades-union.

The Granitecutters' National Union was organized in 1877. Mr. Josiah P. Dyer, of Philadelphia, is the general Executive Secretary. The union has had a bitter struggle against convict labor. There are now 6,000 members; but owing to the forced competition with criminal labor at a merely nominal price, and the importation under contract of foreign stonecutters to do state work, the members of the union are generally poor, and the union itself struggling for its very existence. *The Granitecutters' Journal* is their official organ.

In 1878 the Lake Seamen's union was formed in Chicago. Its present membership is 8,000. Mr. Richard Powers, of Chicago, is its President. All members must be practical seamen; no saloon-keeper is allowed to hold office or be appointed on committees; religious and political questions are not to be discussed at its meetings. Each member pledges himself to protect the property of a vessel in danger, even at the sacrifice of his own life, provided the vessel carries a union crew. The wife of dependents of a member drowned by accident receives \$50. A sick benefit of \$4 per week is allowed. The union has raised the wages of sailors at least fifty per cent.

The organization now known as the Lasters' Protective Union of New England, had its origin in the city of Lynn, Massachusetts, in December, 1879. After the dissolution of the once famous organization known as the Knights of St. Crispin, the shoemakers of Lynn were for a time without organization. The manufacturers, taking advantage of this fact, for years made a practice of reducing the wages of the operatives throughout the city at the beginning of each season's work. The lasters, always the poorest paid of any of the operatives, were the first to feel the effect of these frequent reductions, and also the first to realize the necessity of some organized effort to protect themselves, and, if possible, restore

wages to their former standard. Accordingly, a portion of them, sixteen in number, met and organized under the name of the Lasters' Protective Union, as above stated. The determined and aggressive policy pursued by the organization in its infancy, secured for it repeated successes, which, becoming known to lasters in other localities, led to the formation of many new unions. As these unions grew in number and influence, the necessity for some system of concerted action became apparent and accordingly a convention of the several unions was held, and a constitution adopted for their government. In 1885 it was decided to establish the unions on a more perfect and permanent basis, and they were then consolidated under one head, to be known as the Lasters' Protective Union of New England. A constitution was then adopted for the government of the organization, with proper provisions for regulating strikes, dues, membership, etc. The officers of the organization consist of a General Secretary, a General Treasurer and an Advisory Board. Edward L. Daley of Lynn, Massachusetts, is the General Secretary, and it is to his ability that much of the success of the organization is due. The dues are four cents per month, per capita. Since 1879, 1,700 settlements have been made with employers, upon a satisfactory wage basis, and at present the larger employers of their labor annually meet a committee of the Lasters' Protective Union and settle upon a basis of wages for the year. There are now fifty-eight branches of the organization, and a total membership of 7,864. The general convention meets every six months. One of the more important topics of discussion at its last meeting was the advisability of merging the union into the Knights of Labor, as a district assembly. The best of feeling exists between this union and the knights.

The national organization of the boilermakers was effected in 1880. Prior to that, several cities had local unions. In Chicago an active local organization existed, which sent out an organizer to the various cities and succeeded in establishing sixty-four unions. Delegates from these met in national convention in Chicago in May, 1881, and organized a national union. The next year a convention was held in Boston, revising the constitution to meet the demands of the rapidly growing organization. The third convention was held in Cincinnati, at which time the iron shipbuilders were admitted, and the unions from Canada sought representation. The name, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, and Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers, was then adopted. The convention in 1885 was attended by representatives from England. In 1882 the union had a great strike in New York City, when several

firms united and sent to England for men. Mr. Thomas J. Curran, the President of the union, cabled to Robert Knight, Secretary of the Boilermakers' Union of Great Britain, and, as a result, not a man could be hired in England. The officers consist of an International President, Vice-President, International Secretary, Treasurer, and an Administrative Council of five members. The President, Mr. T. J. Curran, has been very successful in his management of the affairs of the union. He says: "We have had strikes from Maine to California, from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and have never lost one yet. We never let a local branch strike until we have placed the international in a condition to win the strike." The union is incorporated under the laws of the state of New York; it pays a sick and death benefit; its rules regulating the quality of work are very stringent, and a boilermaker who is known to slight his work is immediately expelled. The importance to life and public safety of honest work in boilermaking is inculcated in their ritual. The membership is 20,000.

The Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' Union was organized in 1880. Thomas O'Dea, of New York, is its President. The preamble to its constitution says:

History for ages past tells us that mechanics in various countries have adopted measures not only to advance their respective trades to a state of higher perfection, but also to preserve them from oppression. Indeed, when we consider a body of mechanics who have devoted the best years of their youth to acquire a knowledge of their trade for the support of manhood, it must be evident to the mind that they should preserve it from all violation and encroachment, otherwise they are not faithful or just to themselves and their successors. "The laborer is worthy of his hire," and God in His wisdom hath ordained that by the sweat of our brow we shall obtain our bread. It is therefore a duty which we owe to ourselves, our families and successors, and for the time spent in our youth in the acquirement of a knowledge of our trade, that we join together and form a compact for our own protection.

"Nothing is difficult beneath the sky,
Man only fails, because he fails to try."

The membership of this union is 12,000.

The carpenters have made several attempts to form a national organization. The first attempt was in 1854; another, in 1867, was partially, but not permanently successful. In 1860 the Amalgamated Carpenters' Union was formed in England, and met with wonderful success. In 1869 it organized an American branch in New York City, and branches multiplied rapidly throughout the East. Though the headquarters of this organization are in London, it has a District in America numbering 7,000 members. Mr. James Hamilton, of New York City, is the President

of the American District. The success of the Amalgamated Carpenters encouraged another attempt to organize a distinctively American union. Mr. P. J. McGuire, at that time a journeyman carpenter in St. Louis, issued a small monthly sheet, in which he called upon the trade to organize. The little journal, though its editor had only his "after-work" hours to devote to it, met with a hearty response. The first number of *The Carpenter*, for such was the name of the journal, was issued in April, 1881, and in August a convention was called to meet in Chicago. Thirty-six delegates were present, representing eleven cities and twelve local unions, with a total of 2,042 members. At that convention it was decided that the organization should extend into Canada and the British Provinces, as well as throughout the United States. And for that reason the name, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was chosen.

From twelve local unions in 1881 the Brotherhood has increased to 214 local unions at the present writing, and from a membership of 2,042 it has grown to 42,521 members. Its jurisdiction stretches from Union No. 83, of Halifax, Nova Scotia, to San Francisco, Los Angeles and British Columbia, with eleven local unions in Canada, and more than a score of unions in the Southern States, as far south as New Orleans and Galveston. In the Southern States the colored men working at the trade have taken hold of the organization with avidity, and the result is the Brotherhood embraces fourteen unions of colored carpenters in the South.

The conventions of the Brotherhood are held once every two years, and these bodies elect the general officers and frame the laws. In the interim between conventions, the society is governed by an Executive Board of five members, elected by the unions within ten miles of the city selected as headquarters. In this Executive Board the General Secretary and General Treasurer have a voice, but no vote. The chief administrative or working officer is the General Secretary; the office of General President is merely honorary, and with very few duties attached to it, being simply of a supervisory character. The first General President was G. Edmonston, Washington, D. C., and the following gentlemen have acted successively in that capacity, viz: J. D. Allen, Philadelphia; J. P. McGinley, Chicago; J. F. Billingsley, Washington, and W. J. Shields, Boston, the latter being the present incumbent. P. J. McGuire was the first General Secretary, and for five years he has been retained in the position, and was again unanimously elected by the last convention.

At the Philadelphia Convention, in 1882, the organization adopted the benevolent features it now embraces. On the death of a member six months in good standing, his heirs or family are entitled to \$250. In case of the permanent disability of a member by any accident occurring to him while working at the trade, he is entitled to \$250 on two years' membership, and \$100 on six months' membership. Should the wife of a married member die, he receives \$50 funeral benefit. The majority of the local unions have weekly sick benefits ranging from \$3 to \$6 per week. At the next convention it is proposed to adopt as general features, a superannuation benefit for members who have been attached to the organization for twenty years, and who are over sixty years of age; also a system for the insurance of members' tools in case of loss or damage by fire. Instructions to that effect were given by the last convention, held at Buffalo in 1886.

In locating the headquarters of the Brotherhood, in obedience to local influences, the past policy has been one of continual change every two years, and in this way the headquarters have been, at various periods, in St. Louis, New York, and Cleveland. But the recent convention decided on the permanent location of the office in Philadelphia until November, 1896.

The qualifications for membership are that the applicant must be a carpenter and joiner, engaged at woodwork, and competent to command average wages, not more than sixty years of age, of good moral character and sound health, and not afflicted with any disease or subject to any complaint likely to endanger life. Any stairbuilder, millwright, planing mill bench hand, or any cabinetmaker engaged at carpenter work, or any carpenter running wood-working machinery, is eligible to membership, if possessed of the above qualifications. Members who become contractors can retain their membership provided they hire union men and pay union wages, and do not join any union of contractors. Any member who engages in the sale of intoxicating drinks must withdraw from the organization.

If a member is defrauded of his wages by an employer, and reports to his union within four weeks after the day upon which he should have been paid, it is the duty of the local union to advance sufficient funds to prosecute for said wages.

In the early infancy of the Brotherhood, it was purely protective in its character, upholding wages and struggling to advance them, but always bent upon a movement to shorten the hours of daily toil. At its second convention, held in Philadelphia, in 1882, it laid down the set-

tled policy of advocating the adoption of nine hours as a day's work. In obedience to this rule the local unions of the Brotherhood on the Pacific coast adopted the system, first in San Francisco, May 1, 1883, and since then in every city of any size in California. Wherever there is a local union of carpenters on the Pacific slope, not only is nine hours the rule for carpenters, but for all branches of labor in the building line. Seven of the local unions, with 2,486 members, are working on the eight-hour system; seventeen local unions, with 5,824 members, are working on the nine-hour plan, and twenty-one unions have shorter hours of labor on Saturday, making a sum total of 72,434 hours per week gained to the members by organization. Wages in the trade range from \$2 to \$3.50 per day, the general average being from \$2.25 to \$2.50. In the larger proportion of cities, wages for carpenters have been advanced an average of fifty cents per day the past five years. This alone, say for 40,000 members, working 250 days per year, makes a total increase of \$5,000,000 in wages the past year, not to take into account the large number of non-union men who have been likewise benefited by increased wages. The total amount spent for strikes by the local unions of the Brotherhood the past year amounts to only \$1,641. The policy of the Brotherhood is to avoid strikes and render them almost impossible. To order a strike requires a two-thirds vote by secret ballot of the members, and all members must have two weeks' notice to attend the meeting. Then the consent of the General Executive Board must be obtained, and if granted, the "Protective Fund" of the whole Brotherhood is at the command of the local union in trouble. But before the union takes a ballot on the subject an arbitration committee from the union must wait on the employers, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty.

To avoid the dangers of doing business in a mob fashion, a new law has been recently adopted, so that local unions are not allowed to have more than 400 members. When a union numbers more than 400 members a second union has to be formed, and all local unions in a city are governed by the same scale of wages and the same working rules.

The Brotherhood has been foremost in organizing councils or leagues of the building trades. These leagues exist in over a score of cities, and are composed of delegates from each trades-union in the building line. Their object is to assist each other in having none but union men employed on a building, regardless of whether it be the hod-carriers, bricklayers, painters, carpenters, or any other branch of labor. In case a non-union man is employed, they all make common cause together to influence him to become a union man, and they likewise see to it that

wages are paid regularly on the regular pay-night without waiting the slow, tedious process of getting a lien through the courts. Should any employer or contractor on a building fail to pay the workmen on the regular pay-day in any one of the trades so combined, all other trades employed on the job will quit work until the wages are paid. In regard to the relation between this and other labor organizations, the General Secretary, P. J. McGuire, of Cleveland, Ohio, in a recent address, said:

In its relations to other labor organizations the Brotherhood of Carpenters has always carried out a fraternal policy. In the boycott of "scab"-made nails, during the recent lockout of the nailmakers, the local unions of carpenters were of great service, for they steadfastly refused to use or buy such nails until in the end the nail manufacturers were forced to come to terms with their employes. In the purchase of cigars, hats, etc., wherever there is a union label, the members of our unions make it a practice to buy none but union-label goods. This fraternal policy extends even beyond the Atlantic, and the most cordial relations are maintained by the Brotherhood through official correspondence with the National Carpenters' Unions of Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Denmark, Italy and Spain.

In America the local unions in each locality are connected with the Trades Assemblies or central bodies of local trades and labor unions wherever such exist; while the general body, the Brotherhood itself, is affiliated with the Federation of Trades, which holds its congress annually.

While the Brotherhood is not in any way attached to the Knights of Labor, and has refused to connect itself with them, nevertheless it fully recognizes the useful work that has been done, and that still remains to be done by said order. While it will preserve its own form of organization, and is opposed to a centralization of power and authority in the labor movement, yet the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners will be always found ready to help and assist the Knights, as well as any other branch of organized labor, at any time when aid is needed."

There is also a United Order of Carpenters, of which J. H. Perry, of Brooklyn, is secretary.

The Sociologic Society of America was organized in the city of New York, May 24, 1882. The society was founded by a group of ladies who had attended a course of lectures on coöperation, by Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn, N. Y. The first organization was composed entirely of ladies; though the present membership is composed of both sexes. The motto of the society is, "Coöperation the law of the new civilization." "Believing that the measure of reward should be based upon the productiveness of labor, instead of upon the law of 'supply and demand'; that competition — while it has produced good in the past, despite the suffering it has occasioned — is now reversing its action, and is working against the further progress of society; that the very nature of the principle of competition is to break down and destroy the weaker industries,

and to concentrate wealth to such an extent as to disturb the entire industrial system," the Sociologic Society seeks to avert what it considers an impending social catastrophe, by substituting profit-sharing and co-operation for the wage system.

The society also holds that "labor, as it organizes and becomes united in various unions, should recognize that those unions, while necessary as a means of protection, are incapable of changing the present condition of things and placing Labor and Capital in harmonious relations. What is needed is, not so much an advance in wages, as the concession of the right of Labor to share in profits—in other words, to introduce a new industrial system, where Capital is restricted to a fixed rate of interest, and Labor, over and above the market rate of wages, is allowed a share in the profits of the business."

The society has now an extended organization. Its officers are: President, Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, of Brooklyn; Vice-President, Mrs. Helen Campbell, of Orange, New Jersey; Treasurer, Joseph Lafume, of Brooklyn; General Secretary, Mrs. Lita Barney Sayles; Secretary of the Southwest, Mrs. Margaret Peake, of Sandusky, Ohio; Secretary for the Northwest, Miss Elizabeth Wyer, of St. Paul, Minn.; Secretary for Middle States, George Boush, of Norfolk, Va.; Foreign Secretary, Prof. C. H. A. Bjerregaard, Astor Library, New York City. The Chairman of the Co-operative Board is Samuel Whittles, jr., of Fall River, Mass., and the Chairman of the Advisory Board is the Rev. B. F. De Costa, of New York City. The society issues tracts and co-operative literature, and at the Boston meeting decided to publish a journal, to be called *The Coöperative News*.

This organization is important as showing the drift of the labor movement. While not a trades-union, nor indeed a labor organization in the strictest sense, yet it directs and points out the ultimate aims of all labor organizations—the abolition of the wage system and the substitution of a profit-sharing and coöperative system of industry in its stead.

In 1883 the National Hatmakers' Union was formed with headquarters in Philadelphia. George L. Gill, of Brooklyn, is its President.

In 1884 the railroad brakemen organized a National Brotherhood, which has now 18,000 members. It publishes a monthly journal called the *Brakeman's Journal*, at Rock Island, Illinois.

The condition of the coalminers of the United States, is, perhaps, more deplorable than that of the miners of any other country. In England and France legislation has done much to lighten the hardships incident to their occupation, but here legislation has been almost entirely

the other way; and, in the absence of legislation, syndicates of mine operators have united to place upon the miners burdens almost unbearable. To ameliorate their condition, the miners have from time to time formed organizations, and on September 12th, 1885, at Indianapolis, a National Federation of all miners' organizations was formed. In 1874 the miners of Pennsylvania were pretty well organized, with John Siney as their President, and Zingo Parks as Vice-President. The organization had become quite general, and consequently powerful throughout the state, when in 1875 a strike was provoked by a reduction in wages. At first confined to Clearfield and Center counties, the strike afterward became general throughout the state. The "coal and iron police," a private armed body of men, was at that time formed and employed by President Gowan of the Anthracite Coal Exchange and by George R. Britton, of the Soft Coal Exchange. John Siney and Zingo Parks were arrested in 1875 for conspiracy. They were defended by Matt Carpenter. Mr. Siney was acquitted, but Zingo Parks was sent to the penitentiary. Emboldened by this, another reduction in wages was ordered by the employers, and the "police" became more brutal and overbearing than before. John Siney died of grief and hunger in 1876, and with him all organizations among the men. His death was followed by another reduction in the price of mining. The men, now disorganized, became a furious, howling mob and committed many depredations. The New York Bureau of Labor Commissioners says in its third report: "Most of the mobs which have created trouble in former years, were composed of disorganized laborers. The lawless classes are rarely union men and often not working men at all." This was especially true of the instance now under review. As soon as the men became disorganized they became desperate. Ignorant of the real cause of their misfortunes, they laid all the blame on the "bosses" or superintendents, who were really only obeying the orders of their superiors, but many of whom were maltreated and some were killed. The wiser ones among the miners, at length formed a secret brotherhood for the purpose of keeping alive the spirit of unionism until better days should dawn. Learning of this secret organization among the miners—their other unions had been open, President Gowan called upon the Catholic Bishop Wood to interfere. This prelate hurled an anathema at the head of the infant brotherhood, and the entire power of pulpit and press was brought to bear against the organization. The members were called Molly Maguires, and by that name the organization became known throughout the country. The original Molly Maguires, it may be remarked, *en passant*, were an

ancient Irish organization, formed in the fourteenth century, and condemned by the Roman Church, owing to their secrecy, but which eventually became the Ancient Order of Hibernians. The revival of the name Molly Maguires and its application to the coal miners of Pennsylvania, was a great stroke of policy for President Gowan. The church once aroused, the press took up the popular clamor and echoed it far and near. Every time the frenzied miners would make a raid upon some unsuspecting bakery and steal bread, or when in desperation they murdered an underboss, the offense was magnified, distorted and laid to the door of the "Molly Maguires." At length the Pinkerton Detective Agency, of Chicago, furnished a man, afterward known as informer McFartlen, who claimed to have become a member of the organization, and to have learned all its secrets. At his instigation, a large number of the more intelligent members of the brotherhood were arrested, and upon his testimony fourteen of them were hanged. Informer McFartlen, stricken blind, now begs his bread from door to door, led by a dog through the streets of Chicago. The coal operators of Pennsylvania were not disturbed by labor organizations for some time after the vigorous manifestation of the majesty of the law above noted.

The coal miners of Ohio at one time had a fine organization, and had little or no trouble until the mines, originally owned by individuals and small companies, were finally concentrated into the hands of the Hocking Valley Coal and Iron Syndicate. The price of mining was reduced from time to time until it resulted in the great Hocking Valley strike. John McBride was at that time at the head of the organization in Ohio. The men were literally starved into submission. Before the committee of the Ohio Legislature appointed to investigate that strike, Mr. W. P. Rend, of Chicago, testified that he had large mining interests in Hocking Valley, and that he could pay the price the men asked for mining and then make 30 per cent upon the capital invested. He stated that he was willing to pay the price; but that the railroads refused to haul his coal unless he reduced the wages of his men to the standard offered by the syndicate. A large number of arrests were made, "Pinkerton's patrol" was liberally patronized, and the organization among the miners was completely crushed. The miners are at this time, however, by no means in an unorganized condition. The Amalgamated Association of Miners has a splendid organization. George Harris, of Pittsburgh, is its President. There is also a district assembly of the Knights of Labor, made up of local assemblies composed entirely of miners and mine laborers. This is District 135, and Mr. W. H. Bailey is the District Master Workman.

Mr. Bailey is also a member of the General Executive Board of the General Assembly of Knights of Labor.

The National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers is what its name implies and is a union of all state and local unions. The movement was projected by the Ohio Miners' Aid Association, and the Illinois Miners' Protective Association, the call was issued by John McBride, President of the Ohio organization, George Harris, President of the Pennsylvania organization, and of the Amalgamated Union, and by Dan McLaughlin, President of the Illinois Miners' Protective Association. The convention met in Indianapolis, September 12, 1885. It issued the following preamble to its constitution :

As miners and mine laborers our troubles are everywhere of a similar character. The inexorable law of supply and demand determine the point where our interests unite. The increased shipping facilities of the last few years have made all coal-producing districts competitors in the markets of this country. This has led to indiscriminate cutting of market prices and unnecessary reductions in our wages, which for some time have been far below a living rate. Our wages are no longer regulated by our skill as workmen, nor by the value of the products of our labor, but by competition with cheaper labor. Our standard of workmanship is fast being lowered by the present method of screening coal before weighing, and of the practice on the part of our employers of importing foreign cheap labor to their mines. In many localities free speech has been effectually suppressed. That monstrous swindling machine, the "truck system," which was banished from England by legislation, has been transplanted, and is now flourishing in our midst. Our ills are many and our privileges few; all can be attributed to the lack of organized effort on our part. Our failure to act in concert when contesting for principles and rights has brought about the demoralization and degradation of our craft. Local, district and state organizations have done much toward ameliorating the condition of our craft in the past, but today, neither district nor state unions can regulate the markets to which their coal is shipped. We know this to our sorrow. Hence, while approving of local organizations, whether secret or open in character, we are convinced that by federation under one general head our powers for good would be increased and a speedy betterment of our common condition follow. In a federation of all lodges and branches of miners' unions lies our only hope. Single-handed we can do nothing, but federated there is no power of wrong we may not openly defy. Federation will act as a stimulant and infuse new life into all the different local, district and state organizations. It should do so. The cry of distress which arises from members of our craft in all sections of the country demands us to act, and act at once. Then let us organize and agitate for liberty and living mining rates for justice to our craft.

Mr. Christopher Evans, of Ohio, was elected Executive Secretary, and Daniel McLaughlin, of Braidwood, Ill., Treasurer. The heads of state departments were selected as follows: George Harris, Pittsburgh, Pa.; John McBride, Massillon, O.; David Ross, Oglesby, Ill.; Patrick

McAdams, Oakland City, Ind.; T. P. Gray, Coal Valley, W. Va.; A. M. Reed, Lucas, Iowa; James Smith, Scranton, Kan. These with the general officers form an Executive Board. One of the most significant features of this organization is its attempts to bring operators and operatives together and fix by arbitration the prices of mining for each coming year. The result of these attempts forms a sad commentary on the bright hopes and promises held out by those friends of arbitration who claim that it is the panacea for all of labor's ills. The National Federation issued a call asking for a conference of mine owners and miners; in accordance with this call a committee of miners and mine operators issued the following remarkable circular letter:

To the Miners and Mine Owners of the States and Territories: At a meeting held in Indianapolis, Sept. 12, 1885, by the executive board of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, a resolution was passed instructing its secretary to draft an address to the mine operators of the United States and territories, asking for a joint meeting with the board for the purpose of adjusting market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lockouts, and give to each party an increased profit from the sale of coal.

In pursuance of this call and in response to this invitation a convention assembled in Chicago, Oct. 15, 1885, composed of a number of coal operators having mines in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and of the delegates representing miners employed in the various coal producing regions of the country.

The undersigned committee, consisting of three mine owners and three delegates representing the miners' organizations, were appointed to make a general public presentation of the objects and purposes of this convention, and to extend an invitation to all those engaged in the coal mining of America to lend their active coöperation toward the establishment of harmony and friendship between capital and labor in this large and important industry.

The undersigned committee believe that this convention will prove to be the inauguration of a new era for the settlement of the industrial question in our mining regions in accordance with intelligent reasoning and based upon fair play and mutual justice.

The history and experience of the past make it apparent to every intelligent and thoughtful mind that strikes and lockouts are false agencies and brutal resorts for the adjustment of the disputes and controversies arising between employing capital and employed labor. They have become evils of the gravest magnitude, not only to those immediately concerned in them but also to general society, being fruitful sources of public disturbance, riot and bloodshed. Sad illustrations of this truth are now being witnessed in certain of our large cities, and in several of the mining and manufacturing centers of the country. These industrial conflicts generally involve waste of capital on the one hand and the impoverishment of labor on the other. They engender bitter feelings of prejudice and enmity, and enkindle the destructive passions of hate and revenge, bearing in their train the curses of widespread misery and wretchedness. They are contrary to the true spirit of American institutions, and violate every principle of human justice and of Christian charity.

Apart and in conflict capital and labor become agents of evil, while united they create blessings of plenty and prosperity, and enable man to utilize and enjoy the bounteous resources of nature intended for his use and happiness by the Almighty.

Capital represents the accumulated savings of past labor, while "labor is the most sacred part of capital." Each has its respective duties and obligations toward the other. Capital is entitled to fair and just remuneration for its risks and its use, and must have security and protection, while labor, on the other hand, is as fully and as justly entitled to reward for its toil and its sacrifices. Each is entitled to its equitable share, and there is no law, either human or divine, to justify the one impoverishing and crushing the other. God tells us "that the laborer is worthy of his hire," and threatens the vengeance of heaven upon the oppressors of the poor.

The question of what the one should pay and the other receive in compensation, can be best determined by friendly conferences, where intelligence and arbitration will take the place of the usual irrational and cruel methods of the past. It is evident that the general standard of reward for labor has sunk too low by reason of the reductions that have taken place during the past few years, and that miners generally are receiving inadequate compensation in an employment full of toil and danger.

It is also equally true that the widespread depression of business, the overproduction of coal, and the consequent severe competition have caused the capital invested in mines to yield little or no profitable returns. The constant reductions of wages that have lately taken place have afforded no relief to capital, and, indeed, have but tended to increase its embarrassments. Any reduction in labor in any coalfield usually necessitates and generates a corresponding reduction in every other competitive coalfield. If the price of labor in the United States was uniformly raised to the standard of three years ago the employers of labor would occupy toward each other the same relative position in point of competition as at present. Such an advance would prove beneficial to their interests, as it would materially help to remove the present general discontent of the miners in their employment. However, such a general advance cannot be made at the present time, from the fact that already contracts in many districts have been made between the coal operators and their miners which will last till next spring; also that contracts have been entered into with manufacturers and large consumers of coal which will continue in force up to the same time.

The committee would, therefore, suggest and invite that another meeting shall take place at Pittsburgh on Dec. 15 next, where it is hoped there will be a full representation of the miners and mine owners throughout the various states and territories, and where permanent action may be taken looking to the improvement of both interests.

The committee feels that this question of labor is one of vital importance, and that it must be met in a spirit of conciliation, and that the problems connected with it require studied thought, that may lead to some wise and happy solution.

This is the first movement of a national character in America taken with the intention of the establishment of labor conciliation, and while many practical difficulties may present themselves in retarding the attainment of the laudable end in view, it is to be hoped that at least an honest general effort shall be put forth by the operators and miners toward its accomplishment.

The intelligence and progress of the age demands this. Our material interests demand it. Common justice demands it. The internal peace of our country demands

it. Respect for the dignity of American-labor demands it. The security of capital demands it.

The freedom hitherto enjoyed in this country by our well rewarded labor and the intelligence and prosperity of the American workingman have been matters of congratulation alike gratifying to our national pride and conducive to our national glory. Our industrial progress, the continuance of our extraordinary prosperity, the peace of society, and security of our free form of government, each and all require that the American workingman shall receive just and liberal wages and decent treatment. The men employed in our mines, in our factories, and in our fields compose not only a vast array of citizenship, but also form our mighty standing army, which is ever ready for the defense of our country's rights and the vindication of our country's honor.

They have built up our national wealth in a marvelous degree, and to its present gigantic proportions, and are, therefore, entitled to receive in the future, as in the past, not the wages of European pauperism, but those of generous reward, which will enable them to maintain the dignity of their manly labor and protect their American freedom.

W. P. REND,	}	<i>Operators.</i>	CHRISTOPHER EVANS,	}	<i>Miners.</i>
A. L. SWEET,			DANIEL McLAUGHLIN,		
D. C. JENNE,			J. B. FLEMING,		

A joint meeting was held in Columbus, Ohio, February 23, 1886. As this meeting was very important, not only in its objects, but significant in its results, it may be well to more minutely record it. It was largely attended by both operators and miners. For the most part the meeting was harmonious, the operators conceding that in justice to the men prices should be raised, the only question being how to get all mines equalized so as to give no operator an undue advantage over another. Coal in some mines is harder to mine than in others, and a great many other features of the question of equalization of rates of mining upon a basis just to both parties were discussed. At length, after a heated discussion upon the adoption of the Pittsburgh scale of prices, in which individual interest seemed to override desire for the public good, Col. W. P. Rend, a very extensive coal operator, addressed the meeting in favor of the Pittsburgh scale, and made a noble plea for better wages and better feeling between employer and employé. After this address the motion was put on the adoption of the Pittsburgh scale. It was carried by a vote of thirty-one against nine.

The Pittsburgh scale is as follows:

Pittsburgh.....	2¼ cents per bushel, or 71 cents per ton.
Hocking Valley.....	.60 " "
Indiana Block.....	.80 " "
Indiana Bituminous, No. 1.....	.65 " "
Indiana Bituminous, No. 2.....	.75 " "

Wilmington, Ill .....	.95 cents per ton.
Streator .....	.80 " "
Grape Creek .....	.75 " "
Mount Olive.....	.56½ " "
Staunton.....	.56½ " "
Springfield.....	.62½ " "
Des Moines, Iowa .....	.90 " "
Reynoldsville, Fairmount, screen coal.....	.71 " "

At West Virginia, the Kanawha district reduced prices to be restored to 75 cents per ton.

This scale, having been adopted at Columbus, was to have been in force from May, 1886, to May, 1887. Mr. McClure, of the Grape Creek, Illinois, mine, asked, after the adoption of the scale, that his mine be rerated at seventy cents instead of seventy-five. He was voted down by the operators themselves, who claimed that for competing purposes Grape Creek already had many advantages over other mines. The convention, after adopting the following resolution, adjourned:

Resolved, That a board of arbitration and conciliation, consisting of five (5) miners and five (5) operators at large, and one (1) miner and one (1) operator from each of the coal-producing states represented in the scale, be elected by this convention, and that all questions of an inter-state or national character be submitted to this board for adjustment. And that we would also recommend that the miners and mine operators of each of the several states proceed, at an early date, to elect similar boards of arbitration and conciliation, to whom all questions of state importance shall be referred for adjustment.

The Grape Creek mine owners immediately refused to pay the scale, and the miners struck. They were turned out of their houses, which were of course owned by the company, and are yet (November 1, 1886) living in tents in the woods, in a most abject condition of poverty and want. The Springfield companies repudiated the terms of arbitration they themselves, by their representatives, had made, and forced their men upon a strike. Every strike in the coal mines of the United States, since the Columbus arbitration conference, has been the result of operators rebelling against the results of that noble attempt to "adjust market and mining prices in such a way as to avoid strikes and lockouts, and give to each party an increased profit from the sale of coal." The number of organized coal miners is estimated at 90,000. The Pittsburgh *Labor Tribune* is the official organ of the federation.

The Journeyman Bakers' National Union was organized in Pittsburgh, January 13, 1886. George G. Block is the National Executive Secretary. The bakers of many of our larger cities have had local organiza-

tions for several years. In New York City in 1880, the Bakers' Union numbered 2,600 members. In 1881 a strike against long hours reduced the membership of the union to twenty-five. It grew gradually, however, until in 1885 it assisted George G. Block in issuing his *Deutsch Amerikanische Bäcker Zeitung*, a weekly journal devoted to the interest of bakers. This journal soon created a union sentiment among bakers, and in nearly every city were formed local unions. These came together as above noted in a national union in January. The union publishes a weekly called the *Bakers' Journal*. It has grown very rapidly, and now numbers 25,000 members. The New York union is the largest local organization, being 2,000 strong. The unreasonably long hours the bakers have been forced to work, that is, from fourteen to sixteen, and on Saturdays eighteen hours, have left them no time for self-improvement and are the cause of the acknowledged ignorance of this large class of laborers.

The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America was formed in Chicago, February 22, 1886. A switchmen's local union had been formed in Chicago, August 18, 1877, and several railroad centers had switchmen's unions. Five or six of these were represented in the formation of the national union. The organization has now over fifty locals, and a membership of 5,000. James L. Monaghan, of Chicago, is its Grand Master, and Joseph D. Hill, also of Chicago, is its Grand Secretary. The organ of the association is the *Switchmen's Journal*.

Many other trades have national organizations, as the Telegraph Operators and Linemen, Thomas O'Reilly, of New York City, President; membership, 10,000. The Custom Tailors' National Union numbers 18,000 members. In the textile industries the Mule Spinners [cotton factories] have a union 5,000 strong, supplemented by a National Cotton Weavers' Union of like number. The Silk Weavers have a union 1,200 strong. The House Painters have a union numbering 10,000, confined principally to New York. Three thousand paperhangers have a national union, and the Coopers' Union is about 10,000 strong. The Furniture Workers have a national organization with 10,000 members. Mr. H. Enerich, of New York City, is its Secretary. The woodcarvers, plasterers, plumbers, tinsmiths, upholsterers and harnessmakers are among the smaller unions, numbering about 3,000 each. The stenographers organized a national union in Chicago, in September, 1886.

The Knights of Industry, founded in 1886, are also worthy of mention, as among the future important organizations. The central principle of the order is common and united public action for the perma-

ment industrial welfare of all workers. To effect which the following platform is declared:

The purchase and working by government of railroads, telegraphs and telephones.

The creation and control of a national monetary system on an equitable principle, the issue of which shall be full legal tender for all debts.

The government control of the land of the country.

The discouragement of the competitive system of production and distribution, with its devouring waste, limitation of consumption and restriction of production.

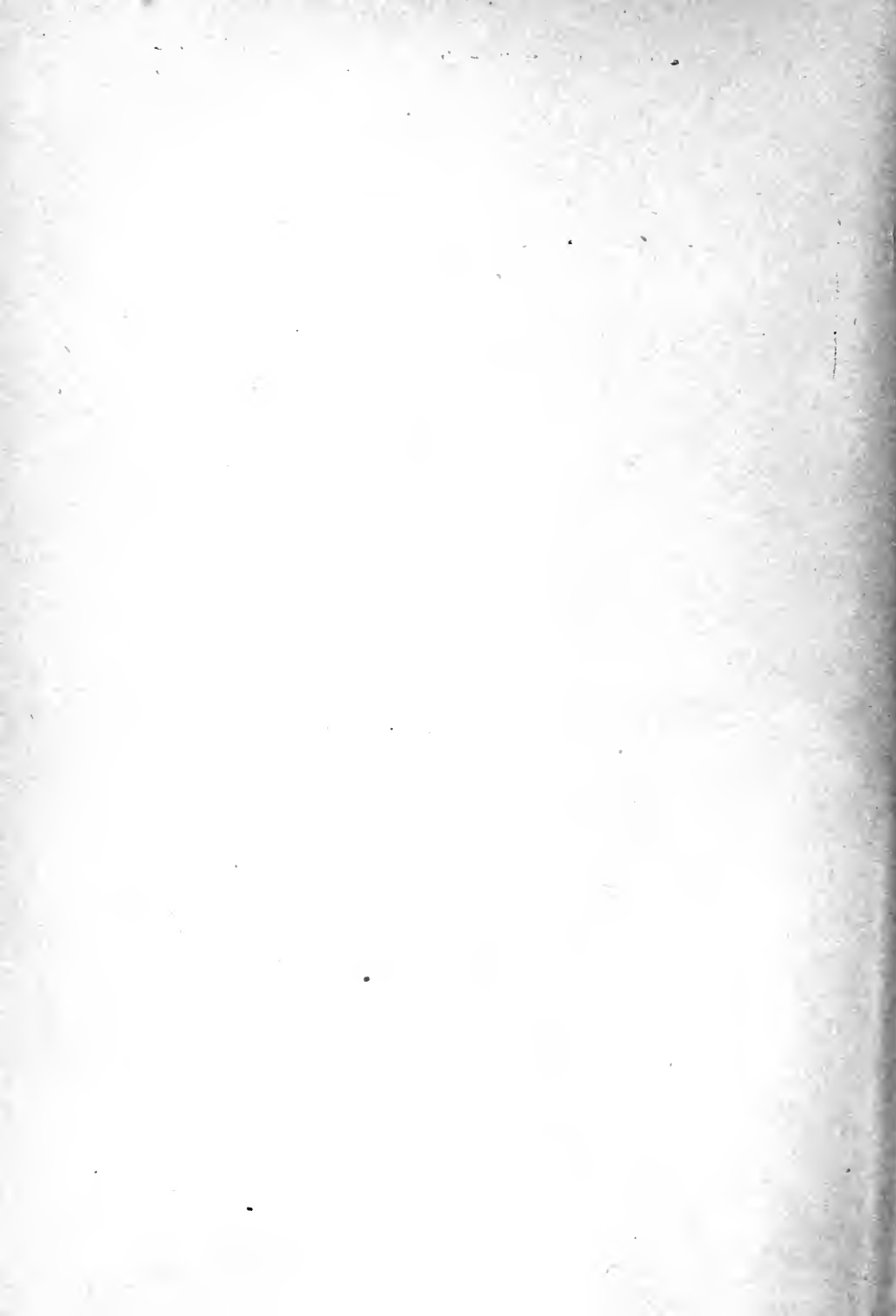
The control and scientific direction of production and distribution, cheapening commodities, stimulating consumption, and increasing production.

Several attempts to form a federation of all trades and labor unions of the United States have been made. In 1866 the National Labor Union was formed, putting most stress upon its demand for an eight-hour day and a national labor bureau. It held regular annual sessions until 1870, when it met in Cincinnati and resolved to form a political party. It never met again. Nearly all the unions composing it were bound by their constitutions to take no part in politics and hence refused to send delegates to what now seemed to them a political convention. In 1873 the Industrial Congress of the United States was formed in Cleveland by delegates from nearly every labor union then in existence. This congress met again in 1874, but the hard times, reductions in wages, consequent strikes and swarms of men out of work, rendered it impossible to sustain the movement. In 1881 the National Federation of Trades and Labor Assemblies was formed. It has held five conventions. At Toronto, Canada, in 1883, it set the date May 1, 1886, as that upon which the eight-hour rule should commence. In its Chicago convention in 1884, and also in the Washington session, held December 8, 1885, it reindorsed that date, and called upon laboring men to refuse to work more than eight hours per day on and after May 1, 1886. The demands of the Federation of Trades upon the law-making bodies may be summarized as the abolition of the Pinkerton patrol and the coal and iron police, the discontinuance of the contract system, restriction of Chinese competition, and the enactment of a law giving the laborer the first lien on the products of his labor for his wages; the education of children, and the prohibition of their employment in factories and in mines.

Illustrative of the tendency to unite not only the unions of states and different trades, but of combining all labor, was the meeting of the glass-workers, in Pittsburgh, July, 1885. Six of the leading nations

of Europe were fully represented, and they there formed the Universal Federation of glassworkers. The object is stated to be: "To extend their federation to all sections of the globe, until its membership shall embrace every man engaged in our trades." Undoubtedly the day will come when national prejudice and race distinction will be swept away, and the world shall realize the full meaning of the words of Victor Hugo, that kings and princes have different and conflicting interests, but the people of every nation are one. One of the indications that the toilers of the world are awakening to the fact that they are very little interested in the broils of governments may be seen in the formation in the fall of 1885 of a district assembly of Knights of Labor, composed of soldiers of the union and confederate armies. It is known as The Gray and the Blue, and its motto is: "Capital Divided, Labor Unites Us."





APPENDIX B.

A COMPENDIUM

OF

Statistical Information

FROM THE LATEST AND BEST SOURCES.

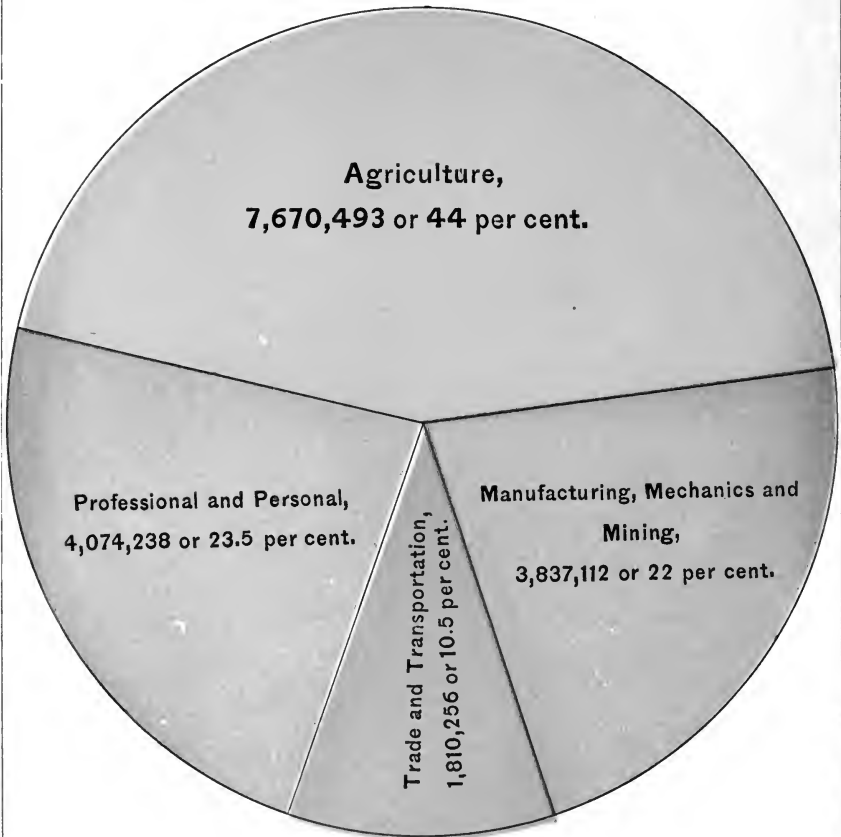
FACTS AND FIGURES RELATING TO LABOR

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

NUMBER ENGAGED

In all Gainful Occupations, and the Relative Percentage
in each.

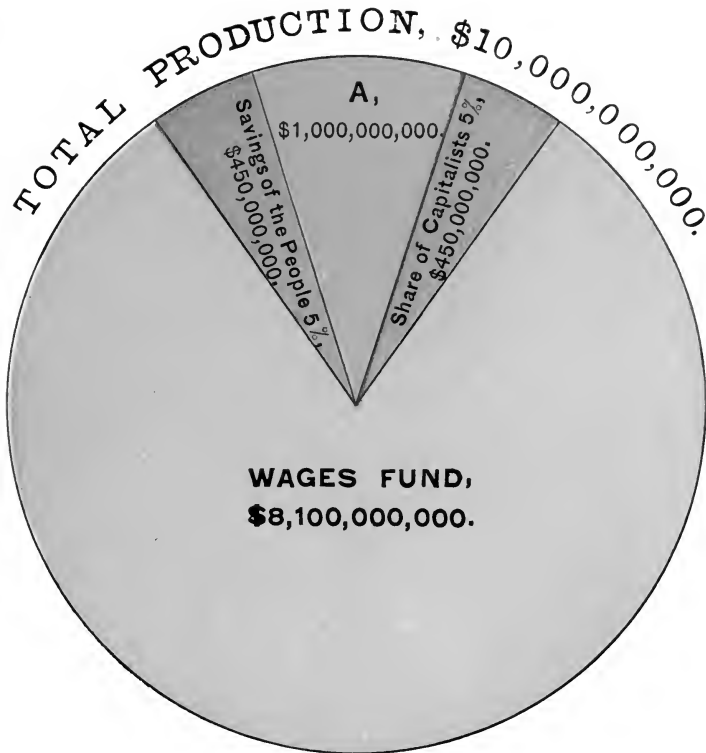
TOTAL LABORING POPULATION, 17,392,099.



TOTAL ANNUAL PRODUCTION.

Share of Capital, Savings of the People, and Entire Annual Wage Fund.

"A"—Domestic consumption on farms and domestic product of families, which is not exchanged or does not come into the commercial product, \$1,000,000,000.



In the above Tabulation the "Wages Fund" is calculated from official statistics, and may be divided as follows:

FIRST.

Share of 1,100,000 persons assumed to be engaged in mental and administrative work..	\$1,100,000,000
This class may be further subdivided: 200,000 teachers in lower grade schools, scientists, authors, artists, young lawyers, clergymen and others in similar employments, at an average of \$550	\$ 110,000,000
900,000 merchants, tradesmen, officials, superintendents, etc., at an average of \$1.100.....	990,000,000
Total, as above.....	\$1,100,000,000

SECOND.

Share of 16,200,000 farmers, laborers, mechanics, artisans, operators, clerks, dress-makers and other wage-workers, at an average of \$432	7,000,000,000
Grand Total, as shown in diagram.....	\$8,100,000,000

A COMPENDIUM OF STATISTICAL INFORMATION.

TRUE statistics are the record of industrial history. He who cannot read what is written between their lines or interwoven in their columns, must rest content with only a partial knowledge of the great facts in the interesting story of labor. The authors of this work have not endeavored to advance new theories in political economy, nor have they entered upon a discussion of the thousand and one theories already put forth. In the compilation of the following pages, however, it has been the endeavor to present in small compass, but in compact, accessible and attractive form, a vast amount of valuable information gathered from the most trustworthy sources.

The tabulated statistics and the self-explanatory diagrams will be found of absorbing interest to the casual observer of events as well as to the close student of political economy—to the tiller of the soil, the artisan and the hand-toiler, as well as to the capitalist and the landholder.

FLUCTUATIONS IN WAGES.

INDUSTRIES.	HIGHEST AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE.		LOWEST AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE.		General Average Weekly Wage.	EXCESS OF HIGHEST AVERAGE WEEKLY WAGE.	
	Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.		Over Lowest.	Over Average.
Agriculture	1875	\$7 84	1860	\$4 28	\$6 59	\$3 56	\$1 25
Agricultural implements.....	1875	14 80	1880	7 75	11 42	7 05	3 38
Arms and ammunition.....	1878	16 95	1880	9 53	13 62	11 40	3 33
Artificial teeth and dental work.....	1875	15 75	1880	11 77	12 63	5 88	3 10
Artisans tools.....	1875	13 75	1860	8 45	10 32	5 28	3 41
Boots and shoes.....	1872	14 73	1880	9 60	10 34	4 20	4 39
Boxes.....	1875	11 00	1860	6 80	6 80	4 20	2 30
Brick.....	1872	11 25	1860	5 01	8 59	6 24	2 66
Brooms and brushes.....	1878	11 90	1880	6 88	9 42	5 52	4 48
Carpenters.....	1872	12 76	1880	5 87	7 76	6 89	5 06
Carriages and wagons.....	1872	17 11	1880	10 23	12 48	6 58	4 63
Clocks and watches.....	1875	14 38	1883	17 28	12 99	3 10	1 39
Clothing.....	1874	13 90	1860	8 26	9 33	5 64	4 67
Cotton Goods.....	1881	8 19	1860	6 50	7 14	1 69	1 05
Cotton and woolen textiles.....	1875	7 70	1880	6 53	7 49	1 17	1 70
Drugs and medicines.....	1880	9 62	1875	9 32	9 53	3 90	0 09
Earthen and stoneware.....	1875	13 04	1880	9 11	11 14	3 93	1 90
Fancy articles.....	1875	11 80	1880	4 24	6 23	7 56	5 37
Flax, linen, hemp and jute goods.....	1872	7 69	1860	4 63	5 99	3 06	1 70
Food preparations.....	1875	12 00	1860	8 81	10 66	3 19	1 34
Furniture.....	1874	16 42	1880	9 45	10 99	6 41	5 43
Glass.....	1883	12 28	1880	8 87	10 84	3 71	1 44
Hosiery.....	1881	10 09	1883	6 49	7 49	3 60	2 60
Leather.....	1881	13 52	1880	9 65	10 44	3 89	3 08
Liquors, malt and distilled.....	1872	13 83	1880	9 50	11 44	4 15	1 09
Lumber.....	1875	18 40	1880	5 13	7 80	13 27	16 60
Machines.....	1875	13 98	1860	7 90	10 16	9 08	3 82
Metal and metallic goods.....	1872	15 52	1860	9 07	11 36	6 45	4 16

ARMIES OF THE WORLD.

The following table shows the present military condition of nations.

	Soldiers per 10,000 Inhabi- tants.	Infantry in Thousands	Cavalry in Thousands	Artillery in Thousands	No. of Field Pieces in Thousands
United States.....	—	12	8	3	100
Great Britain.....	54	125	18	34	702
France.....	131	283	69	69	1,968
Germany.....	99	305	67	54	2,040
Russia.....	111	626	86	109	2,278
Austria.....	72	175	51	28	1,540
Italy.....	134	257	34	62	500
Spain.....	55	60	13	10	348
Portugal.....	76	24	3	4	92
Holland.....	84	44	4	14	150
Belgium.....	162	31	5	8	204
Denmark.....	187	28	2	5	106
Sweden and Norway.....	91	44	7	7	300
Greece.....	—	38	3	5	96
Roumania.....	—	19	3	6	180
Europe.....	98	2,079	365	413	10,470
Total.....	98	2,009	373	416	10,578

AGRICULTURE OF NATIONS.

Agriculture, including forestry and pasture, maintains two hundred and nine millions of people in the countries mentioned in the following table. It represents a capital of more than one hundred thousand million dollars, an annual product of about eighteen thousand million dollars.

	VALUE IN MILLION DOLLARS.					Capital per Inhabitant.
	Land.	Timber.	Cattle.	S'ndries.	Total.	
United States.....	9,615	900	1,825	2,400	14,740	290
Canada.....	900	240	175	220	1,535	350
Australia.....	900	50	330	350	1,840	600
United Kingdom.....	8,685	250	1,175	1,190	11,300	\$325
France.....	13,120	900	1,060	1,120	16,210	440
Germany.....	10,300	1,320	1,150	1,180	13,950	310
Russia.....	6,930	2,650	1,725	1,820	13,125	165
Austria.....	6,450	1,300	1,025	1,080	9,855	255
Italy.....	4,050	400	280	485	5,215	180
Spain.....	3,300	350	285	310	4,245	255
Portugal.....	790	50	55	130	1,025	330
Belgium.....	1,245	75	150	280	1,770	315
Holland.....	1,060	25	165	425	1,685	420
Denmark.....	1,050	20	155	140	1,365	685
Sweden.....	1,560	630	200	150	2,570	570
Norway.....	550	310	125	50	1,015	510
Greece.....	525	35	30	70	560	350
Europe.....	59,595	8,345	7,570	8,430	81,940	\$270
Total.....	71,020	9,435	9,900	11,400	101,855	\$280

AVERAGE YEARLY WAGES

OF THE

ARTISAN CLASSES.

TRADES.	NO. EMPLOYED.	AVERAGE YEARLY WAGES.	TOTAL YEARLY WAGES.
Hosiery and Knit Goods	28,885	\$ 232	\$6,701,475
Cotton Goods	185,472	245	45,014,419
Men's Clothing	160,753	286	45,940,353
Woolen Goods	86,504	300	25,936,202
Mixed Textiles	43,373	308	13,316,753
Tobacco, Cigars and Cigarettes	53,297	347	18,464,562
Paper	24,422	349	8,525,355
Book Bind'g and Blank Book Making	10,612	371	3,927,349
Glass	24,177	379	9,144,100
Boots and Shoes	132,819	381	50,995,144
Hats and Caps	17,240	385	6,635,522
Leather Tanning	23,812	387	9,204,243
Agricultural Implem'ts	39,580	388	15,359,610
Cars, Railroad and Street,	14,232	388	5,507,753
Carriages and Wagons	45,394	400	18,988,615
Hardware	16,801	407	6,846,913
Furniture	48,717	418	20,383,794
Bread and Bakery Products	22,488	419	9,411,328
Cutlery and Edge Tools	10,519	422	4,447,349
Leather Currying	11,053	438	4,845,413
Foundries and Machine Shops	145,351	454	65,982,133
Carpentry	54,138	454	24,562,077
Malt Liquors	26,220	468	12,198,053
Marble and Stone	21,471	477	10,238,885
Jewelry	12,697	507	6,441,688
Printing and Pub.	58,478	522	30,531,627
Musical Instruments	6,575	692	4,603,193

Engraved expressly for the Story of Labor.

FARM WAGES,

By the Month and by the Day, in Harvest.

WITHOUT BOARD.		STATES.	WITH BOARD.	
Wages during Harvest.	Monthly Wages by the Year.		Monthly Wages by the Year.	Wages during Harvest.
\$1.08	\$12.10	South Carolina	\$ 8.10	\$.78
1.20	12.86	North Carolina	8.80	.85
1.10	12.86	Georgia	8.70	.80
1.05	13.15	Alabama	9.09	.80
1.30	13.75	Tennessee	9.49	1.00
1.27	13.96	Virginia	9.17	.99
1.23	15.10	Mississippi	10.09	.95
1.52	16.34	Maryland	9.89	1.15
1.12	16.64	Florida	10.20	.80
1.10	18.20	Louisiana	12.69	.85
1.60	18.20	Delaware	12.50	1.25
1.54	18.20	Kentucky	11.75	1.18
1.34	18.50	Arkansas	12.25	1.02
1.30	19.16	West Virginia	12.46	1.00
1.39	20.20	Texas	14.03	1.08
1.59	22.39	Missouri	13.95	1.23
1.73	22.88	Pennsylvania	14.21	1.30
1.89	23.14	Indiana	15.65	1.58
1.75	23.37	Vermont	16.00	1.35
1.89	23.63	New York	15.36	1.47
1.70	23.85	Kansas	15.87	1.35
1.91	23.91	Illinois	17.14	1.54
2.09	24.25	New Jersey	14.20	1.74
1.95	24.45	Nebraska	16.20	1.57
1.79	24.55	Ohio	16.30	1.41
1.52	24.75	Maine	16.75	1.22
1.71	25.25	New Hampshire	16.72	1.35
2.13	25.76	Michigan	17.27	1.76
2.25	26.21	Iowa	17.95	1.81
2.50	26.21	Wisconsin	17.90	2.10
2.61	26.36	Minnesota	17.75	2.16
1.60	27.75	Rhode Island	17.00	1.30
1.65	27.90	Connecticut	17.37	1.33
1.75	30.66	Massachusetts	18.25	1.35
1.92	33.50	Oregon	24.75	1.50
2.21	36.50	Colorado	27.08	1.80
2.20	38.25	California	23.45	1.86

AREA OF ALL COUNTRIES.

	Thousand Square miles.	Million acres.	Acres per Inhabitant.
United States.....	3,603.9	2,306	44.0
Canada.....	3,372.3	2,158	475.0
Brazil.....	3,288.6	2,104	232.0
China.....	3,924.6	2,512	8.0
Australia.....	3,164.0	1,986	666.0
India.....	1,482.0	948	4.0
England.....	58.3	37	1.4
Scotland.....	30.7	19½	5.2
Ireland.....	31.9	20½	4.0
United kingdom.....	120.9	77	2.2
France.....	201.1	129	3.4
Germany.....	212.1	136	3.0
Russia.....	2,261.7	1,448	18.0
Austria.....	144.6	93	4.2
Hungary.....	124.4	80	5.0
Italy.....	114.3	73	2.5
Spain.....	182.8	117	7.1
Portugal.....	36.5	23	5.2
Belgium.....	11.4	7	1.3
Holland.....	20.5	13	3.2
Denmark.....	14.6	9	4.5
Sweden.....	171.0	109	24.0
Norway.....	122 ^a	78	40.0
Switzerland.....	1	10	3.6
Greece.....	19.9	13	8.0
Roumania.....	48.3	31	5.8
Servia.....	20.9	13	7.2
Turkey.....	62.0	40	9.1
Europe.....	3,905.3	2,499	8.0

SUMMARY OF AGRICULTURE.

	VALUE MILLION DOLLARS.				VALUE PER INHABITANT.			
	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1850.	1861.	1879.	1881
Farms.....	3,915	6,910	9,715	10,580	150	221	245	211
Cattle.....	570	1,130	1,580	1,890	25	41	41	41
Crops.....	580	9.5	1,070	2,075	25	31	31	41
Implements.....	155	255	345	515	5	11	11	41
Total.....	4,720	9,210	12,610	15,060	215	311	325	311

AGRICULTURE OF UNITED STATES.

	ACRES. Million.	VALUE OF CROPS. Million Dollars.
Grain.....	119	1,035
Cotton.....	14	335
Potatoes.....	1.9	52
Hay.....	24	270
Tobacco, etc.....	6-10	36
Tillage.....	160	1,830
Meat.....	3½	610
Butter and cheese.....	6-10	227
Milk.....	.....	135
Hides, Wool, etc.....	.....	116
Total of agricultural products.....	.....	2,721

PRODUCTION OF BARLEY.

	Acres.	Crop Million Bushels.	Bushels per In- habitants.	Bushels per Acre.
United States.....	1,700	40	1	24
Japan	2,000	50	1½	25
Egypt.....	1,000	15	3	15
Algeria.....	2,000	45	14	22
British Colonies.....	940	34	5	36
United Kingdom.....	2,500	90	2½	34
France	3,500	80	2	23
Germany.....	3,900	90	2	23
Russia.....	15,500	130	1½	8
Austria.....	5,100	81	2	16
Italy and Spain.....	4,700	95	2	18
Belgium and Holland.....	230	8	1	35
Scandinavia.....	1,300	39	4	30
Roumania, etc.....	2,000	40	5	20
Europe.....	38,820	653	2	17
Total.....	46,460	837	2	18

BOOKS.

About 100 new works are published daily, or 30,000 per annum, without counting new editions of old works.

	ANNUAL AVERAGE OF NEW BOOKS.		
	1828-32	1866-69	1878-80
United States.....	1,013	2,165	2,500
Great Britain.....	1,060	3,320	5,771
France.....	4,640	7,350	7,000
Germany.....	5,530	9,095	14,560
Total.....	12,243	21,830	29,831

BOOTS.

The American machine enables a man to make 300 pairs of boots daily, a single factory in Massachusetts turning out as many pairs yearly as 32,000 bootmakers in Paris. The advance of these machines has been as follows:

YEAR.	No. of Machines.	Million Pairs Boots Yearly
1832.....	15	½
1845.....	40	15
1870.....	1,220	45
1875.....	2,300	100
1880.....	3,100	150

The Austrian government makes two million pairs yearly. The machines are now in general use. The number of bootmakers in Great Britain is rapidly declining

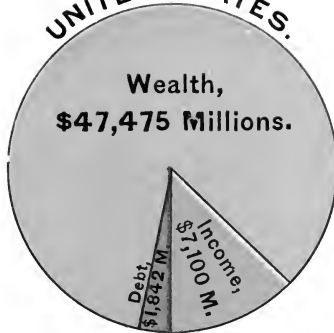
DISPLACEMENT OF MANUAL LABOR BY MACHINERY, IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIES.

INDUSTRY.	No. of Employees Required with Machinery.	PRORORTION DISPLACED.	No. of Employees Required without Machinery.
Wall Paper	1	99 in every 100	100
Silk (Weaving)	5	95 " " "	100
Paper	5 $\frac{15}{17}$	94 $\frac{2}{17}$ " " "	100
Woolen M'f'r's	5 $\frac{15}{17}$	94 $\frac{2}{17}$ " " "	100
Silk (Winding)	10	90 " " "	100
Hats (Stiff)	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	88 $\frac{8}{9}$ " " "	100
Tobacco	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$ " " "	100
Glass Jars	16 $\frac{2}{3}$	83 $\frac{1}{3}$ " " "	100
Brooms	20	80 " " "	100
Boots and Shoes	20	80 " " "	100
Farm Labor	20	80 " " "	100
Flour	25	75 " " "	100
Cotton M'f'r's	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ " " "	100
Hats (Medium)	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ " " "	100
Wooden Ware	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ " " "	100
Carriages	34 $\frac{2}{7}$	65 $\frac{5}{7}$ " " "	100
Saws	40	60 " " "	100
Furniture	50	50 " " "	100
Railroad Supplies	50	50 " " "	100
Rubber Boots and Shoes	50	50 " " "	100
Soap	50	50 " " "	100
Firebrick	60	40 " " "	100
Silk (Gen'l M'f'r.)	60	40 " " "	100
Machinery	75	25 " " "	100
Brick Making	90	10 " " "	100
Trunks	95	5 " " "	100

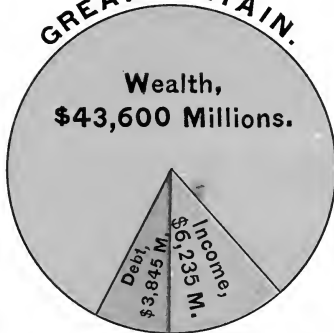
COMPARATIVE WEALTH, INCOME AND DEBT OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES.



UNITED STATES.



GREAT BRITAIN.



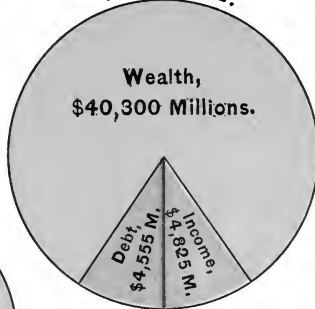
AUSTRIA.



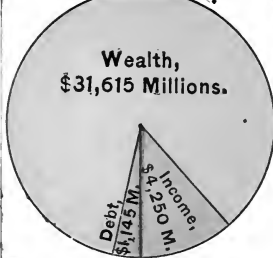
ITALY.



FRANCE.



GERMANY.



RUSSIA.



MANUFACTURE OF BEER.

The following table shows the product:

	N ^o . of Breweries.	Million Gallons.	Gallons per Inhabitant.
United States.....	3,293	540	6.6
United Kingdom.....	16,114	1,025	29
France.....	3,100	190	5.2
Germany.....	23,940	880	19.4
Russia.....	460	63	7
Austria.....	2,297	245	6.4
Italy.....	200	20	7
Switzerland.....	400	16	5.6
Belgium.....	2,500	170	31.5
Holland.....	560	35	8.8
Denmark.....	240	25	13
Sweden and Norway.....	640	35	5.8
Europe.....	50,451	2,704	9.2
Total.....	53,744	3,044	9

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF BUTTER.

	Production. Tons.	Lbs. per Milk Cow.	Consumption. Tons.	Lbs. per Inhabitant.
United States.....	370,000	62	350,000	16
Canada.....	34,000	70	24,000	12
United Kingdom.....	90,000	50	205,000	13
France.....	90,000	45	65,000	4
Germany.....	160,000	55	160,000	8
Russia.....	90,000	20	86,000	5
Austria.....	88,000	38	88,000	5
Italy.....	12,000	17	12,000	1
Holland.....	46,000	175	10,000	6
Belgium.....	20,000	90	15,000	6
Scandinavia.....	55,000	68	40,000	11
Europe.....	651,000	48	681,000	5
Total.....	1,055,000	55	1,055,000	7

COAL.

PRODUCTION IN ALL COUNTRIES.

Great Britain, 147 million tons; France, 19; Germany, 59; Russia, 71; Austria, 16; Belgium, 17, and in all Europe, 265 million tons. United States, 70 million tons, China, 3; Australia, 6, and in the world, 344 million tons.

INDUSTRY OF COAL MINING.

	Value of Output in Millions.	Number of Miners.	Tons Raised per Miner.	Value at Pits Mouth per ton.
United States	\$140	240,000	295	\$2 35
Great Britain.....	235	485,000	303	1 75
Germany.....	70	220,000	270	1 25
France.....	55	102,000	190	2 75
Belgium.....	30	101,000	168	1 75
Austria.....	20	83,000	192	1 50
Total.....	550	1,231,000	269	\$2 00

COAL FIELDS OF THE WORLD.

	SQUARE MILES.
United States.....	194,000
India.....	35,000
China.....	200,000
Great Britain.....	9,000
France.....	1,800
Germany.....	3,600
Russia.....	27,000
Belgium, Spain, etc.....	1,400
Europe.....	42,800
In the world.....	471,800














CONSUMPTION OF COFFEE.

	THOUSAND TONS.	POUNDS PER INHABITANT.
United States.....	165	7.2
Brazil.....	62	14.0
Colonies, etc.....	38	2.0
United Kingdom.....	15	0.9
France.....	55	3.2
Germany.....	110	5.2
Russia.....	20	0.4
Italy.....	14	1.4
Austria.....	40	2.2
Belgium and Holland.....	50	11.2
Scandinavia.....	20	5.2
Europe.....	324	2.2
Total.....	589	

COST OF GOVERNMENT

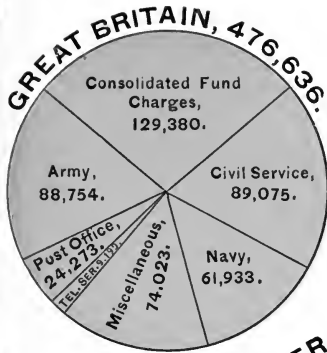
AS SHOWN BY

The Taxation of various Nations.

NATIONS.		Per Inhabitant.	Total Amount in Thousands.
<i>Denmark</i>		10.25	20,150
<i>Portugal</i>		9.75	41,100
<i>Sw. and Nor.</i>		7.50	52,400
<i>Holland</i>		13.00	52,500
<i>Belgium</i>		12.50	68,250
<i>Spain</i>		12.25	203,500
<i>Austria</i>		10.00	368,500
<i>Italy</i>		13.00	371,500
<i>Russia</i>		5.00	424,500
<i>Germany</i>		11.50	517,950
<i>Great Britain</i>		17.75	618,865
<i>France</i>		19.25	723,225
<i>United States</i>		15.25	799,000

The full colors represent Local Taxes.
The light colors represent National Taxes.

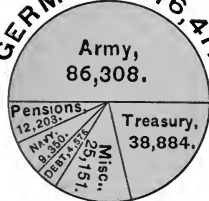
CLASSIFIED EXPENDITURE OF NATIONS.



FRANCE, 745,789.



GERMANY, 176,471.



SPAIN, 179,429.



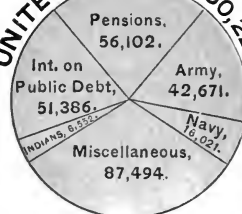
*Figures Represent Thousands
of Dollars.*



ITALY, 341,463.



UNITED STATES, 260,227.



Engraved Expressly for the "Story of Labor."

APPENDIX.

COFFEE.

PRODUCTION.

	TONS (THOUSANDS).		VALUE OF CROPS, Million Dollars.
	1860	1885	
Brazil.....	163	333	110
Java.....	70	90	35
Ceylon.....	29	53	20
West Indies.....	28	42	15
Africa.....	22	36	15
Manilla, etc.....	9	35	15
Total.....	321	589	42

PRODUCTION OF COPPER.

	FINE COPPER, TONS.			
	1850	1860	1870	1880
Great Britain.....	11,800	13,540	7,220	3,440
France.....	2,300	2,500	4,900	5,100
Germany.....	1,650	3,300	6,850	10,140
Russia.....	6,000	5,500	5,500	6,100
Spain.....	200	300	1,100	21,300
Sweden.....	2,300	2,200	2,000	1,600
Austria.....	1,600	1,900	2,000	2,200
Europe.....	45,250	67,370	82,120	120,040

The production increases rapidly in the United States, the yield for 1881 being 34,200 tons fine copper, valued at \$11,000,000. The above table does not include Japan, which produces 3,000 tons yearly, all being retained for home consumption.

COMPONENTS OF UNITED STATES COMMERCE.

	IMPORTS. MILLION \$.			EXPORTS. MILLION \$.	
	1875	1885		1875	1885
Sugar.....	75	95	Cotton.....	210	260
Iron.....	45	50	Wheat.....	70	220
Coffee.....	30	60	Maize.....	10	60
Woolens.....	45	30	Meat.....	25	125
Cottons.....	30	30	Cattle.....	10	25
Silks.....	30	35	Petroleum.....	35	40
Linens.....	15	15	Cheese.....	10	25
Hides.....	15	30	Tobacco.....	20	20
Tea.....	15	20	Timber.....	10	20
Wool.....	10	10	Machinery.....	5	10
Sundries.....	195	290	Sundries.....	65	125
Total.....	505	665	Total.....	460	920

NUMBER OF CATTLE IN ALL COUNTRIES.

	THOUSANDS.			
	Cows.	Horses.	Sheep.	Pigs.
United States.....	35,926	11,202	35,193	47,644
Canada.....	2,702	866	3,330	1,425
Australia.....	7,863	1,065	65,915	815
River Platte.....	18,300	6,150	76,230	362
Cape Colony.....	1,330	241	11,280	164
Algeria.....	1,204	350	8,788	300
United Kingdom.....	9,905	2,905	27,896	3,190
France.....	11,480	2,833	23,370	5,810
Germany.....	15,790	3,360	25,200	7,130
Russia.....	22,770	16,160	48,820	10,514
Austria.....	13,133	3,760	21,418	7,080
Italy.....	3,490	658	6,980	1,570
Spain.....	3,090	590	22,800	4,465
Portugal.....	530	68	2,417	858
Holland.....	1,462	279	898	333
Belgium.....	1,242	283	586	632
Denmark.....	1,348	352	1,720	504
Sweden.....	2,337	466	1,563	417
Norway.....	1,017	152	1,686	101
Greece.....	258	97	2,292	30
Roumania.....	3,600	600	6,180	2,310
Europe.....	91,352	32,563	193,766	44,948
The World.....	158,764	52,437	394,502	95,648

COTTON PRODUCTION.

IN MILLION POUNDS.

	1830	1840	1860	1870	1880
United States.....	350	880	1870	1540	3160
India.....	194	212	420	625	540
Egypt.....	18	30	61	240	282
Various.....	74	70	40	69	56
	636	1192	2391	2474	4039

COTTON CONSUMPTION.

IN MILLION POUNDS.

	1830	1840	1860	1870	1880
United States.....	52	135	410	530	961
Great Britain.....	250	454	1140	1101	1404
Germany.....	56	120	220	260	390
France.....	87	110	215	250	340
Various.....	162	231	286	239	649
	607	1050	3271	2380	3744

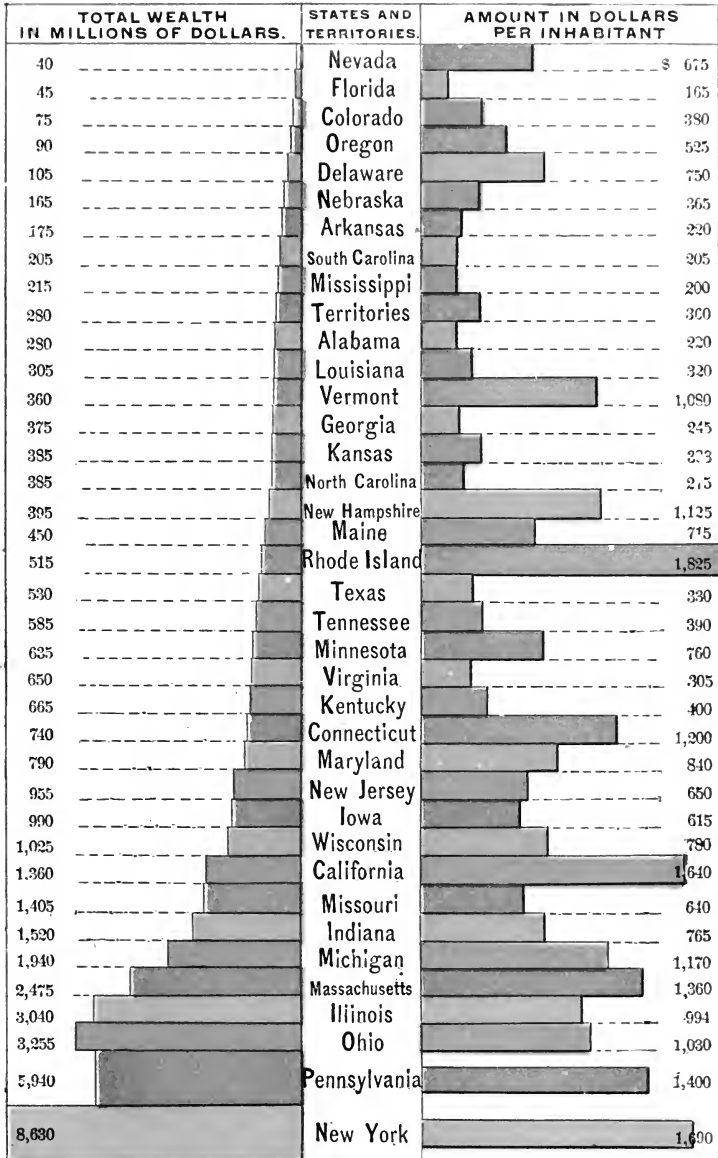
PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES,

From the Foundation of the Government.

YEAR.	NAME OF PRESIDENT.	VICE-PRESIDENT.	TOTAL.
1792	<i>George Washington</i>	<i>John Adams</i>	\$ 77,227,924.65
1796	<i>George Washington</i>	<i>John Adams</i>	83,762,172.07
1800	<i>John Adams</i>	<i>Thomas Jefferson</i>	82,976,294.35
1804	<i>Thomas Jefferson</i>	<i>Aaron Burr</i>	86,427,120.88
1808	<i>Thomas Jefferson</i>	<i>George Clinton</i>	65,196,317.97
1812	<i>James Madison</i>	<i>George Clinton</i>	45,209,737.90
1816	<i>James Madison</i>	<i>John Gaillard</i>	127,334,933.74
1820	<i>James Monroe</i>	<i>Daniel D. Tompkins</i>	91,013,566.18
1824	<i>James Monroe</i>	<i>Daniel D. Tompkins</i>	90,269,777.77
1828	<i>John Q. Adams</i>	<i>John C. Calhoun</i>	67,475,043.87
1832	<i>Andrew Jackson</i>	<i>John C. Calhoun</i>	24,332,235.18
1835	<i>Andrew Jackson</i>	<i>Martin Van Buren</i>	37,513.05
1836	<i>Andrew Jackson</i>	<i>Martin Van Buren</i>	336,957.83
1840	<i>Martin Van Buren</i>	<i>Richard M. Johnson</i>	5,250,875.54
1844	<i>John Tyler</i>	<i>William P. Mangum</i>	23,461,652.50
1848	<i>James K. Polk</i>	<i>George M. Dallas</i>	47,044,862.23
1852	<i>Millard Fillmore</i>	<i>David R. Atchison</i>	66,199,341.71
1856	<i>Franklin Pierce</i>	<i>Jesse D. Bright</i>	31,972,537.90
1860	<i>James Buchanan</i>	<i>John C. Breckenridge</i>	64,842,287.88
1864	<i>Abraham Lincoln</i>	<i>Hannibal Hamlin</i>	1,815,784,970.57
1866	<i>Andrew Johnson</i>	<i>Lafayette S. Foster</i>	2,773,236,173.69
1868	<i>Andrew Johnson</i>	<i>Benjamin F. Wade</i>	2,611,687,851.49
1872	<i>Ulysses S. Grant</i>	<i>Schuyler Colfax</i>	2,253,251,323.78
1876	<i>Ulysses S. Grant</i>	<i>Henry Wilson</i>	2,180,395,067.15
1880	<i>Rutherford B. Hayes</i>	<i>William A. Wheeler</i>	2,120,415,370.03
1884	<i>Chester A. Arthur</i>	<i>George F. Edmunds</i>	1,842,036,163.98

WEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES,

TOTAL AND PER CAPITA.



COTTON MANUFACTURES.

	Million Spindles	Million lbs.	Operatives Thousands	Cotton, lbs. per Operative.	Manufactures, Million \$.
United States.....	11.2	911	260	3510	370
Great Britain.....	40.2	1404	482	2940	475
Germany.....	5.4	390	150	2600	120
France.....	4.8	340	200	1700	100
Russia.....	3.4	140	180	780	90
Austria.....	2.2	150	100	1500	65
Spain.....	1.6	100	80	1250	45
India.....	1.2	80	80	1000	40
Italy.....	1.0	90	50	1800	40
Belgium and Holland.....	1.1	56	36	1550	30
Switzerland.....	2.2	73	55	1360	35
Total.....	74.3	3744	1673	2240	1210

COTTON CULTIVATION.

	Acres Thousands	Crop Million lbs.	Value Million \$.	Lbs. Cotton per acre.
United States.....	13,613	3,161	317	234
India.....	5,200	540	61	104
Egypt.....	872	282	46	324
Brazil.....	150	42	6	280
West Indies.....	100	14	2	140
Total.....	19,935	4,039	432	202

PRODUCTION OF CHEESE.

	TONS.		Lbs. Consumed per Inhabitant.
	Production.	Consumption.	
United States.....	117,000	50,000	2
Canada.....	33,000	16,000	9
United Kingdom.....	126,000	216,000	13
France.....	15,000	50,000	3
Germany.....	80,000	80,000	4
Austria.....	45,000	45,000	3
Italy.....	14,000	21,000	2
Switzerland.....	40,000	22,000	18
Holland.....	40,000	10,000	6
Total.....	51,000	510,000	4

It takes 1 gallon of milk to produce 1 pound of cheese.

DEBTS OF NATIONS.

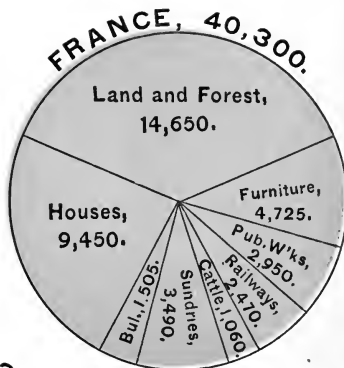
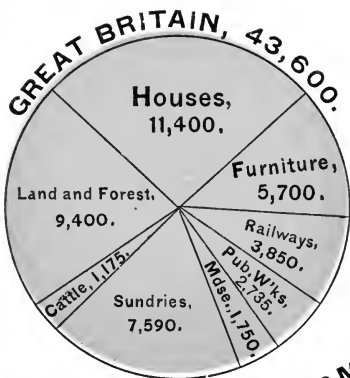
DEBTS IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

	1820	1848	1870	1882
United States.....	130	240	2,480	1,665
Spanish-America.....	20	310	720	1,185
Canada.....	.....	.....	85	200
Australia.....	.....	.....	185	485
India.....	145	255	540	780
South Africa.....	.....	.....	10	70
Egypt.....	.....	.....	185	530
United Kingdom.....	4,205	3,865	4,005	3,845
France.....	700	910	2,340	4,555
Germany.....	255	200	740	1,145
Russia.....	250	450	1,400	2,765
Austria.....	495	625	1,900	2,495
Italy.....	255	180	1,870	2,610
Spain.....	260	565	1,225	1,850
Portugal.....	30	75	295	470
Holland.....	550	570	380	400
Belgium.....	.....	90	140	310
Denmark.....	20	60	65	50
Sweden and Norway.....	.....	5	30	100
Greece.....	.....	50	90	90
Turkey.....	.....	.....	460	550
Europe.....	6,810	7,655	14,980	20,935
The World.....	7,205	8,460	18,145	25,850

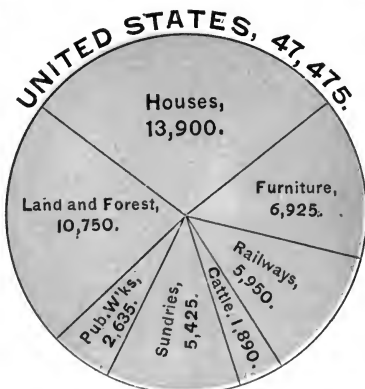
DRINKS OF ALL NATIONS.

	MILLIONS OF GALLONS.				Alcohol. Gallons per Inhabitant
	Wine.	Beer.	Spirits.	Equivalent in Alcohol.	
United States.....	30	440	76	66.5	1.31
Colonies, etc.....	108	81	20	25.2	1.80
United Kingdom.....	15	1,007	37	67.2	1.92
France.....	760	190	34	101.0	2.65
Germany.....	120	880	60	72.4	1.60
Russia.....	30	63	145	80.6	1.05
Austria.....	300	245	30	53.0	1.45
Italy.....	480	20	10	50.2	1.76
Spain.....	220	2	3	24.0	1.48
Portugal.....	60	1	1	7.0	1.55
Holland.....	3	35	12	8.2	2.05
Belgium.....	4	170	10	11.4	2.07
Denmark.....	1	25	8	5.1	2.60
Sweden and Norway.....	2	35	27	15.4	2.27
Europe.....	1,995	2,673	377	495.5	1.65
The World.....	2,133	3,194	473	587.2	1.70

COMPONENT PARTS OF NATIONAL WEALTH.

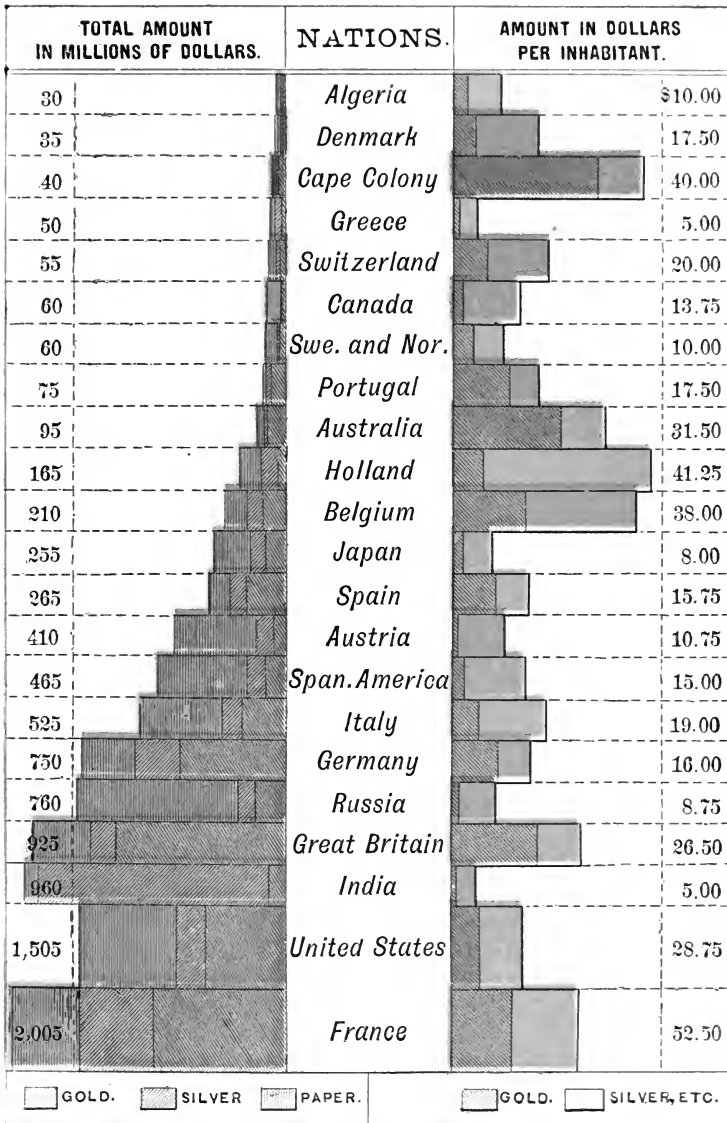


*Figures Represent Millions
of Dollars.*



MONEY IN CIRCULATION

In all Nations.



NATIONAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES.

	MILLION DOLLARS.					
	1830.	1840.	1850.	1860.	1870.	1881.
United States.....	15	25	35	60	200	200
Mexico.....	15	15	20	30	25	20
S. American Republics.....	10	10	15	20	40	55
Brazil.....	10	15	25	30	40	55
Canada.....	5	5	10	15	20	30
Australia.....	5	5	5	40	60	100
Cape Colony.....	5	50	5	5	10	15
Egypt.....	10	10	15	25	70	40
India.....	110	125	140	260	270	380
Java.....	10	20	25	30	40	55
Japan.....						55
United Kingdom.....	275	260	275	375	350	415
France.....	205	275	300	415	450	605
Germany.....	80	110	140	160	255	450
Russia.....	115	150	210	280	345	400
Austria.....	90	140	185	225	275	375
Italy.....	60	75	155	185	205	180
Spain.....	45	55	70	105	165	165
Portugal.....	10	15	20	20	25	40
Holland.....	15	25	35	35	40	50
Belgium.....	15	25	30	30	35	55
Denmark.....	10	10	10	10	15	10
Sweden and Norway.....	10	10	10	15	25	35
Greece.....	5	5	5	5	10	20
Turkey.....	20	30	40	85	105	85
Europe.....	945	1215	1495	1915	2320	2950
Total.....	1150	1450	1990	2430	3190	4075

EDUCATION.

PROGRESS SINCE 1830.

	RATIO OF ADULTS ABLE TO WRITE.			RATIO OF SCHOOL CHILDREN TO POPULATION.		
	1830.	1850.	1881.	1830.	1850.	1881.
United States.....	80	84	90	15	17	18
England.....	55	64	84	7	8	15
Scotland.....	77	83	88	9	10	15
Ireland.....	46	55	67	5	6	18
France.....	42	57	78	6	9	13
Germany.....	81	86	94	16	16	17
Russia.....	1	2	11	—	1	2
Austria.....	28	34	49	5	6	9
Italy.....	16	28	41	2	4	5
Spain and Portugal.....	9	18	34	3	4	5
Switzerland.....	73	40	88	13	14	16
Belgium and Holland.....	41	62	86	10	11	15
Scandinavia.....	80	82	87	13	14	15

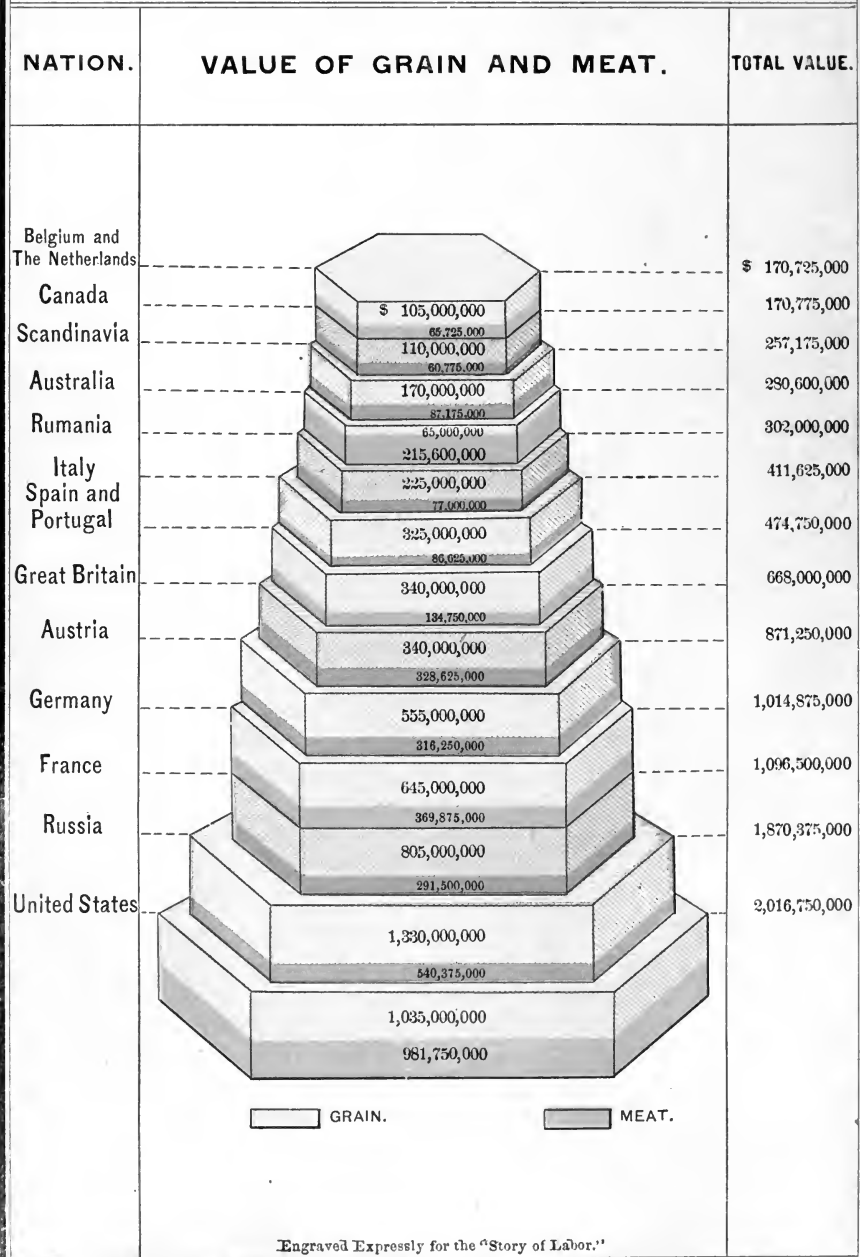
EXPORTS OF ALL NATIONS.

	MILLION DOLLARS.			DOLLARS PER INHABITANT.		
	1860.	1870.	1882.	1860.	1870.	1882.
United States.....	330	340	765	10	9	14
Canada.....	55	85	105	17	21	24
Australia.....	110	140	250	81	70	90
Cape Colony.....	10	15	45	24	22	44
India.....	145	270	375	1	2	2
China.....	90	105	125			
Egypt.....	40	80	70	15	20	14
West India (British).....	20	25	50	21	24	24
Brazil.....	35	90	120	4	9	14
Chili.....	25	40	65	15	21	20
	20	30	45	9	11	15
United Kingdom.....	680	1,000	1,205	22	31	24
France.....	455	500	720	12	15	19
Germany.....	390	550	745	10	14	16
Russia.....	105	215	240	1½	3	3
Austria.....	130	300	300	5¼	5¼	9¾
Italy.....	95	150	255	4	6	8
Spain.....	55	80	110	4	5	7
Portugal.....	20	25	50	5	6	7
Belgium.....	95	140	200	21	28	47
Holland.....	100	160	295	27	42	74
Denmark.....	35	45	40	24	25	20
Sweden and Norway.....	40	65	75	7	10	11
Greece.....	5	5	15	4	4	8
Europe.....	2,190	3,185	4,330	8	11	14
	3,070	4,415	6,315			

GROSS EARNINGS OF NATIONS.

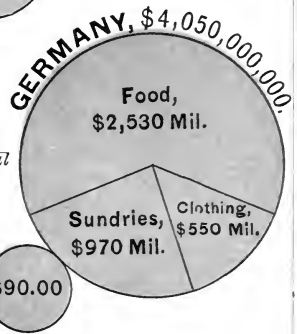
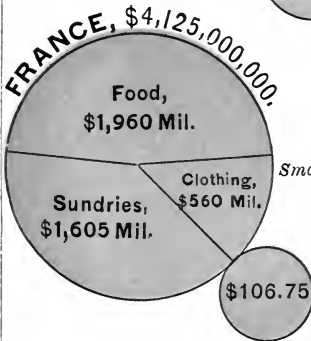
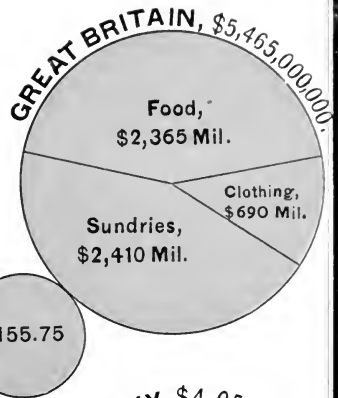
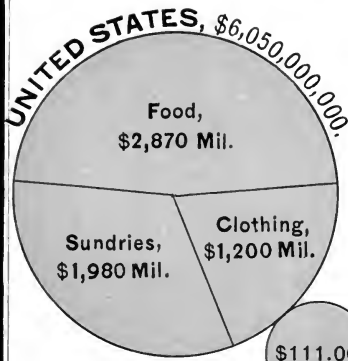
	MILLION DOLLARS.			Ratio per Inhabitant.
	Agriculture.	Other Industries.	Total.	
United States.....	3,020	4,080	7,100	135
Canada.....	290	300	590	130
Australia.....	330	285	665	215
United Kingdom.....	1,330	4,905	6,235	\$175
France.....	2,220	2,605	4,825	125
Germany.....	2,380	1,870	4,250	90
Russia.....	2,545	1,255	3,800	45
Austria.....	1,610	1,400	3,010	80
Italy.....	890	570	1,460	50
Spain.....	680	260	940	55
Portugal.....	155	70	225	55
Belgium.....	225	375	600	110
Holland.....	225	295	520	130
Denmark.....	185	50	235	125
Sweden and Norway.....	355	165	520	80
Switzerland.....	90	130	220	80
Greece.....	50	65	115	55
Europe.....	12,840	14,115	26,955	\$90
	16,530	18,750	35,300	95

FOOD SUPPLY OF PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES.

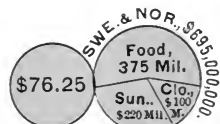
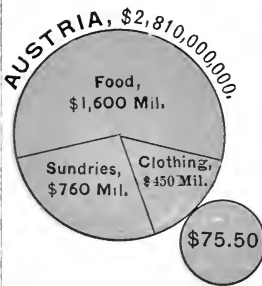


COST OF LIVING IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

Annual Expenditure per Individual.



Small Circles Represent Annual Average Expenditure per Inhabitant.



EMIGRATION FROM THE OLD WORLD TO THE UNITED STATES.

ARRIVALS IN UNITED STATES.

	Thousands.		Thousands.
1821-30.....	143	1861-70.....	2,493
1831-40.....	609	1871-80.....	2,731
1841-50.....	1,706	1881.....	669
1851-60.....	2,598	1882.....	789

Total for 62 years, 11,738,000 emigrants.

EXPORTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

	1821-30.	1831-40.	1841-50.	1851-60.	1861-70.	1871-80.	1881.
Cotton.....	\$26,500	\$55,250	\$56,000	\$127,600	\$84,000	\$189,000	\$258,000
Grain.....	6,000	8,000	18,601	30,500	46,000	125,500	275,500
Tobacco.....	5,750	7,270	8,350	15,500	19,500	25,500	21,500
Meat.....	1,500	2,100	7,200	9,400	16,500	63,000	109,400
Butter, Cheese.....	200	200	1,030	1,500	8,750	14,000	21,600
Petroleum.....					12,150	39,000	42,000
Lumber.....	2,050	4,950	3,750	8,000	10,250	18,000	19,000
Manufactures.....	1,100	2,150	6,150	12,000	9,400	21,500	29,000
Sundries.....	13,450	15,015	18,550	37,500	31,000	50,500	120,000
Total.....	56,550	91,000	115,500	241,000	235,250	556,000	920,000

COMPARATIVE COST OF FOOD.

	MILLION DOLLARS.		Ratio of Food to Earnings. Per Cent.	Days of Work Equal to Food.
	National Earnings.	Food Value.		
United States.....	7,100	2,870	40.4	121
United Kingdom.....	7,225	2,365	37.8	114
France.....	4,825	1,860	40.6	121
Germany.....	4,250	2,830	59.5	177
Russia.....	3,800	2,580	67.9	204
Austria.....	3,010	1,600	53.1	159
Italy.....	1,460	1,020		
Spain.....	940	615	65.3	196
Belgium and Holland.....	1,120	510	45.5	143
Denmark.....	225	115	50.6	153
Sweden and Norway.....	520	260	50.0	150

The days of work are 300 per annum, allowing rest on fifty-two Sundays, and thirteen days of sickness for each inhabitant. These countries are relatively the most affluent when the cost of food is lowest as compared with total earnings, viz: Great Britain, the United States and France, and in these the wealth will most rapidly increase. But if we consider only the working classes, we find that in the United States the cost of food is exactly one-third the value of labor, whereas in Great Britain it is almost one-half, and in France much more.

FOOD EXPORTS OF UNITED STATES.

YEAR.	MILLIONS.			PER INHABITANT.		
	Grain, Bushels.	Meat, Pounds.	Butter and Cheese, Pounds.	Grain, Bushels.	Meat, Pounds.	Butter and Cheese, Pounds.
1821.....	5	22	1	0.5	2.2	0.1
1831.....	11	24	2	0.9	2.0	0.2
1841.....	9	47	5	0.5	2.6	0.3
1851.....	14	78	11	0.6	3.3	0.5
1861.....	66	142	48	2.0	4.4	1.5
1871.....	62	235	73	1.6	6.0	1.9
1881.....	285	1,536	180	5.6	30.1	3.6

COST OF FOOD.

	MILLION DOLLARS.					Ave'ge per Inhab- itant.
	Grain.	Meat.	Liquor	S'ndr's	Total.	
United States.....	460	765	370	1275	2870	\$55 50
United Kingdom.....	275	700	510	880	2365	87 25
France.....	460	525	370	605	1860	57 00
Germany.....	600	630	400	900	2530	56 25
Russia.....	660	535	420	965	2580	31 25
Austria.....	280	440	315	565	1600	42 00
Italy.....	310	125	185	400	1020	37 50
Spain.....	150	105	100	250	615	37 75
Belgium and Holland.....	105	85	94	225	510	53 50
Denmark.....	25	25	25	40	115	57 00
Sweden and Norway.....	55	50	40	115	160	42 50
Total.....	3490	4085	2830	6220	16425	\$47 00

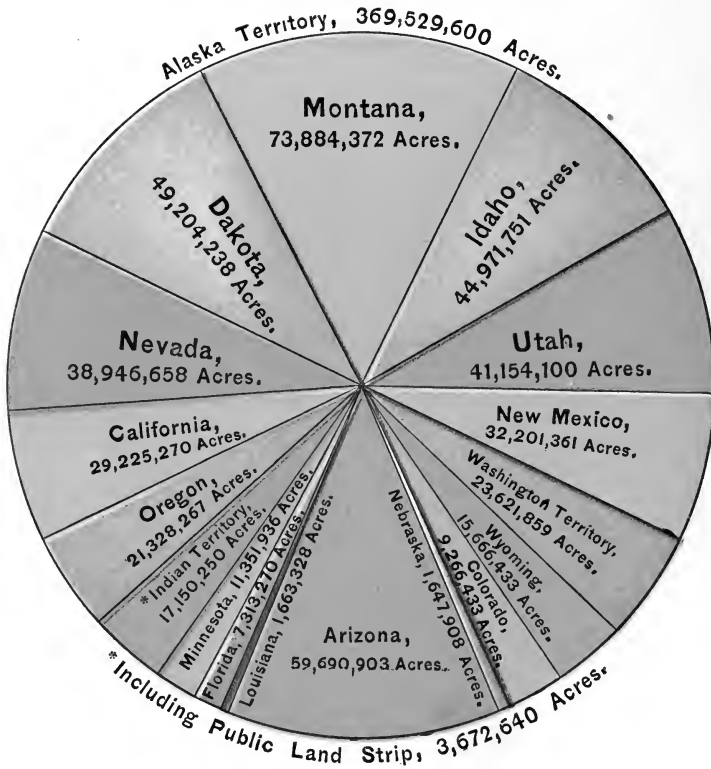
AVERAGE FOOD PER HEAD.

	MAN, AGED 20—60, OUNCES DAILY.				Energy foot-tons.
	Bread.	Meat.	Butter and Cheese.	Sugar.	
United States.....	26	9	1½	1½	3.462
United Kingdom.....	21	7	2	5	3.372
France.....	33	5	½	1½	3.353
Germany.....	38	5	1	1½	3.870
Russia.....	32	3½	¼	½	3.015
Austria.....	28	5	¾	1	3.034
Italy.....	28	2	¼	½	2.691
Spain.....	26	3	...	½	2.495
Low countries.....	30	4	1	1½	3.225
Denmark.....	31	4½	1½	2¼	3.558
Sweden and Norway.....	22	3	1	1	2.456
Average.....	30	5	1	1½	3.320

OUR PUBLIC DOMAIN.

Unoccupied Lands and Where they Lie.

JUNE 1885.



This makes, exclusive of Alaska, a total of 478,238,337 acres. On June 30th, 1882, the unoccupied public lands amounted to 1,814,793,938 acres; the decrease since that date having been, as will be seen, 1,336,505,601 acres. If this appropriation of the public domain should continue for only a short time longer, at anything like this rate, it would be speedily exhausted. But it must be further remembered that the lands taken up have, in all cases, been the most valuable, and that a large portion of those still available are uncultivable, or poor. However, a certain proportion of the unrightfully obtained railroad grant lands is to be soon restored to the public domain, and this restitution will increase the total of desirable land by many millions of acres.

WHAT WE SPEND OUR MONEY FOR,
THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE, COMPARED WITH THE COST OF
LIQUOR AND TOBACCO.

DRINK,
\$900,000,000.

BREAD,
\$505,000,000.

TOBACCO,
\$600,000,000.

**IRON
AND
STEEL,**
\$290,000,000.

MEAT,
\$303,000,000.

**WOOLEN
GOODS,**
\$237,000,000.

**COTTON
GOODS,**
\$210,000,000.

**SAWED
LUMBER,**
\$233,000,000.

**BOOTS
AND
SHOES,**
\$196,000,000.

PUBLIC EDUCATION,



\$85,000,000.

RELIGION,



\$55,000,000.

SUGAR AND MOLASSES,



\$155,000,000.

RELATIVE VALUE OF FOOD.

(BEEF PAR.)

Oysters.....	22	Turbot.....	84	Beef.....	100
Milk.....	24	Mutton.....	87	Duck.....	104
Lobsters.....	50	Venison.....	89	Salmon.....	108
Cream.....	56	Veal.....	92	Pork.....	116
Cod-Fish.....	68	Fowl.....	94	Butter.....	124
Eggs.....	72	Herring.....	100	Cheese.....	155

GRAIN CROPS OF COUNTRIES.

	MILLION OF BUSHELS.					Value, Million Dollars.
	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Other Kinds.	Total.	
United Kingdom.....	74	130	90	28	322	341
France.....	272	220	80	154	726	815
Germany.....	94	180	86	274	634	645
Russia.....	210	520	130	850	1,710	1,331
Austria.....	115	130	80	223	548	111
Italy.....	140	20	20	113	293	325
Spain and Portugal.....	145	13	76	91	105	115
Belgium and Holland.....	24	35	.....	46	115	115
Scandinavia.....	7	76	37	50	171	171
Roumania.....	85	10	40	90	225	225
Europe.....	1,166	1,334	639	1,919	5,158	4,935
United States.....	440	405	40	1,585	2,471	1,135
Canada.....	45	55	15	15	131	111
Australia.....	35	.....	15	10	61	65
India.....	270	.....	.....	.....	271	335
Other countries.....	120	.....	110	179	419	351
	2,076	1,794	819	3,708	8,397	6,731

HOUSES AND THEIR VALUE.

	Houses Thousands.	Value Millions Dollars.	Average per House.	Average per Inhabitant.	Inhabitant per House.
United States.....	8,956	13,900	\$1 555	\$3265	5.6
United Kingdom.....	6,452	11,400	\$1 760	\$325	5.4
France.....	8,813	9,450	1 065	250	4.3
Germany.....	5,770	7,350	1 275	165	7.7
Russia.....	9,150	4,400	480	55	9.1
Austria.....	6,290	3,750	720	105	5.9
Italy.....	4,420	3,380	715	115	6.3
Spain and Portugal.....	3,810	2,100	555	105	5.4
Belgium.....	1,060	700	660	75	5.1
Holland.....	720	580	775	145	5.5
Scandinavia.....	1,300	650	545	90	6.9
Europe.....	47,685	43,770	\$925	\$145	6.8

IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

	VALUE, MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.						Ratio per Inhabitant Shillings.
	Dry Goods.	Hard-ware.	Sugar.	Tea and Coffee.	Sun-dries.	Total.	
1821	25	2½	5	5	7¼	45	\$4 50
1821	45	7½	7½	7½	17½	85	6 75
1841	50	5	12½	15	37½	120	7 00
1851	80	15	17½	17½	80	210	8 25
1861	90	20	32½	30	112½	285	8 75
1871	130	45	70	45	185	475	11 75
1881	130	55	90	80	295	650	12 50

INDUSTRIES.

	VALUE IN MILLION DOLLARS.					Ratio per Inhabitant.
	Agricul-ture.	Manufac-tures.	Com-merce.	Trans-port.	Total.	
United States.	3,020	5,560	1,575	1,250	13,405	\$220
Canada.....	290	260	230	55	835	190
Australia.....	380	130	505	45	1,060	355
United Kingdom... ..	1,330	4,090	2,850	930	9,200	260
France.....	2,220	2,470	1,700	450	6,840	180
Germany.....	2,280	2,245	1,575	550	6,650	150
Russia.....	2,545	1,190	600	315	4,650	60
Austria.....	1,610	1,050	640	220	3,520	95
Italy.....	890	565	480	90	2,045	75
Spain.....	680	480	205	70	1,435	90
Portugal.....	155	100	65	15	335	80
Belgium.....	225	460	580	55	1,320	240
Holland.....	225	200	605	30	1,060	265
Denmark.....	185	80	95	15	375	190
Sweden and Norway.....	355	185	180	70	790	120
Europe	12,700	13,125	9,575	2,800	38,220	125
Total.....	16,600	19,140	11,980	4,390	51,910	195

VALUE OF IRON MANUFACTURED.

Bar of pig iron.....	\$ 5.00	Made into pen knives	\$ 3.250
Made into horseshoes.....	10.00	“ “ buttons.....	30,500
“ “ needles.....	55.00	“ “ watch springs.....	276,000

CONSUMPTION OF PIG IRON.

	THOUSANDS OF TONS.		POUNDS PER INHABITANT.	
	1850.	1881.	1885.	1881.
United States.....	560	5,372	55	240
Great Britain.....	1,970	6,415	170	420
Germany.....	420	2,520	27	126
France.....	450	2,110	27	122
Belgium.....	170	720	85	303
Austria.....	150	520	12	30
Russia.....	300	630	10	18
Sweden.....	45	180	30	90
Total.....	4,065	18,467	42	68

COST OF LIVING—EXPENDITURES AMONG NATIONS.

	MILLION DOLLARS.				PER INHABITANT.	MILLION DOLLARS.	
	Food.	Clothing.	Sundries.	Total.		Income.	Surplus.
United States.....	2,870	1,200	1,980	6,050	\$110	7,100	1,050
United Kingdom.....	2,365	6,90	2,410	9,455	155	6,235	770
France.....	1,860	6,60	1,805	4,125	105	4,825	700
Germany.....	2,530	5,50	970	4,050	90	4,250	290
Russia.....	2,780	6,10	560	3,750	40	3,800	50
Austria.....	1,600	4,50	770	2,810	75	3,010	200
Italy.....	1,020	1,50	240	1,410	45	1,460	50
Spain.....	615	1,00	165	890	50	940	50
Belgium and Holland.....	510	1,50	360	1,020	105	1,110	100
Scandinavia.....	375	1,00	220	685	75	745	50
Europe.....	13,555	3,360	7,200	24,215	\$80	26,375	2,176
Total.....	16,425	4,562	9,280	30,265	\$85	33,485	3,220

LOCOMOTIVES.

	NUMBER. 1880.	—ANNUAL TRAFFIC PER LOCOMOTIVE.—	
		PASSENGERS.	GOODS, TONS.
United States.....	17,790	22,200	23,600
United Kingdom.....	13,480	97,800	31,500
Germany.....	9,400	43,000	30,100
France.....	6,220	51,600	21,200
Austria.....	3,600	18,800	25,300
Russia.....	3,560	20,500	16,300
Italy.....	1,600	35,200	9,700
Other Countries.....	7,460	35,400	14,700
Total.....	63,020	48,030	25,400

LAND CULTIVATION AND VALUE.

	MILLION ACRES.			VALUE.			RENT.
	Cultivated.	Uncultivated.	Total.	Million Dollars.	Per Inhabitant.	Per cultivated Acre.	Per Acre.
United States.....	170	1,635	1,805	9,615	\$185	\$35	.....
Canada.....	16	1,902	1,910	900	210	40	.....
Australia.....	11	1,847	1,858	910	320	35	.....
Argentine Republic.	4	773	777	610	225	20	.....
United Kingdom....	47	23	70	8,685	240	165	\$5.00
France.....	67	49	116	12,120	350	180	6.00
Germany.....	68	57	125	10,300	225	125	4.50
Russia.....	195	894	1,089	6,930	90	15	.50
Austria.....	57	85	142	6,450	180	75	2.00
Italy.....	27	41	68	4,050	140	110	2.75
Spain.....	22	90	112	3,300	200	90	1.25
Portugal.....	4	17	21	790	180	125	2.00
Belgium.....	5	1	6	1,225	230	240	7.50
Holland.....	5	2	7	1,060	265	210	7.50
Denmark.....	6	2	8	1,050	550	165	6.00
Sweden.....	12	86	98	1,560	330	60	1.25
Norway.....	3	70	73	550	300	55	1.00
Greece.....	2	9	11	525	285	90	3.00
Europe.....	520	1,426	1,948	56,595	200	100	2.00
	721	7,583	83,047	1,830	195	85	

OWNERS OF LAND.

	No. Owners. (Thousands)	AVERAGE ESTATE.		Land Owners and Population Per cent.
		Acres.	Value.	
United States.....	4,005	160	2,250	8.0
Canada.....	408	120	1,250	9.0
Australia.....	168	380	5,450	6.0
Argentine Republic.....	390	850	1,550	13.0
United Kingdom....	180	390	\$48,000	.95
France.....	3,226	32	4,050	0.0
Germany.....	2,436	37	4,250	5.0
Russia.....	11,336	75	500	14.0
Austria.....	3,432	41	1,850	9.0
Italy.....	1,865	35	2,150	7.0
Spain.....	680	150	4,750	4.0
Portugal.....	252	80	3,150	6.0
Belgium.....	335	18	3,775	6.0
Holland.....	154	45	6,850	4.0
Denmark.....	71	115	14,900	4.0
Sweden.....	204	400	7,750	5.0
Norway.....	110	300	5,000	6.0
Greece.....	163	66	3,200	9.0
Europe.....	24,444	80	\$2,450	8.0
Total.....	29,415	96	\$2,515	8.0

MACHINERY.

1. A sewing-machine does the work of 12 women. The United States exports 105,000 of these machines yearly.
2. A Boston "bootmaker" will enable a workman to make 300 pairs of boots daily. In 1880 there were 3,100 of these machines working in various countries, turning out 150,000,000 pairs of boots yearly.
3. Glen's California reaper will cut, thresh, winnow, and put in bags the wheat of 60 acres in 24 hours.
4. The Hercules ditcher, Michigan, removes 750 cubic yards or 700 tons of clay per hour.

YEARLY CONSUMPTION OF NECESSARIES.

	PER INHABITANT, LBS.				Value.
	Grain.	Meat.	Butter.	Sugar.	
United States.....	392	120	16	23	\$31 50
United Kingdom.....	330	105	13	68	35 25
France.....	505	74	4	21	27 25
Germany.....	585	69	8	21	29 25
Russia.....	490	48	3	7	16 00
Austria.....	410	64	5	14	23 00
Italy.....	420	23	1	35	15 75
Spain.....	390	49	0	5	15 50
Belgium and Holland.....	445	69	6	16	22 75
Denmark.....	475	70	15	31	24 25
Sweden and Norway.....	340	65	9	17	19 25
Average.....	450	70	7	20	31 50

OCCUPATIONS—WORKERS IN ALL NATIONS.

	THOUSANDS.			RATIO.			Total.
	Agriculture.	Manufacture.	Variou.	Agri-cult're.	Manu-fact're.	Variou.	
United States.....	7,713	3,526	18,876	.26	.12	.62	100
England.....	1,651	5,138	1,968	.11	.34	.54	100
Scotland.....	270	749	1,171	.12	.34	.53	100
Ireland.....	1,062	354	2,150	.29	.9	.60	100
France.....	14,162	6,615	6,988	.51	.24	.25	100
Germany.....	12,920	10,140	7,014	.43	.34	.23	100
Russia.....	40,590	2,436	6,498	.81	.5	.14	100
Austria.....	13,755	3,266	7,987	.55	.13	.32	100
Italy.....	12,862	1,274	4,174	.70	.7	.23	100
Spain.....	3,360	1,334	6,416	.30	.12	.58	100
Portugal.....	1,251	220	1,306	.45	.8	.47	100
Belgium.....	1,512	1,436	828	.40	.38	.22	100
Holland.....	1,563	321	806	.58	.12	.30	100
Scandinavia.....	3,540	520	1,750	.61	.9	.30	100
Europe.....	108,508	33,813	55,052	.55	.17	.28	100
Total.....	116,217	37,339	73,928	.51	.17	.32	100

POWER AVAILABLE FOR INDUSTRIES.

	THOUSANDS.					Ratio.
	Human Workers.	Horses.	Steam Horse Power.	Rivers Horse Power.	Total Horse Power.	
United States.....	30,116	11,302	8,152	61,150	83,516	36
United Kingdom.....	22,570	2,906	7,780	4,520	17,466	77½
France.....	27,765	2,833	3,513	6,130	15,233	6
Germany.....	30,074	3,360	4,325	6,040	16,735	7
Russia.....	49,520	16,200	1,365	36,145	58,630	25½
Austria.....	25,008	3,760	1,280	5,830	13,370	5.7
Italy.....	18,310	658	480	3,060	6,929	2.9
Spain.....	11,120	590	483	2,220	4,405	1.8
Portugal.....	2,780	70	66	640	104	.5
Belgium.....	3,776	283	595	370	1,626	.7
Holland.....	2,690	280	216	640	1,405	.6
Scandinavia.....	5,810	970	416	6,390	8,327	3.6
Switzerland.....	1,815	110	253	650	1,195	.5
Roumania.....	3,520	550	90	1,160	2,152	.9
Servia.....	1,700	140	35	450	732	.3
Greece.....	1,020	97	20	420	640	.2
Europe.....	206,848	32,807	20,917	75,505	149,919	64.0
Total.....	236,964	44,009	29,069	136,655	233,435	100

POWER USED IN AMERICAN FACTORIES.

STATES.	THOUSAND HORSES.			Horse power per 1,000 Inhabitants.
	Water.	Steam.	Total.	
New England.....	78	137	215	54
Middle.....	58	298	356	31
Southern.....	5	45	50	3
Western.....	18	229	247	14
Pacific.....	1	13	14	13
Total.....	160	722	882	17

NATIONAL AND LOCAL REVENUES.

TAXES.

	National.	Local.	Total.	Per Inhab- itant, \$.	Income, Millions, \$.	Ratio of Taxes per cent.
United States.....	375,600	420,000	80,000	\$12 25	7,200	11
United Kingdom.....	473,410	190,455	618,865	14 75	6,235	15
France.....	561,020	161,200	723,225	19 25	4,825	12
Germany.....	451,600	66,350	511,950	12 50	4,250	12
Russia.....	348,500	56,000	421,500	5 00	3,800	11
Austria.....	342,000	26,500	368,500	10 00	3,010	12
Italy.....	271,000	100,500	371,500	13 00	1,460	25
Spain.....	158,000	45,500	203,500	12 25	940	21
Portugal.....	34,500	6,500	41,000	9 75	180	18
Holland.....	42,000	10,500	52,500	13 00	520	10
Belgium.....	57,000	11,250	68,250	12 50	600	11
Denmark.....	13,500	6,650	20,150	10 25	235	9
Sweden and Norway.....	35,100	17,300	32,400	8 00	520	10
Total.....	3,140,635	1,120,705	4,261,340	11.50	33,720	12½

RAILWAY TRAFFIC.

	Millions. Passengers.	Millions. Goods, Tons.	Receipts.	Working Expenses. Per cent.	Earnings. Per Mile.	Dividend on Capital.
United States.....	270	290	\$580,500,000	62	\$7,220	\$4.80
United Kingdom.....	752	258	349,200,000	52	18,362	4.20
France.....	180	90	214,000,000	52	12,600	4.12
Germany.....	210	258	236,500,000	54	10,310	4.21
Russia.....	33	35	112,000,000	70	8,735	2.20
Austria.....	44	57	116,000,000	56	93,000	3.76
Italy.....	34	10	62,000,000	61	6,350	2.48
Spain.....	24	6	26,500,000	47	5,890	3.78
Portugal.....	4	-1	3,500,000	57	4,510	2.55
Belgium.....	56	36	27,000,000	59	11,100	3.66
Holland.....	17	6	9,000,000	50	5,915	3.46
Denmark.....	6	1	3,500,000	71	3,700	2.10
Switzerland.....	32	6	11,500,000	56	7,100	3.03
Turkey.....	1	0	3,500,000	66	4,500	2.77
Canada.....	11	10	28,000,000	77	3,450	1.86
Spanish America.....	8	3	33,500,000	66	4,400	2.85
Australia.....	4	4	22,200,000	61	5,050	.36
India.....	48	9	60,500,000	51	6,650	4.55
Egypt.....	4	1	16,500,000	68	40,360	2.80
The World.....	1,742	985	\$1,994,000,000	57	\$8,350	4.10

SCHOOLS, TEACHERS AND PUPILS.

	THOUSANDS.		
	Schools.	Teachers.	Pupils.
United States.....	177	273	9,000
Canada.....	13	16	800
Australia.....	6	13	600
Argentine Republic.....	2	6	100
Brazil.....	6	8	100
Egypt.....	6	6	100
India.....	83	87	1,000
Japan.....	26	60	1,000
United Kingdom.....	28	57	1,000
France.....	74	119	1,000
Germany.....	73	101	1,000
Russia.....	32	40	1,000
Austria.....	31	52	1,000
Italy.....	47	52	1,000
Spain.....	28	30	1,000
Switzerland.....	5	10	1,000
Belgium.....	6	12	1,000
Holland.....	4	7	1,000
Scandinavia.....	17	18	1,100
Roumania.....	2	4	100
Europe.....	347	502	28,857
Total.....	660	963	44,724

SETTLERS IN UNITED STATES (60 YEARS).

FROM.	FROM 1823 TO 1880.			Ratio to Survivors per cent.	Ratio of Total per cent.
	Arrived.	Dead or Reported.	Living in 1880.		
Ireland.....	3,538	1,423	2,115	60	33
England.....	1,105	595	510	48	8
Scotland.....	195	48	147	75	3
United Kingdom.....	4,838	2,066	2,772	57	44
Germanians.....	3,312	1,245	1,967	60	31
Canadians.....	826	109	717	88	11
Scandinavians.....	427	51	376	88	6
French.....	345	238	107	31	2
Chinese.....	231	126	105	44	2
Various.....	402	130	282	70	4
Total.....	10,281	3,955	6,326	61	100

COÖPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

Year.	Societies.	Thousand Members.	Capital Thousand \$	Sales. Million \$.
1861.....	66	38	1,825	5.5
1871.....	749	249	12,650	41.0
1881.....	1,118	1,083	34,250	122.0



APPENDIX B.

THE WORKINGMAN UNDER THE LAW.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE legal aspect of the labor question has appealed more to the states than to the general government. An abridgment of the laws touching labor standing upon the statute books of the different states cannot but be of interest in connection with the matter presented by THE STORY OF LABOR.

California.—Minor children shall not work more than eight hours a day, except in the vineyards and gardens. Save in cases of a special contract, eight hours is a day's work, and even these special contracts are forbidden in work done for the state. There are also laws for the protection of the health and lives of minors similar to those given more at length below.

Colorado.—Seats must be provided for females in manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishments, to be used when the woman is not actively employed; the failure to provide which is punishable by a penalty of from \$10 to \$30 for each offense. Operators of coal mines employing ten men or more must keep a map showing the workings of the mine, the strata and boundaries, drawn on a large scale, in the county mine office, and another with the mine inspector. The mining laws of Colorado are very complete and full; so much so that any adequate abridgment of them would be too long for the purposes of this volume. It is sufficient to say that they cover the exigencies of the case with great care. Any of our readers desiring more full information can procure it by writing to the Secretary of State of Colorado, at Denver. Child labor is prohibited in the mines.

Connecticut.—No child under fourteen years, nine months a resident of the United States, may be employed in any labor who has not attended school sixty days during the twelve months preceding the time when the labor is to begin, nor unless six weeks attendance has been consecutive, under a penalty to the employer of \$60. Parents or guardians must furnish a certificate signed by the school authorities attesting the attendance of the child at school, and falsification of the certificate is also punished. All tenements and factories must be provided with fire-escapes. When a laborer is employed under a contract which agrees to a forfeiture of part of the wages due for leaving without notice, the employer is made by law liable for a discharge without notice, unless for incapacity or misconduct, or a general suspension of work. Minors

under fifteen years may not be worked more than ten hours a day, or fifty-eight hours a week. Eight hours' work is a day's labor, unless otherwise agreed, in all departments of industry. The school visitors must examine the condition of the children in the factories at least once a year.

Dakota.—To induce, or to attempt to induce, any employé to quit work by force, threats or intimidation, is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of \$500, or imprisonment for one year, or both. The intimidation of employers is also a misdemeanor. Two or more persons associating together and entering on mining property, or from a distance close enough to be heard, to intimidate workers by threats and gestures, are guilty of a misdemeanor. It is a misdemeanor to compel adults, or to permit children, to work more than ten hours a day.

Delaware.—Factories and tenements must have fire-escapes.

Georgia.—Employers are prohibited from using corporal punishment. No minor may be employed longer than from sunrise to sunset in any factory or shop.

Illinois.—Fire-escapes must be put upon all buildings four stories high, save private dwelling-houses. Factories and other places where work is done, more than two stories high, must have one fire-escape for every fifty people for whom there is working accommodation above the second story. Coal mine operators must keep a sworn statement of the amount of output, open to the inspection of any one interested. All coal must be weighed at the mouth of the mine. The health and safety of coal miners has been the special subject of legislation. No minor under fourteen, and no female whatever, may work in a coal mine. Five mine inspectors are paid by the state \$1,800 a year each. These are chosen by a board of examiners consisting of two coal miners, two coal operators, and a mining engineer; the board being chosen by the commissioner of labor statistics. Eight hours is a legal day's work, save on farms and in cases of special agreement, and the law does not apply to service by the week or month.

Indiana.—An employer working minors, of either sex, under eighteen years old, more than ten hours a day in any factory, is liable to fine. Intimidation of workmen to prevent them furnishing work or material to any person, is punishable by fine and imprisonment. Interference or attempted interference with the working of any railroad or common carrier is punishable by fine, imprisonment and disenfranchisement. A state mine inspector is employed at a salary of \$1,500. Boys under fourteen are not permitted to work in mines, except in those employing less than ten men. Attention is paid by law to the adequate protection of the miners in the mines. Payments and settlements to all classes of labor must be made once a month, at least, except under special contract. Children under twelve may not be employed in the manufacture of iron, steel, machinery or tobacco. In other business they may not be employed more than eight hours a day.

Iowa.—A mine inspector is paid \$1,700 a year by the state. The mining law is practically the same as Colorado.

Kansas.—The mining laws are nearly the same as Colorado. The inspector receives \$2,000 a year.

Maine.—All factories must have fire-escapes, under penalty of \$5 to \$50 a day and prosecution for maintaining a common nuisance. Ten hours is a day's work, except under special agreement and in farm labor. Children must attend school four months in the year, preceding employment, if twelve years old, and three months if

between twelve and fifteen. No one under sixteen years of age shall be employed more than ten hours a day.

Maryland.—Seats must be provided for female employés in factories and stores to be used when the worker is not actively employed. The health of the employés in factories and workshops has been made the especial care of the state, especially as to the sanitary condition of shops and factories. Any five or more persons who see fit to do so may incorporate as a trades-union. A combination by more than one person to affect a trade dispute is *not* indictable unless the action of one person would be so. Mining work must not exceed ten hours a day. Minors under sixteen may not be employed more than ten hours a day. Arbitration between employers and workmen is fostered by the state.

Massachusetts.—Inspectors of factories and buildings have large powers to inspect and report on the condition and needs of the laboring class. Precautions against fire and accident are instituted by statute, under heavy penalties. Seats must be provided for female employés. The size and weight of whistles, gongs and bells employed for the convenience of operatives may be regulated by the municipal officers. No child under ten years may be employed in any work, and no child under twelve may be employed during school hours. No minor under eighteen may be employed more than sixty hours in any one week, nor more than ten hours in one day. Except during the vacations of the public schools no child under fourteen may be employed who has not attended school for twenty weeks during the year preceding the employment. Employers must keep on file birth and school-attendance certificates of all minors under sixteen. Intimidation or attempted intimidation of workmen is punishable by fine. Workmen cannot contract themselves out of their rights. The sanitation of factories is established by law.

Michigan.—No child under fourteen may be employed who has not attended school four months in the year preceding his employment. No child under ten may be employed at all. No minor under eighteen, and no female, shall be required to work more than ten hours a day. Seats for female employés must be provided. Special powers are given to the police for inspection and report and prosecution of violations of the labor law. Fire-escapes must be provided. Ten hours is a legal day's work; employers requiring more must pay for over-time. Employers taking advantage of the poverty or misfortune of anyone seeking employment are liable to fine. Trades unions may be incorporated.

Minnesota.—Railroad employés on trains shall not be required to work more than eighteen hours in any one day, save in case of urgent necessity. Minors under eighteen, and females, must not work more than ten hours a day. Ten hours is a legal day's work.

Missouri.—The mining law is similar to Colorado. The sanitation of factories is carefully ordered by statute. Railroad, mining, express, telegraph and manufacturing must give thirty days' notice of a reduction of wages. Tokens or checks issued by manufacturers are to be redeemable either in cash or goods, at the option of the employé. Seats for female employés must be provided.

Nebraska.—Seats must be provided for female employés. Ten hours is a legal day's labor.

New Hampshire.—Minors under sixteen may not be employed in factories, etc., unless they have attended school at least twelve weeks during the preceding year.

No child under sixteen may be employed, except during the regular vacation of the schools, who cannot write legibly and read fluently. Factory sanitation is provided for and fire-escapes are ordered. Intimidation or annoyance of workmen is a misdemeanor. Ten hours is a legal day's work.

New Jersey.—The truck system, whereby employes are compelled to purchase merchandise in the employers' store, is made a misdemeanor. Seats must be provided for female laborers. Fire escapes are obligatory. No boy under twelve and no girl under fourteen may be employed in any factory. Minors under fifteen must have attended school twelve consecutive weeks during the twelve months preceding their employment. A factory and workshop inspector and two deputies are appointed and paid by the state. Combinations looking to the peaceable persuasion of other workmen to enter or to withdraw from employment are not unlawful. Factory sanitation is provided for. No minor under sixteen may be employed more than ten hours a day or more than sixty hours a week. Provision is made for the arbitration of disputes between labor and capital. Arbitration is voluntary, but once agreed to the award is binding.

New York.—Seats for females must be provided. The orderly and peaceable assemblage of persons employed in a trade is not a conspiracy. The manufacture of cigars in tenement houses in cities of over half a million population is forbidden if any part of the floor used for the said manufacture is also used for sleeping or household work. The erection of any insecure building is a misdemeanor. Eight hours is a legal day's work. No child less than fourteen may be employed in labor who has not been at school for fourteen of the preceding fifty-two weeks of every year.

Ohio.—Fire escapes are ordered. The mining laws are similar to those of Colorado. A chief inspector and three district inspectors of mines are appointed and paid by the state. Seats must be provided for female laborers. The sanitation of factories is a matter of statute requirement. Children under fourteen may not be employed who have not attended school during twelve weeks of the preceding year. Any one compelling women, or male minors under eighteen, or permitting any minor under fourteen to work more than ten hours a day is liable to fine. Any employer using the truck system is liable to fine, as well as any one compelling workmen to purchase goods from any particular firm. Ten hours is a legal days work.

Oregon.—Persons preventing others by threats, violence or intimidation from working, or preventing employers from taking on new men, may be fined and imprisoned.

Pennsylvania.—Tribunes for the settlement of trade disputes may be established upon petition from the parties in interest. These petitions must be signed by fifty workmen or by five firms and must be presented to the judge of the Common Pleas Court. If there is a strike present or threatening, the judge shall take testimony as to the representative character of the petitioners. At least two signers must swear to the petition. The judge shall then authorize the tribunal, which may take jurisdiction over any dispute between the masters and men who have petitioned for its establishment. If the tribunal fails to agree in three meetings, masters and men shall together appoint an umpire whose award shall be final upon those matters alone submitted to him, in writing, for his decision by both sides. The board of arbitration consists of equal representation from the masters and the men — not less than two of each. They receive no compensation, but room rent, fuel and lights are paid by the county. Other

necessary expenses may be paid by voluntary contributions which the tribunal is authorized to receive. No lawyers or agents may appear for either side. The proceedings are wholly voluntary. Persons wishing to examine the details of the scheme more closely, should consult the "Voluntary Trade-tribunal act of 1883," which appears in the "Public Laws of 1883," page 15, and may be obtained from the Secretary of State at Harrisburg. Mine owners must pay employes in money or in orders redeemable in money in thirty days. The manner in which miners' wages shall be ascertained is fixed by law. Female labor in or about coal mines is prohibited. Very complete precautions against accident and for sanitation in mines are taken. Fire escapes in tenements, factories, etc., are obligatory. It is lawful for associations or individuals to refuse work when they believe wages too low, treatment bad, or labor forbidden by the society. Persons hindering others from working may be prosecuted. Adequate laws are on the statute books against child labor. Eight hours is a legal day's work, save when otherwise agreed. The act does not cover farm work or service by the year, month or week.

Rhode Island.—Child labor under ten is forbidden. The laws as to school attendance are similar to those of Connecticut. Ten hours is a legal day's work. Persons who hinder or seek to hinder others from working, are liable to fine and imprisonment.

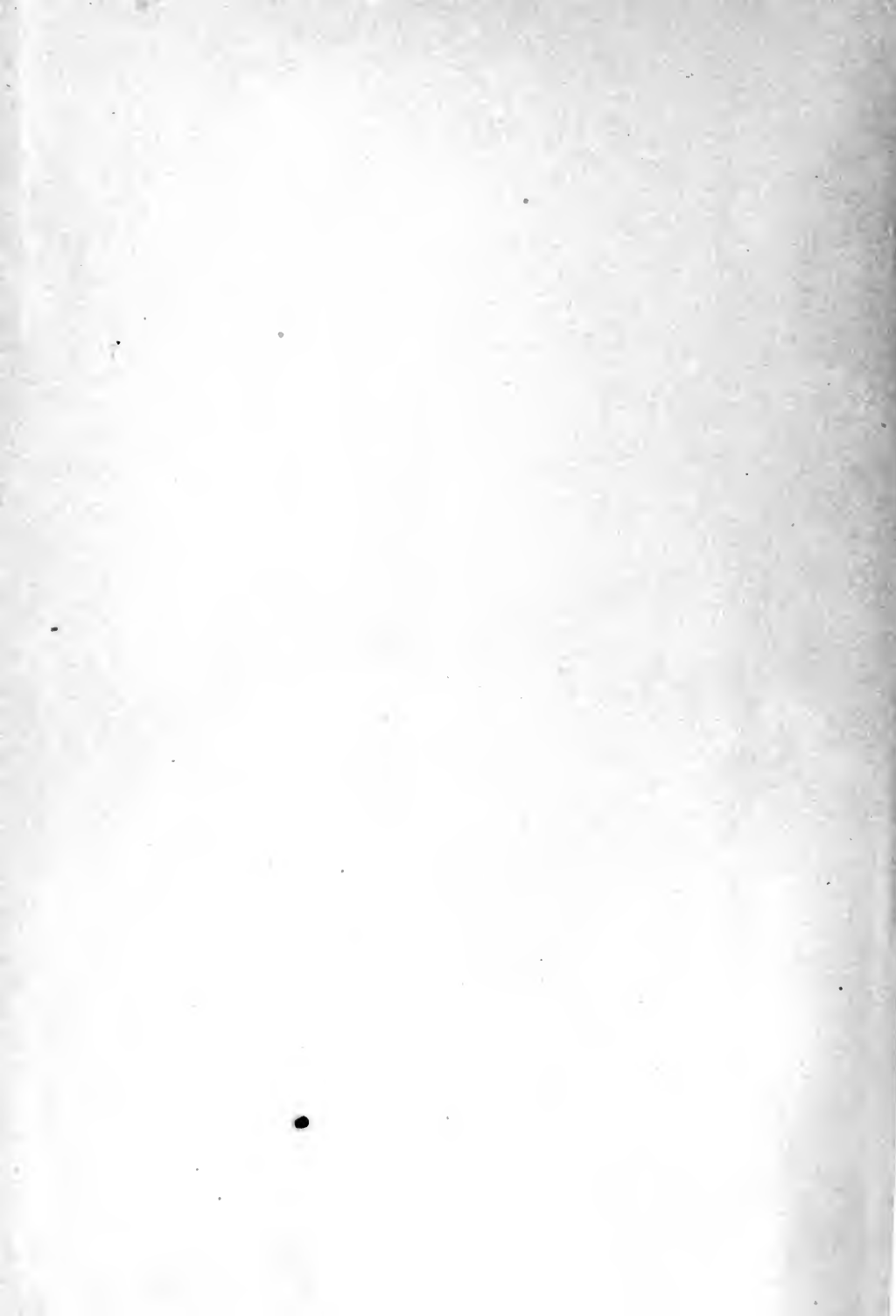
Tennessee.—The coal-mining laws are similar to those of Colorado. Boys under 12 may not enter any mine. The duties of mine inspector are performed by the geologist of the Agricultural Bureau, who has authority to employ requisite assistants.

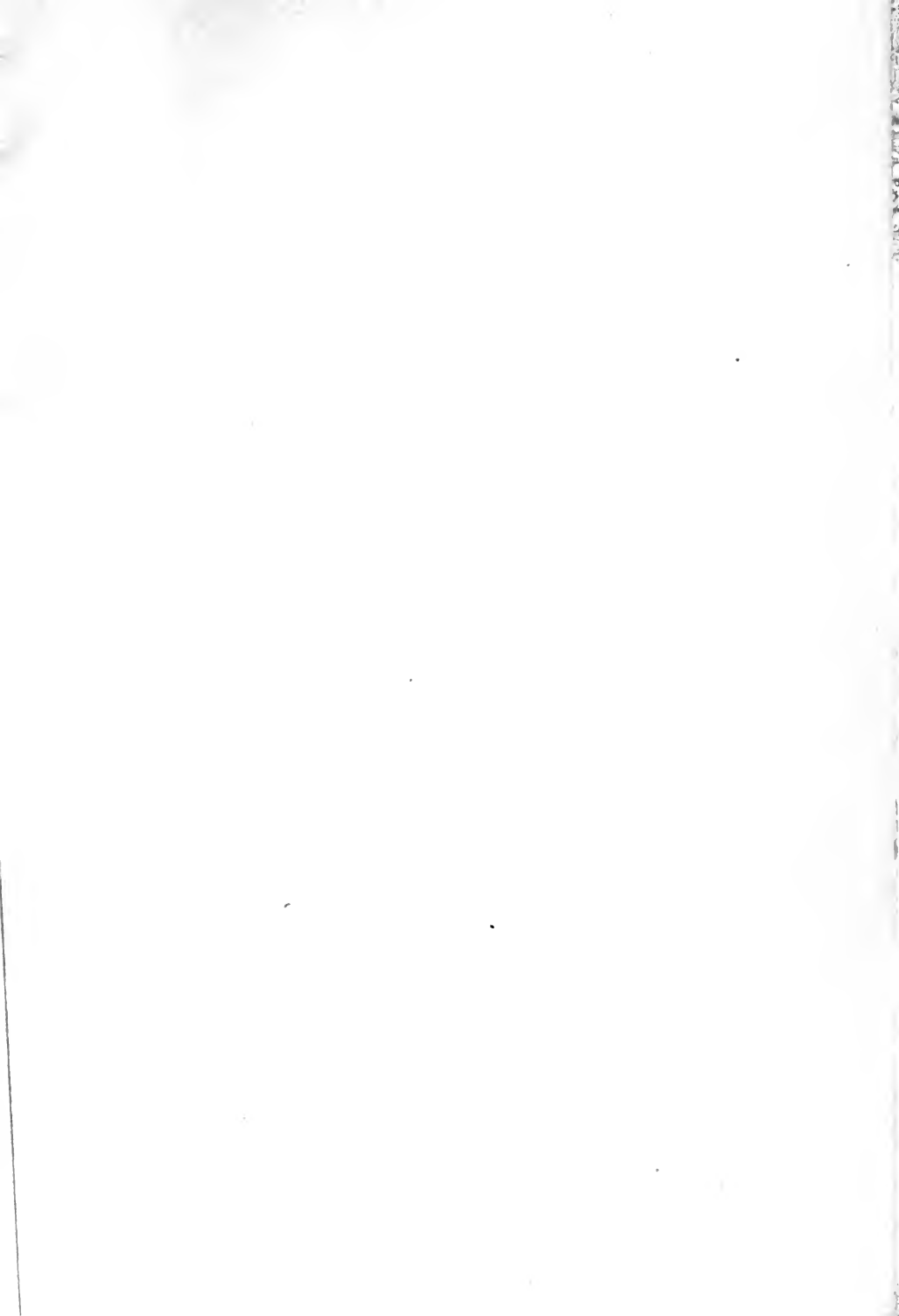
Texas.—It is unlawful for three or more persons to assemble to prevent persons from working, or to interfere with the labor or employment of another.

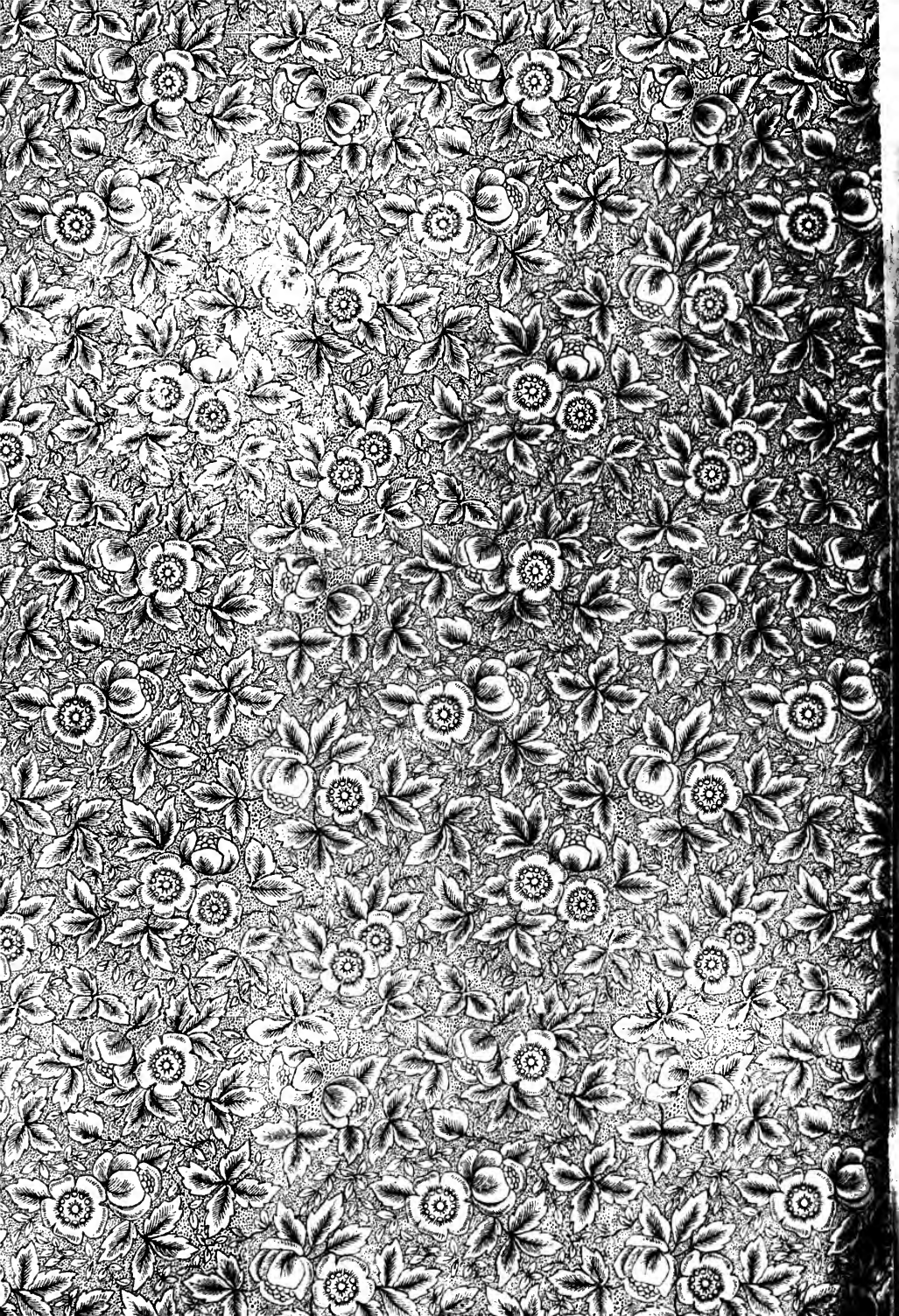
Vermont.—The laws as to school attendance of minor laborers are the same as those in the other New England States. Hindering or intimidating working men is punishable with imprisonment or fine.


West Virginia.—The mining laws are similar to those of Ohio. A mine inspector is paid \$2,000 a year by the state.

Wisconsin.—Eight hours is a legal day's work. Minors under 18 and females may not be compelled to work more than that amount. Fire escapes are obligatory on factories and tenements. The Commissioner of Labor Statistics has power to enter and inspect any factory and enter complaint with the district attorney for violation of the law, whereupon the latter shall prosecute. Information to the Commissioner of Labor Statistics must be given under oath, and refusal to admit commissioner into factory, etc., is punishable by fine.









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