

Set a Million Children Free

SET A MILLION CHILDREN FREE By HAROLD CARY.

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

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

"The advance of civilization, the climb out of the dark ages, is the greatest achievement thinkable. No man can deny—"

One of the other two interrupted him: "Deny that little boys and girls, true slaves, give up body and soul to us for these pleasures?" he asked cynically. With a wave of his hand he included practically everything that made up the comfort and pleasantness of the room.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He sees the local problem as a school problem. He wants more and better teachers, and better equipment, a junior high school in which the school study shall be co-ordinated with hand-

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ES, HE HAS NO COMMON SENSE

By CHARLES W. WOOD

Arthur Nash is the most unreasonable employer I ever met. He happens to be the most successful, the richest, and the best loved employer but he hasn't any judgment, any common sense.

Two years ago, now, he was a perfectly normal person. He was able enough then and ran his business according to business principles. He bought in the cheapest market. He hired labor at the lowest figure at which labor would agree to work; and he got as much work of his employees as he could.

He wasn't one of those "laborers' mind you. He was a fine fellow, with generous impulses, a good Christian who wished everybody well; but he ever forgot business is business and that we are not living in any Utopian Society, had moods, of course, in which whole game almost sickened him.

He would feel like chucking it and looting a day laborer him. Oh, to be rid of those eternal "unabilities!" How he worried and night, and how he envied those who had no such worries on their minds! Most every struggling man has those moods. But when he is apt to see profoundly, not chuck his responsibilities like a man.

He must go on with his work. He must continue his career as executive, a leader of mankind; it is only fair that he shall receive the profits of a capitalist instead of the meagre wages of a workman.

And Arthur Nash in those days was able. And to add to his periods of sickness, his eternal worries, he had a physical collapse. It then that the "mood" got the best of him. It was then that he set to act like a perfect fool.

Perhaps you have heard the story that he did. I shall make it as true as possible; for behind that story is another one which I am going to try like everything to tell. In probability I shall not succeed, it is almost impossible in our civilization, to follow the way of Arthur Nash's mind. But all I try, however, let me see the external happenings.

Sweating by Golden Rule.
Arthur Nash was president and general manager of the A. Nash Company, wholesale tailors of Cincinnati. The firm was incorporated in 1916 with a capital of \$60,000. It was in 1917, after three years of anything but success, that Mr. Nash decided to liquidate the business and spend the rest of his days on a farm. His "sons" were strange enough.

It was a Christian, I said, and he had been that he was running a sweatshop. He didn't own the machines which the Nash clothes were made; they were owned by a contractor who employed such help as he could find employment in the clothing factories. This contractor wanted to go to Europe to look relatives from whom he had not heard since the outbreak of the war.

Mr. Nash agreed to buy the business. That meant that all employees would work directly for the Nash Company thereafter. There were twenty-nine employees, there were working for starvation wages, and still the company was not making a profit. Mr. Nash, I said, a Christian. As he studied that scale, he decided that a Christian simply could not cut it any lower, and the only alternative was to liquidate.

But he found he couldn't liquidate then. He had to have the consent of the minority stockholders, they wouldn't consent. It was impossible, it seemed, for him to continue running a sweatshop paying starvation wages.

He made it plain, I hope, that nerves were overwrought at the time. Hence, as president and general manager he decided that he would cut in paying Christian wages instead, figuring that it wouldn't be long as everybody would be glad to do the business up.

What were Christian wages? The only answer he could arrive at was the answer of the Golden Rule. He had thought first of living wages human wages or wages in which he should share according to his ability. But the Golden Rule, said he, "Therefore all things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do so even unto them."

Wages That Don't Pay.
He went into the shop with his head still swimming. He saw one old man, nearly eighty, sewing on buttons for \$4 a week. A good, sensible employer might have reasoned that she couldn't possibly be worth any more; but Mr. Nash by this time wasn't reasoning. When he looked at her she reminded him of his mother. How would he want an employer to treat his mother if she were sewing on buttons?

He couldn't answer. With his head still swimming, he simply set the figures at \$12 a week—a 300 per cent raise. This furnished a precedent, and before he left the room the twenty-nine were notified of a wage increase ranging from 50 to 300 per cent. Then he ran away to the country to get some real sleep and to wait for the business to wind up itself.

In two months he came back to view the remains, but this is what he actually discovered:
The firm had an excellent balance in the bank. It had done three times as much business as it had done in same period the year before. It had not only done the business, but it had made and delivered the goods. Only one additional employee had been hired.
This was in 1919—that strange year when buyers went mad and anybody who had anything to sell could sell it. The only trick that year was to produce the goods. Labor, it was said, was simply not producing, but the usual law of economics were miraculously suspended here. When, later, the buyers went on strike, the A. Nash Company, instead of deflating, went on expanding marvellously. In 1918 it had done only \$132,190.20 worth of business all told. In 1919, the beginning of the Golden Rule, this figure was increased to more than half a million. In 1920 it had gone to a million and a half, in 1921 to more than two millions, and in 1922 to \$3,751,181.52. And the first three months of 1923 indicated that the business was increasing by nearly 100 per cent once more. In 1918 the A. Nash Company was so insignificant that it could hardly be classed as a wholesale house. Today it employs 2,000 workers and is the largest business of the kind in the United States.

"Due to the increase in wages?" I asked Mr. Nash.
"No," he said. "It was due to the working of divine law in place of what we have been calling business principles."
Mr. Nash concedes that low wages are an economic falsehood. They don't pay. They never have paid. Workers must live, he says, before they can work. Even horses must eat before they can pull; and if we try to make them pull without giving them a chance to develop pulling power, they won't pull very much.
But that isn't the big story. The big story is that even high wages won't accomplish very much if our purpose in paying them is to add to our profits.
Mr. Nash had no such purpose. He was not "bound to win"; and his story is of no value whatever to the average inquirer of our American youth, who insists that success can come only through a mighty determination to get ahead. Mr. Nash was bound to lose. He was determined to get behind. He was determined to take the step he took to give up the law of business and to follow the law of love instead.
"And Jesus said: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.'"
"He didn't say," says Arthur Nash. "If your greatest desire on earth is to get all these things, try to incorporate some of the principles of the Kingdom of God into your plans and you'll run a better chance of getting them. If your chief desire is for 'these things,' that settles it. That's all you've got to do. You're lucky to get that. But we have something far more important in our Cincinnati shop. We have the Kingdom of God there. We can have it all over America just as soon as we go after it as our first objective. Incidentally when we get the Kingdom of God, peace and plenty follow as a matter of course."

Applause in the Wrong Place.
Mr. Nash is telling his story over the United States. Churches and business organizations and labor-study groups are listening; but he isn't telling the story they want to hear. They want to know his "system." Mr. Nash says he hasn't any. They want to know how he meets labor problems. He says he hasn't any labor problems to meet. They want to know the secret of his business success; but he persists in telling them that he has no secret.
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THE UNITED FRONT IN THE SOVIET SENSE

(From the I. F. T. U. Press Service.)

On June 25 a plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Red International was held at Moscow. Although the agenda had been decided upon some time before, an addition was made of the question, "What shall be the form of organization of the Opposition within the Trade Unions of the Amsterdam International?" The "Pravda" explains the addition as being necessary on account of the dissatisfaction expressed by minorities on the side of the Red International with the inadequate form of organization.

There is much talk in Russia just now about the "collapse of the Amsterdam International" and the "treachery of the reformist leaders." The Executive Committee having approved the action of the Russian delegates at the Berlin Transport Workers' Conference, Losowsky proceeded to attack the Amsterdam International, declaring that the occupation of the Ruhr had made manifest to all the world its incapacity and the divisions among its leaders. The action begun at Berlin must be continued, and the other International trade organizations approached. From their fear of the left, the Amsterdam leaders had not dared to make their resolution other than very elastic; they had merely declared that they were not bound by the agreement made at Berlin. There were excellent prospects of winning over the whole of the trade unions to the Red International. In a very few years the Reformist Leaders would be driven out of their lost positions.

The subject was also treated by Sinoviev, in a long article in the "Pravda," entitled "New Phenomena in the International Labor Movement." He declared that the action of the "yellow" leaders in the question of the Ruhr had led to their desertion by the European Labor Movement.

The pressure exercised upon the Russian Government by the Conservative British Government had done great service to Soviet propaganda. The Soviet Government had forced Curzon to nail his true colors to the mast, and this exposure of imperialism had greatly contributed to the conclusion of the Transport Workers' agreement.

Their real object evidently, was to make political capital of the incident, and to show that all the world is at their feet. Nothing was heard about the interests of the workers; the really important thing was that the Amsterdam International should collapse and that all Europe should hasten to range itself behind the standard of the Red International.

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN SILESIA, GERMANY STRIKE
The causes of this strike, which has already lasted for several weeks, and which affects some 90,000 workers in all, are to be found in the starvation wages of the land workers, and the breaches of contract by the employers. The wages of the workers can perhaps best be measured by the amount of rye which they can buy with their labor. In March, 1922, a worker could buy a cwt. of rye in 46 hours of work; in May, 1923, he had to work for 145 hours in order to buy the same amount. The conduct of the workers has been excellent, and they are very determined to hold out. "If we give in," they say, "we shall have only bread and water to live on, we are no worse off when striking." They continue to do such emergency work as the feeding of cattle, and the milking of cows, but even that will cease if strike breakers are brought in. Some of the farmers are willing to make separate agreements, but the Union is well aware that any such arrangements would probably be short-lived, and is resolved to make no comprehensive agreement. The industrial unions of the district are giving assistance and making representations to the authorities, who may intercede, but the Union is resolved not to call off the strike until a satisfactory agreement has been concluded.

GERMANY Great Metal Workers' Strike.
On July 4th, a great metal workers' strike was threatened in Berlin. On June 20, 90% of the members of the German Metal Workers' Union voted in favour of the rejection of the arbitration award fixing the new scale of wages. The Ministry of Labor at once intervened, but the employees refused to accept any settlement satisfactory to the workers, and hence a strike seems to be inevitable. The occasion is important. Not only does the closing of the great Berlin works mean enforced idleness for a large number of other workers, the strike also represents the first great conflict for the introduction of permanent wage scales. Hitherto every fall of the mark has meant a considerable reduction in the wages of German workers, and a corresponding increase in the profits of German industrialists. German workers are now making a great effort to protect themselves against this injustice, by means of the adjustment of wages to an index representing the current rise in prices.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF HAIRDRESSERS' ASSISTANTS.
The Secretary of this union has sent an appeal to the International Federation of Trade Unions of which the following is the gist.
There is a steady movement for the amalgamation of small trade organizations into "industry unions," but the movement is by no means uniform in the different countries. When, however, such amalgamation occurs, the International Trade Secretariat suffers from the secession of some one or other of its national organizations. The International Trade Secretariat fully recognizes that they do not exist for their own sakes, but nevertheless they feel that they must continue to fulfill their task until all, or nearly all the national units have been absorbed. They therefore appeal to the National Federations and to the International Federation of Trade Unions to use their influence to induce the individual unions to retain their membership in the International Secretariat, even although they may have been absorbed into another trade federation. Thus, the English Hairdressers' Union has joined the Shop Assistants' Union, but there is no reason why it should not continue to affiliate with the International Secretariat. It is very important to the Hairdressers Assistants' International Union that it should not lose its national organization.

TRADE UNIONS.
On June 25th, the second congress of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions was held. 358 delegates representing 1,049,949 members took part in the congress. The I.F.T.U. was represented by Sassenbach, and visitors from Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were also present. Hueber, who delivered the General Report of the Federation, contended the view that wages had reached the gold par level. He pointed out that the foreign control was in some respects hostile to the achievements of the workers in the social sphere. The question of the creation of industrial unions was considered, but no final decision was reached. The slight decrease in the membership of the Federation was explained by the withdrawal of women from their occupation and consequently from their unions. The membership of some of the larger unions is as follows:
Metal workers 170,000
Land workers 71,600
Textile workers 53,900
Transport workers 47,000
Workers of the Food and Drink Trades 39,000
Commercial and Clerical Employees 34,000
Wood workers 32,000

YOUNG SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
The Young Socialist International held a great gathering at Lund in Sweden on June 9 and 10. The total attendance numbered no less than 10,000 people. 3000 young Swedish workers took part and 300 Danish delegates; Norway was also represented. A great torch procession through the town was organized. Foreign guests were Voogd, from Holland, Westphal from Germany, Fostervoll from Norway, and Christiansen from Denmark, all of whom, together with Lindstrom of Sweden, are leaders of the Young Socialist Movement. Addresses were given by Stauning and Branting.

INDIA.
A New Labor Party.
The Labor Party and Kisan Party has been formed in Madras. Its first act was to protest against increased taxes on the necessities of life. The Board of Directors of the G. I.P. Railway in India are about to introduce on their railway staff councils based on the Whitley system.
A long strike of the Ahmedabad Mill hands has at last been terminated, the reduction of wages is to be 15 instead of 20 per cent.

JAPAN.
Labor in Japan.
Some weeks ago the Japanese Government raided the Socialist headquarters, suppressed the Yomiuri press, and threw into jail certain persons who had criticized its policy. The police are now turning their attention to labor, and it is expected that many of the prominent labor officials will soon be arrested. On May 27 a lecture to workers, organized by the Kansai Federation, was broken up by the police. More than 10 speakers were seized, and there were hand-to-hand fights between the police and the excited audience.

Factory Workers in Osaka.
The average working day for factories in Osaka is 9 hours women in spinning factories work about 10 hours. The shortest hour is that of mechanics, which averages 8 1/2 hours a day.
The average income of the male factory worker is nearly double that of the woman.

Nature has given us one tongue and two ears that we may hear more than we speak.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION

The Labor Situation.
Employment at the beginning of June showed a further large increase, continuing the upward movement indicated in the previous month. The expansion, which was of a general character, caused the situation to be more favorable than in any period since December, 1920.

At the beginning of June, the percentage of unemployment among members of the trade unions was 4.5 as compared with 4.6 at the beginning of June, 1922.

The Employment Service of Canada reported a gain in the daily business transacted during May, 1923, as compared with a year ago, while a slight decline in the number of vacancies offered during the month as compared with April, 1923, was reported. Placements during the month under review continue on the upward trend.

The following is a brief survey of employment conditions at the end of June, 1923, as noted by the Superintendents of the offices of the Employment Service of Canada.

Increased activities in the farming and construction groups were reported from the Maritime Provinces with numerous vacancies available for carpenters, bricklayers, road construction laborers and farm hands. Considerable summer logging was under way near Sydney and in Northern New Brunswick and a number of workers were placed in employment in this group. There was a strong demand for trained domestic servants with a slight shortage in applicants.

Employment conditions in Quebec showed little alteration at the end of June as compared with reports for May. A brisk demand for farm workers was reported with a shortage of applicants, especially in Montreal. The logging group continued to absorb numbers of workers and placements of men in camps in Northern Quebec and Ontario were frequent. Briskness in demand in the building trades was shown with many public buildings and residences being erected. Road construction and railway maintenance work was active and provided employment for many. The reports indicate that the manufacturing industries were active especially the metal trades, textiles and clothing industries. An increase in work along shore was indicated from Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers.

In Ontario the demand for farm help and fruit pickers continued in excess of the supply, while outdoor work of all kinds was available for all who desired it. In most centres the building under way was sufficient to employ all local tradesmen and laborers, while road construction and steam and electric railway repair work continued to provide employment for a large majority. River drivers were placed in small numbers in Northern Ontario while many workers for saw mills, and pulp and paper mills were required. At Cobalt skilled and unskilled workers for the mines were in demand. The manufacturing industries were very active with a demand for workers. The greatly increased demand for maids, waitresses and cooks, was due to the orders from summer hotels and resorts in addition to the normal requirements from city homes.

In Manitoba there was a slight falling off in the demand for farm workers but a high percentage of placements was maintained. Building tradesmen and mechanics were employed and little change was reported in this group. Railroad construction and maintenance work showed a decided betterment.

In Saskatchewan the orders from farmers continued in large numbers though not so many as during the early part of April and during May. Numerous opportunities were offered for employment in road, bridge, road and highway construction, and on railway maintenance work. Owing to the shortage of trained household workers few of the offices were able to meet the growing demand for cooks, maids and housekeepers.

In Alberta no material change was noted in employment conditions. With good prospects for the crop, the demand for farm help showed a slight increase. Activities in the construction group were not great, residential construction providing the bulk of employment. Near Edmonton some loggers and saw mill workers were placed, while the mines near Lethbridge and Drumheller were reported active.

Placements of loggers and sawmill workers in British Columbia continued fairly brisk in some localities. Little construction was under way at the end of the month and a considerable number of carpenters, painters

and building mechanics were available for employment. The demand for farm help continued about the same as formerly reported, while little change was shown in mining. Casual jobs and longshore work gave employment to numbers of men on the Coast.

Employers' Reports.

A further marked increase in employment was reported by employers of labor to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics at the end of May, when greater activity was indicated than at any period in 1922 and 1921. Practically all industries contributed to the gains which, however, were greatest in construction, manufacturing and transportation. The level of employment in all provinces was higher than in April, Quebec firms registering the most extensive gains. The improvement in Ontario and the Prairie provinces was also pronounced, while in the Maritime district and British Columbia the expansion was on a rather smaller scale. Increased activity was recorded by firms in the six cities for which separate tabulations are made. In Montreal, where over 7,000 persons were added to the staffs of the employers reporting, the greatest improvement was indicated in shipping and stevedoring and construction, while gains were also shown in manufacturing and trade. The expansion in Toronto, which was on a much smaller scale, occurred chiefly in construction, trade and transportation. Sawmills, pulp and paper factories registered the bulk of the increase in Ottawa, although there was also considerably increased activity in construction. General but moderate improvement was indicated in Hamilton and Winnipeg, the largest gains in both cities being reported in construction. In Vancouver sawmills and rolling mills were busier and expansion was also recorded in construction and in several other industries. Practically all groups within the manufacturing division except leather, textiles and musical instruments reported improvement. The increases in payroll in sawmills, iron, steel, fish canning, pulp and paper factories were especially pronounced. Fruit and vegetable canneries, biscuit, tobacco, glass and electric current works were decidedly busier, as were also smelters and refineries. The losses in boot, shoe, garment, thread, yarn and cloth factories were largely of a seasonal character. River driving operations caused employment in logging to show some temporary recovery from the heavy seasonal contractions recently recorded, the late spring having delayed the work to some extent. Mining, transportation and construction reported considerably increased activity, the last named industry in particular absorbing a very large number of workers. The employment afforded in communication, in hotels and trade also increased, although the gains were rather less than in the above mentioned industries. The level of employment in all groups was higher than at the same period of last year.

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Entered at Ottawa Post Office as Second Class Postage.

The Canadian Labor Press

THE CANADIAN LABOR PRESS
PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN LABOR PRESS, LIMITED
A NATIONAL SANE LABOR PAPER.

Ottawa Office: 134 Queen Street. Phone: Queen 751.
Toronto Office: 79 Adelaide St. East. Phone: Main 4122.
Montreal Office: Room 26, 223 St. James Street.

THE MOTHERS' ALLOWANCE COMMISSION

One of the most splendid advantages that Canadian workers enjoy is "The Mothers' Allowance Commission," which was brought into being in the Province of Ontario on the 12th day of August 1920, and is a big step forward in the progress of Canada. The other Provinces of Canada have similar Commissions for the purpose of taking care of widows and children who are left without the proper means for so doing.

The first annual report of the Mothers' Allowance Commission for Ontario presented last year gave a summary of the organization of the Commission, and a statement outlining the policy and regulations governing the administration of the Mothers' Allowance Act.

The second annual report now submitted shows considerable development in the work of the Commission. The number of beneficiaries has grown from 2,660 in October, 1921, to 3,559 in October, 1922. In the home of the beneficiaries there are 10,922 children under sixteen years of age. In one home there are eleven children under sixteen and in two homes there are ten children under sixteen.

The amended Act of 1921 extended the scope of the Commission's power to serve the children of the Province. Under the foster-mother clause, sixty-six foster-mothers have been appointed as beneficiaries on behalf of 208 children. By this means the families have been kept together. Four families are being assisted by the reciprocal clause which has been adopted by Saskatchewan. Thirty families with one child under sixteen years are being helped by the clause which permits the granting of an allowance to the mother with one child under the age of sixteen years and an incapacitated husband or with one child under sixteen years of age and an incapacitated child over sixteen years.

The Local Boards, sixteen in number, and serving gratuitously, have rendered magnificent service throughout the year. Many members of the Boards, to attend the meetings, have to travel long distances, involving frequently absence for a day from business or home. The secretaries of the Boards spend many hours in correspondence. The Boards are most helpful in many ways to the widows within their districts. The entire cost to the Province in the operations of the ninety-six Local Boards for the last year was \$2,621.62, an average of \$27.30 for each Board. This sum includes travelling expenses, stationery supplies, postage, etc.

All beneficiaries in centres of population, 10,000 and over, are now granted allowances on the basis of the city rate, which is \$40.00 monthly for two children, increasing \$5 monthly for each additional child under sixteen years of age. An intermediate rate, \$5 per month less than the city rate has been established for beneficiaries residing in centres of population from five to ten thousand. The country rate is paid to all other beneficiaries. The country rate of allowance is \$30 monthly for two children, with an additional \$5 monthly for each child under sixteen years of age.

SUMMER CARE OF POULTRY

There is a tendency among some people to believe that poultry do not require any special care during the summer months, and may be allowed practically to shift for themselves. While it is true that conditions are more favorable for growing stock, and for egg production in adult stock, yet at no time of the year is more care necessary to prevent disease and vermin than during the warm summer months. Poultry kept in close, stuffy sleeping quarters cannot be kept in the best condition of health, and are fit subjects for the ravages of lice and mites. It would be much better to have wire netting put in place of the glass windows in order that more fresh air might circulate in the house.

A very strict watch must be kept for any evidence of lice or mites as soon as warm weather commences. If lice are present on the birds, treat each bird individually with some Blue Mercury ointment, or some reliable dusting powder, and if red mites are present on the perches or walls, the birds should be removed from the house for a day or two, and the building thoroughly fumigated, followed by really good cleaning of every part

of the interior. A thorough occasional white washing of the whole interior of the house will make the place more sanitary. Poultry confined to yards where there is no natural shade from the hot rays of the sun, should be provided with shelter of some sort; sunflowers or artichokes planted in the yards and protected until they get a start, will provide a most excellent shelter from the sun. Colony houses scattered through an orchard or cornfield make a very desirable place for the growing stock.

Filthy drinking vessels are the cause of a great many troubles in the poultry yards. Plenty of pure drinking water, which is kept in clean vessels in a sheltered place will benefit the stock to a large extent.

Be sure that the young growing stock are well fed to promote growth, and that they are given liberal range where there is abundant of green feed and also animal feed in the form of insects, worms, etc. Cull out the old stock that you do not intend to keep over for another year, and sell them early while the price is higher and while they are in good condition before they commence to moul.

PIPE YOUR HOME FOR GAS

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Consult us regarding pipe sizes, location of outlets, etc., in order to make your home modern in every respect.

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IS THIS TRUE DEMOCRACY?

Using as my motto, Mr. Baker's three essentials, fairness, honor, and good faith, I want to reply to some of his views on employee representation or the "Atterbury Plan" as applied to the shopmen on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Mr. Baker says this "is the case of the second largest employer in America . . . establishing in co-operation with these employees an industrial democracy," etc., as an alternative to the plan of putting the interests of the shopmen, in negotiating with the railroad, into the hands of the officers of System Federation No. 90, who act under orders from the national officers of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor.

What is "Industrial Democracy?" It is a condition where the employer permits organization of his employees within the confines of their constitutional, legal, and moral obligations to society, granting to them the same liberties, locally and nationally, as he reserves for himself? Or is it a condition where the employer realizing that he can no longer prevent organization among his employees, comes to them in the guise of a benefactor and says: "We have decided to permit you to organize and select representatives, but we are going to draw up the plan telling you how they shall be chosen. We, of course, have one or two employees who were in on this thing, and we called upon them to help us work it out, but the plan will not be submitted to you for adoption or rejection, neither will consideration be given to any objection even though expressed by a majority of some group affected."

Of course, every labor-loving American citizen will say that the first plan represents "Industrial Democracy" and that the second is "Industrial Autocracy," but what I have outlined is just what happened on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Let us turn to the record of May 24, 1921, when this question was discussed in the company's office at Philadelphia.

This record shows that the management proposed individual representation only, while the representatives of System Federation No. 90 asked that a ballot be spread among the employees which would permit them to determine by majority vote whether they wanted representation through organization or by individuals. This latter plan meant "Industrial Democracy," but it was rejected by the management, which distributed its ballot for individuals only, with the result that out of more than 35,000 active service employees only 10 1/2 per cent voted as directed, while the 89 1/2 per cent, who were not given an opportunity to vote against it, took the only available means of registering their protest, and refused to vote. The election being finished, the management recognized those voted for, although some of them had received only one vote (the vote probably being cast by the individual himself), and proceeded to hold meetings at which new wage rates, rules, and working conditions were adopted and applied to the shop-craft employees as a whole. (This is the substance of the record on which the Labor Board, and finally the Supreme Court were called to act, and on which they decided in favor of the employees.)

In the meantime the management has refused to recognize the organization wanted by the 89 1/2 per cent, refusing to discuss grievances with local representatives, by cancelling furloughs granted to officers of the System Federation, and ordering them to return to work in the shops, thus depriving the organization of its active leaders. These officers refused to do so, so they were marked out of service and their transportation lifted in July, 1921. Is it not a mockery to speak of such methods as representing Industrial Democracy?

As a government, we have our county, State and national organizations. In business we have local boards of trade and city and national chambers of commerce. In the railroad industry we have separate system organizations of management which are merged in the National Association of Railway Executives, but in the case of railroad workers the "doctor" comes along and says to us on this railway system, as he is saying on many others: "No matter what the Constitution of the United States, the Bill of Rights, the Congress the statutory law, or the United States Railroad Labor Board says, we have decided that we don't want you to have a national organization, so we are going to prescribe for you. Our medicine is an organization of employees on this railroad which has no affiliation with the employees on other railroads, and when we have sold you our gold brick, and when your national organizations are all broken up, we will begin to collect from you what it has cost us for advertising and salesmanship. The medicine may be a little bitter, but it will be good for somebody."

Mean Points for the Jury. Do not be deceived Mr. Baker. The railroad workers are not, since they

know what is hidden inside the sugar-coated pill. And only a few of the employers, such as the Pennsylvania management, which has evidently lost a few pages out of its history of the labor movement, are blindly baiting their heads against the wall.

Mr. Baker alleges the plan is being successfully operated on the Pennsylvania System. If that is so, why is it that, after a year of operation under it, more than 32,000 shopmen suspended work beginning July 1, 1922? And with few exceptions they are refusing to return unless the Labor Board's decision is complied with. Since that time many of those who remained at work have quit the service because of wages and conditions to which they have been subjected. At Verona, Pa., where about 250 shopmen are employed normally, eighteen old men have quit recently. The clerks and telegraphers have both sought through the courts to have an injunction granted, restraining the management from further violations of the similar decisions affecting them. Sufficient evidence to convince anyone of the dissatisfaction existing in several groups of the employees could easily be obtained by anyone who will go among the men and women in the shops and other departments instead of going to a few of the employees who are now assisting the management in trying to sell its plan.

In the matter of handling grievances it seems to me that co-operation is the answer, and the co-operation of the management was not enjoyed by System Federation No. 90. The management has not at any time attempted to conceal its antagonism toward this organization and is now bending every effort to destroy it, while it is doing everything possible to create a market for the "Atterbury Plan," the product of management, which it is trying to sell to the employee.

I have made a partial check of the figures quoted by Mr. Baker, tending to show the casual reader that in 1922 there were altogether 9,481 cases taken up and only 223 went as far as the System Reviewing Committee. It is at least implied that this covers all employees in the service. From a reliable source I find that the four transportation headquarters alone submitted 347 cases to the reviewing committee and decisions were rendered on 268. To this number must be added those from the shopmen, clerks, signalmen, telegraphers, maintenance of way, miscellaneous, and other groups, all of whom must, to say the least, have filed some cases.

Regarding the suggestive statement of Mr. Baker that, "I heard, incidentally, a good deal of inside labor-union history that would interest you if I could report it," it should be said in fairness to the thousands of honest and honorable men who are members and officers of trade unions that Mr. Baker spoiled his story. It reminds me of the time I was a kid in school, and we could taunt each

other by saying: "I know a secret but I won't tell." Come on, Mr. Baker, let's live up to our motto. If you want to take a good stiff punch at us, go ahead. That is a man's game, but let's lay off the mud.

To a close student of conditions on the Pennsylvania System, who has spent seventeen years in its service, and to others, some of whom have spent as much as forty-seven years it seems that in reviewing this question the great jury of the American Public needs to consider the following:

First.—The present strike of 32,000 shopmen on the Pennsylvania System and the court action sought by others.

Second.—The fact that the Pennsylvania management has complied with every decision favorable to it rendered by the United States Railroad Labor Board to which it was a party as well as some to which it was not a party, and it is now seeking to evade obedience to the one decision against it. Is this a land of special privilege for big corporations?

Third.—That there are those abroad in our land that are teaching that individual rights are greater than State rights, and, if we decide that the desires of a corporation are paramount to its moral obligations to government or society, what doctrine are we teaching?

Fourth.—Whether the blood that was shed in the Revolutionary, Civil, and World Wars was intended to guarantee to us the same freedom in selecting our industrial organizations that it guarantees to us in the selection of our political or religious organizations. If it does not, then our Constitution and Bill of Rights should be changed.

Fifth.—Whether the management of the Pennsylvania Railroad shall recognize its moral obligation to society or whether this large employer of labor is more powerful than our Government, and, therefore, has a mandate to set aside congressional enactments at its convenience. The Pennsylvania management exercised its constitutional rights by testing the case in court. The Supreme Court has decided against it, and has said that the Transportation Act (a statutory law) authorized the Labor Board to determine what ought to be done by railroad management and employees in the interest of public welfare, and imposes on them a moral obligation to obey. The employees are seeking the application of the board's decision.

Sixth.—Whether the employer can reserve for himself certain privileges of organization and deny them to his employees.

What is your decision?
—Collier's, The National Weekly.

NEW ZEALAND.

According to a recent statement of the Prime Minister, there is a probability of a fund approximating \$1,000,000 being raised by the Government for the aid of persons desiring to build homes. Under the proposed plan, it is said that the Government may advance 95 per cent of the cost price of the homes which applicants seek to have erected.

Deciding that another good year is necessary within which financial stability may be attained, the New Zealand Arbitration Court has concluded that it is unnecessary and undesirable to make a general order reducing money wages for the ensuing half year.

AUSTRIA.

Unemployment continues to decrease slowly in Vienna and other industrial centres of Austria. The number of persons drawing the government unemployment dole dropped, in Vienna, from 97,800 in February, 1923, to 75,075 in May, 1923, while the total of this class in Austria fell from 173,147 to 122,353 during the same period.

FRANCE.

Serious labor difficulties are feared in connection with the lockout against the Marseille metallurgical workers. Workmen are claiming about 2 1/2 hrs. per day, and employers in all metal plants, fearing a strike, enforced a lockout.

CANADA.

Many immigrants arrived and departed in Montreal at the end of June, 1923, awaiting the new quota of the United States to be available July 1, 1923. Many of those whose admission arrived in Canada it is within the last year or two.

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OUR HOME PAGE

SAVING THE BABIES

Citizens who live in communities pathetic in their infant death rate should consider carefully the results of the co-operative rural health work being carried on in Green county, Missouri. A report just received by the United States Public Health Service at Washington shows remarkable reduction in the infant mortality rate in Springfield and Campbell Townships since the re-establishment there of a whole-time county health department.

In 1918 the death rate in these two Missouri townships was 105 per thousand. That is, out of every 1,000 babies born alive, 105 died that year. Then Green county decided it could no longer afford to continue unmindful of its baby death rate and a health department was organized.

In the following year 1919, the infant death rate in these two townships dropped to 96 per thousand. In 1920 it went to 85, in 1921 to 75, and in 1922 the decline reached 65.

In other words Springfield and Campbell townships reduced their infant mortality rate 42 per cent within the short space of four years.

This forty-two per cent reduction furnishes a striking example of what may be accomplished in child welfare work carrying out, with economy and efficiency, a well balanced general program of health work affecting all sex groups in a community with well administered health department under the direction of a whole-time health officer.

The example of Missouri in saving babies should give cause to every citizen of other communities not equipped with health departments or health officers to give their full time to the work. It is time for the thinking men and women who live in such

communities to organize; time for them to shake off their indifference and set about earnestly to save the lives of babies born in such communities. A county health department under the direction of a full-time health officer is the first objective. Missouri is showing the way.

GREAT BRITAIN.

On June 11th, 1923, the wholly unemployed on the live registers totalled approximately 1,197,000, which was an increase of 9,953 over the preceding week.

Wages of the railway and transport workers have been reduced by two shillings a week on account of the decrease in the cost of living.

ITALY.

Statistics compiled by the National Bureau of Employment show a steady decrease in the number of persons wholly or partially unemployed.

JAVA.

As a protest against the arrest of one of its principal leaders, and to block the movement of sugar, the recently proclaimed a general railway strike which temporarily crippled the movement of trains throughout the north coast of Middle Java. By governmental decree the strikers were declared to be revolutionists and the places of those who did not return to work within the time set by the Government were filled by entirely new workers.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

A decrease in the number of unemployed person receiving government subsidies is reported by the Czechoslovakia Ministry of Social Welfare.

Good Night Stories

THE PUZZLED LITTLE DRAGON-FLY.

"Oh, me," sighed the little water boy. "I feel dreadful. I just can't seem to get enough air. Does it seem stuffy to you today?" he inquired of his neighbour, Croaker Green Frog.

"What! Stuffy—under this lovely clear water? Why I should say not," croaked his neighbour. "Who ever heard of cool water being stuffy? But maybe if you'd crawl up you'd feel better. When I get restless I usually go up on the bank for a while." And away Croaker Green Frog hopped out of the water to the mossy bank.

The little water boy watched the water where his neighbour had disappeared. Then a thought popped into his funny little head, and he swam over to a swaying weed and crawled up the stem into the sunshine.

"Funny," he laughed softly. "I never knew it was so lovely above the water. Queer—I've never thought of coming up here. But I guess I've never felt so funny before. My, I'm better already."

"I think a change of scene always makes one feel better." And Tilly Turtle crawled over to the edge of the log, nearer the weed to which the little water boy clung.

Two weeds grew close together, and the little water boy fastened the hooks on his feet into them swinging his little body between them. He felt so queerly he would have cried if Tilly Turtle had not been so near him.

He began to twist and squirm, all the time trying to smile so Tilly Turtle wouldn't think him a baby. But he did feel strangely queer. His little back seemed to tremble. Then a funny thing happened. The little water boy's suit ripped straight down the back.

He tried to laugh, but he felt so badly he couldn't. And Tilly Turtle seeing his embarrassment, acted as though she didn't see his ripped suit.

Then another strange thing happened. The little water boy gave a big gasp, and out of his funny little suit he came. He was terribly excited, and there's no telling what might have happened if Tilly Turtle hadn't glanced his way.

"Why, my dear," she cried, jumping over to the very edge of the log. "You have another suit under the one you just took off. Did you ever in all your life! Yes, sir, as true as I'm alive, you're a dragon fly."

Tilly Turtle was so excited she nearly tumbled off the log into the

water. "A beautiful dragon fly! Sit still until your wings dry."

"Wings dry!" exclaimed the little newly-made dragon fly. "Have I really and truly beautiful wings?" He glanced down at his reflection in the pond and laughed with joy. Sure enough, he had crawled right out of his ugly old suit into another lovely one. But, oh, how tired and ill he felt. He could hardly move. It took all Tilly Turtle could do to get him to try those wings.

"You've got the chance of your life to see the world now," she told him. "Don't sit there like a dummy or some bird may eat you. Try your wings. Fly!"

Dragon-fly didn't know what a bird was, but he was so happy he didn't care to be eaten. So he spread his lovely wings and sailed away.

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A man may as easily fill a chest with grace as the heart with gold. The air fills not the body, neither does money the covetous heart of man. All men are worthy of observation—not all are worthy of imitation.

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YES, HE HAS NO COMMON SENSE

Continued from Page 1.

ing them how they may enter the Kingdom of God.

"I can't say that the audiences are not enthusiastic," he told me, "but they applied the wrong points. The fact that the A. Nash Company is not a union shop seems terribly significant to some employers, until they learn that it isn't an anti-union shop. What right would I have to object to my fellow workers want to join a union?"

"They ask me if I would let agitators. We have been increasing the force so fast that there is nothing I know of to keep them out. I have heard it said that a certain union had planted a number of members occasionally inside of our organization. I don't know and I don't care. If they do get in they seem to stay; I don't hear of anybody quitting."

"No. I have no objection to the unions. So long as industry is a fight, both sides are bound to organize. I'm all for the unions under those conditions, but I'm not for the fight. We don't have to defend ourselves from each other when we are doing to others as we would like to have them do to us."

"Is it true," I asked, "that some of the union shops pay a higher scale for certain kinds of work than you do?"

"I don't know," he said. "I hope so. We aren't paying very much attention to the wage question in our establishment. Whenever there is together and decides what to do with an increased profit, the family gets it. Sometimes they raise their wages and sometimes they decide to give it to the public by putting better material or more time into the suits."

"You mean that they refuse wage increases?"

"Let me tell you," he said, "one of the first experiences we had. When the company notified the employees that there was a surplus to be divided, the highest-paid help got together and petitioned us not to distribute it as we had thought of distributing it, giving each employee a certain percentage on actual earnings but to distribute it equally among all. That meant that these highly-paid men and women voluntarily refused large sums of money, so that the unskilled, the beginners, and the old women whose earning power had long since waned might all receive \$91 apiece. In some cases this represented more money than they had ever owned in one time in all their lives."

"But it wasn't the \$91," he hastened to add, "it was the spirit behind this distribution. That was something you could feel all through the shop. The spirit of Christian brotherhood."

"Were these highly paid employees all Christians?"

"Yes, all Catholics and Protestants and Jews and people who professed no special creed. They were just living the teachings of Jesus, that is all."

"Which is why Mr. Nash simply cannot be understood. Also, why visitors to the Nash factory are generally nonplussed. There are no scriptural texts on the walls. There is no hymn singing hour, no prayer meeting, nothing to denote that this is an unusual factory. There is not even any complex system of welfare work to spy on the employees and say how they shall spend their time after working hours. There are no time clocks here, but otherwise it is just like other factories except for a spirit which the others lack."

Pants and Vests all the Year Round.
I went through the various rooms. Some of them were on piecework, some on a weekly wage. I couldn't tell the difference. All of them were working fast, but nowhere could I find a face that was drawn and tense. They looked as though they actually enjoyed making pants and coats and vests. They work, I was told eight hours a day, five days a week, but they work the year around. Some transformation, it must be conceded, from the old rule of overtime during the rush season and unemployment for the rest of the year.

"Do you think this scheme would work with the damned aliens and Bolsheviks in our shop?" Mr. Nash is often asked.

"It won't work with aliens," is his answer, "and it won't work with those who are damned. It will work only with brothers and sisters in the human family."

"So long as we look upon people as alien the best we can hope for is to bargain with them. When we see them as brothers and sisters, the problem vanishes. We don't try to bargain any longer; we just see how much we can do, and the law of love does the rest."

"Are you sure that your success will be permanent?" I asked him. "Perhaps the story itself has just advertised Nash clothes so extensively that thousands of people who have bought a suit out of curiosity will find they can do better eventually by patronizing firms that are more businesslike."

"Perhaps," he said. "But what of that? I can think of lots of things which are more important than my financial success. Can't you?"

Listen, folks! Did you ever hear anything quite so unreasonable?

—Colliers, The National Weekly.

SET A MILLION CHILDREN FREE

Continued from Page 1.

work, and a compulsory education or a new child labor law, either of which would work to the same effect; to keep every boy and girl in school until the age of sixteen. He has no sympathy with child labor. He doesn't want it any more than you or I do. "Labor is scarce right now," said Mr. Hawes, "but the mills could make the adjustment very quickly to such a change."

Not that such talk was enough to convince such a skeptic as I was. It took more, but that more was forthcoming.

"Most of the parents regard the children as assets to be used," said a social worker who has no axe to grind. "That you know is the case with some farmers of this country, and it is the case with many of the mill employees, or, at least, with enough of them to give us this child-labor situation. They judge their children by how regularly they turn over the pay roll into the family purse. 'Johnny—he good boy—bring home envelope always,' the mother says, although the case where the family is actually needy, and there is even that kind of a reason for the work of the child, is very rare indeed in this town."

It is greed, not need, that sends a little shaver to the mills. Lack of interest in their schools makes them willing to go—there is a big school problem here as everywhere, but medically and socially even a poor school is a far better place for the child than the factory. If you are a doubting Thomas on that, later on it shall be shown and proved.

There is more evidence to show that I heard the truth from the representative employers. There is at least one mill in New England, probably more, in which there is no child employed. That one is known throughout the world as one of the finest, if not the finest, of its kind. The reason that children are not employed there is not a matter of sentiment, law, or public opinion. They have found that children are not good workers; they don't want them working on their fine cottons, they don't let them work there. It is purely a business matter.

No, the reason why many of the children in Massachusetts are working, when medical science and students of society know they should not be working is because the parents of those children are exploiting them because the Legislature permits that exploitation to go on. A minute minority is forcing upon the great majority the work of the former's children. It is forcing me to buy shirts made by them.

One of Those Grim Jokes.
We know that the Legislature disapproves at heart because it has passed a law for continuation schools, which is a miserable sop thrown to public opinion. The child of fourteen to sixteen is forced to go to a school four hours a week.

If that idea were not so tragic, it would be funny. I went into one of those schools and listened to the children and the teachers. The teachers were doing the best they could. The building was an old hotel, slightly remodelled. But the kids were bored, had forgotten the lessons of the week before; had literally and absolutely wasted their time. This is partly a matter of opinion. But I have discussed it with educators in many parts of the United States, men who know their business if anybody does, and they agree with me that four hours a week for forty weeks at fourteen and fifteen years of age is a grim joke—just the way death is a grim joke to the fellow who meets it in his prime. Even half time—the way the kids in Wisconsin, who work in Wisconsin box, candy, knitting works and other factories, are compelled to attend—is little better than a hoax on the public, which supports these part-time schools.

The Law and The Facts.
We have heard more than enough about Massachusetts, so much perhaps that good people of that law-abiding State (where a child does have to go to school four hours a week, where he does have to be a sixth grader before he gets a working permit, where a medical certificate, of doubtful value of course is required) will spit. They were chosen to talk of spite. They were chosen to talk of only because they were among the best. A greater percentage of the kids are working than in most States, and that percentage has increased in fruits and vegetables much as door in other States, yet the laws are fairly good and those they have are well enforced.

The percentage of children working is worse in Rhode Island. It is worse in South Carolina, and North Carolina. There are more of them working in Pennsylvania, a larger State, than in Massachusetts. New York has some seventeen thousand, New Jersey is worse now than it was in 1910.

This is factory work and mechanical pursuits, mind you, that we speak of. It doesn't tell the story of violations of the law where enforcement is a joke. It doesn't tell the story of tenement work, or the street trades; it does not tell about the unbelievable conditions in the great agricultural factories, which turn out law, or a new child-labor law, either knobs are turned out of a mill, by machine work. Nor does this tell how thin the census figures probably are, as shown by the fact that the report states that less than 11,000

fruits and vegetables, much as door children are gainfully employed in Wisconsin, although local authorities estimate the figures at from two to three times as high.

But you should have by now a good idea of what this unfairly chosen, hand-picked sample is like. That sample should give you a good idea, if your imagination is working properly, of what is going on in other States where the laws are poor, in States where a twelve-year-old can work eleven hours a day, and be broken in body and spirit before he attains his manhood. Just keep in mind, as you watch Babe Ruth swing at a fast one from the cunning old hands of Walter Johnson this summer that the kids who'd like best to watch, the kids who would like to be out on the old sand lot in school vacation time, slugging at a yarn ball—well, they're inside in the dust and half darkness, watching the shuttles, packing the goods, at whatever their poor unskilled hands can do, from morning to night, all summer long—185,337 of them in factories, ten to fifteen years old, according to the last census.

Moreover, it might be worse, as it was a century ago in England, and America—yes, as it is right this minute in the State of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

That great State has a governor who is ranked as one of the most far seeing progressives. We have no idea of saying for one moment that Gifford Pinchot is responsible for the fact that the boys are still working illegally, underground in the Pennsylvania fields, but what we do call to attention is the fact that an electorate which put in a man of that type is the same electorate which permits the damaging work to go on. It is no backward community. It is one of the greatest in the United States.

What is going on there is cold fact. It is all down in the United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Bulletin No. 106, published last year (1922). The total extent of it is not known. The investigation, by trained persons, taking months to complete, was confined to a very small area in Schuylkill County, the Schuylkill district. Right there

57 per cent of the boys of the district, from thirteen to sixteen years of age, had commenced work.

Since the investigation was made, some improvement has been recorded, at least in the actual territory covered by the Government work. In Shenandoah the mine owners now demand a church certificate which states that the boy is sixteen. They are quite particular about this formality, but it is, on the whole, merely a form. It did not prevent Edward, fourteen, from going to work on the night shift (3.30-11.30) during the month of June, 1923, after the school superintendent had refused a working permit to him. Union officials and townspeople stated that a large percentage of the breaker boys are under sixteen; many of them look it, certainly.

It is not illegal for a fourteen-year-old to work in the Pennsylvania breakers. Some of the mine operators seemed to think they were working under the last Federal child-labor law which was declared unconstitutional under a year ago. So they were being courageously careful that their official records will look all right. Even the inspectors of the Bureau of Labor and Industry of the State, charged with enforcement of the law, are quite vague about what the law is, if their signed reports are truly indicative. The new secretary of this department, hopelessly handicapped by the size and character of his force of inspectors, is very much interested and eager to make what improvement is possible in a chaotic and muddled situation. The laws aren't so bad, and Dr. Royal Meeker may soon have them better enforced, but that is still a hope and a promise not a reality.

To the Federal inspectors some children reported that "they began to work with no certificate (a certificate is required by law) other than a 'work paper' bought from 'the squire' for fifty cents." No central authority seemingly had been charged with the duty of enforcement and inspection. There has been a humorous legal mix-up among the bureaus.

But let enforcement go hang for the moment. What gets the man who sees this thing going on is the fifteen-year-old breaker boys. Ask any number of citizens if children are still working in the breakers in the

United States, and they will practically all say so with great finality. They are wrong. You can see them any day in the Shenandoah district. And what is this: nice clean, easy work that teaches a young fourteen-year-old racial discipline.

The Children's Bureau, dealing in facts, not in sentiment, reports it as follows: "These boys worked in the constant roar which the coal makes as it rushes down the chute, is broken in the crushing machines, or sorted in the shakers. Black coal dust is everywhere, covering windows and filling the lungs of the workers. The slate is sharp, so that the slate pickers often cut or bruise their hands; the coal is carried down the chute in water, and this means sore hands for the pickers. The first few weeks

after the boy begins work, his fingers bleed almost continuously and are called red tags by the other boys."

Two Million Sub-Citizens.
That's the kind of coal you and I burn in our furnaces. It is anthracite. The boys who pick out the bad stuff, the slate, for you and me work on the average eight hours a day at it. A few work as much as six hours a week. There is more money in it for them if they are big and can lie about their age, defeat the sixteen-year-old law and work underground. But none of them ever amount to much. We can't expect much of them as citizens, even less, perhaps, as individuals.

This mine job is perhaps the worst thing for children there can be—

especially because in that industry home conditions are so frightfully bad. One of the houses in which the families live in that district is a tenement, so ugly, so crowded, so animal, that it is known locally as "The incubator."
Doesn't it sort of give you stomach-ache? It does mine—Colliers, The National Weekly.

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