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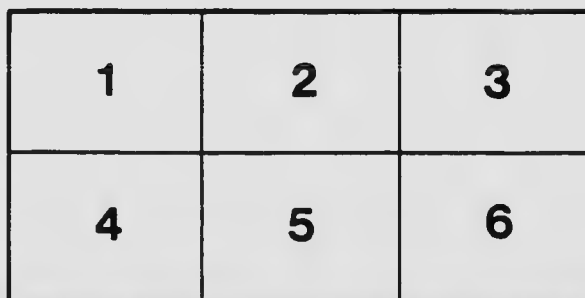
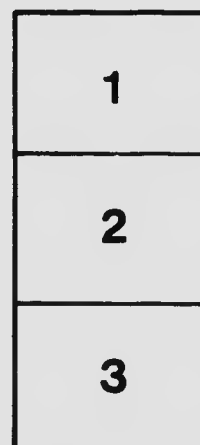
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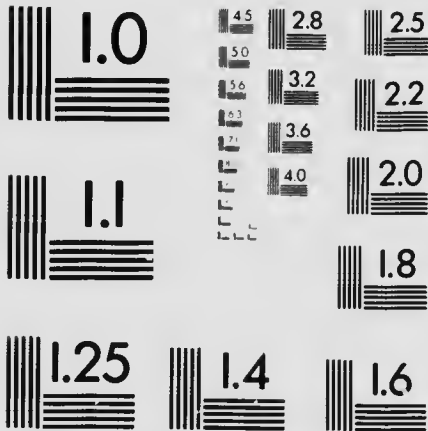
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**CAN CHURCH AND
INDUSTRY UNITE?**

Can Church & Industry Unite?

BY

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FOREWORD BY THE RIGHT HON.
GEORGE BARNES, M.P., P.C.

(1891) British War Cabinet).

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PREFACE.

WITH respect to the motive and scope of this book, may I refer readers to the Introduction.

Here I would say that in venturing to deal with the great and pressing question of the relations of the Church and Industry, I am debtor to the labours of many pioneers, both in the broad fields of the Church and of Industry. Throughout the following pages I have drawn largely from the ripest fruits of service by Church and Industrial Unions and Councils.

I am also indebted to the Right Hon. George N. Barnes, M.P., P.C., for his Foreword.

It may not be out of place for me to add that in the correction of MSS. and proofs, I have had the valued assistance of my brother, the Rev. J. D. Carnegie.

DAVID CARNEGIE.

Woodlands,
Beckenham Hill,
Kent.

February, 1920.

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INTRODUCTION.

TO discover what the Church can do in Industry is the chief object of this book. I mean by the "Church" all organised Christianity throughout the world. When asked to write on this subject it was with much reluctance that I agreed. I was encouraged in the attempt by reference to my own experience.

My long fellowship with the sons of toil, with many employers, industrial leaders, and the rank and file in the Church; my close knowledge for many years of foreign, European and American Industry and the human and economic problems relating thereto, confirmed my decision to undertake the task.

All people are so involved in the great industrial issues of to-day that the problems have become international. Many people in different countries are seeking to discover a way out of the industrial tangle. Some are bent on revolution and consider it inevitable. Others are

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in despair. Few are normal. Calm and balanced judgment, with courage and common sense, are at a premium. Never in the history of the world has there been such a sense of insecurity in the plans of men. Prophets have failed, priests have failed, kings have failed. Industrial chaos exists because the programme of the "Mount" has been discounted by its exponents. Sham adherence to Christ's programme has encouraged disloyalty, avarice, and hypocrisy in Industry—breeding fear, mistrust and suspicion. Yet withal, the Church holds the secret of industrial peace and she does not know it. She will know it when the scales fall from her eyes after a "Damascus road" and "upper room" experience. Her power as a factor in industrial peace has failed hitherto because her power in proclaiming and insisting upon industrial righteousness has been negligible. She has failed miserably to relate herself to the working classes in Industry, who, now intoxicated with their power, are indifferent and hostile to her. The Church has taken sides with the employing and governing

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classes because of self-interest. She has been disloyal and faithless to the charge committed to her, but, in spite of all, she remains the one great avenue through which all that Christianity stands for is expressed.

She alone has the spiritual message for the regeneration of Industry.

In the following pages I have ventured to suggest how the Church may discover and use the secret of her power.

The first four chapters give a brief survey of the industrial position and of the causes which have led to industrial unrest. They also record the splendid efforts made to promote co-operation between employers and employed.

In the fifth chapter I have tried to show that Society and Industry are inseparably linked together and that the Church cannot escape from her rightful place in Industry. In the next four chapters I deal with the attitude of the masses to the Church; the dangers of Socialism in the pulpit; the problems facing the Church and the Church's warrant for action in Industry.

In Chapters X. and XI. are reviewed

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the excellent efforts which have been made in Great Britain, the United States of America and Canada to find the Church's place in Industry. The remarkable progress made in these countries towards co-operative efforts by the Church to understand and solve the problems in Industry is related.

All the foregoing chapters lead up to the constructive policy I have outlined in Chapters XII. to XVII.

I have suggested the formation of "one big union" of the Church; a co-operative organization for the education of the Church and Industry; the redemption of Industry from the thralldom and curse of selfishness and for the establishment of peace. I have called the union "The International Church Industrial Union" for want of a better name. It describes an organization which would consist of representatives and members of all organized Christianity, together with representatives of employers and employed and all who class themselves as industrial workers. I have only briefly outlined the constitution of such an organization, believing

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that the details are merely matters of business arrangement which administrative and organizing genius can frame with little difficulty.

This big union I suggest would be stripped of all theological and constitutional differences which now divide organized Christianity into sections. It is a union to which all sections can subscribe.

In Chapters XII. to XVI. I have gone rather fully into the educational functions of such a union. Many of the suggestions could be carried out quite apart from any union of the Church and Industry, but I do not believe they would be so effectively done. The weakness and waste of efforts and finance by hundreds of different organizations doing the same work is appalling. Overlapping, friction, unwholesome competition, and the very spirit which has destroyed the peace of those they are trying to regenerate, exist in their own organizations.

In Chapter XV. the need for education in the homes of the workers is particularly emphasized. It is shown that

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most of the Factory troubles start in the homes.

In the last chapter the executive work which could be undertaken by an Industrial Union is briefly outlined.

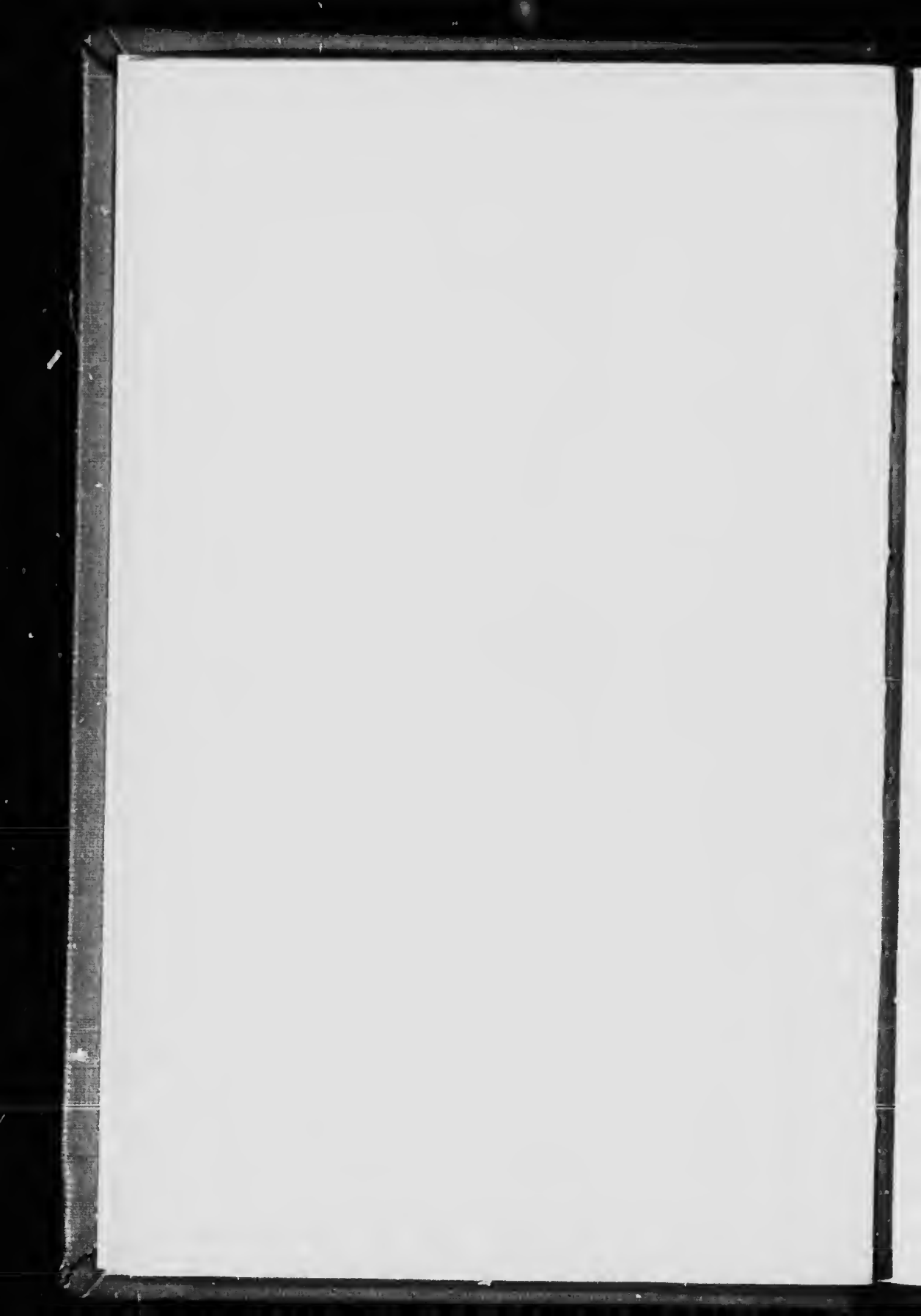
The executive functions of an enlightened Church and Industry, the necessity for research and investigation into the causes of industrial unrest, and the opportunities for service in conciliation and arbitration, are all touched upon.

It has been my endeavour throughout to keep in view the real needs of Industry at the present hour. I am convinced that every problem in Industry can be solved by applying to it the principles of Jesus Christ. I believe that these principles can best be interpreted and applied by the Church working in harmony with employers and employed. The success of Whitley Councils in Industry has proved beyond doubt the value of joint conference between employers and employed. Through the kindness of the Labour and other Ministries of the British Government I have had ample opportunity, as Oversea

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Member of the Labour Committee of the Canadian Government, to attend meetings of Councils and to satisfy myself as to their great value. Although in the United States and Canada the progress made with Joint Industrial Councils has not been so great as in this country sufficient proof of their value has been established. My knowledge of their qualities and defects leads me to believe that the scheme I have suggested in the formation of an International Church Industrial Union will not only discover to the Church her place in Industry but to employers and employed a source of power for the solution of problems in Industry which will ensure industrial peace.

If this effort leads to the consideration of such a union or to some other means to promote harmony, happiness and prosperity in Industry, I shall feel that my labour has not been in vain.



FOREWORD.

BY THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE N.
BARNES, M.P., P.C.,

Late Member of British War Cabinet.

I TAKE it that the object of the author, in the pages here following, is to show the Christians of the Church and those in the Labour movement that they are really part of one movement towards the evolution of a better world. It is a very laudable object and one which has my hearty support. The Church has in the past held aloof from Labour, and has been paid back in its own coin. Yet the Church and Labour have much in common, and each could help the other in the application of Christian principles to modern problems. The Labour movement is at the bottom a religious movement, and the Church is, spite of shortcomings, the only organized expression of religion. I believe that there are great and increasing numbers

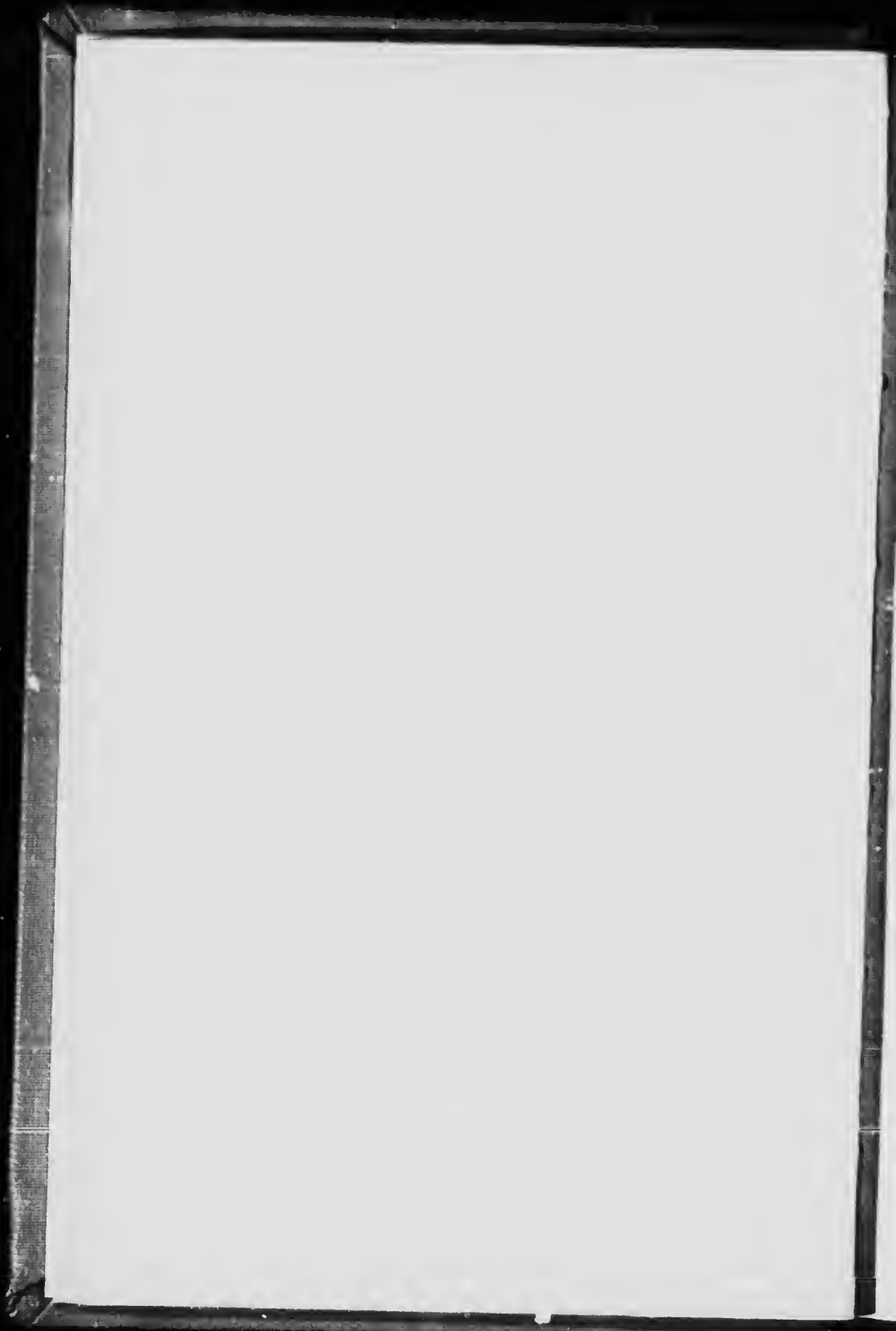
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in the Churches who want to help Labour because they have become deeply impressed with the undoubted evils of our commercial and industrial life. And I also believe that there are large numbers in the Labour movement who are concerned—and indeed alarmed—to think that Labour is coming under the control of some who look only to materialistic force as the means by which to achieve their ends. It is a day of organization and counter organization of Employers and Employed. But if organizations are actuated only by a determination to fight and bruise one another the community interest will suffer. In the long run all will suffer. A right end cannot be achieved by wrong means. There must be a regard for the common good.

We have just passed through a great war abroad; it would indeed be an anti-climax if we should now use our freedom only in industrial war at home. If, however, that war is to be averted it must be by the acceptance of the spirit of human brotherhood, by co-operation rather than strife, and by a determina-

Foreword.

tion to found industrial relations on the undying and unchanging principles of that righteousness which alone exalteth a nation. I hope this book may be widely read, and that it may bring help and stimulus to the best elements in the ranks, both of the Church and of Labour.



CHAPTER I.

Industrial Chaos.

A MASS of matter in confusion is bad enough; but confused humanity is worse. Industry cannot be separated from the life of the people. Classifications of occupations have been made; but, at some point, all occupations are linked together. Every healthy and civilised person consumes food, wears clothes and seeks proper shelter. When the human forces engaged in the supply of these human necessities are in confusion a deluge of disorder, as Carlyle would say, must result. Confusion is found in the two main compartments of Industry. They may be described as, first, that which secures trade and distributes products, and, second, that which produces the products. In these two distinct and co-related compartments in Industry, there are distinct types of skill. First, the commercial, exhibited

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in the buying and selling and procuring orders, and, second, in the technical handicraft and physical labour, exhibited in production. In both compartments, the confusion and disorder are found as between individuals, organizations of employers and employed, organizations of employees, organizations of employers, individual employers, and between nations. If we consider first the chaos in securing trade, we see that the great forces in the first compartment are not in harmony; perhaps the principle reason for this is unrestricted competition in securing trade. This has bred disorder, social evils, and is a public danger, as well as unnecessary for the development of honest trade. Confusion and disorder have increased because the problems relating to securing trade have not been seriously tackled and solved. Mr. W. L. Hichens, the chairman of Messrs. Cammell Laird and Co., Ltd., said recently: "A great source of wasted energy to-day is that so many manufacturers are engaged in a miscellaneous trade with no economic standard; a dozen firms may each be

Chaos.

manufacturing a dozen types of articles at a loss, whereas if each concentrated on one type, the loss would be converted into profit. Moreover, standardisation of type has been sadly neglected and quite unnecessary variations have been allowed to introduce themselves, merely because it is nobody's business to see that they are reduced to a minimum."

Chaos in Securing Trade.

This part of chaos runs throughout not only our standards, or want of standards in products; but our whole system of selling, buying, manufacturing and distributing. The defects of "natural liberty" are apparent, allowing each individual to carve out his own destiny, without due consideration for others.

Adam Smith built his great economic theories of self-interest and natural liberty, and the nineteenth century materialism and the twentieth century chaos result. These great theories have been championed by many industrial leaders. They have served a purpose in securing the wealth of nations. His

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economic theories threw light on the path of the pioneers of industry, providing contentment in society so long as the masses of the industrial people remained uneducated. Education, however, itself the outcome in part of discovery and invention, has changed the scene. The workers recognise, and employers of labour admit, that the unfettered principle of self-love in industry is a source of danger to society. To object to natural liberty as a fundamental principle in the development of trade would appear to strike at the root of that freedom without which our best activities suffer. "Why should we object to natural liberty?" it is asked. "Why not break every fetter which holds it in check?" Unfortunately, the natural forces of humanity cannot be released in society without setting free greed, avarice and other vices which make competition for trade almost diabolical in its results. Unrestricted competition in securing trade has made many wealthy, but has ruined others. I have repeatedly illustrated the curse of unwholesome competition

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by considering what is involved when, for instance, a dozen contractors quote for the supply and construction of a large bridge at a time when trade is dull and each contractor is determined to secure the order. Think of the expenditure by each in the preparation of tenders, think of the public menace the acceptance of such an order may mean if taken by one of the contractors at a price below which he can reasonably pay his operators a fair wage, and supply the bridge in accordance with the standard required with any hope of having a profit at the end. Think again of the temptation of the contractor under such conditions to use materials of a quality which is not up to standard specification, and to demand concessions from inspectors to accept a lower grade of material which does not possess the factor of safety required. Think again, what temptations there are under such pressure to reduce the character of the finish of the product, by cutting out high priced skilled labour, which a contractor tries to replace at a lower value and still maintain the

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standard of finish required. Is a system of competition which places an industry, the general public, and society as a whole in a place of peril instead of prosperity, worthy to be fostered or condemned? Is it any wonder that Industry is in confusion and disorder when such a system overloads some factories with work for 24 hours every day and leaves desolate other equally efficient factories with unemployment and starvation?

Apart altogether from its antagonism to Christian ethics, which cannot be ignored, self-love in Industry has promoted and maintained an uncontrolled and unrighteous competition for trade. This has caused jealousy, hatred and other evils between manufacturers, and none can tell how far this same evil has caused war between nations. It is well known with what bitterness the British and other nations resented the fierce competition of the Germans before the war which enabled them by means of their Cartels to dump products upon British and other markets at prices sometimes lower than the manufacturing cost in Germany or elsewhere.

Chaos.

The question of competition in Industry goes beyond the confines of an industry, and a nation. It is international. The whole industrial world is now unbalanced. It is false economy to allow the total producing capacity of the world to exceed the total consumption of the world in any one industry, to the detriment of that industry, or of any other. Much of the confusion in Industry has been caused by the unbalanced state of production. This should not exist if the nations would agree together to regulate the capacity of production in accordance with the demands of the consumers. One can hardly estimate what would be the enormous economy, apart from the peace of mind, by such international regulation. A trained section, co-operating with the labour section of the League of Nations, would find plenty of scope for international unity on this question. The industrial machine of a country, however, far less of the world, cannot be stopped, scrapped, and a new one substituted in a short time. If, further, re-adjust-

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ment is to take place, the existing machinery must not be disorganised while the new is being installed. Instead of ruthlessly setting up new machinery and converting the whole, each efficient part should be utilised to the fullest extent, or if inefficient, be replaced as part of the whole, in order to gradually change the whole.

Chaos in Production.

If we now consider the confusion that exists in the second great compartment of Industry, we will note that the greatest disorder and confusion as a rule starts in the factory, where the human problems between management and men exist. These great problems have led to the formation of unions of workers and unions of employers. There was a time when the employers could dictate to the workers what terms they must accept. That time has gone. Employers are now beginning to measure up properly the value of the worker. The employer's relation to his workpeople has not been antagonistic always ; but has been largely indifferent.

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The new ideas which have invested the workers have brought hostile discontent in some, and diabolical bitterness in others. Labour has demanded higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Labour's demands, as a rule, are resisted by the employers at first but almost invariably conceded, after, perhaps, much dislocation of business and public inconvenience. Most of the confusion arises over simple commonplace things which honest, good common sense between man and man could avoid. Labour is now sufficiently educated to know that the products of Industry cannot exist without its effort. Labour believes it has not had its proper voice in Industry nor its right reward. Employers have been slow to believe that there is a place in each industry where the seller, the buyer, the manufacturer, and the worker can render the maximum of service in an efficient and harmonious manner. Most employers are beginning to recognise that by the exhibition of kindness and good sense in the selection of men for their duties and in the payment of

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just rewards the best production can be obtained. It is folly to suppose that there are insufficient people with genius and skill, both in administration and technical ability, in each industry, to enable its members to direct wisely its own destiny. Just as unrestricted competition in securing trade produces chaos, so does the lack of co-operation in the producing units of Industry interfere with production. Unquestionably the highest efficiency and best production from any unit can be obtained by competitive co-operation which fosters loyalty, contentment and robust service. The removal of confusion from the factory does not lie principally in remodelling methods of business and processes of manufacture; nor in the establishment of effective and economic standards; but in laying the foundations of a brotherhood between employers and employed, based upon Christian principles.

If we consider carefully upon whom we depend for the products of industry and examine the incentives already offered to labour to maintain efficient

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production, we shall find that the great body of workers have not had inducements placed before them in an attractive way. The feeling among the labouring classes is that any privileges, recognitions, and any better conditions of labour, wages or hours of employment, have been wrung out of the employers only after serious conflict, and where the forces of their might have prevailed. They, therefore, do not give a wholesome active service with any thrilling sense of delight in which they regard the products of their hands as essential to national prosperity. This condition is not overdrawn. I am sure that manufacturers are aware of the unrest which exists, an unrest bordering on revolution—brought about largely by the neglect of duty by many employers to the workers. The confusion and disorder in Industry to which I have referred are not the outcome of the war. Commissions were appointed before the war, and since, to investigate the far-reaching problems of Industry; and recommendations have been made con-

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cerning the relationship between capital and labour, development of industrial research, and the employment of the best kind of machinery, best methods of manufacture, buying and selling products, transportation facilities, domestic and foreign commercial relationship, together with a host of other subjects of vital importance to the industrial prosperity of the Empire, all of which show the need for drastic changes in Industry.

If we review the world's trade and examine the mineral resources scattered over the world's surface, we shall find that there are sufficient materials to supply the needs of the people, while the human resources provided in different parts of the world are plentiful for turning the mineral resources into products for the use and convenience of men. The markets of the world will increase in number, just as soon as the workers recognise the value of human resources in changing dead minerals into vital uses. There is no need to exercise that cruel, unrestricted and degrading competition which modern

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civilisation without applied Christianity has allowed to fix its octopus grip around Industry. Confusion will exist amongst the ranks of the workers themselves so long as they distrust each other, either in their organizations or in their individual employment. Employers must recognise that the worker is a human factor in Industry instead of a machine or a tool whose services can be bought and sold.

In Chapters XII. to XVII. I have suggested a constructive policy and the organization of machinery for dealing with the problems to which I have referred here. I am, however, convinced that it is not a question of machinery but of those hidden spiritual forces in humanity, without which the best machinery and the best organizations fail. I have great confidence in the sons of toil, in their ability, in their loyalty, in their good sense, and in their desire to stand for righteousness, freedom and justice. These are the fundamentals upon which the most enduring Industries must be built in order to dispel confusion and disorder.

CHAPTER II.

Socialism in Society.

THERE are so many well-meaning people in the world who are seeking to reform Society that it is difficult to convince them that the theories they hold and the philosophies they teach would bring disorder and confusion if put into practice. It is not easy to follow the different kinds of socialistic doctrines which are taught, as they increase in number so rapidly. But some of them are so attractive and deluding that they appeal to the working people and find a ready response from many Christians. The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P., recently said: "The present world unrest means that the old order of things is in its death throes; that a new society is about to come to birth and that age-long injustices and inequalities that burdened the lives of the common people are at last to be swept away. But it is doubtful whether

Socialism in Society.

the ideal of true political liberty will be realised in this or other countries without a violent convulsion of society."

No student of the times can doubt the present unrest. There is an unprecedented upheaval in Society. The activities of social, religious, educational and political movements, both new and old, to prevent disorder and remove the causes of the world unrest, confirm the fact. A new society can only be born by the change of the individuals of which it is composed. Christ proclaimed the necessity of a new birth for every individual, and thus indicated the starting-place of a new society.

If Mr. Henderson sees in that society which is about to come to birth spiritual values which will give to each individual a new and profound sense of his duty to his neighbour, then the worker will have learned the folly of restricting output which helped to increase the cost of living and reduce the general standard of comfort. He will also see that however iniquitous his employers may have been in profiteering and in withholding from them what they considered to be

Socialism

their fair share in the profits of production, the spiritual value of doing the right and honest thing has its own reward. Employers also will be ashamed to be found doing the mean thing. We have, however, to provide something more than sentimental wishes. We have to legislate for human nature as we find it, with all its handicaps and sins.

Many social and industrial leaders are earnestly desirous of bringing in a new society; but they do not see the dangers of upheaval, nor are they prepared with any plans to regulate the new society when it comes. The lessons from Russia are so opportune that one longs to see a changed attitude in the exponents of that form of socialism which is wrecking Russia.

The present unrest in Society and Industry is not normal; but it is often forgotten that unrest in ordinary times is a sign of progress. Society would become stagnant if it knew no conflict. Man's greatest conquests for liberty, right and religion, have come through bitterest conflict.

In Society.

If we examine the claims of the socialist (and they are numerous) we find, for instance, that Morris Hillquit, the leader of the socialist movement in the United States, defines socialism as follows:—

“Stated in more concrete terms, the socialist programme requires the public or collective ownership and operation of the principal instruments and agencies for the production and distribution of wealth, *e.g.*, the land, mines, railroads, steamboats, telegraph, and telephone lines; mills, factories and modern machinery. This is the main programme and the ultimate aim of the whole socialist movement and the political creed of all socialists. It is the unflinching test of socialist adherents and admits of no limitation, extension or variation. Whoever accepts this programme is a socialist; whoever does not, is not.”

Such a programme as proposed by Mr. Hillquit would absorb the individuals in Society and the citizens in the State. What would be the liberty of the individual under this scheme of

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socialism? The State would undertake to do almost everything for the individual and the company, which they now do for themselves. What Society or the State determined should be done would have to be carried out or endured. Everybody would have to work and work in that kind of employment, perform that amount of work, the State dictated. Railways, shipping, industry, banks, private property and private business would be under State control. No more initiative or genius from the individual would be required. Having therefore no need to aspire to these higher heights of genius, all the motives for industry and economy would be removed. It follows that degeneration would quickly set in. To be prevented from improving one's position would not only extinguish the desire but paralyse the moral nature and throw one out of the true environment of the moral nature, which is God. Nothing is so likely to destroy the best motives for the greatest service than shackling the liberty and independence of the individual and making him a mere automaton.

in Society.

In that socialism by which the unthinking workers are blinded and hoodwinked, all freedom perishes except for the autocrats who rule. This has been demonstrated in Russia. Sir George Buchanan, late British Ambassador in Russia, says: "Russian workmen and peasants alike have realised too late by bitter experience what Bolshevism means, and now it has spelled ruin both for themselves and their country. Liberty, the watchword of the revolution, has long been a dead letter. It is the monopoly of a single class, of a minority which through its 'Red' army terrorises the majority of the nation. All who do not subscribe to the articles of the Bolshevik creed are disfranchised. All papers which do not support the Government are suppressed. Justice is unobtainable or only to be bought and corruption is rampant. Never since the days of Ivan the Terrible has Russia suffered such tyranny, and when some weeks ago the Bolsheviki feared that their power was on the wane, they indulged in an orgy of massacre and pillage in the hope of over-awing helpless

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people with the 'Red' terror. Nobody's life is safe. The process of passing sentences on individuals is even found too slow, and they are massacred in batches, the 'Red' Guard or the Chinese mercenaries employed as executioners being free to choose their victims from the list of the proscribed."

No one would ever hint that in Mr. Henderson's doubt that "the ideal of true political liberty will be realised in this or other countries without violent convulsion," he anticipates a similar condition in the birth of the new Society of which he speaks, and which Sir George Buchanan describes had resulted in abortion in Russia. The temper, however, of labour to-day in England is violent even in circles where individual control should be expected. A trade unionist of one of the oldest societies told me only a few days ago that in all his 35 years of membership he had never found a condition of shop morals so low amongst the workers. He spoke of the violent threats of what the workers would do if anyone dared to cross their path. He had no courage to speak his

in Society.

mind to them. He said that if he did they would break his tools and hound him out of employment. Their actions, he said, were foreign to the great traditions of the true labour unionism of which he was proud. I was informed by a machine operator who had been employed in a munitions factory during the war of an incident which happened while doing his duty. He had recently left school when war broke out and was employed on a machine doing one operation. He soon became expert and did more than the union official of the shop considered he should do; being but a boy, he was amazed to learn the attitude of the official, and thought his threats were insincere. He was informed that if he continued at the pace he was working they would break his machine. To his astonishment, when he returned to his work one morning, he found the wheels of his machine smashed. He was thrown out of employment for a few days during its repair. On his return he was informed by the Union man that he had told him what he might expect if he did not slow down.

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The boy informed his employer, who said he could do nothing. The country was at war.

These illustrations do not represent true and sound labour trade unionism. They represent a spirit in some sections of the ranks of trade unionism, which is being fanned into a flame by foolish leaders who make promises and ideal suggestions, which, if carried out, would land Society where Russia is to-day. Bolshevism, syndicalism, and other brands of socialism, are not far removed from that kind of socialism, championed by the "small intellectuals" in the trade union movement to-day, and which is a growing menace to Society, to constitutional government, and true democracy. When socialism in Society prevails, freedom will perish. The citizen would be nothing and the State would be everything. The State and Society have their functions and the citizen and the individual have their rights to live. Neither the State nor Society has the right to take that right away without their consent, unless forfeited by crime. Society has no right to absorb the indi-

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viduals nor the State the citizen. Neither State nor Society has the right to support the individual so long as he is able to maintain himself. If Mr. Henderson, in speaking of that "true political liberty" has in view the breaking of all shackles which socialism would form, with which to bind the individuals, then Society would be free indeed for service.

But what has socialism done for Society? If we look in the slums of our cities and mix among the human wrecks of Society, can we see its redeeming or uplifting power there? The coarsest creatures, almost bereft of reason and moral fibre, have been transformed there, but never by socialism. Those who have worked in lodging-houses or in rescue missions in great cities like London and New York have seen a mysterious something sweep through the lives of wrecked humanity, bringing with it a new hope, a new inspiration, and a new life; but it has not been socialism. I shall never forget my first visit to the Jerry McAuley Rescue Mission, New York. There

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were about 80 men present, 50 of them very respectably dressed, and 30 who appeared the scum of Society. I thought I had seen all sorts of the submerged ; but they looked the most abandoned. During the afternoon, 35 different men from the 50 gave most impressive testimony of the unspeakable sins from which they had been rescued and kept, some for a few weeks, others for 40 years. They all were full of praise for what they had been saved from ; but not one of them had one word for socialism. All spoke of a faith that had come to them in a moment, not a faith in themselves nor in socialism ; but in Christ. If socialism could take away the sins of Society, all honest men would hail it with enthusiasm.

But what has socialism done for labour? Can it be recommended to them as something that is to bring in the dawn of the better day of which we have heard so much? Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, evidently does not think so. In a recent address which he delivered at Faneuil Hall,

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Boston, U.S.A., he said: "I want to tell you socialists that I have studied your philosophy, read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them, studied your standard works both in English and German; have not only read but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over; I have kept close watch upon your doctrine for 30 years, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeves and I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you. I am not only at variance with your doctrine, but with your philosophy. Economically you are unsound; socially you are wrong; industrially you are an impossibility."

Warren S. Stone, the Grand Chief of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in the United States, is none the less opposed to every form of socialism which undermines constitutional government by the people and for the people. He is fearless in his denunciation of all forms of injustice, and his

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aims are to raise the conditions of the workers over whom he has the joy and honour of presiding ; but he sees as do the leaders of labour and industry in this country who have a broad outlook, that the Marxian socialism which most forms of socialism tend to develop, ultimately means destruction instead of construction. Socialism to live must have life, not the elements of death. Broken chords in the heart of Society will vibrate once more, not by socialism but by love.

CHAPTER III.

Movements towards Co-operation in Industry.

THE principal movements towards co-operation between employers and employed may be summarised as follows:—

- (1) Philanthropic.
- (2) Co-operative.
- (3) Co-partnership and profit-sharing.
- (4) Forms of partial representative government in Industry, I deal with item (4) in Chapter IV.

Philanthropic.

Looking at the value of philanthropy in Industry it would be foolish to deny that the very spirit which promotes kindness and consideration for the workers is the spirit required to-day. Philanthropic institutions in Industry are so numerous and far-reaching in their influence that one wonders what would

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have happened to society and civilisation had benevolence and generosity been withheld. When we consider the many institutions for benefitting the worker, such as Mutual Aid, Welfare work, Recreation, Schemes for stimulating thrift, limited profit-sharing, most of which are the outcome of philanthropy, their values in maintaining a spirit of comradeship in Industry cannot be over estimated.

Signs are not wanting of the genuine hall marks of Christianity and humanity in most of the philanthropic efforts in Industry. Some of them, however, have been misunderstood. Suspicion has gathered around them, and here and there employers have difficulty in satisfying employees that philanthropy, in any shape or form, is of value to Industry. Philanthropy stands condemned as a means of developing that freedom and robust independence of character which are invaluable national assets. Educated workers believe that if the efficient services of the worker are rewarded by a fair share in the profits, employers will not require to contribute

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doles as a stimulus to better service. A real interest in their work, properly classified and valued, and a share in the profits of labour will be sufficient incentive to production. Most workers condemn philanthropy—first, because it is unnecessary for healthy individuals; second, because it enslaves instead of frees; third, because the benefits arising from the products of labour should not be determined by the employer only but by the different parties to Industry. The consumers also contend that they pay for philanthropy if the profits of Industry exceed what is a fair return for labour and the use of capital. Whatever may be said for and against philanthropy in Industry, there is no question that much suspicion has taken the place of gratitude, and one is forced to conclude that, while it has served a noble purpose in contributing to the comfort and co-operation of workers and masters in any scheme for the complete co-operation of employers and employed, it cannot be considered to be of great permanent value. The day is passing when any single partner to Industry can

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dictate the policy and decide the value and profits of Industry.

The Co-operative Movement.

If we examine the principles upon which the co-operative societies were founded, and seek to measure their contribution to the union of industrial interest, it will be clear that no higher motives ever moved humanity to unite the interest of workers and consumers. Those motives found expression in the lives and actions of Robert Owen, Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, Ludlow, Holyoak and Greening. In the manual setting forth the fundamental principles of the co-operative movement—a manual prepared at the request of the Co-operative Congress, held at Gloucester in April, 1879, and edited by Thomas Hughes and E. V. Neale—it is stated that "Co-operation is a serious effort to unite in the business of life the ideal with the real, or, in the language of the New Testament, to realise on earth the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. In the assured conviction that all else shall be added to those who place them-

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selves in harmony with the All-sustaining Power—that Divine unity on which the infinite difference of individual existence rest, and of which they are the expression. Co-operation will be helped by whatever promotes this disposition. It will be hindered by whatever checks it. Its danger and its safety depend upon the absence or presence of this spirit of unity.”

It is not surprising that any movement permeated with this spirit should grow to such dimensions and power. Records show that, in the year 1908, the value of the sales from co-operative societies in Britain amounted to £16,000,000, and in 1916 to £48,000,000. The wonder is that its influence has not extended more throughout the manufacturing and distributing sections of Industry. If we seek to discover some of the limitations of this movement, we find that, while the rules of the Co-operative Union of Great Britain make, as a principle, the necessity of conciliating the conflicting interests of the capitalist, the worker and the purchaser, through the equit-

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able division among them of the funds commonly known as profit, the Co-operative Society has become very largely a movement in the interest of the consumer only. It is recorded that the majority of British Co-operative Societies ignore this fundamental principle and treat their profits as belonging to the consumers only. It is of little importance whether a member works for the society or not. It is as a consumer he becomes a member and exercises his rights and privileges. The consumer's theory of co-operation claims that the consumers are entitled to all profits from industry ; for without the consumers to buy, the products would be of no value. I think, however, that the claim could be made by each of the other partners to Industry. The capitalist might say, "Without my money, labour and products are impossible." Labour might say to the capitalist and the consumer, "All your money without my labour is valueless." The Government might even say, "Without legislation and the maintenance of order, there would be chaos."

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The importance of the consumer's movement in this country, Europe and America, cannot be lightly passed over. It is a great movement, and must, in any complete form of representative government in industry, take its place.

Co-partnership and Profit-sharing.

Another of the important movements towards co-operation between employer and employed is that of co-partnership and profit-sharing. It is doubtful when it had its beginning. The Frenchman, Leclare, is credited with the establishment of the first practical scheme of profit-sharing, which he introduced in 1842. His scheme was several times modified during his lifetime, and formed the copy for other schemes both in this country and in America. Among the chief advocates of co-partnership and profit-sharing were men like John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, George Jacob Holyoak, Alfred Marshall and others. Mr. Aneurin Williams says, in his valuable treatise on co-partnership and profit-sharing: "There are two types of co-partnership, one springing from

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the workers themselves ; the other introduced into business of a commercial origin in order to establish harmonious work by setting the relations of capital and labour, and the distribution of wealth by them on a better basis." Here Mr. Williams referred to limited liability societies organised for the manufacture of boots, for instance, and founded by Trade Unions and members of co-operative stores directed by a small committee of shareholders, elected just in the same way as directors of an ordinary company. The profits, after paying all expenses and 5 per cent. to shareholders, are divided among the workers as a percentage upon the wages of each.

The other type of co-partnership and profit-sharing is illustrated in the large Gas Corporations where "every regular worker has a share of the profit credited to him in proportion to the economy of production and to the amount of his wages." By the accumulation and investment of this profit he becomes a shareholder, and has a vote at the shareholders' meeting in proportion to his

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capital. As distinct, therefore, from the consumers' co-operative movement, co-partnership aims at sharing the profits between employers and employees, and making them shareholders in industry. There is a purely profit-sharing element in many industries as distinct from part-ownership, which the co-partnership movement advocates. "The co-partnership ideal was originally predominant in the British co-operative movement," says Mr. Williams, "but of late years the feeling has been so strong among a certain party, that consumers' co-operation is the only true form both for distributor and manufacturer, that the Wholesale Co-operative Society has not hesitated to enter into competition with co-partnership societies or to buy them up and make them part of its system, abolishing the co-partnership element." This changed attitude to co-partnership in the co-operative movement had found its way into Germany and France before the War.

Notwithstanding this attitude, the Board of Trade records show that in 1912 there were 133 profit-sharing

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businesses with 106,000 employees, as compared with 101 businesses with 28,000 employees in 1894. The aims, therefore, of the Labour Co-partnership Association to establish "an organization of Industry in which all those engaged share in the profits, capital, control and responsibility," include all the partners to industry, and therefore must have a great influence in shaping the policy and determining the right way to progress, prosperity and peace in industry.

In the following chapter I refer to other efforts which have been made to establish forms of representative government in Industry, but I should like here to pay a tribute to the value of the work done by most labour unions and employers' associations in educating their members to the need for co-operation in Industry. History records the magnificent struggles which have been made by these unions and associations to free Industry from the shackles of ease, ignorance and fear.

CHAPTER IV.

Movement Towards Representative Government in Industry.

DIFFERENT plans have been devised with a view to giving labour a fuller share in the control of Industry. Some schemes of representative government in Industry have been tried. An illustration of a successful plan is that in operation at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company in the State of Colorado, one of the most important industries in America. In 1915 the Company decided upon a plan of representative government about which the Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States on December 21st, 1914, to enquire into the labour differences in the coalfields of Colorado said in their Report: "The essential features of the plan seem to your Commissioners to be (1) that the relations between the Company and its employers as a body are defined by contract,

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(2) That every employee is guaranteed the right to belong to a labour union or not as he pleases, and (3) That the men in each mine under this contract are entitled to choose their own representatives, these representatives being protected from abuse by the company by a clause in the contract which entitles them, if they even think they have been discriminated against because of their action as representatives of the men, to appeal to the Industrial Commissioners of the State, and the contract binds the Company also to accept as final the findings of the Industrial State Commission."

This remarkable scheme, which has proved to be a success, was carried through by Mr. J. D. Rockefeller, junr., in conjunction with the valuable advice of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, whose recent treatise on "Industry and Humanity" describes fully the details and methods of organization involved. Other large corporations in the United States, such as the International Harvester Company, have since introduced workshop councils and committees with the same object.

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Garton Foundations.

In October, 1916, there was issued by the Garton Foundation a memorandum containing proposals for the union of capital and labour, proposals which are believed by many to have inspired the action of the British Government in the appointment of the Whitley Committee. About the same time, several independent students of Industry made proposals bearing upon the same subject, all of which contributed to the education of public opinion which is ripening for full representative government in Industry.

The National Alliance of Employers and Employed.

Another great movement was started by a number of the most influential employers and trade unionists in Britain on December 7th, 1916, at the Hotel Cecil, London, when the National Alliance of Employers and Employed was formed. It was established to promote active co-operation of employers and employed in the consideration of questions generally affecting labour and

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employment in all trades and industrial occupations. It had also in view the welfare of the industrial workers of the country and the efficiency of its Industries. This Society, with the Right Hon. Huth Jackson as chairman, and Mr. A. H. Paterson as general secretary, has done splendid pioneer work throughout the United Kingdom in promoting the happy alliance of employers and employed, and in making possible the establishment of joint industrial councils to deal with wages, conditions of labour, etc.

Other societies doing similar work to the National Alliance of Employers and Employed are the Industrial Reconstruction Council and the Industrial League, which recently joined hands in one common endeavour to further the interests of employers and employed. On each of these organizations are the representatives of employers and employed, with the knowledge of Industry sufficient to enable an intelligent grasp of the situation as well as ability to solve the problems in Industry.

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The Whitley Committee.

It was early in 1917 that a sub-committee of the British Reconstruction Committee, consisting of representatives of employers and employed, was appointed to consider the relation of employers and employed under the chairmanship of the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, M.P., whose committee in March, 1917, recommended the adoption of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in each Industry, such councils to consist of equal representation of employees and employers, their functions being to consider problems of Industry affecting the conditions of the workers and improvement in production—conditions about which Labour Unions had hitherto no adequate expression in their direction or control. This was a great recommendation, the far-reaching results of which were not realised by the Committee or the British Government who endorsed the Committee's proposals. To advocate a change in the vast industrial machine at a time when the country was in-

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volved in war seemed like inviting complete disaster. This view was held by not a few. Those, however, who had followed the educational influence at work in the Workers' Educational Association and in employers' associations were not surprised to find a willing response from many employers and employed to the suggestions made in the Whitley Report. Whitley Councils in Industry are now a household word. Their object in seeking to cooperate the forces in Industry is well known. The Government has recognised them as advisory councils where a truly representative joint industrial council is formed which can be regarded by the Industry as a whole as representing the Industry. Such councils are used as the channel through which the Government is informed of the needs and conditions of the Industry. On October 12th, 1919, the fiftieth Joint Industrial Council was formed. They have extended beyond the confines of ordinary Industry. National Councils have been established in Government departments. The National

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Council for the Civil Service alone, on which practically all the Government departments have representatives, covers nearly 200 associations of Civil Servants in the British Isles. Councils have been established for the Admiralty, the Office of Works, the Public Service of Electricity supply, Gas, Tramways and Water undertakings, affording a means of effective co-operation between public services and corporate bodies whose main concern is the public interest. On every council there are equal representatives of organized labour and organized employers. In the case of Government or local bodies the representatives are chosen from the unions of the employees on the one hand and the permanent staff of the Government on the other.

National and International Parliaments of Labour.

In addition to the actual formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils, national industrial conferences have been held with a view to promoting agreement between employed and employers in all

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Industries. Perhaps, however, the nearest approach to complete representation of all parties to Industry in full co-operation is found in the Labour Charter, which forms part of the peace terms formulated in Paris. In *The Times* of April 11th, 1919, the Right Hon. George N. Barnes, M.P., is reported as having said: "For the first time in history we are now seeking to get co-operation of all concerned—State, employers and workers engaged in a common cause and animated by a common desire to raise the standard of life everywhere. It provides for an annual conference to be held, unless otherwise provided, at the seat of the League of Nations. The conference will consist of four members from each State, two being representatives of the State and one each of workmen and employers respectively. Each delegate will be allowed to vote separately, so that we may promote the spirit of internationality."

The results of the first International Labour Conference, to which Mr. Barnes looked forward, and which was

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held in Washington during November, 1919, are most gratifying. Particularly is this the case in relation to Japan, as measures were adopted for raising the age of child labour and reducing the hours of the workers generally. My reference to the movements towards representative government in Industry would be incomplete without some mention of the rapid changes which are being made in this country towards the joint control of railways by the Government, the workers, and the railway managers. Plans have been formulated whereby the representatives of the Railway Unions and managers of different railroads act in an advisory capacity in managing the Government railways. Boards are being set up for the settlement of wages and hours' conditions, so that, should the managers of the railroads and the representatives of the Labour Unions fail to agree, representatives of the public will have a voice in helping to determine what is the fair thing.

Never in the history of the world has such interest been shown in the prob-

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lems of Industry, and particularly those relating to co-operation between employers and employed. There is undoubtedly a strong desire for a better spirit of goodwill to operate between employers and employed. It is being recognised that a new attitude towards the application of Christian principles in Industry must be employed. Religion has been too long divorced from Industry. A mock modesty, a fear of failure to follow standards we all know to be right when those standards are too much opposed to our material interests, have no doubt contributed to this condition. Henry Drummond has said that to grow up in complacent belief that God has no business in this great groaning world of humanity, except to attend to a few saved souls, is the negation of all religion. This is being recognised in the great movement by the Churches to-day. That whole-hearted co-operation between employers and employed for which so many are now struggling can never become an accomplished fact until it is established on the principles of righteousness, justice and freedom.

CHAPTER V.

Society and Industry Inseparably Linked Together.

ALL human life is maintained by Industry. There is no place in the whole order of society for the idle rich or idle poor. It is the duty of each fit individual to engage in some sort of service, where equal opportunities are given for the development of efficient work and the enjoyment of its reward.

Society cannot be divorced from Industry. The functions of Industry are such that each individual as a unit of society should be taught to regard the performance of the tasks suited to his or her ability as a national service. The present order of society links together four partners in Industry. They are as follows:—

- (1) All who provide means for labour.
- (2) All who labour.

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(3) All who purchase the products of labour.

(4) All who protect the interests of the other partners.

In short, all who render service to Industry are partners. They are usually known as :—

(1) The capitalists or investors who supply the finance for operation.

(2) Labour, including producers and distributors from the highest to the lowest contributor of service.

(3) The consumers, without whom the services of the first two partners would be unnecessary.

(4) The Government, representing the people who provide the laws and hold the balance of justice.

The partners to Industry represent society in no cold mechanical form but have vital interests in Industry. Their interests may be stated as follows :—

(1) The capitalist, whether he be a millionaire or an artisan, has surely an interest in the profits of Industry in return for the money he lends either to the huge Corporation, or to the Penny

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Savings' Post Office or Bank. Hitherto the capitalist in industrial enterprises has taken the entire responsibility and control; an attitude which has inspired the worst forms of socialism. He has also decided that the interest should be without reference to any of the other partners to Industry.

(2) Labour is surely entitled to an interest in the products of hand and brain. The important question to settle is, what that interest shall be and what share in the profits, control and responsibility, labour should have.

(3) The consumer is interested in the quality and price of products and in their rate of production. He sees the possibility of anti-social arrangements being made between the first two partners, or by either of them independently if left with full control.

(4) The Government surely has an interest, not only as a partner but as a final arbitrator, where differences between the partners to Industry may arise. Its functions in Industry include legislation for the lawful and peaceful regulation of Industry, as well as the

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provision of necessary means for foreign and domestic trade, without disturbing the peace of the world.

The constant disturbances in Industry indicate all too well that these common interests have not been fully recognised in the past. The capitalist has not considered labour's value in the light of its real worth. Organised labour has for years fought the capitalists, believing that it has not had its fair share in the profits of Industry. Labour now realizes its power and some sections of it are inclined to forget its relative functions in the industrial world, considering its interest of first importance. The railway strike in England in October, 1919, is proof of this fact. Society as a whole was aroused in a great national conflict against the proceedings taken by the railway men to secure what they considered to be reasonable demands. Their procedure set at nought the convenience and comfort of the whole nation and brought suffering to many. Their conduct to many appeared as defiance of the Government of the country.

The same spirit was manifested by

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the coal miners of the United States in November, 1919. Quoting the *New York World*, *The Times* of November 3rd, 1919, gave the following paragraph on the coal miners' attitude:—

“The strike is a challenge to the majority of the American people by a very small minority, who happen to control the means of production in an essential industry. If the owners had done as the labour leaders have done, if they had met in convention and voted to close all the mines on a certain day unless they were permitted to fix an arbitrary price for coal, if they had persistently refused to submit their case to arbitration; if they had obstinately rejected every offer of mediation and proclaimed their intention of freezing and starving the public into intervention on their behalf; if they had vituperatively assailed the President and defied the Government—if they had done all these things, the owners would be in jail for criminal conspiracy and the coal mines would be in possession of, and operated by, the Government. No coterie of

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mine owners would be permitted to take the country by the throat and choke it into submission ; nor can any coterie of labour leaders be permitted to do so."

This action of the miners was virtually an intolerant challenge to society by a minority with a powerful weapon in its hand. If we agree that all the partners to Industry have an interest, is it not the duty of society as a whole to determine what course of action should be taken to prevent such a crisis as confronted England during the railway strike, and the United States in the coal strike referred to? Such conduct cannot be justified by any moral law, and if tolerated must ultimately break up society and cause revolution.

Organized labour, however, is as much opposed to minority domination and general suffering resulting from strikes as any other section of society. It believes that up to the present the "strike" has been most effective for bringing to the notice of the public the injustice they suffer at the hands of their employers. They have no pleasure in striking. Many have to make serious

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sacrifices. Some regard themselves as martyrs. Undoubtedly labour suffers with the general public during a strike. Masters and men alike are losers. This state of affairs often repeated not only sours labour but enflames many of the men's leaders against constitutional government. Some of the leaders of labour have come to the conclusion that the present order of society is wrong, and that harmony amongst the four partners to Industry cannot be established. A new order of Society must be formed.

The teachings of the socialist in general have fanned into flame the ambitions of many of the younger men and women whose experience has not produced the mental balance necessary for leading the masses to industrial peace. The teachings of Karl Marx in particular have increased hostility to the Church of Christ. The masses of organized and unorganized labour who have accepted his doctrines have no faith in the Church of Christ and do not believe it has any power to help them.

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These pernicious doctrines have taken root and been allowed to spread because the Church of Christ has not recognized her place in Industry and taken vigorous and courageous action, as a partner in Industry, to champion the application of the principles of Jesus Christ to industrial problems.

She cannot escape her responsibility to Society and Industry, for in addition to being a partner, as a "consumer," to her has been committed the only message which will make harmony between the partners possible.

CHAPTER VI.

The Church in the Balance.

IT is said that grace grows best in winter. If this is so, there is hope for the Church of Christ. She is now exposed to fierce fire. It is estimated that, approximately, 34,000,000 people in the United Kingdom stand outside organized Christianity. The fire to which all sections and denominations of the Church are exposed, comes from all classes of the community. In these days of warfare between capital and labour, we are apt to conclude that the Church is deserted by labour only. The appalling facts show that, approximately, the same number from other classes of society are outside the Church.

The Church is being weighed in the balance. If we consider the testimony of different classes of the community, and their attitude of indifference to the Church, and the reason for it, we hear one of the most important leaders of

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labour in England say that labour, as a whole, is not opposed to the Churches' effort to improve society, but is totally indifferent to them. They do not trust the Church. In their concerns she counts for nothing. She has opposed labour when she could have helped it. Now labour is quite indifferent to her opposition and offers of assistance.

Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P., discussing the Enabling Bill in Parliament, in November, 1919, is reported to have said: "There was a greater reservoir of goodwill in the hearts of the whole citizens of the nation towards the Church of England than had been the case in her long history. The whole Labour Party wished well to the Church of England."

We all hope Mr. Walsh is right, but the cold facts, as well as the experience of those who get among the workers, show that the root of goodwill has no depth among the ranks of labour. It is also understood that labour's attitude to the Church of England is no different from that to any other organization of Christianity. If anything, they are

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more hostile to the State Church than to nonconformist organizations.

Here is the opinion of an important magistrate in one of the largest cities in Britain, who has had a wide experience in public affairs and is an active Christian worker: "The Church has opposed every forward movement towards freedom that has been initiated, whether it be freedom of the person—for example, abolition of slavery, restriction of punishment, cancellation of employer's power over person of employees—or of the mind, for example, education; or of the spirit, for example, science, religion, self-government. To this day we who serve in public authorities, know that the Church must be accounted hostile, or of doubtful neutrality in any movement we start. Generations have seen the Church antagonistic or indifferent, and now they say, 'Never heed the Church; it is of no importance.' In this great city, in all its great movements, the opinion of organized Churches, ministers, sessions and all the rest of it, count for absolutely nothing. The Town Council has—

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members ; yet, when a Church deputation comes, there is not one man who cares a snap of the fingers for its opinion. It is a great pity and a great mistake, but it is true. It is the Church's own fault. It won't take a risk for a principle."

The *Westminster Gazette* of 19th Nov., 1919, referring to a paper read by the Rev. G. Darlaston, of London, at the meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held at Bradford on the same day, quotes the following : "The slight hold which organized religion had on the people was a sad testimony to the fact that the Church, instead of being a beloved community to which people gathered with joy, was out of touch with the great masses of them."

The Rev. Geoffrey Gordon, M.A., senior Chaplain to the Forces, and formerly of St. Margaret's, Westminster, gives nine different reasons which account for the abstention of men from organized religion :—

"(1) There is the attitude which re-

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gards religion as a matter exclusively for women.

“(2) There is the satisfaction with the negative attitude of harmlessness.

“(3) There is abstention on the ground that no particular benefit is apparently being received.

“(4) There is the absence of the sense of the need of any co-operation at all.

“(5) There is the preference for co-operation with some irregular force.

“(6) There is discontent with the official leader in the locality.

“(7) There is sheer slackness.

“(8) There is the sense of unworthiness.

“(9) There is the deep-rooted sense that to profess an unrealized ideal is somehow hypocritical.”

There is a class of intellectual people indifferent to the Church because of its exaltation of dogmas and creeds over duty and character. People who long for the Church to be stripped of theological differences, and to place true spiritual values upon the action of life, and not on dead ritual, increase in

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number. Other sorts of Christians have turned with indifference and pity from the Church, because the Bible, which to them is a sacred book, is expounded to suit the particular doctrine or theory of the pulpit. They believe that some sections of the Church are belittling the sacrificial work of Christ, the necessity for being "born again" and the value of the Holy Spirit in daily practical experience. Other reasons could be given for the indifference of the people to the Church. The Church's duty is to discover the cure, and to apply it courageously.

The functions of the Christian Church are not understood by the masses. The man in the street has a shrewd idea that the Church should exist to tell of the power and life of Jesus Christ, and show how these can be enjoyed in practice. He sets up standards by which he judges the Church, and finds some queer contrasts. He has a contempt for the one who can pray on Sunday and plunder on Monday. He quotes the words of Jesus, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for

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ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers." The man in the street does not oppose the Christian who measures up to his standard, but he has an utter contempt for the humbug. He ridicules the Church's professions, because they do not harmonise with her practice. Her forms and ceremonies are to him as so much window dressing. If we turn from the man in the street to the man in the pulpit, many earnest, able preachers feel like lions chained. They, too, have an utter contempt for the hypocrite. They know the demoralizing effect of charity and philanthropy in their own Churches. They know that spiritual growth and wealth domination in the Church are incompatible. They do not wonder that the man in the street and the thoughtful student turn away in contempt and disgust from the Churches. They cannot find consistency in the theory and practice of the Christian Churches, and are helpless in their chains.

Society as a whole is not hostile to the Church of Christ. Labour has a

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grievance, and it is no use disguising her hostility. To know the facts is the first essential to discover the remedy. Labour believes that the Church pretends to be its friend while it has proved to be its foe. Labour charges the Church with inconsistency. It says she supports war between nations and takes sides while she refuses to support labour on the ground that she must not take sides between capital and labour. Labour says that, while condemning war between labour and capital, the Church invariably sides with capital. Labour is bitter and hostile because of the Church's indifference to its struggle for better conditions. Labour's feelings are intensified, because it says the Church extolled and glorified all the emotions which inspired brutality and hatred on the battlefield during the recent war. Labour says that for centuries the Church has been indifferent to its demands while professing to teach brotherhood. They disbelieve and despise the leaders of the Churches. They hate the importance assumed by them, and they laugh at the Church's

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patronage. Labour says the leaders of the Churches do not believe what they preach. Their practice and preaching have no agreement. They do not try to learn the conditions of the workers, and their ignorance of labour conditions makes their profession of love exasperating. In *The Record*, of November 19, the Rev. Canon Green, who recently refused the Bishopric of Lincoln, is quoted as having said in an address at St. Ann's, Manchester, that "the leaders of the Church seem to have no conception at all of the extent to which the great masses of the people were not merely out of contact with but were hostile to all forms of organized religion."

Labour will tell you that the Church of Christ proclaims glad tidings of joy to the class that pays the bills and hands out the power. The great masses of working men who spurn the Church and its hypocrisy do not deny the Christ. They say He is caricatured by the Church. She makes Christianity a farce and a sham. She covers up hypocrites and Sunday who subscribe heavily

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from the sweated labour of the week. They have no use for the god of gold worshipped by the Church. If they were to follow Jesus, they would meet the Church Pharisees going the other way. They believe that, if Jesus came again, He would clean out the oppressor from the Church, and would condemn the gross materialism which has changed the Church from a spiritual haven for the meek and lowly to a material institution.

Much of the gall and bitterness may be justly meted out, but there are those who confidently believe that the Church of Christ has in it to-day some of God's choicest gems. They have been cast in an environment not of their own making, and they are praying and working for the Kingdom of God to come on earth. If the indifference, ridicule, contempt and hostility are disarmed and the Church is repentant, she will pray for the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which will make her of the greatest service to humanity.

CHAPTER VII.

Socialism in the Church.

SOME people declare that the Church suffers more from her pulpit than from her pew. Critics say that her pulpits are sometimes filled with men who become a prey to doctrines of danger instead of safety. Eager to save society from its sins, they proclaim ill-digested and partially understood theories of socialism.

"They are beguiled into the conviction that socialism is merely concentrated Christianity and that Marxian philosophy is merely the Christian philosophy taken out of the realm of theological speculation so that it can be put into living practice. They confuse social reform and socialism."

Many clergymen and ministers of the Christian Gospel have been captured by cleverly devised and cunningly prepared propaganda, steeped in religious phraseology to disguise socialism and

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Marxian doctrine. The pulpit is consciously or unconsciously supporting doctrines of despair. It is supporting by such teaching those leaders of labour who have forsaken the hope of securing better standards of wages, hours and comfort, by ordinary constitutional methods. The Church through its pulpit is helping those extreme leaders of labour who believe that our social and industrial order is wrong, and that it must be broken up. The temptation to preach socialism is not denied. The pulpit and the pew feel alike the rising cost of living and the pulpit sees a declining membership. It hears the cries of profiteering and high dividends.

One of the leaders of the great strike in the city of Winnipeg, Canada, in June, 1919, was a Methodist minister who suffered imprisonment with the other revolutionists. Propagandist literature was found in the homes of the strikers, which indicated that they were out for revolution and not reform. The Methodist minister had left his own Church and conducted a labour Church in the city, where he gathered around him a very strong following.

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The Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity, New York City, recently said in connection with socialism in the Church :—"It is inevitable that the vision should carry some of our brethren off their feet and lead them to confuse liberty with lawlessness, and progress with social destruction and disintegration. Perhaps we need these extreme views to spur us on to true progress."

There is no question that extremists in the pulpit are aiming at true progress. The danger, however, of such extreme views is chaos, such as exists at present in Russia.

We cannot compare the Church of Christ in England or America with that of Russia ; but it is well to look at the signposts on the road Russia has travelled. Russia is suffering to-day from the practice of doctrines of socialism, not fit for civilised society, doctrines which some sections of the Christian Church are supporting. One of the leading churchmen in New York informed me that there was a grave tendency in the Churches in the States

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for the younger men to preach socialism, and he stated that if the Government persisted in defying the claims of labour, he, with others, would have to advocate, much against their will, a Soviet Government, rather than the ordinary Constitutional Government. When, however, one refers to such articles as "War Against Christianity," by the Rev. R. Courtier-Foster, then one cannot believe that any enlightened Christian teacher would advocate a Soviet Government. The article states that a young Russian acquaintance of his, full of enthusiasm for the holy revolution, stated that "We have now overthrown the Crown and Monarchy: in a few years we will abolish God also from Russia"; and further, that the answer given for rage against an Archbishop's procession in Odessa was "We would kill all the clergy in the procession, but we do not wish to even soil our hands with the blood of such vermin as Christ's priests."

Mr. R. M. Easley, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation of New York, refer-

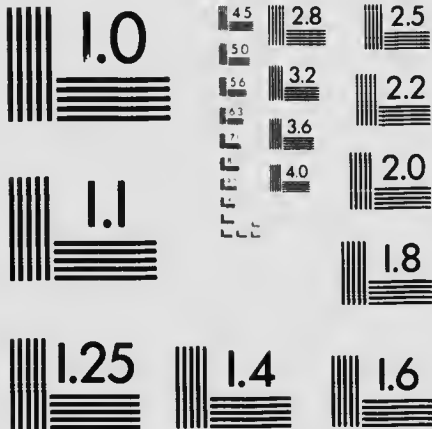
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ring to the dangers of socialism in the Church, says in the *National Civic Federation Review*, of September 30th, 1919: "Does the joint commission of Social Service think it would conduce to the spiritual welfare of the people to have put into practice a programme which is admittedly founded and based fundamentally on a philosophy which interprets all human life and all history, all human accomplishments, all heroic and noble deeds, as having been inspired by nothing more than the two basest carnal urges of mankind—the urge of the stomach and the urge of the sex—a philosophy which flatly denies the declaration of Christ that 'man does not live by bread alone,' which is utterly materialistic, which not only ribaldly scoffs at all religion as an alleged instrument of capitalism for the oppression of the masses; but which denies the existence of God and that man is a living soul. Do the clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church or of any other Church, whose mission it is to preach the Christian Gospel and who yet blandly approve of so-called



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Socialism

Christian socialism as a means of reform really know what socialism is? Do they comprehend that socialism would not only destroy private ownership and personal initiative in the material endeavours; but that which is infinitely more precious, the heritage of spiritual belief and immortal aspirations."

These appear hostile interrogations; but they are simply the earnest convictions of one who knows the position and dangers of socialism in the Church of Christ in the United States. It is no use disguising the perils of these doctrines which are full of luring attractions to the unwary. However much extremists in the labour movement may welcome pulpit utterances which will increase the number of converts to socialism, they will, nevertheless, distrust the Church whose sentimental and ill-informed leaders seek to win favour with labour simply because it is coming into power.

It is my belief that the Church of Christ has but a small percentage of preachers teaching these wild socialistic doctrines. It is, however, an increasing

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percentage, and the disease will corrupt the Church if steps are not taken for its immediate extermination.

CHAPTER VIII.

Some Problems Facing the Church.

EVERYONE knows that there is something wrong in Society and Industry. There is no peace. Business, politics and Church are all disturbed. The war is blamed for the unrest. It is said that 45,000,000 people in Britain, and hundreds of millions throughout the world, cannot be shaken up for four years without disturbing the peace. This is admitted, but we deceive ourselves if we think that the war is the cause of the industrial unrest. The war has aggravated the situation, but is not responsible for it. The cause lies a long way back. The war has forced the problems of Industry upon the Church. Chaplains and other preachers have had a baptism of light on the battlefield from men who never darkened a church door. They believe they have discovered why men discount organized

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religion. The Church has become aroused; she acknowledges that she has been negligent, and there is a need for repentance and a new birth. The Church sees the people of the world at loggerheads, and she is now standing by wringing her hands and lamenting her past indifference, powerless to help.

The Church now recognises, when too late, that the workers have been under-valued, under-paid, under-housed and overworked. She sees that labour has now the power to secure, without the Church's help, what it considers fair in pay, in hours and conditions of work. The Church sees a conflict proceeding between labour and capital and the Government in which it appears that labour can dictate its own terms. The Church sees, further, the possibility of great national loss, if a party or class government with ignorance and power becomes autocratic, as in Russia to-day.

The Church believes it knows the rules of the game in Industry and in the disputes arising therefrom. She is anxious to tell them to the contending parties. Labour says it ought to have

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done that years ago when the employers had the upper hand. The Church admits that her attitude to the economic and social problems has never been properly defined, and that there has been a want of faith in her own principles, and in the principles of Christ's teachings.

The *first* problem before the Church is to convince labour that this newborn desire to discover a way to industrial peace is not the outcome of fear, but of faith. If the Church is afraid of labour's growing power and her possible overthrow by labour, if her motives for service are prompted by fear instead of faith, she will go down as sure as night follows day. If the Church, instead of continuing to write long reports on what it ought to do, really means to take action, and shows labour that she really means to take sides with right and denounce wrong, injustice and unfair dealings, whether by labour or capital, confidence in her will be restored.

The *second* problem before the Church in relation to Industry is to convince labour that she has confidence in the rules of the game she proclaims.

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This is tantamount to a charge of insincerity and inconsistency in the past. This is labour's charge. If the Church wants to be honest with herself, standing as she does for righteousness, truth and freedom, she will examine her motives. She will frankly admit that she has failed to condemn injustice, cruelty and selfishness.

Had the Church, in the past, had conviction and courage, her appeal for fair play would have had some weight during the recent railway strike. For the *third* problem before the Church is to convince the parties in conflict that the rules of the game she proclaims are just and that they are the only rules worth following. Here is, perhaps, the most difficult problem. Labour's representation in Churches is insignificant, and therefore the workers are not within the hearing of the Church's message. What means must be devised to reach them? This is a mechanical problem of organization and has no insurmountable barrier where the Church is aroused to her duties.

The *fourth* problem before the Church

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is to persuade the parties in conflict to accept and abide by the rules of the game. This is a human problem—perhaps the most perplexing, discouraging and hopeless of all problems. Experience shows that if all parties to-day agree to the rules of the game, to-morrow some would find cause for disagreement to justify unfaithfulness to contract. They would find some interpretation of the rules of the game to justify taking advantage of their fellows.

The *fifth* problem before the Church is how she is to secure the knowledge of the industrial problems so as to be in a position to persuade the parties in dispute that she is able intelligently to understand the technical as well as the moral questions at issue and apply the rules of the game for their solution.

The *sixth* problem before the Church is to find agreement within all sections of organized religion to the rules of the game and their application. Nothing could be more damaging to the finest scheme than wrangling as to who shall be greatest in its operation.

But what is the game of which they

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profess to have the rules? Is it not an industrial struggle full of economic theories and fancies about which experts disagree, a struggle full of human difficulties, which baffle at times the greatest conciliators? What then, it may be asked, is the hope of the Church in the game?

CHAPTER IX.

The Church's Warrant for Action in Industry.

IN referring to Scripture as the authority for the guidance and action of the Christian Church in Industry, my intention has been to remove any doubt as to one's duty in social and industrial matters. While I am convinced that any real work for the regeneration of society must begin in the hearts of individuals, I believe that as long as human imperfections exist differences of opinions between Christians will continue as in the past.

Is there, therefore, reason for surprise and disappointment if, after all has been done that is humanly possible, disagreements between employers and employed still require to be adjusted through the good services of some third party?

Christ Jesus knew the sins and weak-

Church's Warrant for Action.

nesses of humanity all too well. He knew that disagreements would continue to arise between individuals, and He Himself indicated very clearly in His teachings the principles underlying His method of settlement. Jesus Christ is so often regarded by His followers as One who is Saviour and Master in some mystical sense, setting before them precepts and ideals of little practical value that they miss the help they most require in life.

The Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, in his splendid treatise on Industry and Humanity, states in this connection that "the teachings of Jesus bring us into direct opposition to the doctrine of force. What He left the world of His method of the settlement of controversy and removal of injustice is simply told in three consecutive sentences as recorded in the 12th chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew :—

Ver. 15 : 'If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his faults between him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.'

That is the method of conciliation and mediation.

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Ver. 16: 'But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.'

That is the method of investigation and arbitration.

Ver. 17: 'And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church. But if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican.'

That is the method of reliance on an informed public opinion, and affords the power to the community to ostracise where a wrong is done to its sense of justice"

"These words," adds Mr. King, "lose none of their significance by the sentence which precedes them:—

Ver. 14: 'Even so, it is not the will of your Father which is in Heaven that one of these little ones should perish.'"

It may be suggested that Christ's commands were for the guidance of His followers, who were supposed to be brethren. If this is admitted, surely it

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is worth while to enquire how far the same laws and principles can be applied to the settlement of disputes between employers and employed. Human nature to-day is the same as it was when Christ spoke these words. As a rule, disputes and disagreements arise in the same way. Brothers are trespassing against one another now as then, and their trespasses lead to estrangement and separation—just as the trespasses of organized groups of labour against organized groups of employers, and *vice versa*, lead to strikes and suffering.

Conciliation and arbitration have been recognised for many years by different nations as the best means for settling disputes. As a rule voluntary, and not compulsory, conciliation is adopted. If we consider what has been done in Britain, we find that in 1911 British strikes became a serious public menace. The machinery of voluntary Conciliation Boards established by law in 1896, proved inadequate. Labour was accused of breaking agreements. Some people suggested that compulsory arbitration and conciliation, such as had

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been adopted in New Zealand and Canada, should be made law in Britain. Instead, however, an Industrial Council was appointed in 1912, consisting of equal numbers of representatives of capital and labour under the chairmanship of Sir George (now Lord) Askwith to investigate the subject of collective agreements. Compulsory enforcement of voluntary contracts was not recommended by the Council on the ground that it would "weaken the moral force of the obligation," and little was done to improve the ordinary voluntary Conciliation Board. The opposition of labour to any form of compulsory arbitration in England has increased. This opposition is justified by many who believe that compulsory agreements are not worth the paper on which they are written.

Although conciliation and arbitration have been invaluable in the settlement of disputes, one is bound to admit that, from whatever cause, Conciliation Boards have failed to bring industrial peace. In 1914, just prior to the war, industrial disputes increased to such an extent

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that in the month of May alone there were 130 industrial disputes in Britain. Conditions have not improved, nor are they likely to improve, under existing methods of administration. Suspicion and strife inside the ranks of both Labour Unions and Employers' Associations, in addition to hostility between employers and employed, had increased so much before the war that it seemed almost hopeless to expect any kind of machinery of mediation, conciliation, arbitration and investigation to be acceptable. What was wrong, and is wrong to-day, is the want of the recognition of the moral obligation of duty to each other; and I know of no avenue through which that duty can be taught so well as through a courageous Church of Christ, stripped of its caste, its vested interests, simply fulfilling the natural functions for which it was established.

When methods of conciliation and arbitration fail to-day, the Church is the last place to which the contending parties would think of appealing. Christ considered it the most natural place to which to bring the disputants, the

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Church being simply an assembly of Christians. Who, one may ask, should be better qualified to consider the moral claims of the parties in dispute than the representatives of the Church of Christ who have consecrated themselves as followers of Christ, and are expected to reflect in their actions His Spirit and teachings? But how, as a rule, do the contending parties act? They appeal to the Government, and if that fails they appeal to force, causing untold misery and loss to multitudes until public opinion is aroused through the Press and by other means, and stops, for the time being, the conflict.

Unfortunately, the Church of Christ has not placed itself in a position to help in such disputes. It has alienated itself from at least one of the usual parties to all industrial disputes by its neglect of the working people. The accusation is that it has taken sides with the class opposed to the workers, and is reaping its reward. It is not trusted by the working men. They believe the Church is under the pay, and therefore under the power, of the

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capitalists, who have, they say, oppressed them. In their opinion, the Church is therefore incapable of bringing an unbiassed and fair judgment to the consideration of the differences between them and their employers, even although it may be versed in the technical and the economic issues arising therefrom.

From a long association with the workers, I believe that the great masses are not opposed to Christ's teaching or to any faithful ministers of the Gospel. I am convinced that once the Church of Christ puts its house in order, studies social and industrial problems, and wins the confidence of the workers, its influence will be without bounds. If the work of Cardinal Manning, Bishop Temple and the leading nonconformist ministers of twenty years ago, in connection with the great London dock strike, had been followed up and taken to heart by the Churches, instead of being viewed with suspicion by some of them, I believe that the attitude of the workers to the Church of Christ would have been different to-day.

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Dr. J. H. Jowett said recently: "I find my own political problems settled, at any rate in spirit and principle, and settled with great celerity, when I bring them into the light of the everlasting Fatherhood of God. For me, it settles the question as to whether the factory laws should be amended in England. When the light of the Divine Fatherhood fell upon the little children going to their work at five in the morning, for me the question was settled. I had no difficulty with an eight-hour Bill for miners when I brought the question to the everlasting Father. The problem of Old Age Pensions for the destitute and honourable poor was speedily disposed of when I let the light of the everlasting Fatherhood shine upon it. The claims of the cotters in the Highlands of Scotland, crushed by the heartlessness of certain landed proprietors, seemed inevitably just when I brought them into the interpreting rays of the everlasting Fatherhood."

What does all this mean? Just this—that the solution of social and industrial problems is to be found in a changed

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attitude. It does not appear to be a question of the Church's equipment or its machinery of organization. It is not that its range of mentality is unequal to the study and solution of the most intricate human and economic problems in Industry. It is something far greater, something far simpler, without which all organization and mentality would be uninspired. It is a question of love—to love ourselves less and the other fellow more. No institution is so well qualified to produce that new attitude and to interpret the moral and spiritual issues arising out of the social and industrial problems as the Church of Christ.

Will it rise to its great opportunity in obedience to the command of its Lord and Master?

CHAPTER X.

The Church and Industry in Great Britain.

IN the report of the Archbishop's fifth Committee of Enquiry it is stated :
" We have neglected to attack the forces of wrong. We have been content with the ambulance work when we ought to have been assaulting the strongholds of evil. We have allowed avarice and selfishness and grinding competition to work havoc over the broad spaces of human life. We want a strenuous reaffirmation of the principles of justice, mercy and brotherhood as sovereign over every department of human life."

There is a great concession and discovery. It has given impetus to organizations which have been struggling for years to make a better society. It has inspired the formation of other organizations. With the great historic background of the Church's part in Industry the Archbishop's report deals. It is a

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sad story of lost opportunities. The report should be read by everyone who is interested in a better social and industrial order. The object, however, of our present enquiry is to discover what the Church is now doing to redeem time and help in industrial and social problems.

For some years past, nearly every Christian denomination has had a social service union, guild or committee as part of its organization. In 1911 an inter-denominational social service union was formed, consisting of Baptists, Catholics, Congregationalists, Friends, Unitarians, Presbyterians, Primitive Methodists, United Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, and the Christian Social Union. In 1917 a statement of the principles and proposals of these unions was put forward at a conference of the Inter-denominational Social Service Union. In this statement they set forth a unanimous conviction "That the contribution of Christianity to social reform gives us guiding principles and a compelling motive. The first part of this scheme sets forth the chief social

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rights, claims and duties of men according to the Christian conception of life, and the Christian ideal of the family and the State. The second indicates briefly some of the modern evils which are largely due to the neglect of Christian principles. The third indicates various means by which our social conditions may be brought into closer conformity with the Christian standard."

Recently the Christian Social Crusade has been formed to carry on propaganda work in different cities on the lines indicated in the above statement. Committees have been formed in many large cities throughout the kingdom where representatives of the different Churches are at work taking up social and industrial questions. The Christian Social Crusade is directed by Bishop Gore.

Another organization having similar objects for carrying on independent propaganda through different channels is the Industrial Christian Fellowship. It is an Anglican organization, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as President.

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It was originally the Navy Mission, but has extended its fields of operation to church, factory, and every seam of industrial life where education in the principles and practice of Christianity is needed. It has several hundred agents throughout the country doing excellent pioneer work. The Fellowship holds the following: "That every soul is of infinite and equal value, because all are children of one Father. That the life of the community must be drawn from the self-sacrifice and the co-operation of all, and that, as Christians are members of one another, therefore they have mutual obligations to service; that co-operation can only be effective where there is spiritual unity, and where there is wrong or friction there cannot be unity. That Industry rightly conceived is a social service, not a selfish competitive struggle, and that in all political, economic and social arrangements the public interest must overrule the private. That only in a community where Christian principles of righteousness and brotherhood are applied to every department of life can men and women hope to lead the

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abundant life which Christ came to give—the life that is life indeed.”

The League of Faith and Labour is another body which has the same aims, although the methods of securing their objects differ from those of the former institution. It was formed in February, 1918. In its first annual report its provisional basis and aims are given as follows:—

“The League is a new way by which men and women associated with Christian or with Labour Movements may together co-operate in a spirit of fraternity and social equality to find solution for the problems of the modern world in harmony with the spiritual basis of human life.”

The aims of the League are as follows: “(1) The deepening of the sense of individual responsibility for a right ordering of life, personal and social, and for the abolition of all social and economic evils and enslavements that constitute a denial of human personality. (2) The elimination of the present artificial inequalities and divisive class distinctions which, in education and social

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life, in civic, national and international affairs, offend against human brotherhood. (3) The establishment of the best obtainable system of democratic control and administration of the needs of production, and of an equitable distribution of the fruits of Industry. (4) The fuller expression in human life of the spiritual principles of Faith, Truth, and Beauty."

The principal work of the League has been confined to London, but endeavours are made to develop its work in different localities. Its chief work has been in addressing meetings in adult schools, brotherhoods, councils of social welfare, and in various inter-denominational fellowships in London. Its methods of work are in getting together people in the churches and in labour unions in each locality for conference regarding social and industrial reform.

A very important organization, which was formed in 1915, is the National Council of Social Service. Although not distinctly associated with any Church, it is doing work of a similar nature to the other institutions referred

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to above. The Council is composed of members selected from public bodies, different associations doing social, industrial and welfare work, such as friendly societies, guilds of health, social welfare, charity organizations, rural, town and county council associations, women's and children's work, and other forms of voluntary service.

The aims of the council as given in their constitution are: "(1) To promote the systematic organization of voluntary social work, both nationally and locally, with a view to securing (a) the co-ordination of the voluntary agencies, and (b) their co-operation with the official agencies engaged in the same sphere of work. (2) To assist in the formation for this purpose of organizations in each Local Government area representative of both voluntary effort and statutory administration. (3) To provide information, particularly as to legislation and the regulations of Government departments, for voluntary social workers." The value of this work in any locality cannot be over-estimated, as it is for the co-ordination of all social

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service. Each committee or council consists of representatives from the Town Councils, Friendly Societies, Y.M.C.A.'s, Trade Councils, and voluntary bodies engaged in social and industrial work.

There are numerous other institutions striving to secure better conditions for the workers and to bring about a new social order. The "Hut" work of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A., the work of the Church Army, the Salvation Army, and other bodies of long standing cannot be overlooked. In addition to the foregoing, there are various educational bodies, such as the Adult Schools, the Workers' Educational Association, and other kindred institutions, helping the workers to a better knowledge of social and industrial problems and of wholesome and righteous conditions in society.

At the Mansion House on Dec. 9th, 1919, the Lord Mayor invited the representatives of the Churches and labour organizations and employers' associations to meet and discuss the advisability of calling a conference with the

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object of establishing a movement which would have within its organization the representatives of the Church, employers and employed, for the improvement of society and industrial conditions. The National Alliance of Employers and Employed is behind this effort. It is seeking to promote a society in which the fullest scope may be found for all religious organizations in England, working in co-operation with labour and capital. The object in view is to bring the best knowledge to the consideration of the causes of industrial troubles and to discover means for their elimination.

It is hoped that the conference may be the beginning of a great co-ordinating and co-operative effort of Church and Industry. It is to show the value and urgent need of such a movement that I have ventured to make the suggestions for the formation of an International Church Industrial Union in Chap. XII.

CHAPTER XI.

The Church and Industry in U.S.A. and Canada.

THE Church of Christ in the United States and Canada cannot escape the charge of neglect of industrial and social problems any more than the Church in Great Britain. Industrial unrest is just as grave in the United States as in this country, and the Church has been aroused lately to see the need for action by it in Industry. There have been Christian Social Unions attached to some of the denominations in North America ; but no great endeavour has been made to cooperate the forces engaged in social work until quite recently.

In December, 1918, several of the foreign and home missionary boards met together to discuss what could be done to survey the world's fields and find if possible an opportunity for co-

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operative effort between the various denominations and religious organisations in North America. A conference was called in December, at which 135 delegates were present. From that conference 20 representatives were appointed as a committee of investigation. Regional conferences were subsequently held throughout America and ultimately the Inter-Church World Movement was launched, having an executive committee of 16, with Dr. J. R. Mott as chairman. Over 60 different religious denominations and inter-denominational bodies are represented in the movement. At their headquarters in New York several departments have been set up to deal with different subjects. The Industrial Relations Department of the Movement called a conference of about 200 delegates from different Churches to consider the Church's function in relation to industrial matters. That conference was held in New York on the 2nd and 3rd October, 1919. From it a committee was appointed to report on the findings of the conference. The follow-

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ing is a copy of the report, which shows what the leading religious thinkers in North America consider to be their duty in regard to the industrial questions now disturbing America.

The report is as follows:—

“(1) This conference was called by the Industrial Relations Department of the Inter-Church World Movement of North America on the recommendation of the commission on Social Service of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the Secretaries of Social Service commissions of several Christian bodies and organizations of the country. The delegates were nominated by the above-named agencies. The purpose of these findings is to point out the moral principles involved in all industrial relations and to suggest some methods applicable to the present situation. No attempt is made to deal adequately with either the specific or general industrial problems but to indicate the Christian bases upon which these problems can be solved.

“(2) The basic ethical principles of

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individual and social life may be briefly summarised as follows: (a) The inestimable value of the individual and the right of the individual to the fullest development of personality. (b) Service the supreme motive of human activity and the only true test of human valuation and achievement. (c) The inescapable responsibility of all individuals for complete devotion to the welfare of the whole social order and to the aim of establishing a genuine human brotherhood.

“(3) These principles persistently and progressively applied will inevitably solve our industrial and social problems. The present industrial system is on trial. We are not committed to the present or any other industrial social or political order or institution as a finality. In Christian principles alone, and in the civilization which they constitute, is found the essential and practical basis for the creative evolution of society. We urge the strict application of these principles to all such matters and property, industrial organization, democratic government and public education.

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“(4) We urge upon all parties interested in production the recognition and application of the following and similar methods for industrial re-adjustment:

- (i.) The representation of the various parties in the government of industry.
- (ii.) The right of workers to organize themselves for the development of just and democratic methods of collective bargaining between organizations of employers and workers. All differences in Industry involving human relationship are subject to discussion, and before final action is taken both sides are under moral obligation to confer together through their official representatives, even the minority being entitled to a hearing.
- (iii.) The rational extension of co-operative movements in both the production and distribution of goods.
- (iv.) In relation to the industrial status of women, freedom of choice of occupation, the assurance of equal opportunities with man in technical and vocational training, the determination of wages on the basis of occupation and service and not upon the basis of sex, the establishment of healthful con-

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ditions of employment and an equal voice with men in the democratic control and management of society. (v.) The recognition of the right of our 12,000,000 negro fellow Americans to economic justice and to freedom from economic exploitation. (vi.) The recognition of the right of foreign-born labourers to equal opportunities in their conditions of labour; the application of democratic principles to native and foreign-born alike in all relationships.

“(5) Justice demands that all channels of publicity and education be kept free for full and impartial discussion.

“(6) The principles of Jesus must be applied to the life and business of the individual Church members and to the organization and management of the Churches themselves in all their enterprises. This conference appeals to the entire membership of the Christian Churches of North America to undertake a thorough alignment of their lives with the elemental principles enunciated by Jesus. This constitutes a supreme issue in the present crisis. These moral imperatives must be taken seriously.

in U.S.A. and Canada.

Repentance for self-indulgence, self-seeking and for acquiescence in standards of social prestige set up by dominant Pagan forces is vital. Mankind must be convinced that the principles of Jesus have power over those who profess to know them best.

“(7) To this end we recommend (a)

A thorough reconstruction of the curricula and methods of religious education to ensure that the youth of the Churches shall be trained for their future responsibility in the application of Christian principles to economic life.

(b) The immediate study by the adults of the Churches of Christian principles as applied to the present industrial situation. (c) That all Christian colleges and theological schools provide adequate sociological and economic training for laymen and ministers to equip them for that leadership which the times demand.

“(8) Industrial relations are of international significance. We therefore urge the serious consideration of Christian principles and proposals in international conferences by Churches and

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their promulgation by all Christian representatives throughout the world. Increasing numbers of intelligent and conscientious people believe that the conflict between the principles of Jesus and an industrial system based upon competition for private profit is sharply drawn. Those who believe that the present distress is not incurable under the present order have a great responsibility. Immediate and demonstrable progress must be made in applying moral principles and methods. Cooperation is imperative. Thus only can be bridged the gulf already existing between those who look only for an entirely new order and the forces of conservation.

The interests of the stability as well as of the progress of our civilization make imperative an earnest consideration of the principles and proposals above outlined."

This report was signed by Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Chairman of the Conference; Daniel A. Poling, Secretary; Frank Mason North, Chairman of the Findings Committee; Justice

in U.S.A. and Canada.

W. Nixon, Secretary of the Findings Committee; and Fred B. Fisher, Director Industrial Relations Department, Inter-Church World Movement.

So many reports and resolutions have been made at different conferences that one becomes concerned as to their practical value. With reference to the above report, I had the opportunity of attending and addressing the conference in New York where it was presented, and met with the men who brought in the report. Action has been taken already on some of the recommendations made. Dr. Fred B. Fisher, who was in England recently, informed me that a committee had been formed to consider what action the Church should take in the steel strike in the U.S.A. at the end of 1919. It was decided to appoint nine of the leading churchmen in the States to act on an investigations committee and to report to the Inter-church World Movement upon this strike. The first step taken was to write to Judge Gary, the Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, and offer the services of the committee. A reply was received

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from Judge Gary indicating that his Corporation could manage their own affairs and that the business of the Church was outside the conflict in which his Association was engaged. A similar letter to that addressed to Judge Gary was sent to Mr. Fitzpatrick, the leader of the Steel Workers' Union. He replied that he would be glad to give the committee any assistance possible in their investigations; that he would lay before them all the information he had at his disposal regarding their Union and their work. That committee, Dr. Fisher informed me, was now investigating the situation in Pittsburg.

During the printers' strike in New York the publishers approached the Inter-church World Movement, asking for their assistance to settle the strike. With reference to the suggestion made by the Findings Committee about the education of students, consideration is now being given to the most suitable works of political economists and industrial leaders with a view to deciding what kind of text books should be used in the Universities and Seminaries.

In U.S.A. and Canada.

The work of the Inter-church World Movement is new, but already they have agents in different industrial districts studying the conditions of labour, and seeking to discover where they can be of service. The work is an experiment there, just as it is in this country; but it bids fair to be of real value if the Churches can win the confidence of both labour and capital in the fairness of their findings. On their committees of investigation they have decided to have leading members of representative Churches only, without representatives of employers and employed. It was considered that the Church could go to work better with an impartial mind if employers and employed were not represented. In the place, however, of labour leaders and employers they have appointed technical advisors. One of the leading legal authorities in Industry and one leading authority on economics have been chosen as advisors to the committee now investigating the steel strike. The Inter-church World Movement propose to publish the report of the findings of the committee, so that the public may

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become conversant with what is being done by the Churches to find a satisfactory solution for those difficulties when they arise and also to increase public opinion in the need of finding the root causes for all industrial disputes.

Since the conference of October 2nd and 3rd, 1919, the Industrial Relations Department of the Inter-church World Movement has proposed a working programme which is as follows :-

“(1) *General.* To formulate and give expression to the principles and policies of the movement with reference to industrial relationship. To disseminate by means of lectures and publications a knowledge of the historic development of economic and social conditions. To present the movement in its relation to outside economic, social and governmental agencies as related to the solution of industrial problems.

“(2) *Industrial Information.* To prepare literature and speeches on all current phases of the industrial situation, including such topics as a minimum standard of living, history of labour and

in U.S.A. and Canada.

Industry, housing, women in Industry, agricultural labour, migratory workers, racial relations, child labour, Government service of information. To conduct a correspondence course and service for the preparation of leaders and speakers in industrial relations.

“(3) *Industrial Disputes.* To study the underlying cause of the present industrial disputes and to suggest, where feasible, to local Churches and other Christian agencies methods by which they may relate themselves to the securing of just settlements. To study and catalogue the occasions of the suppression of free speech. To co-operate with the Churches and other religious agencies in providing places and opportunities for free discussion of any and all affairs.

“(4) *Employment, Management and Democracy in Industry.* To render service to industries in considering the relationship which should exist between concerns and employees and in setting up the organization for the promotion of such relationships. To give publicity to the most successful plans and prac-

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tices for the recognition of labour in corporate management and also for its participation in corporate profits. To promote responsibility among employees for production both in quality and quantity.

“(5) *Co-operative Movements.* To study the co-operative movement as developed in Europe and America and standardise the best methods and practices for the conduct of co-operative societies. To render services in the formulating, organizing and establishment of co-operative societies. To aid in the establishment and ownership of the American homes, such as the suburban development and the colonization for the relief of congested districts.”

No one can doubt that this very comprehensive and ambitious programme covers vast territory. The Churches in Canada are associated with this movement through the Christian Social Unions of the Nonconformist and Anglican Churches. It is estimated that in North America 200,000 religious organizations and 25,000,000 people are connected with the movement in some way.

CHAPTER XII.

How Church and Industry Can Unite.

TO discover what the Church of Christ can do effectively in Industry is the most pressing problem of the moment. The discovery will not be made in the realm of politics, commerce, law or science. The Church must convince herself that she has a place in Industry which must be filled at any sacrifice. All institutional Christianity composing the Church of Christ is concerned. Every member has a duty to try and discover in what way the principles of Jesus can be applied to the social and industrial problems which disturb society to-day. Every individual, or company of individuals, now engaged in purifying society is a national asset. Many societies are doing excellent work. The Church has to discover how far the numerous agencies can be inten-

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sified, multiplied and organized to cover the whole field systematically and efficiently, and to avoid unnecessary expenditure of energy and finance. When this is discovered, she will find the genius and organizing energy to assemble the objects of the different societies. She will be able to tabulate the kinds of service they are best fitted to render, and eliminate the superfluous. The Church must devise plans whereby all Christian organizations can be effectively used for carrying the Kingdom of God into the Churches, factories, homes and society.

But how can this be done? Many suggestions have been made already. Programmes have been prepared, and organizations have been floated. Some success has been attained. What more can be done?

International Church Industrial Union.

The Church of Christ must recognise that the industrial warfare and social unrest are world-wide, that the causes are deep-rooted, and that nothing but

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the power of God, exercised through His consecrated and courageous servants, can remove the causes. It must be a united endeavour. It must be a holy crusade, with a faith in the Almighty power of God to break down every obstacle in the way to success.

It is useless to attempt a union of the Christian Churches in the sense of pooling their creeds and constitutions. It is neither possible nor desirable. Co-operative effort, however, in interests that are common and vital is a different and more promising task.

Just as trade and labour unions do not lose their distinctive character or weaken their definite aims when federated nationally and internationally, so should the individual Churches of Christ lose none of their distinctive creeds and constitutions if federated in one great union for the overthrow of injustice, tyranny, selfishness and all evil, which all Churches should be fighting now, irrespective of their creeds and constitutions.

In what way, then, can this world-work be accomplished? Must the

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Church stoop, it may be asked, to copy the secular institutions—such as trade unions and employers' associations? If she had stooped more in the past, she would have had to stoop less now. If she had raised her pulpits in the factories in the way Christ made use of the fishing boats, she would not have been where she is to-day in relation to the human cry from Industry.

The Church must come off all the pedestals which keep her from mixing with and understanding the great need of the workers. She must learn and apply the secrets of co-operation within her borders. I suggest that this can be accomplished by the formation of an International Church Industrial Union, consisting of members of all Christian organizations who will subscribe to a programme of Education and Service for industrial peace, a religious industrial union with a charter, creed and watchword acceptable to all institutional Christianity. It has been said* that "To anyone who knows the sluggishness of humanity to good, the impreg-

* "Christianity and the Social Crisis," p. 415.

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nable intrenchments of vested wrongs and the long reaches of time needed from one milestone of progress to the next, the task of setting up a Christian social order in this modern world of ours seems like a fair and futile dream."

The suggestion of an International Church Industrial Union may seem to many like "a futile dream." It is believed by many that now is the time for the Christian Church to do something or she will "go under." If labour unions, employers' associations, and alliances of employers and employed have proved unmistakably the power and value of organization, there can be no reason why an enlightened Church cannot organize. The framework, constitution and functions of an International Church Industrial Union are, of course, matters for conference. The work already organized in North America and in the United Kingdom makes possible such a conference.

The Inter-church World Movement of North America, and the various Christian social unions, fellowships, leagues, and other similar associations in England to

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which I have referred in Chapters X. and XI. have constitutions and functions, capable of expansion and adjustment, which would form valuable material for building a co-operative constitution for a Church Industrial Union such as I have suggested. The practical experience gained in the problems of Industry by these various bodies would bring to such a Union the executive and organizing experience required in its formation and direction.

The recent meeting of the representatives of the Church and the employers' and employees' organizations, held at the Mansion House, London,* shows that a very strong desire exists on the part of the representatives of the Church and Industry to find some common ground for conference. A general and international conference is required to organize one great Industrial Union of the Church of Christ. Labour and capital, in this country and in America, will, I am convinced, confer with the representatives of the Church in establishing a Union to defeat the forces of

* December 9th, 1919.

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evil and exalt righteousness in Industry, when they recognise that the Church is sincere.

Labour and capital having a voice in the formation of the International Church Industrial Union would remove any suspicion that the Church had the intention of undermining or weakening the present power of their respective Unions and Associations. The Church Industrial Union would embrace all workers by hand or brain, irrespective of their connection with labour or employers' organizations. Also, it would give equal representation on its councils to labour, capital and organized Christianity. I mean by organized Christianity all Christian Churches and organizations engaged in social, industrial and religious work distinct from the work now being done by Labour Unions and Employers' Associations.

The International Church Industrial Union might include in its organization:—

1. A general International Council.
2. National Councils.
3. Provincial Councils.

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4. Municipal Councils.
5. District Councils.
6. Church and Society Councils.

The foregoing is but a general outline of the machinery of organization. The objects or functions of the Union would be twofold :—

1. Educational.
2. Executive.

With these two phases of service I deal in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XIII.

**Education of Students, Pulpit
and Pew.**

THE functions of the Church Industrial Union would be educational first, including the education of those—

1. Preparing for the ministry in the Church.
2. In the ministry at present.
3. In the Churches.
4. In the factories.
5. In the homes.
6. In other sections of society.

The nature of the education under the above classification would include, generally, instruction in the fundamental ethical principles of individual and social life; practical training in manners and conduct; and the development of mind and heart to enlarge capacity for social and industrial service. More particularly the education would be as follows:

Education of Students,

1.—Preparation for the Ministry of the Church.

To equip theological students with a knowledge of the problems of Industry it is proposed :

(a) That each student should receive practical training in skilled or unskilled labour in a factory or in a commercial house, for a period of not less than one year either before, or during, or immediately after taking the theological course and before accepting a call to the ministry.

(b) That all students receive instruction in properly selected and classified subjects dealing with human and economic problems.

(c) That a percentage of theological students who by reason of their environment, early training in industrial centres, and natural ability, should receive, in addition to their usual theological training, extended courses in the application of the principles of Christianity to social and economic life to qualify them as specialists, in the ministry, for investigation and conciliation work in Industry.

(d) That lay preachers, missionaries,

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readers, and others who receive courses of instruction at theological colleges or seminaries be instructed in selected courses of industrial problems. Such courses as may be prescribed to be formulated with a view to the kind of problems likely to arise in their respective spheres of labour.

(e) That students of theology who cannot afford to pay for their special training, but who are particularly qualified in other respects receive free of charge the necessary instruction.

2.—Education of those in the Ministry.

Many ministers of religion do not engage in the industrial conflict because they know that labour is indifferent and often hostile to officers of religion interfering in labour disputes.

They are conscious that labour has some justification for its attitude because of the incompetence, in the past, of the ministry to help in industrial matters.

To educate those who have no sympathy with labour, and who are naturally prejudiced against their demands, is a hopeless task. So much has to be un-

Education of Students,

learned. A large proportion, however, of the ministers of religion suffer as much loss as the workers themselves during industrial conflicts. Many of the ministers are not so well off as those directly affected by strikes. To such, education in the problems of Industry will be of the greatest service. The kind of instruction might be:—

1. Specially prepared correspondence courses in sociology and economics of industrial and domestic life.

2. Courses of lectures by experts on the problems of Industry, in all centres, for ministers and lay officers of religion only.

3. Tutorial classes on similar lines to those carried on by the Workers' Educational Association, but modified to suit the character of the students.

4. Practical instruction in the problems of factory and industrial life by allowing ministers and laymen who have qualified in correspondence courses of instruction and tutorial class work to attend, without power to vote, workshop committee meetings, district and national joint industrial councils.

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5. All courses of instruction to be prepared by the direction of the International Council of the Church Industrial Union and supplied free of charge to all members of the Union.

6. The establishment of a central bureau of information from which ministers, lay preachers, officers of religion and other members of the Union could obtain reliable information on any industrial problem.

7. From the same bureau of information all ministers, lay preachers and others to be supplied with facts upon any problem of immediate public importance; the facts to be prepared concisely by authorised specialists with a view to their being read, as supplied, from pulpit, platform and public stand, so that only accurate information may reach the public. A preacher, after reading the facts, could, if he wished to enlarge upon them, apply the tests of Scripture as he may interpret them with a view to showing the underlying principles of Christianity. The facts, however, given in this way would be of great value.

Education of Students,

3.—Education in the Churches.

An efficiently trained ministry in industrial matters opens the way to an enlightened pew. Controlled pulpits, however, must disappear before unvarnished truth about Industry can be fearlessly proclaimed. Perhaps the greatest handicap to the pulpit is the power of the purse in the pew. Courage melts before it. The minister is human and should not be placed where he must choose between God and Mammon or starvation. To call the oppressors and extortioners in the pew "a generation of vipers" or a bunch of "whited sepulchres" would cost some men their living, and they have not the backbone to stand in fearless love of truth and trust God for the results. I don't believe one of God's fearless champions for truth would suffer one iota, but how can the iniquitous system which gags men be destroyed?

How can the purse strings be cut between the pulpit and the pew? One way would be to pay the salaries of the pulpit from a central fund outside the Church. Each Church, instead of pay-

Pulpit and Pew.

ing her own minister, would contribute to a central denominational fund for that purpose. The selection and dismissal of ministers, however, would remain in the power of the members or in such other control as may be found agreeable to the assemblies of worshippers to whom they minister. It has been said that the "cleaning of souls" in a municipality is of more value to the spiritual health and material prosperity of a city than the cleaning of sewers, and should be paid for by municipal authorities. Whatever may be said of municipal and state subsidies to Church funds, the whole subject of cutting off the fetters from the pulpits and allowing natural liberty of speech is one worthy of the most careful consideration. I would suggest that one of the functions of an International Church Industrial Union would be to raise funds by powerful budget campaigns and other special means from which contributions could be made to various denominational and other central funds for the payment of pulpit salaries on a scale worthy of the vocation.

Education of Students,

A freed pulpit could instruct the pew
on :—

1. "The inestimable value of individuals and the right of the individual to the fullest development of personality."

2. "Service the supreme motive of human activity and the only true test of human valuation and achievement."

3. "The inescapable responsibility of all individuals for complete devotion to the welfare of the whole social order and to the end of establishing a genuine human brotherhood." *

4. It cannot be over-emphasized that these basic ethical principles can be discerned only by the spiritual power of Jesus Christ in the individual and that they cannot be practised in their fulness until the individual understands that his redemption and the transformation of Society can be effected only by the coming of the Kingdom of God into the hearts of individuals.

* From Report of Findings Committee, National Industrial Conference of Christian Representatives, held New York, October 2nd and 3rd, 1919. Inter-Church World Movement of N. America.

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5. Instruction in social and industrial problems can be given from the pulpits and platforms in churches and mission halls, with a view to uprooting and condemning religious prejudices to the consideration of these problems by the Churches. The ignorance in many Churches of the conditions in Industry is appalling. Just as a child grows out of its affection for its toys as it learns to love something more human outside the nursery, so will the individual Church members grow out of cherished idols and prejudices when the true knowledge of the causes of human suffering in Industry makes the chords of human brotherhood vibrate in their hearts.

6. In addition to instruction from the pulpit, each minister should form in his own Church mission classes for special instruction and debate upon subjects relating to Industry. Tutorial classes, reading circles, and existing organizations in the Churches could be employed for instructional purposes.

7. Committees consisting of employers and employed in each congregation could be formed to consider and

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suggest means for improving the industrial and social conditions of their own neighbourhood, such committees to be affiliated with the District Councils of the International Church Industrial Union.

8. Ministers to encourage suitable and promising industrial workers in their congregations to study for the work of lay preachers, industrial chaplains and ministers of the Gospel.

9. Members and adherents of Churches to be advised to join the Church Industrial Union.

CHAPTER XIV.

Education in the Factories.

HOW can the workers who are outside the reach of the Church be educated?

It has been stated repeatedly, by political leaders, industrial managers, labour leaders, and others, that the Church must not butt into Industry. They say she has no unity in herself and is powerless to bring it to Industry. She must not interfere in industrial disputes. Her place is to preach the Gospel and show those outside the Church how to practise it. Nothing, however, is more likely to change just condemnation and unwarranted sneers to praise and commendation than a wholesome, fearless and world-wide Church crusade against injustice and godlessness in Industry.

How can this be done successfully?

The Church of Christ holds the only

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secret. She alone is best fitted to unfold the love of God to the workers. She must carry the message of love to the workers.

Every factory must become a Bethel. I have yet to meet the employer who objects to increased production.

No employer will object to services of song if by them better results are obtained. Nothing dispels despair like music. Nothing encourages hope like music. Nothing will put back brotherhood into man like good music. I heard the late General Booth say in Sheffield, when scorning the difficulties which many set up against the reclamation of the submerged tenth, "I would give them music—I would give them music."

Send them to industrial colonies, yes; but give them music. General Booth knew the responses of the human heart. Music is one of the simplest and most acceptable means of carrying the message of love to the workers. The awful monotony of repetition work in Industry is relieved by music. To "bear a song away" from factory dining-rooms and

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to continue humming or singing it during the hours of toil lightens the load, frees the mind of care and strife, and helps to increase production. Even to place the value of such service of song on such a material and common basis would justify incredulous employers in allowing services in their factories. It is the spiritual value of inspiring music, however, that ennobles character and makes every self-respecting worker rise and claim the joys and freedom of the Kingdom of God.

How can all this be arranged in each factory in every town and village throughout the industrial world?

(1) By each Church through its Church Council and by the assistance of the district and other councils of the International Church Industrial Union arranging for the supply of the best singers procurable in each neighbourhood, for each factory daily, to sing selected music during the meal hours in the canteens or other places in the factories where the workers have their meals.

(2) That the Industrial Church Union

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provides for at least one qualified singer in each factory who will accept employment as a comrade and missionary while doing the same work as the other factory hands.

(3) To train singers and instrumentalists in each factory to form a choir and orchestra, so that the musical performance would be largely in their own hands, assisted by the employed qualified singer.

(4) That the Church Industrial Union through its councils provides for one central musical society in each town and village from which the services of trained musicians may be obtained for help in the factories. That all factory choirs and orchestras be affiliated to the Central Musical Society.

(5) That all music be supplied to the factories through the Church Industrial Union to maintain the character of the message to the workers.

(6) That in factories where the work is monotonous and automatic, and where the sound of machinery would not destroy the value of instrumental music, pianolas and gramophones be

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fixed. These instruments to be set in motion at different intervals during the day at the discretion of the factory musical committee.

Many of these proposals have been found already of service through the efforts of various Christian organizations, but they have only touched the fringe of the great need.*

No argument is required in support of musical service in the factories. If restaurants, hotels, places of amusement find music of such value, surely its strains in the factory where the workers spend the greater part of their existence should prove of value.

(7) Music, however good, is not the on. means of carrying the message of love to the workers. Short talks to the men and women on subjects which will enlarge their intellectual vision as well as their sympathies in the noblest standards of right living and thinking have their value. These can be arranged either inside the factories or in any con-

* Music has been found to be of great value at the works of Messrs. Cadbury Brothers, Limited, Bournville, Birmingham.

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venient place most agreeable to the employers and workers. The employment of motor-vans in this service affords a ready means of going with a suitable platform and musical instrument to any part of the factory yards, squares and open places where the workers gather outside the factories.

(8) In most factories Christian men and women can be found who would be willing to take part in motor-van services or factory meetings. The mistake in the past, in efforts of this kind, has been the failure to enlist in the service the workers themselves. When the reticent worker is encouraged to make the first sacrifice, interest will deepen, and success in the services will be assured.

(9) To maintain educational work in the factories more than music and talks are required. The most enduring work is individual. To secure a personal interest in individual workers there must be a fellowship extending beyond canteens and factories. There must be someone to whom the workers can go and confide, and feel they are made

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welcome. The minister of the Church will doubtless supply this need ultimately, but not until much spade-work has been done right in the factories.

I suggest that an industrial chaplain be appointed by the Church Industrial Union for each factory or a number of factories, depending upon the number of workers.

The chaplains could be lay or ordained, men or women, according to conditions. They could be held responsible for the entire religious work in the factories. They could guide the musical and speakers' services. They could keep a register of the employed, and arrange for sick visitation and numerous other services which would bring the spirit of Christ to the workers.

This suggestion may appear financially unsound. If, however, trade unions can pay for officials to look after the material interests of the workers, surely the Church of Christ in one industrial union can support industrial chaplains to look after the spiritual welfare of the workers. The cost of maintaining industrial chaplains will become an in-

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significant item of expenditure once the touch of spiritual fervour burns in the hearts of the workers.

If the right men are selected as chaplains, and the workers discover through them that Christ Jesus can give to each worker a joy and freedom the fulness of which no material treasure could purchase, then they will give of their earnings to support the industrial chaplain, for they will recognise in him a comrade.

The workers will raise the cry of comradeship at last instead of chaos. Immoral systems in Industry will not be tolerated. They will be repugnant to men whose eyes have been opened. There will be no further need of deploring at Church congresses the apathy and hostility of labour to the Church.

Halls will have to be built in the neighbourhood of factories, or where the workers live, to accommodate worshippers. Existing Churches will not hold them. The ordinary public house husks and music hall "piffle" will not satisfy the workers when they come into their rightful possessions. The

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educational influences of refined and talented men will discover to the workers, no matter how old and stupid they may think they are an absorbing interest far exceeding their fairest dreams.

Thomas Carlyle says "That Leicester shoe shop, had men known it, was a holier place than any Vatican or Lourdes shrine"; so will every workshop throughout the land become a place of praise and prayer when men and women, however ragged and exterior, become a flame of fire and it will be a flame which men will turn aside to see why it cannot be extinguished.

CHAPTER XV.

Education in the Homes.

I MAKE no apology for suggesting that means must be devised to bring education to the homes of the workers. If we keep in mind the object of our pursuit we shall see Bethels established in the homes as well as in the factories. Peace in the factory depends upon peace in the home. You cannot separate them and expect peace. Few realize what the power of the home is on factory life. When the pay is low and the food prices are high, the wife and the children are the first to feel the pinch. Recently this fact was brought home to me in Canada. One of the officials of a Labour Union in Vancouver, B.C., told me that the wives and mothers in the homes of the workers were greater "Bolshevists" than the men. Referring to his own case he said that his wife, though one of

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the most thrifty and capable of housewives, complained bitterly of the inability to make ends meet on his present rate of pay. The purchasing power of his wages in October, 1919, was much less than in 1914, when his wages were much lower. The wives cannot understand why it should be so, and think their husbands are not determined and drastic in their efforts to improve matters. Being removed from the scenes and discussions in the factories the wives often come to wrong conclusions and urge their husbands to measures which calmer judgment and fuller knowledge would deprecate. The wives in the homes are the barometers of industrial trouble. They often get pieces of ill-digested, rabid socialism from their husbands, who are egged on by wild agitators in the factories to imagine a condition where "those that are up shall be down and those who are down shall be up," without regard to character or ability or service. Some ignorant men carry home such talk and repeat it in the hearing of their wives and children. The home becomes satu-

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rated with false hopes and inflamed against those who by struggle, perseverance and honest efforts are better off than they are. The seeds of anarchy are sown. When the wives and children of the workers see the wives of the employers drive past in their lovely limousens with lap-dogs, furs, and every conceivable luxury, they are simply infuriated. They may control themselves in the streets, but that only adds to the pressure and volume of their language when they get home.

The husband has no rest. The wives and mothers insist that the warfare must be maintained until they can make ends meet and the haunting fears of unemployment are for ever removed.

Very few people have realized the power of women in the home in shaping and controlling not only the destinies of their children but in directing Industry. Many of the homes are a credit to the nation, and never were found gentler and more loving mothers in palaces. They will bear any sacrifice during strikes far more bravely than their husbands. When it comes to a test of

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real qualities they possess some very mysterious power of endurance.

Benjamin Kidd says: * "Woman's mind at the present time, even in the highest systems of human culture, remains the greatest mystery of the race." He adds later, † in the same work: "It is the mind of woman which is destined to take the lead in the future of civilization as the principal instrument of power."

This mysterious power expresses itself sometimes in the most illiterate women, who show some of the highest qualities of soul in their actions.

Our quest now is to find what message the Church of Christ has which will discover to woman her power, its secret and use in the highest services of national life.

Can the Church help in this discovery, and, if so, how?

The Church has the only message. Everything mysteriously powerful in woman can find a response in the Church's message.

* "Science of Power" page 198.

† "Science of Power" page 230.

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The mind of humanity has been emphasizing material values too long. This has numbed the emotions of spiritual ideals, robbing many of the purest joys. The object of the spiritual message must be to awaken the slumbering senses to new ideals.

With Ruskin I believe "that the entire object of true education is to make people not merely do the right things, but enjoy the right things; not merely industrious, but to love Industry; not merely to learn, but to love knowledge; not merely pure, but to love purity; not merely just, but to hunger and thirst after justice."

This "true education" is required more in the home than in the factory. The workers will never reach the highest conditions of factory life until the homes are transformed. When the message of the Church reaches the homes it will change the centre of affection there from material to spiritual values. It will fill struggling mothers, despairing wives and ill-clad, starving children with a hope in, and a love and hunger for, "true education." When the im-

In the Homes.

pulse of this new affection, inspired by the "Spirit's power," touches their hearts it will be joy.

I have unbounded faith in the power and love of Christ sweeping from the hearts of the most wretched, sunken and forlorn everything devilish. I have seen the derelicts of humanity in the Bowery of New York and in the East End of London saved and kept by the power of Christ.

If the Church knows the secret as it should know it, its message will transform the homes.

But how is it all to be done?

How is the message to be carried?

It's a giant's task. Prejudice, suspicion, ignorance, envy, pride and all manner of evil have to be broken up and removed before any effective education can take root.

To tell them of the "dignity of labour" and the "blessedness of drudgery," when depression and despair have long since robbed mothers of their last ray of hope of a decent existence, only adds fuel to the fire. Something else is required. The women must be

Education

reached with a message of hope. They must be inspired to believe that help is nigh.

Many methods are adopted for reaching the people in the homes.

City missionaries, nursing sisters, deaconesses and various other kinds of visitors now approach and enter homes of the working people through different channels. Where material help is given an open door is usually found and women will listen to the message they bring. Where the home-dwellers suspect "sky-pilotage" they look with suspicion upon the visitor. In some districts the women will order the visitor off the doorstep with as polite language as her mood and vocabulary can command. When the blinds are drawn, and sorrow has softened the heart, the visitor usually finds a welcome and the home discovers a friend.

Systematic visitation which endures all discouragements is always rewarded. The present efforts of religious societies and Churches are but touching an insignificant part of the home life of the workers. It is far too spasmodic.

in the Homes.

What more can be done? The following suggestions may be of service :—

(1) The Church Industrial Union through the Churches and religious organizations now engaged in social and religious work can organize a great campaign for the complete visitation of every locality by members of the Union. Given the spirit, the heart, the passion of genuine love, it is simply a question of organization, the division of streets into so many homes, and each worker, or pair of workers, undertaking to visit a definite number of homes regularly until the confidence of the inmates has been won.

(2) The selection of the visitors to be made by reason of their fitness to win the hearts of the mothers. Classes to be formed by each Church or District Council for the training of visitors in subjects suitable for conversations in different homes. This cannot be emphasized too strongly. Visitors should be instructed in the kind of questions to ask and also in the kind of answers to give. Through the Church Industrial Union text-books could be prepared by

Education

qualified experts in the art of visiting, which would be most helpful in the training of male and female visitors. No visitor should be enlisted for this service until the teachers are satisfied with the qualification of intending visitors.

(3) It is here unnecessary to enumerate all the subjects on which working women would welcome friendly intercourse once the visitors won their confidence. Mention, however, may be made of such matters wisely introduced as the use of food, clothing, fuel and light; of cleanliness and attractiveness of person and home; of the value and use of sanitation, money, health, work, and kindred things—matters of vital moment to every housewife. Then, too, with women now “enfranchised,” the subject of employment and the necessity for increased production in industry to maintain human life and improve the standard of living might be unfolded. And not least, the necessity and privilege and manifold issues of training the children to take their right place in the life and service of the com-

In the Homes.

munity would be a subject widening the interest and horizon of the mother.

(4) In regard to methods of visitation much can be learned from the excellent work of the Y.M.C.A. Settlement in Sheffield, the first of its kind in England. "Pigmy parishes" and "twin visitors," male and female, are the striking characteristics of the plan of visitation. Each visitor prays daily for the establishment of the Kingdom of God in the homes of his or her "pigmy" parish.

(5) What more can be done? I would suggest the extension of women's interest outside the homes. Most women are refreshed and re-charged for better home-work by being lifted occasionally out of their surroundings.

Women's meetings, P.M.E.'s, P.S.A.'s, mothers' meetings, and the like, are undoubtedly encouraging. What proportion of the nation's mothers attend those meetings, and why is the proportion so low?

We have not yet awakened to the fact of women's place and power. She is not God's afterthought in the realm of creation, but His redeeming comple-

Education

ment. Is it any wonder that burdened and tired, half-nourished and poorly-clad women do not rouse themselves to get tidy and trudge to some Church or mission hall? The services have not been made sufficiently attractive, and the means of getting to the Churches and halls have never been considered. One big obstacle would be removed if arrangements could be made for the conveyance of mothers to and from the halls to the week-day meetings.

Thousands of men and women who possess motor-cars, and whose hearts have been touched by the appalling need of the homes, would count it a privilege to lend their cars for this service. A little organization is all that is required. If motor-cars can be used for carrying men and women to polling booths, surely tired and struggling women can be taken once a week to and from a real source of stimulus and encouragement for home's conflicts.

Some will exclaim: "The cost would be terrible." I would ask whether the future of civilization is worth the cost.

(6) Mothers can be trained in that

in the Homes.

"true education" in other ways. The cinema has not been used enough for the education of mothers. Free entertainments, where suitable subjects could be given pictorially to mothers and wives, would greatly strengthen the work of the visitors. Specially qualified women speakers could address the meetings.

(7) Mothers are also educated by their children. They are won through the Sunday Schools. Many mothers who never go within the sound of the Gospel send their children to Sunday Schools. The children carry home impressions. Birthdays, sick days, and other special days, give the teachers openings to the mothers' hearts by the little messages and gifts carried by the postman. It's a personal touch.

It is within my own knowledge that drunkards' homes, gamblers' homes, destitute and despairing humanity in many homes have been reached, and the inmates won, through the attendance of their boys and girls at Sunday School.

Gifts, small and occasional, all show-

Education in the Homes.

ing a personal interest in the homes, cannot fail to awaken loving responses from the most ill-shapen and "broken earthenware." Post-cards with a cheering message sent weekly from someone the mothers have learned to respect and love will help them "keep unbroken the vision of immortality."

The women in the homes must be won. The women in the homes will be won. The Church of Christ can win them. It is still true that "she who rocks the cradle rules the world." Let it be the Church's part to give to women the greatest ideal—that which will arouse and intensify that mystic emotion of the ideal for the regeneration of society and Industry by her education in the homes.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Education of the Masses.

PERHAPS the greatest function of an International Church Industrial Union is the education of the masses. It may be said, if the work of education in the factories and homes is carried on as suggested, what more can be done in reaching the masses? Public opinion is the final power in constitutional government. If an International Church Industrial Union is to succeed in establishing a human brotherhood in Industry, based upon the principles of Christianity, public opinion must be convinced that the Church has the secret. Public opinion will never be convinced without facts, and facts must be brought to the public. This means propaganda work. Propaganda means organization; it means finance and energy. How can the man in the street be educated? The distribution of suit-

Education

able literature, advertisements, sandwich-men, and many devices now employed will help; but they are old; they touch and impress an insignificant few. Experts in the art of advertisement through the International Church Industrial Union may bring into life the various educational subjects through the powers of motion, imagination, and the unusual, which will arrest the mind. But more is required. What more?

(1) Street processions, including motor lorries and vans, each carrying a distinctive tableau representing some phase of employment and conditions of the home which the public should know. The processions to stop at suitable places throughout the prescribed routes, where brief talks can be given by trained men and women, music to be one of the chief features of attraction.

(2) Demonstrations in the public parks in the summer, where the people gather for sports and recreation, can be given and suitable literature can be distributed.

(3) Public halls, theatres and cinemas, and all centres through which educa-

of the Masses.

tional influences can be passed. The acquirement of cinema palaces, where the masses gather in great numbers, is perhaps one of the surest and best ways of illustrating pictorially the need of changed conditions and changed lives. Suggestions for the kinds of films for this propaganda work will flood the minds of the interested. It is unnecessary here to enlarge on this phase of the work.

(4) Every public library should have copies of prepared literature on the human problems in Industry, and information as to their solution. Propaganda work should include means for bringing this knowledge to the public.

(5) The Press of each country should be employed; a healthy, powerful Press is one of the surest and safest educational instruments in the land. The suggestions in preceding chapters for the education of students, ministers, industrial workers, mothers and masses only hint at the greatness of the opportunities before a thoroughly aroused Church. I have not attempted to exhaust the methods of education;

Education

ordinary methods of education will not accomplish what must be done. I am convinced that many of the moulds in which our ministers and teachers have been cast must be broken, and new moulds made. The same applies to our system of teaching juveniles at school and at work, the adult workers, the directors of production and the distributors of production. Only praise fills me when I think of progress made, but that is not enough. I would go beyond Emerson when he says in his beautiful essay on "Compensation": "There is a crack in everything God has made." If the exhibition of savagery during the past war is the outcome of the highest culture in science and art, there is more than a crack in our man-made culture. Surely science and art have been prostituted to fiendish uses, or we are misguided in our interpretation of experience and the lessons learned therefrom.

If the world's higher education in the intellectual and industrial pursuits has led the people into such inhuman strife, is it unreasonable to suggest that

of the Masses.

we pause and consider whether anything is wrong with our standards and measures, or is all the slaughter the outcome of their wrong uses? Have we been listening to false prophets about the glory of that land which will be ploughed by the most efficient machinery, where the labour of sowing and reaping will be reduced to a minimum? Do we see before us a culture and genius which will transform with a minimum of effort raw materials of the earth's surface, bringing with them a wealth and ease our tired bodies and hungry souls long for? Have we yet discovered that "man shall not live by bread alone"? Are we lowering the standards of manhood by the kind of goals we have set ourselves? There are other goals beyond the goldfields; beyond the money values of Industry. If "man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever," then our standards of culture which lead us from that end are unholy.

All the cruelty, intrigue, disloyalty and avarice, so rampant in the world, indicate a self-inflicted deformity of

Education of the Masses.

God's image, which it was man's proud fortune to possess. If the horrors of war have arrested our thinkers, and opened new vistas of unexplored mind where spirit values count in the true adjustment of our industrial affairs, there shall evolve from the carnage and scientific barbarism a new era in which a true interpretation of the loathsome experiences through which we have passed will bring out the value of the fundamental principles upon which our industrial education must be built. We shall then discover the principle underlying education which will give the worker the opportunity of maintaining efficient service with a maximum of enjoyment.

CHAPTER XVII.

Research and Conciliation.

IN addition to the educational work before outlined the International Church Industrial Union would have many executive functions calling for the least talents and energies in their performance. Matters of organization are chiefly mechanical. Many cut-and-dried forms and constitutions of international organizations are available for the guidance of an Executive Council of such a Union. Upon these points I need add nothing, except that there must be a complete chain of organized units in every city, town and village in each country affiliated with the International Union; that all organizations now employed in the service for which the Union stands be linked up with the Union, and that all the voluntary and paid executive workers be retained. By this means the fine talent of heart and

Research and

mind, devoted to the uplift of the masses for years, can be conserved and inspired for one great and holy crusade. There must be no loose ends. Every worker must be absorbed. They are too few. Many of the workers want drawing out. Their true value has not been discovered to themselves. Their ideas of progress have never had full expression because the broad fields of service have never been opened to them.

(1) The first executive function of the International Church Industrial Union is the co-operation of all agencies. This involves great work. The accumulation of facts of existing organizations regarding their constitutions, aims, membership, and what has been accomplished by each, with a view to adjustments, co-ordination and co-operation, is an important task.

(2) When the machinery has been set in motion various products must result. One of the most important is the establishment of research and investigation work into the root causes of all unhappy relations between employers and employed. This must be

Conciliation.

done whether it is welcomed by employers or employed. Many investigations have been carried on in the past. They have sought to discover means for conciliation and arbitration, when disputes have arisen, rather than the discovery and removal of the causes of the trouble.

A Research and Investigation Committee, appointed and financed by the International Church Industrial Union, would investigate the whole range of causes, now visible and invisible, for the unhappy relations and conflicts between Capital and Labour. Such a committee would do its work quite independently of organizations of employed and employers or in conjunction with them. It would do its work at any time, during strikes or peace. The most qualified representatives of the Union would be elected for this work, consisting as far as possible of equal representation from the Church, employers and employed.

(3) Another function of the Union would include that of conciliation in disputes. Disputes will arise as long

Research and

as human nature exists. Trained officers in the problems of Industry, either as individuals, or as members of boards formed by the International and National Church Industrial Union, would be available for such work. All Associations of employers and employed would be informed that such service was available.

(4) Another executive function of the Union might be the encouragement and promotion of union with the various industrial councils now successfully in operation in this and other countries. Qualified members of the International Church Industrial Union could represent the interests of the community and organized religion on joint Industrial Councils.

(5) Another important function would include the publication of reports of all investigations of industrial and social matters.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the educational and executive functions to which I have referred do not, by any means, exhaust the services which the Church and Industry could

Conciliation.

render if united in one great Co-operative Union.

The Church has a great opportunity. Never was the need greater. Never was the need of the spiritual message to Industry so urgent. Never did so many people before see the need.

"Neither education," say the six Prime Ministers of the British Empire, "science, diplomacy, nor commercial prosperity, when allied to the belief in material force as the ultimate power, are real foundations for the development of the world's life."

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