

Ida M. Tarbell
120 E. 19th St.
New York City

UNDER THE AMERICAN PLAN

CHAPTER II

THE TECHNIQUE OF CORRECTION - LATEST MODEL

FOREWORD

~~However good~~ the plans men make for running their affairs, whether they are as small as a ^{big and little} village grocery or as large as the nation's budget, they depend for continued health upon the courage and the resourcefulness with which they are corrected and re-moulded to carry ever-changing loads.

The makers of the American Plan under which we have been operating now for a hundred and forty three years understood this. One of the virtues of the Plan they turned out was providing tools for self-correction - tools which "we the people" who insisted that we could run ourselves were to use when we were in trouble or found new and unfamiliar business on our shoulders.

This second article in the series, "Under the American Plan" describes an experiment in self-correction which both in spirit and in technique may well serve as a model for any and all of our activities.

Ida M. Tarbell

There was more than one of the gentlemen who took part in the making of the American Plan who insisted that "we the people" never could govern ourselves. And from that time to this, so appalling have been our mistakes, their doubt has been frequently and loudly revoiced. Examine these mis-adventures and you will find that in the main they have been due less to the inadequacy of the tools provided for self-correction than to our shiftlessness in using them.

Our usual excuse for this shiftlessness has been that evils correct themselves. They do. Slavery did - by war. Speculation does - by panics which send men and women to the street. It is Nature spewing out of her mouth the thing which violates her aspirations.

Yes, we can depend on evils correcting themselves in the long run. We can also be sure that a day will come when "we the people" will agree that a Plan which must correct itself by periodical wars and panics is too expensive to support. Our faith gone we will look for a substitute.

Will it come to that? Most certainly it will if we do not attack evil with more intelligent determination. And if we do not learn to attack when and where the thing starts, in towns, in the factories, centers of all sorts where a few hundred or a thousand people are gathered in working out their social, political or economic undertakings. It is only

at the source that we effectively scotch rising evils. Let them thrive and by the time they reach Washington, they are too vast, formless, powerful for men to control. Washington has been no more able to control the present depression than a ship a typhoon. The thing laughs at us. We allowed it to grow; why should we whimper because now it over-whelms us?

No, the kind of government we are trying to run depends on continual, watchful correction from the bottom up. It is you and I that must be sound if we expect the Nation to be sound. Nothing more appalling than the popular notion that evils can be neglected at the source and then cured by national laws. It is as futile as our idea that happiness depends on money.

We will agree, I take it, that present day confusion and suffering is largely due to an industrial system which we have allowed to swell until it has over-shadowed everything else in the country - hypnotizing our social, political and educational activities until often these are little more than pliant and cringing hand-maids when they should be the heart and the control of all man's activities.

Nevertheless whatever evils industry has wrought, and they are many, however contrary to sound ethics and sound human relations its practices, and certainly nothing could have been much worse than many of these practices, there has

always gone on and is going on today inside this great machine steady efforts to mend and remould.

Take the all-important matter of how to repair, what we may call the technique of correction. I doubt if anyone can find a better model of how to do a piece of work such as balancing a Federal budget for instance, than a demonstration in technique made in the last twelve years in one of the last places to which off hand I, myself, would look for wisdom, and that is a New England cotton mill. I say the last place, since the cotton industry of New England for a hundred years has depended for its living on low wages, high tariffs and impregnable traditions.

When early in this century cotton began to feel the pressure of changing economic conditions it did not change its ideas. It went South where cheap labor was still to be had, begged for higher tariffs and got them, clung to its traditions.

But if the cotton industry refused by and large to seek within for correction there were as there always are units willing to face the facts, find out what is the matter and if correction is possible undertake it. The particular factory whose technique for handling human difficulties seems to me suggestive in any and all of our affairs, is at Salem, Massachusetts - Naumkeag it is called.

Naumkeag, an institution with ninety five years of experience behind it, began its career as a revolutionist. Ninety five years ago it was a settled thing in the cotton manufacturing business that water power was essential to life, but the founders of Naumkeag decided to try steam, generated by coal and settled themselves on the water front of Salem where coal could be brought to their furnace door by barge. Whatever disadvantages there were in the experiment they gradually overcame. They pushed themselves up from a small to a big and prosperous undertaking. Quality was put ahead of quantity so that they made themselves a respected name.

As the years went on the mill weathered one after another of the trials that the mutations of trade visited on cotton as on other industries. It went through the Civil War and prospered - went through the ~~dull~~ period that followed + and lived - was burned to the ground and rebuilt - went through all the changing conditions which new types of labor made imperative - saw native-born help leave the mill - saw Irish immigrants take their place - saw the Irish give way to French Canadians - ^{saw} ~~there~~ these diluted by perhaps forty percent Poles. ✓

A fine, kind father Naumkeag proved through all these shifting scenes, but watchful as it was, healthy as on the whole it kept itself, discontent finally arose among its workers. For eighty years the plant had gone on without a

strike and then in 1919 the entire laboring body, twenty five hundred men and women, seventy five percent of whom were organized, walked out.

I have never heard of just such a strike, one carried on with so much mutual consideration. The story as I have heard it told by one who took part in it sounds like an entirely good tempered agreement to shut down temporarily in order to give a free chance to settle calmly certain mooted questions. The meetings of representatives of management and of workers were like agreeable, if very serious tea parties! Certainly there was no brawling and when it was all over the leader of the workers said, "Neither side is today ashamed or embarrassed by any act of its membership." Compare that record with - well the struggle of let us say - the Seventy Second Congress!

No such result would have been possible if the leaders at Naumkeag had not respected each other. The management in a cotton factory is a kind of established hierarchy, its responsible leader one known as the Agent. Now Naumkeag has an Agent trusted not only by management but by the laboring body, one who has been with the company some fifty four years, working up from the bottom - J. Foster Smith. There are few problems in cotton manufacture, human or financial, that Agent Smith does not understand and eye with the patience and humor that long experience gives to a man of common sense and

goodwill. Moreover, he is an honored citizen of Salem.

Particularly does he delight his fellow-citizens by his carefully prepared literary papers, for J. Foster Smith has a keen interest in literature as well as cotton and likes to pass on his reflections and convictions.

The leader of the workers at Naumkeag is quite as unusual in his way as J. Foster Smith; John T. O'Connell, the secretary and business manager of the United Textile Workers of America Number Thirty Three. No textile worker is Mr. O'Connell, but a plumber by trade with a picturesque career of trade adventures behind him. For many years now Mr. O'Connell has been the Business Agent of the Plumber and Steam Fitters Union, his headquarters in the Labor Temple at Salem. Everybody in town knows and trusts him so that when the operatives at Naumkeag first became restless it was natural that they should ask his counsel. It was he who organized them and became their Business Agent. They could not have found a wiser leader for he had the feel of Naumkeag, knew that its long tradition of good will was a precious inheritance, that with its workers, largely citizens of long standing, it would not do to overstrain the situation. And so in 1919 when the first real strike came at Naumkeag there were two wise men of unusual experience and sense dominating the situation.

Out of the settlement arranged in a few weeks came a determination to work out a technique for union-management - co-operation - which would stand the strain whatever future difficulties might arise. It took eight years to arrive at an agreement that satisfied both sides. It had a novel feature - an agreement that if trouble arose sixty days should be allowed for settlement before resorting to strike or shut down. And in order to take care of misunderstandings at the start they agreed that their representatives should meet once a month.

It was in 1927 that this agreement was signed. What better understanding could a factory have had with which to face the Great Depression?

By 1929 J. Foster Smith began to realize that Naunkeag was not going to be able to hold its own against growing competition unless it could cut the cost of its product. Accordingly he worked out a program of economies which meant the prompt laying off of a considerable number of workers.

Instead of following the usual course of management in ordering economies Agent Smith laid them before John O'Connell. We may imagine his saying, "Now, here John, is the situation. Unless we can do something why we shall lose our place in the sun. What do you think about it?"

"Well," John O'Connell probably told him, "I shall have to study your figures."

And J. Foster Smith said, "All right, take your time."

John O'Connell was willing to admit, from the figures Agent Smith laid before him, that economies were necessary. But he didn't like the way it was to be done. To turn out workers wholesale was bad for everybody - bad for Salem. Was it the only way? How could he know? And something clicked in the head of John O'Connell.

What was this that he had heard about a method of proving by experiment whether a change in an operation is fair or not? He recalled that a friend had told him that there was a factory out in Ohio where the employees and employers had worked out joint management. They had found a way of proving the best and the most practical way of doing things. No guess work - proof - couldn't deny it, it proved itself.

And who was the man his friend had told him about who had organized the work in that plant? He looked up his friend and was told that it was one Morris Cooke, a consulting engineer of Philadelphia. So John O'Connell took the first train to Philadelphia.

Morris Cooke to whom Mr. O'Connell took his problems has been one of the chief creative factors in developing what to my mind is the most important and pregnant contribution made in the last fifty years to the civilizing of American industry:- the set of principles for its scientific management discovered

by the late Frederick W. Taylor, one of the authentic geniuses of our times.

It was in 1903 that the science of management first began to reach the public and to be a subject of hot and bitter controversy. Morris Cooke then about thirty years of age had the bold and inquiring mind, the imagination as well as the practical experience in engineering, essential to an understanding of the principles Mr. Taylor was trying to explain by a queer mixture of fine scientific exposition, infinite patience in application and violent and contemptuous characterizations of those too stupid or too bigoted to try to get the meaning of what he was doing!

Mr. Cooke early became a member of what was called the "Taylor group" - engineers who led in applying the new principles. When Frederick Taylor died in 1915 there were but four men that he was willing to recommend as consulting engineers to manufacturers seeking his help for re-organization of their undertakings along the lines of his principles. Morris Cooke was one of them.

Now Morris Cooke is before all a man of warm human sympathies and understanding. He saw that the crux of the Taylor system was high wages and low unit costs, knew, if the outside industrial world did not, that Frederick Taylor spoke the truth when he declared that his sole object in

retiring from money making - as he had done in 1901 - never after receiving a cent of pay for anything that he did in the advancement of the science of management, was because he believed science ultimately would not only bring better wages but better lives to the workmen of the world. "This," said Taylor, "is a worthy object for a man to devote his life to."

But labor at the start saw in the Taylor system only another method of exploitation. It required many demonstrations, long arguments, before the late Samuel Gompers was willing to say to his followers, 'Do not allow your employers to monopolize science. It is no respecter of persons. Labor will profit as capital will profit by these new principles if you learn to apply them and you can be sure that if they are sound, as seem to be proved, they will have the last word.' But education is slow business.

All this Morris Cooke saw early and he has spent his energy, particularly in the last twenty years in "selling" scientific management to labor. It was some old rumor of what Mr. Cooke had done that had penetrated John O'Connell's mind when Agent Smith convinced him that Naumkeag must make fresh economies if it was to meet competitors, and led him, in spite of the prejudice still at large in labor circles against the Taylor system, to go himself and find out what there was in it.

I doubt if he was a hard man to sell scientific management to, expounded as Morris Cooke expounded it. Alert, practical, experienced, imaginative, John O'Connell caught the meaning of the thing and went back to say to the Naumkeag workers:-

"If there are experts of any kind who can assemble and give us facts we do not now have, let us employ them. If there are any measuring and time study practices that will help us to get the facts, let us co-operatively use them. If there are other ways of getting facts let us adopt them. For it is only through getting the facts, facing the facts and using the facts through joint action, that the enterprise and those associated with it in the long run will prosper.

"I see no need for arbitration in situations, where a decision can be reached through ascertaining the facts. Arbitration usually is a compromise of ideas. Cold facts cannot be compromised. Arbitration usually ends in compromising the beliefs, opinions and ideas of the parties to such situations. Facts based on joint analytical research cannot be compromised. They stop us from 'talking through our hat.'"

On that presentation the organized workers of Naumkeag decided to go along.

In the meantime Agent Smith had convinced his hierarchy that it was an experiment worth trying and that they should pay the bill, which was fair since they would have paid the bill for the economies, mainly mechanical which had been proposed.

And so it came about that in February of 1929 an experiment in Industrial Civilization, entirely revolutionary in its method and its spirit, was set going in Salem, Massachusetts, under the direction of a consulting engineer, one of Morris Cooke's choosing - Mr. Francis Goodell.

It was a mighty important thing which the experiment set out to prove - nothing less than that the co-operation of the men and women at the machines is of more value when it comes to effecting economies in industry than improved machines, improved processes arbitrarily applied - something "the machine age" has come to doubt. The men and women themselves were to be asked to prove it by laboratory experiments carried on under a Research Committee made up of elected representatives of workers and of the management and presided over by Mr. Goodell.

Every operation from the beginning to the end of the making of the white cotton cloth, in which Naumkeag specializes, was to be studied by this committee, every change suggested

was to be tested, proved or disproved to the satisfaction of the workers concerned.

The freest discussion was encouraged in this committee and when confidence was established that it was indeed free one by one the suspicious, prejudices, selfish ambitions, petty politics which are the bane of all joint undertakings of men and women began to disappear, sheer interest in the work - and it was interesting - succeeded. The procedure was therapeutic!

There was Mr. Goodell himself. Naturally he had to prove that he was, as he claimed, the spokesman of science. Naturally enough since such are the minds of men the members of the committee watched for signs that he was favoring management, favoring labor. They could not believe that a man could come into their organization as Mr. Goodell had and not be a partisan whatever his profession.

It is our usual attitude in any undertaking, calling for the joint action of two sides; witness the 1932 effort to balance the budget. No man from the President down was active in the undertaking who was able to make the country fully believe that he was working for the nation. Whatever his contribution, however sensible, it was construed as political. The more difficult it was to find a flaw in

his arguments, the more astute politician we declared him;

That is, we have come in this country to think so generally in terms of party that we cannot think in terms of honesty.

The most difficult task an honest-minded public man has today in the United States is to make people believe he represents the Nation.

Mr. Goodell was patient. He told them it was not he who must answer their questions - solve their difficulties; it was the facts and they under his direction were to find the facts. They came finally to believe that. Indeed it looks as if Mr. Goodell, himself, became simply a fact - the Technician was his imposing name - a name as impersonal as the slide rule!

Under the growing freedom in the committee, the growing interest in the work, not only suspicions faded, animosities died, but practices recognized as wasteful, but which nobody wanted to risk his position by changing, whatever his authority, were broken down.

The system stripped off excuses and it ruined the tactics of those who make a business of courting favor from their superiors, presuming on it to lighten their jobs, push themselves ahead. Favoritism had no standing in the new procedure. One by one time-honored sinecures, petty graft, waste that had been so long winked at that it was not

recognized as waste, came under the committee's search light and all acknowledged it to be what it was.

Again and important - no settlement was regarded as necessarily final. If conditions changed, and they were continually changing, a new approach was to be made. That is, it was a form of running a cotton mill which scrapped all traditional ways of doing things and consented to be forever on the wearch of better ways.

From the start the Research Committee prepared digests of its discussions and decisions which were posted on the factory bulletin boards where they could be read and talked over by the operatives. Interest grew among them as it had in the committee, absorbed suspicions and indifferences. The operatives generally came to a place where they wanted to play, came to dread least somebody doubt the sincerity of their co-operation. It was the natural result of being a part of a serious experiment which they saw more and more clearly dignified the worker, giving him a part in the running of the factory of which he had never dreamed.

A typical and important change, as well as one comprehensible even to those who have never been in a cotton factory, was that which increased the number of looms which the weavers handled, from ten to eighteen. Weaving cloth is one of those operations which in its essentials is still what it was in primitive times, what it was in every pioneer American

household. It consists in working a filling thread back and forth, over and under, a certain number of threads - warp they are called - stretched parallel to one another on an upright frame. In the simplest form of weaving filling thread is put in with a needle. Our grandmothers before they acquired a hand loom wound the thread they spun on a shuttle and drew it laboriously back and forth, over and under the warp. Out of this simplest of operations has come the modern power loom. The kind used at Naumkeag carry five thousand eight hundred strands of warp which are filled in with thread from bobbins placed in shuttles. These shuttles are shot back and forth across the five thousand eight hundred strands of warp so fast you can not follow them with your eye.

Watching them there is a terrifying sense of something bigger than man - replacing man. It is emphasized by their uncanny ability to stop themselves if a thread breaks. But then their power ceases. They are only helpless masses of iron and steel dependent on a human hand to put life into them again.

The weaver not only repairs the broken threads, he has a watchful eye on every part of the loom, knows its rhythm, its cries for oil and thread, its need of cleanliness. He must know, too, how the cloth is running, what knots and bunches can be passed, what must be corrected. It is skilled work, this of weaving.

When Naukeag set up its Research Committee a weaver tended ten looms, a eye and ear to all their needs, and had time with all that to keep the machines clean. No small matter in a shed where the process itself lets loose a fine lint and waste.

The Research Committee wanted to increase the number of looms the weaver tended and believed it could be done if the weaver did no cleaning - gave all his time to his looms. As things now stood here was a skilled worker using, let us say, ten minutes of every hour on an unskilled task. Give him a cleaner and let him give his full attention to his weaving.

But to suggest such a change was to arouse old feuds. Multiplying the number of looms to be tended has an ugly Procrustean name - "stretch-out" it is called. It is a name hated by cotton operators, one over which they have fought hard battles. The committee sensed and sympathized with the antagonism it aroused. It found a substitute, a word which explained and did not disturb. It talked not of "stretch-outs" but "extensions" and nobody was troubled. An extension was something to study - a stretch-out something to fight.

Not the least virtue of the new procedure was this understanding tact in keeping out the discussions, words, and terms opprobrious to one side or the other - storm-breeders,

as well as dropping devices innocent in themselves when it was found they had figured in labor strifes. For instance the research staff had decided just how often the spinners should patrol their frames, looking for and correcting trouble. It was suggested that there be a fixed time for these patrols and the operators notified by flashing a light. But lights were obnoxious because they had figured in unpleasant controversies, so it decided to substitute a clock dial with one large rotating hand which made the circuit every twenty minutes, that being the interval between patrols.

It was really more satisfactory than the light since the spinner could by glancing at the dial know how much time he had before he must begin his circuit of the frame. That is in sensibly accommodating itself to prejudices the Research Committee found a device which was an improvement on what they had intended to use.

The joint effort to avoid old troubles, untangle old confusions, and old deceits, proved its wisdom again and again. More convenient, less wasteful ways were constantly discovered. As a fact the frankness and confidence with which the studies and corrections went on released everybody's wits. There is nothing so deadening to the intellect as partisanship, devotion to a fixed set of ideas. It dries up common

sense, stifles inventions and imagination. The breaking down of partisanship at Naumkeag, the appeal to facts accepted, every man was free to air his hunches, make his suggestions, debate his point of view. Again and again in the course of the studies on which the standard job was to be based unexpected light was thrown on a problem by the last person from whom anybody expected a useful contribution. Heretofore his job had been fixed by an authority outside of himself. He had nothing to say about it. He naturally had come to regard that authority as tyrannous. He had his own ways of fighting it, one was soldiering, another striking; but now he did have a recognized part in fixing his job, could without an unpleasant comeback say his say and something was released in him which he himself when shut off from trusted channels of free expression had in all probability not recognized. With all barriers down the idea freed itself to the profit of all.

That is Naumkeag had found a technique which liberated ability. It liberated ability and it gave new dignity to the job. There is nothing that so dignifies labor whether of hand or brain as a consciousness that it has integrity. When one knows he is making no pretense, is not trying to get by on the least effort possible, is not getting

or trying to get more than he has earned, he respects himself and his output, and he can claim respect for he knows he has earned it. Naumkeag was dignified from the president of the company down by the effort to get the factory on a basis of entire integrity, every man and woman doing his full share according to a standard which had been set after an honest investigation and a careful testing. It lifted the place.

The Research Committee at Naumkeag carried on for two years and eleven months under Mr. Goodell's direction and then the great depression created a business situation which forced a stoppage - temporary it is to be hoped. Agent Smith certainly thinks so for he speaks of it as "an interregnum inevitable with a period of readjustment incidental to the unusual time through which everybody and especially textile people are now passing."

And what light if any does the experiment throw on the problem which led to this undertaking, that is the problem of how to make the economies essential if Naumkeag was to hold its place in the industry? Did the thirty five months work of the join Research Committee prove that it was cheaper to cut expenses by scientific management, that is by the full co-operation of men and women than by the arbitrary introduction of new machines and new processes?

Science won tenfold in the final accounting.

According to a calculation made by management representatives the joint research paid for itself every seven months, whereas it will take nearly six years for new equipments they installed to pay for itself.

And this is taking no account of the reduction in spoiled products, a direct result of the greater pride aroused in the quality of work, nor does it count that invaluable gain - incalculable in dollars and cents - the stiffling of suspicion, the birth of goodwill.

The abandonment of the Joint Research work at Naumkeag, even if it turns out not to be merely an interregnum as Agent Smith insists, in no way weakens the value of the achievement, cannot diminish the wealth of things demonstrated. One of the most heartening of these is a fresh proof of what we know, if we know anything, but which we so often forget, that sound principles cannot be destroyed, that if a man has discovered a truth, whatever its fate in his life time, it will make its way.

Fifty years ago Frederick Taylor began his attempt to prove that the mission of industry is to make it possible for men and women the earth over to have all the necessities of life and a share of the comforts. He preached abundance

that the life of all might be tolerable and worked to prove that low prices to the consumer were not inconsistent with high wages, and increased profits, were indeed their logic. To the day of his death he saw his principles fought by those he knew must most benefit.

Naumkeag is proof enough that Frederick Taylor knew what he was talking about.

It is, too, a demonstration of the way men working freely under our American Plan come to the support of truth, apply, interpret, enlarge it. Today this system, once so despised, has disciples the world over. Yearly we see growing from it greater and more beneficent undertakings.

But Frederick Taylor's principles would have had small chance at Naumkeag if the soil for them had not been ready. Eighty years of what we sometimes stupidly dismiss as paternalism, honest efforts to make the conditions under which spinners and weavers and all the retinue attending them decent and healthful, to give steady work and as good pay as the trade believed justified, laid a foundation on which Agent Smith and John O'Connell could build their agreement to live in peace and justice. The terms of that agreement opened a natural path for scientific management. When an industry moves with its day - as Naumkeag has - it is fertile soil for the most difficult social and economic experiments.

Could the Taylor system have made its way with anything like the speed and the breadth it has under any other plan - that of Italy - that of Russia? I doubt it.

I said at the start that I was telling this story because it offered the kind of technique that we must master if we are to correct and remould our activities-as we must if we are to preserve our American Plan. It is replete with practical suggestions. There is the matter of words - slogans - which have ceased to carry ideas, have become the servants of passion. How we are "bethumped" with them. They pound down reason, stir only our fighting blood, are the enemies of straightforward thinking and of that spirit of accommodation which alone can carry a joint enterprise to a peaceful conclusion. It is much to be feared that many of us fall back on such words and phrases because of the paucity of both our vocabulary and our thoughts. Having accepted them we cannot get away from them, have no equipment to give us substitutes.

But it is dangerous business - hindering progress.

The deliberation with which the work was carried on at Naunkeag is one of its most useful lessons, and one which most of us regard with impatience if not contempt. To deliberate, test and retest, make sure that you are right and what is equally important that your associates agree that you

are right, does not appeal to those who would like to believe that progress depends on action unhindered by thinking, who seeks mechanisms, laws, blue prints which can be used in lieu of the labored processes of trial and error.

But pre-emptory decisions without experimentation in which all are concerned are not in the spirit of the American Plan. They are essentially autocratic - the way of Lenin - Stalin - the way of Mussolini. It takes time to work out solutions jointly as we are trying to do in this country - time - and when we hurry as we are so inclined to do we find ourselves forced to retrace our steps.

And that is a discouraging business. One of the most discouraging features of the long struggle last year to balance the budget was the continual going back and beginning over again. It was proof that the technique was some how faulty, wasteful, that there had not been careful and complete enough preparation in the first place, that when the results were laid before the country they were not accompanied by full and clear enough explanations of how they would effect us. That is there had been too great hurry to get a bill out.

Still more discouraging than this hurry was the unholy partisan zeal with which the bill was soon being torn to fragments, the hurling of hateful words and accusations -

an alarming proof that the Congress of the United States as a body has not yet learned to do its business in a sober and orderly fashion. That is has no conception that criticism to be useful must be thoughtful, that if you are to talk and decide on economic questions you should know something of their nature or keep quiet.

At a dozen points in its struggle over the tax bill Congress violated principles and etiquette that the representation of the management and workers of the Salem, Massachusetts cotton mill would not have tolerated. But at Naumkeag you say they were acting for only 2500 men. Congress speaks for 125,000,000. What difference does that make in the application of principles? What is true and just for 25, for 250, for 2500 is true and just for 125,000,000.

If Naumkeag had tried to settle the matter of the economies necessary to meet the competition in its specialty in the spirit and the manner in which Congress treated the tax bill of 1932 this story would never have been told.

What it all amounts to is that here is an object lesson in the way we should carry on our doings. It is a lesson good for every activity of life, for nations in negotiation, parties in contests, good for business and for families. It is a technique which unites not divides, which enlightens not darkens, which destroys suspicion, turns

obstinacy to accommodation. Moreover, it is the only way by which we shall ever realize the full strength of the American Plan.

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Miss Tarbell's next article will deal with labor-saving machinery and the harm it works to men when installed before provisions are made to absorb those it displaces. It is a study of the suffering which comes from considering product rather than men and the way in which industry is beginning to reverse itself - putting men before product.