

how long such a state of affairs would have been permitted to interfere with the health and to paralyze the industry of urban communities. Had the hookworm, instead of lurking in country lanes, infested the streets, I wonder how it would have fared. These two pests are a fine illustration of the length to which the neglect of rural life has been allowed to go.

There are other aspects of rural life in the United States of which a complete survey would have to take account, but which cannot here find space. Some of

these I am reserving for the next—the final—article, to be discussed in connection with constructive proposals. I shall have something to say about the lack of organization in the farming business, and I shall consider the economic and political results of this deficiency. I must also, when I come to treat of possible plans of social improvement, refer to the position of women on the farm. I hope to show that the time has come to reconsider farming as a science, as a business, and as a life.

A STEP FORWARD IN DEMOCRACY

BY ELIZABETH G. EVANS

THE contest between organized capital and unorganized labor is one to which the community is so accustomed that it has become case-hardened to its essential injustice. When, however, the employer is likewise the landlord, and when he uses his ownership of a striker's house to drive him back to work, the disparity of strength between the two contestants is so glaring as to outrage a community which loves fair play and which has not yet surrendered its democratic ideals. That is what happened at Ludlow, Massachusetts, where the news that women and children had been turned out on to the streets called forth a spontaneous outburst of sympathy for the under dog. For sheer humanity's sake, and irrespective of the merits of the struggle, the homeless strikers were befriended, while organized labor was prompt to rally to the side of an unorganized group of foreign-speaking operatives with whom until then it had been wholly out of touch. The constructive tactics employed by organized labor, and still more the position which the community has taken in the matter, make the event one of importance in the evolution of democratic institutions.

It is a commentary on the anomalies of our industrial situation that the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, who have done this deed, rank among the most enlightened

employers of the State. They are justly distinguished for the munificence of the welfare works they have established. They carry on a continuation school for a group of boys whom they pay for the three hours spent in the school-room at the same rate as if they were in the mill. They run their mill only fifty-five hours a week, against the standard of fifty-eight hours a week which prevails in the textile industries of Massachusetts, paying the same wages as are paid in similar establishments for the longer hours. Their proprietorship of their operatives' houses arose, without doubt, from a creditable ambition to provide good housing conditions for their employees and to build up a model mill village. It is a hard fate that such employers have become involved in one of the most sensational strikes of recent years in Massachusetts, and should be held up to reprobation by labor circles from Boston to Chicago.

The jute and hemp mills at Ludlow are the successors to mills founded as long ago as 1848.¹ Their product demands less skill than is required in the higher grades of textile industry, and the American labor formerly employed was long ago

¹ The present capitalization of the concern is said to be \$4,000,000, and the annual output approximately \$6,000,000. The stocks of the company sell around 250 and pay 10 per cent dividend on the par value. See the "Survey," p. 379, December 18, 1909.

displaced by foreigners, for the most part in recent years by Poles—that is to say, by the lowest-paid labor in this section. For centuries these people have been ground down to such miserable conditions that they accept in this country a scale of wages and a standard of living to which no American would submit. How completely their clannish ways and foreign speech prevent their assimilation of American standards is attested by the peasant garb of shawl and head kerchief which even their young girls wear upon the streets of Ludlow and Springfield. Their isolation makes them slow to realize the opportunity for betterment which might accrue to them by alliance with the labor organizations of this country. This, and not lack of native intelligence, is the reason their labor is cheap.

To judge from the lightning speed of their operations at the machine, the Ludlow Polanders should be profitable workers. That their labor is sought is evident from the booklet, printed in Polish and attractively illustrated, which by some means has been circulated in Poland,¹ and copies of which have found their way back to Ludlow in the hands of newly arrived immigrants. A translation of the title-page of this booklet reads:

FROM POLAND TO FREE AMERICA.
IF YOU KNOW THE HEMP AND TEXTILE
TRADE, COME TO LUDLOW, MASSACHU-
SETTS, IN THE UNITED STATES.

The immigrants thus attracted, in appearance, are a decent and sturdy set of people, and the majority of them are in the most active and adaptable years of life. The ability to thus skim off the cream from the labor markets of Europe must be an incalculable advantage to any industry. But it is not apparent that, as future citizens, they are a valuable asset to this country, nor that they act other than as a drag to the standard of living of the American wage-earner.

As to wages, the Ludlow Associates claim that they pay as well as, or better than, other employers pay for a similar grade of labor. The standard wage in

their mills, they assert, runs from \$4.50 to \$13 a week, according to the grade of labor, with an average of about \$8.50 a week for the whole working-force, women and children included, *when on full time*. But obviously this statement, which omits all reference to periods when the mill is on short time, fails to show the actual earning of the operatives. Probably these short-time periods explain the apparent discrepancy between official figures and those gathered from sixty-eight women strikers (all attracted to this country through the Polish advertisement booklet), twenty-one of whom claim to have earned from \$3.25 to \$5 a week, twenty from \$5 to \$6, and only three as high as from \$6 to \$6.50. It would seem that the wages paid are insufficient to allow the operatives to meet even the modest rent of the mill cottages without serious overcrowding. Conceding that they are better paid and live better than at home in their own land, it is not clear that they earn enough to live as Americans should live, nor that they receive a fair share of the wealth they assist in creating.

The strike began, somewhat inconsequently, last August; its more serious phase was precipitated by a cut from 24 to 20 cents per one hundred yards in the wages of the weavers, decided upon in an effort to meet the competition of mills in India (financed by British capital), which pay from \$1.50 to \$3 a month for labor. It is noticeable that there is no claim that the cut was required by a narrow margin of profit in the Ludlow Mills, which pay ten per cent on the stock. The wage reduction, however, applied to only some one hundred out of the twenty-five hundred operatives on the pay-roll. One-half of the weavers, who were Poles, struck, and the rest of the Poles, some sixteen hundred strong, struck with them, in sympathy. Presently the weavers offered to accept reduced wages for themselves if a five per cent increase were granted to all those earning less than \$9 a week. To this the Association would not agree, and on November 5 a warning was posted that all who would not return to work on the employers' terms should vacate their houses, which were provided for the use of employees only.

¹ It is claimed that this booklet was prepared in an effort to attract skilled spinners such as could not be secured in this country, and that this is authorized by the Immigration Law of the United States. Whether or not there has been a violation of the law in the circulation of this booklet is a question now under investigation by the United States authorities.

The notice to vacate was not heeded by the strikers, and on November 27 the first eviction took place, the doors and windows of the vacated houses being thereupon boarded up. A second batch of evictions was ordered for December 2, but while they were in process, in response to a plea to the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor arrived on the scene, with the result that further evictions were suspended for that day. It was announced, however, that they would be resumed two days later if the strikers did not come in. But these evictions did not take place; nor did those announced for the following Wednesday nor for the following Monday, for each of which dates a new batch of evictions had been scheduled.¹ The publicity given to the matter and the storm of protest which was aroused sufficed to check the exercise of this particular form of overlordship. And it is probable that never again in Massachusetts will employers use their power as landlords to club strikers into submission.

The part which organized labor played in the above events is likely to have a far-reaching influence. Up to the time of the evictions the strikers had stood aloof, apparently regarding everything American with a sullen suspicion. It was the prompt offer of the Springfield Central Labor Union to organize relief for the homeless that first won their confidence. But this once given, they placed their cause in the hands of their new friends, who thereafter became their spokesmen and advisers. The Springfield Central Labor Union it was that brought pressure upon the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration to come in and try to settle the strike, and pending a settlement that Union appealed to other organizations of the State for funds to maintain the strikers.

The Board of Arbitration, be it said, had previously visited Ludlow and offered its mediation; but the strikers were too ignorant of American ways to have any dealings with them, while the Associates apparently occupied the classic ground of

"nothing to arbitrate."¹ As a result, however, of a public demand, the Board of Arbitration again visited the scene of the controversy. This time, under the advice of their new allies, the strikers accepted the services of the State Board as a mediator and agreed to accept its offices as an arbitrator, if arbitration could be arranged; the Springfield Central Labor Union pledging itself, meanwhile, to use its whole influence, if arbitration were accepted, to hold its allies to their agreements. Further, the Union suggested that the strikers should at once go back to work on the employers' terms, provided the latter would agree that the recommendations of the State Board, whenever they might be forthcoming, should be accepted by both sides. So matters stood for about two weeks, until finally, on December 16, it was announced that the Ludlow Associates had submitted their case to the Arbitration Board and that the strikers would at once return to work.

Great was the rejoicing in Ludlow when it was known that a settlement had been reached, and it was a happy set of men and women who trooped into the mill gates the next morning. But the joy was short-lived, for in an hour they were again on strike. Perhaps it will never be known just how it happened, for each side has its own story to tell. But one thing is certain. The Poles, untrained in the principles of trade unionism, can have learned but little of its discipline; and if they resorted again too readily to the weapon whose use they had but just found out, it is a thing that almost might have been foretold. However, by strenuous effort on the part of the Arbitration Board, and after prolonged conferences with representatives of the contesting parties, a truce was reached, and on December 20 the strikers again returned to work; this time not in a body, but by groups of a hundred and fifty, to the end that the foremen might assign his job to each without confusion, and that clashes might be prevented with the hated Greek, who had been brought into the mill during the strike. And for the moment peace reigns again in Ludlow.

¹ According to the Boston "Transcript," twenty-three cottages were vacated in all and three hundred persons were put out on the street. It is said that seventeen cottages were standing vacant at the time the evictions began.

² The readiness which the Associates professed throughout to submit their wage scale to *investigation* was irrelevant, as there was no dispute as to the facts upon this point.

How the situation will develop only the future can determine, for there are elements present which are fraught with discord. On the one hand is a great body of aliens of several nationalities, antagonistic to each other, and all vaguely resentful at the disadvantage of their position in a free and prosperous land. On the other hand is a mighty financial unit which is said to own nine-tenths of the taxable property of the town, and with an attitude of paternalism ingrained in its very constitution. These two are brought together in a New England community and acted upon by a spirit of democracy which the one does not understand and with which the other is fundamentally at war. Surely here is a combination of antagonisms which it is not easy to match the world over, and whose adjustment must involve a long period of travail.

Meanwhile, by their action in the settlement of this strike the Ludlow Associates have shown not only magnanimity but a far-sighted wisdom. Without doubt, there have been difficulties in the path that cannot be appreciated by an outsider—inherent difficulties, intensified by the defective arbitration law of Massachusetts, which needs remodeling on lines similar to the newer law of Canada. But because there was the will the way was found. And in abandoning the appeal to sheer power and in conceding the principle of arbitration in the conduct of their affairs they have conferred a benefit upon their employees far outweighing the benefit of all their welfare works. And they have done more. They have put themselves in line with the progressive forces of the community and laid a stone in the foundation upon which a more co-operative, a more democratic relation between capital and labor may be gradually worked out. The service they have done to the higher interests of the Commonwealth is one that cannot easily be overestimated.

But in every strike there is a third party—the public. Its attitude through-

out this strike marks a distinct stage of progress in the public mind. More than ever distinctly, the demand has been formulated that these industrial disputes are not private matters, and shall not be settled by an appeal to sheer brute force. Victory, it is recognized, is not a counter-sign of justice. Which side wins does not decide which side ought to win, any more than it did in the trials by combat in the feudal times. The method of securing an adjustment in accord with reason and social justice is still to seek. But until it is found an increasingly large number of persons will maintain an attitude of criticism and protest which is bound to have its influence in shaping events.

Not the least hopeful feature of the situation has been the action of the Springfield Central Labor Union. Under its leadership the strikers were restrained from violence, their necessities were relieved while negotiations were pending, and the way pointed out to them for a peaceable settlement of their controversy under the law. Meanwhile, use was made of every legitimate means to arouse and organize public opinion, to the end of securing arbitration by the constituted authorities of the State. The alliance thus formed between unorganized foreign labor and the forces of organized labor, even if it proves temporary, is bound to tell for good. Somehow this crude foreign material must be built into the framework of the American State. And labor unions are the institutions of the people in which the first steps can be taken in democracy and the capacity for leadership approved.

To sum up, then, a long story, the Ludlow strike marks a distinct advance in the claim for a larger measure of social control in industry. It reveals the growth in the community of a social consciousness which in time can be trusted to remodel the laws and the customs of the land. Thus it takes us a step forward toward a true democracy.

THE NEW BOOKS

Those readers of *The Outlook* who are curious to know something about the tone of a good deal of contemporary German fiction and the brutal frankness of dealing with sexual immorality which some contemporary German novelists, and notably several women, are showing, will find these qualities, stark naked, so to speak, in Hermann Sudermann's "The Song of Songs." The title itself is a piece of shocking satire, and the story is not a history of affairs of the heart, but of convulsions of passion. The heroine is a young German girl of a type which is interesting because it combines a curious vein of indescribable *naïveté* and ignorance of the world with the most astonishing abandon. It is an attempt to picture a woman who loses her chastity without losing her virtue! This attempt has been made by various novelists, and has never yet succeeded in fiction any more than in life. This young German girl, Lilly Czepanek, is not corrupt by nature; she is the victim of an extraordinary flood of noble sentiments with a most deplorable lack of will, and she is the willing victim of her senses. She has no power of resistance. On the contrary, she co-operates with nearly every seducer who comes in her way. A more hopeless confusion of high-flown language and low-flying action, of beautiful ideals of freedom and helpfulness, and a persistent tendency to be a courtesan, has rarely been described in fiction. The story shows, of course, considerable literary skill, for Sudermann is one of the most accomplished of the present school of German writers. But the average German novel is a very inferior affair. It is badly constructed, sentimental, and overloaded with language, with psychology, and with self-analysis. It requires genius to lift German fiction out of this quagmire into the region of art. Sudermann has great literary skill; but he has written a book which is practically without plot or structure, which has a series of sensational episodes combined with heavenly visions, and which belongs with the worst novels of its kind. (B. W. Huebsch, New York. \$1.40, net.)

Ethics is distinctively a normative science, not only dealing with what is, but insisting on what ought to be. Hence Professor Ottley, in his lectures on "Christian Ideas and Ideals," justly observes that it is unscientific to limit ethical inquiry to average attainments, excluding the heights reached by a few. Christian ethics presents the ideal attained by the Christ—the ethics of a perfect human life. To him the imitation of God was the rule of life: what God is in moral character, that man must become. Hence Christian ethics is not a distinct type of ethics: rather is it ethics perfectly developed and complete. Its aim is the normal development of human personality in freedom from all that hinders the realization of its highest possibilities; and this only is

the true meaning of "salvation," so often misconceived. Whether the teaching of the Church is consistently true to these fundamental conceptions is an urgent question now. Professor Ottley reminds us that this spiritual basis of life has been shaken: it is a time of serious moral peril; the moral ideal in the idea of God is obscured, and its dynamic power weakened. Thus viewing ethical reality and the present contradictions of it, his discussion covers a wide range of truths and problems, and deals with all the chief questions emergent in this time of unsettled conditions in Church and State. Its general, though not constant, breadth of view appears in the definition of faith as "confidence in the spirituality of the universe." Addressed to candidates for the Anglican priesthood, it is a valuable work for all religious teachers. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York. \$2.50.)

Among the numerous publications called forth by the recent commemorations of Charles Darwin and his eventful work, none is more noteworthy than "Darwin on the Humanities," by Professor Baldwin, of Princeton, upon Darwin's influence in giving a new method to the sciences of Mind—"the Humanities"—Psychology, the Social Sciences, Ethics, Logic, Philosophy, Religion. Dr. Baldwin is a thoroughgoing Darwinian, and finds Darwin's principle of natural selection a universal law of progressive change. Genetic, *i. e.*, developmental or evolutionary, change is more than a mechanical sequence of cause and effect; results appear that are explicable only by a dynamic conception of the natural world; "actually new things are daily achieved in life, mind, and society" because of this "immanent principle of change." While, therefore, there is a natural history both of morality and religion, the genetic method of study finds in this history the outworking of a dynamic factor—call it "spirit," or what we will. Professor Baldwin's treatise is brief, succinct, and strikingly suggestive. Hardly forty years have passed since Darwinism was so misunderstood as to be denounced at Princeton as "atheism." (Review Publishing House, Baltimore.)

The compiler and author of "The Life and Memoirs of Comte Regis de Trobriand" is his daughter, Mrs. Charles A. Post, who, it is interesting to note, is the mother of Mr. Regis H. Post, recently Governor of Porto Rico. Mrs. Post in a dedicatory preface of unusual interest tells us that the material of the book has been brought together chiefly to keep alive her father's memory among his descendants, but the ordinary American reader will be surprised to find how much the work contains of real public and historical interest. Comparatively few Americans can now remember New York City as it was at the outbreak of the war. The Comte de