OUR NEW INDUSTRIAL IDEALS.

Introduction.

A painful mistrust of the operations and tendencies of American Industry has afflicted the country for many years. It has its being in a suspicion that, in spite of the wealth we are producing, we are headed wrong. The country will endure endless zigzags, delays, hardships as long as it believes its activities are on the right road. It is the wrong that causes uneasiness.

It is not strange that we have doubted our long-time God. Exhibits of his work which have been forced upon us particularly in the last twenty years have stirred the heart and wrath of the land. It could hardly be expected that a nation which only sixty years ago was willing to sacrifice lives and take on itself a debit of nearly $3,000,000,000 in order to preserve its own integrity and wipe out an odious labor system, would would accept complacently the terrific contrast between a Pittsburg survey and a Pittsburg millionaire; a Lawrence strike and a 100% tax to preserve a Lawrence industry. There was no question of the facts involved in these contrasts, or that they were but examples of many of there kind.

If these were the permanent and inevitable products of our industrial system the nation wanted none of it. If they were the permanent and inevitable bye-products of it the nation wanted none of it. But were they?

There are two fair ways of judging how things are going in a country. The first is to compare conditions with those of a period sufficiently far back to give room for movement. ( Pro-
progress is slow moving. It can not be measured by decades. The second is to discern whether or not there are tendencies at work of sufficient soundness and strength to overcome the obvious evils.

Take the first: What sort of a report on American Industry results from a comparison of conditions in, let us say, from and the year 1850 to 1910. These dates are not as arbitrary as they sound. They encompass the second half of our national life. They mark the period in which we have changed from a nation of farmers and seamen to one of makers and sellers of things.

There is no doubt that materially this period has been enormously profitable. There are four times as many of us as in 1850, but instead of having a wealth of $307.00 a piece, we have one of $1310.00! This enormous increase is largely the result of industry applied to amazing developments of natural wealth. Where we made a $1,000,000,000 worth of things in 1850, we make $20,000,000,000 worth now. What has happened to men engaged in the labor of this wealth-increase, this outpouring of things? Has it been produced at the expense of the ambitions and aspirations or in accord with them. Upon the answer must depend our final judgment of whether we have progressed or not in this last sixty years.

What were the aspirations of common propertyless men and women in 1850? It is not difficult to know. Already there existed a wonderful literature of the masses, little known to us, but full of poignant fact and demand. According to their own expression then, what did they want? They wanted the land!
Always where men have aspired they have stretched their hands to the land as theirs - the thing that God gave them with life, light and air. It is as instinctive to feel a right to a piece of land as it is to feel the right to liberty and an opportunity. In 1850 this instinct took the form of a cry for a farm; every common laboring man wanted a farm; he wanted everybody to have a farm - not to exploit, not to sell - but to use. It was to be an "inalienable homestead". It was never to be more than 160 acres; and as for the land monopolist who had by hook or crook - usually crook, it was believed - secured more, his legal heirs were each to take 160 acres and sell the rest. "Vote yourself a farm" was written all over the country in 1850, and he did it in 1862 and since that time over two and a half million men and women have taken advantage of the chance. Nearly one-fifth of the natural domain - 356,000,000 acres, nearly all farming lands at that - have gone into the hands of common people. But that is not all that has been turned to his uses. Nearly 100,000,000 acres have been set aside for his schools. All of this has not settled the land question. It has not prevented land monopolies, but it has helped thousands and thousands of men and women to prosperous homes; it has proved that his wish was not foolish, and that the nation was not deaf to his desire.

In all these years the cry for more leisure went up. Ten hours was the ideal short day in 1850. The government had made it legal for its employees. The State of Massachusetts had adopted it, but there was a larger proportion of people working twelve hours than are now working ten; and more were working fourteen than are now working twelve. The long day was generally de-
fended as a bulwark against idleness and so against mischief-making and any shortening of it was regarded as a concession to the devil. But the country backed the successive fights for a shorter day which gradually have reduced them all along the line by a full two hours.

This leisure was for education. There was not in all the literature of laboring men a more touching appeal than that for a chance to learn, found in the program and addresses of the working people of the middle part of the 19th century. The country stood by the common man in this pretension to educate himself and his sons and daughters. The common school system in this country was in answer to this appeal. In 1850 the country spent about a year for schools. In 1910 it spent nearly $627,000,000 - more than 3/4 of which was public money - the country directly taxing itself for the sake of the child of the common man. It did more than that - it said this child must go to school. Today the school age in this country is rarely below fourteen years. We have even instituted a police force in many places to see that neither the child nor the parent evades the opportunity.

It is not only to encourage and enforce the education of his child that the public has come to the aid of the working man; an enormous and diversified machinery has been gradually built up to aid him to secure what he wants and needs. In 1850 investigations of labor conditions had just begun and they were of the most amateurish sort. Since that time they have increased until it would take a busy life time to read and digest these reports.
and they were never so many or on the whole so thorough and so fair as today. In 1850 there was not such a thing as a labor bureau in the world. Indeed it was not until 1869 that the first one was formed - that of Massachusetts. Today there is not only labor bureaux or labor commissions in nearly every state, but there is a Federal Department of Labor with its Secretary a member of the President's Cabinet; a National Society of large membership for industrial Education; another for labor legislation, while countless local and private undertakings struggle with every conceivable interest which concerns the laborer's life, - his health, safety, old age, home, hours, wages, cultivation and the proper share in the wealth he helps create.

But to return to 1850 - land, more leisure, a chance for an education and the freedom to combine and to work in his own way for his own interests, that was his program in those days. How gingerly and fearfully the man of property of 1850 regarded this latter pretension! With what trepidation he discussed the decision of a Massachusetts court setting aside forever as far as that State was concerned, the notion that the union of workingmen to improve their conditions, is before the law a conspiracy. This decision practically compelled those who complained of a labor union to prove that it had been used in a criminal fashion if they were to receive help from the law. Today this view is almost universally accepted. The Trades Union has become one of the most powerful and useful factors in industrial life. It can count upon
the support of the country so long as it serves all labor and not a group of labor. It can count on the country's being patient with its extravagances, follies and even its crimes. The country refuses to believe that because a man labors he should be expected to be free from human weaknesses. It looks upon him as a normal human being, who when he believes he has been wronged, is inclined to be violent. It has never seen any reason for demanding greater human perfection from laboring men than from capitalists. It has been patient with both.

These are great gains, but there has been one still greater. In 1850 all labor was bemeaned by the contact of slavery. Over three and a half of the men and women at productive work in the country were in bondage. They earned their bread. They earned the bread of their families, but they and their families could only eat that bread by asking leave of some other man. So long as this state of things existed labor suffered its own self respect and the respect of men. Establishing the principle that every man has a right to the bread he earns, is "too good" to be in bondage to another man did more to give labor its proper position in the scheme of human activities than all the changes in the manner and method of its conduct devised or that could be devised.

Without such a settlement of the inherent dignity of labor it would have been impossible to have come to what seems to the writer the most important economic gain in this period and that is the new idea of the economic value of the common man. This idea
has come out of the industrial experience of the last sixty years. Two things that experience has demonstrated beyond dispute: The first of these is that men - all men-regardless of origin and race, have powers far greater than had been believed or expressed and that from the freedom given them to use these powers our amazing industrial development has come. What was the American at the opening of the last century and indeed at its middle part? A farmer and seamen. The obvious thing for him to do was to raise bread and meat and carry it to the nations. He choose to do that with one hand only. He aspired to do for himself all that other nations might have done. He chose to forsake the fields, to explore the mountains and unsafe deserts; to go down into the earth and up into the air. These farmers and seamen and their sons - immigrants all - became explorers, inventors and organizers. They proved that it was in them to become anything and everything. Take any one of the great corporations of the day, who officers and operates them? Were men who once were laborers, mechanics and clerks; if they were not, why, then their fathers were. In one plant alone of the Illinios Steel Company, that at Joliet, Illinios, 178 of the men in responsible positions came up from the ranks; and the General Superintendent started twenty-eight years ago as a "maker". This is true throughout the Steel Corporation. Its "big men" have come from the ranks. The President of the Frick Coke and Coal Company with 18,000 men under him once handled a pick in a mine. I have had $25,000 and $50,000 men in mills and factories of the great corporations point out to men with pride the task at which they began at $1.50 or $2.00 a day. All over the country
this is true. Our biggest silversmith in this country was started by a patient workman who pounded out his teaspoons and porringer and himself carried them to Boston to sell. The biggest silk manufacture was started by a farmer who caught the mulberry tree fever which swept the country in the 30's and who failing to raise silk worms stuck to his dream and began importing what he could not grow. One could fill this magazine literally with such stories. It has been so from the start. It is so today. The man who is making the biggest profits in any business in this country-making them without other privilege from state or government than the tariff which his competitors all enjoy, twelve years ago was earning $2.50 a day as a laborer.

The increase in the quantities of things made in the sixty years between 1850 and 1910 have been nothing less than spectacular, so has the increase in the output of our mines, forests and streams, but much more impressive and important than these exhibits is the demonstration that the curiosity, the daring and the wit which it has taken to produce them are not the possession of a class; that they have little or no connection with conditions, gentility, education or race. They are the inheritance of common human beings. The bewildering activities, the accumulation of the last sixty years are chiefly important because they are the most conclusive demonstration the world has yet offered of the capacity of the common man.

Scarcely less important than this demonstration of his power to produce has been that of his power to consume, and it
has been almost as much of a revelation. There are men who have never been able to accept exuberance even of nature as normal and wise. They fear what they call "too much". It means cheapness and commonness. They feel dearness and scarcity are safer. A farmer feels more prosperous selling 100 bushels of wheat at $1.25 a bushel than 200 at .75 cents. A woman will sell 10 dozen eggs at .25 cents with less satisfaction than 2 dozen at .50 cents. That was the spirit with which many of our men faced the period which began our abundance. Those men are not all dead, though they are dying. To have salt everywhere cheap and abundant seemed in 1850 to certain men who were making salt little better than killing the goose that laid the golden egg. True prosperity for them was in keeping salt scarce and high. And we had our first trust:--a nice little venture which in a few years raised the price of salt from 20 to 66 cents a bushel. It was curious how the operation stimulated the sense of prosperity even in men who neither made or bought salt. Ten men drawing six dividends a year as the salt makers did of a time seemed to argue larger general prosperity than one hundred drawing one dividend. One farmer paying .50 cents a bushel seemed to mean more to the salt industry than five paying .20 cents.

The salt experiment was a rough beginning of an industrial development which sounds like a tale from Munchausen. Fifty years after the salt trust was formed in 1861 there was scarcely a natural or manufactured product in the United States which had not been corralled directly or indirectly, in order that its output might be regulated and its price sustained or raised.
It was this juggling with prices that tipped the scale against the trusts finally. The country had come to see that the common man was equal to the gigantic task of consuming all that we could produce if he was paid enough to keep a fair margin between his cost of living and his income. It had become quick enough at figures to see that there was more money for all men - not the few - in five bushels of salt at .20 cents a bushel than one bushel at .50 cents. It is that simple calculation that has put an end to the monopolizing trust, limiting production and sustaining prices.

Just as many men felt about abundant production so many men felt about new inventions. It would kill what already existed to have a new device capable of doing the same thing in a quicker way. But what has experience shown? Consider the horse! What use for a horse in a world where manufacturers have developed power equal to 19,000,000 of him; where oil engines drive ploughs across plains and hills; electricity runs carriages in the street; gas engines haul logs and gasoline trucks deliver freight and express? But the day of the horse is better than ever. He has increased five fold in sixty years, while men has but increased four fold, and as for the mule, there are eight times as many of him as in 1850.

Steam and electric power have not put an end to water power. Niagara today generates the heat, light and power for towns 150 miles away and I can take you to settlements in the Rockies, a hundred miles from a railroad where cooks their meals and do their washing and ironing by electricity generated by mountain torrents.
Steam, oil, gasoline and electricity have not even put an end to wind mills. I heard a manufacturer of engines say recently that the wind mill was a thing of the past, but the same day a manufacturer of wind mills told me that his business had increased 35% in the last year. The census supports him. There are 31% more men at work on them than five years ago and in that time the value of the products has increased 40%.

Just as men have feared abundant output, inventions and changes, so they have feared increased efficiency in labor. If men learned to do more work in a day than had been customary other men would be thrown out of work. Study the operations of scientific management and you will find that instead of limiting the amount of work to be done in the country it increases it; for while it helps the unskilled laborer to become skilled in his particular task, thus enabling him to accomplish more, it creates positions for new classes - positions of planning or teaching, and at the same time in order to do the tasks in the best way it is stimulating the production of new conveniences and new devices, making work never heard of before.

The nation's experience in these sixty years with abundance, with invention and with efficiency have proved beyond a doubt that the more we have the more we must have, that men thrive on abundance and it is scarcity that dwarfs their powers.

Wiping the dishonor of bondage from toil, the recognition of the justice of the workingman's aspirations to land, to leisure
to education and the right of combination and an entirely new
conception of the importance of the common man in the thing we
call prosperity, these are the gains of sixty years experience.
Substantial as they are, they have not prevented a widespread mis-
trust of our Industrial System. In spite of them its two factions,
labor and capital, are today as they have been for years, practically
at war. Although not always active this warfare is never for a
day abandoned. Its periods of quiescence are spent in recuperation,
in filling war chests, in studying points of attack, in cementing
alliances, in enlisting and training recruits. Its active periods
running sometimes into many months are the more bitter and deter-
mined for these periods of apparent inaction.

Many are the anomalous and irregular features of this war.
What more extra-ordinary than that the general happiness and pros-
perity of a very large part of the people of the country should be
so great that they have never recognized that there is a war! That
is, they have been so little disturbed by it that they have been
unable to realize that its campaigns were anything more than the
spasmodic outbreaks of a few people who are not getting what they
wanted! What more curious than that in spite of persistant
hostility between the two factors their joint production should be
vastly more abundant and more profitable than it ever was before.
What more contradictory than that labor should continue to be ag-
gressive when it is certain that never before in the world's his-
tory it was sharing so abundantly that in the wealth it helps to
churches and theaters. In many of the factories the labor was of a kind which the workers, the employers and the public have long considered "inherently" bad - something irredeemably unhealthy and disgusting, and yet the most hopeless, the foulest from the point of public opinion I have seen so ordered that work was not only done without injury to health, but under conditions which stimulate interest and pleasure in the task. The men who had provided these conditions would no more think of carrying on business in the old-fashioned shop or factory than living in a house without a bathroom. It wouldn't pay they tell me.

Twenty years, even ten years ago talk to a railroad manager, a steel or iron master, a manufacturer of the loss of life and limb in his business and he would tell you it was "inevitable". Everybody, practically the public included, accepted the terrible industrial slaughter with stoical endurance. It was part of price of prosperity. Today killing or maiming a man in many industries is regarded as a proof of inefficiency. That is industry is putting it up to itself to prevent accidents. It is accepting the public's contention that compensation for loss of life and limb must be borne by the industry. The day of the claim agent is over. The fight is won. The significant proof that working-men's compensation has come to stay lies in the fact that the many industries large and small which ahead of the law accepted the idea of the justice of compensation and tried to work out a system of ad-justment, have found it less burdensome. Concern for the health
comfort and the safety of the man does not end at the shop door. The intimate relation of life outside the shop to that within is coming to be recognized. I have had as hard headed shop superintendents as I ever saw tell me that if a man's food is poor, his habits irregular, his wife or child sick and neglected that man is a poor and unsafe workman. To correct the cause of his undoing as far as possible by giving him a decent home, teaching his wife to cook, sending a nurse to his baby - this is being recognized as as much part of an industrial function in the industrial town or neighborhood as it is to put guards on belts and wheels.

On this theory I have seen whole towns literally lifted from beds of ashes and debris, drained, paved and water put into the houses, garde spots created where there had been lifeless earth, nurses set to work, play grounds and club houses established. The industry had come to see that the man was too valuable to its future to be allowed to destroy himself. It had also learned that if he had a fair chance he would not destroy himself.

The belief that the workingman should have a home of his own in a town where he is a citizen is and long has been one of the firmest convictions of the country. Employers have co-operated in various place for years to make this possible. I can take you to towns where 50, 60 or 70% of the homes are owned by workingmen, and the town consequently is run by them. I know one where for twenty years liquor has never crossed the line and where the one policeman sleeps his life away. That is actual experiment has proved quite as perfectly in this country as in Europe that a working man's town is a practical ideal and that it can be profitably realized without paternalism by the men themselves, if given a
fair chance.

One of the most important demonstration of industry in the last two decades is that the only cheap workingman is the well-paid and well-nourished one. The old theory that low wages and long hours were economical has been entirely exploded. The man who tries to do business on that theory in this country in the future is doomed to failure. Over fatigue - that is a fatigue which a night's sleep does not revive - undermines a man's productive power; poor food does the same. To catch a man in an industrial trap where he can not look forward to higher wages, new tasks and steady advancement is as bad as too long hours and poor pay. They all reduce and undermine his productive power and his productive power is the main factor in industry. These are conclusions reached after actual conscious experiment running over a period of years by men who have built up great businesses and who today tell you that their main trade advantage lies in these ideas.

But industry has done more than to upset the old wage theory. It has set itself, as a task, a problem which has long disturbed those who studied the relations of labor and of capital. What is labor's share in the products of industry? Scores of thoughtful employers are saying today, as a few have been saying for years, that the working man who serves a business for a period of years earns something that he never receives. To find out the share coming to him and decide in what way it can best be paid, is one of the most interesting experiments now making in American industry. more

For twenty years and new various schemes have been tried from the
purely arbitrary and unscientific bonus or percentage handed over at Christmas time to systems of stock buying and stock sharing of such far reaching moment that they almost make good the dream of the syndicalist. Many of these schemes are no longer in-the experiments, save as far as the particular business is concerned. They have become simply a feature of its management - one of its ways of doing business. The men who are responsible for these undertakings tell you that to give them up would in their judgment be a body blow to their enterprises.

Wherever sincere effort to mould an industry on this theory of the value of the man have been carried to success, it has come from the recognition on the part of the employer that radical changes in carrying on a business are only possible by collective action; that is, an employer can not impose anything on an employee, even though that something may be for the man's good. He can not secure safety, sanitation or better home conditions, a rising wage scale without co-operation. Co-operation is the key to the safety movement - it is the key to scientific management - it is the key to the solution of the problem of the fair share. The convincing proof of the value of any change of method lies in whether it can finally secure whole hearted collective action. If that comes, it comes from a general conviction that the experiment is based on an effort to do the square thing and on nothing else.

In case after case I have found industries securing enough of this co-operative spirit to carry out vast changes. It is the most important influence in American industry today: that and the
growing recognition of the necessity of greater efficiency. Nothing can stop these new ideals of industry. Not only are they with them human heart and human intelligence, but human competition is forcing them - forcing them far more rapidly than legislation can. The greatest trade advantage a business can have, one more important than tariff, rebates, position or raw material is the man. No one can tell where he may come from. It may be from the prairies, the mountains of Kentucky, the immigrant ship, the mills of Pittsburgh. To catch him and develope him, to let no talent escape that is the highest function of industry in the United States.

It is with the actual attempt of industry to rise to this function that the series of articles which this paper introduces deals. Nothing will be introduced which the writer herself has not been seen in operation; nothing which she does not believe to be good for the worker, skilled and unskilled; nothing which has not been carried to point of profit; nothing which an active intelligence and a just spirit can not realize. To those who fear change these new ways of business may seem revolutionary. To the writer they seem natural and inevitable, nothing less and nothing more.

The first article in the series will deal with:

"OUR NEW WORKSHOPS".