8th

National Convention

of the

Officers of

Bureaus of Labor Statistics

in the

United States.

Philadelphia, Penn., May 19–22, 1891.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Eighth National Convention

OF

OFFICERS OF

BUREAUS OF LABOR STATISTICS

IN THE

UNITED STATES.

HELD AT

Philadelphia, Penn., May 19–22, 1891.

WITH PAPERS READ BEFORE THE CONVENTION.

Stenographically reported by SAMUEL C. DUNHAM, Washington, D. C.

TOPEKA:
THE HALL & O'DONALD LITHO. CO.
1891.

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WILLIAM A. PEELLE, Jr., ...	Indiana.
CARROLL D. WRIGHT, ...	Washington, D. C.
FRANK H. BETTON, ...	Kansas.

The next meeting of the Convention will be held at Denver, Colorado.

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PREFACE.

The Eighth Convention of Officers of Bureaus of Labor Statistics was held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, at the Aldine Hotel. The Proceedings of the session were devoted chiefly to a discussion of the current work of the several Bureaus, and of economic questions. The work of the Convention was eminently practical, as the Proceedings abundantly testify. The good accomplished at these annual gatherings can hardly be overestimated, growing in importance with the increase in the number of States represented and the accumulating experience of the Commissioners. Owing to circumstances, fully explained in the Proceedings, the Eighth *Annual* Convention, which should have been held in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1890, was abandoned, thus making *this* the Eighth instead of the Ninth Convention. For the very full report of this session the members are indebted to stenographer Samuel C. Dunham, Washington, D. C. It may not prove uninteresting, in this connection, to briefly review the growth of this organization.

The First National Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of Labor Statistics was held at Columbus, Ohio, in September, 1883. Eleven States had at that time established departments of this character, Massachusetts having been the first. The representatives of six of these met at Columbus. At that meeting a permanent organization was perfected, and in June, 1884, the Second Convention met in St. Louis. Two additional Bureaus had been added to the list, making the number thirteen. Ten of these were represented at St. Louis. In October of the same year the Commissioners of eight States spent several days at Pullman, Illinois, investigating the industrial system there developed. The Third Annual Convention was held in Boston, in June, 1885. Three additional Bureaus had been created, and thirteen of the sixteen were represented. The Fourth Convention was held in Trenton, New Jersey, in June, 1886. At this meeting there were fourteen representatives. The Fifth Convention was held in Madison, Wisconsin, commencing June 8th, 1887. Here it was shown that five new Bureaus had been created during the preceding year, namely, in North Carolina, Maine, Minnesota, Colorado and Rhode Island, making twenty-one in all (including the National Bureau), fourteen of which were represented. The Sixth Convention was held at Indianapolis, Indiana, commencing May 22d, 1888. One new Bureau had been added (Nebraska), making twenty-two in all, and thirteen were represented. The Seventh Convention was held at Hartford, Connecticut, commencing June 25th, 1889. No new Bureaus having been established, the number remained the same, viz.: twenty-two—seventeen of which were represented. The Eighth Convention was held at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, commencing May 19th, 1891. During the two preceding years six Bureaus had been established, viz.: South Dakota, North Dakota, Idaho, Utah, Tennessee and New Mexico, making (including the National Department) a total of twenty-eight — twenty of which were represented.

I have the honor to transmit herewith the work of the Convention, and the papers read.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Eighth National Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor of the United States met at the Aldine Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., at 10 o'clock a. m., May 19, 1891.

The Convention was called to order by President CARROLL D. WRIGHT, of Washington, D. C.

In opening the Convention, President WRIGHT spoke as follows:

PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN: The growth of our Convention is very gratifying. The first meeting took place at Columbus, Ohio, in 1883. There were then in the United States eleven Bureaus of Statistics of Labor. The only gentlemen now connected with the Convention that were present at that first meeting are Mr. BISHOP, of New Jersey, Colonel LORD, of Illinois, and myself, representing Massachusetts. There were eleven Bureaus at that time, as I have said. We now have twenty-seven. The growth since 1883 has been very great, indeed — from eleven to twenty-seven. Since the last Convention, which was held at Hartford in June, 1889, there have been five Bureaus established, although some of them are not yet fully organized. These are the Department of Labor and Statistics of South Dakota, the Department of Agriculture and Labor of North Dakota, the Bureau of Immigration, Labor and Statistics of Idaho, the Bureau of Statistics of Utah, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Mines of Tennessee, making in all twenty-seven offices in the United States now devoted to the collection and dissemination of information relating to the industrial, social, moral, and educational interests of the people. The creation of new States keeps somewhat ahead of us. As you see, if the number of States had remained at thirty-eight, where it was when this Convention was organized, we should have represented here twenty-six out of thirty-eight States; yet, with forty-four States, and with twenty-seven bureaus and departments (including the Federal department) devoted to statistical work, I think we can congratulate ourselves and our constituencies upon the progress made.

The question is very often asked me, "What is the good of continuing this Convention? What is the use of the heads of the Bureaus of the different States meeting every year, perhaps for business purposes, to some extent, and to some extent for pleasure?" I am perfectly willing to admit (and I insist this is one of the best features of our Convention) that it does have a large social factor in it. We come together each year, we meet each other, we learn what each Bureau is doing, we learn what progress is being made,

we discuss methods, difficulties, and obstacles, and in this way the Convention does a great deal of good, not only to ourselves alone, as officers charged with certain duties, but, beyond that, it seems to me the value is still greater. Those of you who attended the last Convention, that at Hartford, remember well the value of that Convention, not only to us as members, but to the people. The manufacturers and the employers of the State were taught the value of our work by example, by observation. A feeling of confidence was then engendered which had never been engendered in reference to any of our other meetings. Those who attended our sessions and those who joined us in our excursions to some of the factories were convinced that the gentlemen connected with this National Convention were earnest, honest, and devoted to the integrity of the statistics which they publish. That is the key-note of statistical value everywhere. If there is no value in our statistics, we do not excite confidence; if there is no confidence in statistics, they might just as well be false as true. It is confidence which makes the value of statistical reports, and if the constituencies in the different States do not have confidence in the work which the Bureaus are performing, then the Bureaus had better be abolished at once. So the good is two-fold — to us individually, as officers of important bureaus, and to the public, because it sustains the dignity of our work.

I have sometimes questioned in my own mind whether it were wise to continue these meetings. I have always come to the conclusion, however, after considering that proposition, that it is wise to continue them.

The convention for 1890, which was to have been held at Des Moines, was postponed or abandoned. It would have been a failure had we held it. There were too many conflicting elements last year to warrant a successful convention. The Federal census was begun in June. Very many of you gentlemen connected with this Convention were associated in some degree with the census itself. The Federal Government is beginning to understand that it can utilize State forces, that it can supplement its own work and secure better results by calling in the gentlemen who are familiar with statistical work in the different States. This was a hard thing to bring about; but the example set by the Census office in calling to its service gentlemen connected with State Bureaus was a good example, and one which I hope will be followed in other directions, as I am sure it will be in time. One of the results of such an arrangement will be the establishment, sooner or later, of a permanent Census office at the Federal capital, an institution which is greatly needed. It is utterly impossible, under the present system of the United States Government, to secure results at all adequate to the expenditure and the expectations of the public. This is not the fault of the managers of the Census Bureau. What I say is true of the past censuses, and is the result of the system, and not the fault of the men in charge of the work. You all understand what that system is. It commences with the great collection of facts and data in many directions, which thoroughly overslaugh the Census office at Washington, so that it is almost impossible to work the way out clearly, or even to cut the way out, through the mass of material that is brought into the office all of a sudden. If a permanent Census office, having some connection with the State offices, could be established at Washington, and a different system created by which more time would be taken for specific investigations, I think we would then get the best results of census work. So the bringing in last year of some of the men connected with our Con-

vention was the opening wedge for better statistics through the Census office. This prevented our Convention at Des Moines, and I believe it was well it was postponed. The question was submitted, as you know, to every member of the Convention, and more than three-fourths of all the members voted that it was wise to postpone the meeting for last year.

We now come to this Eighth Convention, with a progress in statistical work in the United States that is simply marvelous. We keep track in a certain way of the work of foreign countries; we know to a certain extent what is going on in the countries of Europe devoted to statistical work, and most of them, as you know, have most excellent and scientific bureaus of statistics. They do not, unfortunately for them, have the material with which to work that comes to our hands. There is no Bureau in the old world that can accomplish what the most poorly-equipped Bureau in our Convention can accomplish. England created, a few years ago, a Correspondent of Labor, connected with the Board of Trade, one of the Cabinet offices of the British Government. Mr. Burnett, the incumbent of that position, is doing the best he can with poor equipment. There is not an office represented here to-day so poorly equipped as is that which stands for the "Bureau of Labor" of Great Britain. Belgium has established a Bureau of Labor, which is doing most excellent work, but it also lacks equipment. The French Government is about to create a Commission of Labor, and is studying the work of the Bureaus of the United States to see how best to carry on the service it will be called upon to perform; I believe that the French Bureau (or Department of Labor, I believe it is to be called) will accomplish more than either of the other creations in Europe. I know of no other governments across the water except these three I have named that make any attempt whatever at accomplishing what is expected of us. This gives the United States an advance in the way of industrial statistics, and places us in a position, gentlemen, which calls upon us for the very best service we can render; for I assure you, as some of you know, that foreign statisticians and foreign students of economic questions are very carefully following the work of our Bureaus. It is a matter of constant congratulation to my mind that these gentlemen abroad are seeking the work of the American Bureaus, not only for standards for their own work, but as guides, indications, and suggestions as to what they should do themselves. The United States does lead the way in some things, and it is certainly leading the way in the work of bureaus of statistics of labor—bureaus devoted to the collection of industrial facts. The other countries must come up; we cannot go down, and as I have assured you time and again, as these annual conventions come around, it is for you to say whether the dignity of statistical work in the States of this Union shall be kept up and increased in its standard, or whether it shall be allowed to go down. I have no doubt whatever of the earnest endeavor of every man connected with this Convention. The trouble, if any trouble comes, lies back of the gentlemen connected with the Bureaus.

While we regret the loss of some of our old members by political shifts that have been made in different parts of the country, I think I echo the sentiments of every one of the gentlemen connected with this Convention in the past in welcoming most cordially the new men who have come among us. I can assure them that they will find hearty coöperation among the gentlemen here, and that we shall help them in every way in our power. They must bear in mind, however, that they must fight the difficulties and obstacles in

their own States and overcome them largely by their own efforts. I think they will understand in a year or two that permanency in statistical work is the best guaranty of good work, and if they can accomplish as much good in their way in their own States as their predecessors did in theirs in some instances, I am sure they will bring as much credit to the work of statistical bureaus as their predecessors did.

At the close of his address the PRESIDENT announced that the Secretary, Mr. E. R. HUTCHINS, ex-Commissioner of Labor Statistics for Iowa, had tendered his resignation, which he proceeded to read:

CHICAGO, May 10, 1891.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, President Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of Labor Statistics:

MY DEAR SIR:—Political changes have established a successor to myself in the Iowa Bureau of Labor Statistics, hence I deem it but right to tender to you and to the Convention my resignation as Secretary. In doing so, I confess my regret. I trust you and the gentlemen associated with you will not deem me egotistic when I say that I have been exceedingly proud of the honor you all have repeatedly conferred upon me—in choosing me as your Secretary. In giving it up, I have feelings of keen regret. You have all been so cordial and so kind to me, the separation cuts, and *I feel it*. Will you and the Convention accept my very hearty gratitude for all your kindness. I trust your meeting this year will be the best yet held. May very large and profitable results come from it. I want also to express the sincere hope that while we now part officially, such parting shall not extend into the domain of friendship. This friendship I have prized in the past, and now, I trust, may extend far into the future.

Wishing you, collectively and personally, abundant prosperity, I remain

Yours very truly, E. R. HUTCHINS.

Upon motion of Mr. BOLLES, of Pennsylvania, the resignation of Mr. HUTCHINS was accepted, and Mr. CHAS. F. PIDGIN, Chief Clerk of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, was appointed temporary Secretary.

The Secretary reported the following States having Bureaus of Labor Statistics, with the names of the officers in charge, together with their postoffice addresses:

Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C. Established January 18, 1885; made a Department in 1887. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner, Washington, D. C.

Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts. Established June, 1869. Horace G. Wadlin, Chief, Boston, Massachusetts.

Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Pennsylvania. Established 1872. Albert S. Bolles, Chief, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Connecticut. Established April, 1885. Samuel M. Hotchkiss, Commissioner, Hartford, Connecticut.

Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection of Missouri. Established 1876; enlarged 1883. Willard C. Hall, Commissioner, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Ohio. Established 1877. John McBride, Commissioner, Columbus, Ohio.

Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey. Established March, 1878. James Bishop, Chief, Trenton, New Jersey.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois. Established 1879. John S. Lord, Secretary, Springfield, Illinois.

Bureau of Statistics of Indiana. William A. Peelle, Jr., Chief, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York. Established 1883. Charles F. Peck, Commissioner, Albany, New York.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of California. Established 1883. Geo. S. Watts, Commissioner, San Francisco, California.

Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of Michigan. Established March, 1883. Henry A. Robinson, Commissioner, Lansing, Michigan.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Wisconsin. Established April, 1883. J. Dobbs, Commissioner, Madison, Wisconsin.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Iowa. Established March, 1884. J. R. Sovereign, Commissioner, Des Moines, Iowa.

Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Maryland. Established 1884. Thomas C. Weeks, Chief, Baltimore, Maryland.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Kansas. Established May, 1885. Frank H. Betton, Commissioner, Topeka, Kansas.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Maine. Established March, 1887. Samuel W. Matthews, Commissioner, Augusta, Maine.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Minnesota. Established March, 1887. L. G. Powers, Commissioner, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Colorado. Established March, 1887, Secretary of State, *ex-officio* Commissioner; Lester Bodine, Commissioner, Denver, Colorado.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of North Carolina. Established March, 1887. John C. Scarborough, Commissioner, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Rhode Island. Established April, 1887. Almon K. Goodwin, Commissioner, Providence, Rhode Island.

Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of Nebraska. Established 1887. H. F. Downs, Chief Clerk, (in charge,) Lincoln, Nebraska.

Department of Labor and Statistics of South Dakota. Established 1890. Frank Wilder, Commissioner, Aberdeen, South Dakota.

Department of Agriculture and Labor of North Dakota. H. T. Helgesen, Commissioner, Bismarck, North Dakota.

Bureau of Immigration, Labor, and Statistics of Idaho. Established 1890. ——, Boise City, Idaho.

Bureau of Statistics of Utah. Established 1890. ——, Territorial Statistician, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Bureau of Labor Statistics and Mines of Tennessee. Established 1891. George W. Ford, Commissioner, Nashville, Tennessee.

Bureau of Labor and Immigration of New Mexico. Established 1891. Max Frost, Secretary, Santa Fé, New Mexico.

Upon calling the roll, the following were found to be present:

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Commissioner of Labor, Washington, D. C.

HORACE G. WADLIN, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau.

CHAS. F. PIDGIN, Chief Clerk of the Massachusetts Bureau.

ALBERT S. BOLLES, Chief of the Pennsylvania Bureau.

SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, Commissioner of the Connecticut Bureau.

WILLIAM A. COUNTRYMAN, Chief Clerk of the Connecticut Bureau.

G. W. LEAHY, Chief Clerk of the Ohio Bureau.

JAMES BISHOP, Chief of the New Jersey Bureau.

CHAS. H. SIMMERMAN, Secretary of the New Jersey Bureau.

WILLARD C. HALL, Commissioner of the Missouri Bureau.

JOHN S. LORD, Secretary of the Illinois Bureau.

WM. A. PEELLE, Jr., Chief of the Indiana Bureau.

CHARLES F. PECK, Commissioner of the New York Bureau.

EDWARD J. KEAN, Chief Clerk of the New York Bureau.

HENRY A. ROBINSON, Commissioner of the Michigan Bureau.

J. DOBBS, Commissioner of the Wisconsin Bureau.

F. M. DYER, Deputy Commissioner of the Wisconsin Bureau.

THOMAS C. WEEKS, Chief of the Maryland Bureau.

FRANK H. BETTON, Commissioner of the Kansas Bureau.

JOHN H. DAVIS, Chief Clerk of the Rhode Island Bureau.

SAMUEL W. MATTHEWS, Commissioner of the Maine Bureau.

L. G. POWERS, Commissioner of the Minnesota Bureau.

LESTER BODINE, Commissioner of the Colorado Bureau.

W. M. SCOTT, Chief Clerk of the North Dakota Bureau.

GEORGE W. FORD, Commissioner of the Tennessee Bureau.

Mr. BODINE, of Colorado, moved that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair to nominate officers of the convention for the ensuing year. The following-named gentlemen were appointed members of the committee: LESTER BODINE, of Colorado; ALBERT S. BOLLES, of Pennsylvania; JAMES BISHOP, of New Jersey; JOHN S. LORD, of Illinois, and WILLARD C. HALL, of Missouri.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will ask the Secretary to read a short paper by Mr. EDWARD H. ROGERS, of Chelsea, Mass.,

on "The Functions of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor." It is a very brief paper, and one which will offer opportunity for wide discussion. Mr. ROGERS is one of the oldest and most conservative, as well as most active, labor reformers of the United States, long connected with the old Eight-Hour League, a ship-joiner by trade, and an intelligent, scholarly man.

Mr. ROGERS's paper was read by the Secretary, and is as follows:

THE FUNCTIONS OF BUREAUS OF LABOR.

In complying with your kind request to present a paper to the pending convention at Philadelphia, I am painfully conscious of the limitations of the situation in respect to brevity. I console myself, however, in recalling the fact that my views are already quite well known to most of the gentlemen who will meet with you. I took the pains to send to each of the Commissioners, at the time, a copy of the *Labor Leader* of March 17th, 1888, containing my opinions in respect to "The Functions of the Bureaus." I have just read anew, with sympathetic and respectful interest, the "Proceedings of your Seventh Session," and also those that preceded it, and I wish to reiterate the counsel given in the paper to which allusion has been made. I think that in some way you should take the laboring people of the country more directly into your fellowship and confidence. I have no doubt that in your personal dealings with them you are doing this already. What I propose is as follows:

There ought to be an annual volume prepared by the National Department of Labor, which should include the yearly reports of the national organizations of labor. The compilation of this volume should be in the hands — subject to the approval of their chief — of subordinate officials sympathetic with laboring people. An English statesman, years ago, asserted that "the feelings of the people are of the most primary importance in forming a judgment on social questions."

I am satisfied that the National and State Bureaus are not doing the good that they might; they are not in immediate touch with the people. Statistics repel all but philosophic minds; they are of very great importance, but in the last analysis they will be lost sight of in the extraordinary developments which we are soon to see. The ethical sense of the community is passing on toward Christian socialism.

I would include the State Bureaus in the conditions which should influence the character of the National Report; they will have it in their power to furnish detailed statements of sufficient value to be accessible to the whole Nation. The laboring people need the services of the cultured minds of the country in graphic description of the conditions which burden our lives. What Richard H. Dana did for seamen, a half century since, in depicting their sorrows in his book, "Two Years Before the Mast," should be done for other callings. The slaughter of brakemen, which is constantly occurring all over our land, would find a parallel in many an unsuspected direction. The trade of ship and house painting is fearfully exposed to mortality; the fumes of white lead, together with falls from lofty stages and ladders, an-

nually decimate their ranks. Why should we not hear from them through their State and national organizations, aided, as I have proposed, by the local and national authorities?

It is pertinent to state here that our Massachusetts Report of births and deaths does not give the details, even statistically, which are needed on such subjects as the above. I am convinced that all students of the question of labor should be able to turn at once to the annual issue of such reports as the above would be, to find the latest and most reliable expression of the popular mind on all the prominent exposures of the working people.

But the Bureaus should be in sympathetic contact not only with the toiling masses, but also with the leading humanitarian organizations, and, above all, with the churches of all names. The existence of our Republic is largely due to the church, as represented by such men as Bradford of Plymouth, Winthrop of Boston, and Calvert of Baltimore, to whom I may justly add Roger Williams. If the Bureaus of Labor can help in developing the economic element of the religious annals of the world they will relieve the States and the Nation from a burden which is fast proving itself too heavy to be borne. The Hebrew Theocracy, the Apostolic Church, the early Church of England and of New England, the Franciscan Conventual system of the twelfth century, some of our American communities -- very notably that at Amana, in Iowa — are all of them illustrations on a great scale of the power of the religious sentiment acting in connection with church organization. The State Bureau of Iowa would confer a special favor in a faithful delineation of the last-named commune. We are now advancing with rapid strides on a road which will soon compel such changes in the home mission work of the Protestant churches as will enable them to care for the bodies as well as the souls of their members. The value of the Iowa communities lies in the resemblance between their doctrines and those of the great churches of the country, so far as the future life is concerned.

I fear that I have already trespassed upon the valuable time of the Convention, but I cannot close without a further expression of opinion that we are struggling against disastrous odds in our present reliance upon civil legislation to bring peace throughout our borders.

The final solution of the social problem lies in the direction of practical religion, rather than politics. Chattelship went into a bloody grave because the issue was too momentous and intricate to be adjusted or controlled by the civil power. The church will finally, and, as I truly believe, at no distant day, find the real grandeur of its mission in merging law and love together in institutes which shall combine the principles of the Decalogue with the utterances of the Sermon on the Mount. The vast energies that found expression a few years ago in the Christian and Sanitary Commissions will yet be permanently devoted to the redemption of man from the moral and material evils which still fester in human society. Herbert Spencer, in his "Data of Ethics," joins the forces of natural to those of revealed religion in expressing "the humble hope and faith that some reasoned form of the ethics of the New Testament may yet become the life-core of society."

Please accept, gentlemen of the Convention, a repetition of the thanks for this opportunity, which I have already offered to your President.

The PRESIDENT: You have listened to the interesting paper of Mr. ROGERS, and it certainly offers you an excellent field

for discussion and suggestion. The paper opens the question as to how far bureaus of labor shall depart from the statistical method and devote their pages, or some of their pages, to the expression of opinions and views of workingmen and others on the industrial situation generally. I trust this question will be very thoroughly discussed, as it is a very important one.

Mr. POWERS: I would like to hear from Mr. HOTCHKISS on the relations of bureaus of labor to the workingmen of the country, and how these bureaus can be brought more in contact with labor organizations, in order to secure from them an expression of their hopes and their ambitions, and as to whether it is wise for us to do this.

The PRESIDENT: Mr. ROGERS's proposition is to bring labor bureaus into touch with workingmen, not individually, but through their organizations.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: I have no carefully prepared thoughts to present on this subject, Mr. PRESIDENT. In a general way, I can speak from experience in the practical work of the Connecticut Bureau, and prefer that to what might, perhaps, be called theoretical ideas. My own impression is that it is of the utmost importance that the Bureau should be in touch with the laboring people, but that it is just as important that they should be in touch with other classes of people. We have found in Connecticut, I think, that public opinion is easily formed by a common-sense presentation of the facts bearing on these questions. We have found that it is possible, by bringing these influences to bear, even in the imperfect way in which we have been able to present them, to lead public thought into these channels, and that public thought is now largely concentrated on this very subject, and I would further say (I speak of the people with whom I am most familiar, those of my own State) that it seems to me that there is a disposition on the part, not only of the gentlemen immediately in the office of the Bureau and of those who have been employed by the Bureau, but on the part of the people themselves, to reach this consummation, and that to-day the tendency of things is in that direction. I believe that the public is ready to receive and to respond to the kind of information which the Bureaus gather and present on these subjects, and

that there is a general development on the part of the public of the idea that there must be reciprocal relations between classes, if we must use the term; I do not like it, but use it for want of a better one. My own impression is that in my State, and in the adjoining States where I have had some opportunities of observation, the practical influence of the work of the Bureaus is right in this direction. When I say "this direction," I mean that which I stated a few moments ago, the reaching of the people, not alone the laboring people, but the employers. It seems to me all-important that the cultivation of intimate relations with all classes should enter into our work, and that, as we succeed in establishing these relations, we bring them into channels which make it possible for us, by our statistical work and the work which is germane to the Bureaus, to promote these interests, and it seems to me that it is the province and within the power of the Bureaus of the States to shape public sentiment, to lead public opinion and give direction to it, and that this is largely our function. Now, I may not have spoken very definitely to the special point, but my own view of it is that we want to be in close relations with the laboring people, and we also want to be in close relations with everybody else; and there is one part of the community that it is just as important that we should reach as it is that we should reach the employing class on the one hand and the laboring class on the other, and that is the great class of our people who are not reckoned either as employers or as laborers, our professional men and our business men, who are not classed generally as employers, our gentlemen of leisure, our educational men. It seems to me that in the interest of the laboring people it is of the utmost importance that these elements of society, which exercise such a powerful influence in forming and in directing public opinion, should be reached, and that perhaps it is as important that attention should be directed in that direction as it is that it should be directed specifically in either of the two other directions named. I tell the laboring people in Connecticut that while it is important and desirable that the laboring people should be remembered largely in the distribution of our literature, (and my State is very liberal in providing for the publication and distribution

of the reports of the work of the Bureau,) it is of vastly greater importance to their interests that healthful literature of this kind should be put into the hands of those who shape and form public opinion, such as our clergymen, our educational men, such as our gentlemen of leisure that I have referred to, gentlemen who are giving time and thought to the study of these questions, but many of whom have lacked the opportunity to come in practical contact with every-day things in such a way as to be able to treat them wisely and intelligently. It seems to me that the work of the Bureaus in the direction which has been suggested ought to be distributed in this way, and that while laborers on the one hand and employers on the other are important interests to be considered, here is this intervening class, which is, perhaps, the one that will exercise more influence in the ameliorating effects that ought to grow out of this kind of work, than any other.

Mr. BISHOP: In regard to one point referred to in the very interesting paper of Mr. ROGERS, I will state that the New Jersey Bureau, as most of you know, has already begun an investigation to show the duration of the trade-life of workmen, and it has been the means of bringing the Bureau in close contact with the working people. They become interested in this work, and when they become interested they give us facts of great value. We took up in the Report for 1889 three leading industries—the manufacture of pottery, which is very largely carried on in central New Jersey; hat-making, a great industry in the eastern part of the State, and glass-blowing. While these tables are not of any great value by themselves, being followed up year after year they will show, by comparison, the effect of trade upon health. It is well known that many trades are injurious to health, but in many cases the bad effect has been materially modified by scientific appliances and a better observance of sanitary laws. In the case of hat-making, for instance, in our last year's Report we gave a description of one or two factories, and called attention to the need of more care to avoid the dust caused by the operation of making hats. This was the means of inducing changes to be made that have since proved of great benefit to the workmen in that locality. In our Report, which

is now ready for the press, we will have returns from all the mines and miners of the State, showing the effect of mining upon health, and that will be followed by reports on carpenters, plumbers, painters, printers, and other trades, taking up each industry by itself, setting forth as carefully as possible, from the experience of men who have spent their lives in their respective trades, the effect of their employment upon health and life.

Mr. BOLLES: This paper awakens many ideas that are of a far-reaching character. One of these pertains to the functions of our Bureaus. Shall they simply furnish facts concerning industrial affairs, or, in addition, shall they aim to mold legislation? For example, two or three bills are now before the Legislature, relating to the liability of employers. Our friend BISHOP presented that subject in his Report a few years ago in a masterly manner. Shall the Bureau of this State, or of any other, aim to present all the law on the subject in the various States of the Union, besides the laws of England, France, Switzerland, Germany, and of other foreign countries having regulations on this subject, and stop there, expecting that the people will read our work, and act thereon, or shall we aim at something more specific? In other words, shall a Bureau recommend a bill to the Legislature and seek to secure its passage, and to that end seek to interest the workingmen in the State in the measure, as well as the clergy, the newspapers, and all the moral and social forces that may be brought to bear, or shall a Bureau go no further than to collect data for others to use? Besides starting this train of reflection in my mind, Mr. ROGERS's paper started another. I suppose, after completing a Report, we consider the question, What shall be the next bill of fare; with what subjects shall we next wrestle? I always ask myself, In what are the people interested? Another question is, What can be considered? I might wish to present the subject of the liability of employers, and yet find it impossible to collect the facts as fully and completely as might be deemed necessary, while I might turn my attention to the wages of miners, or the management of company stores, and be able to present a large body of useful information. But what do we know concerning the public

wish or desire in these matters? We read the newspapers and talk with our friends, and in that way get some light, perhaps; but, after all, our States are large, the country is full of people, and it may be that we could accomplish much more, through inquiry, in the way of ascertaining what are the real topics that most concern the people, and how to deal with them by seeking the aid or coöperation of various classes of people, who in one way or another are interested in these questions. It would seem, if some coöperation were possible with the workingmen and with all the moral forces moving in society, that these reports might be made more effective than they are at the present time. On the other hand, we readily perceive the difficulties in the way. So long as we seek to give information, and stop there, we are likely to encounter less antagonism than we should if aiming at specific results in legislation, or in other directions. It is certain that if our Bureaus are to live and to have the respect of the people they must aim at some results justifying the expenditure of labor and money. Mr. ROGERS's paper is highly suggestive, and I should be pleased to hear from others who have served longer, and who, I am sure, would disclose the possibilities of our Bureaus in coöperating with all the forces of society which are seeking for its improvement.

Mr. POWERS: I am intensely interested in the paper which has just been read. Before the Convention met I had some conversation with Mr. HOTCHKISS. I want to have brought out more fully the ideas of the gentlemen present relating to some things that we have begun in our Bureau, and, as this will apply to the particular questions discussed by Mr. ROGERS, I will state a part of the work that our Bureau is carrying on. There has been a great deal of discussion and agitation in our State during the last four years relating to factory legislation of some kind. Bills looking to factory legislation have been before the last three legislatures — four years ago, two years ago, and this last winter — but failed of passage. In a new State like Minnesota we do not have the evils of the older manufacturing States, yet even there the desirability of wholesome legislation is recognized; but thus far the efforts in that direction have failed, as I have stated. The policy of

the Bureau that I have outlined for the next two years is as follows: Beginning with a thorough investigation of all the factories of the State, we shall secure an exhibit setting forth, if possible, every unguarded piece of machinery and every unguarded shafting, the condition of the water-closets, and everything that in those factories may concern the well-being of the employés. In this connection, and in line with the paper that has been read, I will state that my policy is that outlined by Mr. HOTCHKISS, which is to keep in touch with all classes—not simply one, but all—and I have started out, first, by seeking the coöperation of the employers of the State in introducing safety appliances and in improving the sanitary condition of their factories, and so far I have secured the hearty coöperation—a promise of coöperation, at least—of the manufacturers of Minneapolis, where I live. In this way we strive to make the Bureaus valuable, not simply from a statistical point of view, but also in that which shall be of specific benefit to the community. In this connection I wish to say that I want the fullest possible discussion of this question. How far shall we, in seeking statistics, strive to carry those statistics into that domain which shall lead to practical legislation? I desire to present another point for discussion and suggestion. These bureaus are, as a rule, called "Bureaus of Labor Statistics." Such is the name given to our office in Minnesota; but in Minnesota we also have placed upon us the duty of enforcing all labor legislation—so-called—a duty corresponding to factory inspection in other States, and I believe there are one or two other States in which the duties of the Bureaus are similar to ours in this respect. Is it desirable for these bureaus to have an extension that shall place under one general head everything of law and legislation, and executive work that relates to labor? Is it wise, for example, for the work that we have in view in Minnesota, factory inspection, to let that come into the Bureau under the general head of a Bureau of Labor Statistics, which shall have one department of statistics and one department that has the executive enforcement of labor laws, or shall we try to keep these two functions radically apart? I would like to have that feature discussed, and I would like to have the judgment of those here on that particular point.

Mr. MATTHEWS: The question which the gentleman from Minnesota has submitted is one to which I gave some attention during the last session of the Legislature. Our Bureau in Maine consists of myself, as Commissioner, and another officer, called the Deputy Commissioner, whose position is of a somewhat anomalous character. His duty is to enforce the ten-hour law and to inspect the factories, and also to assist in the collection of statistical information. During the last session of the Legislature the Labor Committee seemed disposed to place all the duties of both offices on me. I objected to this most seriously, upon the ground that to combine the two, making of the Commissioner a prosecuting officer, or possible prosecuting officer, with power to prosecute those from whom he must obtain statistical information, might defeat the whole object of the Bureau, and I objected to that proposition. It appears to me that the two offices ought to be kept separate. While I sympathize with the paper, wherein it is contended that the Bureaus should be brought into contact and coöperation with the workingmen, and that the more that feeling prevails and is carried out practically the more good we can do the workingman, and the nearer we can approach to the carrying out of the golden rule, still I do not think it desirable that we should be made the prosecuting, or the possible prosecuting officers, having power to prosecute those from whom we must obtain our statistics. From my observation of the relations of the Bureau to the working people in my State, I think that in many cases statistical information which may be incomplete, does draw attention to important subjects, such as sanitary questions and others. The direction of public opinion to these matters is what we want, and this can be brought about by even imperfect statistics, although the more perfect they are, of course, the better.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair would like to state to the Convention that Mr. ROGERS specifically recommends something. He says: "There ought to be an annual volume prepared by the National Department of Labor, which should include the yearly reports of the national organizations of labor." That is his chief recommendation. Then he wants to have matters relating to trades brought forward, and says: "Why should

we not hear from them through their State and national organizations, aided, as I have proposed, by the local and national authorities?" Those are his two specific recommendations, that the reports of national organizations should be prepared, and that we should hear from the workingmen through their State and national organizations, these results to be embodied in the national and State reports. I simply call your attention to those specific recommendations as to how Mr. ROGERS would bring the Bureaus into closer touch with the people themselves.

Mr. WADLIN: I suppose it is sometimes expedient to take the work that lies next to you. The character of that work varies with almost every State and every Bureau. I think, too, that the treatment of any specific subject must depend largely upon its character. The course which a Bureau would take with reference to certain subjects of investigation would be entirely different, and necessarily so, from what it would take with reference to other matters which might be under consideration. I agree entirely with Mr. ROGERS that the Bureaus should be brought into touch, if not now in touch, with the working people. Primarily, most of the Bureaus were established in their behalf. But the matter must, I think, be considered in a broad spirit. There are times when the direct testimony of the working people upon the particular work you may have in hand would be most effective—by their "testimony" I mean their opinions—collected either by your agents, who go to them and ask their opinions and record them, or returned upon a blank which you may send to them for their replies. The Massachusetts Bureau during its history has never failed, when conducting an investigation in which that sort of evidence could be made useful, to collect such opinions. But there are other questions respecting which, as you know, a little different sort of information is required; when you want not opinions or theories, but a complete statement of facts. I think Mr. ROGERS would agree with that proposition. At such times you must collect and portray your facts in statistical form. While we should not overlook the value of the opinions of workingmen, either presented individually or through their organizations, if they

can be secured, still we should not neglect the statistical side of our work. Mr. BOLLES has raised the question whether we ought to go further than the mere presentation of facts, and try to secure some definite, concrete result by means of legislation. That also, it seems to me, must depend upon circumstances. I can conceive that the conditions may be different in Minnesota from what they are in Massachusetts. We already have a very full and complete factory code in our State. Sometimes certain definite legislative action is under consideration, however, and then it would undoubtedly be the province of the Bureau to secure such information as would lead most directly to wise action. That, too, has always been the plan pursued in Massachusetts. Take the questions of arbitration, of employers' liability, of the shortening of the hours of labor—each of these has been considered statistically, and also with a view to legislation by the Bureau, and through the discussion and weighing of the facts, the investigations have led, either directly or indirectly, to legislation in the particular direction involved. But beyond the need of legislation the essential thing to-day, not merely in one State, but in every State, is the correct molding of the opinion of all classes—not solely the laboring classes, but all classes—with respect to the great social questions. I think Mr. ROGERS is entirely correct in his view that we are probably on the eve of important changes in the social order. I do not mean to say that we shall adopt Christian socialism, but we shall modify the system under which we are working. Insensibly, and without revolution, we shall make progress in the direction of social reforms. I recently had the good fortune to address a body of orthodox ministers on the labor question, and I was particularly struck with the deep interest they manifested in the industrial problem and their evident desire to get at the facts. Now, the placing before those who are molding public opinion such evidence as shall correctly show present conditions and shall also indicate the true path of progress, is one of the broad duties of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor. How that duty shall be performed varies, as I have said, with the particular question under consideration, but that broad work we must undertake and do, if it is to be done at all.

Mr. POWERS: In our State we have thought that one of the things which ought to be investigated is the financial affairs of labor organizations in Minnesota, with a view of ascertaining for what purposes they have raised money, going into the details of that question, to some extent. I was talking last Saturday, in Buffalo, with the President of the Cigarmakers' Union, and he told me that the Cigarmakers' Union was the only national organization of labor that had exact and detailed statements relating to such facts. Of course it would be almost impossible to get reliable statistics along the lines suggested by Mr. ROGERS until after the Bureaus could in some way or other educate organized labor up to a point where it would furnish or have kept statistics such as would be of value. I simply mention that fact in answer to that particular point in Mr. ROGERS's paper. In this connection it would be well to bear in mind the importance and value of the statistics upon these points that are already gathered by some of the national labor organizations in Great Britain.

Mr. BOLLES: I desire simply to say an additional word in answer to Mr. POWERS, concerning the combining of the statistical work of the Bureaus with the execution of the laws relating to labor, and in the line of Mr. MATTHEWS's remarks. The last Legislature of Pennsylvania created the office of Factory Inspector. This official is assisted by half a dozen or more persons. The question has been raised two or three times, whether his work ought to be a part of the work of our Bureau, or whether it ought to be conducted separately. I think it is far better that we should work separately, as his work is somewhat antagonistic to mine. Therefore, I think it is better for me to steer quite clear of him and his associates; and this is the experience, perhaps, of nearly all who have had that question to consider.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: On this point I think we should guard in our discussion against the idea gaining ground that the State Bureaus are not in touch, and in close touch, with the laboring people. Speaking for my own State, I know that we are in close touch with them, and that the Bureau has their confidence to such an extent that all of the information they have and all of the secrets that pass between them are freely com-

municated to us. Now, I do not suppose we are exceptional in this respect. I believe that this is the case in the other States. In discussing the importance of cultivating these relations I should be sorry to have the impression go out that there is any lack of this kind of cordial feeling and cordial coöperation between the laboring people and the Bureaus, because as far as the laboring people of Connecticut are concerned, I know it is not true, and in the States surrounding Connecticut, where I have had opportunity to come in contact with the people, I know there is the same feeling that there is in Connecticut. I wish to say one word in regard to the question that has been brought up in reference to inspection and the enforcement of labor laws, as a part of our work. Briefly, it seems to me that the two branches of work should be separate. I do not believe that it would be possible for me to accomplish the work I am doing in the State of Connecticut, where I have to come in contact with the manufacturers and large employers — large and small, for the small manufacturers are more particular than some of the larger ones — I do not believe it would be possible for me to preserve the confidential relations which exist between the Bureau and these employers if I were made an executive officer to enforce the laws in these various establishments, where it would necessarily create an antagonism between me and the proprietors. I wish to emphasize my opinion in this respect, that the best work of the Bureau can never be accomplished where these two functions are combined in one and the same person. That I believe has been the experience of all who have been connected with the work. Now, shall there be no relation between the two? By no means. Let us have friendly coöperation. In Connecticut we have an arrangement similar to that to which Mr. BOLLES refers as existing in his State, and by our choice the office of Factory Inspector was made independent of the Bureau; but there is coöperation between the Bureau and the Factory Inspector. We can coöperate, and we can be exceedingly helpful to one another; but I believe that in no case can the two functions be combined in the same person with profit.

Mr. BETTON: I have listened with great interest to this discussion, and did not intend to add a single word, as I did

not think there was any necessity for saying anything; but I desire to heartily sanction the remark of my friend HOTCHKISS to the effect that the Bureaus are in touch, as a general thing, with the working class. So far as my acquaintance with the different Bureaus is concerned, I think the assertion by Mr. ROGERS that the Bureaus are not in touch with the laboring people is not carried out by the facts. Mr. ROGERS, as I understand, is a citizen of Massachusetts, and his criticism, if it means anything, undoubtedly refers to the Massachusetts Bureau. Now, I do not think the facts in the case sustain his position, if I know anything about the Massachusetts Reports. The Massachusetts Bureau is the pioneer Bureau of the country, and if any State institution has ever endeavored to put itself in touch with the working classes, the Massachusetts Bureau is that institution, and if any State institution has ever done more to elevate and help the working classes than the Labor Bureau of Massachusetts, I do not know where it exists. Of course, I am not intimately acquainted, except through the Reports, with the methods of conducting the business of the various Bureaus; but I know that in Kansas, as Commissioner, I endeavor to get just as close to the workingman as I can. Of course we have "cranks" out in Kansas—"jawsmiths," I call them—men who go around making speeches to laboring men, and making a living out of it. That class of men say our Bureau is of no account, and does not present facts. That question was brought up last winter by the House Labor Committee, and I appeared before them, and I think I convinced them that that charge was wrong. I believe the workingmen generally appreciate these Bureaus. I think the Bureaus are doing good work. Take my friend HOTCHKISS, for instance. He has endeavored, as I know personally and from his reports, to put himself in direct touch with the working people of the State of Connecticut, and I think he has succeeded in his efforts in an eminent degree; and not only in that direction, but, as he states, his aim has been to bring the employers and the employés together, and I think he has succeeded in that. I believe the position he takes is the correct one. I do not know that there is any necessity to add a single word to what he has said, as he has covered the ground completely. We may improve. We

are none of us infallible, and of course the success of our work depends largely upon the *personnel* of the Bureaus. For instance, the Connecticut Bureau, under a different management, while its general methods might be the same, might lose that sympathetic touch which I think it has with the working people of Connecticut. I think that can readily be seen. I think we can all improve in these directions, as set forth by Mr. ROGERS in his paper; but I do not think his assertion that we are not to a large extent in touch with the working people of the country is carried out by the facts. One other question occurs to me, and that is in regard to the suggestion of Mr. ROGERS as to the publication of a volume by the National Department of Labor, relating to labor organizations. The President is better able to judge than I as to whether that would be practicable or not. I think, however, as stated by Mr. POWERS, that it is possibly true that the International Cigarmakers are the only ones who are experts in bookkeeping, and who keep accurate accounts of the receipts and expenditures, so that they are able to show a balance sheet at any time. Of course these labor organizations are all crude. None of them have as yet reached perfection; but in my own State of Kansas I know they are growing, and they are becoming more efficient and effective every year, and more conservative.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: So far as I can understand the suggestion in Mr. ROGERS's paper, it amounts to about this, that he desires that the National Department of Labor shall make a synopsis of the reports made by the various labor organizations, in order that every branch of organized labor and the individuals associated with it may be informed as to what is going on in the way of labor organization; that is, it would be a means by which men in one section of the country in one kind of organization would know the character and objects of, and what was being done in, every other similar organization in the country. That, I think, is about what Mr. ROGERS desires. I think that it would be an advantage to almost every man connected with a labor organization to know just what every other labor organization is aiming to do. The suggestion, if practical, is a good one; but it would be a very difficult mat-

ter to give definite information as to the amount of money collected by labor organizations and the purposes for which it was expended. The fact is, that many of the officials in labor organizations desire to hide a good deal of that, and the suggestion, as I understand it, is that if the information is collected by the Chief of a Bureau it shall be submitted to the head of the particular organization to which it related for his approval.

The PRESIDENT: I so understand it.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Now, that is what the suggestion amounts to, and doubtless the inspiration of the suggestion is the desire for that information. In reference to the question that was asked in regard to combining the enforcement of the factory laws, etc., with the statistical work of Labor Bureaus, I would say that in New Jersey we could have had what are known as our Factory Inspectors appointed two years before they were appointed, had we been willing that the duties of inspection should be put under the Bureau of Labor; but we strenuously objected to it, on the ground that the discharge of the duties of one department interferes with that of the other. You certainly could not expect that the enumerators of a Labor Bureau could get information from manufacturers or from workmen themselves, if those from whom the information was sought knew that the information would be used by the Bureau for the enforcement of the factory laws. My experience is that we have just as much opposition from workmen in the enforcement of the factory laws as we have from the manufacturers. In fact, from my personal observation, I know that some of the most stubborn cases have been men who wanted their own children to work in factories. If you should associate the enforcement of the factory laws with the collection of statistics, you would not get any information from that class of men.

Mr. HALL: The trouble in our State is that there is very little sympathy and touch between the largest labor organization in the world—the Farmers' Alliance—and the Labor Bureau. In some States there has been great difficulty in getting the Legislatures to make proper appropriations for the Labor Bureaus. The farmers have organized, and they are in a con-

dition to have their demands complied with. They send their representatives to the Legislature, and these representatives refuse to vote away the people's money to conduct investigations that are of no particular interest to people outside of the cities. The investigations in regard to working women, factory inspection, and subjects of that character, which are being taken up by most of the Bureaus, are of very great interest and benefit to the laboring people in the cities; but if you want to get the farmers and other people living in the rural districts interested, I think you must take up some investigation that will be of benefit to them. In my relations with the labor organizations in the cities I have had no difficulty. In the cities both employer and employé are willing to give me all the information that I desire.

Mr. WADLIN: Let me say here, what would be more appropriately presented, perhaps, under "Reports on Current Work"— but it is suggested by what Mr. SIMMERMAN has said —that in its Report for 1891 the Massachusetts Bureau will publish what we call a "Labor Chronology," which will give a statement of the operations of the trades unions and labor organizations in the State, together with an account of the strikes and other important events connected with labor, occurring during the year. We shall continue that hereafter as a regular part of our annual Report, and it will to a degree meet the suggestion of Mr. ROGERS's paper; that is to say, it will put into the hands of every man who reads the Report an account of what is being done by the labor organizations throughout the Commonwealth.

Mr. PECK: I have been greatly interested in this discussion, and at least two points have been brought out upon which I desire to say a few words. If I am correct in the impressions made by the remarks of some of the gentlemen preceding me, the idea has been given out in this discussion that the Labor Bureaus are not in touch with the laboring classes and the labor organizations of the States. Whatever may be the fact regarding Labor Bureaus in other States, I believe that so far as the New York State Bureau is concerned, I can truthfully say that it *is* in thorough touch with labor organizations. Upon assuming the duties of the head of that de-

partment in 1883, there was no one thing that impressed me as being of greater importance than that friendly relations with organized labor should be established, and with that end in view, it has been my desire to accomplish so desirable a result. Commencing in 1885, the New York State Bureau has made each year a report upon all labor disturbances in the State, and last year confined its report to a summary of the five years' disturbances. It is the settled policy of the Bureau to continue that work for at least ten years, in hopes that it may be able at some future day to demonstrate something of real practical value. I want to say that I most heartily endorse all that Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, has said as regards dividing the duties of the Bureaus of Labor Statistics from those of the Factory Inspectors. By one of its provisions, the factory inspectors law of the State of New York, as it was originally passed, required the Inspectors to report to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. I was opposed to the provision at the time, and the next year a law was passed repealing the provision to that effect. I realized that it would be utterly impossible for my Bureau to remain in close touch, not only with the labor organizations, but with the employers as well, if it was known that I, as the head of the department, was in any way responsible for the laws that to many manufacturers seemed unjust. My brief experience at that time had taught me that the surest way to get correct statistics, was to obtain them from the people having a kindly disposition towards you. A man who believes that you have ever prosecuted him in the pursuance of your duties, or that you are in a position to prosecute him in the future, will not prove a willing witness. An unwilling witness is an unprofitable one as regards statistics concerning his business; and unless statistics are full and correct, much less harm is done by suppressing than publishing them. I believe I will be pardoned if I say, in view of the substantial evidence of the truth of the assertion I am about to make, that the New York Bureau of Statistics of Labor is in touch with the labor organizations of the State. It has received the most hearty endorsement through the labor press and official organs of the trades, for the manner of its work. National, central, State and local labor organizations have evidenced their friendliness and coöpera-

tion through most flattering resolutions. Impressed, as I have already said, with the importance of the Bureau being in close touch with organized labor, I appointed a gentleman as my chief clerk, who had for twenty years been an active and influential member of one of the most powerful unions in New York State. It has given me pleasure to call the attention of the public to his valuable services in each of the annual Reports issued by the Bureau since his appointment, and it now affords me even greater pleasure to emphasize my appreciation of his valuable services by introducing to you in person Mr. KEAN, whom I think is perhaps better able to discuss this particular feature of the matter under discussion than I.

Mr. KEAN: That the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of the State of New York possesses the confidence of the labor organizations, is evidenced by the fact that we find little or no difficulty in securing information from them. The blanks relating to subjects in which they are specially interested are prepared with a view of presenting the facts from their point of view, because, as we all know, there are many cases in which they alone are competent witnesses, or at least in which their testimony is most desirable. Space is always left for general remarks, and while much of the matter furnished under this head does not bear upon the specific subject under investigation, and is therefore not incorporated in the report upon it, still it is not wholly lost, as it is stored away until such time as the Bureau is in a position to take it up and give it the importance, fullness, and completeness it deserves. At the last collection from labor organizations, I think we sent out blanks to over 800 separate and distinct organizations. We received returns from 750, and they were very full and complete. The commendations that were attached to the blanks left no doubt as to the position of the working people toward the Bureau of the State of New York. It frequently occurs that many unions, from the circumstances surrounding the trades which they represent, take no interest in the subject under investigation, hence the difference in the number sent out and the returns made. Where we know this fact we refrain from sending blanks. In this and other ways we have been accumulating a large amount of matter relating to the

condition of the workers in their organizations, in their shops, in their homes, and, in short, relating to their general surroundings. We began this collection about 1885. It consists chiefly of copies of the constitutions and by-laws. These will prove interesting as showing the changes and modifications in their methods of securing a betterment of their conditions. Besides these, we have a collection of convention reports, trade circulars, papers and magazines, some of which will compare favorably with those in other fields of inquiry, financial reports, reports of special investigations, trade statistics, copies of agreements between the employer and employed, scales of prices, etc. As to the other point in the paper, relating to the interest taken in social matters by religious teachers, I think that ought to be reserved for a separate discussion. Some importance was given to that subject at our last meeting in Hartford, where a very interesting paper was read. We know that for some time it was a rare thing for a minister of the gospel to speak upon labor questions, except to associate them with anarchy or communism. In some churches, up to a recent date, little or no attention was bestowed upon secular matters. That has almost wholly ceased, and I think the clergy will agree with me when I say that the objection made by the workingman to the churches, that he did not receive there as strong mental food as his training and associations and contact with the rough edges of society required, was well founded. Anyone standing on the pavement in front of a church is struck by the small number of men of middle age entering or leaving. The churches seem to be filled with women and children and old men, and I suppose it is for this reason that some of the churches have established, particularly in New York and other large cities, branches of workingmen's societies, where workingmen listen to lectures and readings in the evenings, participate in debates, play checkers and chess and other games, and are thereby being brought under the influences of the churches. I think if there was more of that spirit manifested by the clergy, there would be fewer empty pews. As to the suggestions thrown out by the writer of the paper which has just been read on the moral aspects of the labor question, I am impelled to say that there are very few labor questions that have not a moral

basis. The Saturday half-holiday suggests a close relation between the labor question and the churches, as does the eight-hour movement. In our forthcoming report we will present the opinions of a number of clergymen who supported the half-holiday movement in New York City, in which they highly recommend its continuance. In New York City, during the summer months, Broadway is almost entirely deserted on Saturday afternoons. That thoroughfare is filled with manufacturing concerns and shops of one kind and another, but they are nearly all closed at noon on Saturday during the heated term. It is claimed that the Saturday half-holiday gives the workingman an opportunity for recreation and enables him to attend church on Sunday. As to the eight-hour movement, I think we have, through the blanks we have received, a *consensus* of opinion upon that subject. I was surprised to find that in nearly all the answers we have received in that investigation, the central idea was that it would give work to the unemployed. The statement was made over and over again by workingmen that it would enable them to take care of their idle members, certainly a commendable spirit, and one showing that they have souls above buttons. The remarks in reference to the number of accidents, deserve more than a passing notice, and I think it is a matter that ought to be given prominence by the different Bureaus of Labor. Mr. BISHOP, of New Jersey, a few years ago presented one of the fullest reports on the "employers' liability act" that has ever been published, and it is to be hoped that it and future reports will be instrumental in bringing about the necessary legislation.

Upon motion of Mr. PEELLE, of Indiana, the question of the selection of the place of meeting of the next annual Convention was referred to the Committee on Nominations.

The President called attention to the necessity for some slight changes in the rules of the Convention, whereupon Mr. BODINE, of Colorado, offered the following resolution, which, upon motion of Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, was referred to the Committee on Nominations:

Resolved, That the rules and by-laws of the National Association of Chiefs and Commissioners of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor be so amended as to

read that "its officers shall consist of a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who shall hold their respective offices one year from the time of their election."

Upon motion of Mr. PEELLE, of Indiana, the matter of the revision of the rules of the Convention was referred to the Committee on Nominations, and for that purpose the President of the Convention was made a member, *ex officio*, of the committee.

Upon motion of Mr. BODINE, of Colorado, the Convention took a recess until 2:30 o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Upon the reassembling of the Convention, the President announced that Mr. CHAS. H. SIMMERMAN, Secretary of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industries of New Jersey, would present a paper upon the functions of Bureaus of Labor Statistics from his point of view.

PAPER BY MR. CHAS. H. SIMMERMAN.

It is an old saying that "Our best friends are those who tell us of our faults." It is in this spirit that I offer this paper. I am intensely interested in the work and in the success of our Bureaus, and while the paper may seem somewhat harsh, I hope it will be accepted in the spirit in which it is given to you. I assure you that I shall not feel hurt if it meets with criticism equally as severe as that contained in the paper itself.

Labor Bureaus owe their existence to a well-settled belief that the distribution of wealth is not in accordance with the utility of labor that produces it. While this sentiment is not confined to any particular class, the legislation creating these Bureaus is due to the aggressive labor movement, acting upon the authorities that control the political affairs of the country. And while it may be said that those who have been most persistent in their demands for this legislation have had no very clear idea as to how these institutions were going to achieve the objects sought by their creation, it is quite apparent that thus far no conclusions have been reached, nor has anything been formulated the observance of which would conduce to bring about a better distribution of the rewards of labor, or added much to our knowledge concerning the means by which wealth has become centralized into a few hands. The question is therefore pertinent, Are Labor Bureaus a failure? And, if so, why? If the affirmative be true, the sooner it is so understood the better. If, on the contrary, the fault lies with the methods and scope of the work now being pursued, the sooner a change is effected and more practical measures adopted, the better for all concerned. The answer to this query must be determined by an intelligent comprehension of their primary objects. As I have said, their existence is due to the conviction that wealth is

not equitably distributed. The object of a Labor Bureau is therefore to determine where the fault lies, and to point out a definite way by which a more equitable distribution may be secured. To say that the present division of the rewards of labor is equitable and wise, is an admission that there is no need for a Labor Bureau, and it seems to me that when the confession is made that we are unable to define the causes, or to offer a remedy, we acknowledge our inability to deal with the problem. I am not egotistical enough to assume that this is an easy thing to do, nor do I underestimate the difficulties to be overcome before we can definitely solve the problem of wealth. For I recognize that political economy is not a positive science, by which we can determine with mathematical precision the relation of the various elements it treats of. But it seems to me that we ought to be able, by an analysis of the elements that contribute to the creation of wealth, to determine at least approximately their relation to each other. Therefore I assume that there is a scientific mode of procedure, and that a scientific solution is possible.

The objects of a Labor Bureau are purely scientific; its purpose is to make a sociological investigation with a view, not merely to make an exposition of the present state of society, but to aid society in its upward progress. The work of a Labor Bureau is essentially sociological; therefore it is different from that of any other department of government. Its purpose is not the mere acquisition of knowledge, for sociology has for its object the good of the people. It is the business of a Labor Bureau to study society and explain the laws that underlie and govern social movements. Of what use is it to know that there are 10,000 men and women employed in a certain industry, and that they receive an average of $300 to $400 each per year in wages? What practical use is it to figure out that at present labor receives 20 per cent, capital 30 per cent, and that the cost of material in manufacturing is 50 per cent of the cost of production? What good can it do a workingman to tell him that here in the United States he is paid 100 per cent more for his labor than his fellow-workman in Europe receives for a like service? It seems to me that this is only adding insult to his misery. It is like a robber who stops you on the highway and takes your purse and coat from you, then tells you that you ought to be thankful that he does not take your hat and shoes also. Why all this effort to ascertain the quantity and money value of the products of industry? Does anybody question the ability of labor to produce abundantly for all our needs? Do we need any proof of this? As a matter of fact about all the use that has been made of this kind of statistics has been to justify existing conditions, and to aid the few to further spoliate the many.

What we expect of a Labor Bureau is, that it will explain the sociological law, or whatever the cause may be that makes the division of the proceeds of labor, and to tell us whether these causes that now determine it are in accord with justice and the higher law of morality.

We want an assertion of the truth. We need no diagnosis to understand the present condition of our social patient. We know our whole social structure to be false and rotten. Nobody can go about with his eyes open and not see the wrongs and iniquity perpetrated upon those who work, by the false conditions under which we live.

But I may be asked, How can Labor Bureaus furnish that which is unknown? How can those who direct them be expected to know more of

these things than other people? My answer is, that everybody else does know of the wrongs that exist, but it has never been the business of anybody to formally expose them. And the reason why those who direct Labor Bureaus should do what nobody else has done before, is because they have been appointed to do it; they have accepted official trust and have taken the people's money for their services; therefore they are set apart for this special work — they are in honor bound to do it.

Now, I do not want to appear as a mere critic, for I have been associated with the work of a Bureau, and think that I am familiar with what has been done. I am also associated in other ways with the labor movement, and have been for more than thirty years; so that I have had an opportunity to observe the progress that has been made, and to note the influences that have contributed to its advancement. And it is because so little has been produced through Labor Bureaus that is of use in the promotion of the cause of honest labor, that I offer these suggestions.

The truth is, I do not call to mind one instance in my experience with the practical affairs of the labor movement where anything that Labor Bureaus have originated has been of any value whatever, and some of you have doubtless had a similar experience.

Instead of the reports being the text-books and guides for our action, they are made up largely of irrelevant matter, and seldom mentioned in connection with the study of social movements, and not unfrequently contemptuously spoken of by intelligent workingmen. I know it has been maintained that they should be confined to the collection of facts; that in their nature they can only collate data; that it is not proposed for them to be even suggestive.

Now, while the collection of facts may be all right, it must be understood that facts, of all things, are the most variable. There are doubtless tens of thousands of facts yet unknown, many of which would be interesting additions to our knowledge; but the one supreme fact is undisputed: there is not an honest man in the world who does not know that the products of labor are not equitably distributed; and it may be that certain other facts are necessary to an understanding of the measures to correct this wrong; but it is a very small part of the functions of a Labor Bureau to merely define the degree of wrong at present existing.

Now, what are we doing? Everywhere the farmers tell us that they are obliged to mortgage their lands, that owing to some cause this tendency goes on from year to year until it becomes a matter of general observation. Then the Labor Bureau takes up the subject and ascertains that the amount of mortgage indebtedness amounts to so many millions of dollars, and there the matter is left to rest so far as the Bureau is concerned.

Workingmen complain of a want of employment. They congregate in numbers to every city; they tramp from place to place, seeking work, until everybody becomes satisfied that there is a great lack of employment. The Labor Bureau then makes an enumeration and says there are one million of deserving people out of employment, who could earn, if put to work, so many millions of dollars, and that is the end of it—a fact has been ascertained, we say.

The whole country is convulsed with strikes and lockouts. The Labor Bureau collects the data and says there were so many hundreds of strikes in a certain period, involving so many thousands of men, and a loss of so many millions of dollars, and there that ends.

The public conscience is shocked at the inhumanity of the employment of women and children in factories. The Labor Bureau makes an investigation and determines the fact, as we say, that there are so many thousands of children of a certain age, and so many hundreds of women employed, and there that ends.

A universal complaint among the laboring class is, that wages are insufficient for their needs. The Labor Bureaus are ready to show the fact that wages average one or two dollars a day, and there it rests. We have ascertained a fact, we say. What fact? Why, we have simply affirmed what the public already believed.

I have said that Labor Bureaus were instituted for a scientific purpose and for a definite object. We need no more investigation to show that the workers are poor and live miserably. We know that a wrong exists. The mere question of degree is of little consequence.

There is no need to repeat to the workingmen how much they get and how much they spend. What is important is to demonstrate how they are to obtain an equitable share of the wealth their labor produces.

The problem is not what they receive, but what are the possibilities of labor to produce and consume under an equitable adjustment of forces?

How is this to be determined? My answer is, by observation, by a study of men, their relations to each other, and of the forces that contribute to the creation of wealth. Let us first ascertain what proportion of the population contribute by their labor to the creation of wealth. What is the proportion of those who create wealth by their labor, to the whole body of consumers? What are the relations of urban and rural population? And just here I would suggest an inquiry to ascertain how it happens that at the present time urban property is enhancing in value, while that of farm lands, or rural property, is declining? What are the forces in our social organism that tend to centralize wealth and population in cities? This line of inquiry must be followed by an investigation to show the relative utility of the various subdivisions of labor and means by which men obtain a living. The only way to understand the causes that operate to produce prosperity or adversity, is to mingle with the people and see them in their homes. To write intelligently about them we must know them. In order to determine who are the useful workers we must make a discrimination between the useful and useless occupations which men pursue; between those who are engaged in the production of actual wealth and the labor of those who contribute solely to luxury and vice, and I apprehend that there will be little difficulty in determining where the injustice lies when our social arrangements are subjected to these tests.

Had Labor Bureaus fulfilled the purpose for which they were intended there would be no need for dispute about the causes that have led to the depression in farming, or the effect of tariff laws upon any particular industry, any more than there is for dispute about the law of gravitation.

Everybody recognizes the necessity for a better understanding of these things; both State and national governments are moved by pressure from the people to appoint committees of investigation; but Labor Bureaus, the only institutions in the country specially charged with this duty, have failed to do anything of note in this direction.

Now, I think that I am quite as well aware of what this suggestion involves as any of you. I know that it requires courage and possibly some

sacrifice to lead in a work such as I have suggested. I know perfectly well that the moment a man undertakes to interfere with the existing state of affairs he will be met by all the power of those who profit by them. The slightest protest against the exactions of capitalists or the claims set up under the guise of vested rights will be met by those interested with abuse and repression, and with the force of all the power they can exercise. And disguise it as we may, those who profit by that which is wrong are in authority. But it seems to me that we make ourselves ridiculous when, under the guise of serving the labor movement, we allow ourselves to be influenced in our work by fear of offending mere authority.

The PRESIDENT: You have heard the very suggestive paper by Mr. SIMMERMAN, and it is now open to debate. Before any remarks are made upon the paper I desire to call the attention of the gentlemen of the Convention to the language of the laws creating our Bureaus. Those laws are specific in their provisions in every instance, so far as I know, and therefore the methods pointed out by our friend would be extra-legislative. I trust the Convention will discuss the paper fully and freely. I assure you it is offered in a spirit of kindliness and of hearty good wishes for the success of our Bureaus.

Mr. BISHOP: I hope the members of the Convention will speak their opinions freely. Mr. SIMMERMAN has given the subject much thought. He is known in the State of New Jersey as a laboring man, and an honest one.

Mr. BETTON: Mr. PRESIDENT, I listened very attentively to the paper, and with a great deal of interest. It seems to me that the suggestions made by Mr. SIMMERMAN are a radical departure, as intimated by the President, from the spirit of the laws creating most of our Bureaus, if not all of them. The larger portion of the Bureaus are founded upon the plan of the Massachusetts Bureau, the pioneer in this work, the duties of which are to collect, systematize, and present facts relating to the sanitary, social, and educational surroundings of the laboring classes, in the interest of the prosperity and welfare of the State in which the Bureau is located. That is about the purport of the duties of most of the Bureaus, as I understand them. It has been inculcated on my mind, through our worthy President, who has had long experience and who is a recognized authority in such matters, as well as from the general drift of our previous discussions in these

Conventions, that the functions of our Bureaus are confined simply to the collection and collation of facts. While we all recognize the fact that we are more or less led away in the compilation of these facts into some discussion, and that some radical papers get into our Reports, yet I think we are disposed to adhere very closely to the functions which have devolved upon the Bureaus by the laws creating them. I do not think there is any Bureau that confines itself strictly to a simple presentation of facts, although I believe the Bureaus are improving in that respect as they grow older. At the first session which I attended, that of 1885, our President stated, and he has reiterated it in most of his addresses since, that in the presentation of facts the function of a Labor Bureau was not to indulge in any theories or to suggest or undertake any particular line of remedy, for if that course was adopted the Bureau became, to some extent, partisan, and lost its influence as a statistical Bureau. That is the position the President has always taken, and I believe it is a good one. I believe, furthermore, that whenever any Bureau has departed very radically from that line it has gotten into trouble. I do not pretend to say that any of us are doing all we might do, but I think most of the Bureaus—in fact, I might say all of them—are improving and are each year giving us better results. Now, I do not desire to take up the time of this meeting; but Mr. SIMMERMAN suggests a new departure, and contends that we ought to advocate certain reforms as to the distribution of wealth. I do not know whether it was on account of my obtuseness or not, but I failed to catch his remedy—that is, what we ought to do in order to bring this state of affairs about. If I understood him, he proposes that we shall investigate the unequal distribution of wealth, and suggests a remedy for it. It may be that he was clear in his paper on that point. I tried, when he got toward the close of his paper, to catch the "nib" of it, to find out what specific course we ought to pursue in order to arrive at the results he desires; but I am free to say that I did not get any light on the subject. I have heard these arguments frequently, and while we all indorse the idea, I do not think I have ever seen a specific plan laid down for the inauguration of these reforms.

It seems to me that the labor question is a permanent question, and it would seem, in a general way, that we are all trying to accomplish the same result; that is, effect a more equitable distribution of wealth. That, as I understand it, is what Mr. SIMMERMAN advocates; but I did not catch his specific plan for remedying the evil of which he complains. Possibly some of the other members caught his idea, and I would like to have some additional light on the matter. Perhaps Mr. SIMMERMAN can make it more clear, and he may be able to beat through my head what he was driving at.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: In reply to the gentleman from Kansas, I will state that I said in my paper that the existence of Labor Bureaus is due to the fact that the public—the authorities of the States—have recognized that there is something wrong in our social arrangements, that is, that wealth is unjustly distributed, which means, of course, that it is not distributed according to the utility of the labor that produces it. That is a fact, I think, which all recognize. I, at least, recognize and maintain that that is the condition of society to-day. Indeed, from my point of view, I think a better way of formulating the proposition would be to say that the rewards of labor are in an inverse ratio to its utility. As I understand it, that is why laboring men agitate, why they demand and have demanded the establishment of these Labor Bureaus—because they feel their condition is not a just one. So far as the other question the gentleman raises is concerned, if the present division of the rewards of labor is inequitable and unjust, somebody must have an undue proportion. One man cannot be deprived of his share without its falling to the portion of somebody else. Now, what is the sociological law that makes this division? How is it? We are certainly a law-and-order-abiding people. Nobody can charge the working people of this country with being vicious, or with not doing as well as they can according to their light. I have mingled with them all my life, and have been associated with them in their organizations, and know their aspirations and their feelings. They do recognize that this condition which I have described exists, and they are clamoring for this information. My knowledge of the origin of Labor Bureaus goes back to 1867, at the old

Labor Congress in Cleveland, when for about the first time in the history of the country the workingmen made an attempt to formulate a platform, or a declaration of principles, and demanded the correction of the evils of which they complained. I think that was quite as intellectual a body of men as ever assembled in this country for the purpose of considering and discussing social questions. There were men there who were familiar with all the books, and Wm. H. Sylvis made the remark: "Here we can formulate declarations, but they amount to no more than the declarations of other bodies of men; they would simply be our opinions. Facts are what we want. We want to base our demands on well-defined data, and until we have that data it is impossible for us to formulate a demand that we can defend under all circumstances." It was at that convention that the first demand for the establishment of Labor Bureaus was made. A year or two afterward the Massachusetts Bureau was organized, and then the Pennsylvania Bureau, and these have been followed by many others. From that time to the present, you will notice that every convention and every representative body of workingmen have been persistent in their demands for the establishment of Labor Bureaus; and, as I understand it, from their standpoint—and I observe things from that standpoint, and that is the standpoint from which I seek to observe—they expect the Labor Bureaus to do these things which I advocate in the paper I have read. Take, for instance, the matter of child labor. Now, as I have said in my paper, the public conscience is shocked at the idea of women and children being employed in factories under the conditions and at the ages they are employed. Several of the Bureaus have investigated that question and have given the number of women and children so employed, together with their ages and the conditions under which they work; but I have not seen any of the Bureaus undertake to inquire into the causes that produce a condition of society that compels these women and children to go into factories. That is what the working people want. It is the same way in the matter of strikes and lockouts. We say that workingmen and their employers ought to come together and mutually agree upon some equitable settlement of their differences. Well, that

would all be very nice; but the fact exists that strikes do occur. There must be some underlying cause for these disturbances. There must be some actual law that is being violated under our industrial system, or these things would not occur. Now, what is it? That is my idea. What is it that enables one man to attain a position where he can lock out thousands of men and cause them to suffer? Does anybody imagine that that is in accord with the natural laws of society? I, for one, do not believe it. There is some violence somewhere. There is some social arrangement that is unnatural, and, I believe, explainable. I think we ought to investigate that fact—go down to the bottom and inquire why it is that that condition exists. It is certainly inconsistent with our ideas of political equality. We have found the way out in our political life, but in our social life we have not. In further defense of the position I assumed, that wealth is not equitably distributed, as I said, if that be true, (and I think we generally recognize it as being true—I do, anyway) I maintain that wealth is not justly distributed, or not distributed in accordance with the utility of the labor that produces it. Now, if that is true, and some individual has got an undue amount of it, there is something wrong in our social organization and in the system of industry that produces it. Now, before you can correct that evil, you must explain its cause and make it clear to the comprehension of the masses. It is the same in relation to the aggregation of wealth. No civilization that has ever existed has been able to control the distribution of wealth. The history of all the civilizations that have ever existed has been, that so long as a reasonable equality in the distribution of wealth could be maintained—so long, for instance, as the population could be kept on the lands—those civilizations have flourished. If you trace their history, you will find that the first movement toward their destruction was the centralization of wealth and population in the cities and the decay of agriculture. It seems to me that we are going rapidly in that direction. Already wealth is the factor that controls our political and social affairs in this country. I have not visited Washington very often, and cannot speak from personal observation, but I am told that the Senator or the

Member of Congress who can give the biggest dinners is the most influential factor in government, as well as in society. Now, how long can our civilization endure? Is ours to be an exception to all that have preceded it? I do not believe it is. I see nothing in my reading of history and in my knowledge of current events to justify the belief that it will be an exception. If, then, we want to save our civilization; if we want to perpetuate what there is in our present institutions that is worthy of perpetuation, we must, in my judgment, solve this problem, and the Labor Bureaus of America are the instruments through which the problem will be solved, if it is to be solved at all.

The PRESIDENT: The question asked by the gentleman from Kansas was, How will you do that?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Precisely as I suggested in the latter part of my paper. I cannot, of course, at this time fully explain the details of my plan. We want, first, to know what it is that creates wealth, and then what proportion of the people are actually engaged in the production of wealth—analyze society, with relation to the business and occupations of all its members.

Mr. WADLIN: Do you mean to distribute the people in their different pursuits?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Yes, sir; and determine the utility of the labor they perform and the means by which they live.

Mr. BETTON: You illustrated your position in regard to this new departure—if we may so term it—by referring to our methods of investigating the question of child labor. Now, as I understand you, instead of saying there are so many children of such an age employed, you would endeavor to ascertain the causes which lead to the employment of these children, that is, the necessity for their employment. That is the sort of an investigation, I suppose, that you would suggest for a Labor Bureau?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Yes, sir.

Mr. BETTON: How would you pursue such an investigation?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: As I was saying, it is evident that the mass of men do not send their children to the factories to work unless there is some necessity for it.

Mr. BETTON: Excuse me for a moment, and perhaps I may catch your idea better. Suppose I go to work, for instance, and find that there are one hundred children under fourteen years of age employed in a factory. I take their addresses, and visit their homes in order to ascertain what caused the necessity for their employment. I find that ten of them have drunken fathers and that ten of them are the children of impoverished widows — different causes being given. Now, is that your idea?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: That would be the reason for the employment of those particular children, perhaps; but among the one hundred you would find that there were many who were not obliged to work through the specific causes you have mentioned, whose fathers and mothers were sober, industrious people, and yet were obliged by conditions to depend upon the labor of these children.

Mr. BETTON: You have caught my idea. Now, suppose that in addition to these twenty I find that fifty are the children of industrious, hard-working people, who do not earn enough to support the family without the aid of the children; is that your idea?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Yes. Now, what social arrangement is it that places men in that position? I know of hundreds of hard-working men who are in that condition to-day, and the tendency is in that direction — for women and children to become more and more employed and become the substitutes for adult men in many kinds of labor, to the destruction of the best interests of those women and children. I take it that there is a social reason for it, or some cause existing in our system; because it will not do to say ——

Mr. ROBINSON: Would you ascertain the causes by pursuing an investigation of the facts as presented by the parties questioned?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: No, sir.

Mr. ROBINSON: For instance, as suggested by the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. BETTON, you will find a number of parents who are obliged to send their children to the factories in order to support the family. Now, you start out by saying

that what is wanted is to know the cause of that effect—the employment of children under age. How would you ascertain that? Would you go on and make an investigation by asking questions of the parents, or would you simply write an essay for your report, setting up your own view of the question?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I would say, in reply to that question, what I said in reply to the gentleman from Kansas; that having found that ten of those children had drunken fathers, who, if they were sober men, would earn enough to support their families, that would account for those ten.

Mr. ROBINSON: But would you go through a factory first, and ask the employés categorical questions as to the causes of their employment? For instance, Colonel Heath went through the Grand Rapids factories, and asked one man why it was that he had lost thirteen weeks' time during the year, and the man answered, "Because Grover Cleveland was President of the United States;" while in the same table I find the answer to the same question from another man, "Because Harrison was elected."

Mr. SIMMERMAN: My theory is that the Chief of a Bureau, having heard all these accounts, ought to be able to give the true reason.

Mr. ROBINSON: You would have the Bureau Chief sum up all the facts, and then give his opinion as to the causes?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: No, sir; I would not have him give his opinion, and that is a point upon which I wish to be heard. As I have said, the matter should be scientifically demonstrated. If I understand the science of statistics, it does not accept anybody's opinion, but requires absolute demonstration.

The PRESIDENT: That is what the gentlemen want to know —how you are going to demonstrate the cause of a condition. I have allowed a good deal of latitude in this discussion, because I think we are all interested in knowing how we are to reach the causes of this condition or any condition in society. I am sure I should like to know, and I think every gentleman present would be glad to have Mr. SIMMERMAN explain how our Bureaus are to be endowed with supreme wisdom.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I have suggested, first, that we must inquire into and determine the utility of labor and the various kinds of labor. For instance, a professional man—a doctor—will get two dollars for five minutes' service, while the man who raises wheat, corn, and potatoes to feed that man, and who makes it possible for him to avoid physical labor, works for a dollar a day. Will anybody say that that is a fair condition of things?

The PRESIDENT: Not at all. The question is, How are you going to determine why this condition exists?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Because of a false idea of society.

The PRESIDENT: That is not the point. What we want to know is how the Chief of a Bureau is to determine the cause of that false condition of society.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I would say this: For instance, the prohibitionists have asserted that the money, labor and time spent in the production of the rum that is used as a beverage is an economic waste—that is, that if it does not accomplish any useful purpose it is an economic waste. I think they are right. Now, what is the difference whether one hundred million dollars a year is extracted from the productive forces of the country and guzzled down the throats of frequenters of bar-rooms, or whether it is expended in any other direction for the mere display of folly and luxury? Economically it is a waste, and the result is the same. For example, Ward McAllister says that it takes $250,000 to enable a family to go to Newport and be in the "swim" there for one summer. Now, I am prepared to say that any condition of society that makes such a thing as that possible ought to be condemned, and I do not think there is anybody here who would not agree that that is so. That is a starting point. What are the operations of our social system which bring us to such a condition as to permit the Four Hundred to go to Newport, while millions are forced to work the year round for a dollar a day? Will anybody question the assertion that a great social wrong exists when those extreme conditions prevail? My suggestion is that we pursue a line of investigation that shall enable us to comprehend why it is that the Four Hundred go

to Newport, while the other fellows have to go to Gloucester. (Perhaps you do not know what that means. Up our way "Gloucester" is the poor man's Cape May or Newport.)

Mr. BETTON: One of our Congressmen-elect from Kansas, Uncle John Davis, undertook last winter to solve the problem that we are discussing. He got up a bill which was very thoroughly considered in my office before the Labor Committee of the House and Legislative Committee of the Railroad Employés' Association; and, by the way, the railroad employés who were immediately interested were vehemently opposed to the proposed solution of the problem. Mr. Davis's bill provided that the Railroad Commissioners of the State of Kansas should fix the pay of every railroad employé in the State, including all officials, conductors, engineers and brakemen, and that the maximum salary paid to any official should be $5,000. The conductors, engineers and brakemen, through their Legislative Committee, discussed the bill in my office for several hours, and there was a regular "monkey-and-parrot" time. There were some very sharp men among the conductors and engineers, and they sat down on Mr. Davis's theory. They said, "Let our wages alone; we have organizations, and we prefer to take care of the question of wages; we do not want any legislation on the matter at all."

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I want to say to the gentleman from Kansas that I am not an advocate of anything of that kind. I do not endorse the Davis scheme at all. I believe the nearer you come to regulating these things without the intervention of law, the nearer you come to the natural and true solution of the problem. From my standpoint, the centralization of wealth, for instance, comes from our social organization and from the fact that our industrial and social affairs are regulated by law. We have observed the law, we have been law-abiding, and it has produced these results. Certainly there is something wrong somewhere. Unless we can explain to the working people, unless we can tell them why it is that they do not enjoy the fruits of their labor, what are we doing more than they can do for themselves? As I understand our duties, we must inquire into these questions. If we are not able to do it, then we must certainly acknowledge that

we are attempting to deal with problems that we know nothing about.

The PRESIDENT: The question still arises: How will you go to work to do this? The Convention is awaiting your explanation of how it is to be done.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I thought I had made that clear.

The PRESIDENT: You have not answered it at all.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I do not want to give my opinion.

The PRESIDENT: We do not want any opinions. We want a scientific demonstration of the way to go to work to accomplish the desired result. Take, for instance, the question you have been considering: What is it that causes the centralization of wealth in cities? What the Convention wants to know, if I understand its temper, is how you would go to work to make a practical investigation of that particular question in such a way that you could scientifically demonstrate the cause of such centralization to the satisfaction of all men, so that Henry George, Mr. McGuire, Mr. Powderly, Mr. Gompers, and every one would agree that you had reached a correct conclusion.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I think, as I have said in my paper, that the only way is by observation, by mingling with the people, and by inquiring, for instance, why men go to the cities. We know that the people are leaving the country and going to the cities. Now, why are they going? What is it in our social economy that causes them to go? I have my own ideas about it, and I know how I would proceed to get at the truth. I would investigate the causes that induce men to go to the cities. What is the power, for instance, that enables the cities to keep the country in debt to them?

Mr. WADLIN: Do you think that is a fact?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Yes, sir.

Mr. WADLIN: Is not that the reason, then, why people go to the cities?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: That may be. My position is that this condition of things is unnatural and destructive of our civilization. The reason, as I have suggested, why all the civilizations of the past have become extinct is because of this process of centralization of population in the cities and the

destruction of agriculture. The popular notion in years past was that it was necessary to build up the cities in order to make a market for the products of the farm, and the farmers have been in favor of it. What do we see? Why, just in proportion as population centers in the cities agriculture declines, and very naturally, and it will always be so.

Mr. BETTON: The Secretary of our State Board of Agriculture two years ago demonstrated to his own satisfaction, if not to that of the public, that we had an overproduction of corn. While we were burning corn as fuel there were a great many over in New York and in other cities in the East, who did not have enough to eat. Now what produced that condition?

Mr. SIMMERMAN: The present methods of distribution are responsible for that.

Mr. ROBINSON: Having found, for instance, that the Kansas farmer is reduced to poverty, and yet burns his corn for fuel, and having found that numbers of people in New York are starving for want of that corn, you would have the Bureaus of Labor Statistics explain the sociological or economical reasons for that condition of things. Right at this point would come the rub; there would be such a variety of opinions, and our explanations in all probability would not harmonize, and would therefore be of little practical value. Mr. Edward Atkinson, and our friends from Boston, perhaps, would tell us that wherever we found want and misery among the masses we would find the same to be principally due to their wasteful habits, lack of personal thrift, etc.; that the farmers of the West, for instance, feed their corn to hogs, eat it in the form of pork, thereby losing the nutritious proteine, when they should eat it directly from the cob, or at least in the form of hoecakes. On the contrary, we, of the West, would probably find a large part of the bad condition of the farmers, and the workers generally, to be due to the exploitations of the practically privileged classes, corporations and moneyed institutions. We would very likely explain the phenomenon by pointing to the high rates of transportation, usurious charges for the use of money and other similiar methods of abstracting from the producing classes. Our different diagnoses would of course be

followed with corresponding differences as to remedies. One side would rely upon the inculcation of the masses with maxims of thrift and the use of patent frying pans and bake ovens, while the other would clamor for the abolition of privilege or the legal regulation of certain businesses and the control by governments of necessary monopolies. Thus you see we would get into a snarl. And while I have a strong desire that the Bureaus should be made useful in pointing the way toward improvements and reform of social conditions, I am, nevertheless, rather inclined toward the opinion that, if our Bureaus go beyond their present function of collecting and stating the actual facts that constitute social phenomena, their usefulness will be impaired. The question of causes and remedies we should leave to political economists and students of social matters to settle. It is our province to furnish the ammunition, as those in the rear during the war used to load the guns. We furnish the ammunition to the Henry Georges and to the Philips Thompsons, with which they may build up public opinion. There is a question in my mind whether we have any business to go into any discussion of the facts which we gather. I presume that is the issue that is raised in Mr. SIMMERMAN'S paper. If so, one might say it was due to one cause, Brother WRIGHT, in the chair, might say it was due to another, while Mr. SIMMERMAN and I would probably agree—I have some positive opinions on that subject. But I am afraid it would be some time before the Bureaus themselves would be able to agree upon a statement as to the causes of all the evils that exist, unless we should refer them to original sin.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Then, before we separate, we ought to agree as to what we ought to do.

Mr. ROBINSON: I will agree to report that land monopoly is one of the causes of bad conditions; I will agree that the tariff is another, and I will agree to report that the railroads have too great power in regard to the matter of transportation, and that the banks have too strong a grip on the neck of commerce.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I go beyond that. What is it that has produced these conditions? Why is it that the railroads have this undue power?

The PRESIDENT: I think we have carried this discussion in a conversational way as far as the Convention will permit. I should be exceedingly glad to see the formulation of an investigation that would show causes of the evils of society, and I pledge my word that I will turn the machinery of my department in that direction if some one will show me how to proceed.

The President introduced Mr. STUART WOOD, of Philadelphia, who addressed the Convention as follows:

ADDRESS OF MR. STUART WOOD.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—The existence of a body such as this, meeting annually in this way, is a significant evidence of the tendencies of modern society, betokening a far-reaching movement after methods whereby our social system may be improved and whereby a greater spirit of harmony may be introduced into the world of industry. It is no exaggeration to say that discussions of the proper methods of organizing industry occupy to-day a larger sphere in the thoughts of men than any other social problem, or than any question of internal or of external politics.

The labor question is as old as the human race. The first strike on record is, perhaps, that which occurred soon after the founding of Rome, when the populace seceded to the Sacred Mount, and were only induced to return after a good deal of persuasion had been used. The problem always has existed, and probably always will exist, in some form or other, to the end of time. But it assumes to-day a different shape from that which it assumed in past centuries. Then it was a question as to whether men should get enough food to keep them from starving. To day it is a question as to how different classes can live together and keep in touch with each other, in such manner as to work together in harmony and fellowship for the public good or for a common purpose.

As the working classes have increased in intelligence—and the whole history of this century from an economic point of view is a history of the improvement of the working classes—there has been an increasing demand on their part for the comforts of life. This is not at all strange nor at all unreasonable. It simply means that they are in a better position to protect their own interests than they formerly were. When a man had only enough to keep himself and family alive he could not think of going on a strike, but was compelled to accept whatever compensation was offered to him. His only alternative was starvation. Now the workingman has a margin and that margin gives him the power to demand more, just as in every business dispute the possession of independent means is an immense advantage.

With this change in the labor question comes a corresponding change in the point of view from which the science of political economy is regarded, and in the gravamen of its teaching. The production of wealth, the obtaining of a large aggregate revenue — these used to be foremost in the thoughts of the political economist. It was hoped that thus a country might be enabled to support a numerous population, and to contend successfully with its neighbors in war and in peace. To-day the leading inquiries of political

economists are rather directed toward the discovery of a satisfactory way to distribute the already existing revenue of the Nation.

No doubt we would all be glad to see Mr. Bellamy's enticing suggestions realized, if only human nature should become good enough to permit of it. Until that time, however, we will still have to rub along somehow; and although the nationalization of industry may be impracticable, there are forms of industrial organization which are in a manner intermediate between that system and the present, and which have attracted much attention and stimulated lively hopes. I refer especially to coöperation and profit-sharing.

There is undeniably an inherent weakness in the wage system, in that the compensation of the wage earner is a fixed sum and is independent of the result of his labor, so that he cannot have the same feeling of interest and the same sense of responsibility in what he does as the man who works for himself and reaps for himself the whole return from his work. The same weakness exists also in even a greater degree in all the ordinary schemes of socialism. Freedom from this drawback has been urged in favor of coöperation and profit-sharing. Whatever success, however, the future may have in store for such plans, their growth has up to the present time been wofully out of proportion to the golden anticipations with which they have been heralded. Probably they will be increasingly practiced if it is found that thereby the same outlay of labor and of capital can be made to yield a larger product than under the present system, for although profit-sharing or coöperative enterprises may be begun from philanthropic motives, in the long run every form of industrial organization will be accepted or rejected, according to its economic results.

In a certain restricted field, coöperation has been wonderfully successful; namely, in the business of the distribution of goods or shop-keeping. In this business, coöperation presents certain marked advantages over the old system of distribution, and yet it has had no striking successes except in England. Similar experiments in this country have for the most part been dead failures. I had the pleasure, some two or three years ago, of meeting with the governing committee of the wholesale coöperative stores in Manchester, which really form the center of the whole cooperative distributive movement in England. I was on that occasion much interested in observing the character of the men who formed that committee. One could see at a glance, by their manner and appearance, as well as by what was said, that they were men of more than common executive ability. On inquiring into their occupations, I found that they were almost entirely men engaged in carrying on business on their own account, mostly in a small way, and I interpreted this to mean that in England, with its settled conditions and with the greater difficulty there existing for people to find their level, those men did not have the opportunity in their own business to rise to larger operations than those in which they were brought up, and that having the ability and the energy to do work on a large scale, they were pleased to have the opportunity, as all really forcible men are, of doing the best work they were capable of doing. Probably such men could not be got in this country to attend to such business for any such remuneration as those men in England receive. Such men here, I take it, would be accumulating fortunes for themselves, and being able to do this, they would not be willing to give away their work for the moderate compensation paid for similar services in England.

Among profit-sharing enterprises, the most conspicuous case is that of the Maison Leclaire in Paris. Its success has been such as to make it a classical example which is cited wherever the possibilities of profit-sharing are set forth. Now please to note the particular branch of business in which that experiment has been tried so successfully. The business of the Maison Leclaire is that of house painting and house decoration. In this business a small number of workmen work together on isolated jobs and with little supervision. The economy with which work is conducted under such conditions depends almost entirely upon the industry and zeal of the men. Whatever stimulates, therefore, the earnestness of the individual workman must tell in a tremendous degree in the results of the business. Therefore I am not surprised that that organization should have been successful. But how different the result might be in a business where laborers are engaged under strict supervision, and where a very large amount of capital is invested. Take the management of a great ocean steamship, for example. The opportunities for the stokers or the sailors to contribute to the profit of the business would usually be very limited, and it is unlikely that the system of profit-sharing would yield any such gain to the ship-owner as to justify its adoption by him, from pecuniary motives.

But the present organization of industry itself offers opportunities, humble it may seem in their methods, and yet most far-reaching in their results, whereby the poorer classes may accumulate capital. We are all accustomed to praise the habit of saving, but we seldom realize to how great an extent it is capable of affecting the distribution of wealth.

From an economic point of view man may be defined as an animal which saves. A few of the other animals lay up stores of food for the winter, but none I believe do more than this, unless it be the beaver, which builds a house that lasts for years. And from an economic point of view the most fundamental difference among men themselves is in the greater or less prevalence of the habit of saving. This marks the distinction alike between races of men and between different individuals. The difference between saving a trifle every week and saving nothing, is all the difference between thrift, self-respect, credit, the esteem of one's fellows, and the sense of independence, on the one hand, and on the other shiftlessness, distress, petty dishonesty and untruthfulness, gradually culminating, too often, in insolvency, defalcation and fraud. Where different races are in question, it makes all the difference between New England and Borneo.

A great deal has been said in praise of the ownership of the soil by those who till it, which is indeed the distinctively American system of land holding, being that under which the land of our country has been settled, and the soil reclaimed and made valuable. The great advantage of this system is that it gives the farmer an incentive to constant labor, and an opportunity for saving. There is always something which he can do whereby the productiveness of his land can be improved, and the certainty that the result of the improvement will be his, leads him to make it. There is no such savings bank as the earth. No other investment is equally safe, and none other is so fully in the eye of the owner or so entirely under his control. The laborer for wages has less inducement to save. He cannot judge so surely of the safety of his investment, and what is quite as decisive, he has not opportunities for investment forced upon his mind in the same way as the chances for improvement force themselves upon the farmer's eye. Nevertheless, the total sum of laborers' savings is something enormous.

Foremost among these are the deposits in savings banks. The Comptroller of the Currency reported the total deposits in such banks in 1880 as being $817,640,000, and this had risen in 1889 to $1,444,391,325 — being an increase in nine years of nearly 80 per cent. Vast as these figures are, they inadequately represent the case, the returns on which they are based being mainly confined to the northeastern portion of the country. Thus, of the $817,640,000 of savings in 1880 not less than $757,950,000 were in New England and the Middle States. In New England alone they reached $368,760,000, or $91.95 for every man, woman and child; or, on the basis of five persons to the family, $459.75 for each family. In the Middle States the showing is little less impressive. In the Southern and Western States it is very small—the deposits reported in the Southern States in 1880 being only $1,450,000, and in the Western States and Territories, $58,240,000. (This has increased in the last ten years over 100 per cent.) Whether any part of this shortage is due to defective returns, I do not know; but as far as the West is concerned, we may be sure that the instinct of saving is there little, if at all, less active than in the East. It is probable that different conditions lead to the selection of different methods of investing savings, and this is a point upon which I hope we may be enlightened in the future by the reports of your Bureaus.

Now let me call your attention to another set of savings institutions whose development in some localities is scarcely less marvelous. If anyone has already acquired the habit of saving, an ordinary saving-fund is an admirable custodian of his pence; but it can only pay a low rate of interest, and it cannot solicit depositors. In both these respects the building associations of Pennsylvania present a great advantage. They are positively enticing. They offer the workmen all the allurements of a home of his own, with the sense of dignity and importance which comes from ownership of land, and they are able to do this on exceedingly favorable terms and consistently with entirely sound financial methods, while their expenses in getting and doing business are ridiculously small. Every member is a canvasser, and every person suitable for membership hears their merits canvassed daily and hourly by his companions.

In his Report for 1889 your colleague, Professor BOLLES, estimates the number of these societies in Pennsylvania at 1,200. Based on the returns of 538 societies, he estimates the total membership at 261,000, the assets at $94,030,800, and the gross annual receipts at $40,978,836. If the assets of these companies were to be divided, each member therefore would receive $360.27. While there is annually paid in an amount averaging for each member $157.01. A little over one-half of the associations reporting are situated in the city of Philadelphia, and if the same proportion holds good throughout, this would give to Philadelphia associations 130,500 members, and assets of $47,015,400—almost exclusively the property of the working class. As Professor BOLLES well says in his Report for 1888: "To appreciate the enormity of the work accomplished by the building associations, it must be remembered that the present assets of $84,000,000 are the accumulation from the savings of the past twelve years only. That is, all shares that were started twelve years ago have been withdrawn or matured, or, in plainer terms, the life of a society or series is less than twelve years. * * During the past twenty-four years it is very probable that the building societies of the United States have turned over to members in cash, for withdrawals,

matured shares and canceled mortgages at least $600,000,000. If money were the only consideration this would give an idea of the work these associations are doing, but it represents also habits of economy formed, the blessings of life in one's own home, exalted citizenship and individual independence. Mr. Joseph I. Doran stated that since 1870 to January, 1876, 31,479 dwellings had been built within Philadelphia, and during that period 20,535 building society mortgages had been recorded."

The deposits in Philadelphia savings banks in 1886–7 are shown by the report of the Comptroller of the Currency to have been $42,219,099. This, added to the above of $47,015,400, makes almost $90,000,000 of savings in Philadelphia alone. This gives an average of about $90 for each member of the population, or almost exactly the same as the average of deposits in the savings banks of New England as shown in 1880 by the Comptroller of the Currency. This ratio of $90 of savings for each inhabitant if applied to the whole United States would, in 1880, have given a total of $4,514,020,470, or more than one-half of the annual product of all the industries in the country.

In the census of 1880, an estimate was made of the total wealth of the country. The total value of railroads is set down at $5,536,000,000; of merchandise, $6,160,000,000; of farms, $10,197,000,000.

In other words, if the same rate of deposits in savings banks prevailed throughout the country as in New England, their amount would be over 90 per cent of the whole value of the railroad system of the country, nearly one-half the value of the farms, or three-quarters the value of the merchandise of all kinds, including agricultural products, raw materials and finished goods. Moreover, in the nine years from 1880 to 1889, the deposits reported by the Comptroller of the Currency had risen over 75 per cent, or at a rate greatly exceeding the increase of general wealth. Of course, without more detailed statistics, it is impossible to say what deduction should be made from these figures to allow for deposits by others than what are known as the laboring classes. On the other hand, these deposits form only a fraction of the total savings of those classes. Consider the vast number of workmen who own their own homes. The whole business of the building associations, which, as we just saw, is on so vast a scale, is devoted to obtaining such homes for them. Life insurance forms another method of saving, but one which is mostly availed of by persons of medium incomes. On the last day of 1888 the assets of life insurance companies doing business in Pennsylvania were $670,164,957.35; at the same time the assets of fire insurance companies were $162,134,749.41. These are mainly a guarantee fund for the maintenance of buildings, and are to that extent virtually the property of the insured, including such laborers as own houses.

The laboring class is largely shut out from the ordinary stock exchange investments by the difficulties of judging of their safety. Nevertheless, their investments of this nature form in the aggregate a very large sum. It is a mistake to assume that all corporations are owned by few persons, or by wealthy persons. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, for instance, has over 20,000 stockholders, and of them a very large proportion hold less than ten shares each. In one of the foremost national banks of Philadelphia, having $1,500,000 of capital stock, there are 795 stockholders, of whom no one owns over 234 shares, and but two own over 200, and twenty-seven over 100 shares; the greater number own less than twenty shares.

The conditions of a suitable investment of savings are that it should be as

nearly as possible absolutely safe, and that it can be easily converted into money. Uncertainty on these points unfits for this purpose, in a great degree, most of the usual forms of investments, and compels laborers to accept the lower rate of interest which savings banks can offer. Every step which tends to remove these obstacles is a great boon. If everybody had the same knowledge of the condition of different investments, everyone would be on a par in choosing between them. Vast fortunes would no longer be conveyed from the pockets of the many to those of the few through the agencies of fluctuating prices. Under such circumstances we may well believe that a growing share of the capital of the country would pass into the control of those who labor with their hands, with great advantage to public good.

Men are by nature unequal, and always will be. The more capable and the more industrious will always outstrip their less gifted fellows. Nor can we afford to deprive them of the fair returns for their ability. If the labor of others makes them rich, it is their labor and skill which enables others to use their labor to the best effect. The president of the Pennsylvania Railroad receives forty thousand dollars a year, and this may seem a large salary; but if you compare the management of the Reading Railroad and of the Pennsylvania Railroad for the last twenty years, you will quickly admit that not only forty thousand a year, but even a million a year would have been a cheap price for the Reading to have paid to have had a management as sagacious as that of the Pennsylvania, provided this were the least price at which it could have been had. To induce good men to give their best work to the world they must not be begrudged good wages; they must be fairly compensated for their natural inequalities. But it is no part of the duty of society to exaggerate these inequalities; to do so is a feature of barbarous societies. In primitive society, the strong and brave and cunning man takes advantage of the prevailing disorder to become the master of his fellows, just as with us the shrewd, bold, far-seeing man appropriates the avenues of wealth. Every law which increases fluctuations in value add to his gains. All currency tinkering, all tariff tinkering put money into the pockets of speculators. Some of it comes from other speculators, but a part always comes from the innocent public.

But avoiding questions which may be called political, I will ask your attention to the way in which the acquisition of colossal fortunes in railroad speculations have been promoted by our laws and customs regarding the capitalization of such enterprises. The old way of building a railroad was to issue stock which was paid for in cash. Only when this became exhausted might recourse be had to bonds. Gradually the custom grew up of relying on bonds to supply the cost of construction, and to treat stock as a sort of bonus or profit for the projector. A natural result was, that as what cost nothing was worth little more than nothing, the stock of such roads commonly sold for extremely low prices because there was not sufficient business to permit of its earning a dividend. But shrewd men saw in it a value in that it conveyed the power to vote and to control the management of the concern. This was valuable for many purposes. It made possible a whole host of indirect gains, mostly of a questionable character. Moreover the low prices of such stocks made it possible for small cliques or for individuals to acquire control and management of immense properties which never could have been so controlled had not the voting power been divorced from the real ownership, which was in the bonds. If bonds and stock had both been

allowed to vote, but only in proportion to cash actually paid in, the career of Mr. Jay Gould, or any similar career, would have been impossible.

Under a system which, while giving free play to the natural inequalities of men, should avoid exaggerating their gains, we may look for a more equitable distribution of the rewards of labor, and a growing accumulation of capital in the hands of laborers. Such accumulations would greatly mitigate whatever evils there may be in the wage system of the present.

For we cannot ignore that the tendency of the wage system, is to make the laborer interested only in his wages and not in his work. If, therefore, the wage system is to continue, it is most desirable that the lacking sense of responsibility should be supplemented; and there is no way in which this can be done so well as by the accumulation of property in the ownership of the working classes.

The President introduced Mr. J. A. PRICE, of Scranton, Pennsylvania, one of the vice presidents of the National Board of Trade, who addressed the Convention as follows:

ADDRESS OF MR. J. A. PRICE.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—I suppose I looked formidable with the roll of papers with which I came into the room, but I assure you I am only loaded for taxes, as I am on my way to Harrisburg, and only incidentally here, having had a conference with the Philadelphia Board of Trade this morning.

My friend WRIGHT, of course, knows a little of the work that is being formulated in regard to a certain statistical matter, a subject in which I have a very great interest. The vehicle with which I have chosen to operate is the National Board of Trade. We have now on our list some 1,350 boards of trade, representing a membership of about 400,000 commercial and industrial men. I do not pretend to say that all these boards are affiliated with the National Board of Trade at the present time, but in a great many things we are in touch with them and have their interest, although we do not claim them as individuals of the national organization. We hope in time to have this vast mass of individual interests of this country express itself upon all matters of legislation involving the productive and earning capacity of the country. I believe you will all agree with me that that is a patriotic work. We have concluded, after the many years that we have philosophized on these questions, that we do not know as much as we ought to know in regard to formulating the best laws; hence we have gravitated toward the conclusion that our friend WRIGHT indicated when he spoke of the matter of a permanent census bureau.

Personally, my whole life has been after facts. I care little for a theory, either scientifically or otherwise. It is the fact — the bottom fact — that I want. I began life, as a boy in my teens, under the old Scott tactics in the army. I am taking this as an illustration, as it shows the efficiency of working to an end. Those of you who are familiar with the days from 1861 to 1865, and know what we went through, will appreciate my illustration. Those who are familiar with the old Scott tactics know the cumbersome and lumbering way in which we had to organize large bodies of men, and how weak we were in moving them. We gravitated toward Casey, and then to Hardee and to Upton. We learned, by close observation, by study of principles, and

by practice, the force and efficiency of these changes. So, to-day, the advance that has been made between the old Scott tactics and the modern Upton, changing entirely the method by which men are moved in large bodies, is very great and very marked, as it is founded upon many observations and close calculations. The same is true of arms. Both armies and arms have come to have the power and precision of a deadly science. The art of the statistician is the art of the tactician, and is the undeveloped art of the day, as it is the important art of the day. Give me the knowledge that is requisite to guide the people, and I care not who may make the laws. A people inspired by virtue and general harmony of sentiment, as between man and man, will very rarely go astray if they only know where and how to go. This has been, as I say, the foundation of my nterest in all your work. Security is more in knowledge than in law. Leaving the army at its close, I went into manufacturing business, so that I may say that I have never had any experience in life whatever that has not involved the efficiency of machinery and the harmony of the actions of men, combining all the important traits upon which so much of the progress of the world is maintained. My observation along these lines has taught me just what my army observation taught me. In the shop I care nothing for a theory, however plausible it may be, how apparently well grounded it may be—if I cannot see the actual movement I have come to disregard it as a matter of management. As an illustration, I have one department where I was called upon, as a matter of opinion, to give an estimate in regard to settling a loss. So accurate is the method which I have instituted to obtain results, that when I came to give my estimate and go to the books to see how nearly correct my judgment was, I found that I had stated the amount as "1.40," while my books actually showed "1.39." Now, I believe all the affairs of our lives, our social lives, can be conducted upon that principle. It is a matter of close investigation rather than a matter of theorizing upon these topics, and what I am offering to-day is simply with the hope that some little inspiration and good may come out of it to you, who are working in the same line. I am only working for the efficiency of the control and management of the property of which I happen to have charge; you are working for definite results socially. I am after a practical result; I know you are laboring to that end also, and if you can keep from your minds all the pleasant generalizations and beautiful theories that may be worked out, and make a steady pull for the bottom and ultimate facts so far as the human faculties can obtain them and realize them, I believe you will have the key of the situation for effective work upon this labor and capital question. As I said before, I do nct fear anything going wrong in this or any other country where intelligence rules, as is the case when the people have adequate knowledge.

Now, then, just a word to close. To obtain this knowledge I, as one of a body of workers connected with the board of trade that our friend WRIGHT referred to, have taken this position, that our census and our statistical collectors are necessarily fighting a great battle in battalions—"bushwhacking," as it were. We have not a system of statistical methods that is as yet of sufficient precision to give us the proper and adequate knowledge that we want to base calculations and conduct operations upon. The National Board of Trade, representing so many commercial and industrial institutions far and near, has, after thoroughly discussing this question, determined that the best thing would be to establish a permanent statistical department at Wash-

ington, as the center around which we may all revolve. As to whether this is a wise conclusion or not, I will say that we stand ready to be convinced, and are not yet ready to say that we are in for it for all we are worth. We are seeking an end, and that end seems to be working toward a permanency of our census and statistical departments such as we have not known in the past.

As a matter of fact, again, I will say that after the New Orleans meeting of the National Board of Trade we appealed to the country. There were then about 1,300 organized chambers of commerce and boards of trade, and with the assistance of our friend WRIGHT in Washington, we formulated a resolution, which passed the Senate, instructing the Secretary of the Interior to take up this question and see whether or not, in the line of his experience and in the line of his work, a permanent census or statistical bureau is needed. That report, I suppose, will be presented to Congress next December. I give you these few facts as an indication of the work in your direction that is being pursued by the great commercial and industrial organizations of the country: so that you see you are not working alone, by any means, and we do look with pride upon the work that the Labor Bureaus are doing. I have some connections on the other side of the Atlantic, and I can tell you this, that in conference with gentlemen abroad I have been assured that there is no department in this country that is looked upon with so much interest and so much of pleasant recognition as the Labor Bureaus of the different States and of the general government. They have strained affairs abroad as we have here, and they are looking to the facts that you are collecting as being one of the greatest stepping-stones to safety in this country. The Financial Reform Association of Liverpool sent to me some time ago for the reports of the various Bureaus in this country. I suppose some of you gentlemen will remember that I have interviewed you by letter in order to get your results to send to that association for use in their work on the other side. Men like Earl Derby, Sir John Lubbock, and others are keeping their eyes upon the work that you are doing, and for all the reasons that patriotism might assign I am anxious, aye, as anxious as you gentlemen can possibly be yourselves, to have you do your work efficiently and well, so that it may obtain their approval and make American citizenship more respected even than it now is on the other side.

As I said, we will stand as nearly in touch with you as we are able in our line of work, and I assure you that the great body of business men of this country, which I have the honor to represent, is in harmony with your work and proud of your achievements. I thank you, gentlemen, for your attention.

Upon motion of Mr. LORD, the thanks of the Convention were tendered to Mr. WOOD and to Mr. PRICE for their addresses.

Mr. WEEKS, of Maryland, extended an invitation to the members of the Convention to visit Baltimore, in connection with their proposed inspection of the new Pennsylvania Steel Works at Sparrow's Point, Maryland.

Upon motion of Mr. PEELLE, of Indiana, the Convention took a recess until 7:30 p. m.

EVENING SESSION.

Upon the reassembling of the Convention the Committee on Nominations, to which was referred the matter of revising the rules, reported in favor of amending the rules so as to read as follows, the changes being indicated by italics:

1. The Chiefs and Commissioners of State Bureaus of Statistics of Labor or of kindred Bureaus or Departments, *the U. S. Department of Labor, and the Deputies, Secretaries, or Chief Clerks of such Bureaus or Departments,* shall constitute a National Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor of the United States.

2. The officers of said Convention shall be a President, a *First* Vice President, a *Second* Vice President, a Secretary-*Treasurer, and an Executive Committee which shall consist of five persons. The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall be the Commissioner of the State wherein the next Convention is to be held, the President and the Secretary-Treasurer, ex officio, and two other members of the Convention to be elected by ballot.*

3. The Convention shall meet annually in the month of May, June, July *August* or *September, subject to* the call of the *Executive Committee, and* at such place as shall have been selected by the Convention, *by ballot, at its last meeting prior to the call of the Executive Committee.*

4. The proceedings of each session of the Convention shall be printed under the direction of the *Secretary-Treasurer*, and published in pamphlet form; the cost of such publication shall be borne equally by the Bureaus, and each Bureau shall be supplied with twenty-five copies thereof. Extra copies shall be supplied to the various Bureaus at cost.

5. The officers chosen at an annual session of the Convention shall assume their duties at the following session.

6. The parliamentary rules laid down in Cushing's Manual shall govern the deliberations of the Convention.

Upon motion of Mr. DOBBS, of Wisconsin, the report of the committee was adopted.

The Committee on Nominations, to which was referred the matter of selecting a place for the next meeting of the Convention, reported unanimously in favor of Denver, Colorado.

Upon motion of Mr. ROBINSON, of Michigan, the report of the committee was adopted.

The Committee on Nominations made the following report:

PHILADELPHIA, May 19, 1891.

To the President and Members of the Eighth Annual Convention of Labor Commissioners:

GENTLEMEN—The Committee on Nominations, appointed in pursuance of the wish of this Convention, to suggest the names of officers of this association for the ensuing year, subject to your consideration, beg leave to re-

port that the committee met, and by a majority vote decided upon the following:

For President — CARROLL D. WRIGHT, of Washington, D. C.

For First Vice President — FRANK H. BETTON, of Kansas.

For Second Vice President — WILLARD C. HALL, of Missouri.

For Secretary-Treasurer — CHAS. F. PIDGIN, of Massachusetts.

For Executive Committee — LESTER BODINE, of Colorado, Chairman; CHAS. F. PECK, of New York; WM. A. PEELLE, Jr., of Indiana, and the President and Secretary-Treasurer.

The same is respectfully referred to this Convention.

LESTER BODINE, Chairman.

Upon motion of Mr. PECK, of New York, the nomination of CARROLL D. WRIGHT for President was made unanimous, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Convention for him.

Mr. PECK, of New York, nominated SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, for the office of First Vice President. A ballot being taken, the vote resulted as follows: HOTCHKISS, 13; BETTON, 8; whereupon Mr. HOTCHKISS was declared duly elected First Vice President of the Convention for the ensuing year.

Upon motion of Mr. DOBBS, of Wisconsin, the nomination of WILLARD C. HALL for Second Vice President was made unanimous, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Convention for him.

Mr. PECK, of New York, nominated FRANK H. BETTON, of Kansas, for the office of Secretary-Treasurer. A ballot being taken, the vote resulted as follows: BETTON, 15; PIDGIN, 5; BODINE, 1—whereupon Mr. BETTON was declared duly elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Convention for the ensuing year.

Upon motion of Mr. POWERS, of Minnesota, the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Convention for the gentlemen nominated as members of the Executive Committee of the Convention for the ensuing year.

Upon motion of Mr. PEELLE, of Indiana, it was decided that the excursion to the new Pennsylvania Steel Works and to Baltimore should take place on Thursday instead of Friday, as provided by the provisional program.

Upon motion of the same gentleman, the call of States on the current work of the Bureaus was dispensed with, with

the understanding that members of the Convention furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer written statements relative to the current work of their respective Bureaus for publication in the proceedings of the Convention.

After some informal discussion of the matter, upon motion of Mr. ROBINSON, of Michigan, permission was given to those members of the Convention who so desired to make oral reports relative to the current work of their respective Bureaus; whereupon the Secretary called the roll of States for that purpose, the following responses being made:

Missouri.—Mr. HALL: The appropriation for the Labor Bureau of my State was nearly doubled this year, consequently I have been enabled to take up five investigations, or rather to divide my work into five parts: factory inspection, a complete report on working women, a complete report on manufactures, and a comparative statement of wages paid in a representative factory of the country and one of the city. In addition to these, I have undertaken an investigation which will probably be the most important of any, and of great benefit to the State—certainly of interest to the farming classes—and which is entirely different from anything that I have seen in the reports of the different Bureaus. The Farmers' Alliance is very strong in Missouri, having some 200,000 members. They requested when I was appointed, on the 3d of March last, that I should take up some investigation which would be of interest and benefit to them. I prepared blanks, several of which I have with me. These blanks show the carload shipments of the farm, factory, forest and mine from each county in the State—the out-shipments for the year 1890. I claim, that if the out-shipments from the stations in a county are greater than the in-shipments, they indicate a surplus for that county, while if the in-shipments are greater than the out-shipments, they indicate a want of surplus. For example, if a town has during the year, ordered 100 carloads of grain, that would indicate a shortage of grain to the amount of 100 carloads. If, on the contrary, that town shipped 100 carloads, it would indicate a surplus. These blanks are prepared for the 114 counties in the State. They show the shipments, not only from every

railroad station in Missouri, but also from every river point. The river shipments are reduced to carload lots. Now, bear in mind, these shipments show carload lots for the farm, factory, forest and mine. I have here a blank for the county of Audrain. In that county there are two railroads, the Chicago & Alton and the Wabash, and on the two railroads there are nine stations. These nine stations constitute all the shipping points for the county of Audrain. This blank shows that Audrain county, during the year 1890, shipped 810 carloads of cattle, 716 of hogs, 211 of horses and mules, 91 of sheep, 47 of corn, 252 of hay, 270 of oats, 34 of wheat, 49 of flax, 5 of broom corn, 160 of flour, 686 of fire-brick, 116 of coal, 5 of fruit, 32 of lumber, 3 of scrap-iron, 25 of poultry, 23 of junk, 106 miscellaneous, 48 of lime, 13 of emigrant outfits, and 1 of wool, making a total of 3,703 carloads. That is the surplus of Audrain county; that is what that county produced over and above what she could consume. Now, as I said, these statements are prepared for the 114 counties in the State, including the city of St. Louis. They will be alphabetically arranged, commencing with Adair county and ending with Worth. Of these reports 3,000 copies are printed, of which 2,500 are distributed throughout the United States and 250 in foreign countries. They are valuable in exhibiting the resources of the State. For instance, a man in Pennsylvania wants to settle in Missouri. He has not the means to travel over the State to determine what county is best adapted to his particular business. Say his business is that of stock-raising, the raising of cattle and hogs. He will look at this report, and will see at a glance that Audrain county shipped 810 carloads of cattle and 716 carloads of hogs. He will say at once, "That is a good corn county." Here is another man who wants to go to a county the soil of which is adapted to making fire-brick. By looking at this table he can ascertain the county shipments and the station shipments. He will see that the town of Mexico shipped during the year 468 carloads of fire-brick. This shows the station best adapted to his business. Another man wants to go in the lumber and tie business. The station shipments of lumber and ties, as shown by this report, will indicate the best point for him to locate. When these blanks are finished for the 114 counties

I will make totals showing the shipments for the entire State. For instance, I will take the total number of carloads of cattle shipped from the 114 counties; I will get some good cattle man to put a fair, conservative valuation on a carload of cattle, and then by multiplying that by the total number of carloads I will ascertain the value of Missouri's surplus of cattle. I will take each one of the items contained in the tables and treat it in that way. Everybody knows the value of a carload of coal. I will multiply that amount by the total number of carloads shipped from all stations in Missouri, and that will give me the value of Missouri's surplus of coal, and so on through the list. Now the people in my State, and especially the newspapers throughout the different counties, as I have these blanks finished for each county, are writing to get the reports for their counties. The newspapers publish all this information, and it is very interesting to the people living in the towns to see the shipments from their respective localities, and I think it will be a valuable showing.

Kansas.—Mr. BETTON: I do not like, Mr. PRESIDENT, to occupy the time of the Convention, especially, as having just been elected your Secretary, I presume it is expected of me to set a good example in the direction of brevity. I will only say that in each succeeding Report I am striving to condense to the last degree consistent with an intelligent presentation of the subjects investigated, and that I am gradually dropping the ambitious attempt, which is too common with new Bureaus, to solve all the problems coming within the scope of our duties, inside of twelve months; and am taking up each year some one or two subjects, and seeking to make as thorough work of them as the limited nature of my facilities will permit. I think that most, if not all, of the older Bureaus are moving in this direction—specialties—and while it may be necessary for new Bureaus to present in their earlier reports a general review of the entire field, I think it will be conceded that they will find their more effective work in their later reports, when, having covered the general field, they commence to take up specialties, and seek to make thorough work of them. There is a great deal of interest being manifested in Kansas in labor matters. Last winter, for the first

time in the history of the State, the various organizations of railroad employés had a convention and appointed a Legislative Committee to look after their interests, and that committee made its headquarters in my office. I am sorry to say that the members of that committee did not know until I told them that the United States Commissioner of Labor had gotten out a valuable report on the condition of railroad employés. My chief clerk had examined the Report more thoroughly than I had, and between us we called their attention to some valuable features of the Report, and the committee had a meeting, at which a resolution was passed requesting the Commissioner of Labor of Kansas to carry on a similar investigation in that State. There was one local question in particular which they wanted investigated, and that was in reference to the hours that employés are on duty for which they are not paid. We have in our State the Santa Fé and some other large systems, and altogether we have some 10,000 miles of railroad. I gave considerable thought to the matter, and finally formulated a plan for ascertaining the facts and submitted it to the members of the committee for criticism. There are some points of great interest in this investigation. For instance, an engineer is called at 8 o'clock to report for duty at 9 o'clock, and because of some delay his train does not go out until 12 o'clock. In such a case, on some of the systems, the engineer is only paid for one hour before the train goes out. In some instances he may wait at the round-house two or three hours, and he receives no pay for the time. The conductor has what he calls a train-book, in which he makes out his report, showing the miles traveled, the hours worked, etc. Most roads have some system of overtime. We have undertaken that investigation, and I think that is all we will do in this line this year, as I find it is a larger undertaking than I thought it would be. In addition to that I have had some correspondence with Mr. Porter, the Superintendent of Census, and I hope to submit the results of the work of the special agents of the census in six or seven of the principal cities of Kansas, which will be much more thorough than anything within my reach. That will form my Report for the year 1891.

Minnesota. — Mr. POWERS: I will make a brief statement of our work for the next two years. I have already mentioned the fact that we have planned having such an investigation regarding the statistics of factories as shall show the amount of unsafe machinery and the sanitary condition of factories, with the object in view of finally obtaining a factory-inspection law. In addition to this, we have a number of minor matters under consideration, one corresponding to that which Mr. WADLIN has undertaken under his chronological history, seeking to get all the facts relating to organized labor of various kinds within the State. Then we have begun a special investigation of the flour-milling industry of the State, beginning with an investigation of the milling business of the Pillsbury-Washburn Company, Limited, the largest flouring establishment in the world. They have kindly opened their books to us, even more fully than the books of manufacturers have been opened to the Bureaus of Labor in Connecticut and Massachusetts. We shall, from those books, present the following facts: First, the wages received by each and every class of labor in the mills for each of the years since the beginning of the business, twenty-five or twenty-seven years ago; and, second, we shall show the proportion that has gone to labor and to capital in each and all — not only the gross amount, but the percentage. Their work is already tabulated, showing the proportionate cost of every item going into a barrel of flour. We shall copy those figures, and verify them, if possible; but every item is in the books at the present time, and we shall simply present them. In addition to this, as bringing out the full history of the milling business and the effect of the invention known as the "new process" of milling, upon the relative values of winter and spring wheat, we shall give the prices of wheat in the Buffalo market, that being one of the markets which gives the prices of both winter and spring wheat — Minneapolis being a spring-wheat market only. This will show the effect of the complete revolution in the prices of the two kinds of wheat produced by this invention. This invention, you may say in general terms, has rendered possible the settlement of Minnesota and Dakota, having added to the value of spring wheat from thirty

to forty cents a bushel, without which addition none of the Northwest could have been settled — at least profitably. We shall also show the progressive changes in the way of toll, or what the farmer has had to pay for having his grain ground, showing changes not simply in our generation, but from the earliest English times — from the time of Edward III., when the farmer had his flour ground for one-twenty-fourth part of the grain, down to the present time, when he has to pay in exchange something like one-fourth. In spite of the progress of centuries, in spite of this invention which makes the cost of grinding a barrel of flour a very few cents, the farmer, when he takes his grain to the market and exchanges it for flour, has to pay in grain from six to eight times what he did six centuries ago, and eight times what the early Puritan fathers allowed their millers in 1631, when they passed the first law regulating that industry. All these general facts relating to the milling business will be followed up. We have first, as I said, the statistics of the Pillsbury-Washburn Company, Limited. We shall include with them also, for one year, all the flour-milling business for the State of Minnesota. Nearly all the other mills in Minneapolis outside of the great combination known as the Pillsbury-Washburn Company, Limited, last week formed a new combination, making only two great milling companies in the city. While in the chaotic state that they have been in for the last two months pending this consolidation, it was impossible to go into any negotiations with the members of this new company relating to statistics. I have no doubt I will be able to secure from them similar information to that which has been furnished by the Pillsbury-Washburn Company, inasmuch as it has been the policy of the Minneapolis mills for the past ten years to show to the world all the facts relating to their business. We hope, also, in this connection, to investigate the elevators of the State, and thus touch upon the question which has been the center of the Farmers' Alliance agitation throughout the State and the Northwest — that is, whether the millers and the elevator companies have actually been stealing from the farmers, or whether there has been a legitimate charge. Some of the largest elevator companies have signified their willingness to

open their books in the fullest detail to our inspection. This involves all we have mapped out. If time and money avail and we do not pass beyond our appropriation in our labors, we shall take up the saw-mill and lumber business of the State, which is an industry next in importance to that of milling. Some of the largest lumber mills have expressed a willingness to open up their books. If we fail to reach this work during the next two years, we shall take it up at some future time.

Tennessee.—Mr. FORD: Mr. PRESIDENT, I have nothing to submit that would be of interest to the gentlemen assembled here. It is but recently that we have had our office established in our State, and I know but little with reference to the duties connected therewith or the manner of conducting them, and it was more particularly for the purpose of getting some information that would be of benefit to me that I attended this Convention. I see that I may get some, but not as much as I looked for; yet I hope that when the proceedings of this Convention are distributed they may be of some service to us in our part of the country.

Mr. BETTON: Have you issued any reports?

Mr. FORD: I have only been connected with the office about six weeks, and during that time most of my time has been taken up in the inspection of the coal mines in our State; so that I have not had an opportunity to work at anything, even if I had had some form to go by, and I would particularly ask that the several Commissioners favor me with some blanks and papers that will enable me to make a start in this business.

Upon motion of Mr. BOLLES, of Pennsylvania, the Convention adjourned to meet at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, May 20.

SECOND DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment and went into executive session, at the conclusion of which, upon motion of Mr. BODINE, of Colorado, the roll call of States on the current work of the Bureaus was proceeded with, for the purpose of enabling those members who desired and who had not already done so to make statements relative to the work of their respective Bureaus; whereupon the following responses were made:

The U. S. Department of Labor.—Mr. WRIGHT: The investigations of the Department of Labor for the last three years have been almost entirely devoted to the collection of information relative to the cost of production, the efficiency of labor, and the cost of living in different countries, as ordered by Congress. That work is now nearly completed, the first part of it, a volume of 1,300 or 1,400 pages, relating to the cost of production, etc., in the iron and steel industry, being in the press. The second volume will consist of the facts relating to textiles and glass manufacture, and will be forwarded to Congress upon its assembling in the fall. Dropping this great investigation, the Department will take up first, under the instructions of Congress, a wide investigation of the results of manual-training and trade schools in this and other countries. For this purpose the Department has been to a good deal of trouble to ascertain the actual lines upon which inquiry can be made. To devote much time or much money to the simple collection of data relating to the number of manual-training schools or trade schools in this and other countries, together with the facts relating to their equipment, their curricula, their expense, how founded, etc.—that is to say, to take merely a census of manual-training and trade schools—would seem to be useless, because it is of no great importance whether there are one hundred or two hundred such schools. The

great question with us, and which I imagine was the object of the committees of Congress who carried this matter through, is to find out the effects and results of manual-training schools, trade schools, and technical schools in general — in fact, to cover the whole broad subject of industrial education as exemplified by the three grades of schools. To this end we have formulated a schedule which will bring out the information from the employers of men who have been trained conjointly in manual-training schools in skill of the hand and of the brain. Next it will bring out the results of the employment of men who have been trained in trade schools specifically, this information to be gathered from the employers of such men everywhere, those employers to be ascertained by the rolls of the different schools, as I understand most of them keep track of their graduates. There have been several investigations relating to this subject; first by the Royal Commission established by the Parliament of Great Britain in 1882 or 1883; but that investigation did not go into the economic, ethical, or social results of manual training and training in trade schools; it simply took up the question of methods. The State of Pennsylvania has also made a very excellent report on this subject through a special commission; but that commission did not take up the wider idea of getting at effects. The other investigations which have been made on a similar scale have all neglected this one feature; therefore the Department of Labor will take that up as supplemental to other investigations. What I mean by the effects or results of manual training can be shown by one or two of the questions which will be asked in this investigation; for instance, what effect the employment of a graduate of a manual-training school or trade school has had upon his own compensation — whether he receives a larger compensation than workmen employed through the ordinary sources; also whether by his employment, coming from a trade school or manual-training school, the wages of others in the same establishment have been affected, and whether there has been any improvement in style, or in the economic use of materials, or in the quantity or general quality of the goods produced, etc. You see there is a wide field that has not yet been

touched, except incidentally, by investigation relative to industrial training. This work we are in hopes to complete within a year. The second investigation will relate to building-loan associations and coöperative banks. In this investigation we shall proceed on other lines than those I have just described for industrial education; that is to say, we will take a census of such institutions in the United States, trying to get at each and every building-loan association, coöperative bank, or kindred institution — not only making a complete census of them all, but showing their methods of operation and their economic effects upon workingmen and others who use them, and also setting out mathematically, if possible, the mooted question as to whether the interest paid to such institutions by their patrons is less or greater than that paid in other directions. Several of the Bureaus have taken up this subject for their own States, and the Department of Labor will model its investigation upon the work of the State Bureaus that have paid attention to the subject. The third investigation, which is now going on, relates to the housing of labor in different countries where any attempt has been made to improve such housing. This will involve a wide study of the model dwelling-house systems of England, France, Belgium and Germany, so far as they have been attempted, and in this country. Appropriate illustrations will be made of methods, of styles, of surroundings, and all that can be of any value to the people of this country or to those at all interested in the housing of workingmen and women. This is an interesting question, and one that goes along with the investigation relating to building-loan associations. In addition to these three investigations, the Department has in contemplation, and will reach as soon as possible, an investigation bearing upon the single-tax question. It will undertake the collection of a line of statistics which has been suggested by advocates of the single-tax doctrine, to show whether or not there is anything in that doctrine. We have had considerable correspondence with gentlemen who believe in that doctrine, and for one I am exceedingly anxious to see a collection of data which shall be of value to those men and to others. Of course it is none of my business whether the single-tax doctrine is right or wrong.

If it should be proved to be right, I am a single-tax man through and through; if not right, I am not a single-tax man. That is the position, I suppose, of every man who studies the question. Certainly no question is of greater importance than that of taxation. If the advocates of the single-tax doctrine have struck the right theory of taxation, the sooner this country finds it out the better; if they are on the wrong track, the sooner we find that out the better. Of course it is not my province to determine which is right or which is wrong, but to collect the statistics so far as they will be useful in the discussion of the question. In addition to these inquiries the Department has been performing some work for the special benefit of the Bureaus of Statistics of Labor, more particularly than anybody else, and this is in two directions. First, we have taken the 140 odd volumes constituting the reports of all the Bureaus in the United States, gone through them analytically, and made a complete topical index. This work is now about going into the hands of the printer, and within two or three months I hope to be able to send to each of you this work of three or four hundred pages, which will enable you to see at a glance exactly what has been done by each State and how far it has carried its work. For instance, if you want to know what has been done in the way of investigating the question of child labor, you look under that title, and you will find just what States have treated of child labor, how they have treated it—whether in text form or statistically—the extent of their treatment as to the number of pages, etc., while in the other part of the volume you will find an analytical index to all the material in this vast collection of industrial information. The number of volumes is getting so large that it is now almost impossible to use a collection of the reports themselves. If a student has this analytical index in his hand he will be able to send for the volume or the particular information he desires. Furthermore, this volume will do a great deal in showing the great range and vast amount of work that has been done by the various Bureaus. In examining the reports of any particular State, it may appear that no great range of subjects has been covered, but when you take all the reports of all the States you find that the work of our

Bureaus has been simply stupendous. I have been urged by students in this and other countries to prepare this analytical index, or catalogue, and it has been under way for several months. It is now nearly completed, and will probably be ready for the press early in the coming fall. In addition to that volume, we have compiled all the laws relating to labor for all the States, most of them in full—that is, in nearly every case following the text of the law as it appears in the statutes of the different States. A few of these laws, such as the lien laws, for instance, will be consolidated, because it is hardly worth while to print in full the various lien laws; but they will be codified so as to show the provisions which each State makes. The same course will be taken with the apprenticeship laws. In other respects the labor laws of the States will be published in full. This volume will be so large and expensive that I shall have to depend upon Congress to print it; but Members have assured me that they will pass a resolution ordering it to be printed when it is ready. It is not for general distribution, like the other, but will be printed in a small edition for the convenience of gentlemen working as you are, so that you may have the laws of all the States without being under the necessity of collecting the Session Laws of the forty-four States, which is a great task, and one that is never completed. This comprises the current work of the Department of Labor.

Massachusetts.—Mr. WADLIN: The current work of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor will be embraced in the Twenty-first Annual Report. That Report consists of four parts, three of which have been issued in advance in pamphlet form. Part I. contains a compilation of the labor laws of Massachusetts, which we have made for the purpose of putting into the hands of the laboring people of the State a complete compendium of all our labor legislation, and in order to supply many requests which reach us from outside the State for information as to our statutes. The second part consists of an abstract of the recent enumeration of the population of Massachusetts, derived from the Eleventh Census of the United States. As you know, the work of enumeration for the census was brought into connection with the Bureau by my appoint-

ment as Supervisor, and we have made an elaborate analysis of the results shown by the returns, especially bringing out the relative importance of the agricultural and the manufacturing towns. The third part relates to the question of abandoned farms in Massachusetts. That was taken up because the subject was a matter of public interest, and because investigations along the same line had taken place in other States. The chief distinction of our Report on that subject is that we are enabled, by means of comparisons with the agricultural returns in our State census, to show what bearing, if any, the abandonment of farm land has on the progress or decline of agriculture in the different parts of the State, and its relation to our general industrial prosperity. The fourth part of the Report, not yet published, is an exhaustive investigation into the question of net profits in the manufacturing industries. The subject of profits has been, it is true, more or less treated in statistical investigations, but its consideration has generally been confined to gross profits, by which I mean the excess remaining after the deduction from the selling price of the cost of wages and raw material. This Report will go much farther than that. I consider it exhaustive, because it covers returns from 10,000 establishments, in round numbers, engaged in manufacturing industries in the State of Massachusetts. I put it more graphically if I say that it covers about 70 per cent of the entire product of our manufacturing industries; so the returns may be fairly claimed to be representative. It will present for each of the industries of the State the capital invested—not merely the stock capital, or money capital, but the actual capital invested, classified under the different items; for instance, land, buildings and fixtures, machinery, implements and tools, cash and credit capital. It will then take up the subject of the cost of production, and show, by percentages for each industry, the relation of the cost of stock, wages, salaries, rent, taxes, etc., to the total cost. The Report will then show the percentage which each of these items of cost is of the selling price, and thus show the percentage of gross profits, being the excess remaining between the cost of production and the selling price; distributing that gross profit into interest on cash and credit

capital, into an allowance for depreciation on machinery in each industry, and an allowance for selling expenses and loss, and thus leaving the balance as the net profit. Each industry will have a separate tabular presentation. The Report will go still farther. It will show the amount of net profit accruing to each partner or stockholder in each industry; that is, the average amount of money which each stockholder or partner drew as profit. It will parallel that with a presentation giving the average wages to each employé in the same industry, so that the average amount, which each laborer in each industry received, may be compared with the average profit each stockholder or partner received, in the same industry. The Report will also contain a series of tables which we call "ultimate tables." Having shown the exact facts as they exist in the industries named, under the present administration of industrial affairs, it will then show what would have taken place if a different adjustment had been made; that is to say, it will indicate the effect that a system of profit-sharing would have had in the industry, in increasing or decreasing the partner's or stockholder's share, or the wage-earner's share. It will also show what each wage-earner in each industry would have received had everything accruing in the way of a surplus over the cost of production gone to labor, and nothing been retained by capital. That will indicate the ultimate of distribution upon a socialistic basis. That, of course, is purely hypothetical, but it will tend to throw some light on the question as to how far labor would be benefited pecuniarily if all recompense to capital were eliminated. Of course recompense to capital could never be entirely eliminated. The Report will show, too, what each partner, stockholder and wage-earner would have received if they had shared equally, on a purely coöperative plan. For the year 1891 our work consists of the first chapter of an investigation into the distribution of wealth. The statistics relating to production have been quite fully presented. The statistical determination of the distribution of wealth opens a somewhat newer field, and one in which the collection of data is infinitely more difficult, because the facts are not so generally recorded. Our investigations along this line will continue during several years; but

we shall present in the first Report that which lies most easily open to us, that which is most accurately recorded—a comparison of the returns in the probate offices of the State, beginning with 1820 and running up practically to date, showing for each decade, or for successive periods as we may classify them, the amount of the estates passing through the probate offices and therefore made a matter of record, and their increase or decrease, relatively. We intend next to take up the distribution of the corporation capital of the State, which is also a matter of record, and ultimately to include more definite and complete data than have as yet been obtained as to the ownership of homes and real property. Another important statistical part of the Report for 1891 will be a presentation of wages and prices, which we make for the purpose of bringing up to date similar reports which we have made at stated periods. We shall include an exhaustive tabulation of wages in Massachusetts which we are now collecting, and also of prices for the commodities entering into household consumption. We shall add to the Report a final part, which I yesterday alluded to as a "labor chronology," it being a record of important events in the labor world throughout the State, arranged under the various heads of trades unions, strikes, accidents, etc., so that the public may have in the Report such information as they desire relative to the general proceedings of organized labor in the State, and that we may put on record, as a matter of history, events of that nature. By means of this record we shall be able to answer inquiries constantly made of us relative to the effect of strikes in the State, and as to topics under discussion in trades unions. This part will not be particularly statistical, but will give the facts in condensed form. To this statement of the work of the Bureau I wish to add something upon the point suggested by our President, as to whether it is more or less difficult as the years go on to collect information. So far as Massachusetts is concerned, it is decidedly easier every year. I can perhaps make that more plain to you if I refer to a distinct part of our work to which I have not yet alluded. We take each year what is in effect an annual census of manufactures, relative to the leading points in each industry—

capital invested, persons employed, expenditures for stock and labor, and value of goods made. Now, when I tell you that in January, February and March we collected, either through the mail or by the personal work of agents, about 6,000 returns, covering more than 70 per cent of the entire product of the State of Massachusetts—practically a census—and that we collected these without the slightest difficulty, and in not more than a dozen cases met with any objection on the part of the manufacturers called upon to supply information, I think you will understand what I mean when I say that it is comparatively easy to obtain the returns we ask for. In the cases of those who made objection, as soon as an explanation was made as to the purpose and intent of the information desired, we obtained, in nearly every case, what was wanted. The difficulty in Massachusetts is not so much the objection to supplying information, on the part of those to whom we apply, as it is the disinclination or lack of opportunity on the part of a busy man to take the time necessary to collate and make up such a return as we ask for. We meet with some difficulty on that account, but it is growing less from year to year, for we aim each year to reduce the labor required of the manufacturer. The difficulty of overcoming prejudice held by those from whom we ask information is growing distinctly less each year, and that I attribute to two causes. First, they are made sure that our Bureau will scrupulously respect their confidence, and that nothing will be disclosed which will in the slightest degree prejudice their interests in a business way with their competitors; and, second, there is, I believe, on the part of those administering the capital invested in industry, a growing conviction that publicity with regard to the important facts relative to production is an aid to them rather than the reverse, and that such publicity tends toward harmonizing conflicting interests. I think that the standpoint taken by Mr. PRICE yesterday is practically that of a large number of the men engaged in industrial enterprises in our own State—that wherever mystery obtains with reference to facts that are liable to cause differences of opinion, the surest way of bringing about harmony, and the best way to arrive at a just solution of a disputed question, is to turn on the light with regard to them.

Mr. SCOTT: The large concerns, of course, can give exact information, if they take the time; but in the West there are a great many small concerns that cannot furnish what is desired. Would you accept estimates in such cases?

Mr. WADLIN: We do that in some instances. The condition which you describe exists in the East as well as in the West. The larger concerns have their matters in such shape that the points we want are more closely a matter of record than is the case in the smaller establishments; but in the presentation of results, if we deem it essential to accuracy, we discriminate between estimates and matters of record. Generally speaking, a careful estimate by a man thoroughly acquainted with his business is better than no return at all. The question as to the best method of collecting statistics is one which a new incumbent of a Bureau would perhaps like to have opened up. As you know, in Massachusetts we do not rely entirely, or in fact very largely, on blanks sent out to be filled and returned. I suppose where your equipment is less complete and the amount of money at your disposal is more limited, you must, to a greater extent, rely upon that method. As a general rule, however, it is better to send an agent to those from whom you seek information, for the purpose of explaining clearly what you want. You get more complete and accurate answers than you do when you send out blanks, even if you do not get so many. That does not apply to every investigation, however. As an instance of the other method of securing returns, I would cite the investigation relating to abandoned farms, which, as I have said, we completed last year. That was carried on through the mails, which was easily done because the facts we collected were matters of distinct record, and the blanks were sent to the assessors, who were in possession of the facts, each blank being accompanied by an explicit explanation of what was desired. Out of 323 towns in Massachusetts, all but nine sent in replies, and the expense of the preliminary inquiries in that investigation was very small. That is an instance of a particularly favorable investigation conducted on the blank-return plan.

Mr. SCOTT: Were the assessors paid for their services?

Mr. WADLIN: No, sir; they received no compensation. There is a good deal of patriotism in Massachusetts with respect to such matters, and I think you will find it so elsewhere when you draw upon the people for information. Of course the labor required of any individual assessor was in this case limited, as the blank contained very few questions, and could be replied to without extended research.

Mr. HALL: I would like to ask whether you have a law in Massachusetts compelling manufacturers to answer your inquiries?

Mr. WADLIN: There is such a law in connection with our census; but in our annual collection of statistics of manufactures, which is, so far as it goes, a census, there is no penalty, and I would say that I attach little importance to a penalty. I would not rely upon a penalty in such matters. Let me illustrate my position in regard to that by a matter outside of bureau work. We took the census of Massachusetts for the Eleventh United States Census last year. I had 1,200 enumerators. As you all know, there was a good deal of objection to answering some of the census inquiries. We covered the entire State, containing a population of more than two millions, without a single recourse to the law. Of course, I had cases of refusal to answer, but I used moral suasion rather than resort to legal proceedings, and obtained the required returns; and I think that is the best way.

Mr. HALL: Do you not find in getting returns from manufacturers that in giving the value of goods produced in a year, the value of raw material, salaries, etc., they are likely to give you their figures in round numbers. For instance, they will say that the value of product was $200,000, when, as a matter of fact, it was $196,000 and some cents?

Mr. WADLIN: Not entirely. So far as it is a matter of record, so far as it can be taken from a ledger balance, they give us the exact figures. If it is not a matter of record, they must necessarily give an estimate. It makes very little difference statistically, however, if an estimate were as close as you have indicated, whether we obtained the actual figures or an estimate.

Mr. HALL: Where they have the figures, they give you a balance sheet of their business?

Mr. WADLIN: Practically; wherever they are able to do it. Of course we do not always ask for that; but if we want it we can get it.

Mr. KEAN: Do you get every item of expense in your collection of the statistics of manufactures?

Mr. WADLIN: Not annually. That is not required. In the "net profits" investigation, which I have mentioned, we have every item of expense in an output amounting to 70 per cent of the total product of the State. The reason the manufacturers give us this information is that they are absolutely sure, so far as the Bureau is concerned, that they will be protected; that is, that no disclosures will be made as to the establishments supplying it, or anything exposed prejudicial to their interests.

Mr. KEAN: Suppose the returns for a particular industry should show that the profits in that industry were 50 per cent on the capital invested; would not that fact excite a desire on the part of capitalists to invest their money in that business?

Mr. WADLIN: We have not encountered that difficulty. I might say here on that point what I have, perhaps, not made sufficiently plain. Let me illustrate by taking the industry known as linen goods in our classification, in which there are only one or two corporations engaged in Massachusetts. We would not present this industry so as to expose those corporations, but we would class them with others in such a way as to protect them from any improper use of their figures in a competitive way.

Mr. KEAN: We all know that there is a great deal of capital lying idle. Suppose the disclosures should show that you could make 25 per cent profit in one industry and 50 per cent in another; would not that fact be apt to induce a capitalist who had his money invested in the industry paying 25 per cent profit to seek an investment in the industry paying 50 per cent?

Mr. WADLIN: That is a matter that has never interfered with our work. A man would, I think, lack business sense who, without knowledge or experience, engaged in business solely for such a reason. It would not be generally done. Skill frequently counts for more than capital, and, besides that, the percentage rate alone is no indication of the amount of profit. The percentage rate is very misleading. We show that conclusively in our Report.

Mr. KEAN: We have had that trouble in our State. We have found that men would engage in industries which they knew absolutely nothing about — take their money out of bank and invest it in those industries — simply because they were sure of a large profit.

Pennsylvania.— Mr. BOLLES: I was desirous, for one, that our work should be reviewed, not so much to say anything myself, as to meet as fully as possible the wishes of the newer members who have come among us. I will say, however, with respect to my work, that last year the Bureau began an inquiry into the changes in the value of farm lands. This investigation was undertaken at the request of the farmers. It has been conducted in two ways. In the first place, a blank was prepared, containing a large number of questions for the farmers themselves to answer, to get their side of the story: and, in the second place, a series of investigations have been undertaken relative to the cost of transportation and matters of that kind. The work was begun last year, and has been continued ever since, and other results will appear in the next Report. Perhaps one of the most important features of the inquiry relates to transportation. The farmers in this State, as well as in other States, have complained that their sufferings were largely due to the fact that the transportation companies took too large a share of the profits. So we have undertaken to ascertain the transportation rates for a long series of years, and the value of various products in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore for the same period, and then to ascertain the percentage taken of the value of those products for transporting them from the points of shipment to the cities named. Many places have been selected throughout the State which may be fairly regarded as typical points.

I may say, in passing, that this question is exceedingly broad; and it may be that it would prove an interesting and valuable undertaking for other Bureaus. While the results of this investigation are not complete, we have collected facts that will solve, in part, the question. There are other features of the question — the effect of the decline in the market value of silver, and the importation of wheat from India, Russia, etc.— which have been examined as carefully as I could with the means at my command. Another question which I may describe briefly is an account of the various relief associations formed by the railroad companies doing business in the State. The Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company founded such an association several years ago, which was followed by the organization of a similar association by the Pennsylvania Company, embracing all the lines west of Pittsburgh. The Lehigh Valley, the Cumberland Valley, and the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy railroads, have also formed similar associations. Their object is perhaps worth explaining. When a man dies or is injured, as we all know, those around him are usually asked to assist him. When a very large number of people are employed, as by the great railroad companies, this becomes a burdensome duty to many. The railroad companies have learned that it is desirable to form these associations, not so much for a humane purpose as to systema tize the relief furnished. Furthermore, they are founded on two directly opposite plans, both of which are deserving of serious study. The Baltimore & Ohio plan is what some call the compulsory plan (though this is an infelicitous term to use); that is, no man is engaged by the company unless he is willing to become a member of the association, which requires that he shall pay a small percentage of his wages monthly toward its maintenance. Then, of course, if disabled by sickness or otherwise, he draws from this fund by prescribed regulations. The Pennsylvania system is conducted on precisely the opposite principle, the membership being voluntary; the men can join it or not, as they please. At first, the company sought to introduce the system which prevails on the Baltimore & Ohio, which compels all employés to join the association. Without describing

these systems further, I will remark, concerning the Baltimore & Ohio system, that the antagonism and ill feeling which existed in its early days has died away, and only good feeling prevails between the company and its employés. Apparently the association is achieving a great purpose. The officers and men are relieved from the constant calls which prevailed under the old method of relief; and those who are desirous of saving are encouraged to do so, because they know they are now secure. On the other hand, the other system is growing in favor, but growing slowly. The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company has adopted this system, while a number of other companies are inquiring into the desirability of establishing it, and I am inclined to think that, in a short time, similar organizations will be established by many of our railroad companies. It is a subject worthy of your attention, and it seems to me that these associations are deserving of the highest encouragement. There are some other topics in my Report, but perhaps they need not be mentioned. If I may be pardoned, I wish to reply to Mr. SIMMERMAN's question, "What is the work of these Bureaus good for?" One of the inquiries I have undertaken relates to the wages received by miners. There was a general impression that a miner was a half-starved individual, and that the coal operators did about as they pleased; and I must confess I shared, somewhat, this feeling. I do not think the miners are paid too much now, but after an elaborate inquiry I learned this, that, in a general way, they are paid higher wages than the public generally supposes, and I might say, than the miners themselves imagine. In one case, at Scranton, the miners saw one of my Reports. They looked at the figures, and declared that they never received so much money. So they began an inquiry on their own account. They continued it until they found that my figures were correct. I know that they were collected with the utmost care, and are right, for I have seen the pay-rolls and books from which they were taken, and that they have had some effect in enlightening the public. I think we may claim the same thing for much of the work we have done; and because we do not hear to-morrow or next day of its ef-

fectiveness, we should not conclude too hastily that we have accomplished nothing. Let us not claim too much for our work, but let us not conclude that it is wholly unfruitful.

The PRESIDENT: Do you find that the difficulty of collecting information increases or decreases as time goes on?

Mr. BOLLES: In regard to that point: When I began four years ago the Bureau was in a far worse condition than nothing. Every employer in the State regarded it as his enemy. The antagonism has not all passed away, but we have done something to change that feeling; and if to-morrow I should send a blank to some classes of employers, desiring information, I am sure that it would receive respectful attention.

Connecticut.—Mr. HOTCHKISS: A part of the work which we are going to pursue in Connecticut, whatever the outcome may be of the present difficulty in the Legislature, will be a continuation of the annual investigation of wages, capital and profits in our leading lines of manufactures. I would say in relation to that, that we began, in the first of my statistical work, with an effort to obtain reliable and definite figures showing the actual amount of capital invested, wages paid, and profits realized in the different lines of industry in our State. Our appropriation was limited, and we were obliged to start with the idea of taking representative establishments in different lines of industry, which we did. The primary reason for taking up that investigation was that at the time I came into the work in Connecticut there was utter isolation between capital and labor, if we are to use those terms in a general way, there was a feeling of bitterness between employer and employé, and coming into the work for the first time I thought that, by taking such a course, it would be possible to lay exact figures before the class of men who were prominent in labor agitation, and who were assuming that manufacturers were making enormous profits, and then, when anyone questioned their assumption, would reply: "Will you show me the figures by which you can prove our error?" and when the error could not be shown by the actual figures, would go on with their speech, "All right; perhaps I know more about it than you do." The result of that kind of talk was having a very serious effect. There were no reliable

statistics of the kind. It occurred to me that if we could get the confidence of the laboring people so that they would *believe* in an investigation of this kind, that we could show them whether there was any truth in the statement which they honestly made, that they did not believe the employers would dare show the amount of profits they were making, or that if they dared show it, they did not believe they would do it, and that if they pretended to show it they would simply pull the wool over our eyes by giving us false figures. This gives an idea of the state of affairs which existed in our State at that time. We began with the idea of getting our information on such a basis that we could meet these objections as they would be raised by the laboring people and others, and having secured their confidence throughout the State, as we did, we went to work to accomplish this. We made a schedule covering the essential, salient points necessary to be obtained. We had twenty-two lines of industry; we took in ninety representative establishments; we hired the best men we could get for special agents, for whether the employers would give us correct returns on paper or not was not the question with us at that time, but to get the returns in such a way that we could say to the people, "We know that these are correct;" so we employed special agents who went right to the leading men in each manufacture, which is what every one else does, I suppose, when he wants to get correct information, and told them frankly what we wanted and why we wanted it, and asked them to trust us with the figures from their books. Well, you can imagine the difficulty we met with at that point; but with patience and with constant explanation, one after another yielded and gave us this information, and in the Report of the Connecticut Bureau for 1888 you will find the statistics from those ninety establishments in twenty-two lines of industry, giving a complete statement relative to the capital, wages and profits of those establishments in those industries in Connecticut for the year 1887. Now, I refer back to this experience of our Bureau because I want to show the progress of work of this kind and what can be done, notwithstanding the difficulties we have to

contend with at the outset. There were five pointed questions on that schedule. An agent would go to a manufacturer and present the schedule to him. He would run his eye over these questions and say: "If I put down the right figures opposite those five questions, you will know as much about my business as I do." The agent would say: "Certainly; that is the precise thing we want. Now, if you will trust us with the figures, we will promise you that no detail of your business shall be given away; that we will put the figures in such form that while they will show the facts which we wish to bring out, nothing shall appear in the Report by which it will be possible to identify any individual establishment." In my Report you will find a few cases where only two companies reported the facts for certain industries. It would not have been living up to our agreement to present the facts in that way, except that we had the consent of the parties making those reports, to use them in that way. I speak of this to show that we have never violated the confidence reposed in us. Where there are only two establishments represented in an industry, either can subtract the figures given by one establishment from the aggregate, which would show the figures for the other. Thus we could not use such figures without consent, and where they do occur in the Report the consent of the parties interested was obtained. Now, we had hard work to get those figures. We had good men employed; but I had to go personally, to establishment after establishment, time after time, to explain the reasons for wanting certain things and arrange matters so that they would give the facts desired. I speak of this to show how we went to work in that investigation. The result was that when our Report came out there was no complaint from anyone of any use that we had made of any of those figures. Then, in addition to that, we had the pay-rolls of these companies. We did not ask the companies to copy them for us, as we preferred to copy them ourselves. We copied them *verbatim*, and in the statements of wages in the Report for 1888 you will find what is absolute fact to a cent, so far as they are given, because we took from the ledgers of the companies the amounts

of wages paid in each department of a certain industry and added them together. Then, in carrying them out in detail in the different occupations in that industry, we did not put a figure into the Report until the footings of the detail figures were made to correspond with the footings of the full amounts taken from the ledgers. We did it in that way because we wanted the figures effective, not only as showing the *fact*, but as carrying *conviction*. What is the result? That kind of agitation which I have described has stopped in Connecticut. There are the figures. They show what was made; they show what wages were paid; they show the cost of production, and what the percentages are in all essential particulars. The result of that work was convincing, and the people were satisfied that the figures were correct. Further than that, while we went into that investigation with the idea of producing this result, and using it as an influence for the composing of the differences and difficulties between capital and labor, it excited such a wide interest that we received many requests and suggestions, not not only from within the State, but also from without, that we should continue the inquiry, so that we could present a larger percentage and range of industries than the twenty-two lines treated in our Report, with a larger number of establishments, in order to show the results from year to year and obtain an average for a term of years; and it was on suggestions and requests of that kind that we continued the work. We dropped the labor detail, because from year to year there is comparatively little change, and we had not the means to carry out that immense work every year; but we propose to take it up at intervals of perhaps five years, which will show any variation in wages. The statistics of capital, wages, and profits, which is the way we generalize it, which involve the main points, we have carried on for three years. Our experience in this work illustrates what these gentlemen have said about the progress of liberality on the part of employers. The first year it was with extreme difficulty that we could get 90 establishments to give us their figures; the second year, at no greater expense, we got 241, securing them in the same way, through special agents, who

went to the establishments in person, and the figures which appeared in the last Report, just published, represent 636 establishments. Connecticut is a small State; we have taken the larger establishments, and we have a very large proportion of the capital and of the labor employed in the manufactures of the State. Now, just a word in regard to the people who refuse to give information. They are not always narrow-minded men, they are not always unthinking men, nor men who are lacking in philanthropy; but some of our very best men in Connecticut, though personally friendly to me and the Bureau, still decline to give us their figures. In every case where a man objects we say, "That is your privilege; we present this matter to you; we think it is to your interest to do this; we think there is a common interest in it, and we should like to have you give us this information." If he finally refuses, there is no controversy; but we leave him pleasantly. There is a growing willingness on the part of the employers of labor to give us what we need. It would be unfair for me to make this statement here so far without saying that one important factor in the success of our work has been the cordial support of the newspaper press of the State, which we have had all the way through. Having gone so far, we propose to continue year by year, until we get the results for a term of years sufficient to make an average that will be of great value. The value of the work we do in this line in Connecticut is multiplied by the work of every other State that takes up the inquiry, where it can be done, although I doubt very much whether it is practicable to do it everywhere. We are favorably situated in Connecticut for this work, and I think the same is true of Massachusetts. We are going to be able in this way to show the facts. We think we have already shown them to a large extent, but further work will perfect and emphasize them. So much for that part of the work. We took up this as our leading work, and our plan has been, in connection with that, to take up some one or more of the industries of the State and make an exhaustive examination and report. In our Report for 1889, the last but one, we took up the fisheries of the State. Scarcely anything was known by the people generally of the

extent and importance of this industry, and it was a perfect revelation to the people of Connecticut to find that there was over $4,000,000 invested in the fisheries of the State. That is only one instance. In the Report for 1890 we took up every street railroad in the State, and showed the wages, time employed, and other important facts. We also took up the subject of city, borough and town employés; their wages, hours of labor, contract and day labor, etc. We have done this in connection with the main investigation, and we shall, the coming year, if we have an appropriation, take up some other subject or industry in a similar way. I am very glad that you have given to Mr. WADLIN and other gentlemen, as well as myself, the opportunity to make these statements. There is vastly more we would like to say. We are engaged in a most important work, and are accomplishing great results. As was said by Professor BOLLES, I think you cannot do anything in this line that will not be productive of good.

Ohio. — Mr. LEAHY: I came here more for the purpose of learning, as several gentlemen have expressed themselves, from those of you who have had experience, and this I anticipated would be the most interesting part of the proceedings, to hear each of the Commissioners from the different States give his experience to those who are inexperienced. I am, therefore, very sorry that things are running in the direction they are. So far as the work in Ohio is concerned, I will only say a few words. Since we have a new feature there for the coming year, which gives us an additional force of five Free-Employment Superintendents, we expect to make more thorough investigations into the industrial affairs of the State than it has been possible to make heretofore. The State Legislature has granted us an increased fund for that purpose. With this increased fund and the increased force, we expect to make a complete collection of manufacturing statistics and labor statistics — that is, concerning the wages received by those employed below sixteen years of age and those over sixteen years of age; and inasmuch as Ohio is extensively engaged in mining, and the Commissioner is very familiar with that industry, he is going to make a complete investigation of

that subject. Perhaps I might say something of interest in regard to the employment bureaus in our State, inasmuch as they are a new feature. Before the Commission was created there was considerable opposition to its establishment, but after it had been started all of the legislators of the State watched sharply its progress, and a great many connected with labor organizations have watched the effect of the employment agencies with a great deal of interest. Some said it was running into a paternal form of government, and raised that objection seriously. Even the Speaker of the House of Representatives fought it on that ground. But at the end of six months the Commissioner published a report showing how many were employed through the agencies and comparing the cost of their employment through that means with what it would have been through the old employment agencies which charge from two dollars to five dollars for obtaining positions, which clearly indicated that it was an economical measure, and that it paid the State or the citizens thereof in a greater degree than any other law that could be pointed out in the statutes. So far as it has progressed it has given entire satisfaction—in fact, more than was anticipated by its strongest friends. There are some points in connection with the administration of the law which might be improved upon. Its success depends very largely upon the kind of men who are appointed as superintendents. The superintendent, if he is a competent man, can not only be of great service to those in search of employment and those wishing to employ labor, but he can also give much assistance to the Bureau. They have in the last six or eight months been of much assistance to the Bureau in the collection of statistics. They are located in the largest cities, and can go to the various manufacturing establishments and investigate anything that the Commissioner desires investigated, and can do it much better than an agent who has to hurry from place to place. Residing in the cities in which the establishments from which information is desired are located, and being acquainted with the leading manufacturers, they can secure information which no agent, who is a stranger in the city, could possibly obtain.

The PRESIDENT: I hope Commissioner MCBRIDE will make a full statement on this subject, in writing, for incorporation in the proceedings of the Convention.

Mr. LEAHY: Inasmuch as I occupied the attention of the Convention last evening, I will not tire it now; but I would like to call attention to one point. If any of you gentlemen are contemplating in your States the establishment of free-employment bureaus, I would direct your attention to the printed matter which Commissioner MCBRIDE will send you regarding the law under which the bureaus in our State are organized. Ohio has enacted a law which is giving the Commissioner a great deal of trouble, and it is for that reason he is not here, as he is now away from home on business connected with the administration of that branch of his duties. I feel that I am a poor substitute for him. If he were here he could explain the matter to you much better than I am capable of doing it, as he is more conversant with the administration of the affairs of our office than I am, my duties being those of compilation of returns, directing the work of clerks, etc. I will say, however, that if you should establish such bureaus in your States you will avoid a great deal of difficulty by advising with your legislators in regard to the framing of a law. For instance, our law specifies that the Commissioner shall appoint the superintendents, while the city councils of the respective cities are to fix the salary which the superintendents shall receive. Then the question came up as to the incidental expenses, such as outfitting the offices, etc., and the Attorney General had to be called in to decide that matter. Furthermore, there is difficulty in regard to the employment of clerks. The Commissioner appoints the superintendents, as well as the clerks. It would be better for the Commissioner to appoint the superintendents, and let the superintendents appoint their own clerks. If you will consider that a little, you will readily understand that it would be a decided improvement in the law. For instance, suppose I am appointed superintendent for Cincinnati. The Commissioner has never lived in Cincinnati, and is not acquainted there, while I have lived there all my life, and am acquainted with a large circle of people there. I would certainly be better

qualified than the Commissioner to appoint a competent clerk, for he would have to depend entirely upon the recommendations which applicants would present, and you all know how such recommendations are procured sometimes. When you read Commissioner McBRIDE's report in regard to these new bureaus, I would direct your attention to these defects in the law. Commissioner McBRIDE regretted very much that he could not come to this Convention, but it was owing to the defects in the law that he was obliged to remain in Ohio; the work in Dayton was in such a condition that he had to be there. Notwithstanding these difficulties of which I have spoken, the general work of the office is very satisfactory, indeed.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: What is the particular function of these employment bureaus?

Mr. LEAHY: The particular function is, in the first place, to prevent poor people being robbed of their money by having to go to employment agencies that charge from one dollar to five dollars as a deposit. Suppose I want to be a bookkeeper in Cincinnati. I am not acquainted with the business men of Cincinnati or those who would be likely to want to employ a bookkeeper, and I go to an agency such as you see here in Philadelphia. They compel me to pay two or three dollars as a deposit before they will look out for my interests. By our law we do away with these offices. The State undertakes to establish offices in the larger cities, so that employers may obtain employés and employés may obtain situations through them.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: I want to emphasize what Mr. WADLIN said about the advisability of attempting to collect statistics by force. I should not have a particle of confidence in anything that came by force. We have no law whatever in Connecticut compelling anybody to give us information, and we do not want one.

Mr. LEAHY: A firm in Cincinnati, on receipt of a circular from our Bureau asking for certain information, wrote to Commissioner McBRIDE that they absolutely refused to answer the questions in the circular, unless the State of Ohio had a law on its statute books compelling them to do so, but

that if there was such a law they would give the information willingly and give it accurately.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: That may be true in the case of one or two, or possibly a small class of conscientious men, who would scorn to put a figure on paper that is not right; but take the run of men, especially in Connecticut, and you will find a great deal of human nature among them, and if you attempt to force anything from them, it will not do.

Mr. BOLLES: I think that our friend from Ohio is partly right and that Mr. HOTCHKISS is partly right. Take, for example, a corporation; you send the secretary a blank, and he does not want to answer your inquiries, but if the law requires him to answer, he will very likely make a return, and a correct one; whereas in the case of an individual, he might not care whether he broke the law or not.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: Those of us who are familiar with book-keeping know that it is a wonderful system, so that a man can put on paper what you may think is the truth, and yet it will be very far from the truth.

Mr. WADLIN: We have had some cases in our State similar to that which Mr. LEAHY mentions. My way of dealing with them is not to attempt to enforce a penalty, but to make it my personal business to inform those men exactly what we are going to do with the information in case we obtain it. As soon as they see the exact bearing of the investigation, they almost invariably make a different response; but whether we get a response or not, our telling them what we want and why we want it generally proves to be good missionary work.

New Jersey.—Mr. BISHOP: In 1889, the Bureau began what was largely an experimental line of inquiry, namely, an investigation into the effect of occupation on the health and duration of the trade-life of workmen. Three of the most important State industries were taken up, namely: glass, pottery, and hatting. The effort was directed primarily to obtaining from journeymen of 21 years of age and upwards, a sufficiently full history of their trade-life for a correct estimate of its duration. During the past year the mining industry was investigated in this direction. The duration of the actual trade or working-life is a phase of the industrial question that

as yet has received little attention, although it is one of immense moment to the wage-earner; and it is one upon which the records of vital statistics, even when comprehensive, throw but little light. Therefore the Bureau adopted the original method of obtaining from living workmen information respecting the age at which they began work, present age, age of decline and of incapacity, and the total number of years actually at work. The Bureau has also supplemented its investigation of 1889, of the number and amount of foreclosure sales, and mortgaged indebtedness in the State, by an inquiry respecting farm values and abandoned and uncultivated farms during the year 1890. Under the act of 1890, requiring building and loan associations doing business in the State to report to the Bureau annually, a mass of interesting data respecting these very valuable economic enterprises has been obtained, more accurate and full than the biennial returns, which had been collected by it from 1880 to 1888. The form of interrogatories sent out was indorsed at a meeting of representatives from the State building and loan associations held in September. The result of that meeting was also the formation of a State league. The aggregate statistics, as returned, show a very material increase over those of two years before, and are as follows: Number of associations, 254; number of shares, 437,773; number of shares pledged, 111,987; number of shareholders, 71,726; number of borrowers, 16,864; stockholders, males, 75 per cent; females, 24 per cent; corporations, 1 per cent; borrowers, males, 78 per cent; females, 21 per cent; corporations, 1 per cent; net assets, $22,043,892 (average $91,039); amount of mortgages held, $21,320,044, or 91 per cent of the total resources. The net assets are exclusive of the money owing by the associations, and therefore aggregate less than the total resources.

Illinois.—Mr. LORD: The Illinois Bureau has been engaged during the last year on a report which is about to be issued, covering four or five subjects, the foremost of which is the earnings of coal miners in the State of Illinois. The material for this feature of the report has been obtained from the pay-rolls of the proprietors of the mines. We have

had no difficulty whatever in obtaining these pay-rolls wherever we have made application for them, and we have made transcripts of them for a calendar year, making a separate abstract or slip for each man's earnings, his working-time, the deductions for powder, oil and smithing, and, in short, of his entire statement of account for twelve consecutive months, or such number of months as he may have worked during the calendar year under consideration. We have compiled these facts for about 8,000 coal-mine employés in Illinois, and have produced a series of tables which will be very conclusive, I think, as to the actual earnings of coal miners in that State. The establishments which were taken were selected because of their representative character, and were taken from four or five of the principal coal fields in our State, showing the conditions under which miners work, the variations in conditions, and the earnings which go with those conditions. In addition to that, and supplemental to our prior report on mortgage indebtedness in Illinois, we have examined the county records for foreclosures of mortgages; also the records of the courts of the State for judgments rendered against debtors; also for judgment notes or judgments taken by confession on judgment notes, and have made an investigation into the true value of farm lands. The method adopted to arrive at land values in our State has been to search the records of deeds in every county. We have taken all the sales of lands, as distinguished from lots, made in every county, in a calendar year, and show in our report the number of acres sold and the amount of money actually paid for them, and from this have computed the average selling price, which is presented as the real average value of land in each county. In addition to these features, we have made our annual compilation of the reports of the State Inspectors of Mines. This is a body of statistics on the production of coal in our State, which covers all the details of that industry—not only the total amounts produced, but the number of persons employed, the value of product, the rates of wages paid, as distinguished from the earnings received, the record of accidents and of improved appliances for the promotion of the health and safety of coal miners. During the present session of the Legislature there has been a great deal of

legislation proposed in behalf of the coal miners, and the coal operators of the State have addressed to the Legislature a protest against much of it as unwise and fruitful of future trouble. To this protest the miners have made a formal reply, also addressed to the General Assembly. These two documents comprise an appendix to the report. In regard to the difficulties of obtaining information in our State, I am glad to say that thus far we have encountered very little objection — practically none. It was predicted that we could not get access to the pay-rolls of the coal companies, but we found in every instance that the companies were willing to submit their pay-rolls to our agents, and our agents have examined them. In some cases the companies have sent their pay-rolls and coal books to our office and left them in our possession for several months. Generally, however, we have sent our agents direct to their offices, and every opportunity has been afforded us to obtain the desired information. It should be said, however, in this connection, that the investigations thus far made by the Illinois Bureau have not been of a character to test the disposition of manufacturers in this respect. Our inquiries have hitherto been directed to other subjects, and no attempt has yet been made to collect statistics of manufactures, such as some other Bureaus have undertaken.

Indiana.— Mr. PEELLE: Until very recently the work of the Indiana Bureau of Statistics has been confined to the collection of general statistics, and the Bureau has never made any personal investigations of any account, except that relating to building associations. Now that we have a law that will compare favorably with that of any other State, we shall in the future make investigations of an economic character. Two years ago the Indiana Legislature recognized the necessity for State investigation of the many questions growing out of the employment of labor, and passed a law making such investigations incumbent upon the Bureau. Soon after the Legislature adjourned, however, questions arose affecting the title to the office and the appropriation was not utilized. The last Legislature renewed the appropriation, and, all legal questions having been settled, the Bureau's efforts for the

years 1891-92 will be confined chiefly to the collection of labor statistics and the investigation of questions incident thereto, including wages, hours of labor, coöperative labor, child labor, profit-sharing, cost of living, etc. While some attention will be given to general statistics, less time will be devoted to this branch of the work and less space will be given it in the Biennial Reports than heretofore.

New York.— Mr. KEAN: The forthcoming Report of the Bureau will contain the results of an investigation and study of the shorter working-day. It includes a summary of the legislation regulating the hours of labor in Europe and in this country. The investigation, so far as it relates to the State of New York, was designed to cover eight years, the period since the creation of the Bureau. In many instances, however, the labor organizations designated or requested officials, ex-officials or old members, or appointed committees, to take charge of the matter, and the result is that we have returns from several trades covering a much longer period of time — sometimes the figures go as far back as twenty or more years. Besides the returns from the labor organizations, we had the records of the department to draw from, to which allusion was made in the remarks on the paper presented by Mr. ROGERS. The investigation of this subject has enabled us to make the beginning of a chronological history of the rise and fall of wages, and the reduction of the hours of labor in the State of New York. It will be a very easy task for us in the future to add to this statement, either by correspondence or by personal investigation. Our annual investigation of strikes will give us the changes, too. An opportunity was given to the labor organizations to present their views — that is, we asked them several questions — whether they were in favor of a shorter working-day or not, etc., and to state their reasons therefor. Then we asked what effect immigration would have upon the shortening of the working-day, and *vice versa*, and what trades would be affected by it; that is, whether there were any trades that would be affected by its introduction at the present time. It is well known to most of us that it can be introduced without any great difficulty in the building trades; but there are some trades into which it

could not be introduced without serious trouble. We also asked what influence it would have upon those out of employment, upon retail shopkeepers, etc., and whether they received any benefit from the Saturday half holiday, and kindred questions. We also continued our investigation of strikes. The investigation of this subject includes a reading history, as well as a tabulated statement of loss of wages, causes and results, gain in wages, capital diverted, and matters of that kind. We found it a great help in our work to continue this investigation from year to year, because it puts us in a condition to refer from time to time to the warfare that is going on between labor and capital, and also to show what changes are occurring in the method of conducting strikes. We are also attempting to make an industrial census. The first step in that direction is to make a classified list of the trades and industries in the State of New York; that is the work with which we are at present occupied. When I tell you that there are over 60,000 manufacturing establishments in our State, you will see what a task we have on hand. We have also prepared a blank with which we are now experimenting, which will give us the exact earnings of the workers in three or four leading industries. I do not think our bureaus, as a rule, will ever be able to ascertain the exact earnings in certain industries, unless they are furnished by the individual workers, for the reason that the totals taken from the books of the employer do not give the time lost, either in hours or in fractions of hours, which in a year amounts to considerable. A table made from these blanks will show, for instance, in a cotton factory, the amount of yarn spun, in pounds, and the stock, with the price paid for the same. Of course there are a number of questions relative to the hours of labor and the general conditions surrounding those employed; but we make them as few as possible. On the opposite page we have put twenty-eight lines for the working-days of the month. The first column contains the day of the week, the next the month, and then the number of hours worked for that day, and the number of hours lost and the cause of idleness in the last column. That will give us a chance to get at the exact figures for that industry. In one

organization alone one hundred and twenty-five spinners have consented to give us the information asked for, and they are now filling out those blanks from day to day.

Michigan.— Mr. ROBINSON: I have taken up an investigation relating to the condition of working women in Michigan, on request, and for the reason that it has never been attempted before, as the principal feature of our forthcoming Report. In addition to that I have undertaken an investigation of the subject of taxation — a comparative statement of the tax on land values in the State — on the lines indicated by the President. I shall also make a compilation of the results of the various Reports issued by the Michigan Bureau, to put into the hands of those who have not a complete library edition of the Reports, by reason of the fact that some of the earlier Reports are out of print. In addition to that I will compile the labor laws of the different States. These will make up the principal work of the Bureau, with a few topics thrown in by way of condiments. In regard to the difficulties of gathering statistics, I will say, to put it in brief, that we have as a general thing very smooth sailing, with some opposition — the smooth sailing being in the proportion of about 75 per cent, with about 25 per cent of opposition in various degrees and forms, which is principally overcome by moral suasion, after the manner suggested by Mr. WADLIN, and to some extent in the way mentioned by Mr. LEAHY. I have succeeded in getting the Legislature of Michigan to improve the tone of the Bureau by making it a misdemeanor on the part of employers to in any way interfere with the collection of statistics. I asked and obtained the passage of this law on the ground that I thought it would exert a salutary moral influence, rather than for the purpose of resorting to it, except in rare cases. I think in rare cases we ought to treat them to a little law — very rarely, however, and good judgment should be used in that respect.

Mr. LORD: I would like to ask the gentleman from Michigan what method he is pursuing in collecting the facts in the working-women investigation.

Mr. ROBINSON: I am pursuing what is called the individual method; that is, sending agents right into the establishments

where the women are employed. I desire to cover as large an area as my appropriation will permit, so as to make the investigation clearly representative.

Mr. LORD: What class of facts are you collecting?

Mr. ROBINSON: Our schedule contains some sixty questions, including everything that Massachusetts has covered — the social, economic, and sanitary conditions surrounding women workers, and, as a matter of course, everything relating to wages, savings, etc.

Mr. LORD: Do you employ women as special agents?

Mr. ROBINSON: I am employing women exclusively, for obvious reasons, and they make good agents for that kind of work. We are obtaining individual statements from the women involved in the investigation, and, as I understand from Mr. Heath, my predecessor, that there is frequently a discrepancy between the statements made by employés and the wages as they appear upon the books of their employers, I have thought, in order to make my statistics as accurate as possible, that I would ask for the pay-rolls as well as the individual answers, and make a comparison for the purpose of verification. I shall try to make as accurate a presentation of the subject as possible. I left one or two questions out of my blank; but I have instructed my agents to turn the schedule over and enter them on the back. There seems to be a desire on the part of the ladies connected with the Christian associations, with whom I have had an extensive correspondence, to know what societies working women belong to. I did not embrace that question in my schedule, and I did not embrace a question as to the comparative wages paid to women in exactly the same kind of industries; but I have endeavored to supply those points since the blanks were sent out, by special instructions to the agents in regard to them.

Maine.—Mr. MATTHEWS: On account of the limited means with which I have had to work, and the large extent of territory which I have to cover, as well as on account of our scattered population, I have thought it best to confine my efforts to a careful investigation of a few industries at a time, in order to make the results as thorough as possible. Two years ago I took up the quarrying industries—the lime, granite

and slate productions — and last year I investigated that important part of labor in Maine which relates to agriculture. While we have an Agricultural Bureau, its disposition seems to be to give its attention to matters having no particular reference to the condition of our agricultural classes. I prepared blanks, which most of you have probably seen, containing a large number of questions relating to capital invested in farms, profits, etc., and distributed them, mostly by mail, throughout the State, except in the county of Aroostook, a county 2,000 square miles larger than the State of Connecticut, where I employed a special agent. Of the large number of blanks which I distributed among the farmers, many were not returned at all, while of those which were returned, but a comparatively small proportion were filled out in such a way as to be of any value. Our farmers are not bookkeepers, and keep their accounts mostly by estimates and guess work. The result of that inquiry was that we obtained 370 returns from farmers in the various counties of the State, giving full details, and undoubtedly intended to be correct. Still I am satisfied that the showing is to the detriment of the farms, not giving them full credit. If any of you have had any experience in the internal revenue service, as I have, in undertaking to collect income tax from the farmer, you know that he never considers anything he gets from the farm as contributing much to his support, contending that that should be left out of the calculation. This being the first effort in that line, and having nothing with which to compare the results, I am not entirely satisfied with it, but I hope we may get something out of it which will show the farmers their condition. In addition to that, following the lines laid down by the Bureaus of some other States, I have made an investigation relating to the abandoned farms of our State. My attention was called to the statements published in the Western newspapers, that the farms of Maine were being abandoned, and that farming would ultimately disappear from our State. This is a great mistake. The census of 1880 showed that there were over 64,000 farms in the State, and I am satisfied that the Eleventh Census will show an increase. Still there are abandoned farms. We sent blanks to the assessors of the various towns,

and our figures are made up from their books. From 509 towns and plantations, we received returns, excepting six towns and six plantations.

Mr. POWERS: I presume the farms in Maine are not very large?

Mr. MATTHEWS: We have a very few farms which, including woodland and grazing land, run up toward a thousand acres, but the average size of the farms from which we have returns, as near as I can remember, is about 180 acres. That is above the census estimate, for the reason that the census takes in farms of two or three acres, while we did not include farms of that size in our inquiry. The number of abandoned farms in the State, as shown by our returns, is about 3,400. These figures have been criticised in different ways. In the Legislature last winter some of the members said there was no such number of abandoned farms, and that the Report was not correct, and made a bad showing for the State; while others said, just as positively, that I had not reported more than half of them. While my Report shows this large number of abandoned farms, it does not necessarily indicate a bad condition of farming in Maine, from the fact that many of the farms in the older sections of the State, notably Oxford and Franklin counties, and in other counties along the coast which are not, naturally, agricultural sections, have been deserted; and although many of the people have gone West, yet a large number of them have gone into the new and fertile county of Aroostook and cleared up farms, merely going from one locality to another; so that while a farm in Oxford county might be returned as abandoned, there was in fact a new farm opened up in another county, the old farm being left for the sheep to graze upon.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: There is not an absolute abandonment, then, of these farms that are reported as abandoned, but somebody still claims them?

Mr. MATTHEWS: That is true.

Mr. BETTON: Are the taxes still paid on such farms?

Mr. MATTHEWS: Yes, sir; and on quite a high valuation. The average valuation of land and buildings of the abandoned farms is $4.99 an acre.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: You mean by "abandoned" that they are not cultivated?

Mr. MATTHEWS: They are not cultivated, but are used for grazing purposes. In many cases the notes and remarks which accompanied the returns of the assessors threw much light upon the matter, by giving an indication of the cause of abandonment; for instance, they would report a farm as abandoned where an old gentleman and his wife had lived, raised a family, and died, and their sons had gone away to other States or engaged in other business. The sons would want a home at the old homestead, and would keep it up, coming back each year to spend the summer, cutting the grass and paying the taxes. Such a farm, although reported as abandoned, is only abandoned so far as cultivation is concerned. These investigations, together with a detailed account of strikes, quite a number of which occurred among our granite cutters last year, growing out of the desire to reduce the hours of labor and to increase the rates of wages, and a compilation of the labor laws, etc., comprise the work of our Bureau. I am happy to say that I obtained a slight addition to my appropriation last year, and now have in my employ men who circulate blanks among the laboring people, and I am happy to say, also, that the relations between the workingmen and the Bureau are very agreeable, and those relations have been improved by some events which occurred last winter. The laboring men of Maine are very strongly in favor of the Australian ballot system, and I personally favored it, which enabled me (as the workingmen made my office their headquarters) to get acquainted with the leading men of some of the labor organizations. In this way I have secured their coöperation and sympathy, and they are circulating my blanks and taking an interest in the work. To show the good feeling that exists on their part, I will state that when the matter of an appropriation for my Bureau was broached, a request came through labor organizations, representing ten or fifteen thousand workingmen, that the appropriation be granted.

Rhode Island.—Mr. DAVIS: I wish to convey to the Convention the regrets of Commissioner GOODWIN for not being

here. He intended to have been here Tuesday and Wednesday, at least. Mr. GOODWIN is also Mayor of the city of Pawtucket, R. I., and unforeseen business connected with the city government unfortunately necessitates his presence there at this time. Our work for the next year will relate to child labor. As you are aware, Connecticut and Massachusetts have laws prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age, while in our State the age limit is placed at ten years, the consequence being that Rhode Island has become the dumping ground for children between ten and fourteen years of age who cannot get employment in the two States named. We intend to make an exhaustive investigation of that subject. We propose to show by our investigation the number of children employed in different occupations, and the wages paid. We have also sent circulars, and have had personal interviews with ministers in localities where children are employed, in regard to the effect upon morals of children where the sexes are working together. We have also sent circulars, and had personal interviews with physicians, inquiring as to whether it is injurious to the health of children to be employed at anything under fourteen years of age. In addition to these, we have sent out circulars in regard to the education of the children employed in various industries, as to whether it is detrimental to their education to be employed under such age. We have had very flattering returns—so flattering, indeed, that we shall be able to give in our next Report a very thorough account of child labor for our State.

Colorado.—Mr. BODINE: It affords me great pleasure to have the honor of representing the Silver State in this assemblage. Doubly so, because the Bureau of Labor Statistics is one of a few survivors of a tidal wave of retrenchment that swept over the deliberations of the last Colorado Legislature. With full appreciation of that fact, coupled with a realization of the importance of the department, the work of the Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics for the ensuing year will be devoted to all the features incorporated in the statute that created it. This includes attention to all subjects pertaining to the true interests of labor, statistics covering mining, agriculture, convict labor, child labor, wages and hours

of employment, the Chinese and their habits, sanitary condition of workshops, women wage-earners, the apprentice system, employment agencies, and other subjects that can best be enumerated as essential miscellany. One of the laws on the statute books of Colorado compels all establishments of a mercantile or manufacturing nature where females are employed to furnish suitable seats to these working girls and permit occupancy thereof when they are not engaged with their duties. It is a law that is, in itself, the personification of humanity. Even undertakers and physicians, who lose many cases by its adoption, will admit that it should be adopted in every State in the Union. The few minutes' rest thus obtained by girls during the day is greatly appreciated. I therefore take great pleasure in seeing that the law is enforced. I find in recently compiled statistics that Colorado is preëminent in paying good wages in all branches of labor, except clerical labor. This exception is due to a largely overcrowded market, caused by the fact that Denver is a Mecca for men and women in poor health, who invariably prefer clerical work, and tender their services at small wages in order to breathe the invigorating air of Colorado, which in most cases restores them to health. Unrestricted immigration — that increasing menace to American labor — is being felt slightly even as far west as Colorado. I regard this influx of foreign pauper labor as a dangerous factor to the interests of workingmen in this country, and unless something is done soon to stop, or at least check it somewhat, American workmen will be compelled to either give way to these foreigners or work for foreign wages. This latter schedule, as a source of food supply, would make an American so emaciated in a few weeks that his abdomen and backbone would become cemented with starvation. My policy is to make the Bureau of as much practical benefit as possible to the working classes. My library and collection of labor literature is at all reasonable times open to the laboring people, and I am happy to have them interested in the department. In the current work of the Bureau special attention is being paid to an investigation of the detriments, as well as the benefits, to honest labor. I find that among the worst foes of labor are

the professional "agitators"—men of Augean mouths and velvet hands, whose work is only in the abstract. These men are friends of labor for revenue only, and their lungs are callous with incendiary utterances that ofttimes mislead honest workingmen. Not only workingmen themselves suffer, but their wives and babies in many cases stare at empty cupboards as one sequel of the agitator's work. I want it distinctly understood that there is a broad line of distinction between the professional agitators and the legitimate labor leaders whose hearts beat with sincere warmth for the interests they represent. I apply the term "agitator" only to those men whose actions entitle them to the classification. The Colorado Bureau has a system of correspondence among other features, with a responsible correspondent in each labor center in the State. By this means all current events of importance in labor circles is filed, and at the end of each year a complete record of strikes, lockouts, and boycotts and their causes is kept. That is about all that I have to say, and I thank you heartily for your attention.

Tennessee.—Mr. FORD: I do not know as I can say anything that will interest you, gentlemen, as I really have not been in the traces long enough to know just what I will undertake; but from the little attention I have been able to give the subject, I think the first efforts of our Bureau will be confined to the mining industries of the State. The location of our State being so central, and our two mining industries, coal and iron, being so closely placed together, our Bureau will undertake to show up just those two industries, so that the attention of men engaged in those two lines of business may be attracted. I cannot give you any form that I may use in this work. That will have to be left to the future. But our efforts will be confined to those two industries.

Mr. BOLLES, of Pennsylvania, read a telegram from Mr. WEEKS, of Baltimore, stating that all arrangements had been made for the entertainment of the members of the Convention at the new Philadelphia Steel Works and at Baltimore on Friday, and upon motion of Mr. BODINE, of Colorado, it was decided that the excursion to the points named should take place on Friday, as originally provided by the program.

The Convention then took a recess until 8 o'clock p. m., intending to devote the afternoon to visiting Cramp's ship yards.

ADDENDA.

Some of the Commissioners were granted the privilege of writing up what they desired to say regarding the current work of their Bureaus, and forwarding the same directly to the Secretary. Under this agreement the following papers have been received by that officer, and in this connection it is proper to state that, desiring to make this portion of the proceedings as complete as possible, the Secretary addressed a circular letter to the Commissioners in charge of the Bureaus not represented at the Convention, and the replies so far as received are also incorporated:

Wisconsin.—Mr. DOBBS: The Bureau of Labor, Census and Industrial Statistics of Wisconsin is acting under special provisions of our statutes, in which certain duties devolve upon the Bureau. The law provides and makes it the duty of the Commissioner to collect, collate and publish facts and statistics relative to the manufactures, industrial classes and material resources of the State; means of escape from fire, and protection of life and health in factories and workshops; the employment of illegal child labor; the educational, sanitary, moral and financial condition of laborers and artisans; the cost of food, fuel, clothing and building material; the causes of strikes, their nature and extent. As a means to this end we have appointed two Factory Inspectors, one of whom resides in, and has an office in, the city of Milwaukee, and who has general supervision of inspection in the State, and whose special duty is the inspection of Milwaukee. The other Inspector travels throughout the State. Both use carefully-prepared blanks, which are filled after personal investigation of the plants. In addition to this, the Commissioner or his deputy is frequently called to advise, suggest and aid in carrying out the work of inspection. We have, further, and are using, blanks which are addressed to employers, embodying, among other things, inquiries as to rate of wages, number of weeks in operation during past year, amount of wages paid,

average number employed, sex of employés, and loss by fire during past year. Whatever may have been the result of this method in other States, in Wisconsin, we are gratified to say, our blanks are accurately and cheerfully filled, and promptly returned, often accompanied with letters assuring us of hearty coöperation and desire to help us in every way possible in carrying on the work of the Bureau. As evidence of this, of the two thousand blanks mailed prior to May 19 we have received over fifteen hundred replies, and more are coming daily. Allowing a margin for loss through mail, changes in firm names, location, etc., the above is certainly a creditable showing. It is apparent to us, after investigation, that the law touching employment of child labor has worked admirably. It is quite rigid, and is enforced generally by the municipalities acting in concert with the Bureau. The Legislature at its last session enlarged the duties of the Commissioner in that it is now his duty to enforce the statute in the employment of children in the mines of the State. We are now preparing a blank to be filled by mechanics and laborers, which is not yet finished, but will, among other things, make inquiry as to hours of labor in winter, in summer, wages, etc. The following statement will present the work, or a part thereof, that has been done by the Bureau up to the 19th of May, 1891: We placed our Factory Inspectors in the field on the 14th day of February last. They have inspected and returned to this Bureau 700 reports. In their reports of inspection, there were made 453 orders, embracing fire escapes, railings on platforms, elevators, guards on elevator wells, general repairs, alarm bells, stationary railings, safety guards on circular saws, fly wheels, slasher saws, shafting, pulleys, gearing, keys, set-screws, piston rods, cranks, platforms, belting, main doors, and quite a number of miscellaneous orders. We are satisfied that the system adopted is one that the people of the State, and particularly the factory interest, the lumber interest and the various interests that are represented by the Bureau, heartily coöperate with us in the work that we are doing; and we find that a large proportion of the orders thus far made by our Factory Inspectors have been fully complied with; therefore, we cannot refrain from saying

that the past five months' experience with the Bureau is very satisfactory. We might at this time give you a more definite or summary report, but deem it unnecessary.

North Dakota.— Mr. SCOTT: The work of the Bureau in North Dakota includes both agriculture and labor, but is chiefly devoted to the former. The Bureau came into existence on the admission of the State to the Union in November, 1889, and is required to make reports biennially, although the first biennial period closed within a year from the date of admission, and the First Report therefore covers what information could be gathered in the brief time at command. The Bureau is much hampered for want of funds and facilities, though this will no doubt be remedied in time. We are required to collect information through assessors and the mails, no traveling agents being allowed, and not even the necessary traveling expenses of the Commissioner or his clerks are provided for. Another thing that limits the usefulness of the Bureau is the small number of copies of the Reports published. While other States publish many thousands of the reports of their different bureaus, North Dakota gave us last year but one thousand. It is of course impossible that any large portion of the people should become familiar with the working or value of the Bureau under such circumstances. Much difficulty has been experienced in collecting reliable information through the assessors, who are not always to blame, as there is more or less organized opposition, especially among the rural population, on account of the mistaken notion that these statistical facts thus gathered are in some way made use of by speculators. Last year the Bureau presented statistics regarding the agricultural products of the different counties for each year as far back as any records could be found, in order to get this information in presentable shape before it should be lost. Public finances, schools, churches, etc., were also presented by counties. Some attempt was made to collect statistics relating to mechanical and manufacturing industries, including wages, time of employment, etc., but the information obtained was very scanty and often unreliable. The present year the ordinary agricultural statistics will be pre-

pared, as required by law, and also statistics relating to agricultural labor and domestic help. This will be obtained through the assessors. An effort will also be made later in the season to investigate the condition of clerical and other laborers. Mortgage indebtedness, and ownership of real estate by individuals as distinguished from corporations, are also receiving attention.

Nebraska.— Mr. Downs: The Nebraska State Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics owes its existence to the Legislature which met in January, 1887. From that time to the present it has labored under difficulties too numerous to mention, which would come under the head of financial and obstructive—financial, from lack of appropriations to fully carry out the proper workings of a Bureau of Industrial Statistics; obstructive, from the fact that neglect or flat refusal to furnish required information, upon blanks sent out from the Bureau, rendered it almost impossible to obtain reliable statistics for publication. That the Bureau has performed its duty, to the best ability of its members, with the means furnished it, the Second Biennial Report is the best evidence. The chapter upon the subject of unskilled wage-workers' cost of living, was compiled from data obtained by personal visits to the homes of laboring men in the several cities mentioned in the chapter. This, of course, consumed considerable time and expense; the information, however, is reliable. A careful examination of the tables will furnish to the student of economics information upon a subject that heretofore it was almost impossible to obtain in this State. Carefully-prepared blanks were sent out by the Bureau by mail to each Assembly of Knights of Labor, with the request that the Secretary would distribute the same amongst the members, and after they had been filled out, see that they were returned to the Bureau of Labor. None were returned filled out. On the contrary, the Deputy Commissioner was taken to task for endeavoring to obtain the information, it being claimed that it was done in the interest of the employers. The blank was made up for twenty-six weeks, to show a weekly account of expenses, or in other words an itemized account of the laboring man's cost of living. If it

had only accomplished one object, viz.: taught the laboring man to keep an account of his expenses, some good would have accrued to those whom this Bureau sought to benefit. An error was made in the distribution of tables in the Second Report of this Bureau, by which the reader would be led to believe that the State Statistician of the State Assembly, Knights of Labor, furnished not only the table of wages and general conditions of workingmen, but also that of the employers. The tables giving statistics from employers was compiled from data secured by sending out blanks from this Bureau, and from them the tabulation was made. Deeming it of great interest to our State, and to those who earn their living by daily toil, a chapter was incorporated in the Second Biennial Report of this Bureau relating to building and loan associations; and that the distinction between local and national associations could be made plain, considerable information was taken from the Reports of Pennsylvania and New Jersey bearing upon that subject, and also from the *Coöperative News*, of Cincinnati. This information was obtained through the instrumentality of blanks, and promptness, coupled with a desire to assist this Bureau in obtaining authentic information upon the subject, was in marked contrast to the lack of courtesy exhibited by other lines of industry. In the matter of farm mortgages, the Deputy Commissioner spent several months in securing and compiling a chapter upon this subject. Sarpy county, being one of the oldest counties in this State, was selected from which to obtain the required information, and a complete transcript of the records in the office of the county clerk of that county relating to farm mortgages was made and verified for a term of ten years, dating back to December 31st, 1879. The manner in which this information was obtained, can be stated in a few words, and is as follows: A blank was prepared upon which to secure the transcript of the county records; another blank was prepared and sent to the occupants of the various farms in the county, asking for the following information—

Description of farm: ——acres, ——range, ——township, —— section. Owner's name, ——. Causes that created the mortgage, ——. What amount, if any, was appropriated to permanent improvements? ——. Class of improvements, ——. What was the value per acre at period of

mortgage? ———. What is the value per acre at present? ———. Have you made periodical payments on mortgage? ———. What is now the amount due? ———.

A third blank was prepared, upon which the foreclosures for a period of ten years could be compiled; and still a fourth blank was prepared and sent to those parties making the loans upon the farms, inquiring as to the cause of the mortgage, as to payments having been made, and a statement of foreclosures, if any. A sectional map of the county was also secured, upon which each mortgage was noted and payments made by which a release was obtained, thus furnishing a check upon the records. The outcome of this investigation was very satisfactory, proving how fallacious statements are, having no facts or statistics to corroborate them. A synopsis of the result of the investigation is appended, also the opening of the chapter which gives the cause that led up to the investigation by the Deputy Commissioner. A careful compilation of the chapter relating to manufactures is also a feature of the Report just issued, and with the tabulation of statistics bearing upon this subject is considered authentic. We find, however, that the manufacturers are in many instances, very loath to furnish the information desired, thinking it a means of prying into their affairs, and that the information sought is merely to gratify curiosity. We trust that the time is not far distant when both the employer and employed will deem it a duty and a pleasure to furnish the Bureaus of Industrial Statistics with reliable information. The subject of strikes also occupied the attention of this Bureau, and after giving attention to those which occurred in our own State, a compilation of what occurred in other States was incorporated in the Report. By keeping files of the principal daily papers of our State we are enabled from them to obtain a great amount of information relating to strikes and other subjects of a statistical nature. A chapter treating upon the eight-hour-day agitation is also one of the features of the Biennial Report, and while no opinion is given by the management of this Bureau, several articles by prominent members of the Knights of Labor, American Federation of Labor, and editorials copied from the leading daily newspapers of our country are given as voicing the opinions of dif-

ferent communities. Our State Legislature at its last session passed a law making eight hours a day's labor for all employés excepting farmers and domestics. We might add that the majority composing this Legislature were farmers. The Australian ballot system next claimed the attention of this Bureau, and from every State having an election law founded upon this system, we obtained a copy of that law, and it was incorporated in this last Report. From these several laws, was compiled the law which is now incorporated in our statute book, having passed our last Legislature. The law was tested at our last spring elections and found to be beneficial and without the defects expected. Another feature of the Second Biennial Report of this Bureau, and upon which the Deputy Commissioner of Labor was engaged both at the time and after the matter of farm mortgages was disposed of, having given the best part of two years to a thorough investigation of the subject, is that of the sugar-beet industry. Several visits were paid to Grand Island, this State, during the erection of the factory (the first in this State, by the way) for the manufacture of sugar from beets; also to the farms where sugar beets had been planted for use when the factory was completed and the beets had matured; information was solicited from California, Germany and France in regard to sugar-beet culture, and the manufacture of sugar from the beets, until a complete history of this industry was obtained, dating back to 1747, when one A. S. Marggraff, a chemist of Berlin, made the first discovery of sugar properties in beets. From the date above given a history was compiled leading up to the completion of the factory at Grand Island, and close of the first season's manufacture, demonstrating the fact that sugar beets could be raised upon Nebraska soil which would furnish a sufficient amount of saccharine matter for the manufacture of sugar in paying quantities, thereby creating a revenue for the farmer; so that any doubt as to the practicability of erecting factories for the manufacture of sugar from these beets whereby the investors would derive a remunerative profit upon the money invested, has been set at rest. While at the last session of our Legislature, a law enacted by the Legislature of 1889 giving a bounty of one cent per pound

on manufactured sugar containing not less that 90 per cent of crystalized sugar was repealed, yet a new factory has been built at Norfolk, which is claimed to be one-fourth larger than the one at Grand Island; the machinery is almost all in place, and the plant will soon be in running order, ready for this season's crop of beets. Negotiations are under way for other factories to be erected in the near future, and we believe that but a short time will elapse ere Nebraska will have the credit of being the sugar-producing State of this country. The subjects to be taken up by the Bureau during the coming two years will probably be child labor, manufactures, farm mortgages, results of the eight-hour day in our State, strikes, and foreign immigration. These subjects will be treated as exhaustively as time and means at our disposal will allow, and the next report of the Bureau will be made as creditable as possible to this department of the State.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

A number of the Commissioners visited Cramp & Sons' ship yards during the afternoon, and were courteously shown over the immense establishment. There were on the stocks two steel cruisers and two battle ships under process of construction for the Government. Cruiser No. 12, which is to be christened the "New York," was the nearest completion, the spar-deck being nearly all laid. The Commissioners were conducted to every part of this vessel, and were enabled to acquire fairly accurate ideas of the "new navy." This Cruiser No. 12 is the largest of the four, having a length of 412 feet and a breadth of 58 feet, with 7,475 tonnage displacement. The vessel is to be driven by triple-screw triple-expansion vertical engines of 21,000 horse-power. The contract price is $2,725,000, with a premium of $50,000 for each quarter of a knot she is able to make over twenty-one per hour. Messrs. Cramp & Sons depend for their profit entirely upon this premium, and estimate that the ship will develop a speed of twenty-three knots per hour. The Commissioners completed their visit by an inspection of

the workshops, where the massive sheets of steel were handled, with the aid of the powerful machinery, as easily as a blacksmith would weld a plowshare.

EVENING SESSION.

Upon the reassembling of the Convention the President introduced Col. WM. M. GROSVENOR, of New York City, who addressed the Convention as follows:

ADDRESS BY COL. WM. M. GROSVENOR.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—It always gives me pleasure to have the privilege of meeting with you at these gatherings. It always gives me pleasure to meet gentlemen who make it their duty to seek facts without regard to the conclusions which this or that person may draw from the facts. I think it a sacred duty, as I hope you all do, to ascertain the facts first, for there can be no sound reasoning on either side until we first determine the facts in a strictly conscientious and honest way. I know that there are gentlemen here who have given their time and service in that direction to the country; for it is not to a State, it is not to a party — it is to the whole country that the services you render are valuable in the end. They may not be appreciated to-day, but the time will come when the whole country will feel that it has been owing a debt of gratitude, which can scarcely be measured, to those who have accumulated by years of patient endeavor the facts upon which men may judge intelligently the condition of the country and the policy that ought to govern it.

The question to which your President has called attention is one which I have tried for some time to solve, as far as I could. Perhaps the difficulties of making a comparison of prices are quite sufficiently known to almost all who have undertaken that work; but at the same time it may not be out of place for me to refer briefly to certain of those difficulties for the purpose of showing, if I may be able, in what way I have tried to overcome them. We all understand that in these days, at all events, a comparison of prices has become a very important matter. Everybody wants it; everybody wants to get it for one purpose or another, with the view of serving this, that or the other end. Everybody wants to compare prices in this place and in another place, in this country and in another country, at this date and at another date. But how are we to do it? Take a column of figures, such as I collect every day; what are you to do with it? How are you to compare it? How are you to determine that this column of figures to-day represents more or less than the column of figures collected yesterday or the day before, or ten years before, or twenty years before? Now, it is not absolutely impossible. There are a good many methods, and efforts have been made in that direction for a good many different purposes.

We all understand that prices are not only valuable in themselves, but valuable as the interpreters of almost everything else that we would ascertain. For example, you carefully gather statistics of wages. They are of value,

of course; but what do you really know until you ascertain what those wages will buy? You gather very carefully statistics of exports and imports, and nobody doubts their accuracy; but what do they mean? "Ten million increase;" what is that? An increase in quantities, or only an increase of values? "Ten million decrease in exports;" what is it? So many bushels less gone out, or only so much less paid? The interpretation tells the whole story. It is only by a comparison of prices that the meaning of the great body of statistics collected by your Bureaus of Labor can be brought out. Back yonder in the night of statistics, which is not so long ago, as we are all aware, but that those who are not so very gray-headed can remember it, for statistical science, we may almost say, Mr. President, has had its birth since you and I were old enough to toddle about. [The PRESIDENT: And we are still toddling.] Back yonder it was thought quite enough to add up a column of figures and say, "The total is so much." You added up your $20 for iron, your $1 for wheat, your 6 cents for sugar, your 20 cents for coffee, and when you had done that, you had your total. Then you would place that alongside your total of ten years before, and that was thought to be a comparison of prices. Well, the time came when people discovered that addition after that fashion was obviously deceptive. Take a single illustration: Your $20 for iron might rise 5 per cent, which would make $1 difference in your total, while 10 other articles — all articles of importance, too, might fall each 20 per cent, and yet the total decrease in the aggregate would be less than $1. Your total would show an advance. The fact would be that 10 out of 11 of your articles had declined, and all had declined relatively more than your single article had advanced. So it was clear that that method was a failure. Next in order came the method adopted by Tooke, and pursued still by the *London Economist*, under Professor Newmarch's direction, which consisted simply of percentages. By that process you find the price of a certain article at a given date. You ascertain for each subsequent date the percentage which the price bears to the former or base-line price, and then add up those percentages. This seemed for a time to be quite an advance in statistical science, and I remember the *London Economist* made some remarks as late as 1874 or 1875 upon the great value of its "index number," as it is called, in which about forty articles are thus summed up, and whereby the course of prices during the period when the American cotton supply was cut off was indicated, it thought, with great reliability. I took this table, glanced at it a bit, and discovered that the change in American cotton alone, the uprising of the price of that single article, had made more difference than all the others put together, on the percentage basis; and yet there were other articles in that list of greater importance to Great Britain than cotton. Now, there are two essential difficulties about that method of comparison. One is inherent in the nature of figures. A rise of 100 per cent never can be balanced by any decline. An article may rise in price more than 100 per cent; but no article can decline enough to balance an advance of 100 per cent, or more. That is in the nature of figures. To go another step: In the case of cotton, in the table given by the *London Economist*, I think the advance was 235 per cent — of course I do not profess to state it from memory with absolute accuracy — during the time the supply from this country was cut off during the Civil War. That article was one of small importance in the British list of prices as compared with the aggregate cost of living in Great Britain — one of the least important of all those named in the

London Economist's list of test articles. Nevertheless, that addition of 235 per cent would have balanced a decrease of 10 per cent in all the other articles in that whole list. Had that one article advanced and all the others declined, still the percentage would have shown an advance in prices, while the fact would be that the prices of all articles except cotton had declined. So you see, without further illustration, that the percentage method was liable to palpably, grossly err; and I might say in passing, that this same method was the one adopted and followed with great pains and care-taking, but with erroneous results, by the former Director of the Mint, Mr. Burchard, who gave a great deal of time to the collection of prices and their tabulation, in an effort to compare the range of prices at different times in this country.

I believe, Mr. President, it is just fifteen years ago to-day since I wrote an article, setting forth for the first time an effort to compare prices on a different basis. That article was published, and was somewhat widely noticed. It was copied in full by the *London Economist* shortly after, and described as a quite novel, interesting and valuable method of comparing prices, deserving the attention of students. It is that method which I have been following since, and which I will try to explain as well as I can in a word or two. We will take the two items of wheat and gum arabic for illustration. Wheat, of which the country will consume, let us say, $4.50 or $5 worth for each inhabitant, and gum arabic, of which three-tenths of a cent's worth is consumed by each inhabitant, an amount so small that you would hardly notice it in your computation, yet it might be essential to have both. It might be important to keep an aggregate of small items, each in its place. Nevertheless, it is essential to the real value of your comparison that you are able to recognize which are the small and which are the large — to give them, in other words, consideration in proportion to their importance to the country. Now, in order to do that I endeavored to ascertain as well as I could the quantities passing into actual consumption in our country, and it was not a very easy task; nevertheless, with the aid of the Census of 1880 — which is very full, and more reliable as respects manufactures than any previous census — and the very rapidly improving trade statistics in hundreds of branches of trade, some approximation, at all events, has been made to the ascertainment of the quantities passing into consumption each year. The long list which I have managed to quote covers about 215 articles, all of which I have quoted for a period running back to 1860.

I do not profess to consider this ascertainment of quantities absolutely accurate. Let us say frankly that absolute accuracy is not attainable. You cannot say, no man can say, to the hundredth of a bushel, how much wheat is consumed; but still there are people in this country who will gamble the last cent they have in the world on their belief that they know within a tenth or an eighth of a bushel what the consumption is from year to year. Practically we are satisfied if we get within a small margin. Again, in the case of iron, we may not know exactly what quantity passes into consumption from year to year, but we know near enough for practical purposes, and near enough at least to give our comparison a value which it would not have if those proportions were not recognized. This ascertainment, as I have said, whether it be absolutely accurate or not, has at least this one great advantage — you eliminate ninety-nine one-hundredths of the inaccuracy, of the necessary deception, which comes from recognizing quantities or quotations as equal

which are not equal in fact. You recognize the relative importance of those articles as far as you can, and if you cannot eliminate the error absolutely, you get rid of more than ninety-nine one-hundredths of it, at all events. Now, having ascertained the quantities, measurably speaking, of these articles passing into consumption, you simply multiply those quantities by the prices. Somebody may say: "That will not do; ten years ago different quantities were consumed, and it will not do to take the quantities that are consumed now and apply those quantities to the prices of ten years ago, because people ten years ago did not use the same proportions of the different articles." Let us pause one moment and ask ourselves this important question, What are prices? What is it that you mean when you say that you compare prices? I think a great deal of confusion of thought, especially in the minds of trained statisticians, arises from a failure to comprehend exactly what is meant by the word "prices." We mix up with it all sorts of other things. We mix it up with consumption, quantity consumed; that is not a question of prices. We mix it up with wages; that is not a question of prices. We mix it up with rents; that is not a question of prices. We mix it up with cost of living; that is another matter. "Prices" mean something else. They mean simply the cost of certain fixed quantities. The fixed quantity may be a bushel and you would know absolutely the price of wheat. Now, if you can tell what a bushel has cost at different periods, that is all there is about prices. The question of consumption is another matter; cost of living is another matter. You have first to ascertain prices before you can find the cost of living — before you can find the necessary conditions, the necessary corrections, the necessary modifications that go to give you the cost of living. First you must start with prices — naked prices and nothing else; prices with other things eliminated. You start by taking certain quantitative proportions, as nearly as you may, and select your period as fairly as you may, so as to represent on the whole, as nearly as may be, the general demand for consumption and use throughout the country. Now, the question of prices is simply this, What would those same quantities cost at different times? When you have added up the cost of those same quantities at different times, you have one total one year, another total the next year, another total the next year, and so on, which amounts to simply this, that to buy those same articles, as nearly as may be apportioned to the actual consumption in the country would have cost you $151 at one period, $48 at another, $38 at another, $60 at another, and so on. That is a comparison of prices and nothing else.

Now, Mr. President, that is substantially the method I have endeavored to pursue, and its interest to me is very greatly enhanced by the fact that in this work, pursued for a course of years, I have found that marvelous every-day correspondence of fact with fact which I think to most people who study statistics carefully and conscientiously gives confidence. For we all know if we follow out a given method or given line with the best experience we have, and find that our statements are contrary to some known fact in the history or in the condition of the country, we feel away down at the bottom that somehow our methods are wrong; that there is something we are doing that we ought not to do. But, on the other hand, if those comparisons correspond year after year as nearly as may be with the general line of facts that you are able to ascertain; if the increased consumption or production, as far as you are able to ascertain it, corresponds with the prosperity of the

country, as it may be indicated by the reports of the census; if that correspondence exists year after year and constantly, there is borne in on your mind a feeling that the method you are pursuing is not a deceptive method, and that it corresponds closely to the actual facts.

If you will excuse me a moment, Mr. President, I can illustrate the ordinary use of my method. I have here a bit of a diagram which I put into my portfolio as I was leaving home. You may be interested in looking at it. [Produces diagram.] This is a comparison of prices of farm and other products from year to year since 1860. It is only brought down on this little diagram to the end of 1887. Now let us see how interesting that would be to a farmer if he could grasp its meaning from year to year.

I have here a table containing the figures down to 1887-88, showing the results reduced to ratios in currency, and in another table they are reduced to a gold basis, and it may be interesting to some of you to know that the same farm products which cost $100 in 1860 cost $261 September 2, 1864, an advance of 161 per cent; and at the same time the other products had advanced from $100 to $266, or an advance of 166 per cent. In other words, the farmer, although he got 161 per cent more for what he had to sell than he could get for it in 1860, was obliged to pay 166 per cent more for what he bought. This was at the period of the greatest currency inflation; and so the comparison runs down, from year to year.

I am very thankful to the gentlemen of the Convention for their courtesy. I should be exceedingly glad to communicate and compare notes with any of the Commissioners of the Bureaus of Labor, and give any assistance in my power — if I should be able to give any — to those who wish to pursue what is to me the most interesting and important of our statistical studies — the comparison of prices at different times.

Upon motion of Mr. PEELLE, the thanks of the Convention were extended to Colonel GROSVENOR for his address.

The President introduced to the Convention Mr. P. J. McGUIRE, Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, who spoke as follows:

STATISTICAL WORK OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I owe you an apology for what I shall say to-night. Those of you who are familiar with labor organizations know that this is the busiest season of the year in the building trades. I have numerous strikes on my hands all through the country, which require my attention, not only at the desk, but in the field, and I have not had time to prepare any remarks; so what I have to say to-night will have to be *extempore.*

Statistical work in labor organizations is not new to me, and yet it is new to a great many. It is a very difficult thing in your field of work, as Chiefs and Commissioners, to get access to labor organizations and get their ear, their attention, and their confidence. The workingmen connected with labor organizations, as a rule, are to a large extent suspicious of those not near them and in affinity with them. That struck me more forcibly in the limited experience I had when I organized the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Missouri, in the year 1880. I anticipated at that time that the labor organizations would come to that Bureau and help it and support it, because it was established in

response to their demands. I found that it required personal touch with them, with their leaders, their members and active workers to get the coöperation I anticipated. I found that the system of simply sending out blanks did not reach the end or attain the results which we had been led to believe would come through the mails. I find also in my own organization, now that I have been ten years at the head of it, that it requires constant, personal touch with the laboring men to keep them in line, and it requires at the same time that you shall show a disposition to be fair with them and to give them an audience. They are not blessed with that amount of business intelligence in all cases that they might possess, and still there are those among them who are extremely intelligent and who are alive to all these questions that are presented from year to year in the reports of your various State Bureaus. There is that innate feeling that the facts you desire to ascertain may be used to their detriment, or that deductions may be made from the statistics they may furnish, or could furnish, that would be used to their disadvantage, and hence it is, I believe, that you have found more or less trouble in your attempts to obtain the statistics of labor organizations. Now, this fact of hostility, as it appears to some of you, to me is only a want of confidence, and this fact that there is an apparent hostility in some States to Labor Bureaus is due very largely to the influence that has surrounded organized labor in certain States and certain localities. Laboring men have been filled with a feeling of secrecy and mystery by an organization that has made them believe the more secret and mysterious their actions were, the more powerful they would become and the more awe they would inspire in the public mind; while I believe that if you have a truth to tell, and have the facts behind it, you should not hide that truth, nor should you hide the facts which support that truth. I believe that my education as a labor reformer has been of a high-class order more through reading the original presentation of facts given by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics years ago, than through anything I knew alone, of my own knowledge. I could feel the sentiment of my class, as I was poor and went to work when I was a little over eleven years of age — I could feel for them as I do feel for them and must feel for them forever — but I never could see the inside of this movement so strongly, and my feelings and my convictions were never so much reinforced as they were by the presentation of facts made by the Massachusetts Bureau before Mr. WRIGHT became Commissioner, and after he became Commissioner Mr. WRIGHT told me himself, as he will remember, that he went into that Bureau with feelings not akin to our people, but that his own investigations, unbiased and untrammeled, led him to the firm conviction that there is "a labor question," and that it is a question well worthy of investigation. [The PRESIDENT: I remember it very well.] So it made me stronger in the faith. I am perhaps different from many others in labor organizations. Ever since I have had official connection with labor organizations I have unceasingly and unremittingly encouraged our people to make a presentation of facts and give such information as might be required by your various State Bureaus, and the National Bureau, too. I have done this in our official journal. We publish 52,000 copies of our journal monthly, and I have through that means brought the matter to the attention of the journeymen carpenters in every State of the Union.

The statistics of labor organizations can be reached by a little patience, and they can be perfected much more in time. The older an organization

grows the more conservative it becomes. That is true not only in politics but also in labor. It is a fact, also, that as an organization becomes older and more conservative, its records are better taken care of and its statistics are more watchfully recorded. They introduce systems of benefits, through which they have to ascertain statistics as to mortality in their organizations, and the general secretary of the national body has to have reports monthly. In time these reports will extend over a larger field, as the organizations become stronger and more widespread. They will not only cover the field of mortality, as they do now, and to some extent the matter of wages and earnings, but the statistical work of labor organizations will then go into the whole field of productive industry and the unemployed, giving the number of men employed and the number unemployed. I believe that even to-day it is possible, within one week, to ascertain the actual number of the employed and unemployed window-glass workers in this country, so perfect is their organization. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers controls probably from 75 to 80 per cent of the men employed in the iron and steel trade. They have a complete census of the wages in every department of the iron and steel trade in this country, and while they could not reach a census within a week, the same as the glass workers, they could take a census of their trade within two or three weeks. These two trades are splendidly organized, and are reaching more and more what might be termed a scientific basis. While in the boards of trade and chambers of commerce they have access to the total amount of product in each respective industry, yet the statistics obtained are not always as accurate as some might think; still to-day in the hands of the capitalists, their methods of business are becoming arranged so scientifically that they are able to reach very nearly the total amount of product in a large number of the trades in which they are engaged. That has taken time, for the organization of capital was prior to the organization of labor in this country — not the militant form of organized capital, but the industrial form of capital, organized to conduct business in its own interest. The militant form, the fighting form of organized capital, came only when labor commenced to organize, and labor is now in the militant condition; that is, it is fighting organized capital. In time labor will look to do more than simply fight capital. When capital ceases to fight labor and recognizes that there is a necessity for organization on both sides, labor will settle down to organize itself on a scientific basis for the purpose of acquiring statistics and perfecting them, and of controlling its own forces. In our last convention we accomplished something in that direction for the carpenters. We have now 776 organizations in the United States and Canada. There are only twenty-three of them outside of the United States, one of these being in Mexico, and the remaining twenty-two being in the Canadas. At our last convention, which was held in Chicago, we adopted a law imposing a fine of $2 on the financial secretaries of the various local organizations for failure to make a monthly report, showing facts as to the growth of their organizations, the number of members unemployed, the wages and the hours of labor. Now, this is a crude way, an embryotic method, of reaching what you, as Commissioners, endeavor and are trying your utmost, I believe, to reach officially; but we hope to make our efforts auxiliary to your work. We cannot yet, in our present condition of organization, reach that position, but in time we shall do so. The two trades I have mentioned have comparatively reached that position, so

that they are now able to furnish a large fund of information whenever needed. Other trades also, notably the printers, cigarmakers and hatters and some of the older trades, are able to furnish reliable statistics almost on call.

Permit me to revert from the labor situation in this country and refer to England, to show that labor organizations there are in better position to furnish statistics than they are in this country. They are so thoroughly organized in England that it enables the factory inspectors, and other statistical bureaus, at any time, on call from the government or the British House of Commons, to give a statistical statement concerning labor. It is true that recently, within a few weeks, to appease the cries of a multitude of impoverished laborers in England, they have appointed a labor commission to inquire into the causes of the present depression; but that system of inquiry has been the rule in England for years. In Belgium, where they have a standing commission, the glass workers, iron workers, printing trade, and other trades are thoroughly organized. Even the coal miners, who are so abjectly poor in this country, in Belgium, though likewise poor, are so well organized that they are able to furnish very excellent tables of statistics to the bureaus of statistics in that country. It was not long ago that my attention was called to that by a gentleman who had gotten one of the recent Belgian reports.

The movement connected with labor organizations in this country is comparatively new, and our country is new, and the questions raised in regard to labor and capital are of quite recent birth.

Most people have looked upon the Labor Bureaus as mere caves in which to bury some ancient archives furnished by various so-called "cranks" in the labor movement; but I believe the bulk of the Labor Bureaus, so far as I have had time to look at their reports, even cursorily, are inclined to do their best to reach the facts as they can get them. One of the great mistakes, in my opinion, with all due respect, is to put the Labor Bureau of any State, or even that of the National Government, entirely in the hands of the laboring people; and I say that in the interest of the laboring people themselves. I believe that the Bureaus should be managed with an eye to the welfare of the laboring people — not to shut out any facts in their favor, or even to their detriment — but I believe that Labor Bureaus should have at their head everywhere men who, whether they be classed as politicians or otherwise, can command the ear of the public and be regarded as unbiased and fair to all sides — capitalists, laborers and all. I feel that the laboring men who are so extremely radical as at times to demand that somebody's head shall be chopped off because he does not furnish all the statistics they want, are harming the very institutions which are making the labor movement stronger in the eyes of people who have no ears for sentiment, but are desirous of having facts.

Now, this is simply an impromptu talk I am giving you, based upon the little experience I have had over a very wide field in this country. I feel that your Bureaus have much to do — some of them are now doing a great deal — to encourage statistical work in labor organizations. You get some of the workingmen interested now by sending out blanks. Even if you cannot send a deputy or a clerk or some one else to interview them, the reception of a blank from your Bureaus makes known to some of these people ofttimes that there is such a thing as a Labor Bureau. If they do not answer you, try them again with another blank, and they begin to think you have confidence in them — that you are not afraid to send them another blank for fear they

may keep the envelope with the return postage upon it. Persistency in that direction will, in the course of time, have the effect of causing them to unfold themselves. I know from experience, as some of you are already aware, that the reception of blanks from your Bureaus has had the effect of inducing men to keep an account of their household expenses who never thought of doing such a thing before — your blanks suggested the necessity for it; so that in a remote way, if not in a direct manner, your Bureaus have the effect of educating men who are now simply wage-workers to some idea of business habits in their daily lives. The trouble with the working classes is not, as some think, want of heart or want of brains; it is simply the want of business methods. Most of them have intelligence, brains, and all the necessary qualifications except culture, and that they will get when they secure eight hours as a day's work, and also secure some other things they are after.

The statistical work of labor organization I find is much better perfected in England and in a few countries on the Continent of Europe than it is here. Not that our people are slower than those on the other side, but the organizations in this country are not old enough to feel the necessity of having statistics gathered regularly. Take, for example, the report of the Amalgamated Society of Blacksmiths, Engineers and Machinists of England. That report covers some 400 pages of the most minute statistics of the trades comprised within that organization. The Amalgamated Carpenters also have such valuable tables and methods that after the organization of the Brotherhood of Carpenters was founded we felt that we could not improve much on their methods, and we have now established a system whereby from year to year we are trying to get nearer to their methods of statistical inquiry. We find the same state of things in a number of trade organizations of England. This, perhaps, may be due to the fact that most of these organizations in England have grown out of the old guilds, which had their systems of statistics long before trades unions were established in England. I do not for a moment believe that we will be slow in this country to reach any ends that will benefit labor, and I am inclined to think that we have just as much brains as our brothers on the other side of the ocean. Just in proportion as our labor organizations get larger and older and more disciplined, you will find the statistics from labor organizations will become more reliable. The labor movement in many industries is getting out of the froth of sentiment down to the solidity of bed-rock, and workingmen are beginning to feel that before they move they must know the reason why they should move. Before they can reach that condition, however, they will have to go through a system of education similar to that which each trade now having a successful organization has passed through, such as the glass workers, the iron and steel workers, and a number of others. The desire to strike whenever they see a large number together in a room will be more and more checked by the inquiries: "How many union men have you in town?" "How many non-union men are there in town?" "How is trade — good or bad?" "How much money have you in your treasury?" "How many bosses are willing to concede your demands?" "How many are opposed to your demands?" All this requires statistical inquiry. It requires personal investigation, and personal investigation, after all, is the basis of every good statistical report. If you have not the money necessary to make personal inquiry in securing statistics, your reports are at best whatever you can make them under the law granting your appropriation.

We find that rigid discipline in our trade organization and in a number of other organizations during the past few years has had the effect of checking strikes, for men read the blanks we send them and say to themselves, "Well, we never thought we ought to inquire how many bosses were opposed to us." The old system of labor organization was the "hurrah" system. Where there was an improvement in trade and the men felt that the bosses were making too much money, they would gather together, probably in a hall over some beer saloon or in a beer garden, and pass a resolution, "Down with the bosses — the capitalists; they are making too much money; now is the time to give them a whack in the back of the neck." A motion to strike was then made, seconded, and carried, and the extent of that labor movement was occasionally determined by the quantity of beer downstairs or the amount of money chipped into the hat that night. On the following day the men would be called out, and at the end of a week, if they held out that long, they found they were minus a week's wages without anything to fall back on. But ofttimes they did not hold out a week. Perhaps they would hold out for twenty-four hours, and then begin to watch each other to see who would go back first. That was the "hurrah" system of labor organization — no statistics, no savings, no responsibility, but hit a capitalist's head whenever it appeared. The new form of labor organization which has come into existence of later years requires that workmen shall not go into a strike without due deliberation, and requires a two-thirds vote instead of the old majority, and a secret ballot at that. It requires afterward, that the local organization shall appeal to the national head for permission. You have no idea of the amount of labor saved to you, gentlemen, in making inquiries as to strikes by reason of this method of careful preparation in inaugurating and conducting strikes. You would have had far more to deal with if it had not been for this system. During this very year applications have come to my office from 309 local organizations for permission to strike. They all thought, "Hurrah! we have a crowd in the room! We are bigger than the bosses!" But they were told to act cautiously, or to wait. We have sanctioned strikes in 147 cases, and I am pleased to say, and I think you will be glad to hear, that we have won all of these strikes, except in some fourteen cases where the men are now out. The check placed on strikes by requiring the local organizations to appeal to a higher power, has a restraining influence which has proved of great benefit. I only wish there was a corresponding restraint on the bosses in regard to lockouts.

The statistics and work in regard to statistical inquiry in labor organizations has been very good in some States. I do not wish to make any invidious distinction between one State and another on this occasion, for I believe many of you are new to the work, and your Bureaus are also comparatively new, and this Convention is an excellent field for getting information from one another; but I am free to say that the Bureaus in some States, without naming them, possess the confidence of the labor organizations to such an extent that no matter what changes in politics may come, I hope the heads of those Bureaus will not be touched. This is true not in one case alone, but I can name half a dozen. And while I am not prone to flatter, I believe the National Bureau is safe in that respect. I believe that the safety of the Labor Bureaus, as well as that of the labor organizations themselves, is in the conservatism of their management, with a radical idea to the future wants of the people — not to give them all that every alarmist asks, but the next and

nearest thing they can properly investigate upon which it is possible to secure information, or on which to base legislation. In the work of the Bureaus represented here, including the National Bureau, I believe that plan of taking one subject at a time is correct and safe. The public, as a rule, can only carry one idea at a time, and if you attempt to give them more than that, you distract and divide their attention, and give them more ideas than they can conveniently carry. That is what upsets many of the calculations made by your Bureaus. Some people want you to at once investigate everything on the earth — not only everything on the earth, but everything under the earth and above it — and they come to you with some of the most pronounced, radical schemes. They have a certain theory, and they think you ought to gather the facts in order to bolster up their theory. They are unable to get the facts themselves, and while in some cases they deplore the intervention of State help, yet they are willing on that occasion to call on the State for help. The trouble in some labor organizations is, that men sometimes speak for them and try to represent them — claim they are the representatives of the organizations — and ask you to do things, while, if they were to consult the organizations they belong to for authority in the matter, they would be voted down by a two-thirds majority; but because you are in an official position they threaten you with official decapitation if you do not collect for them the arsenal of facts they think is to be found somewhere in your State. I would urge you to be very careful in dealing with such problematical matters. The real statistics of labor organizations will be gathered by them, immediately in some cases, remotely as time goes on. But there are matters you can reach, and which you are reaching, relating to the hours of labor, wages of labor, cost of living, the conditions of various industries in their sanitary rules, and in States where you have mines, look after the condition of the miners; all that you can do. Your zealous interest in those questions and your activity in those respects, will cause the laboring people to repose in you the confidence you deserve and aid you materially in the work in which you are engaged. Although I am a labor man, and a radical one, and will go perhaps as far as any man in the ultimate solution of this problem known as the labor question, yet I would not ask you to be one-sided, even though I am a labor man. I want your reports so the people will read them; but if you have labor facts and can get labor facts, do not hide them, even though they are glaring, though they may be revolting, let the people know them. Though there are facts that sometimes strike your prejudices roughly and may ruffle your feelings; though there may be facts that make you flinch if your inclinations are with what is called the capitalistic class, never fear to present the truth; though it may be a bitter pill, the public will roll it as a sweet morsel under its tongue.

You will find the greatest trouble you have to contend with is the desire of some men in labor organizations to push you to accomplish more than you can with your limited means; but if you can once — and I repeat it again — get the confidence of the laboring men in your work and reports, not by favoring the working people, or by making your reports too radical, or anything like that, but by making them honest, fair, square, truthful reports, even sometimes without deductions — they are instructive enough in themselves — you will find there are men in the labor organizations who will go far among their adherents, friends and followers to make your Bureaus more permanent and possess more of the confidence of the laboring people.

You will find, as a rule, I think, that members of labor organizations will return answers to your blanks to a larger extent than men who are not members of labor organizations. If you have made inquiry as to that, you will find it to be true. Many of the Commissioners I have met in the various States have told me that they find the organized workingmen easier to approach than other people. These Bureaus have been established in response to the demands of labor societies and labor organizations, and for the life of me I cannot understand why labor organizations will not give their adherence and coöperation and loyalty to your work to the extent they ought to, except for the reasons I have stated — that is, for fear that some of the facts they might reveal would cause their discharge from employment or be used to their detriment in some way or other. This fear is an all-controlling influence over men who have nothing but their day's wages. The loss of a job means much to them. Then, again, there is the fear that the facts they may present would not be used. I have had workingmen ask me, "What is the use of sending statements to the Bureaus? They are run by politicians, anyhow." I have tried to convince them, time and again, in public speeches and addresses, that they should be loyal to the Labor Bureaus and read the reports; but there is that ingrown prejudice that time alone will remove. Then, again, they have a feeling that your Bureaus are not entirely under the control of labor men, and even if there were some labor man at the head of a Bureau, when the next Legislature met there might be a rival movement to get that labor man out and put some other labor man in. I believe the success of your work lies largely in the continuity of a system in your Bureaus, and having men at their head with a full knowledge of the work, and who fully contemplate carrying it out to completion. I believe it is not the best policy to have these Bureaus subject to the whim of any Governor or any political party. I believe a Labor Bureau is not, and should not be, a department for political service. It should be a department for honest public service: to have a man at the head of each Bureau who starts out by laying down a line of work and making it known to the public that he proposes to pursue a certain line of investigation; that he is going to pursue it in the interest of labor, letting the laboring men know it by a preliminary circular, and gaining their confidence in that way; and by sending men around among them to talk to their leading men, or men of influence, to get their support and gain their favor. By this plan you may gain access to a large fund of labor information, and it will help in reaching facts that otherwise would not be disclosed.

Gentlemen, I have said far more than I intended to say, and I have often repeated myself, for want of preparation. I thank you for your attention. I felt that I was complimented by the invitation of your President to address you on this occasion, and I only regret that I did not have at least two or three hours in which I could sit down and prepare my thoughts. I would not have been here to-night — I would have sent a note of apology — only for the fact that Mr. KEAN came down and dragged me out of my office, and now that I am here, I thank him for bringing me, for I find that your attention signifies that you will give the suggestions offered very careful consideration in the preparation of your reports in the future. [Applause.]

Upon motion of MR. BODINE, of Colorado, the thanks of the Convention were tendered to Mr. MCGUIRE for his address.

The Convention then took a recess until 9:30 a. m., Thursday.

THIRD DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

The Convention met, pursuant to adjournment, at 9:30 a. m. The President, Colonel WRIGHT, having been called to Washington, Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, First Vice President, took the chair.

Mr. POWERS, of Minnesota, moved that at the business session of this evening, Colonel LORD, of Illinois, be requested to submit his experience and conclusions regarding the mortgage indebtedness of his State. After the subject-matter of the motion had been somewhat exhaustively discussed by Messrs. PEELLE, of Indiana, BOLLES, of Pennsylvania, and POWERS, of Minnesota, it was adopted, and Colonel LORD was invited to address the Convention at the evening session.

This day having been set apart for visiting the Baldwin Locomotive Works and the Bromley Carpet Factory, it was determined to devote the remainder of the forenoon to a trip to the locomotive works, and the afternoon to the carpet factory.

Mr. PEELLE suggested that, in connection with these visits, it would be of advantage to the Commissioners to inspect, if time would permit, the homes of the employés of these establishments.

Mr. BOLLES thought that this would be practicable, at least in the case of the carpet works, as many of the workmen lived in the vicinity of the factory.

The Convention then took a recess until 8 o'clock p. m.

THE BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE WORKS.

Immediately after adjournment, the Commissioners took street cars and proceeded to the locomotive works, where they were received by a member of the company, and by his direction conducted through every part of the large buildings, and shown the entire process of construction. The first department visited was the draughting room, where thirty or forty draughts-

men were busily at work preparing plans, in almost endless variety, for every conceivable part of a locomotive — very few of these engines being built upon exactly the same model — each new order requiring new plans. From this room the Commissioners were taken to the building where patterns are made from the designs furnished by the draughtsmen; and then to the foundry where these wooden patterns are reproduced in iron, and the several parts of a locomotive "born."

The boiler works were then inspected, where almost every form of locomotive boiler was in process of construction, and thence on through the numerous finishing departments to the ground floor of the main building, where the different parts are put together, and four complete engines set up, inspected, taken apart, and boxed ready for shipment every twenty-four hours. Each engine is sold before the plans from which it is built are draughted, as the company works only on orders, and it is seldom able to catch up with them. These locomotives go to nearly every part of the world where railroads exist.

Upwards of two thousand men are employed in these works, and a very neat restaurant has recently been set up by the company, where the employé can get a dinner, if he wishes, at from ten to fifteen cents. This institution seems to be well patronized.

THE BROMLEY CARPET FACTORY.

In pursuance of the program, a party of the Commissioners started out after dinner to visit the Bromley Carpet Factory.

Unfortunately, it was not in full operation, but enough was seen to make this in many respects the most notable of the series of visits; for although the carpet department was practically inoperative, the other branches of the establishment were running, and the Commissioners were given an excellent opportunity to witness the weaving of portieres, curtains and table-covers in almost endless variety. The material used is both cotton and silk, the first-mentioned substance chiefly. In the manufacture of this comparatively new fabric, the first process is in a loom where the strands of the warp are an inch apart with a woof or filling of coarse thread. Each weaver is supplied with from six to a dozen shuttles, containing yarn of as many different colors, which he plies alternately as the requirements of his work demand. The web, when finished, is cut into ribbons between each line of the warp, so that the "yarn" for the final weaving, if pressed flat, is an inch wide, held in the center by the retaining line of warp; this is again wound and woven in other looms in the same manner, after a pattern hanging in front of the weaver, producing after this second weaving a thick, rough cloth, which, although possessing all the appearance of wool, is actually made of pure cotton.

The Commissioners were taken to the warerooms, where a large number of specimens of this finished product were displayed for their inspection, both in silk and cotton, some of the designs being very beautiful. Several hundred employés were at work, many of them women and girls. The labor is largely piece work, the female weavers earning as much as the men. The wages paid, of course, depend largely upon individual expertness, ranging from $8 to $12 per week.

Upon leaving the factory, the Commissioners were allowed an opportunity of inspecting the homes of some of the operatives. These consisted of

blocks of neat two-story brick tenements, many of which were owned by the occupants, the cost averaging about $2,200.

After passing most of the afternoon very pleasantly in the vicinity of the factories, the Commissioners returned to the hotel.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention reconvened at 8 o'clock p.m., Mr. HOTCHKISS, First Vice President, in the chair. As quite a number of the Commissioners were not present, and as those in attendance were anxious to secure time to prepare for their departure to Baltimore early in the morning, Colonel LORD was, at his own request, excused from addressing the Convention upon the subject of mortgage indebtedness, as proposed in the morning session.

The President stated that the by-laws provided that $5 be levied on each Bureau for incidental expenses.

The Secretary stated that it was his purpose to mail galley proofs of the "remarks" of Commissioners and others to the authors; and, upon motion, the Secretary was directed to notify each person interested, at as early a day as possible, of the probable date when such proofs would be mailed, so that the recipient might be prepared to correct and return them at the earliest practicable moment.

Mr. BISHOP, of New Jersey, offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the members of this Convention hereby extend their earnest thanks to Professor ALBERT S. BOLLES, Chief of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of Pennsylvania, for the admirable quarters secured for the entertainment of the Commissioners, including a most convenient room in which to hold their daily sessions; and for his untiring attention to the members during their stay in Philadelphia. His many acts of courtesy will ever continue as a pleasant memory in the minds of the recipients.

Mr. LORD, of Illinois, also offered the following, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be extended to Hon. THOMAS C. WEEKS, Chief of the Maryland Bureau of Statistics of Labor, for the kind invitation extended the Commissioners to visit the city of Baltimore, and for his efforts in arranging an excursion to the extensive works of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, located at Sparrow's Point, near that city.

Mr. BOLLES stated that the arrangements for to-morrow (Friday) would require an early breakfast, say at 6:30, as

the Commissioners would take the train for Baltimore from the Broad street station at 7:20.

The business of the session being concluded, upon motion, the Convention adjourned.

VISIT TO BALTIMORE AND SPARROW'S POINT.

The Commissioners assembled at the Broad street station of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company on Friday morning, and took the 7:20 train for Baltimore.

At the request of the Secretary, Mr. W. A. COUNTRYMAN, Chief Clerk of the Connecticut Bureau, consented to act as historian of the expedition, and has forwarded the following graphic account of the trip:

SPARROW'S POINT PLANT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STEEL CO.

On the morning of Friday, May 22, 1891, the members of the Convention went to Sparrow's Point, Maryland, about nine miles below Baltimore, on the Patapsco river, to inspect the works of the Pennsylvania Steel Company. They were met at Baltimore by Commissioner THOMAS C. WEEKS, of Maryland, who, by his courtesy and care, put everybody immediately under the greatest obligations to him. At Sparrow's Point every facility was furnished to properly view the plant. The President of the company, Major LUTHER S. BENT; the General Manager, Mr. F. W. WOOD; the Agent, Mr. R. K. WOOD, and W. S. FRANKLIN, Superintendent of the Baltimore & Sparrow's Point Railroad, were untiring in their attentions.

The property of the company embraces about 1,000 acres of land, most admirably adapted to the purposes for which it is used. It has a very extensive water front, so that ocean steamers load and unload directly at the company's docks. The property is divided into the manufacturing and residence districts, all of it being retained by the company. The plant contains within itself all the elements necessary for the manufacture of steel rails and also of steel plates for ships of all descriptions, from the crude ore to completion. All the particular processes which this involves were carefully explained — from the four 85-foot blast furnaces, with their immense blowing engines, the fly-wheel of each being 90,000 pounds weight, to the Bessemer converters, the rail mill, the machine shops, and the marine department.

The company imports its ores from its own mines in Cuba, and does so, duty included, at a less cost for transportation than it can bring ores from Lake Superior. It owns all the stores, schools, boarding houses and dwellings in the village, but the sites for the churches it leases to the different societies. It permits no liquor to be sold, and accounts this a great economic gain.

After a tour of the grounds, which was expedited by the use of a moving train of cars on a part of the more than fourteen miles of railway which the company owns, the visitors were most hospitably dined at the regular boarding house. After this, they continued their rambles by the woods and picnic

buildings reserved for the workingmen and their families. In response to a general call, President BENT briefly stated some of the more interesting facts about the enterprise:

"The plant was established because transportation is against inland manufactures, which will, of necessity, eventually become manufactures of specialties only. The southern and eastern coast of the country was all open and undeveloped from New Orleans to Maine; but great railroad connections exist between the seaboard and the interior, so that the great markets of the South and Southwest can be reached either by rail or water. These markets will be the greatest consumers of iron and steel for the next twenty years. Any point much further south than Maryland, however, is too far south for immediate operations. The seaboard situation was not alone the motive that inspired the Pennsylvania Company to buy the land. Another, was the necessity of enlarging their Steelton plant. The features that have made Baltimore great, commercially, still remain. There is a remarkable country in the rear of the city, and plenty of labor. In Cuba the company had previously bought large ore mines. This island is only 1,300 miles distant, and a thousand miles of transportation by ocean entails no greater expense than a hundred miles inland. Reciprocity will also assist in making the freight cheap. At Sparrow's Point it costs four cents a ton to take the ore from the dock and put it into the blast furnace, while at Steelton (Harrisburg), it costs a dollar. As it takes nearly two tons of ore to one of pig, the saving per ton of pig is nearly two dollars."

In answer to questions by Commissioner BETTON, of Kansas, President BENT said that in Steelton the men were independent of the corporation, and in many instances owned their homes; but this plan was not now feasible. When that plant was started men were getting from $4 to $10 a day for skilled labor, but such times are past. Now the average per diem for skilled and unskilled labor is $1.75. With these wages a man can never secure a homestead, or if he does, it is apt to be so heavily mortgaged as to prove a drawback. Under the system of corporation dwellings at Sparrow's Point, where all the comforts are furnished at but a small percentage of profit, the workingman can put more money into the savings bank and have more for immediate use. "This is the plan of the company," said Major BENT. "We own everything. The men have better houses, better comforts, greater happiness. We give them water, and all the sanitary improvements and comforts, and hope the day will soon come when we can give them steam heat, too. They will then have no coal to buy." The company gives the men plants and flowers from the hothouses with which to adorn their dooryards. This gratuity is eagerly accepted. In answer to further questions by Commissioner BETTON, Major BENT said: "We have a savings bank, a branch of another institution not our own, which is well patronized. We allow no liquor to be sold within two miles of the schoolhouse. If a man wants a glass of beer, he must go to Baltimore to get it. This is a great improvement over the old way. I was told that I couldn't run a shipyard without rum. I said I didn't believe it. At Steelton everybody is happy, but I believe I could, without any inducement of higher wages, easily take nine-tenths of the men from their own homes to live in corporation houses at Sparrow's Point."

Colored and foreign labor constitute each one-third of the whole number of employés at Sparrow's Point; the other third is of a mixed character. At

the corporation store, goods are sold for cash, if the men want to pay cash. The aim is to sell as good articles as can be bought anywhere, and at prices lower than the prevailing rate. "It is purely a commercial operation," said the Major; "but I think the town better off than if we leased or sold the grounds. Then twenty grocery stores would be started here at once, liquor would come in, and the place would soon be almost beyond police regulation." The company has about $10,000,000 invested, and will eventually employ a force of 5,000 men.

Before leaving the works, upon motion of Commissioner WEEKS, a cordial vote of thanks was extended Major BENT and his associates for their kindness. The party then returned to Baltimore by the tug "Canton," which was placed at their disposal by the company.

Upon their return to Baltimore, they were taken about the city in carriages, under the personal supervision of Commissioner WEEKS and a number of friends, who carefully pointed out the various points of interest. Druid Hill Park, with its many natural beauties, was the last place visite .

.In the evening, Commissioner WEEKS tendered the Convention an informal dinner at Branner's City Hotel. Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, the National Labor Commissioner and President of the Association, presided, having Commissioner WEEKS on his right, and Hon. SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, Commissioner for Connecticut, on his left. At the close of the banquet a resolution was offered, and enthusiastically adopted, thanking Commissioner WEEKS for his splendid hospitality. The members left Baltimore the next morning for their respective homes.