

Set a Million Children Free

SET A MILLION CHILDREN FREE By HAROLD CARY.

THERE still are slaves in the United States. You don't believe it? It's true, all the same. And, what's more, they are child slaves, at least a million of them. While travelling nearly four thousand miles in the past few weeks, says Mr. Cary, "I have seen seven-year-old boys and girls who work regularly ten hours a day on their hands and knees in New Jersey; fourteen-year-olds in Pennsylvania coal mine breakers; boys and girls in New England cotton mills; in Wisconsin factories; in New York tenements." But for the grace of fortune these might be your children or you might be the slave driver. It is something to get mad about, until mounting anger sweeps away for ever this disgrace to the richest nation on earth.

There were three men around a library table. King Tut was a person they pitied because he lived in the time before men knew how to live. They talked about it.

"The advance of civilization, the climb out of the dark ages, is the greatest achievement thinkable. No man can deny—" One of the other two interrupted him: "Deny that little boys and girls, true slaves, give up body and soul to us for these pleasures?" he asked cynically. With a wave of his hand he included practically everything that made up the comfort and pleasantness of the room.

"Child labor?" The first man spoke again, smiling tolerantly. "Pshaw, it doesn't exist in the United States! I happen to know that every State in the Union has a law against child labor. That is one of our greatest advances!" He was complacent, triumphant. He was presenting typical, well-informed American opinion. He didn't know he was wrong. He was ignorant. He is fooled. He uttered the great American child-labor lie.

The shirt on his back—it may be cotton picked by a baby, perhaps seven years old; the cloth woven in the North, processed by a fourteen year old; tailored in a tenement by soft little fingers wrapped by a child, delivered by another and then worn by a man.

The food on his table was almost surely cultivated, picked and packed by tiny, aching hands; strawberries, lettuce, vegetables. The coal in his furnace was sorted by a kid, black with dust, probably illiterate.

Child labor! Why, it does not exist! Or if it does, only in a few backward communities. It will be wiped out even there in a year or two. "They" are after it now. That's what I thought, and it is my business to be informed. That's what almost everyone thinks. And now the very feel of my clothes and the taste of my food are bad. Oh, you and I are so well fed and so well groomed, so happy and prosperous, while the outrage goes on even in the most progressive States of the North.

Who Made Your Shirt?
The floor of the great cotton mill vibrated under my feet; the power looms sang a song of industry, of life that in this great, rich commonwealth is sweet. Fall River, Mass., close by Boston, in one of our thirteen oldest States, is one of our greatest mill towns in one of our most enlightened States. The weaver beside me as I stood watching the shuttle shooting back and forth was a kid in short pants. He was little. He seemed dull. He was very busy.

You and I aren't sentimentalists. We don't know much about that kid. We don't care about him. In such a great world we cannot stop to listen to the story of such a fourteen-year-old worker. We only smile when some softy speaks tearfully of "tiny wage slaves." But I'll go this far with the tender pitying fellow; I don't want to wear a shirt that kid or any other kid helped make. And I can't help it! How can I tell? There are two or three thousand boys and girls working in that Massachusetts center.

You would come away from Fall River New Bedford, or any textile centre in Massachusetts mad, old fashioned mad, sore as a boil because of this thing that is being put over on us. But you might feel impotent, you might mutter imprecations against the system, the State, the employers, and try to forget all about it. You might say "special case," "bad, isolated conditions," "can't be helped." Again you are wrong on every count! That is no attack on a special case, or a single State, or a group of wicked employers. Massachusetts is one of the best States in the whole broad land that is the United States, in the matter of anti-child-labor laws. It is one of the comparatively few States in which those particular laws are well enforced, perhaps almost perfectly enforced.

So this is the kind of thing that is going on in this modern age of efficiency in American manufacturing, this in the enlightened twentieth century! I pounded up the stairs to the office of the King of them all in Fall River not the biggest employer of labor, but the most influential. Anger, impatience, and disillusionment went with me as I faced the ind of man we have in the past been so ready to indict, a man who has been an employer for fifty years.

"As a matter of fact," Simon B. Chase said to me—and there was nothing controversial in his tone at all—"I have never opposed a child-labor law. When the child-labor amendment was introduced in Congress, I made a special trip to see Senator Lodge to ask him to vote for it. He agreed that it should be given the most careful consideration. I do not know at what age labor ceases to be that of a child, but I wish to accept the verdict of those who have studied it and are better informed than I am."

He pointed out to me that there had been no serious strike in the Fall River mills for years, and that the parents of working children wanted them to work. Barring them would result in disputes.

The "greatest force for good in Fall River" is Richard K. Hawes, according to local opinion. Strange to say, if you hold the feeling that the employers are the wicked exploiters of children, this brilliant young lawyer, counsel for the Cotton Manufacturers' Association of the town, is a member of the School Committee. In the old days of the "shame of the cities" you did not find a man in such a mixture of local positions.

He sees the local problem as a school problem. He wants more and better teachers, and better equipment, a junior high school in which the school study shall be co-ordinated with hand-
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ES, HE HAS NO COMMON SENSE

By CHARLES W. WOOD
Arthur Nash is the most unreasonable employer I ever met. He happens to be the most successful, the richest, and the best loved employer but he hasn't any judgment, any common sense.
Two years ago, now, he was a perfectly normal person. He was able enough then and ran his business according to business principles. He bought in the cheapest market. He hired labor at the lowest figure at which labor would agree to work; and he got as much work from his employees as he could. He wasn't one of those "laborers' mind you. He was a fine fellow, with generous impulses, a good Christian who wished everybody well; but he ever forgot business is business and that we're not living in any Utopian Society. Had moods, of course, in which whole game almost sickened him. He would feel like chucking it and looting a day laborer him.
Oh, to be rid of those eternal "conscience" how he worried and night, and how he envied those who had no such worries on their minds! Most every struggling man has those moods. But when he is apt to see profoundly, not chuck his responsibilities like a man.
He must go on with his work. He must continue his career as executive, a leader of mankind; it is only fair that he shall receive the profits of a capitalist in lieu of the meagre wages of a workman.
And Arthur Nash in those days was able.
And to add to his periods of sickness, his eternal worries, his "mood" got the better of him. It was then that he set to act like a perfect fool.
Perhaps you have heard the story that he did. I shall make it as plain as possible; for behind that is another one which I am going to try like everything to tell. In probability I shall not succeed, it is almost impossible in our civilization, to follow the words of Arthur Nash's mind. But I'll try. First, however, let me set the external happenings.
Sweating by Golden Rule.
Mr. Nash was president and general manager of the A. Nash Company, wholesale tailors of Cincinnati. The firm was incorporated in 1916 with a capital of \$60,000. It was in 1919, after three years of anything but success, that Mr. Nash decided to liquidate the business and spend the rest of his days on a farm. His "sons" were strange enough.
He was a Christian, I said, and he had that he was running a sweatshop. He didn't own the machines which the Nash clothes were made; they were owned by a contractor who employed such help as he could find employment in the clothing factories. This contractor wanted to go to Europe to look relatives from whom he had not heard since the outbreak of the war.
Mr. Nash agreed to buy the business. That meant that all employees would work directly for the Nash Company thereafter.
There were twenty-nine employees there were working for starvation wages, and still the company was not paying a profit. Mr. Nash, I said, a Christian. As he studied that scale, he decided that a Christian simply could not cut it any lower, and the only alternative was to liquidate.
But he found he couldn't liquidate then. He had to have the consent of the minority stockholders, they wouldn't consent. It was impossible, it seemed, for him to continue running a sweatshop paying starvation wages.
He made it plain, I hope, that nerves were wrought at the time. Hence, as president and general manager he decided that he would cut in paying Christian wages instead, figuring that it wouldn't be long as everybody would be glad to do the business up.
What were Christian wages? The only answer he could arrive at was the answer of the Golden Rule. He had thought first of living wages human wages or wages in which he should share according to his ability. But the Golden Rule, said nothing about that. The Golden Rule said: "Therefore all things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do so even unto them."
Wages That Don't Pay.
He went into the shop with his head still swimming. He saw one old man, nearly eighty, sewing on buttons for \$4 a week. A good, sensible employer might have reasoned that she couldn't possibly be worth any more; but Mr. Nash by this time wasn't reasoning. When he looked at her she reminded him of his mother. How would he want an employer to treat his mother if she were sewing on buttons?
He couldn't answer. With his head still swimming, he simply set the figures at \$12 a week—a 300 per cent raise. This furnished a precedent, and before he left the room the twenty-nine were notified of a wage increase ranging from 50 to 300 per cent. Then he ran away to the country to get some real sleep and to wait for the business to wind up itself.
In two months he came back to view the remains, but this is what he actually discovered:
The firm had an excellent balance in the bank. It had done three times as much business as it had done in same period the year before. It had not only done the business, but it had made and delivered the goods. Only one additional employee had been hired.
This was in 1919—that strange year when buyers went mad and anybody who had anything to sell could sell it. The only trick that year was to produce the goods. Labor, it was said, was simply not producing, but the usual law of economics were miraculously suspended here. When, later, the buyers went on strike, the A. Nash Company, instead of deflating, went on expanding marvellously. In 1918 it had done only \$132,190.24 worth of business all told. In 1919, the beginning of the Golden Rule, this figure was increased to more than half a million. In 1920 it had gone to a million and a half, in 1921 to more than two millions, and in 1922 to \$3,751,181.52. And the first three months of 1923 indicated that the business was increasing by nearly 100 per cent once more. In 1918 the A. Nash Company was so insignificant that it could hardly be classed as a wholesale house. Today it employs 2,000 workers and is the largest business of the kind in the United States.
"Due to the increase in wages?" I asked Mr. Nash.
"No," he said. "It was due to the working of divine law in place of what we have been calling business principles."
Mr. Nash concedes that low wages are an economic falsehood. They don't pay. They never have paid. Workers must live, he says, before they can work. Even horses must eat before they can pull; and if we try to make them pull without giving them a chance to develop pulling power, they won't pull very much.
But that isn't the big story. The big story is that even high wages won't accomplish very much if our purpose in paying them is to add to our profits.
Mr. Nash had no such purpose. He was not "bound to win"; and his story is of no value whatever to the average inquirer of our American youth, who insists that success can come only through a mighty determination to get ahead. Mr. Nash was bound to lose. He was determined to get behind. He was determined to take the step he took to give up the law of business and to follow the law of love instead.
"And Jesus said: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.'"
"He didn't say," says Arthur Nash. "If your greatest desire on earth is to get all these things, try to incorporate some of the principles of the Kingdom of God into your plans and you'll run a better chance of getting them. If your chief desire is for 'these things,' that settles it. That's all you've got to do. You're lucky to get that. But we have something far more important in our Cincinnati shop. We have the Kingdom of God there. We can have it all over America just as soon as we go after it as our first objective. Incidentally when we get the Kingdom of God, peace and plenty follow as a matter of course."
Applause in the Wrong Place.
Mr. Nash is telling his story over the United States. Churches and business organizations and labor-study groups are listening; but he isn't telling the story they want to hear. They want to know his "system." Mr. Nash says he hasn't any. They want to know how he meets labor problems. He says he hasn't any labor problems to meet. They want to know the secret of his business success; but he persists in telling.
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THE UNITED FRONT IN THE SOVIET SENSE

(From the I. F. T. U. Press Service.)
On June 25 a plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Red International was held at Moscow. Although the agenda had been decided upon some time before, an addition was made of the question, "What shall be the form of organization of the Opposition within the Trade Unions of the Amsterdam International?" The "Pravda" explains the addition as being necessary on account of the dissatisfaction expressed by minorities on the side of the Red International with the inadequate form of organization.
There is much talk in Russia just now about the "collapse of the Amsterdam International" and the "treachery of the reformist leaders." The Executive Committee having approved the action of the Russian delegates at the Berlin Transport Workers' Conference, Losowsky proceeded to attack the Amsterdam International, declaring that the occupation of the Ruhr had made manifest to all the world its incapacity and the divisions among its leaders. The action begun at Berlin must be continued, and the other International trade organizations approached. From their fear of the left, the Amsterdam leaders had not dared to make their resolution other than very elastic; they had merely declared that they were not bound by the agreement made at Berlin. There were excellent prospects of winning over the whole of the trade unions to the Red International. In a very few years the Reformist Leaders would be driven out of their lost positions.
The subject was also treated by Sinoviev, in a long article in the "Pravda", entitled "New Phenomena in the International Labor Movement." He declared that the action of the "yellow" leaders in the question of the Ruhr had led to their desertion by the European Labor Movement.
The pressure exercised upon the Russian Government by the Conservative British Government had done great service to Soviet propaganda. The Soviet Government had forced Curzon to nail his true colors to the mast, and this exposure of imperialism had greatly contributed to the conclusion of the Transport Workers' agreement.
Their real object evidently, was to make political capital of the incident, and to show that all the world is at their feet. Nothing was heard about the interests of the workers; the really important thing was that the Amsterdam International should collapse and that all Europe should hasten to range itself behind the standard of the Red International.
YOUNG SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
The Young Socialist International held a great gathering at Lund in Sweden on June 9 and 10. The total attendance numbered no less than 10,000 people. 3000 young Swedish workers took part and 300 Danish delegates; Norway was also represented. A great torch procession through the town was organized. Foreign guests were Voogd, from Holland, Westphal from Germany, Fostervoll from Norway, and Christiansen from Denmark, all of whom, together with Lindstrom of Sweden, are leaders of the Young Socialist Movement. Addresses were given by Stauning and Branting.
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF HAIRDRESSERS ASSISTANTS.
The Secretary of this union has sent an appeal to the International Federation of Trade Unions of which the following is the gist.
There is a steady movement for the amalgamation of small organizations into "industry unions," but the movement is by no means uniform in the different countries. When, however, such amalgamation occurs, the International Trade Secretariat suffers from the secession of some one or other of its national organizations. The International Trade Secretariat fully recognizes that they do not exist for their own sakes, but nevertheless they feel that they must continue to fulfill their task until all, or nearly all the national units have been absorbed. They therefore appeal to the National Federations and to the International Federation of Trade Unions to use their influence to induce the individual unions to retain their membership in the International Secretariat, even although they may have been absorbed into another trade federation. Thus, the English Hairdressers' Union has joined the Shop Assistants' Union, but there is no reason why it should not continue to affiliate with the International Secretariat. It is very important to the Hairdressers Assistants' International Union that it should not lose its national organization.
TRADE UNIONS.
On June 25th, the second congress of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions was held. 358 delegates representing 1,049,949 members took part in the congress. The I.F.T.U. was represented by Sassenbach, and visitors from Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were also present. Hueber, who delivered the General Report of the Federation, contended the view that wages had reached the gold par level. He pointed out that the foreign control was in some respects hostile to the achievements of the workers in the social sphere. The question of the creation of industrial unions was considered, but no final decision was reached. The slight decrease in the membership of the Federation was explained by the withdrawal of women from their occupation and consequently from their unions. The membership of some of the larger unions is as follows:
Metal workers 170,000
Land workers 71,600
Textile workers 53,900
Transport workers 47,000
Workers of the Food and Drink Trades 39,000
Commercial and Clerical Employees 34,000
Wood workers 32,000
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN SILESIA, GERMANY STRIKE
The causes of this strike, which has already lasted for several weeks, and which affects some 90,000 workers in all, are to be found in the starvation wages of the land workers, and the breaches of contract by the employers. The wages of the workers can perhaps best be measured by the amount of rye which they can buy with their labor. In March, 1922, a worker could buy a cwt. of rye in 46 hours of work; in May, 1923, he had to work for 145 hours in order to buy the same amount. The conduct of the workers has been excellent, and they are very determined to hold out. "If we give in," they say, "we shall have only bread and water to live on, we are no worse off when striking." They continue to do such emergency work as the feeding of cattle, and the milking of cows, but even that will cease if strike breakers are brought in. Some of the farmers are willing to make separate agreements, but the Union is well aware that any such arrangements would probably be short-lived, and is resolved to make no comprehensive agreement. The industrial unions of the district are giving assistance and making representations to the authorities, who may intercede, but the Union is resolved not to call off the strike until a satisfactory agreement has been concluded.
GERMANY
Great Metal Workers' Strike.
On July 4th, a great metal workers' strike was threatened in Berlin. On June 20, 90% of the members of the German Metal Workers' Union voted in favour of the rejection of the arbitration award fixing the new scale of wages. The Ministry of Labor at once intervened, but the employees refused to accept any settlement satisfactory to the workers, and hence a strike seems to be inevitable. The occasion is important. Not only does the closing of the great Berlin works mean enforced idleness for a large number of other works, the strike also represents the first great conflict for the introduction of permanent value wages. Hitherto every fall of the mark has meant a considerable reduction in the wages of German workers, and a corresponding increase in the profits of German industrialists. German workers are now making a great effort to protect themselves against this injustice, by means of the adjustment of wages to an index representing the current rise in prices.
The German Factory Workers' Union made rapid strides during the year 1922; its numbers rose from 684,971 to 735,013, an increase of 51,042; and this in spite of the fact that the Communists possess a rival union.
Nature has given us one tongue and two ears that we may hear more than we speak.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

The Labor Situation.
Employment at the beginning of June showed a further large increase, continuing the upward movement indicated in the previous month. The expansion, which was of a general character, caused the situation to be more favorable than in any period since December, 1920.
At the beginning of June, the percentage of unemployment among members of the trade unions was 4.5 as compared with 4.6 at the beginning of June, 1922.
The Employment Service of Canada reported a gain in the daily business transacted during May, 1923, as compared with a year ago, while a slight decline in the number of vacancies offered during the month as compared with April, 1923, was reported. Placements during the month under review continue on the upward trend.
The following is a brief survey of employment conditions at the end of June, 1923, as noted by the Superintendents of the offices of the Employment Service of Canada.
Increased activities in the farming and construction groups were reported from the Maritime Provinces with numerous vacancies available for carpenters, bricklayers, road construction laborers and farm hands. Considerable summer logging was under way near Sydney and in Northern New Brunswick and a number of workers were placed in employment in this group. There was a strong demand for trained domestic servants with a slight shortage in applicants.
Employment conditions in Quebec showed little alteration at the end of June as compared with reports for May. A brisk demand for farm workers was reported with a shortage of applicants, especially in Montreal. The logging group continued to absorb numbers of workers and placements of men in camps in Northern Quebec and Ontario were frequent. Briskness in demand in the building trades was shown with many public buildings and residences being erected. Road construction and railway maintenance work was active and provided employment for many. The reports indicate that the manufacturing industries were active especially the metal trades, textiles and clothing industries. An increase in work along shore was indicated from Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers.
In Ontario the demand for farm help and fruit pickers continued in excess of the supply, while outdoor work of all kinds was available for all who desired it. In most centres the building under way was sufficient to employ all local tradesmen and laborers, while road construction and steam and electric railway repair work continued to provide employment for a large majority. River drivers were placed in small numbers in Northern Ontario while many workers for saw mills, and pulp and paper mills were required. At Cobalt skilled and unskilled workers for the mines were in demand. The manufacturing industries were very active with a demand for workers. The greatly increased demand for maids, waitresses and cooks, was due to the orders from summer hotels and resorts in addition to the normal requirements from city homes.
In Manitoba there was a slight falling off in the demand for farm workers but a high percentage of placements was maintained. Building tradesmen and mechanics were employed and little change was reported in this group. Railroad construction and maintenance work showed a decided betterment.
In Saskatchewan the orders from farmers continued in large numbers though not so many as during the early part of April and during May. Numerous opportunities were offered for employment in road, bridge, railroad and highway construction, and on railway maintenance work. Owing to the shortage of trained household workers few of the offices were able to meet the growing demand for cooks, maids and housekeepers.
In Alberta no material change was noted in employment conditions. With good prospects for the crop, the demand for farm help showed a slight increase. Activities in the construction group were not great, residential construction providing the bulk of employment. Near Edmonton some loggers and saw mill workers were placed, while the mines near Lethbridge and Drumheller were reported active.
Placements of loggers and sawmill workers in British Columbia continued fairly brisk in some localities. Little construction was under way at the end of the month and a considerable number of carpenters, painters and building mechanics were available for employment. The demand for farm help continued about the same as formerly reported, while little change was shown in mining. Casual jobs and longshore work gave employment to numbers of men on the Coast.
Employers' Reports.
A further marked increase in employment was reported by employers of labor to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics at the end of May, when greater activity was indicated than at any period in 1922 and 1921. Practically all industries contributed to the gains which, however, were greatest in construction, manufacturing and transportation. The level of employment in all provinces was higher than in April, Quebec firms registering the most extensive gains. The improvement in Ontario and the Prairie provinces was also pronounced, while in the Maritime district and British Columbia the expansion was on a rather smaller scale. Increased activity was recorded by firms in the six cities for which separate tabulations are made. In Montreal, where over 7,000 persons were added to the staffs of the employers reporting, the greatest improvement was indicated in shipping and stevedoring and construction, while gains were also shown in manufacturing and trade. The expansion in Toronto, which was on a much smaller scale, occurred chiefly in construction, trade and transportation. Sawmills, pulp and paper factories registered the bulk of the increase in Ottawa, although there was also considerably increased activity in construction. General but moderate improvement was indicated in Hamilton and Winnipeg, the largest gains in both cities being reported in construction. In Vancouver sawmills and rolling mills were busier and expansion was also recorded in construction and in several other industries. Practically all groups within the manufacturing division except leather, textiles and musical instruments reported improvement. The increases in payroll in sawmills, iron, steel, fish canning, pulp and paper factories were especially pronounced. Fruit and vegetable canneries, biscuit, tobacco, glass and electric current works were decidedly busier, as were also smelters and refineries. The losses in boot, shoe, garment, thread, yarn and cloth factories were largely of a seasonal character. River driving operations caused employment in logging to show some temporary recovery from the heavy seasonal contractions recently recorded, the late spring having delayed the work to some extent. Mining, transportation and construction reported considerably increased activity, the last named industry in particular absorbing a very large number of workers. The employment afforded in communication, in hotels and trade also increased, although the gains were rather less than in the above mentioned industries. The level of employment in all groups was higher than at the same period of last year.
INDIA.
A New Labor Party.
The Labor Party and Kisan Party has been formed in Madras. Its first act was to protest against increased taxes on the necessities of life. The Board of Directors of the G. I.P. Railway in India are about to introduce on their railway staff councils based on the Whitley system.
A long strike of the Ahmedabad Mill hands has at last been terminated, the reduction of wages is to be 15 instead of 20 per cent.
JAPAN.
Labor in Japan.
Some weeks ago the Japanese Government raided the Socialist headquarters, suppressed the Yomiuri press, and threw into jail certain persons who had criticized its policy. The police are now turning their attention to labor, and it is expected that many of the prominent labor officials will soon be arrested. On May 27 a lecture to workers, organized by the Kansai Federation, was broken up by the police. More than 10 speakers were seized, and there were hand-to-hand fights between the police and the excited audience.
Factory Workers in Osaka.
The average working day for factories in Osaka is 9 hours women in spinning factories work about 10 hours. The shortest hour is that of mechanics, which averages 8 1/2 hours a day.
The average income of the male factory worker is nearly double that of the woman.