

no true feeling of friendliness for any other nation, as even Lloyd George recognizes it is, American participation in any conference with Russian representatives would raise false hopes, and would postpone, instead of promoting, the resumption of financial and commercial relations between Russia and the rest of the world.

It does not seem likely that Lloyd George's speech, exposing the political character of the Genoa Conference, which professed to be economic, and picturing the nations of Europe seeking commercial advantages by negotiations with a Russian Government that is as destructive of business and trade as it is of political and industrial liberty, will do anything to change the policy of this Nation in regard to Europe's political problems, and in particular in regard to Russia. America has been charged with the worship of the dollar; but, in spite of her defects, she is not likely to take part in any arrangement which for the sake of dollars will bolster up a régime so opposed to American conceptions of civil liberty and business honor as that of the Bolsheviks. American common sense will see in such an arrangement no service to the cause of freedom, no sound promotion of commerce, and only further burdens for the Russian people.

## THE DOOM OF THE TWELVE-HOUR DAY

ONCE, not so many years ago as to be beyond the recollection of living people, the work day in industries of all kinds was very generally twelve hours long. Gradually, sometimes by peaceful means, sometimes with turbulence, the work day prevailing in factories was reduced. To-day what was once an ideal has become common in practice. Eight hours constitute the normal day's work in so many industries that the eight-hour day has come to be regarded very widely as the unit by which a day's wages are reckoned. And yet one of the greatest industries in America, a basic industry on which the life and prosperity of almost every kind of manufacture and certainly every method of transportation depend, has retained for many of its workers the old twelve-hour day. That laggard industry is the steel industry.

Now it appears certain that the steel industry will render the twelve-hour day obsolete.

On May 19 the newspapers of the country published despatches from Washington reporting the fact that at a conference with the President of the United States at the White House the

leaders of the steel industry, including the two foremost steel men of America, Judge Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation and Charles M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, had agreed with the President in approving in principle the abolition of the twelve-hour day, and had authorized the President of the American Steel and Iron Institute to appoint a committee of five to make an investigation and report to the industry on the subject. According to the statement given out at the White House, the President explained "that there was no intention of Government interference in private business, but that we are about to witness a great industrial revival, and the one hope of abolishing the excessively long working day was to do it before the full swing is resumed."

This conclusion, reached by those who are in command of this great industry, is the result of a discussion, amounting at times to an agitation, which has been continuous for the past decade. It was, in fact, eleven years ago last month that the stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation adopted what, from the name of its author, has come to be known as the Cabot resolution. That resolution called for an investigation of statements made in an article by John A. Fitch published in the "American Magazine." At that time the stockholders' committee recommended the ultimate abolition of the twelve-hour day together with its natural accompaniment of the seven-day week. Since that time there has been developing a public opinion that has grown more and more insistent in its demands for the abolition of these survivals of a past industrial age. Finally, a year and a half ago a thorough study of the subject was presented to a joint meeting of the Taylor Society, an organization to promote scientific management, and certain sections of the National organizations of mechanical and electrical engineers, by a management expert, Horace B. Drury.

In that address Mr. Drury made plain the reasons for the survival of the twelve-hour day in this industry. In the ordinary factories, in which it is possible to discontinue work and resume it after an interval of a few hours, the reduction of the work day is comparatively simple; but in a continuous industry, like the steel industry, in which furnaces have to be kept going all the time, day and night, it is not practicable to assign men to work except in shifts of equal fractions of twenty-four hours. It was easy, comparatively, to change the working day from twelve hours to ten, let us say, in a textile mill; but it was impossible to do that in a blast furnace. The only change that seemed

practicable was one from twelve to eight hours, and that change was too radical to come in the ordinary progress toward shorter hours. Moreover, the work in a steel plant is intermittent. Men who work twelve hours are not working at top speed during that time. For a considerable part of the time they can sit about and smoke and talk and even sleep. And even when the work is hard, it is not as hard as one might imagine it would be. A great deal of the heavy lifting that used to be done by man power is now done by machinery.

Naturally, for labor of this sort "the steel industry has for many years," Mr. Drury explained in his address, "recruited its workers from a class of men to whom this combination of long sluggish hours with rather high weekly earnings has had a peculiar charm; and that is the class of newly arrived foreign-born workers. . . . Men of this type would sometimes be willing to work four extra hours for almost nothing. Outside is alien America; inside is the one environment to which they have become in a measure accustomed. Outside are the squalid streets and often wretched dwellings, and nothing special to do except to dissipate the money that one is trying to save; inside are one's fellow-workmen and companions. . . . In fact, there has grown up among these foreigners, and among the Americans as well, a special mode of existence in which the shop rather than the home, or other outside institution, has become to a large extent the center of living. Just as sailors have learned to spend their lives at sea, miners to spend much of theirs under ground, and traveling salesmen and engineers to spend much of theirs away from home, so the steel worker spends his life in the shop."

Such facts as these explain the survival of the twelve-hour day, but they afford no reason for its continuance. Even were the men contented with this life, as they are not, it would be contrary to the interests of the country to have it made permanent. A twelve-hour day means at least thirteen hours away from home. It is not, as Mr. Drury points out, so much because of what goes on inside the shop as because of what a man misses outside that the country should insist that the twelve-hour day be abandoned. That means that the man has no time for his duties as a father of a family and as a citizen.

The men themselves, who have in the past acquiesced in the twelve-hour day, are realizing this fact; but the country ought to realize it more keenly. The twelve-hour day, as Mr. Drury says, simply means "the accentuation and continuance in American life of those lines of class and culture which immigration

has already made too dangerous and deep."

The interests of the men and of the citizenship of the country, however, are not the only reasons for the abolition of the twelve-hour day. Strong reasons are also found in the interests of the industry itself. The twelve-hour day means sluggish work; it means the prevention of measures for making labor in the steel industry efficient; it develops indifference and inattentiveness that inevitably result in costly accidents; it creates what Mr. Drury terms the "lax moral tone which must pervade an industry where sleeping is tolerated;" it calls for foremen who feel that they must drive in order to get anything done; it makes for waste, including the unnecessary impairment of tools and equipment. "Who will deny," asks Mr. Drury, "that in the long run a brighter future is bound to lie before an industry which has learned that work is work, and has decided that long dull hours and half-asleep workmen will no longer do?"

The arguments for the abolition of the twelve-hour day thus based on reason are reinforced by experience. Some steel mills in America have changed from the twelve-hour to the eight-hour day. It is impossible here to report the evidence that Mr. Drury marshals; but the conclusion is plain that the change is not impracticable, for it has worked. It is true that it has resulted in some increase in the cost of production; but that increase is slight. That increase in cost in pig iron that sells for \$40 a ton would amount to only 21 cents; and on the steel ingot that sells for about \$46 that increase would be only about 46 cents; and there are steel manufacturers, according to Mr. Drury, who believe that under the three-shift system steel will not cost any more ultimately, and perhaps not as much.

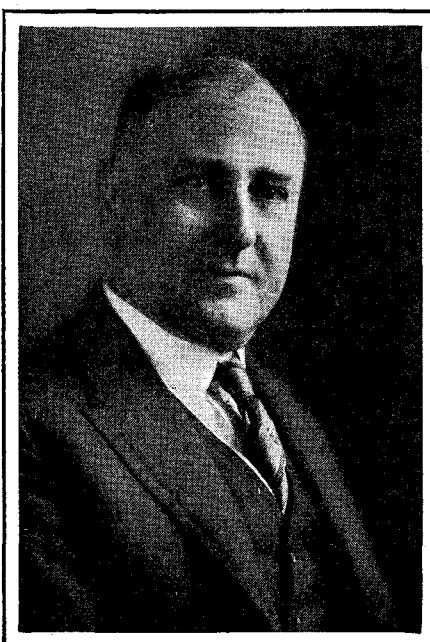
It is not without significance that, except in the Orient, practically all other great steel manufacturing countries (Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Sweden, Spain, Italy) have abandoned the twelve-hour day.

The change to the shorter working day is surely coming. The only question is the method of the change. It is better to have it come without turmoil and industrial warfare. It is better to have it come under the direction of men who know the steel industry, rather than under the direction of men who are ignorant of it. It is better to have it come by the voluntary action of the industry rather than through political pressure. And it is better to have it come at a time when there is a dearth of employment, and when workmen will therefore more easily adjust themselves to the change because they will through the

change find more jobs. This is the time when circumstances seem specially fitted for a reform that has in it possibilities of benefit alike to the workingman, the employer, and the country.

## THE CASE OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL DAUGHERTY

**T**WO charges against Mr. Daugherty, Attorney-General of the United States, have been made on the floor of the Senate and widely repeated in the newspapers. The first is that in his connection with the notorious Morse case he displayed a low standard of legal ethics; the second is that he has



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been lax and partial in his prosecution of fraudulent war contract cases. The least important of these charges, the second, has received the greater emphasis. In our judgment, he must stand or fall upon the first charge.

So far as we have been able to discover, the accusation that Mr. Daugherty has shown personal, financial, or political favoritism in his official attitude towards fraudulent war contracts is based upon mere suspicion, rumor, and gossip. The Attorney-General indignantly denies this charge, concerning which no direct evidence has been published, and has announced over his own name that a special division of the Department of Justice has been organized for the trial of these cases; that expert and distinguished lawyers have been engaged to aid in the work; and that the prosecution will be carried on vigorously without fear or favor. Any judgment as to his impartiality in these cases ought

to be suspended until the cases are tried and he can show what he is able and willing to do as a prosecutor. The Attorney-General is at least entitled to the protection afforded to any common criminal by the principles of constitutional law. He is entitled to be regarded as innocent of collusion with fraud until he is proved guilty.

The charge regarding Mr. Daugherty's standards of legal ethics is, however, more serious. It concerns character, and not legal acts. It depends, therefore, not upon technical evidence, but upon personal judgments and valuations.

On May 22 Senator Caraway read into the "Record" on the floor of the Senate a long letter purporting to have been written and signed by Thomas B. Felder, a New York lawyer, in which Mr. Daugherty's connection with the Morse case is outlined as follows. The italics are ours:

To begin at the beginning, permit me to say that after Charles W. Morse was sent to the penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, under a fifteen-year sentence, and after his attorneys and family had exhausted every resource that they possessed or ingenuity could suggest, Hon. Fred L. Seely, then the editor and proprietor of the Atlanta "Georgian," who had, as I understood it, a benevolent and charitable interest in the fate of Morse, and who had been for some years theretofore a client of mine, came to my office and stated to me that I had convinced him of my resourcefulness and my capacity to "do things," and, while the Morse situation seemed hopeless, because the President had refused, on the best showing that could be made, either commutation or pardon, yet he had desired me to examine thoroughly the record and if in my judgment anything could be done he would cause me to be employed in the case and would see that I was substantially compensated for services rendered in proportion to their value to Mr. Morse.

I read the record, studied the case thoroughly, got in touch with Mr. H. M. Daugherty, of Columbus, Ohio, who stood as close to the President as any other lawyer or citizen of the United States, and interested him in the case, agreeing to divide with him any compensation that I might receive. We took the matter up with the Attorney-General and with the President, stating to them that the record disclosed that in refusing to extend Executive clemency reasons were given which were not borne out by the record and we requested that the case be reopened.

We were informed by the President and the Attorney-General that the act of the President rendered the matter a "closed incident" for the present, but if we would bring the matter to their attention again just before the term of office of the President expired in March, 1913, the matter would be reopened and perhaps a different action taken in respect thereto.

This decision was communicated by