

as the air may be drier or cooler. When you begin to feel the cold air unpleasant, then return to your bed and you will soon fall asleep and your sleep will be sweet and pleasant. All the scenes presented to your fancy will be of the pleasing kind. I am often as agreeably entertained by them as by the scenery of an opera."

When the census was taken in March, 1790, the Union consisted of but twelve States. Included in the enumeration, however, were Rhode Island, last of the original thirteen, which entered the federation about three months later, and Vermont, the first addition, which became a State in the following year. The total area of the young Nation was but slightly more than 800,000 square miles, and of this area but little more than one-quarter was settled. In those days "the far West" merely referred to Ohio and the western portions of Pennsylvania and New York. Beyond the Mississippi stretched the unexplored dominions of the Spanish King, to whom also belonged Florida. Philadelphia was the capital of the Union, for Washington, like thirty-two States and Territories now represented in the Nation's councils, did not exist.

The entire cost of the enumeration was only \$44,377. The census was taken by seventeen marshals and less than two hundred assistants. The results, in the form of totals for towns, cities, counties, and States, exclusive of the returns for South Carolina, were transmitted to Congress by President Washington, October 27, 1791. This report occupied fifty-six small printed pages, and is now a rare volume.

Such facts as these faintly suggest the marvelous progress of the Nation since the assistant marshal of 1790, with quill pen and ink-horn in his saddle-bags, made his toilsome journey over rough roads to secure the first count of inhabitants. Yet the men he enumerated, the "heads of families," as Congress calls them, were the fathers of the Republic who laid the foundations so broad and deep that the great superstructure which has been reared since seems sure long to exist. Congress has done nothing more fitting and appropriate in many a day than to order that the names, as far as we still have them, of the men of the American Republic at its beginning should now be published in enduring form.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

THE LABOR PRESS

BY CHARLES STELZLE

SOMEbody recently said that the average workingman reads his labor paper as the early Christians read their New Testament. However that may be, a practical advertising manager insists that as an advertising medium a labor paper is fully ten times as valuable as the ordinary daily paper.

There are about three hundred of these papers in this country—two hundred weeklies and a hundred monthlies, in round numbers. Most of the weeklies are conducted as private enterprises. Sometimes they are the official organs of central labor bodies which comprise practically all of the unions in the city, in which case there is a board of directors, appointed by the central body, to

whom the editor is immediately responsible. Rarely does this governing body dictate the policy of the editor, excepting in a very general way. In either case their general circulation is limited to the cities or counties in which they are published. The monthly journals are usually the organs of particular trades or occupations, and have a National circulation. Various methods for increasing their distribution are resorted to, but the usual and the most effective way is to offer special inducements to a local union for the subscription of its entire membership, the paper thus being sent directly to their homes through the mails. Ordinarily, the amount necessary for this subscription is taken from the treasury

of the union. Hence the average labor union man reads not only his trade journal, which deals with the affairs of his craft, but also receives the local paper, which seeks to keep him informed with reference to the doings of organized labor in the town in which he lives. It is safe to say that nearly every trades-unionist reads some kind of a labor paper, which he in many cases passes on to his fellow-workmen who are not in the union, and in most cases it is also read by the members of his own family. It has been estimated that the labor press has a constituency of about ten millions, which includes the persons in the homes of the subscribers. From the professional advertising man's view-point this is a conservative estimate, as there are about three million trades-unionists in the United States and Canada, most of the trades papers, at any rate, being distributed in both countries.

While practically every labor journal is a bona-fide trades union paper, a large percentage of them conduct Socialist columns, which are edited by local men. As a rule, these columns are stiffly written, not at all in harmony with the usual propaganda material issued by the Socialist publishing houses and by some Socialist newspapers. A few of the papers are purely Socialistic in their tone, even though posing as trades union advocates. Recently, however, there has come such strong criticism, both with reference to local papers and some trade journals which have been guilty of this, to many trades-unionists, unpardonable sin, that there have been editorial changes in some of the important labor papers of the country, while in a number of trades their conventions have decided that hereafter "all Socialistic propaganda in our journals must be cut out."

The editors of the labor press usually come from the ranks. They are in but few instances trained newspaper men. In many cases the National Secretary of the organization will serve as editor. Frequently they are practical printers, who conduct job printing offices in connection with their newspapers in order to make expenses, for a labor paper does not always offer a life of ease and com-

fort, even aside from the trials that are peculiar to editors. As a class, they are honest, in spite of the temptation to "graft" which comes to nearly every labor editor from employers, politicians, and ambitious "labor leaders." That they withstand this temptation is to their credit, for the salaries paid them are, as a rule, pitifully small. One of the brightest and best-informed editors in this country receives only fifteen dollars a week for his services. Comparatively few, however, have the education to get out a first-class paper from the literary standpoint. But they are not expected to print "literature"—they are supposed to be informed on trade conditions, and to tell about these things in the language of the man in the shop. And most of them do it well.

The disposition to present the views of the employing class in the labor press is a source of constant surprise. Compared with the organs of the employers' associations, labor papers are unusually fair in their treatment of the labor question. Contrary to the general impression, rarely does there appear an article which one might call radical. The conservatism and the restraint of these workingmen is most admirable. Following are the titles of a number of editorials and articles which were taken at random from among the papers of a single week's production:

"Down with Drink;" "Contracts Must be Kept;" "Labor Must be True;" "Labor's Chief Glory;" "Must be No Restriction of Output;" "Weak and Incompetent Leadership;" "Character Supreme;" "Do your Christian Duty."

The themes which are most frequently discussed in the labor press are the union label, the union shop, immigration, intemperance, child labor, women toilers, political policies, and the reasons why men should be loyal to their unions. There are seasons when other subjects are given prominence, but these are the problems to which the editors give most of their thought. Constantly there is the appeal for temperate living. Corruption in labor circles is unmercifully scored. High ideals in the home and in family life are insistently presented. The appeal to the heart, in editorial, in

story, in illustration, and in news item, is found in nearly every issue. The labor paper has its Woman's Page or its Home Department. Many of the papers contain notices of the regular church services. News of the theater has its place, and I have wondered sometimes if the prominence given to this phase of social life was not largely due to the fact that theater advertising managers supply the labor press with rather "fetching" cuts. Lists of the regular meetings of the local unions have a permanent place in their columns. The "unfair" employers are listed for the information of purchasers. The principles for which organized labor stands are noted in many editorial columns. Sermons containing the slightest allusion to labor are sometimes printed in full. An exposition of the International Sunday-school lesson is printed in many labor papers, and is no doubt supplied by houses that furnish plate matter. It is from this source, by the way, that many of them get their "patent insides"—the plate matter that goes into the ordinary country newspaper. Just now the problem of exterminating the "white plague" is receiving considerable attention. Undoubtedly this will greatly help in wiping out this curse of the working people. As a rule, there is a fine loyalty to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, as expressed by the actions of the Executive Council as well as by its annual convention.

Some labor papers employ special writers whose columns might easily have a place in any first-class journal. The recently developed political activity of trades-unionism is introducing into the world of labor a class of writers who will soon become a power. A labor press writers' association has come into existence, which is composed of "free lances" in the labor world, who have no fees or favors to ask excepting that their "stuff" be printed. There are several press bureaus which supply the labor papers with news matter at a small charge, besides other information of a more or less interesting character. Reform movements send their propaganda material for publication. Practically every labor paper prints an article sent

regularly by the church and labor department of a leading Protestant denomination, the following titles giving a general idea as to the nature of this material: "Has the Minister a Closed Shop?" "Is the Church Opposed to Workingmen?" "How the Church and Labor may Co-operate;" "Socialism and the Church;" "Duty versus Rights;" "Labor's Progress;" "Labor Leaders in the Church;" "Every-day Christianity;" "Judging Trades-unionism." Sometimes these articles discuss trades-unionism as such, but from the view-point of the Church. It has been noted that those articles which contain the most "religion" are given the greatest prominence. There is a growing tendency to be fair toward the Church in her approach to workingmen. The press, for the most part, seems inclined to credit the Church with sincerity in her efforts in their behalf. The trade journals in almost every instance give considerable space to purely technical matters, thus supplying a course in technology which must be of great value to the mechanics and especially to the apprentices in the trade. Indeed, many of these journals are of the highest type in both matter and in general make-up, comparing favorably with the average monthly magazine sold on the news-stands.

As a rule, the attitude of the labor press toward the employer is fair and reasonable. There is a disposition to regard him as a friend. But toward the man who opposes organized labor through an employers' association or a citizens' alliance, with a determination absolutely to crush it out, there is always the strongest feeling of resentment and bitterness. There is no class of men—not even the "scabs" whom they employ—who are more sincerely hated and more persistently ridiculed. There is, however, not the slightest disposition to advocate the use of violence in dealing with them.

Almost unanimous is the desire to have the trades union enter politics, although many warnings have been sounded by conscientious editors against narrowness and recklessness.

The labor press suffers, as does every other part of the labor movement, in

that many of the men who are developed in the ranks soon find other and more remunerative employment, where the responsibility is not so great and where the criticism is not so severe. Some of them become labor editors on daily

papers, others go into the professions, some become politicians many enter upon a business career, while still others are engaged by large employers to handle for them the labor problem as it exists in their plants.

FOUR RECENT BIOGRAPHIES

BY HORATIO S. KRANS

VARIETY is the spice of letters as well as of life, and of this there is a plenty in the books here to be considered, as there was also in the group of this season's biographies¹ recently reviewed in these pages. The present volumes direct attention to two Englishmen, the one a philosopher and critic, the other a statesman; to an Italian poet of the Renaissance; and to an American who was both a soldier and a novelist. Frederic Harrison's book, the most substantial and interesting of the works referred to, may properly have the first consideration.

In the part of "Memories and Thoughts"² that is biographical the author has taken his Life into his own hands, and has found an accomplished chronicler. He has little to say of external events, but sketches the history of his opinions from the time when, as a boy, he "took the sacrament with a leaning towards transubstantiation," to the time when he reached the haven of Positivism in which he has ridden safely at anchor ever since. The long voyage from his High Church point of departure to the port which he has made his home was accomplished without spiritual hardship and without stress or strain. And once arrived at his destination he was at peace, and looked back without regrets or misgivings. It is a singular pleasure to read the cheering story of this hardy voyager, always in good heart, who has navigated his stanch vessel so successfully through the perilous seas of thought and opinion that have stranded so many bewildered mariners upon the

naked shingles of uncharted lands. "I have never known," says Mr. Harrison, "any abrupt break in mental attitude; nor have I felt change of belief to involve moral deterioration, loss of peace, or storms of the soul. I never parted with any belief till I had found its complement; nor did I ever look back with antipathy or contempt on the beliefs which I had outgrown. . . . Superhuman hopes and ecstasies have slowly taken form in my mind as practical duties and indomitable convictions of a good that is to be." As we read a passage like this, what a striking contrast is suggested between the spiritual fortune of this philosopher of cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows, and the fortunes of certain of his older and younger contemporaries—between him and Carlyle with his spiritual indigestion, Tennyson with his persistent waverings and dubitations, Arnold with his longing backward glances, or Leslie Stephen and his struggles to cut the cable and gain his freedom.

But enough has been said of the autobiographical side of this book. The bulk of it is made up of essays and sketches designed to meet various demands, and differing widely in theme and treatment. Sometimes the author travels over the surface of his subject, sometimes he goes deep, but in either case he moves with security and carries illumination with him. The range of subjects, in all of which the author is at home, the breadth of view, the grasp of detail, the insight into life, the firm convictions, the generous tolerance, may well fill a reader with admiration. It is all one with him, apparently, whether he deals with literature, art, philosophy, the

¹ See The Outlook for November 24, pages 713-716.

² *Memories and Thoughts*. By Frederic Harrison. The Macmillan Company, New York.