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BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
ETHELBERT STEWART, Commissioner

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EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT SERIES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC
EMPLOYMENT SERVICES**

HELD AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK
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ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES.

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1918-19.

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1915-16.

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1913-14.

President: Fred C. Croxton, Columbus, Ohio.

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BULLETIN OF THE U. S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

NO. 311.

WASHINGTON.

AUGUST, 1922.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICES.

INTRODUCTION.

The ninth annual meeting of the International Association of Public Employment Services, which was held at the Hotel Statler, Buffalo, N. Y., September 7 to 9, 1921, brought together from all parts of the United States and Canada men and women interested in employment service work and employment problems in general. Mr. T. W. Phillips, C. B. E., Principal Assistant Secretary of the British Ministry of Labor, who is in charge of the employment and insurance branch of the British Labor Department also attended the conference. Mr. Phillips came to America in response to an invitation of the association to the British Ministry of Labor to be represented at this meeting and he contributed in very large measure to its success. Among the organizations represented at the conference were the Industrial Relations Association of America, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the National Vocational Guidance Association, the National Committee of Bureaus of Occupations, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the American Association of Social Workers. Representatives of the United States and Canadian Departments of Labor were also present. The delegates were welcomed at the opening session of the conference by Mayor George S. Buck, of Buffalo.

Mr. Phillips was the principal speaker at the dinner session on September 7 and gave a detailed account of employment exchanges and unemployment insurance in Great Britain. The members of the association were given an opportunity to learn further details of the British experience from Mr. Phillips at a round-table discussion, which took place on the following morning.

In addition to Mr. Phillips's address, the program included a number of other valuable papers dealing with employment service problems and procedure, which elicited some interesting discussion.

At the business session on the last day of the conference, the constitution was amended to make all persons in sympathy with the objects of the association eligible for membership, even if not actively engaged in employment-service work, and several resolutions

were passed, the principal one being the following with reference to a permanent national policy for dealing with unemployment :

Whereas the acute unemployment existing at the present time is bringing hardship and untold suffering to the working people of all countries affected, and

Whereas it is believed by the members of the International Association of Public Employment Services that the problems created by unemployment are of vital national interest, and can be treated effectively only on a national scale: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the delegates of this association favor as a matter of principle remedial measures designed to deal not alone with the existing situation but more especially those which aim at the development of a permanent and constructive national policy, to the end that the greatest possible degree of stabilization of industry and continuity of employment may be attained.

As important parts of such a program there should be a systematic organization of public employment offices developed on a national scale in order that the supply and demand for labor can be adjusted with the least possible waste and human suffering.

And that greater attention should be given to the organization of industry with the view of developing the highest possible degree of regularization of its processes.

And finally, that public work and purchasing by all governmental agencies should be systematically organized on a long-time basis with the view of relieving the serious consequences of abnormal periods of industry and of stimulating industrial confidence and thus contributing to general welfare and prosperity: Be it further

Resolved, That the delegates of this association bring these resolutions to the attention of the appropriate governmental officials, or officials in their respective countries with the request that they be given early consideration and made a part of a national program for dealing with unemployment.

The following resolutions with regard to Mr. Phillips's visit were also adopted and were forwarded later to the British Ministry of Labor, and to Mr. Phillips, respectively :

Whereas one of the principal contributions to the success of this ninth annual meeting of the International Association of Public Employment Services was made possible by the generosity of the British Ministry of Labor in permitting Mr. T. W. Phillips, C. B. E., assistant secretary in charge of the employment and insurance department, to attend and participate in the discussions, and,

Whereas the association believes that only good can come from frequent interchange of ideas and experiences on more or less common problems; Therefore be it

Resolved, That this association convey to the British Ministry of Labor our sincere appreciation of the opportunity afforded to the members of this organization to profit and to learn at first hand from the British experiences in dealing with the trying problems of unemployment, and further that this association entertains the hope that future annual meetings may be favored by having present a representative of the British Ministry of Labor.

Whereas the members of the International Association of Public Employment Services have been instructed and enlightened by the thorough presentation of the British methods of dealing with unemployment insurance, and

Whereas Mr. T. W. Phillips, C. B. E., has left a permanent impression upon the members of the association of the wise, sympathetic, and constructive consideration which the difficult problems of unemployment are receiving in his country: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this association express to Mr. Phillips not only our sincere and deeply felt gratitude for his able and very illuminating contribution to the success of our program, but, also, and most especially, the very warm regard which the members have come to feel toward him personally.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year :

President: Bryce M. Stewart, director of the Employment Service of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.

First vice president: John M. Sullivan, field representative, United States Employment Service, Washington, D. C.

Second vice president: G. Harry Dunderdale, superintendent public employment office, Boston, Mass.

Third vice president: Miss Marion C. Findlay, Toronto Employment office, Employment Service of Canada.

Secretary-treasurer: Richard A. Flinn, 1834 Forty-ninth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Executive committee: Charles J. Boyd, general superintendent, Illinois Free Employment Offices, Chicago, Ill.; Robert J. Peters, director, bureau of employment, department of labor and industry, Harrisburg, Pa.; Thomas M. Molloy, commissioner of labor and industries, Regina, Saskatchewan.

It was decided to hold the next meeting of the association at Washington, D. C.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE PROBLEMS AND PROCEDURE.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE MIGRATORY WORKER.

BY E. W. BRADWIN, M. A., INSPECTOR OF FRONTIER COLLEGE BRANCHES, TORONTO,
CANADA.

The chairman, out of the fullness of his heart, has dubbed me a professor. Worthy as that title may be, it is a mighty poor passport to win the esteem of camp men. From my varying activities with the Frontier College during the past 18 years, I think I can better claim to be designated a navvy or a lumberjack.

In speaking of the migratory worker I have not in mind the men, often proficient and usually members of a union, who flock from one industrial center to another, according to the fluctuations and demands of their trade, but to those men, seldom organized, who follow the manual work of the camps, railway construction, and other more or less temporary works. Further, what I am about to say is not to be taken as a carefully prepared paper, but rather as field notes, to be utilized by any present who may find in them something to be considered in their study of unemployment.

More than any other land Canada has the problem of the migratory worker. Big undertakings carried on in isolated places, wide expansive stretches of country with, in many places, a sparse population, have given rise to the nomadic movements of stalwart men who can barter brawn and daring in service by the month. Take the building of the Canadian Pacific, a huge undertaking in the eighties for any 4,000,000 people; in carrying it to completion workers in great bodies had to be moved a thousand miles at times to points where there was little or no population to supply their needs. In more recent times, you may have noted in the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific up through the Yellow Head, 800 miles on to Prince Rupert, not a settler's house and barely a frontier village in the whole distance, yet through several years eight and ten thousand men, isolated and in camps, were engaged on this work. Meanwhile similar conditions existed among the railway camps on another road which followed down the valley of the Fraser. Think of the tremendous stretch of country from Quebec city and La Tuque, on through to Superior Junction and to Winnipeg! Probably 1,500 miles as the crow flies, yet through this primeval wilderness, often as far as 200 miles from the base of supplies, was hewed out and graded a superb piece of track. These were big tasks. They have served to familiarize the Canadian people with the migratory movements of men in camps.

Camp men throughout the Dominion may be broadly grouped into three classes: The bushman, the navvy, and to a lesser degree the miner. These classes often shade and overlap; they may interlock. There is the bushman of the Ottawa Valley and the bushman of the north shore; the logger of the Pacific coast, and the men of the pulp camps. There is no clearly marked distinction; the same man might fit into any one of those different camps; but the bushman of the East is a hand man, the logger of the West is a machine man. You may even detect a psychological difference; the logger of the Coast is con-

scious of an apparent superiority. He thinks he is up a rung or two higher on the ladder; to him, the man back East with his horse-and-team methods is two generations behind.

So, too, with the navy; here again we may notice many distinctions among workers at this class of labor. Not only have we the men of new construction, but we have the men of the extra gangs, the trestle men, usually good axmen, including the bridge and building crews who, like the logger, look with lordly disdain on the work of the ordinary navy.

The miner is usually well organized. Particularly does this apply to the machine men, drillers, and mill hands at the smelters. There are, however, many men usually employed at works as surface hands and casual workers underground, who may well be classed with the migratory workers of other camps.

Closely related to the miner is the prospector; in fact he may include in himself the three classes of migratory workers. A few years before he slept in a bunk house as a trail cutter or swamper at a bush camp. There he gets a glimpse of the outside world. He is enthused by the tales of fellow workers in the camps who spend their summers on railway construction and boast of the big pay and overtime, and he goes the following year as a navy. From railway construction he is lured in a year or two to the mines of Cobalt, Anyox, or Porcupine. His splendid physique and self-reliance soon give him constant work. Later he associates as a packer or smith to sharpen steel with men who are staking and recording claims. This brings him in contact with bosses, bigger than he has yet met, whose vocabularies resound with phrases pertaining to minerals, mining laws, and recording. He feels himself growing. He comes occasionally in contact with representatives of the moneyed men on the lookout for promising finds. The erstwhile bushman resolves that he, too, will become a prospector and match his wits with other men in the chance for success. Later, with a few claims staked he emerges from the migratory class to that of a potential miner. If he succeeds finally in selling his claims at an option for several thousand dollars, he dwells in the clouds. He is going to become rich. He lives already in thought as becomes a wealthy owner of mining property. This is accentuated if the cash deposit on the option enables him to make a trip in state to his home town down the Ottawa, or in southern Ontario, and to live for a few days at one of the big hotels of Montreal, Toronto, or Buffalo. It is well he is sanguine for where one succeeds many fail. The option is not taken up, the bubble bursts, and one more is added to the number who bear a generous grouch against the "moneyed interests." Gradually he gravitates back again to the bunk house as a bushman.

Which of these classes contribute most largely to the migratory worker? Is it the miner? Yes and no; for where the mine owner has built cottages and homes at the plant he, to some extent, stems the transitory movement of the workers. Is it the bushman? Yes and no; for where the lumber company establishes homes and a village about its mill, we have less of the shifting. It is true that they may go to the company's camps in the winter, but these are generally within a radius of 100 miles or less. Byng Inlet, Plaster Rock (New Brunswick), and Cache Bay are cases of mill towns which hold the

bush employees during the summer months. Take, on the other hand, the logging camps on Vancouver Island: There the workers come and go constantly. May this not be due in part to the fact that too seldom are homes or a village of any size located near the camps?

Nor is the harvester to be taken as the typical migratory worker. While it is true that from 26,000 to 30,000 men may be moved from the East to the farms of the prairie or poured back eastward through the passes of the Rockies to the fields of Alberta and Saskatchewan, yet watch a harvest train from the East passing through some prairie town: The heads at the windows of these cars show fully one-half to be youths of 18 to 22 who are having their first trip away from home. They are going to visit cousins or uncles in the West; they do not totally rely on their earnings, for if they get stuck, dad, mother, or sister will send them \$10. Consequently they are anchored in the East. There are also a large number of elderly men who are going out to visit their sons who have preceded them to the West; they will return in a few months. The harvester is not a migratory worker in a sense intended here.

Is it the navy who contributes most to the ranks of the migratory workers? Here again we find that where a house has been provided, such as is supplied at intervals along the railways for the section men, the navy is more settled, while the navvies who live in the bunk cars are constantly on the move.

We may conclude that the migratory worker is largely the product of the bunk house and the bunk car. The bunk-house man to-day is not the old type of shanty man—"and more's the pity," says the old-timer. He is less subservient. He knows more of the world in general and uses his knowledge in looking after his interests. Transportation, too, has made a surprising difference. Men to-day will drift from work to work, 1,000, yes, 2,000 miles apart. Men, who but a year before were working down in Texas, may be found the following winter in camps along the Algoma Central. A generation ago to hire for a season's work more than 200 miles distant from the Ottawa was unusual, while to go to the "Michigan camps" was thought to be exceptional, except for the confirmed roustabouts.

What are some of the characteristics of the bunk-house man? He is an open-air product. He is in the period of his life marked by health, physical adaptiveness, and strength. This age lies usually between 22 and 50. If he is under 22, while he may be noisy and loquacious in a camp, he is only a youth and is soon made to feel his place by the older ones. An exception to this may be taken, however, in the case of lumber camps on the north shore near French-Canadian communities; there more than one-half of the inmates of a bush camp may be under 22, mere youths escaped to the camps who ought to be at the district schools. Men over 55 years of age are the exception in a camp. Once middle life is passed he is already called "dad," "the old man," and expressions friendly and otherwise greet him occasionally, such as: "What is an old goose like you doing in a camp?" "What have you done with your stakes?" "You are old enough to own this company." All of which causes even the shipwrecked to realize that a gap exists between his life and that of the virile men about him.

The long evenings, and the wet days thrust many spare hours on the inmates of a bunk house, and the migratory worker is not in-

frequently a great reader, particularly of magazines. In camp parlance, however, he uses little of his acquired knowledge. His talking vocabulary seldom exceeds 400 words. In fact this may usually be considerably reduced. Restriction in this way is compensated by many lurid phrases often repeated. His words are not wasted.

Quiet, unassuming, and confident in manner, the migratory worker is usually hard-headed and sane. He is easy-going at times, liberal in his views of life, readily detects the wrong, and is a hater of sham. He is diffident with women but fond of children. Nor is he devoid of honor. A lady would be safer and more highly respected walking among these bunk-house men than is often the case in passing through the crowded corridors of the large hotels of our urban centers.

I will go further—the bunk-house man is honest. While it is true that socks may be pilfered or mitts may disappear, particularly on a bitter cold morning, yet when one considers that clothing of all descriptions and footwear of 80 or 90 men may be hanging promiscuously from the rafters and poles of the bunk house night after night for months, there is little thieving. The thief is largely a "jumper" or a "bo." He is known and watched. How different it is to go into a Child's restaurant or even the restaurant of the Hotel Statler here, where signs are found: "Watch your hat and coat," "Not responsible for articles stolen." In fact the first time I ever knew of towels being locked on the rollers was not among the migratory workers who congregate in camps but in a hotel located in one of our larger Canadian cities.

What these men most lack in character is some spur or incentive to orderly life. They are devoid of any real attachment to a home, to a piece of land, or tether of any kind.

The migratory worker thinks in terms of individual opportunity. He forgets that it is he also who helps to make society. He overlooks that in making the best of things for himself he should not forget the community all about him. He expects to be free from all responsibility, but consequences will come, even through his actions, which may be a detriment to society. He fails to note that I. W. W., One Big Union, labor unrest, and even poverty may be a reflection of the individualism that has ignored all responsibility for public good.

The very conditions of his work—seasonable, uncertain as to operation, and unstable in pay—are a factor in his mental make-up. Good pay and plenty of work may alternate with periods of depression and years of bare grind. Stakes when made mark days of affluence which quickly speed. Life is in flux all about him. This gives him a philosophy: Live and let live! Why should he remember? The past to him too often has been harsh. But convictions in him are subtle and hopes of the future quicken the pulse; opportunity always looms large and untrammelled. From his drab surroundings he scans the idealism which is fervidly offered as the surcease of his troubles. He is tinctured with forms of communism; direct action is his threat. "If," he says to himself, "the new day means sudden gains, why should I not share therein?"

The motive of the migratory worker of the camps is the stake. There are all kinds of stakes. In a general way, however, we may summarize stakes as of three different kinds. The "\$100 stake," or quick stake—this is the aim of young fellows who will work for three, three and a half, or four months until they get \$100. They will then draw their pay, invest in a new suit of clothes and other toggery, go to the nearest town or village and spend a week in fun and revelry. Then they drift back to the camps.

The second type of stake is the "10-weeks" stake, or dry type. This usually applies to a man in middle age—very often a Scandinavian; he may be a foreman, handy man, or barn boss. He is faithful, assiduous, punctual in his work, reliable, and may possess crude ability of a particular type. After about 10 weeks he suddenly reports at the office for his time. On some small pretext he must go to town; in other words, he is dry, very dry, and no cajoling, no inducement or flattery on the part of the foreman or boss will hold him. He simply has to go, even if the whole works goes to smash. A few days after he is back on the job, meek, docile, and attending to his work. He does not look near the office, and the boss, while inwardly cussing, does not fire him, because he can not well do without him, due knowledge of which lurks, too, in the head of the delinquent.

The third type of stake to be mentioned is the "big stake." This may include the cook, a foreman, or some trusted, proved employee who wants to get back as far as possible—to den up, as it were, and save something. The camp farthest ahead of the steel or most inaccessible is what they seek; it may be north of The Pas, west of Cochrane, up in the Peace River country, or at an isolated mine depot, guarding supplies. He stays for a year or 15 months. His whole concern is for the interest of his firm; he has an inborn ambition that this is his last sojourn in the camps; that he will make a worth-while stake and bid adieu to his nomadic ways. This type of man has often a wife and children. He hears from them regularly where mail is possible, and occasionally they hear from him. He does not gamble, he may even pass the bottle by, when it is offered him, for he has visions of quitting the camps and buying a hay farm in the Queen Charlotte Islands, of raising fruit in the Okanagan, or of running a dairy outside Port Arthur. After many months he finally leaves camp the proud possessor of a healthy stake. It is his misfortune that he is so often tripped when he finally reaches some busy shipping point for men, such as Sudbury, Tete Jaune Cache, or Nipigon. A few days of debauchery and you can buy him for 10 cents. There are caged bears one would as readily stroke as such a man for the week following, when he finally realizes his stake is gone.

In 1918 there were 3,700 camps in Canada housing migratory workers, 1,500 of these were in northern Ontario. The average number of inmates in a winter camp is 55. The Ontario representatives who are here will see from this what an important problem confronts their Province in the matter of temporary camps. It has been estimated that in 1918, 250,000 men lived the bunk-house life in Canada. However, when we consider that this was an abnormal year, it is more reasonable to say that from 180,000 to 210,000 men live for por-

tions of the year in bunk houses of the Dominion. The same proportion would not prevail throughout the States of this Union, for, as has been mentioned already, the migratory worker of the camps is more the product of our sparsely settled Provinces.

In 1920 a survey of 100 camps showed 5,400 inmates; of these, 1,400 were "bohunks," and I use that word advisedly, not as a term of reproach, for I have in my heart as much respect for the splendid foreign-born worker, who is so often found in the camps, as for most people whom I have met. It also showed 800 French Canadians and 3,300 English speaking. In percentages these 100 camps, largely in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, would show: 25 per cent bohunks, 15 per cent French Canadians, and 60 per cent English speaking. This last group includes not only the native-born Canadians, but many new arrivals from the British Isles, several Americans who have drifted across the border, as well as Norwegians, Swedes, and a sprinkling of Finns. It is evident that the 60 per cent English speaking is very cosmopolitan, and does not infer that men of healthy Canadianism predominate in camps.

These figures, however, pertain largely to winter camps and will vary considerably according to the locality in which they are obtained. The railway extra gangs which operate usually from April till the freeze-up, show to fuller extent the mixed nationalities which comprise these groups of unskilled and semiskilled workers. Outside of the big-six—the foreman, clerk, a straw boss possibly, the cook, the cookee, and the chore boy—who are usually Canadians, the greater proportion of the extra gang are foreign born. During the past 10 years it would be safe to say that the foreign-born workers constituted 80 per cent of the railway extra gangs.

The extra gang provides a favorable angle from which to obtain an estimate of the shiftings of migratory workers. It mirrors well their transitory movements. For example, in the present season, gangs of 80 men in May and June will dwindle down to 35 and 20 before September. Large portions of the work gangs will leave each pay day. The gang is decimated each month. Two hundred and thirty men on a pay roll one month is not uncommon to keep up a working force of 18 or 30. In the harvest time the gangs are often down to 12 or 15. In fact, on a siding north of Regina recently a string of cars stood idle—office car, stores car, cook car, and half a dozen bunk cars. Why? Because the extra gangs had been depleted by the call of the harvest field.

This shifting and jumping among the migratory workers has proved a bane to camps and railway extra gangs, particularly in the last 15 years. What are the causes of this coming and going? Can we readily assign a reason? It is hard to determine. It may be just an overdose of good times and pure human cussedness, as an irate foreman would express it. Some possible reasons, however, may be suggested here to account for the frequent shiftings.

Is chuck the cause? It can hardly be. Cooks may vary, but usually the food is good. In camps and new works and on extra gangs the companies and the railways supply more bacon, ham, cheese, meats, coffee, vegetables, dried fruits, and canned goods than one would get at a city boarding house. Invariably the food is there, if it is put up right. That is what makes a good cook such a tin god in

a camp. In fact, the average home could not begin to provide for the family as do these employers of migratory workers. The food even surpasses the living of the lower-paid professors. Of course there is a sameness, and even the best of food three times a day, little changed in form, will pall on any stomach even if invigorated with activity and work in the open. We may safely say that chuck is not the cause of the shifting.

Is pay the cause of his unrest? Here again we may answer no. Usually good wages are offered at camps and locations which attract the migratory workers. Then how do you account for the jumping from the railway extra gang to the harvest field? Does the farmer pay more? Yes, but not in the long run, to the majority of the railway workers at least. The harvester, who leaves his railway work, will get this year \$4 a day, plus his board, but he loses his rainy days. Taking a fortnight or even a month as a test, the harvester may be ahead, but when the rains come and the inclement weather follows later, it puts a damper on his work, and he is glad before October is over to drift back to the railway. Meanwhile, what would have been his receipts if he had remained with the extra gang? This year on the railway extra gang he would get 35 cents an hour for a 10-hour day, with deductions of \$7 for meals and \$1 a month for the doctor; but his work is steadier and when it closes down at freeze up in November he gets transportation to his home, often in another Province. So that at the end of three months the worker on the extra gang will be ahead. Pay alone is not the cause of the jumping of the migratory worker on railway extra gangs and in camps.

While "chuck" and "pay" may reasonably be eliminated from the causes of frequent shifting and unrest among the migratory workers of camps, there still remain four or five conditions which in no small measure account for the instability of labor at works where the migratory class congregate for seasonal efforts. With the following observations you may not wholly agree. However, I am submitting them to you for your consideration at this conference for the study of various phases of unemployment.

One cause of shifting among the migratory workers is overtime. Overtime should be banned from all camp workers. If a man has done a legitimate day's work, what energy has he for further work? But among a gang of men the local boss, overanxious to finish a piece of work, baits the men with promises of three hours' pay for two hours' work. As they are eager to make a stake and get out, the men take the offer. Overtime is common among many camps and most railway extra gangs. But work of this nature is not the most satisfactory. It is costly to the company, for poor work is done in overtime. The men themselves, if they have done a fair day's work, are jaded. They draw on their reserve vitality. In thinking of the pay they lose sight, too, of what it is costing them. They get crabbed. The morning horn finds them sore and cross at things in general. Some little word of correction from the foreman and a ready excuse is found to get their time and jump the job. To overtime must be attributed a great deal of the unsettled habits of these men.

A second cause for instability among these workers is the usual isolation of the work and the lack of women. The bush camps, the railway extra gangs, and other seasonal or temporary works are run with the routine of a military camp. The men retire at certain hours and rise together with the tooting of the cook's horn or the ringing of a gong. Experience overseas during those five fateful years has taught half a million Canadian men and youths housed in barracks and in encampments in Flanders, how irksome even the most ordered life may become. It has shown us the longing, engendered at intervals by men so situated, for the companionship of women. This is frequently the experience of migratory workers housed the whole year round in camps and bunk cars. These men, both foreign born and Canadian, desire companionship, and they will have companionship, if not of the healthy kind, then of any kind. Alfred Fitzpatrick, principal of the Frontier College, has pointed out in his recent book "The University in Overalls," that it is not impracticable to build bunk houses that would accommodate families in the more permanent winter camps. There is not enough social life for these workers. Loneliness is only a further incentive to pile up a quick stake, jump the job, and revel in an adjoining town.

Gaming in camps may next be mentioned as a not inconsiderable cause for the shifting and jumping. Too often the migratory worker is a gamester. The dimly lighted tables of a bunk house at night reflect this spirit. The poker game, varied with shooting craps, has always been a concomitant of bunk-house life, particularly on the Pacific Coast. We have in addition in recent years the hastily rigged plank and mug for crown and anchor, not to speak of the more dainty game of put-and-take. It is quite true that even among civil-service men, some of whom may be present, a game of chance is not unknown. But even they will hardly stake their total earnings of weeks or months on an evening's play. Gaming in the camps has increased very much in recent years and serves in a big way to make a man restless as well as shiftless. To get rich quick is the motive and jumping is constant. When greedy industrialism comes across a tool in the shape of labor with such propensities it tends to use it recklessly, just as it uses up our raw material.

A fourth reason for the shifting and jumping in camps is the housing conditions of the average bunk house and bunk car. There is too frequently little to choose between them. Go into a bunk car—here are 20 or more men crowded together, single bunks, double decked, with a narrow aisle down the center of the car. Except in the case of the special bunk car, little light is provided. The bunks have straw but no blankets. In fact, at times straw is not provided; it is not an uncommon thing to gather dry grass for bedding and improvise for covering whatever garments one has to spare from his pack. On the prairies cool nights prevail during most of the summer months. When the men turn in, soft coal is heaped on, the fumes rise, the stove is soon red hot, and the whole atmosphere becomes unhealthy for the inmates.

Generally speaking, logging camps, mines, and railway extra gangs west of the Great Lakes do not provide blankets. "A good man carries his blankets" is an expression often heard. That idea must have

been imported from some of the Western States, for the common custom among the companies of the Ottawa Valley and the north shore is to provide men amply with blankets, which, too, are usually washed and clean when issued in October at the van. One need not speak too confidently, however, of their subsequent condition in February. That, however, will depend largely upon the man himself.

To carry a blanket may look well to the foreman, but in actual practice it may be a handicap to men moving great distances. In fact, it will cause jumping just as often as it secures a steady man. When blankets are purchased from the company, it means an outlay of \$10 or more, which has often to be paid for in work. If a man wishes to dispose of his blankets when leaving, in order to insure a quick sale he can realize only a dollar or two for them. The system of charging men for blankets supplied, militates directly against the worker. Poor bunks, no bedding, and lack of blankets in bunk cars and some camps is responsible in big measure for the tendency toward instability and shifting on the part of the men.

Let us consider next for a few moments the housing conditions of migratory workers in bush camps. Building bunk houses should be an art in Canada, and it is. The celerity with which a foreman and a gang of men with a team will build of logs cut in whole tree lengths a big rectangular sleep camp, eight logs high and gable roofed, is a credit to the ability of the bushman. Such camps have dotted the lakes and river banks of eastern Canada since the earliest days of settlement. Yet little change has marked the general appearance of the buildings; true, the caboose has gone, real floors are now provided, and the cookery has come to stay, but camps now built on the north shore and in the woods of northern Manitoba still follow the type used generations since along the Ottawa and its many timbered tributaries. Most bunk houses are 34 by 48 feet. Such a building will usually accommodate 96 men. The bunks are double deckers, top and bottom, each section accommodating four men. Inside these, crowded with the coats and sweaty garments of the men, hanging at all angles from the roof and rafters, steaming over the hot stoves, we find conditions stuffy, close, and vapid, very hot the first part of the night and cold toward morning. The floor reeks with phlegm and spittle. The tobacco smoke is so thick that the four lone lamps, which usually light the whole building, are pale as the street lights in a fog.

Is there real necessity or is it mere custom for this herding of men in crowded bunk houses, still so common in the camps of Canada? To such congestion we must attribute in no small part the tendency of men to jump. Too often there is little to hold them. With an experience during these years of having worked and slept in many scores of camps I am prepared to speak with some knowledge of actual conditions. In the fall of 1913 I was five weeks in one camp, where from our bunk behind the woodpile in the center, my mate, a skidder, could touch with a 6-foot stick the sleeping forms of 56 men.

The latrines and sanitation of the camps are of the crudest. One thing is noticeable—men from the camps who have gone overseas and have come in touch with the strict sanitary regulations of the mili-

tary camps will not put up with conditions that formerly existed in too many of the bush camps. Already, since the war, there is a noticeable improvement of sanitary conditions. The inmates of a bunk house are for 10 or 12 hours a day at manual work on the hill-sides and in the open, they are supplied with good strong food, and get regular hours of sleep; largely to this is due the fact that the bunk house has not oftener proved itself a plague and a menace to the migratory worker. In fact, to live the bunk-house life continuously for several months at a stretch will dehumanize the best of us.

That improved housing conditions around camps and works, however, will entirely offset jumping among workers may be disproved from the conditions at Drumheller two years ago. In that wonderful valley, the Moody mine stood out among others as a splendid example of care and provision on the part of the owners for the comforts of the men—well-equipped wash house, a large dining room, a well-appointed common bunk house, with comfortable cottages and garden plots provided for the families of the married men. Yet in the face of so much consideration for their employees, nowhere would one find in the fall of 1919 such an amount of unrest and jumping as pervaded that whole district. Conditions there for months were as jumpy as is the touch of a sore tooth. This, however, was probably due to an abnormal wave of unrest which was just then sweeping the West and is no criterion of what provision and facilities for the men's comfort will do under ordinary circumstances toward securing steadier service from the men.

Finally, the lack of organization may be suggested as another cause for the instability and frequent shifting of the migratory workers in camps. While it is true that organized labor is a tremendous force in the urban centers and at industrial plants, the attempts so far, whether under the I.W.W. or its counterpart in Canada, the One Big Union, to fashion into dependable shape the unskilled workers of the camps, have been but partially successful. The very conditions of these workers, here to-day and gone to-morrow, is a barrier to permanent organization. So far, organized labor speaks very audibly for the workers in the cities where more permanent conditions are found. Too seldom does it voice the workers in the camps. While it is true that labor in Canada is a recognized force, that its elected leaders are recognized at Ottawa, that the Department of Labor has at its head a man chosen from the ranks of labor, and that the Provinces have provided splendid technical schools and workmen's compensation, all in the interests of labor, yet the benefits of such are only indirectly felt by the migratory workers in camps.

The actual conditions of life and work among this class of workers are a handicap to effective organization along proved lines. All the greater, then, exists the need for tangible recognition in another way. Some form of direct supervision could well be provided for this branch of labor. This apparent need constitutes the real challenge of the migratory worker in camps. It is a challenge not only to the Federal Department of Labor, and to the immigration authorities, but also to the universities of Canada.

The problem of the migratory workers is Dominion-wide. It extends beyond any one Province, and it can best be studied and understood by the Federal Department of Labor. Until very recent years, however, the Dominion authorities at Ottawa did not seem

overzealous in the interests of the navy and the bunk-house man. Laws and regulations were enacted that apparently little benefited the men in camps. In the 11 years previous to 1914, during which I spent two-thirds of each year in the bunk house, under actual camp conditions and usually in isolated places, I never met a representative of the Department of Labor in a bunk house. I did hear once of one having been at the office. Inspectors for the labor departments, whether provincial or Federal, might well work and sleep with the men of a gang for definite periods, living with them under the actual working conditions that prevail at a point, if they would be truly informed from both angles and procure a working cross section of actual conditions which is to be accurate.

One form of official effort has noticeably assisted the bunk-house men and other migratory workers in the last three years. I refer to the labor bureaus located at all the larger cities across Canada, of which Mr. Bryce Stewart, the president of this conference, is the efficient head. This form of activity, allied as it is with corresponding bureaus maintained in the different Provinces, seems already to have shown direct benefits. At least its influence reaches many workers in camps and on extra gangs who have hitherto been overlooked. It is an indication of what may be done to help migratory labor when the problem is properly approached.

The challenge of the migratory worker comes strongly also to the immigration authorities at Ottawa. The unskilled work of the railways and the camps attracts in great numbers the new arrivals in Canada. These frequently congregate at such works where a capacity for heavy manual work is required, and the lack of English will prove no barrier. Dwelling for a while as a worker at some such groups will soon convince one of the polyglot population of the Dominion. The need of a healthy Canadianism will be reflected there as probably nowhere else. It is said that in Canada we have 53 races, that 85 languages and dialects are spoken, and that those of Anglo-Saxon extraction in the Dominion do not number 40 per cent. A brief sojourn in a string of bunk cars will convince you of this and more; before a night is over you will be convinced that a dozen races at least are in your particular camp.

The bunk houses which house these workers are often divided by imaginary lines. Racial distinctions are apparent even among the blankets. There is the bohunk corner, yonder is where the Italians sleep, not to mention the English and French quarters; and boundaries are jealously guarded; they seldom overlap. I am going to make a statement which I do not ask you to accept. I should be sorry to believe it true, but after 18 years I see little sign of assimilation among the adults of the foreign-born workers. In fact the only hope of assimilation in the Provinces of the Dominion lies in the children of the schools. There are races of men, separated in all probability from a very early period in human history, races so incompatible that any attempt at association between them is almost impossible, and nowhere is this more apparent than among the migratory workers that dwell in the bunk houses of the camps, works, and mines. Whole portions of the Slav peoples and of the Balkan races will never be compatible with the races in Canada, drawn largely from Western Europe. There are refractory sub-

stances in the matter of adult assimilation that not even education will overcome. Migratory workers are in camps and on extra gangs who had better have been left in Poland or behind the Pripet Marshes. Beyond the Adriatic is the place for even the mountain races, who bring to camps in Canada the grudges and the feuds of centuries. Such men often dwell here, but live at home in real thought. They have no wish for citizenship. They seek what is big pay—at least to them. A shrug and “What for me Angleese? No! Nottings!” expresses their concern in Canada.

The challenge of these men comes, too, with increasing force to the universities of Canada. What direct benefits do the 200,000 workers in bunk houses derive from the public funds bestowed in increasing amounts on the universities? None whatever, these men in no soft tones will hasten to affirm. Does it arouse their enthusiasm to read of the addition of a noble building on some campus for recreation and art, or the erection in stone of well-appointed dormitories for favored students, while they, doing a very much needed and essential work, are housed under conditions befitting more the covert of a goatherd in medieval times. It may be questioned if too much of public funds does not go on outlays in education which in the end benefit most the commercial and highly paid professional classes. While it is well that we have splendid faculties of medicine, science, and commerce, are ceramics, helium, gas, and West Indian trade, important as they are, bringing any direct benefit to the quarter million workers in camps, denied even the opportunity to acquire the rudiments in education? By the average migratory worker the name university is disliked; it speaks of a thing apart.

While it is true that the universities are eagerly hastening these days to extend the advantages of higher education to many classes hitherto deprived of them, yet efforts in extension so far have favored those fortunately situated; men and women already partially equipped are particularly benefited. Short courses also prepared for rural communities will prove an aid to the farm. Some industrial workers in the larger towns and urban centers will profit from enlarged opportunities, but none of these directly meets the needs of migratory workers in camps. Except for the work of the Frontier College for the past 20 years, the men in the camps and bunk houses have been dwellers beyond the pale of all university influence.

Nor are our universities blameless. For three years following 1917 unrest and discontent, openly expressed, swept among all classes of the migratory workers in camps and mines, particularly in western Canada. It culminated at Winnipeg in those tense days of June two years ago. Here was the menace of the migratory worker, and even of the highly organized worker for a time, when led by men many of whom were not best fitted to advise. The camps as a field have been usurped by men, prophets of sudden change, fervid, but overzealous, with alluring messages coated in crude Marxianisms and half-baked truths. Should the knowledge, the facts, and influences that would prove constructive forces in just such places be confined so largely to the classrooms of the universities? Meet the demagogue fairly and squarely in his own stronghold; the personal influence of the professor should be felt in the bunk houses as well as in the buildings on the campus.

There is need. Why should the universities longer overlook it? Will they continue to stand aside and allow work groups isolated from the influence of the classroom to be dominated by the agitator and breeder of unrest? Where is more needed an opportunity for mental stimulus than among the scores of men in a distant bunk house or with the inmates of a string of bunk cars on a siding. Men sit nightly in such groups, reading with avidity by the glimmer of a candle stuck in a bottle or from the light of a borrowed lantern whose cracked globe has been patched up with flour and paper, pamphlets and circulars cooked to inflame, not tempered by saneness. Whether a Lincoln or a Lenin is evolved, influences at hand will most determine. Too often the migratory worker has had no chance to learn that human institutions grow out of human needs and frailties, grooved along the way of compromise, not out of ideals which as a magic force will by a turn of the hand alter the animal so latent in us all.

Just now it is quite the practice for a professor from some university to roll up his sleeves, jump into the ranks of industrial labor for three, four, or six months, then publish in book form or in a current magazine his solution of the problems confronting the workers. Such a man, even though well trained, is not best fitted always to estimate the needs. The real link with the migratory worker, as the Frontier College has demonstrated, is the instructor—professor, graduate, or undergraduate of a university, who engages year after year for a time as an actual worker, not as an investigator. As one of the men he works, eats, and sleeps with them, asking no favors, and his pay is measured by his ability in the first place to satisfy some hard-headed foreman with his day's work. This brings to the camps and works the healthy contact of men combining in themselves the asset of well-trained minds, plus the concrete fact that they are manual workers.

A successful instructor is no hot-house plant. He is an all-weather growth. He is up in the morning using basin and soap; he is with the men at work and at lunch. To be successful such a man is not clothed in cloistered virtues which droop in the first breath of unfriendly air. He works for a season alongside men who in their outlook on life are not within a hundred years of his vantage point. This is a challenge to him. It is worthy of any university man. Can he exploit for the general good these differing powers? A particular opportunity is given to him; he starts right in where he is and works with what he has. His human experience serves to groove the life about him. He is a steady factor, a rushlight in an obscure corner of the common society to which we all belong.

Some of the splendid women from the universities of Canada may well consider the need of going as a part of their undergraduate work in a similar capacity as ordinary workers to the plants and mills, where, amid the clatter of machinery, women and girls, often of foreign extraction, are busy daily at their tasks. To go as a supervisor or other official capacity does not give the real contact of working in the rank and file. Leadership in such groups belongs to the young women with the mental training of the university and the further environment of two generations or more of healthy Canadianism.

That the best from the university will respond is shown by the work of the Frontier College. Since its inception 21 years ago more

than 600 men from the universities of Canada and a goodly sprinkling from American universities have served in the capacity of instructors in camps and works. During this year close on 300 students signified their willingness to engage in this practical form of education, citizenship, and leadership. Instead of 60, many hundreds of such should be located at the camps and works throughout the Dominion. That they are of the best type may be noted from the fact that 16 of the instructors now occupy chairs in Canadian universities. A lecturer in economics from one of the splendid universities in the Canadian West is spending the greater portion of his summer for the Frontier College as a carpenter's helper at a big construction work.

What would it have meant in the life of this great Republic if, since those decades in the mid century, when first the tide of immigration set strongly toward your shores, there had gone each year hundreds of picked men from your old historic universities, Harvard, Brown, Dartmouth, Yale, and a half a score of others to leaven by an actual contact the work groups in those quick-growing communities peopled so largely by European nationals? Would there be more in evidence about you to-day a solidarity which is the vital essence in the life of any people? Would those two tense years and months which followed the outbreak of the late war have revealed to you what it did? Canada, as a younger Commonwealth, may profitably learn that too much to overlook the newcomer and the migratory worker is to loosen the whole structure of a healthy nationalism. The gap may be bridged; it can best be done by men and women envisioned with the broader life of the university engaging as manual workers among them. This is as it should be. Not 80, not 100, but 3,000 could be located each year by the Frontier College among the different work groups. Trained men who can show by their life and daily work that the ideals of government in Canada are bigger than those of any one class, that our highest good is sought in the good of all, and that the aim of all being is common well-being. This will aid the men at the works, and the instructor himself will carry back to the classroom a wider outlook on life and a fuller knowledge of his fellow.

The challenge of the migratory worker is for fuller recognition by the heads of organized labor, for more careful selection on the part of the immigration authorities, and for trained leadership, such as is provided by the Frontier College. Give opportunities of education to the bunk-house man. Improve the citizenship of the migratory workers. Unrest is rooted in their continued neglect. This constitutes their challenge.

THE PLACEMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED WORKER IN CANADA.

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In presenting a paper to the International Association of Public Employment Services on the placement of the handicapped worker in Canada, it might be well to point out that the problem as far as Canada has been concerned has, since the inauguration of the employment service of Canada, been largely one of dealing with dis-

abled ex-soldiers, a natural sequence of the part Canada played during the conflict from August, 1914, to November, 1918. While my paper will deal entirely with the disabled soldiers and how they were retained and fitted into the industrial life of the country, there is no good reason why the same methods should not be followed in the rehabilitation of the industrial handicapped. It is evident from the outset that the machinery set up to care for the handicapped soldier could naturally be utilized to a great extent in caring for the industrial handicapped of the country. Therefore, I will give you a brief summary of the way the problem was handled by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, a branch of the Canadian Government created solely for the purpose of rehabilitating the ex-soldier, which department at all times worked in close cooperation with the employment service of Canada.

Disabilities incurred in service may prevent a man from following or returning to his former occupation, from three causes: (1) He may be physically unable to return to his former occupation. (2) He may sincerely believe that he is unable to go back to his former occupation. (3) If he is injured, he may not immediately be able to return to his former occupation on completion of treatment, but may become so later. In the first case, it is necessary to teach him a new occupation; in the second, it is necessary to convince him that he is able to return, and to accomplish this, it is often advisable to give him training in some allied occupation until his confidence returns. The same method would apply to the third case, both (2) and (3) being to a large extent curable.

In retraining disabled soldiers, three policies were open to the Government: (1) To take all these men and train them in highly skilled trades such as carpenters, printers, plumbers, machinists, etc., which, if they had no skill to build upon, would take from one to five years; (2) if skilled in some occupation, to build upon that foundation by training them in some lighter occupation, closely allied to it, where their former experience could be made use of; (3) if they had no former skill to build upon, to train them in some occupation in which they would be able to earn a full going wage.

The second method has been adopted as a general principle in all allied and enemy countries and also in Canada. With the policy herein stated, a system of retraining had to be built up to meet these new conditions which was totally unlike any training or education system heretofore in operation.

During the year 1915 a study of the work of rehabilitation of returned soldiers in Europe was made, and it was found that attempts had been made to retrain crippled soldiers in industries, but there had been a tendency on the part of certain employers to exploit the labor of these employees rather than to train them. This led the Government to adopt definitely the policy of training all men in schools and institutions and to discard the apprenticeship system.

During the spring of 1917 a few technical men in the city of Toronto formed themselves into a joint committee of technical organizations for the purpose of putting at the disposal of the Government the services of those engineers and technical men in Canada who were not able to go overseas and who desired to offer their services part time to the Government. On this committee were not

only technical men who were manufacturers and employers but technical men who were foremen and managers of works. Among other subjects investigated by this committee was that of training handicapped soldiers, and, after discussion, it came to the conclusion that the Government was at fault in deciding not to adopt the apprenticeship system. They felt that the employers of Canada were willing to shoulder their part of the burden of training crippled soldiers if properly approached and would not exploit their labor.

Up to July, 1917, 39 occupations were being taught and it was found that three occupations absorbed 42 per cent of the men trained. If this policy had been continued, certain occupations would have become overcrowded, and the disabled men would not only be competing with other disabled men but with those already in these occupations. It was therefore realized that a larger number of courses must be made available to prevent this competition. There was also a tendency to place too many men in sedentary occupations instead of productive ones.

Experience in technical schools had shown that there were only a small number of occupations in which men could be successfully trained, therefore the obvious solution of the difficulty was to train them in industry. Another reason for this policy was that the cost of equipment and buildings for training men in schools was very high and the transition from training to wage earning was easier if the men were trained in the industry rather than in the schools.

In order to carry on the policy of training men in as large a number of occupations as possible it was necessary to make a survey of most of the principal industries in Canada to ascertain the occupations which could be carried on by men disabled in various ways. This survey was commenced in 1917 and it was found that there were very few industries into which disabled men could not be fitted in some capacity or another.

At the beginning of 1918 the men who had completed training numbered 133. The department began to feel that an inquiry should be made as to the success being attained in the work. It was also felt that it was not sufficient merely to train the men and turn them out into civil life, but assistance should be given them to obtain positions suitable to the training given and the disabilities from which they were suffering. The department, therefore, introduced and organized an employment bureau which was known as the follow-up and after-care section. It was considered that the special needs of the men who had been disabled ought to receive extra consideration and be handled independently of all others, and another consideration which influenced the department in maintaining a separate employment service for the disabled men was the fact that the finding of openings for training in industry was done with the object of having the men permanently employed in the workshops in which they were trained and, therefore, the work of training and employment were so closely bound together that it did not appear advisable to have them handled by two different agencies.

The prevailing industrial depression has affected the facilities for industrial training, and difficulty has been experienced in obtaining openings for men in certain occupations. The total number of men who commenced training under the department up to March 31,

1921, was 50,996. Of this number, 12,439, or 31.90 per cent, received their training in departmental schools; 7,428, or 19.05 per cent, in outside schools; and 19,127, or 49.05 per cent, in industries.

The type of training given can be divided into five groups—corrective, trade and industrial, business or commercial, agriculture, and professional. The number of men trained in each of these groups to March 31, 1921, is as follows:

	Students.	Per cent.
Corrective training-----	44	0.113
Trade and industrial training-----	22,301	57.191
Business or commercial training-----	11,420	29.287
Agricultural training-----	2,362	6.057
Professional training-----	2,867	7.352

The policy of the department in providing retraining to as great an extent as possible in actual industries rather than in departmental schools is still continued, and experience has shown that a greater percentage of the men so trained follow the line of their training. A comparison made of the results obtained from the three methods of training used by the department shows that 66.01 per cent of the number trained in departmental schools, 79.36 per cent of those trained in outside schools, and 73.17 per cent of those trained in industries are employed in the line of work for which they were trained.

The number of occupations in which the department has trained men is 421. These occupations are grouped as follows:

Corrective training—number of courses-----	3
Trade and industrial training—number of trades and occupations-----	292
Agricultural training—number of distinct courses-----	24
Business or commercial training—number of separate and distinct lines of training-----	43
Professional education—number of separate and distinct lines of training-----	59
Total-----	421

Until toward the end of 1919, the employment work in the units was a comparatively easy task. There were few graduates and comparatively plenty of vacancies, and it was not a difficult matter to follow up the graduates and find out how they were getting along and to render what assistance was necessary toward their permanent establishment. The following will give the growth of the work:

Number of graduates—December, 1918, 2,285; December, 1919, 9,455; December, 1920, 36,826. This shows that during the year 1920, 27,371 men completed training.

With the demobilization of the information and service branch of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment and the very large number of men who were being graduated, it became necessary definitely to establish the policy concerning employment. Up to this time, while the training branch had assumed responsibility for seeing that graduates obtained employment, the information and service branch had to a great extent assisted in placing vocationally trained men. All concerned were notified that the training branch was responsible for securing employment for all graduates, also for all handicapped cases, whether vocationally trained or not.

In order to see that this policy was carried out, the head office had followed certain lines of action: (1) Dealing as heretofore with

individual cases as reported by their monthly follow-up reports. (2) Observing results and, where necessary, offering constructive criticism with regard to them. (3) Giving advice concerning the organization and methods of work.

(1) By taking up with district officers individual cases and suggesting methods of dealing with them.

(2) Various charts and statistics have been forwarded showing the comparative standing of the units and where they have been successful and unsuccessful, and generally observing the results of the work. This, too, has resulted in continued effort on the part of the units to get every man satisfactorily placed and to find out what has happened to each graduate in order to know definitely the results of retraining.

(3) By creating at head office a special section to find openings for employment for severely disabled men and to secure appointments for those who were suitable in the civil service.

The following figures give the results of those cases that have been closed:

Cases closed, July 31, 1921.

	Number.	Per cent.
Following line of training.....	25,477	66.38
Following other lines.....	9,524	24.82
Total employed.....	35,001	91.20
Not a success.....	196	.51
Unable to trace (presumed employed).....	1,488	3.88
Gone abroad.....	925	2.41
Sick.....	664	1.73
Dead.....	105	.27
Total.....	38,379	100.00
Vocationally trained men at present not employed.....	4,456	

The vocational training work of the department has been greatly reduced. At the present time the number of men training throughout Canada is only 1,516. The number of offices has also been greatly reduced and the facilities for finding employment for disabled men are now confined to a few of the large centers. The time has come when there appears to be little necessity for maintaining a separate employment bureau by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment. While the department was dealing with disabled men only, there was a great deal of duplication of effort on account of the fact that the offices run by the department were separate and distinct from those run by the employment service of Canada. In many places the department has no facilities for finding employment for disabled men and this has a tendency to attract such men to centers in which the department's offices are maintained.

The soldier problem, especially that of the handicapped, has to a great extent been solved, and at present the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment and the employment service of Canada are arranging to consolidate the employment features of the work and place them all under the direction of the employment service, which organization is recognized as the permanent institution in Canada to deal with this problem in its broadest sense.

In Canada, our several Provinces have what is commonly known as workmen's compensation laws, and through this medium the vast majority of industrial handicaps are to some extent provided for,

both in money and in medical treatment. Therefore, it would seem that one of the best methods of dealing with the industrial handicapped would be for the several Provinces, through their workmen's compensation commissions and by close cooperation with the employment service, to train the aforesaid handicapped in some occupations so that they would not only be able to find employment and earn the means of existence, but also to place them in the position of again assuming full responsibility as citizens of the country.

In closing, let me leave this thought with you: That it is just as essential for employment organizations to be certain that they are not putting "square plugs in round holes" in the making of appointments to their own staffs (and more especially in connection with the handicap section) as it is to be certain that in sending an applicant to a position that you are not sending a "square plug to be put in a round hole" on the assumption that because he or she is handicapped, the employer will naturally display considerable latitude, and continue such applicant in employment purely from a sentimental viewpoint.

I thank you all for the attention you have accorded me and close with the following: The world owes every man and woman a living, and it is the duty of every citizen to see that proper facilities are accorded the less fortunate to enable them to at least meet all other classes in fair competition.

THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AND THE TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM.

BY JAMES H. M'VETY, GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA,
EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

Fortunate indeed is the employment service that is able to fulfill its mission without being confronted every day with the problem of transporting its patrons over vast areas in order that the worker may be kept in employment and the industries enabled to continue operations. In small countries and countries having numerous employment systems without coordination, transportation is limited to the territory actually included in the jurisdiction of the service, and if the centers of population spread over the area the problem of distributing labor pretty well takes care of itself, as the workers are able to keep themselves accurately informed regarding the industrial situation and to move quickly and at little expense to the point offering the best prospects of employment.

In a country of large dimensions, with a single employment service, its centers of population widely separated, its industries and development of natural resources growing rapidly, and with a comparatively small population, the problem of transportation looms large, and has its effect on the employment service in many ways. Such a country is the Dominion of Canada. Larger in area than the United States and Alaska combined, but having a population of about one-tenth of its neighbor, with the major portion of its manufacturing carried on in eastern Canada and the development of natural resources and industries connected therewith advancing rapidly in western Canada (in the Province of British Columbia) the two sections being separated by thousands of miles of agricultural country, it will be readily seen that the question of transporta-

tion is a most important one from the standpoint of expense, time, duration of employment, and suitability of the worker who is being placed. The requirements of the agricultural districts during the seeding and harvest seasons is another angle that has to be taken into consideration.

It is an everyday occurrence in Canada for the employment service to send a worker from 1 mile to 3,000 miles to employment secured through one of the 75 offices operated in the various Provinces. In British Columbia, with half the population of the Province living in three cities in the extreme southwest corner practically all the labor for new and growing industries is sent from the centers of population or from centers in other Provinces as far removed. Five to seven hundred miles of travel is required to reach many of the points where natural resources are being developed on the frontiers of civilization in the Province. Before moving a worker such a distance, the service must be sure that there is employment and know all the conditions surrounding it. It must also be satisfied that the worker is sufficiently competent to fill the requirements of the employer, and consideration of these angles opens up the question of the competency of the employment service staff to judge whether the applicant has the necessary knowledge. Regardless of whether the employer advances or pays the fare or requires the applicant to do so, if by any error the worker is found unable to fill the position or refuses to accept it because of finding some condition of which he was not advised, both employer and worker are dissatisfied with the service, and in some cases have made claims for the refund of the amount disbursed for fares and expenses through, it was alleged, the misstatement of conditions of employment by officers of the employment service. Another difficulty that sometimes arises is where the employer advances the fare and the service selects a man and starts him on his way, only to find that, although his baggage was checked through to his destination, he has abandoned his baggage and disappeared, leaving the employer without a worker and out of pocket the fare advanced. The greater the distance the worker has to be moved, the more unlikely he is to have the money to pay the fare himself and the greater the incentive, because of the larger amount involved, to take the opportunity of securing transportation without having the slightest intention of accepting the employment for which he was engaged. It is true that he may be prosecuted, provided he can be found, but that presents many difficulties in sparsely settled communities and particularly where the worker changes his name frequently in order to avoid real or imaginary blacklists. During periods of readjustment this difficulty is increased, owing to the guerilla warfare carried on by individual workmen as a reprisal for wage cutting on the part of the employer.

In countries where unemployment insurance is in force the question of advancing fares is comparatively simple. If the worker defrauds the employer or the employment service, he must remain out of employment without attempting to collect his insurance, because if he is in employment he must deposit his card with the employer, and if unemployed, with the nearest office of the employment service, so that it is practically impossible to escape his liability without

greater loss. Mr. A. Knight, manager of the Liverpool offices of the British Ministry of Labor, recently informed me that the loss on account of the advancement of fares was so small that it was not considered worth while bothering with.

Where this system is not in force, and it is considered necessary for the employment service to advance fares, the only solution that presents itself to the writer is to make the employer responsible for the collection and refund of the fare to the employment service, and where the worker fails to enter the employ, to accept the loss and charge it as a set-off against the advantages of the system. To make the employer responsible would require an amendment to the existing employment agencies' acts and the employment service would have to notify the employer of the amount of his obligation at the time the worker enters his employ. Provision has already been made by the Canadian Government for the advancement of fares by the provincial administrations of the employment service of Canada, but, owing to the many difficulties encountered, it has so far been very sparingly used.

Reference has already been made to the problem of supplying the needs of the agricultural Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta during the spring and harvest seasons. A writer in the Saturday Evening Post, dealing with the migratory workers of the United States, stated that workers frequently left Chicago in the spring and were able to secure work in agricultural pursuits in various parts of the country until about Christmas, this being due to the wide range of climatic conditions and the different crops to be harvested. Canada has no such advantage. Its harvest of grains must be taken care of in about 50 days, and to do this requires about 40,000 additional workers from the Provinces of the Dominion, who must be moved from 1,000 to 1,500 miles, and at the conclusion of the work must be taken back to the cities until again required the following year, in the meantime working at such other occupations as may present themselves. As the acreage under cultivation increases, the number of people required grows larger, and naturally the employers of the cities object to the removal of potential employees, claiming that it interferes with manufacturing, although a little thought would convince anyone that the basic industry in Canada and the United States is agriculture, which must be taken care of at all costs. An ideal arrangement would be for manufacturers to release a percentage of employees each year for this work, but the present lack of cooperation between these two classes throws this proposal over into the future.

Until this year the extra help for the harvest in the Canadian West has been supplied exclusively by the railway companies. Before the country became settled, the railways had land to sell, and indeed still have large acreages, and in order to secure settlers they ran harvest trains from eastern Canada at a fare that worked out at about 1 cent per mile. A coupon attached to the ticket provided for the return journey at a slightly higher fare for those who had the coupon indorsed by a farmer to the effect that the ticket holder had worked in the harvest fields. A considerable number of those who came to the west in this way took up land and remained, and every additional

acre placed under cultivation provided additional freight for the railways, and at the same time brought returns from the sale of lands. No restriction was placed on the sale of tickets—men, women, and children—anyone who had the price was permitted to go, with the result that the farmers secured a much poorer grade of help than if the people were selected with an eye to their fitness for the hard work in the fields. In any case, the railways have taken care of the situation for the past 35 years, until at the present time the original objects of the excursion rates have been pretty well met, and the question now arises whether a better arrangement can not be made that will relieve the railways from handling many people who are taking advantage of the rates for holiday excursions, and at the same time give the farmers a class of help that better meets the requirements of the industry.

Owing to conditions of unemployment in British Columbia during the winter and spring of 1921 an arrangement was made by the officers of the employment service to take 1,600 men for spring plowing and seeding, these men being selected by the officers of the service and shipped to the prairie Provinces to the points designated by the prairie officers, at the employment service railway rate of 2.7 cents per mile. It has been stated that only 2 per cent of these men were found to be incompetent, and at a conference of employment service officers with the railways in Winnipeg in July, arrangements were made to secure harvest rates from the Pacific Coast cities at a rate of about 1 cent per mile, the whole of the selection and distribution being in the hands of the officers of the employment service of Canada. About 4,000 men were shipped under this arrangement, and according to railway men, about 500 beat their way to the prairies before the rates were effective. Taking into account the 1,600 who went to the farms in the spring, about 6,000 men who were unemployed at the coast were put into employment where they were most needed and at a time when they needed the employment the most, through the agency of the employment service of Canada. Sufficient men could not be found to fill the vacancies, but for the first time the service was given an opportunity to show what it could do in taking care of two national emergencies—taking care of unemployment and at the same time relieving a demand for help in another part of the country. It is too early to express an opinion on the results of the experiment, but if it is considered sufficiently successful to warrant its extension to the eastern Provinces next year, the employment service will then have a real opportunity to show its ability to handle a big situation.

It will be seen that the cities are expected to absorb the help needed in the harvest field for all but two or three months of the year, and there is at present no way of charging the proportion of the cost of maintaining these people when unemployed against the agricultural districts, a perfectly fair charge which should be included in the cost of production of the commodities from agriculture, and this could best be done by the adoption of an unemployment insurance policy that would permit of this being done. It would in addition alleviate the distress caused by unemployment and at the same time enable the employment service to adopt a plan of advancement of fares that would make the service more valuable both to workers and employers.

HOW TO GET BUSINESS FROM EMPLOYERS.

BY C. W. MEATH, CITY SUPERINTENDENT, EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA, TORONTO.

In dealing with the matter of securing business from employers I will endeavor to show the methods which have been used in Toronto during the past three years, asking you to please accept them as applying, in the main, to normal times, as I have no particular recipe for securing business during times of serious depression, like that through which we are now passing.

Our scout section in Toronto is organized along the lines of a sales staff selling any standard product, and we have a chief of the scout section who acts as sales manager. Surplus labor, after all, is an article for disposal to the buyer at a price, the same as clothing or any other commodity, and unless the salesman delivers the goods to his customer he need not look for further orders and loses the confidence of his trade.

In the employment office too much stress may be laid on the "applicant for work" and not enough attention paid to filling the employer's order satisfactorily. This is true particularly at the present time, when men come into the office who are "broke" and whose families need assistance. As a matter of expediency, these men are sometimes sent on jobs where they do not make good, with the result that the employer is put to a great deal of annoyance and is sometimes seriously embarrassed. In my opinion, a great deal of harm is thus done the employment service.

When an order is given one of our scouts, I try to impress him with the fact that he is then and there trusted by the employer to select for him a suitable person for the vacancy existing and if we fail to satisfy the employer then we have lost a customer. I explain to the scouts that it is the employer who keeps the office open and not the applicant for work. The employer furnishes the vacancies on which your office exists and what is the use registering thousands of applicants for work if you have no outlet for them? Therefore the service should first of all, in my opinion, concentrate on the employer.

Our scouts lay stress on the advantage of an employer being able to telephone the employment office when help is required, and not being bothered with help gathering at his gates or his employment office, which is a loss of time to him. We also explain to him the clearance system used in our service, whereby local offices linked up with provincial and Dominion clearing houses scour the entire country until the right man is found to fill the job. Emphasis is also laid on the fact that a staff of experts is at their disposal who are acquainted with every trade and avocation, and who are, above all, trained in sizing up human nature, owing to the great number of people passing through the office. It is also pointed out to him that we probably have a complete record of the man's industrial career extending over a long period, showing how he has performed the various tasks we have assigned him from the service at various times. Just at the present time we have in Toronto a record of over 55,000 men and 10,000 women, giving more or less complete details on each person. The employer is shown the advantage of having this information available to him at any time.

It is important that the office shall be properly organized inside to deal with the orders coming in, as the wrong man sent to a job spoils any publicity or scouting that may have been done to influence the employer in placing his confidence in your ability to pick him the right employee. "Fitting the right man to the job" is the slogan we use. Men are tested before being sent out of the office on a job. This is done by a series of questions, by looking up his previous employers, by reference to his past record on our files, etc.

Salesmanship comes into play more particularly in the placing of handicapped men, of whom, I am sorry to say, we have a large number in Toronto. A list of these men with their disabilities and qualifications clearly described, is carried by the scout. Various personal details concerning the man are also known to the scout. The case of a particular man may be pressed with an employer with the result that he may communicate with us later when an opening presents itself, or the case may be presented by the scout in such a strong manner as to worry the employer. It gets on his mind and he says to himself: "I will look after that man in my plant at the first opportunity." An instance may be cited of a theater in Toronto where a manager was so enthused over the idea by the able manner in which the scout presented the case that he took six crippled soldiers from us as ushers, and we put six one-armed men on that job, where they are all doing well to this day. The scout put this sale over one morning and it was a real sale, as these men were hard to place, but he concentrated on that manager and succeeded.

The handicap section in our Toronto office puts a man through complete tests, one of which is based on the system known as "United States Army trade tests" and the data contained in the two volumes, *The Personnel System of the United States Army*, which were kindly sent to me from the Office of The Adjutant General at Washington, to whom I had written inquiring as to whether they could be procured for use outside the Army offices. We have found these of immense help in our work of filling orders for handicapped men.

We use a separate handicap registration card which contains additional information to that furnished in the general section, this information, of course, being kept within the files of the handicap section. Details of each case are shown on this card, such as, the man's pre-war occupation, any vocational training he may have had, the number of his dependents, war service, work desired, industrial career, education, etc. We also have a space left on the card for a general "summing up" by the interviewer which shows any mannerisms of the applicant, whether he is neat in his general appearance, his manner of speech, etc. This detail enables us to present the case of a handicapped man to an employer in an interesting manner.

The same care must be used in the professional and business section, where men of education and special qualifications are asked for by employers. Too much detail can not be secured from applicants in the professional and business section. When an employer asks for an accountant or a salesman he usually describes the vacant position in detail so that it is most important that full particulars as to the person's qualifications, etc., shall be on file in the section, as men of this class are usually of a sensitive nature, and the preliminary choosing of the applicant should be done from the informa-

tion at hand in the files and unknown to any of them until it is decided who shall be sent to the employer for an interview. The placing of men of this class is most important, as they usually go to positions where they can turn future business to your office, and they do not usually forget their own experience in being successfully placed by the employment office. The loyalty of some of our best customers has been gained in this way after the persons themselves have been through the experience of being placed in a good position by the employment office.

Advertising for business from employers is not so effective as the personal work of scouting, and yet good unpaid newspaper material, such as readers describing what is going on in the employment office, treating it as an important municipal institution, is very effective, and will be read by employers if not used too often. We find the newspapers in Toronto only too ready to assist us by printing a good live story.

We have found that it pays to follow the classified advertising of the city newspapers each day. The five city dailies are carefully gone through by one of the staff and a special letter is sent to any employers advertising for help. In this letter we call attention to our service, and we have traced direct results from this "follow up" scheme. The indirect results in the way of paving the way to future business, have also been quite apparent, and the service is brought directly to the attention of the employer when he is in the mood to take notice.

In Toronto we have the city divided into districts, each scout being held responsible for covering his own territory regularly and allowing nothing to get away from him. If a new building is to go up in a certain locality and we do not get any jobs on it, there is only one person to whom we look for an explanation and that is the scout on the territory. Every scout turns in a report each night showing the names of the firms called on, the persons interviewed, and the result. We transfer this information to a card system, having an individual card for each firm in the city, an item being entered as each call is made, so that we can check the cooperation or otherwise of any firm at any time.

Scouts are instructed to use straight business talk with employers. No charity arguments should be used in order to secure orders. The employer soon tires of that sort of business. He may give you an order through sentimental reasons, but the business is not permanent. A connection must be built up between the employment office and the employer, so that when he needs help the first thing he thinks of is your office, knowing that when he calls there he will be efficiently served. In the majority of cases he will not do this if the charity or social service end of it is emphasized, as he then looks on the employment office as a relief station rather than considering it as a permanent business institution the same as the post office, the customhouse, or any public utility. If the service is given the employer he will come back with more business. If the service is not efficient and fails to meet his demands he will not repeat and the jobs which are essential to the successful operation of your office are not forthcoming. Therefore, proper care used in filling the vacancy after it has been secured from the employer is the vital part of the securing of his

business. Better not to send a man to him than to have him dissatisfied. The service will be judged by the way in which his demands are met. His confidence is gained in this way alone.

The regular calls paid by the scout, if he has the necessary tact, patience, and good manners, will impress the employer with the fact that he is dealing with a real live business organization, and he will soon be depending on you to pull him out of many a bad hole.

Thus, by efficiency of service confidence is gained and business can be secured from the employer.

EFFECTIVE METHODS OF INTERVIEWING.

BY G. HARRY DUNDERDALE, SUPERINTENDENT BOSTON PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT OFFICE.

When I was asked by our honored president to read a paper on "Effective methods of interviewing" I was at first doubtful as to my competency to fill the bill. There are so many points that enter into the work of interviewing which embrace office management that it is difficult to give a straight out-and-out talk on interviewing without encroaching upon the former.

As in every other profession, results are what are wanted, and results from an interviewer's standpoint are positions filled. The standard by which his work is measured is the largest number of positions filled as compared with the number of persons asked for by employers.

I therefore decided that the best I could do would be to give an idea of the way this work is done in Boston, no matter if I sometimes wander away from the subject in order to explain why certain things are done.

When the first public employment office in Massachusetts was established in Boston on December 3, 1906, it was for the purpose of bringing together those who seek employment and those who desire to employ. From the opening of the office to the present time it has been favored both by employers and employees. It is true that during the first three months the principal business was with the unskilled class of workers, for many employers and skilled mechanics were of the opinion that the office had been opened to help the unskilled workers who were too poor to pay a fee to the paid employment agencies.

This, however, soon passed away, as the employer who had been given satisfactory service in the unskilled branch began to ask for skilled mechanics, and when we supplied them it was not very long before it was known all down the line that the office was giving out skilled jobs, and to-day the skilled department is not far below the unskilled in the matter of jobs and positions filled. The following figures show the number of people called for by employers in these departments for the years 1919 and 1920:

	Unskilled males.	Skilled males.
1919-----	4, 827	3, 479
1920-----	5, 810	4, 035

The Boston office occupies two floors, the ground floor for males and the upper floor for females. The male division is divided into three departments—skilled, unskilled, and boys.

When we commenced operations we had 10 clerks (5 men and 5 women), 1 floor man, and a charwoman. To-day we have 5 male registrars and 4 female registrars, 4 female office clerks, 1 floor man, 1 messenger, and 2 charwomen.

In each department there is a registrar and an assistant. The registrar interviews every applicant for employment that comes to his desk. The assistant registers the applicant, makes out the introduction cards, and does the cross-referencing and other clerical work. When an applicant for employment comes to the registrar the first question put to him is, "Have you ever been sent to a job from this office?" If he says "yes," and there is an order on the desk calling for such a mechanic, the first thing the registrar does is to get the applicant's registration card and see what kind of a record the man has.

If it is the first time the applicant has come to the office the registrar by easy questioning ascertains as far as possible the applicant's condition, his experience in the work, and whether he has any dependents to look after. When an applicant is first registered he gives his name, address, age, conjugal condition, number of dependents, if any, where he was born, if an alien whether he has been naturalized, how long he has been in the country, State or city, and the names of his last two employers and the length of time he worked for each. For instance, John Smith comes to the office for the first time. He wants a job as a carpenter. The registrar by his questions ascertains that the applicant is 30 years old and has a wife and three children dependent upon him. He has had 12 years' experience at his trade and has worked 5 years for one firm. This last statement is *prima facie* evidence that the man is a competent workman, as no employer would retain an employee for five years unless he knew his business.

If the registrar is doubtful as to the requirements expected in the business he goes to his trade card box which is kept close at hand on his desk and brings out the card marked "carpenter." Here he finds a number of questions such as: "Can you read and work from blue prints? Do you understand framing, sheathing, door and window work?" and a number of similar queries. If the man answers in the affirmative and the registrar, who is carefully awaiting the answers, thinks they are given in a tone and with a confidence that denotes the applicant knows what he is talking about, he is considered a competent workman and is sent out.

It may seem to an outsider that sending men out to positions is an easy matter, but practical experience has taught us that before a registrar can be made into a successful interviewer of applicants for employment there are four or five principles which must be indelibly stamped on his memory and never allowed to slip:

First. That every order for help coming to his desk is an order for an investment by the employer, and it is the registrar's imperative duty to see that this investment is protected and made a profitable one by sending a man to the position who can fill all the requirements asked for by the employer.

Second. That applicants for employment are men and women who in a number of cases have come to the office because they are at the end of their resources, and their condition of mind is far from normal

(even if they have a smile upon their lips when it comes to their turn to be interviewed) on account of worry at being out of work and perhaps being unable to sustain themselves and those dependent upon them. Great care must therefore be used in questioning them and they must receive courteous and sympathetic attention.

Third. Always remember that business is not related in any way with philanthropy. The head and not the heart must govern every transaction. If after hearing a story of extreme hard luck from an applicant who has just aroused all your sympathies you look through your orders and you think there is one there the man could fill upon a pinch, be careful. It is far better for you to say "I have nothing that will fit you just now but drop in again and see me and I will do the best I can for you" than it is to send a man out on the chance that the employer might possibly use him; because the employer knows just what he wants and what he has asked you to supply; and if you send out anything that is not just what the employer has asked for, he will put the office down as being careless and inefficient and will transfer his patronage to some office that will fill his wants acceptably. By sending this man on a chance to an employer you have made three mistakes: First, you have given the employer the impression that the office is inefficiently managed. Second, the man you sent out is aggrieved because you have put him to the trouble of perhaps spending two carfares and in his opinion you sent him to a place when there was no vacancy, thus causing him the expenditure of time and money which may be a serious thing to him. You have given the office a black mark because the employer has lost faith in your ability to send him the kind of man he asked you to send.

You can never estimate the result of even one case of inefficient service. The employer may go to a meeting of his business associates and in the course of general conversation with a number of friends, one of them may complain that he is short-handed and can not secure the kind of help he needs. Another may advise him to go to the public employment office where he has been successful in securing help. Then the employer who has a grievance against the office relates his experience and his opinion of the inefficiency of the office and says in conclusion, "I have not the time to interview men who are not competent to fill the position I have vacant, and I think the office you mention is run in a careless and inefficient manner or they would have sent me the kind of man I asked for, so I am going where I can get just what I want," and his hearers may take it for granted that it is so and go to a paid agency.

Fourth. Applicants for employment are irritable and cranky when asked many questions, especially when they think you are intruding into their private affairs. The registrar must as it were "put himself in the applicant's place" and in a quiet and courteous manner explain that all the questions on the registration blank have been carefully thought out and they are necessary for securing a position.

Fifth. It is essential that a registrar of employment should have the efficiency and good name of the office constantly before him. No matter how large the crowd of waiting applicants is, he must concentrate his attention on the wants of the man before him. He must listen attentively to what the applicant has to say, so that if he is obliged to send him away without giving him a job, the

latter will leave the office with the satisfaction of knowing his wants have been made known and that whenever there is a position he can fill he will get it.

With these principles in mind and a determination to live up to them a registrar will in time make a capable interviewer. A registrar's work is not finished until he gets results. His work is not finished when he sends an applicant to fill a position. A real live registrar has a sheet of paper on his desk, on which are recorded all the positions open, and as the orders come in they are entered on the list. When he sends an applicant to one of these positions he marks it on the list and after allowing a reasonable time to elapse to have the man reach the place and interview the employer he calls the latter up and asks whether the man has applied for the job, whether he was put to work, and whether other applicants should be sent. This is the kind of work which counts with the employer. He knows you are interested in the work of supplying him with help or you would not call up, and that together with the fact that you have sent him a competent mechanic, makes it a certainty that whenever that particular employer is in need of help in the future your office will receive the order. It happens in many cases that the applicant sent to a job is a good mechanic, but the working conditions do not suit him and he refuses to take the position. A registrar when sending the man out will ask him to come back to the office if the place does not suit him or if he does not get the job, and the registrar will try to find a place that will suit him. When the man returns he will tell why he did not accept the job, and it will no doubt throw additional light upon the position that will enable the registrar to pick out a particular kind of man for the job.

A real live registrar will make it understood among the applicants that because a man has been given a card of introduction to a firm he is not obliged to accept the position if the conditions are not agreeable any more than an employer is obliged to accept the services of the first man sent out, but the registrar will continue to send applicants until the employer is suited.

If, as occasionally happens, the applicant is indifferent as to whether he works or not, which is quickly noted by the registrar, and if he is sent out to three or four places and none of them suit, the registrar has a quiet talk with him and tells him in a plain but courteous manner that we have no further time to waste on him and that our time and energies will be devoted to assisting applicants who are willing to work.

There are some applicants who will take an introduction card and will not go near the place, and there are others who will go to the place, accept the position, and promise to start work next morning, but who do not keep their promise. In our office we mark the applicant's registration of the former with a "C" and the latter with a "W." "C," failed to call. "W," failed to work.

When a registrar has an applicant he is going to send out and finds his registration is marked "C," he tells the man he was sent out on such and such a date to such and such a firm and that he did not go, and asks his reason for not going. If the applicant has not a reasonable excuse, the registrar debars him from the privileges of the office for 30 days. If the applicant has a "W" on his registration and has

not a reasonable excuse to offer, he is debarred from the office for 60 days, because he has committed the double offense of breaking his word with the employer, who might have turned down several suitable applicants, thinking that the place was filled and that the man would start work in the morning, and of giving the office a black mark, as the employer thinks we have only indifferent and unreliable workers to send out. Some may think this is drastic action, but we are obliged to do it if we mean to conduct our office on business principles. It also prevents our office from being the rendezvous of careless and indifferent workers.

MEN'S UNSKILLED DEPARTMENT.

In the men's unskilled department the work of the registrar is more arduous than in the skilled department. The applicants are of a different type, and embrace all the various occupations not taken up in the skilled trades. The men are of rougher mold, and fully 25 per cent of the applicants are foreigners, many of whom can not speak the English language, while others have such a slight smattering of the language as to make it practically impossible to secure a position for them except when one of their own nationality is in need of men or when one of their own nationality who understands English is already working for the employer.

In addition to these we have hundreds of men who claim they can do anything, but who, when put to the test, are found to be incompetent, though they will never admit it. When a man claims he can do anything, then it is time for the registrar to be on his guard, and investigation will show that he can not do anything efficiently. Many of these men, especially among the day laborers, wood choppers, and the casual, have been buffeted about by their foreman or boss all their lives. The treatment they receive is rough, their way of living is rough, and their mode of expression is of the same stamp. The work they have to do is a matter of brute force and strength. They do not have any consideration for anyone or anything when there is an obstacle in their path, and they will take any means in their power to get rid of it. The way they approach the registrar and the manner in which they ask for a job is far from being polished, but the registrar in that department, if he studies the various types of men as they approach, will soon be an expert in fathoming the intricacies of their rough make-up and will make himself respected and looked up to if he does not notice anything out of the way in the manner of approach or the way in which they ask for a position.

A registrar can easily see when a man means to be friendly or insulting, and must govern himself accordingly. He must check at once any undue familiarity or boisterous outbreaks, and deal with the applicant in a businesslike and practical way. A registrar should never allow himself to be drawn into an argument with the applicant. After studying the man carefully and having nothing that he can fill, tell him courteously, but plainly, that there is nothing for him at the present time but to call again. There the matter must end. If the man wants to argue, do not be drawn into argument, as the result will be that nearly all the others waiting in line will be listening and taking the applicant's side, and the end will be either

a scuffle or the majority of the men will leave the office, complaining that the staff will give out jobs only to their friends.

A registrar is a public servant, and has been appointed to wait upon those who come to him for work. He must be open-minded, firm, yet courteous. He should be a man who has had experience in the world, a man who can appreciate the condition of those out of work, a man who can sympathetically listen to the hard-luck stories some of them have to tell, and give practical advice when called upon to do so. Especially is this so in the men's unskilled department.

It has often been brought to our attention by employers, that some of the men refused to do certain work when requested to do so by the employer, because they had not been told they would have to do this work when they were hired, and boasted to the employer that they were not obliged to work for him, as they could easily get another job at the public employment office. The men guilty of these offenses were generally incompetent or indifferent workers. When they returned to the office and were confronted with the statements they had made, they were not fazed in the slightest, and stuck to it that they were not told they would have to do that work when they were hired.

They were told by the registrar that they could not use the office as a club against the employer, and that their registration would be marked and they would be given one more chance, and another offense would mean they would never be allowed the privileges of the office.

Thus you see, the registrar's work of interviewing the men is no easy task.

The boys' department, which gives some attention to vocational guidance, is one of the most important in the office. Nearly every morning brings its line of from 75 to 125 boys of all kinds; many of them are indifferent whether they get a job or not, but there are others who are anxious and willing to get a position where there is a chance for promotion. A number of these boys have just left school, and are delighted at what they consider a release from bondage to liberty.

They generally apply for work with characteristic thoughtlessness, and they do not care what they do so long as they receive comparatively high wages. Their whole being seems to be centered in the present, and they give no thought to the future. They are only looking for the money they can get now, and the good times they can get out of it. This is the reason we see so many boys engaged in what are known as "blind alley occupations" in which very little increase in wages can be secured, as when they have worked a year or so and ask for an increase, the employer discharges them and employs another boy at the wages with which the first boy began.

In all other classes of society there are exceptions, and so it is also with boys. The boy who sets out to get a job and be somebody is quickly noted by the watchful registrar of that department, and if it is in the rush hour, which is generally between 8 and 10, he is asked to come round later. When they get into conference, the registrar by dint of easy questioning, soon ascertains the amount of education the boy has acquired, the studies he liked best at school, and which attracted his attention the most; what his home environ-

ments are, how many brothers and sisters he has; whether his father and mother are living, what his father works at, how many brothers and sisters are working, and what he would like to work at if the opportunity offered.

These and similar questions tend to bring out what the boy really desires to be. Then an effort is made to place the boy in a job which will please and suit him. It is a grave mistake to place a boy in a permanent job which is distasteful to him, for no matter how long he works at it, he will always be a misfit, and you can not get the best that is in him. Give a boy a chance at some kind of work which interests him, and he will make a good mechanic or workman and a good citizen.

WOMEN'S SKILLED DEPARTMENT.

In the women's skilled department there is a seating capacity for about 40 applicants for employment. The average attendance here is about 300 a day, and the positions offered are for stitchers, dress-makers, milliners, clerical and office workers, hospital attendants and matrons, stenographers, typists, compositors, proof readers, secretarial positions, waitresses, chambermaids, and general factory workers.

The registrar in this department has to contend with a number of seasonal occupations, and considerable time and attention is given in an endeavor to have seasonal workers secure experience in a trade which is busy when their own trade is flat, thus increasing their earning capacity so much more. Many of you, no doubt, have had experience in this matter and know how difficult it is to convince these workers that it will be to their benefit. They seem to take it as a matter of course that they should be idle one or two months between seasons, and come to the office and wait day after day for a stray job at their trade to come in.

Then there is the vast army of applicants for stenographers' and typists' positions. The various shorthand schools and business colleges are turning out hundreds every year, and while we all know that every beginner must gain experience, yet many of the applicants who claim they are stenographers and ask nearly as much as the experienced ones, are very crude in the matter of spelling, punctuation, and ability to write grammatically.

In an effort to protect an employer who desires an experienced operator and to give a proper standing to a really efficient applicant, the registrar has a talk with the applicant and asks her to come in again in the afternoon and take a test, which consists of dictation of business letters, punctuation, general composition, and the number of words she can write in a minute. The result of this test is put on the registration card, so that when an employer is in need of a stenographer, we place these cards before him, and he picks out those he would like to interview, and arrangements are made accordingly.

Early in April comes the demand for waitresses and chambermaids for the mountains and summer resorts. It may seem to many that waitresses and chambermaids being in the same department with stenographers and highly skilled clerical workers is rather incongruous, but the demand is so heavy that every season we circularize the women's colleges, high and normal schools, and the response is very satisfactory, but these applicants would not come near the office

if they had to mingle with the rank and file in the unskilled department.

Spring and summer also bring their demand for salesgirls in the dry goods, confectionery, and other stores, both in and out of the city. These girls are questioned carefully as to their experience, and the names of their last two employers are secured. Many employers in the past have been insistent upon having references from former employers. I have always contended that a reference from an employer is not worth the paper it is written upon unless the employer verifies it. An example of this seems to bear out my contention. The registrar in this department sent out about 250 reference blanks to as many firms in the last two years, asking about the honesty, ability, and general conduct of the girls who had worked for them. Over 180 were answered, and all but 3 of these 180 according to the employers were O. K., and they would employ them again if the opportunity occurred. Yet an examination of these employer's cards showed that there had been numerous times when they needed girls and had not sent for them. It was quite plain to me that while an employer does not want a girl in his employ he has not the inclination or desire to injure the girl's prospects with another employer by telling her faults.

WOMEN'S UNSKILLED DEPARTMENT.

The registrar in the women's unskilled department has one of the most difficult positions in the office. There is a seating capacity for about 20, and the occupations secured embrace day workers, washing, cleaning (house and office), kitchen women, dishwashers and general culinary workers, cooks, hotel workers, and housework girls. Many of the day workers are widows who have families of little ones to bring up entirely through their individual efforts; others have crippled and sick husbands as well as having their children to sustain; while others are burdened with careless, drunken, and idle husbands, as well as a family to provide for. All of them are so situated that it is impossible for them to obtain a permanent position, except as cleaners in clubs, hotels, theaters, families, and offices. Some of them work at cleaning offices and theaters during the night or early morning hours, but all of them must have an opportunity of getting the little ones ready for school in the morning and to be home in the evening to give them their supper and see them safely in bed.

Is it any wonder that in times of business depression these women appear to be particularly insistent in securing work? This persistency is in many cases slightly removed from desperation, as the little ones must be fed and have a place of shelter, and the mother knows and dreads the knowledge that if she can not provide it the authorities will do so, and the home, poor as it may be, will be broken up and all her past efforts and struggles go for naught. There are, among this class of workers, heroines of the highest order. No sacrifice is too great, no effort too big, no matter whether the mother has enough for herself, so long as she has her cherished offspring around her clamoring for help and assistance.

The registrar, whenever a new applicant is sent to a place, calls up the employer the next day and ascertains whether the applicant was a satisfactory worker, and the result is placed on the registration.

After this has been done at three or four places to which the applicant has been sent, and all are satisfactory, the applicant's registration card is marked "O. K." Many employees, when leaving an order for a cleaner, will give the name of the cleaner they had before, and if it is possible, we send her.

It has been found necessary in this department to have certain hours for various kinds of work on account of so many women coming to the office at 8 a. m. and staying until noon, then coming back at 1 o'clock and staying until 4 o'clock. Practically the same people faced the employer day after day, and there were days when numbers were unable to come, owing to the seating capacity being full. The following hours have been fixed for the various classes of workers: 8 a. m. to 10 a. m.—Washing, cleaning, scrub women; 10 a. m. to 11 a. m.—Kitchen and restaurant workers; 10.30 a. m. to 12, noon—Cooks; 11 a. m. to 12, noon—Hotel workers; 1 p. m. to 2.15 p. m.—Matrons, housework girls, from 30 years up; 2.15 p. m. to 4 p. m.—Housework girls from 18 to 30 years.

The change has been of great benefit to employers. It also gives a fair chance for all classes of women to make known their wants. Housework girls have been the dominant demand in this department for many years. Employers who want girls must hire them in the office, and the registrar is very particular on account of the safety of the young girls. When an employer comes for a girl the name of the employer is asked. The name is placed on a paper and sent to the office, and it is looked up in the ward book; and if it is found there, that is taken as evidence that he is a bona fide citizen. In some cases we have called on the police, who quickly inform us if the house is O. K.

In conclusion I wish to state that the position of a registrar is one of responsibility. In his hands the welfare of the unemployed is the most important factor. A careless or indifferent registrar can quickly impair the usefulness of the office, as the employer will not tolerate inefficiency in the choosing of his employees and the applicants will avoid going to that registrar who is indifferent to their condition if they can go to another man. A registrar must be sympathetic yet just, must be cool headed yet warm hearted. He must know and feel how it is to be out of work and also be able quickly to size up an applicant as to whether he is competent to fill the position.

WORK OF THE EMPLOYMENT AND INSURANCE DEPARTMENT OF THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF LABOR.

BY T. W. PHILLIPS, C. B. E., PERMANENT ASSISTANT SECRETARY IN CHARGE OF THE
EMPLOYMENT AND INSURANCE DEPARTMENT OF THE BRITISH MINISTRY OF
LABOR.

First of all, it is my duty to express the gratification of the Minister of Labor at the invitation extended to him to send a representative to this important and influential conference. I personally feel it a great honor and privilege to have been selected to come here and appear before you in that capacity. I feel sure that the interchange of views between the United Kingdom and the United States and Canada on this, as on other subjects, is bound to be of profit. It may

be that you can learn something from us; I am quite sure we can learn a good deal from you.

The subject on which I have to speak is the "Employment and insurance department of the British Ministry of Labor." I propose to describe briefly the organization of the department and give some account of its work on the employment agency side, including what has been done for ex-service men, and then to describe the unemployment insurance side. I ought also to mention the work that has been done, not entirely or even mainly by the Minister of Labor, in connection with the provision of employment.

With the short experience which I have had over here I gather that many of the terms used by the employment offices are different from those we use in the United Kingdom. But probably it will be better for me to keep to the terms with which I am familiar and let you translate for yourselves; otherwise I may easily fall into mistakes.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGES.

The employment exchanges were established by the labor exchanges act of 1909. The person who more than any other individual was responsible for their establishment was Sir William Beveridge, who is now director of the London School of Economics. A good deal of the credit was, of course, due to his departmental chiefs at the Board of Trade, but in the main the institution of the exchanges was due to the energy, experience, and brain power of Sir William Beveridge. The effect of the act was, briefly, to authorize the Board of Trade—whose powers in that respect have now been taken over by the Ministry of Labor—to maintain offices for "bringing together employers requiring workpeople and workpeople seeking engagement or employment." It has been alleged in some quarters that a year or two later unemployment insurance was started in order to provide something for the exchange to do. It is scarcely necessary to refute that statement in detail; but the fact is that at the time when the exchanges were established the scheme for unemployment insurance, introduced in 1911, had already been sketched out. The exchanges were recognized to be an essential part of insurance and were therefore established before the institution of insurance itself in order to provide a basis for it and that the fact was, as you will see by reference to parliamentary debates, announced at the time, in 1909.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

The exchanges, as no doubt you know, conduct their operation entirely without charge either to the employers or to the workpeople using them. The first exchanges were opened on the 1st of February, 1910, on which date 61 offices were opened, 19 of which were taken over from the central unemployed body for London, the body established under the unemployed workmen act of 1905. By the end of 1910, 226 offices were opened; by the end of 1911, 250 were opened; by the end of 1912, 438 were opened, the considerable increase in the latter year being due to the introduction of unemployment insurance. The number has since remained about that figure;

at the present time it is 406. In addition to the exchanges proper we have a number of offices which we now call branch employment offices. These offices are run on a part-time basis, the total at present being about 1,000, and in addition there are over a hundred offices which in normal times would be branch employment offices, but owing to the pressure of work are now run with full-time staff. This number of branch offices, 1,000, is larger than that which we shall probably require in ordinary times and we hope very shortly to reduce it pretty considerably.

The whole country is divided into areas—employment exchange areas—and each exchange has the oversight of the branch employment offices within its area.

The immediate control of the exchanges is in the hands of the divisional controllers, each in charge of a division. There are nine divisions in Great Britain, Scotland being one, Wales being another; the remaining seven are in England. For Ireland there is at present an Irish department of the ministry.

In charge of the whole administrative work of the department is the central office in London. Other branches of the work are to some extent controlled by other departments of the ministry. For instance, finance, which is important in connection with unemployment insurance, is controlled by the finance department under the accountant-general. The general regulation of staff matters is a matter for the establishment department. Statistical work is under the supervision of the statistical department of the ministry. All these departments, in relation to the employment exchanges work, of course, in very close cooperation with the employment department.

For the general day-to-day working of the exchanges, we look mainly to the divisional controllers, who are assisted by a certain staff, including a number of inspectors. At headquarters we have the chief inspector, whose duty it is to exercise a general watch over the working—particularly with a view to seeing that all operations are conducted as economically and efficiently as possible. The chief inspector has a small force of inspectors under him, who travel about the country as occasion requires.

In order to complete this sketch of the organization I ought to mention the various committees, some of which I will describe in more detail later. There is, first, the local employment committee consisting in the main of representatives of employers and work-people in the district, next the juvenile employment committee dealing with juveniles, and finally the port labor committee established at the principal ports to look after dock laborers.

As regards the general layout of the exchanges, one of our fundamental principles is—as no doubt it is in other places—to have separate waiting rooms, entrances, etc., for men, women, and juveniles. In some places in the larger exchanges there is a further distinction between skilled men and unskilled men, or between various classes of women, but the possibility of arranging such subdivisions depends on the nature of the premises available. We also try in most cases to have in the exchanges rooms available for use by trade-unions or by employers' associations for holding their meetings. We make a small charge to cover the cost of lighting and cleaning, and permission to make use of these accommodations is granted through the

local employment committees. One of the points which we have to be careful about in that connection is that the rooms should not be used by bodies of a political character, or by other organizations which would infringe the neutrality of the exchanges as between employers and work people.

It is an unfortunate but well-established fact that the premises of the exchanges are in general quite unsuitable. One of the main reasons for that is that since the exchanges were instituted their work has expanded very largely, and it has not been possible to keep the premises in line with the expansion of the work. We have had to do the best we could with such premises as we have been able to get, and we have to realize that for the time being, whether owing to shortage of building labor, financial stress, or other reasons, we can not do better.

The interviews and all dealings with women at the exchanges are conducted entirely by women.

Juveniles—that is, boys and girls to the age of 18—are dealt with in most cases under the supervision of the juvenile employment committee and in close cooperation with the education authorities. The juvenile committee is sometimes appointed by the Minister of Labor, with representatives nominated by the local education authority, or, it may be, the committee is appointed direct by the local education authority. Certain of the local education authorities take the view very strongly that the work of finding employment for juveniles is strictly an educational one and that it is one which ought to be undertaken solely and exclusively by the educational authorities. There has been in the past few years a rather unfortunate division of opinion on that point, but recently it has been the subject of special investigation, and we are not without hope that before long a satisfactory solution will be found.

With regard to applicants of professional standing, if I may so describe them, the position is that they are not excluded from the exchange—I think it was one of the earliest exploits of the exchanges to find an opening for an unemployed curate—but in practice they are dealt with by the appointments department of the ministry, a department set up with the principal object of dealing with the employment and training of ex-officers and men of similar educational standing.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE PROCEDURE.

The ordinary procedure at the exchange is, no doubt, very similar to that adopted by your own employment agencies and one which must be adopted in any case. The applicant is registered on a card, and his or her qualifications are taken down as fully as possible; similarly the requirements of the employers are carefully noted down. When a workman is directed to an employer for a position he is given a card of introduction, the "green card," which he takes to the employer and which the employer is asked to sign or mark "engaged" or "not engaged," as the case may be. When dealing with unemployment insurance that procedure becomes very important, because the return of the card is evidence that the workman has really gone in an endeavor to obtain that employment. Where the job is at a distance the usual practice is to send particulars of the applicant by

post to the prospective employer through the vacancy exchange and the applicant is not sent forward until word is received that he has been accepted. In cases of urgency, of course, the work may be done by telegram, and in certain cases, a laboring job particularly, where it is possible to send men in groups without previously securing that they have been individually accepted by the employer, that is done. Since the beginning of the war we have developed a pretty elaborate system for "clearing" the vacancies in the various areas; that is, seeing that workers are not unemployed in one area while required in another area. We have tried a good many experiments and altered the system in various ways. At present it is, roughly, that if there is not a man available for a vacancy at a particular exchange the first step is for the divisional office to "clear" the division; that is, to see that there is no suitable man or woman on the registers in the division. If that is not successful the vacancy is sent up to London, where it is printed in the National Clearing House Gazette and issued to all exchanges in the country. The Gazette is rather a formidable document consisting of a large number of pages, with I do not know how many thousand vacancies, and it is arranged according to occupations and districts, with various abbreviations and technical terms in order to make it concise and brief. The Gazette is printed afresh in full once a week, and every day amending slips are sent out containing new vacancies or cancellation of existing vacancies. I may say that the system of printing in the form of a Gazette was deliberately adopted after trial of a system which I think is used in some cases here—that of sending out the vacancies on separate slips of paper. Originally each vacancy was sent out on a separate slip, but we found during the war that this system broke down by its own weight. There were so many "slips" that it would have taken an exchange several hours every day to sort in the new ones and generally keep the slips in order. The natural result was that they were not kept in order, and consequently the system was ineffective.

In the case of railway fares for workpeople sent to a distance, there is no actual reduction in the fare charged by the railways, but the exchange may, under proper conditions, advance the fare to the workman—that is, lend him the money for the purpose. They require, as a rule, some sort of a guaranty from the prospective employer, either that he will refund the fare himself or that he will deduct it from the workman's wages. In cases coming under the unemployment insurance act, which now include a very large proportion of those on the registers, a portion of the fare may be paid out of the unemployment fund. The exact rule at the present time is that of so much of the fare as exceeds 4 shillings [97.3 cents, par], one-half may be paid out of the unemployment fund. For instance, if the fare is 12 shillings [\$2.92, par], 4 shillings may be paid out of the unemployment fund and the remaining 8 shillings [\$1.95, par] charged either to the workman or his employer. In order to illustrate the extent to which these advances are made I have a few figures here. The highest point was reached during the year following the armistice, when 126,427 advances were made, making a total of £112,425 [\$547,116, par]. Since that time for various reasons

the number has fallen. The depression in trade has had most to do with it, but, in addition, owing to the very great shortage of housing accommodations, it has been almost impossible for workmen to move from one part of the country to another, particularly men with families. To illustrate, during the year ending March 31, 1921, the number of advances made was only 15,230, making a total of £12,515 [\$60,904, par].

The exchanges occasionally receive notification of vacancies in the Dominions or in foreign countries. The rule with regard to such vacancies is that no action may be taken by the exchange until express authority has been received in each individual case from headquarters. We have during recent months been elaborating a system of cooperation with the Dominions, particularly Canada, with a view to dealing appropriately with these vacancies. In doing so we naturally work in very close cooperation with the representatives of the Dominions or other appropriate authorities in London. It remains to be seen whether, in practice, it will be possible for the exchanges satisfactorily to fill an individual vacancy at such a distance—as even Canada is—from England, because naturally by the time all the operations have been gone through with, a considerable number of weeks must elapse, but I am told by the officer in charge of this particular branch of work that he is very well satisfied with what he has succeeded in doing up to the present time in that direction.

We occasionally read stories—possibly you have seen them over here—of ludicrous mistakes supposed to have been made by the exchanges in submitting applicants for a vacancy. Most of the alleged mistakes, I am firmly convinced, are mere products of the imagination of the person who invented them—at any rate, we have never yet come across a single case in which chapter and verse can be given. But it is worth noting that this problem of picking the right man for the job is really the key to the whole of the success of the work on the employment exchange side. The strict theory under the labor exchanges act is that the exchange does not take any responsibility for the suitability of the applicant—that all it does is to bring together a workman or workwoman, who states that his or her qualifications are so and so, and an employer who notifies that he has a vacancy of that particular kind—that again, it is the business of the employer to satisfy himself whether or not that workman has the appropriate qualifications, and on the other hand for the workman to satisfy himself that the job is suitable. But in practice we have to do more than that—we do the best we can to secure the most suitable applicant for the time being on the register to put forward for the job available, and for that reason we lay great stress on the importance of having a properly qualified staff to interview the applicants and to submit them to the vacancy. Incidentally that raises a point of very considerable difficulty and one which we have not yet solved, and that is whether or not it is essential that the officer should himself be a person with industrial experience in the occupation with which he is dealing. There are certain obvious reasons why that might be desirable. On the other hand, in a large service such as the employment exchange service,

dealing with practically every occupation, it is clearly impossible to have an expert for every occupation. Another difficulty that arises is that when a member of the staff is promoted he has usually to be transferred to some other office, where probably the main occupation is not that in which he is expert. There is a good deal to be said on both sides, and as I say, we have not yet made up our own minds which is the best system.

EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE STATISTICS.

If the conference will allow me I will give a few figures to illustrate the volume of the work which the exchanges have done. Taking first of all the year 1910, which was the opening year; the number of registrations was 1,400,000. Two years later that became 2,465,000. In 1916—the middle of the war—it became 3,659,000. In 1919, the year following demobilization, when very large numbers of munition workers and soldiers were returning, usually to their pre-war jobs, the figure became 6,198,000; in 1920, 3,985,000. The vacancies notified during those years were, in 1910, 459,000; in 1912, 1,063,000; in 1916, 2,049,000; in 1919, 1,951,000; and in 1920, 1,312,000. The vacancies filled—and these figures exclude the casual vacancies—were, in 1910, 374,000; in 1912, 828,000; in 1916, 1,557,000; in 1919, 1,290,000; in 1920, 942,000. Those last figures—for 1920—illustrate the effect of the great depression which began in that year.

DECASUALIZATION OF DOCK LABOR.

One other point I should like to mention in connection with the placing side, is that of the efforts that have been made toward the decasualization of dock labor. Before the war a good many attempts were made, but without much outward appearance of success, except in two places, Liverpool and South Wales, and even there the schemes put in operation were only indirectly of value for the purpose of decasualization. At Liverpool, a scheme was started and is still in operation under which the insurance cards of all the dockers are stamped at an office run by the Ministry of Labor, and the wages of all the dockers, numbering several tens of thousands, are paid each week at that one office, the cost of the work being borne by the employers. At the principal ports in South Wales there is a scheme under which the insurance cards of ship repairers who, in that district, work upon a very intermittent basis, are stamped by the exchanges, this also being done at the cost of the employers. During the war schemes of registration of dock laborers were set up as part of the machinery for military service and a good many, in fact most, of these schemes, have remained in operation to the present time. Usually they take the form of an arrangement under which every recognized dock laborer is given a tally, the selection of the men for this purpose being usually done under the supervision of the trade-union. Men who do not possess tallies are not allowed to work on the docks at all. In some ports they have gone a step further and have arranged that the dockers shall be taken on only at one spot, thereby getting rid of the great difficulty and waste which takes place owing to more men attending at one place and fewer at another, than are required. But that has not, so far, been possible in any except

some of the smaller ports, because in the larger ports, and most of all London, it would be quite impossible to have one or even a few "taking-on" places. Owing largely to the depression in employment, the effect of these schemes, so far, has not been to secure that men holding tallies receive a full week's work. In all cases, I think, a good many more men have received tallies than there is work for at the present time. The schemes have, however, had the effect of preventing what otherwise would have been a great influx of unemployed men to the docks in the period since the war. In pre-war times a man without a job in any of the large ports went down to the docks to see if he could pick one up; now he can not do that unless he has a tally.

THE KING'S NATIONAL ROLL.

I should like to add a few words with regard to ex-service men. The ex-service man who is not disabled receives certain privileges and advantages. First of all, he received out-of-work donation for a considerable period and now under the unemployment insurance acts he has a rather more favorable position than the man who is not an ex-service man. It is also the rule at the exchanges that in all cases, other things being equal, preference should be given to the ex-service men.

In the case of disabled men we have, at most employment exchanges, a member of the staff, who is usually himself a disabled man, whose special job is to look after disabled applicants. A special part of the exchange is set aside for that purpose. Another important arrangement is the national scheme for the employment of disabled men. That is a scheme under which all employers are invited to put their names down on the King's national roll, thereby undertaking to keep in their employment a certain minimum percentage of disabled men. The ordinary percentage is 5 per cent, but in particular cases where good cause is shown employers may be allowed to go on the roll for less than 5 per cent; for instance, in the cotton industry, which employs a high proportion of women, an arrangement has been made under which, I think, 3 per cent is accepted. Under this scheme there are at present 27,500 firms on the roll, employing a total of 4,625,000 workpeople, who include 293,000 disabled men. That is in itself a fairly large total, but, of course, there are a good many more firms who have not yet come on and whom we hope to get. During the great amount of unemployment since last August one of the striking facts has been the comparatively small increase in unemployment among disabled men. We have, for instance, at the exchanges a special register of disabled men, men who owing to their disablement are definitely handicapped in their search for employment. At the end of July, 1920, there were 17,800 men on this register; at the end of July, 1921, that number had only increased to 21,700 and that in spite of the fact that during the intervening period a considerable number of disabled men had been discharged from the hospital. That is a fact for which a good part of the credit is to be attributed to the King's roll, but it is also clear that, in general, employers in the United Kingdom are doing their utmost to keep on their disabled men even when they have to discharge others.

The training of disabled men is not a matter for the employment department; it is administered by the training department of the

ministry, working, however, in close cooperation with the employment department.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

To come now to unemployment insurance—the first legislative enactment was Part II of the national insurance act of 1911. That act also dealt with health insurance. As a matter of convenience health insurance and unemployment insurance were put together in the same statute but otherwise the two are quite distinct. They are administered by separate departments of state, and subsequent legislation—which has been frequent, on both sides—has been in two separate sets of acts. The act of 1911 selected for insurance against unemployment certain trades which had more than the average amount of unemployment and which in other ways were regarded as suitable for what was, at the time, a very considerable experiment. Those trades were building, engineering, and shipbuilding. The weekly rate of contributions from employer and employee was 5 pence [10 cents, par]; that is to say, a 5-penny stamp, to be bought at the post office, had to be affixed to the unemployment book of each employee by the employer each week, and when the employer had put the stamp on he was entitled to deduct half of its value from the workman's wages. The State added one-third, making a total of 6½ pence [13.5 cents, par] a week. No distinction was drawn between men and women, because in the trades covered there were practically no women employed at that time. The rate of benefit weekly was 7 shillings [\$1.70, par], payable at so much a day, viz, 14 pence [28.4 cents, par] a day, and no benefit was payable for the first six days of unemployment. The benefit might be drawn either from the employment exchange or from the trade-union, in cases where the trade-union had made an arrangement for this purpose with the department. One of the conditions of such an arrangement was that the union should add to the 7 shillings, out of its own funds, at least one-third—that is, at least 2 shillings and 4 pence [56.8 cents, par]. The cost of administration of the unemployment insurance scheme was borne in the first instance by the State—that is, by the Treasury—but in aid of that cost a sum equal to one-tenth of the annual income of the unemployment fund was paid to the Treasury. In other words, nine-tenths of the contributions were in any event applied to the payment of benefits.

One of the big problems that we had in connection with that act was that of demarcation as between insured and uninsured trades; certain trades were selected for insurance and we very soon found that the boundaries between one trade and another were very vague and indefinite. I do not propose to weary you with many examples of that. I will only say that the umpire, whose job it was to give decisions on the point—fortunately they were final and conclusive—gave many thousands of decisions, and to illustrate the sort of thing he had to decide, there was this: Those were the early days of airplanes and one of the types of trades insured under the act was the "construction of vehicles." One manufacturer said, "I have been trying to build airplanes for a long time, but none of them have ever flown," and therefore he contended that his machines, at any rate, were not "vehicles." I forget what the decision was on that.

THE EFFECT OF THE WAR.

The insurance scheme had been in operation for a comparatively short time when the war broke out, which resulted, as you may imagine, in a great increase and change in the work of the exchanges. The exchanges were used very largely for diverting the man power and woman power of the country from peace work to war work. A number of enrollment schemes were invented for munition workers and others for enrolling women in the war service corps and recruiting women for munitions work; one of the rules laid down was that women for munition work factories must in all cases be recruited through the exchanges.

Another item added during the war was an amending act in 1916, bringing into unemployment insurance certain trades which were very largely employed in war work, principally the metal trades, rubber, chemicals, and one or two others. That brought in about a million and a half additional work people, many of them being women, making the total number insured about 3½ millions.

When the armistice was signed in November, 1918, further very heavy burdens were thrown on the exchanges. On the one hand an elaborate demobilization scheme had been worked out, based on the principle that the forces were to be demobilized strictly in accordance with industrial needs. In the result, that was not carried out to anything like its full extent, but even so the exchanges had a great volume of work thrown upon them and had to deal with a vast number of individual cases both of men demobilized from the forces and of men and women discharged from munitions work. The second item was the scheme of out-of-work donation. As I have explained, the unemployment insurance scheme covered only 3¼ million workpeople. It had all along been intended that the ex-service men should receive something in the nature of donation when demobilization took place. Owing to the absence of other provision the decision ultimately taken was to pay free out-of-work donations to all civilian workers and to all ex-service men. It was paid at a comparatively high rate. At the outset it was 29 shillings [\$7.06, par] a week for men, with an allowance for children, and 24 shillings [\$5.84, par] for women. The rate was subsequently reduced in certain cases to 20 shillings [\$4.87, par] for men and 15 shillings [\$3.65, par] for women, with allowances for children, and finally to 20 shillings and 15 shillings without allowance for children. The scheme for civilians continued for a year, to the end of November, 1919, when it was stopped; for ex-service men it went on with various modifications until the end of last March, after which it practically came to an end. During that period the amount paid to ex-service men and women up to March 31, 1921, was £40,000,000 [\$194,660,000, par]. To civilians, up to the year 1919, £22,000,000 [\$107,063,000, par] was paid, making a total of rather more than £62,000,000 [\$301,723,000, par]. The number drawing donation increased steadily from November, 1918, until May, 1919, when it reached its highest point, at over a million. Owing to this large increase and the general state of public feeling in the matter an inquiry was held in 1919 by a committee presided over by Lord Aberconway. That committee made a report in June,

1919, and another in July, 1919, the general effect of which was that there was no substantial abuse under the scheme.

LOCAL EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEES.

At this point I ought to mention again the local employment committees which form a very important, and indeed essential, part of our existing organization. In the early days of the exchanges a small number of advisory committees consisting of employers and workpeople were set up, each covering a large area. This had the disadvantage that they were neither national bodies nor in special touch with any particular locality. Moreover, their terms of reference were strictly limited; they were only allowed to consider matters put before them by the department and could not initiate a subject on their own accord. In 1917, as a preparation for demobilization, it was decided to set up an advisory committee for every exchange area and to give it wide terms of reference. These committees are now called local employment committees. They consist, in the main, of equal numbers of employers and employed, nominated by the more important associations on both sides in the area; the number of members varies according to the size and importance of the town. In addition to these industrial members we generally have a few others who are not specifically employers or employed—for instance, a representative of the ex-service men's organization of the territorial force or of the local educational authority, and one or two people of that kind. The chairman is not chosen by the committee, but is appointed by the minister. We endeavor to select some local gentleman who carries weight in the locality, and I am glad to say that in all cases, so far, we have been able to secure the services of very influential men in every locality. Traveling expenses and subsistence allowances, where necessary, are granted, and wages lost owing to attendance are refunded to members on the workers' side, but otherwise no remuneration is paid to members. There are no officials of the department on the committees, but the manager of the exchange acts as secretary, and other officials frequently take part in the discussions.

At the present time there are in all about 300 of these committees with perhaps 7,000 or 8,000 members, not including a large number of others who act in the numerous subcommittees. During the operation of the donation scheme one of the items of work performed by the committees was to determine whether or not a particular individual was to receive the grant. They had to be satisfied in each case that the applicant was genuinely seeking employment and unable to obtain it. The general procedure was that applicants whose cases were not absolutely straightforward would come up for interview; then after a time they might be reviewed again, or if any new point arose the case would be specially heard. This system of using the committees to review claims to donation has since been applied to unemployment benefits, as I shall describe presently.

EXTENSION OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN 1920.

During the closing years of the war there was a great deal of discussion with regard to the possibility of extending unemployment

insurance to all industries. For various reasons it was not possible to bring the idea to fruition and accordingly, as I have mentioned, out-of-work donation was instituted. The discussion was continued after the armistice and finally resulted in the unemployment insurance act passed in November, 1920, which extended unemployment insurance to practically the whole working population with the exception of agriculture and private domestic service. There are certain other exceptions and in particular certain groups of permanent employees, such as permanent railway servants or the permanent employees of the local authority, who may be excepted under certificate of the Ministry of Labor. With these exceptions all manual workers are brought in, and also all nonmanual workers whose remuneration does not exceed £250 [\$1,217, par] a year. The total number thus insured was about 12 millions.

The questions of demarcation, to which I referred a short time ago, have largely disappeared owing to the wide extent of the act but to some degree they still remain with us and are now determined by the minister himself, acting through his legal department. In the case of domestic service, for instance, the rule laid down by the act is that a domestic servant employed for purposes of gain is insurable; for example, a servant employed in a lodging house is insurable but not a servant in a private residence. You will easily see that questions of some difficulty are bound to arise here.

In order to be entitled to benefit the ordinary rules, as laid down by the act, are that, first of all, at least 10 contributions should have been paid; that the applicant is available for work and capable of work and unable to obtain employment; that he does not refuse suitable work when offered to him. Then, again, that he must not have lost his last job under circumstances which disqualify him; for instance, he is disqualified if he has been discharged for misconduct or if he left his last employment voluntarily without just cause, or again if he lost his last employment owing to a trade dispute at the works at which he was employed; that is to say not merely that he himself was engaged in a dispute—if there was a dispute at the works where he was employed, no matter between whom, and for that reason he lost employment, then he is disqualified. That rule with regard to trade disputes has been subject to a good deal of criticism on the part of trade-unions and may perhaps be altered provided that some agreement is reached between employers and workpeople as to the nature of the amendment. All these rules, of course, apply to women as well as to men.

Then, again, one of the ordinary rules is that not more than 26 weeks' benefit may be drawn in any one year, and that not more than one week's benefit may be drawn for every 6 contributions paid. For instance, when a workman has paid 60 contributions during 60 weeks, then he or she becomes entitled to 10 weeks' benefit, no more.

If any question is raised as to eligibility for benefit—if the employer says "This man left voluntarily," and the man says, "No; I was discharged," the first person to determine the point is the insurance officer of the Ministry of Labor. If he decides against the workman, then the workman or his trade-union, if he belongs to one, has the right to appeal to a court of referees sitting in the district. The court of referees consists of two industrial members—one taken from

a panel of employers' representatives and another taken from a panel of workpeople's representatives—and an independent chairman appointed by the Ministry of Labor; that, you will observe, is a court which is not under the control of the Ministry of Labor. Then, finally, there is an appeal from the court of referees to the umpire, who is a judicial person appointed, not by the Ministry of Labor, but direct by the Crown; still less, therefore, is the umpire under the control of the Minister of Labor. The umpire's decisions are final and conclusive; there is no appeal to any other court. Appeal may be made to the umpire either by the ministry or by the trade-union or, with the leave of the court, by the individual applicant—that is to say, an individual applicant can not appeal to the umpire unless he gets special leave from the court.

The system I have previously mentioned for payment of benefit through trade-unions has been continued under the new act. One alteration made was this, that previously no payment was made to the unions for administration, but now a payment is made not exceeding 1 shilling [24.3 cents, par] for every week's benefit they pay out. Among the conditions under which a trade-union or other association of workpeople may be allowed to pay out to their members the benefit provided by the act is that they should add to this benefit, out of their own funds, at least 5 shillings [\$1.22, par] a week, and, further, that they should have a satisfactory system for finding work for their unemployed members. The number of trade-unions or other associations which at present pay out the benefit under the act is 193, with a membership of about 2,110,000. Of these, 22 are friendly societies. It is estimated that perhaps one-fifth or one-sixth of the benefits paid weekly under this act is paid through trade-unions or other associations.

The contributions under the act of 1920 were 8 pence [16.2 cents, par] a week for men, 6½ pence [13.2 cents, par] for women and to this the State added one-fourth. The benefit was 15 shillings [\$3.65, par] a week for men or 12 shillings [\$2.93, par] a week for women. The cost of administration was borne in the first instance by the State, but 10 per cent of the revenue was applied to this item.

Owing to the fact that 8 millions out of the 12 millions under the act were insured for the first time in November, when unemployment was pretty severe already, it was obviously necessary at the outset to modify the strict rules with regard to eligibility for benefit; otherwise new entrants could not begin to benefit under the act for a long period. In the first act it was arranged that any person who had paid four contributions should, during the first year of the act, be entitled to eight weeks' benefit. This was in November, 1920. Then it soon was pointed out that, owing to the large amount of unemployment, a great many people who were normally wage earners could not qualify for benefit because they were unemployed and could pay contributions only while employed. Accordingly, an amending act was passed in December, 1920, to the effect that those who could show they had been employed for a certain period in an insured trade during 1920 could get eight weeks' benefit even though they had paid no contributions at all. That was the state of affairs until March of 1921.

EFFECT OF INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION ON INSURANCE SCHEME.

Meanwhile the state of employment instead of getting better was continually getting worse. The eight weeks' benefit allowed in November or December, 1920, had become exhausted in a great many cases, and therefore something further had to be done. The arrangement made was this: The period from the beginning of July, 1922, a period of about 15 or 16 months, was divided into two roughly equal parts, and it was arranged that any person who could show that he or she had been employed in an insured trade for at least 20 weeks since the beginning of 1920 should get in each of these parts 16 weeks' benefit. Moreover, at the same time the rate of benefit was increased to 20 shillings [\$4.87, par] for men and 16 shillings [\$3.89, par] for women. The contributions were not altered at the moment, but it was provided that they should be increased as from July, 1921. In order to be entitled to the benefit thus granted without payment of contributions, workpeople were required to show, in addition to the usual qualifying conditions, that they were "normally employed in an insured trade, genuinely seeking whole-time employment and unable to obtain it." If it was not perfectly clear in any particular case that this was so, the claim was referred to the local employment committee. A very large number of claims under this head have been dealt with by these committees, and the assistance they have been able to give in this direction has been of the greatest value and importance.

The changes made by the act of March, 1921, were financed in the following way:

Owing to the small amount of unemployment during the war and to the relief given to the unemployment fund by the out-of-work donation scheme, a very large balance had accumulated in the unemployment fund, amounting to more than £20,000,000 [\$97,330,000, par]. In the original act of 1920 this 20 million pounds had been treated as a reserve fund and the interest on it—roughly £1,000,000 [\$4,866,500, par] a year—was regarded as so much annual revenue for the fund. In March, 1921, the sum of 20 millions was no longer treated as a reserve fund, but was made available to be spent in the period up to July, 1922. That practically meant that during that period £19,000,000 [\$92,463,500, par] was added to what otherwise would have been the revenue. That meant also that the annual income which would otherwise accrue would be reduced by £1,000,000, and to make up for that the contributions, as from July, 1921, were increased by something like a penny a week over and above what would have otherwise been required. That was the financial scheme in March, 1921. It was hoped that under that system we should be able to carry through and might probably spend the 20 millions by July of next year, but we felt fairly happy about that because contributions were to be increased so as to cover the loss of the reserve fund.

Unfortunately, however, employment went on getting worse. The coal dispute took place at the end of March, 1921, with the result that 60,000 or 70,000 people weekly were added to the members drawing benefit. At the end of June we were paying at the rate of £2,000,000 [\$9,733,000, par] a week in benefit while our income was in the neighborhood of £330,000 [\$1,605,945, par].

We had come to the end of the reserve fund—there being only a million or so left in the till at the end of June. We still had power under the act of March, 1921, to borrow from the treasury to the extent of £10,000,000 [\$48,665,000, par], but obviously in the face of the unprecedented unemployment then existing some revision of the scheme was imperative.

The decision arrived at, and embodied in the act of July, 1921, was as follows: On the one hand the weekly rate of benefit was reduced to 15 shillings [\$3.65, par] for men and 12 shillings [\$2.92, par] for women; on the other hand, the contributions as from the beginning of July were considerably increased—increased, in fact, by 4 pence [8.1 cents, par] a week beyond what they would otherwise have been at that date. The contributions are now 15 pence [30.5 cents, par] for men, 8 pence [16.2 cents, par] from the employer, and 7 pence [14.2 cents, par] from the man—and 13 pence [26.4 cents, par] for women, 7 pence from the employer and 6 pence [12.2 cents, par] from the woman. This reduction in benefit and increase of contributions were, however, definitely declared to be temporary—that is to say, they were to continue only until the unemployment fund again became solvent.

One other thing that was done in the act of July, 1921, was to add another six weeks to the amount of benefit provided. As I have mentioned, benefits for 16 weeks could be drawn between the beginning of March and beginning of November. Owing to the great amount of unemployment a large number of persons had drawn their 16 weeks benefits and had nothing more to look forward to, and the further amount of benefit was granted in order to meet this situation.

It was realized that owing to the very large number unemployed, even with the cessation of the coal dispute at the end of June, the unemployment fund would be running into debt. The reserve fund had been exhausted and although the new contributions were sufficient to make good in the course of time, they could not do it in a few weeks. Under the act of 1920 we had power to borrow £10,000,000 from the treasury, but that was not enough. Accordingly, under the new act we took power to borrow up to £20,000,000. The estimate made was that upon reasonable assumptions we shall be, by July of next year about £16,000,000 [\$77,764,000, par] in debt and that during the following year we shall just about pay that back; that is to say by July, 1922, we shall be just square.

SPECIAL SCHEMES FOR PARTICULAR INDUSTRIES.

One of the most important provisions in the act of 1920 was that relating to what are termed "special schemes" for industries. When proposals for the act were being discussed the position of certain industries which claimed that they were liable to much less than the average amount of unemployment was a difficulty. Such industries were not disposed to come into the general scheme so as to pay the same contributions and get the same benefits as everybody else. In order to meet them a clause was put in the act that if an industry was prepared to set up a scheme giving benefits at least as good as those under the act, then it could do so, subject to the approval of

the minister. Once such a scheme was duly approved it would become in effect a little act of Parliament in its own industry, and compulsory on all individuals in that industry. There would be no picking and choosing. It would apply to everybody in that industry. It was not considered practicable to allow associations to be formed of persons who wished to carry their own risks. Something of that sort can be done under health insurance, but that was not practicable under unemployment insurance. An industry setting up a special scheme has to include all its risks, good, bad, and indifferent.

The possibility of setting up special schemes has been very much discussed by the joint industrial council and other bodies. For various reasons very little has been effected up to the present. This has been largely due to the great depression in employment which has hit a good many of the trades which in ordinary times regard themselves as very little subject to unemployment. Another reason was when the trades came to look into the matter thoroughly they found it extremely difficult to say where an industry began and where it ended; there are all sorts of complications both in the actual processes and among organizations concerned. It is a very difficult problem to define a large industry with the accuracy necessary for the purposes of a special scheme.

When the act of July, 1921, was passed it was necessary to provide that until the unemployment fund was solvent again no special schemes should be set up. All industries had had their share of the fund and it was right that they should stay in to make it good again when employment became better. There was one exception to that ruling. In order to keep faith with the industries which had gone a considerable way in setting up schemes it was provided that those which had submitted a completed scheme to the ministry before a certain date in July should be allowed to go on with it. One of the industries in that position is the insurance industry itself—that is, the insurance companies and their staffs—they have had their scheme actually approved and it is now in operation. One other industry which has a scheme under consideration is the banking industry. Neither of these industries is large and each consists of persons who in any event would be among those most permanently employed.

One other provision in the insurance scheme which I should mention here is that contributors reaching the age of 60, who have paid more in by way of their own contributions than they have received in benefit may draw out the excess, with interest, and still remain entitled to benefit on account of the contributions paid by their employers and the State. This provision is obviously very favorable to those who enjoy constant employment.

PROVISION OF WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

Unemployment insurance assumes that work is not available for those drawing benefit. As regards the steps taken by the State or public bodies to provide work for the unemployed, the only statutory provision—apart from the poor law, which in certain cases contemplates “task work” as a test of destitution—is the unemployed workmen act of 1905. This provides for the setting up of distress committees which may, under certain conditions,

provide work. The operation of this act was not found satisfactory and it has not been applied since the war. A great deal has, however, been done under various heads. The largest single item is that for the making of arterial roads under a scheme which had been drawn up previously and was ready for putting into effect. Under that head the Government had available a sum of £10,400,000. One-half of this sum was applied as a grant to the local authorities constructing the roads; the other half could be issued as a loan repayable over a certain number of years. There were, in addition, certain other grants made by the Government in connection with roads which were not arterial roads, but which were important for public reasons. In connection with the housing schemes organized by the Ministry of Health there was a good deal of work in connection with clearing sites, making roads, drainage, etc., which it was possible to accelerate in advance of the actual building of the houses and in a number of cases this was arranged. Then again in order to assist the municipalities in developing various kinds of work the unemployment grants committee was set up, having available a fund of £3,000,000 out of which they were prepared to make a grant to any local authority starting work for the unemployed, up to the extent of 60 per cent of the wage cost, which was in practice perhaps 30 to 50 per cent of the total cost. In many cases the various Government establishments, dockyards, etc., introduced a system under which short time was deliberately worked in order to increase the total number employed. For instance all of the employees in a particular department might be "stood off" one week in six, thereby enabling about one-sixth of the total number to be added to the staff. It is estimated that, taking one thing with another, these arrangements when in full operation enabled work to be found for 100,000 men.

The Ministry of Labor as such have no funds whatever for the purpose of providing work; their function is limited to determining which areas should receive assistance. Whether on application or possibly on their own initiative, they send a certificate to the appropriate department to the effect that serious unemployment exists in such and such area, and thereupon that area is eligible for a grant. One piece of legislation which developed that principle was the unemployment relief work act of 1921. This act provided that if land was required urgently for road work in relief of unemployment and if the Ministry of Labor certified that serious unemployment existed, then entry could be had on that land within seven days notwithstanding any legal difficulties that might otherwise have caused delay.

VALUE OF THE EMPLOYMENT EXCHANGE.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is a sketch of the main items of work performed in the employment and insurance department. But you will probably ask "What does it all amount to? What is the value of the work to the community?"

In assessing the work of the employment exchanges it ought, I think, to be realized that almost from the date when they were instituted they have suffered from what I may describe as a continuous series of earthquakes. First of all, there was the war, which broke out two years after the date when unemployment insurance

was started and changed in many ways the nature of their work, reduced their experienced staff, and altered their outlook in many directions. Then the armistice came along and threw on the shoulders of the exchanges, with their depleted and disorganized staff, a great burden of work in connection with demobilization and the administration of out-of-work donation. We had scarcely got clear of that when the unemployment insurance act, coupled with an unprecedented depression in employment, came upon us. To illustrate this, let me mention that the number insured jumped from 3½ million to 12 million; the number on the registers of the exchanges at the end of June, 1920, was 300,000; at the end of June, 1921, it was 2,000,000 wholly unemployed and in addition 1,000,000 on short time and drawing unemployment benefit on that account—a total of just ten times the figure a year previously.

The exchanges, apart from the "earthquakes," as I describe them, have met with a good many obstacles in the course of their career. Perhaps the main obstacle has been inertia, particularly on the part of employers. They had not been accustomed to use public employment agencies and therefore they were reluctant to use them. That can be overcome only by time and effort. Then, again, there was the fear of some trade-unions that the exchanges were designed to supply a nonunion shop with men or to supply strike breakers; on the other side, some employers thought that the exchanges were places run by and in the interests of trade-unions. In that connection there have been two points on which we have had to lay down a line of policy which so far has been adhered to. First, with regard to trade disputes. What is to happen if a strike takes place at a factory and the employer says to the exchange "I want some men to take the place of men on strike." The rule we have laid down is that the exchange accepts notification of the vacancies; at the same time it accepts from any authorized person, whether from one side or the other, a statement that there is a trade dispute and that the reasons of the dispute are so and so, and in notifying any such vacancy to an applicant the exchange at the same time states that a dispute exists and also furnishes a copy of the statement or statements supplied to the exchange as to the cause and nature of the dispute. That is the system on which we work. I do not pretend it is entirely free from objection, but as far as we have been able to see it is less unsatisfactory than any other system for dealing with this very delicate and difficult matter.

The second point relates to the payment of standard rates of wages. It has often been claimed that the exchanges should not deal with vacancies unless either the trade-union rate of wages or the recognized wage is offered. We have held that it would be a breach of neutrality as between employer and workman to do anything of that kind. In certain cases minimum wages are determined by law and to pay less than the minimum is illegal; in those cases the exchanges will not receive notification contrary to law. But apart from that the exchanges do not take cognizance of the fact that the wages are less than standard, except to the extent that fares are not advanced for taking up work at a distance in such a case.

The exchanges have also been the object from time to time of attacks in the press and elsewhere—largely conducted on the lines

of a campaign against Government service generally and on the principle that in the case of Government service the watchword should be, "If you see a head hit it." These attacks, when investigated, are in the great majority of cases misinformed, if not entirely malicious. To illustrate that sort of thing, a short time ago there were statements in the press, gravely commented upon in leading articles, that the Ministry of Labor employment department had fixed £50 (\$243.33, par) a year as the minimum wage for a general servant. The only element of truth in the statement was that at the time we were not prepared to circulate to other parts of the country vacancies for general servants offering less than £35 (\$170.33, par)—£50 was the figure for cooks; the reason was that as a matter of business it was not worth while to circulate the vacancies unless they offered that minimum, but that was distorted—and no doubt it was generally believed that we regarded £50 as a minimum wage for general servants.

In spite of these and other difficulties the exchanges have continued to make solid progress. For the purpose of getting the support of public opinion, and particularly the support of employers and workmen in an area, we have found the existence of the local employment committee of the greatest importance. It is one of their functions to see that the exchange is conducted on principles of neutrality and on lines which commend themselves to the employers and workpeople in the area.

GENERAL OPINION REGARDING UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

Let me add a few words with regard to the way in which unemployment insurance is regarded. As you may know, it is frequently called the "Unemployment dole." As one of the members of Parliament put it in a recent debate—he did not know why it was called the unemployment dole unless it was according to the dictionary definition, that it was "something given grudgingly."

Seriously, however, the use of such a term misses the essential fact that unemployment benefit under the contributory scheme is provided as to four-fifths by the employers and workpeople and that only one-fifth is contributed by the State. It is true that, for temporary and special reasons, large numbers of unemployed persons have received benefit who have paid few or no contributions; but, nevertheless, the basis of the scheme is that these persons and their employers must make these payments good by contributions in the future. The unemployment benefit therefore is in no sense a charity, but a payment made as of right and, under certain definite conditions, to those who have contributed toward it.

I think I am right in saying that the general feeling of employers is that, leaving aside all questions of sentiment, it is worth their while as employers to do something to remove from the minds of the workpeople the fear of unemployment. Employers accordingly have approached the subject of unemployment insurance sympathetically. A good deal can no doubt be done to reduce unnecessary unemployment, but unemployment can not be entirely prevented under the existing industrial organization or probably under any organization. There will be some times when less production is required than at others. In the end we always come to the position

that in one way or another something ought to be set aside in good times to provide for bad.

The actual provision of work during periods of depression has not in the past been a success, and there is no reason to suppose that it can, in general, be a success in the future. Something on a limited scale is possible, as is illustrated in the items I have mentioned. But you will observe that those items are practically limited to hard laboring work; there is nothing for women or in which the skilled craftsman is employed, so that the scope of anything of that kind is necessarily very limited. On the other hand, the expense is very great, and particularly so at the present time. Speaking generally, therefore, the provision of work is not regarded as practicable as a remedy for unemployment, and the only alternative seems to be something in the nature of unemployment benefit.

The criticism that exists is directed to detail, and on this one is apt to be misled by omitting to treat individual cases in their due proportion to the total. There were in June 3,000,000 persons drawing unemployment benefit, and you would naturally expect that out of 3,000,000 persons there would be a few open to criticism. I call to mind a press article some time ago about a woman who went to a magistrate in London and asked for an order for maintenance against her husband, who had deserted her. The magistrate said, "Can't you work?" and she said, "No. I am totally incapable of work, owing to old age and ill health." Then the magistrate discovered she was drawing unemployment benefit, and naturally proceeded to make pungent comments on the payment of benefit to this woman. Such cases are in the ordinary course reported to the exchange. We interviewed the woman and found she had been a great many years in her last job and had just left it owing to the depression in trade. We asked why she made such a statement to the magistrate, and she said, "Oh, I had to tell him something or I couldn't have got my maintenance." What remedy the magistrate had I do not know, but as regards unemployment benefit I need hardly say she was requested to meet the local employment committee at an early date.

One special point to which criticism has been directed is that of the payment of unemployment benefit to women in spite of the great shortage of private domestic servants. That raises a very difficult point. In the first place, private domestic servants are not insurable and therefore a woman can not draw benefit on account of work in that capacity. In order to draw benefit she must have been something else, an industrial worker or, let us say, a servant in a hotel. The sort of question that arises is, "Have you the experience necessary; are you a skilled worker in some other trade; have you domestic ties which prevent you from living in, etc.?" This matter has been gone into very thoroughly, and as far as we can judge there are few, if any, women drawing benefit who really are domestic servants in any proper sense, women who would in the ordinary way either do domestic service or would be accepted by mistresses. The reasons for the shortage of domestic servants are quite different. When out-of-work donation was being paid to civilians the same thing was said, "You are paying out-of-work donation to all these women and that is why we can't get domestic servants." This donation was stopped in November, 1919, but still the domestic servant problem remained as acute as ever.

A good many of the difficulties by which the administration of unemployment insurance at the present time is beset—and possibly some of the criticisms to which it is exposed—are due to the fact that, for special and temporary reasons, the ordinary rules are not being applied and great numbers are receiving benefit who have not paid the contributions which in the ordinary way would be both the qualification and to a large extent the test of eligibility for benefit. One of the most important of the rules is the one which provides that only one week's benefit may be drawn for every six contributions paid. The object of that rule is to get rid of what is regarded as the uninsurable risk; that is to say, the person who is hardly ever at work at the best of times and therefore if benefit is given free will be always drawing it. Under the rule just referred to he may occasionally get a little benefit, but so little that it will not make any difference. Under the present state of affairs he may be able to show that he has been employed for the qualifying period and, generally speaking, can say that if he could get work he would take it; there is no limit to benefit short of the maximum unless the local employment committee set a special maximum, as they do sometimes. From that point of view it is probable that to a certain extent men who under the "1-in-6" rule would be entitled to little or no benefit are getting a larger amount at the present time. There is no reason to suppose, however, that this leakage takes place on any large scale. The local employment committees are on the watch for such cases, and in any event the ordinary rules are to come into operation at no very distant date.

To characterize the unemployment insurance scheme in a few words, let me say that unemployment benefit is not a compassionate allowance. The fact that an applicant is destitute or in distress is not in itself any ground for payment of benefit. Other measures may be and are taken to relieve destitution. It would destroy the character of unemployment benefit to treat it as a payment of relief. In essence and in principle it is a payment which the State has contracted to pay under certain conditions dependent on industrial facts to unemployed persons who are ordinarily wage earners and who, with their employers, have contributed or will contribute the larger part of the funds out of which the benefit is paid.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

In conclusion I should like to call the attention of the members of this conference to the report of the committee under the chairmanship of Mr. G. N. Barnes, set up recently to inquire into the employment exchanges. That committee, in its constitution, was certainly by no means biased in favor of the exchanges; in fact, while treating the exchanges with scrupulous fairness it set out to see whether or not some other and cheaper machinery might not be adopted. After a very careful investigation and the taking of a great deal of evidence the committee came to the conclusion that the exchanges were necessary and ought to be improved. There was one dissident, but even he, as you will see if you look carefully at his report, agrees that the exchanges must be continued; and the main point in which he differed from his colleagues was he did not agree that money ought to be spent on their improvement.

Those who wish to judge for themselves of the state of public opinion on this matter can not do better than read—in the original Hansard—the debates in the House of Commons, which, in general, are a pretty good reflection of current public opinion on almost any important subject. There have during the last session been several debates on unemployment and on the administrative work of the Minister of Labor generally. I think I may fairly say that the general tenor of these debates was to regard a national system of unemployment insurance as a permanent part of the industrial organization of the country.

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PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE MEASUREMENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT—THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

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Every swing of industry into a period of industrial depression brings with it an active public interest in unemployment. At such times conferences are called, constructive and remedial measures are proposed, and out of the general discussion there usually come some positive steps in the direction of preventive measures. We are now in the midst of such a period, and, true to form, there is the same active interest in the problem that has characterized similar periods in the past.

There is no need for argument before this group on the serious consequences that flow from long-continued industrial depression, with its attendant loss of wages and the tragedies brought on by the using up of savings. Every employment man can recall from his own observations many a worthy family that has fallen on the rocks of unemployment. There is no greater industrial risk for the breadwinner than the risk of unemployment. The difficult part of it from his point of view is that the burdens come on him through no fault of his own, and there is little that he can do to prevent the consequences from overwhelming both himself and his family. Meditation on his sheer helplessness frequently leaves the man discontented with the whole social and industrial world. In this frame of mind he is a fit subject for the radical agitator and may be easily led to strike at the fundamentals of stable society. This is why unemployment breeds industrial unrest and discontent.

When we reflect upon industry of our day we can see from its organization that frequent periods of unemployment are almost inevitable. Industry is highly subdivided, there is a large degree of specialization, and most production is carried on in anticipation of demand. To assure continuous operation there must be a delicate balance between production and consumption, and this statement applies to every stage or process in the whole program of production. Even if there were an organized, conscious effort made to balance production and consumption, it could not be done perfectly in our present state of knowledge of the various complicated factors involved. Besides many factors are beyond human control, as, for instance, the character of the season, which may greatly affect production, and thus throw out of balance the productive processes. Other noncontrollable factors are present and are accidental in character, as the discovery of an oil well, a mine, or even an invention—the effects of which destroy the existing equilibrium between production and consumption.

The above statement is made on the assumption that, even if a conscientious social control were exercised over production and consumption with the view to keeping them in balance, it would be next to impossible of accomplishment because of the noncontrollable factors. However, we all know that production is not conducted in this way. The individual is largely free to produce those things which he can sell for personal gain or profit. He will continue to produce as long as he thinks the opportunity to sell is favorable. There is tremendous room for mistaken estimates, the results of which commonly show themselves in overproduction of particular lines of commodities. In self-defense, the business man checks his production or shuts down his plant entirely, which means unemployment for some or all of his workers. Through no fault of anyone, but only as the result of the inability to maintain the delicate balance between production and investment in all lines of industry, unemployment seems in our present stage of industrial control an inevitable social problem.

I do not mean to imply by this statement that there is no hope of relief for unemployment from attempts at regularization of industry. The number of instances are too frequent where establishments have succeeded in organizing their work in such manner as to give continuous work to their employees as to leave any doubt that much can be done to reduce unemployment when management sets to the task with the same determination and intelligent planning of the work as has been devoted to the technical problems of production or to the organization of the selling policy of the concern. What I am saying is that, making all due allowance for remedial provisions on this and other lines, we may confidently expect to have many recurrences of periods of unemployment due to noncontrollable factors as well as to the fact that all industrial management will not function on the same plane with the best.

We have now a large amount of unemployment, and it is interesting to see how much attention is being devoted to the subject. Newspaper men, bankers, representatives of business and commercial associations, social agencies, and public officials are asking, How serious is unemployment? How many persons are actually out of work? I have no doubt that every one of you has had this question put to you many times during the past three or four months. How convincingly could you answer the question in your State? I am prepared to say that outside of two or three States in this country the basis for making even an estimate of unemployment is very unsatisfactory. Most of you employment officials have had to do as we have done in Illinois, namely, to rely on the supply and demand for labor as registered in the employment offices of the State, and simply guess, or refuse to be quoted, when it came to a quantitative measure of unemployment in your State. We should not be proud of this situation, even though we may not be at fault. Information of this character can not be collected without expense, and the employment service has not been regarded as the most important work of the State—if we judge by the provisions made for it in most of our States. However, we must shoulder our full responsibility in the matter. When we look over the volumes of useless materials that make up the annual or biennial reports of the departments of

labor of a good many of our States, it might occur to us that had we been awake to our opportunities, we might have been able to divert some of this useless expenditure to useful purposes.

What purpose or purposes will be served by collecting information concerning the amount of unemployment? There are three evident purposes that should command our attention. First, accurate information concerning the state of employment will serve as a guide to the activities of the employment service. The only thing which this service can do is to connect idle men with jobs. How can this be done effectively without having in the hands of the placement clerks at all times accurate information concerning the condition of industry? It has been said that every month is a busy season for some industry. Accepting this statement as reasonably accurate, then, for the most intelligent movement of labor, knowledge concerning the busy and dull seasons in every industry should come regularly to the desk of each placement clerk. This information should serve as control records in just the same manner as control records are used in private business. If the control records in private business were no more useful than some of the reports issued by our departments of labor, how long do you think private business would continue to function? My point, then, is that we need this information as a basis for determining the internal policy of operation of service.

Secondly, the regular collection of information concerning the numbers employed in representative industries, serves as a basis of measuring quantitatively the amount of unemployment, and may be used as an important factor in forecasting business trends. There is no more important problem for the business manager to-day than the adjustment of production to the market demand. As was indicated above, practically every firm is producing for an anticipated demand. There is at all times a large degree of uncertainty in the amount which the market will absorb. The more facts that bear on the general situation which the manager takes under consideration, the more accurate will be his judgment as to a sound business policy. In other words, if we do a good job in collecting this information, it will not only serve in determining the internal policy of the employment service, but will be of great value to financial, commercial, and business interests of the State. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York, in its review of industrial conditions, regularly uses the figures collected by the department of labor of that State. The Reserve Bank of Chicago is collecting similar figures on its own initiative because there are no reliable data in the district. This fact, coupled with the constant inquiry from business establishments for information, is conclusive proof that the collection and publication of data showing the state of the labor market would be a great service to all business interests.

The third purpose has to do with a proposed remedy for unemployment. Among the various proposals for preventing unemployment, or of spreading the burden, when unpreventable, is unemployment insurance. Without expressing any opinion as to the wisdom of adopting unemployment insurance, or unemployment compensation, it remains true that should any State adopt a plan of this kind, then, accurate information concerning the amount of unemployment

by industries would be an important aid in fixing a charge for the risk involved. I am fully aware that the information would need to be more complete than anything now collected to determine the charge on a strictly actuarial basis. Nevertheless, the compilation of figures like those of New York—or even better, those of Canada—would be of great value at the outset if unemployment insurance were adopted. There may be other good reasons for collecting regularly data concerning the state of employment, but the ones here mentioned amply justify the time and expense involved.

In order to get a line on what was now being done in this direction, I sent out during the latter part of July a letter to all the State labor departments in the United States, asking what figures were now being collected, how frequently reports were received, and what proportion of the industrial workers in the State were covered by these reports. I have received replies from 31 out of the 48 States. Among those not reporting there were only three important industrial States, and I have checked the practice in these States from other sources. My information, I think, represents the conditions as they exist at the present time.

My survey shows that three types of information are being collected. First, a number of States collect for their annual or biennial reports the number of persons employed in the factories of the State. There is a wide difference even in this information. Some States call for the average number of employees during the calendar year. In some instances the month in which the maximum and minimum number are employed is required. Another group calls for average number of employees, by months, for each month in the year. A third group require the exact number on the pay roll which includes the 15th of the month, for each month in the year. This information appears to be handled in most instances scientifically, but is useful for historical purposes only. It can throw no light on existing conditions, unless the seasonal character of certain industries may be revealed. Even so, the information is over a year old when it becomes available, and on this account its value for the purpose mentioned is greatly depreciated. Aside from California, Ohio, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, I think I am correct in asserting that the information in the other States in this group has little or no value.

In the second place, a few States collect statistics concerning unemployment from the officials of the trade-unions. These are usually published quarterly, as in Massachusetts. At best figures are three to four months old when published and apply only to the organized trades. They are useful primarily for historical purposes, but are not by any means adequate as a basis for measuring unemployment.

Lastly, two States and the Federal Government, through the United States Employment Service, collect from identical establishments in representative industries, the exact number of employees on the pay roll on a given date each month. The State of New York has been collecting and publishing this information since June, 1914. I understand that the impetus to undertake this work was received from the investigations into the serious unemployment during the winter of 1913-14. An excellent study was made at that time—in

fact, the most complete investigation that has been made in this country. At least New York is to be congratulated on the excellent pioneer work that has been done in this direction. Wisconsin has figures of the same character, running back to March, 1915, and collected continuously from that date. In both instances the claim is made that returns are secured from approximately one-third of the factory workers of the State. Building construction and transportation employees are not included in the reports of either State. Wisconsin includes figures for mining, but this industry is not covered in New York. The only other State that has collected figures similar in character for which I have any information is Oklahoma. For a part of last year and a few months during the present year, statistics were collected in that State, but I infer from the replies to my questions that this information was not in all cases collected direct from the firms, but was reported in some instances by secretaries of commercial or other clubs. Data so collected is likely to be unreliable, unless the method of collection is known. I am informed that the Employers' Association of Detroit receives reports each week from 79 firms employing a very large proportion of the laborers in that industrial district. Where information is as accurate as this seems to be, of course it could be relied upon. My observation, however, is that figures coming from such sources have not been carefully collected.

In addition to the above State efforts at collecting employment data, mention should be made of the excellent work the United States Employment Service is performing in connection with its Industrial Survey. This work of the United States Employment Service is in its infancy and should be encouraged and assisted by all interested persons. At present information is collected from 1,428 firms, distributed among 14 manufacturing industries located in 65 leading industrial centers. The classification of these industries accords with the United States census classification. The firms reporting usually employ 500 or more persons. In January of this year, when this service was started, this report gave an employee base of 1,628,134.

This constitutes the situation so far as the United States is concerned. Outside of work of the United States Employment Service and similar work in New York and Wisconsin, we can say that there is no effort being made up to the present time to publish information that would make it possible to measure employment quantitatively. When figures on numbers employed are regularly collected over a term of years it is possible by comparison to estimate the numbers unemployed. This is perhaps the most satisfactory method of measuring unemployment. Aside from instances mentioned, employment men and labor officials in other States are in no position to give an accurate estimate of the amount of unemployment in their respective States. The need for the information is evident and the demand for it makes the present an opportune time to undertake the collection of the figures. If started now, even in a limited way, the basis would be laid for a more adequate plan subsequently.

Assuming that one of the products of the present period of unemployment will be greater activity in collecting information con-

cerning the state of employment, an examination of the procedure followed by New York, Wisconsin, and United States Employment Service may be helpful to any State that contemplates inaugurating similar work. The following considerations are important for this purpose: (1) The sanction for the investigation; (2) the data included; (3) the method of collection; (4) the breadth of the base; and (5) the presentation of the results. It will be instructive to examine the experience of these States with these points in mind.

1. *Sanction.*—The Industrial Commission of New York proceeded from the outset on the assumption of full legal authority to require reports on the information called for on their schedule. Their first letter to employers called attention to the chapter of the law which placed the responsibility for collecting the information on the Department of Labor. I am informed, however, that, while taking the position that the law required the department to collect the data, it was the policy to gain the cooperation of the firms reporting rather than to exercise the pressure of the law. I am also told that this method has been found successful and some firms that were at first disinclined to report are now glad to do so in order to get the information thus collected. I take it that Wisconsin has proceeded upon the same assumption, although I have not verified this fact. The United States Employment Service has no such legal authority upon which to proceed. It relies solely upon the good will of the reporting firms. In some instances, arrangements have been made to call the firms in the name of a local employers' association, thus gaining the good will which such organizations may have with the local firms. I am not in a position to say whether this practice is general, but the service has developed without legal sanction an approach to a sizable number of firms and is securing regular monthly reports from the same. It seems possible, then, to proceed with or without legal sanction, when there is a determination to do so. If the firms can be convinced of the value of the service, and their cooperation secured voluntarily, the reports will doubtlessly be given more cheerfully and with less irritation than when supplied under compulsion. The pressure of public opinion for information concerning unemployment makes the present an opportune time to cultivate that good will.

2. *Data included.*—Both New York and Wisconsin collect figures as to the numbers employed and the total amount of pay roll for the pay-roll period, which includes the 15th of the month. The United States Employment Service gets only figures for the numbers employed. For the purpose of measuring the numbers employed the data concerning wages is unnecessary. However important for other purposes, the wage data have no immediate bearing either in developing the internal policy of the employment service or in measuring the amount of the employment. If these are the primary purposes in view, then the wage data can be omitted. Where a State is relying solely upon the good will and cooperation of employers for supplying the information the omission of the wage data is probably wise. Employers are usually less willing to give information concerning wages paid than concerning numbers employed. It is interesting to note that the United States Employment Service does not extend its investigations to wages paid.

3. *Method of collection.*—New York and Wisconsin collect their information by reports from identical establishments on forms supplied by the collection agency. The reports to the United States Employment Service are made in some districts by phone call to the plant and in others by signed statements by regularly designated officers of the reporting establishment. For purposes of comparison it is important that the information should be secured from identical establishments. If for any reason an establishment that has been reporting drops out, then another establishment of approximately the same size in this industry should be substituted. This practice, I am told, is followed by all three agencies under consideration. The difference between collection by formal reports and by phone calls is worthy of some thought. Where the latter method is used the accuracy of the report will depend upon the familiarity of the person reporting with the day-to-day movements of labor. If he is in constant touch with pay-roll movements, the information will be accurate. If, as often happens, information concerning the business is given out only by an official of the company, it may well be that he is not familiar with the exact status of the pay roll. He is likely to report "approximately the same as last month." I find in the Chicago office of the United States Employment Service it is the practice to call to the attention of the officer reporting the figures given last month, and the opportunity is given to correct that figure for the present month. My point is that there is more room for inaccuracy in this method than when a formal report is filled out and sent in over the signature of some official of the company. The "phone-call" method does give early publicity to the information collected, which is an important consideration. But rapidity in reporting is not inconsistent with reporting by forms. The latter method would require a degree of cooperation which the United States Employment Service has to build up. As the Industrial Survey becomes more permanent and gains in public favor the reports could doubtless be collected by means of forms, which I am sure would contribute to accuracy of the information supplied.

4. *The breadth of the base.*—There are two phases involved in this point—the industries covered and the proportion of employees included in the reports from the representative establishments. The New York figures and those of the United States Employment Service include manufacturing industries only. Wisconsin includes mining. Transportation, building construction, and mining are important industries. Figures for transportation and mining should be as easily obtained as those for manufacturing, and knowledge concerning these industries would add greatly to the information collected. Why these industries have not been included, especially in the United States Employment Survey, is not apparent. Statistics for building construction are probably much harder to collect and are subject to much more fluctuations than manufacturing industries. But the building industry is an important index to business activity, and data concerning this industry, even though they had to be separately treated, as they probably would, would contribute greatly to our knowledge of general industrial conditions. As to the proportion of employees covered, New York claims to get reports from establishments employing more than one-third of the factory work-

ers in the State. This gives a very satisfactory base for manufacturing industries. The trends shown by a statistical sample of this size probably correspond very closely with the actual movements for the whole number engaged in the industry. The situation is not so satisfactory when we consider the number of employees included in the reports of the United States Employment Service. In January the firms reporting employed 1,628,134 persons. These persons were distributed among 14 groups of industries located in 65 industrial centers. While the sample seems to have been chosen with care and with the view to represent conditions both by industry and by locality, yet it is not so satisfactory as a basis for measuring employment conditions for the country as a whole as the New York figures are for that State. The base is too narrow. We can not on this account infer with the same confidence that the trends shown by these figures will correspond to actual conditions. It is to be hoped therefore, that the United States Employment Service will be in a position in the near future to broaden the base upon which its reports are now made.

5. *The presentation of results.*—In presenting the results, there are several important considerations to be thought of. I have brought under review four which seem to me to be most vital: (a) Choice of a base for comparative purposes; (b) computation of a monthly relative; (c) percentage of monthly change; and (d) weighting the data collected. The presentation of the results depends in a measure upon the purposes in mind. There are, however, some questions that involve correct statistical practice.

(a) New York and Wisconsin take the figures for the first month for which information was collected and make these the base for comparing each subsequent monthly report. The objection to this method is that it tends to give too much prominence to seasonal conditions. For some purposes, this may be the important consideration, but if the figures are expected to show general industrial conditions then it would probably be better to smooth out seasonal fluctuations by computing an average for the year and using this as the basis against which monthly relatives are computed.

(b) In order to show current conditions it is necessary to compare them with known conditions of the past. Therefore, each month should show the numbers employed by industry in comparison with the base chosen, whether this be the month the investigation was started or an average for a year. These monthly relatives will show this condition of industry in the most effective way and these relatives should be computed for each group and subgroup in the industrial classification used.

(c) The month to month changes are important in order to show the present trends. These can be shown by a percentage of increase or decrease with the previous month. For comparative purposes the figures should be given for the corresponding months a year ago. New York shows these percentages computed in this way for both the numbers of employees and the amount of wages. The United States Employment Service shows for the current month in comparison with the previous month both the numbers reported on pay rolls and the percentage of change. These figures are given for the 14 industrial groups shown in the survey. The publication of the

actual numbers as well as the percentage of change has many uses, but increases the amount of columns carried in the table. The United States Employment Service has not published relatives as yet and I am not informed as to the plans of the service on this point. It is to be hoped that a relative will be computed and thus add to the excellent figures now being published.

(d) In publishing the figures the problem of weights becomes important. For instance, suppose the figures in one month show 3 per cent increase over the preceding month in some industry. The question then arises in interpreting the figures, how significant is this fact? There should be a weight showing how important this industry is in the State, or, if the figures are computed for the country as a whole, then the weight should show the importance of the industry in the country as shown by the number of persons employed. Both New York and the United States Employment Service compute a weight from the figures reported each month. The total figures reported is taken as 100 and the numbers for each industrial group and for each subgroup in New York and for each locality in the United States Employment Service is calculated as a percentage of the total of that month. The New York figures give the monthly distribution of figures among the industrial groups used (while the United States Employment Service gives a similar distribution according to locality) and give it under a heading of relative weight. The more significant comparison is the one suggested—namely, the relative importance which the industry actually holds. Of course, if the samples chosen are kept in the ratio of the industry to the total number of employees actually at work, the figures would already be weighted and there would be no need for further weighting. But this would be difficult to do and it would seem that weight according to census figures could be worked out and, if given, would furnish a basis of determining how significant any percentage of change in an industry actually is.

The States of New York and Wisconsin and the United States Employment Service should, however, be congratulated on the work they have done and are doing. Employment men and others interested in this problem ought to get similar work started in other States. Even though the figures are not as complete as in New York, or handled in such good fashion as by the United States Employment Service, additional information would be useful in estimating quantitatively the amount of unemployment. Any State that contemplates inaugurating the work will find useful guides in the experience of the States now collecting these data. I can not leave this subject without giving some attention to the excellent work that our neighbors across the border are doing in this same direction. I have not made it a part of my task to go into their work with the same care as I have into what is being done on this side. However, from an examination of their forms, it is evident that they have gone into this question with a degree of thoroughness that puts most of us on this side of the border to shame. They are well fortified with legal authority in the employment offices coordination act, which they do not hesitate to use. All forms sent out for the purpose of collecting information call attention to the fact that the figures called for are required by law. This method of procedure puts them in a position to get a

very complete report of industrial conditions. A second point of interest is that the employment service there has the franking privilege, so that all communications are free from postage, which must mean a very great saving in the appropriations for the maintenance of the service, when we consider the volume of mail that must be required to secure weekly reports from all industries in their country. In the third place, the reports are received weekly. Firms are required to report the numbers on the pay roll on the week ending Saturday and at the same time an estimate of the numbers to be required for the week ending the following Saturday. Reports so frequent as this keep the service informed to the minute as to the state of industry, and with the estimate of requirements for the following week, they are in a position not only to give accurate information concerning current conditions, but also to move the surplus labor to the points of need. The internal policy of the service must be greatly assisted by the statement of requirements by firms reporting.

The part of their work which shows the most careful thought is their industrial classification. They have 12 large industrial groups—farming, logging, mining, fishing, hunting, manufacturing, construction, transportation and storage, communication, trade, finance, and service. There are 33 subgroups—3 in mining, 14 in manufacturing, 2 in construction, 3 in transportation and storage, 2 in communication, 2 in trade, 2 in finance, 5 in service. Then there are 15 purpose groups, as food, drink, tobacco, clothing, books and other printed matter, etc. The first communication sent to a firm requests, in addition to the maximum and minimum number of persons employed during the past 12 months, the principal product manufactured or dealt in, the chief component material by value, the chief purpose for which the principal product is used, and whether the business is seasonal, and if so, a statement showing the slack period. On the basis of this reply the firm is classified and coded in accordance with their classification. To show how this would work, take a shoe factory, the principal component part is leather, principal product shoes, and purpose clothing. This firm is not only coded by industry and purpose for which the principal product is used, but also by Province, zone, and city. To illustrate, the following code will indicate the operation of their system:

“ MT 53440-32 02-10-04 ”

M—Manufacturing.

T—Textiles.

5—Province.

3—Zone.

440—Firm.

32—City.

02—The group, in this case thread, yarn, cloth.

10—The subgroup, felt and felt goods.

04—The purpose, clothing.

When information so complete as this and so carefully classified and coded and punched on Hollerith cards is obtained, it is possible for the service to get in the shortest possible time exact information concerning the important phases of the whole industrial situation throughout the Dominion. The service has control records for the guidance of its internal policy that are comparable with those of any private business and there is no excuse for inefficiency in service.

Our neighbors across the border have attained a standard in their statistical records that we on this side may well emulate. If they live up in practice to their plans, we can learn many important lessons from their experience.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE TO THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

BY HELEN T. WOOLLEY, PRESIDENT NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION.

The term "vocational guidance" is a new and plastic one. Whether or not it bears a relation to the prevention of unemployment depends upon the interpretation given the term. If you mean by it a mere giving of advice, even granting that the advice is good, at a given point in an individual's career, then it has but a small bearing on the problem of unemployment. If you mean by it a sort of clairvoyant procedure, by which a seer gifted with semimiraculous insight informs a young person of the one thing in the world he is fitted to do, then it has still less bearing. But if you mean by it education conducted from the point of view of enabling each individual to develop the best type of productive capacity of which he is capable, and to acquire a real point of view about the occupational world, then it may have a very vital bearing on problems of unemployment.

While it is true that for the most part the causes of unemployment lie quite outside the field of the selection of an occupation by the individual, nevertheless, even within these limits there are two small contributions which may be made toward the prevention of unemployment. First, much can be done to reduce the number of unemployables in society, and, second, unemployment among the handicapped can be lessened. I will discuss each of these topics briefly before going on to the more fundamental aspect of the topic.

A person who has become unemployable has done so for one of two reasons. Either he has had a series of very unfortunate experiences, involving failure and discouragement, which have gradually destroyed all self-confidence and self-respect, or else he was from the start a person so mentally inferior or so psychopathic that success in the occupational world was impossible. In the former case, something can be done by good advice at the right time. A young person can be prevented from undertaking tasks so much above his capacity that failure and consequent loss of faith in himself is sure to result. A really effective prevention of such catastrophes, however, implies a scientific study of each individual during his school career, and skilled supervision of the first few years in industry. The development of experimental methods of child study has made it possible for school systems, by establishing psychological laboratories, and keeping adequate records of school progress, to arrive at a scientific measure of the general level of intelligence of each child, and also to collect evidence, less scientific but nevertheless valuable, about other phases of personality.

Mere level of mental ability is an important factor in the selection of an occupation. It is fatal to the efficiency of any individual to be kept continuously at an occupation which is either very much above

or very much below his possibilities. Success is possible in the modern industrial world even to those of very limited ability, provided the occupation is wisely selected. There are records in the laboratory in Cincinnati of a group of boys with mental ages between 10 and 11 years who have been successful in low-grade occupations, such as common labor and machine tending, and have earned wages equal to the average of their group (boys who entered industry at 14 years of age). The same type of boy, if he starts at an apprenticeship in a skilled trade, fails, spoils valuable material, becomes morose and unruly, and is in danger of becoming unemployable unless the error is discovered and corrected. The average foreman is apt to attribute such failures to willfulness or shiftlessness and treat them accordingly, with disastrous results. With proper help and advice from a scientific school office such errors on the part of industry could be easily avoided.

Level of intelligence is, however, but one of the factors to be taken into consideration in forecasting the probable success of an individual. Emotional stability and character, though less measurable, are equally important. Let me illustrate by two cases selected from an observation class in the public schools of Cincinnati. The children in this group all belonged in the same general level of intelligence—somewhat below average, but above the limits of feeble-mindedness. They were all very bad school failures, and were being given special advantages to help them retrieve their failure. Julia was a little girl of 9, whose intelligence quotient was only 80, and who could not do first-grade work. She had lived in small communities in the South and her education had been neglected. Her parents were completely illiterate southern mountaineers. The child had a keen sense of responsibility and excellent practical ability. She was so useful at home that it was difficult to secure regular school attendance. Her desire to learn was intense. In her first year in the observation class she did three years' work in one. She could have made up one more year later by attending summer school, but though she wanted to very much she refused because she said "the twins were just at the age when they ran away, and mother could not look after them in summer." Julia is now passing her grade every year, and last year she wrote the prize essay of the school on the topic of "The community chest."

The other child, Frederick, had a much better intelligence quotient than Julia's. It was 100 on his first examination. He was 8 years old, and also a failure in first grade. The most serious complaint about him, however, was not his academic failure but his behavior. He seemed totally unable to attend to school work, and was apt to fly into tantrums on little or no provocation, or to hurt one of the other children without warning, and apparently with no idea why he did it—a sudden ungovernable impulse. The boy's parents were not illiterate and were interested in his welfare, but his mother was just this side of insanity, and he had an imbecile brother who was the center of interest and affection in the family life. It seemed quite impossible for Frederick to learn to apply himself or properly control himself. The ability which he undoubtedly had could not be used to advantage. Of these two children the one with the lower mental level undoubtedly has much the better prospect of success in life.

Studies of unemployables have shown that most of them are of inferior mental levels and that many of them have marked psychopathic traits. Some of them should have been weeded out of society before they got as far as the occupational world. The unquestionably feeble-minded and those of marked psychopathic tendency can be diagnosed by the school and should be sent directly from the school to custodial institutions. Trying these individuals in industry is an unnecessarily wasteful process. Others, of somewhat better grade mentally or of less marked psychopathic tendency, should be given a trial in carefully selected occupations under skilled supervision. If they prove unable to make good, they can be later segregated. Such a program would prevent the occurrence in society of most of the unemployables. In the total problem of unemployment they are, however, admittedly but a small factor.

The prevention of unemployment among the handicapped is also a field in which vocational guidance can make a contribution. We have already discussed mental handicaps and unemployment. In the case of physical cripples, the rehabilitation of war cripples and of industrial cripples is making a great contribution. The problem is a perfectly straightforward one of finding all of the various occupational opportunities in which a given type of handicap is not a hindrance. Large as the field of survey is, the extended experience of our rehabilitation agencies will gradually cover it, systematize the information and make it available for purposes of guidance.

When we turn from the narrower interpretation of vocational guidance as a mere process of selection of an occupation, to its broader educational meaning, new and more important possibilities of making a contribution toward the prevention of unemployment appear. In its broader meaning, the scope of vocational guidance includes a continuous scientific study of the individual before his wage-earning life begins, a study of all the available opportunities for training for occupations, and a study of the occupational world. It is with this third phase of the topic that we are most concerned—not merely facts about the occupational world, but a point of view about it is what a good program of vocational guidance undertakes to develop.

It is perhaps a platitude to say that the good and evil of human affairs lies in points of view. Behind all of our policies, industrial as well as moral or educational, lie conceptions of what it is we are trying to accomplish—of ideals. The fundamental causes of unemployment are to be sought in our conceptions of industrial life—conceptions which are common to the employer, the worker, and the public. Up to the present time, with rare exceptions, the worker has planned to do as little and get as much in wages as possible, and the employer has planned to get as much and pay as little as possible. The amount of private individual profit has been the sole determining factor on both sides. "Business is business." The securing of profit is its own justification. If in the process individuals suffer, everybody regrets it, but it can't be helped. It is futile to try to decide whether employers or employees are most responsible for this point of view. It is the stage of industrial ethics of our present society.

So long as the aim of securing private profit remains the sole dominant one in industrial life, there is little hope of preventing or controlling the evils of unemployment. Fortunately, there are signs of a change. Many advanced employers are recognizing the claims of human welfare as a charge upon industry equal in importance to profits. The point of view that only as the employer makes a real contribution to the welfare of his workers and of society, has he any right to private profits, is gaining ground. It is quite as true that the advanced thinkers among the workers are realizing that on their side an adequate living wage can be demanded by the worker only in so far as he contributes his best powers to the development of a common enterprise. Indeed, in a few instances, the most advanced thinkers among employers are taking toward industry the attitude of education—the attitude that each human being has a right to expect to be placed in such an environment that he has an opportunity to develop his best powers. Thus industry becomes an extension of the educational process.

Our only real hope of working out a comprehensive plan for the prevention of unemployment lies in generalizing the shift in the conception of industrial ethics which recognizes human welfare as of equal importance with private profits. The process is necessarily an educational one. In our present generation of children, for whom vocational guidance programs are being worked out, are the employers and the workers of the future. Just as soon as society at large feels keenly enough the obligation of doing it, some means can be found of preventing unemployment. Whether the machinery adopted be the stabilization of industry, the provision of unemployment insurance, the use of public works during a period of unemployment, or a combination of methods is a consideration secondary to the creation of a strong common purpose. If the process of vocational guidance can assist in the development of the newer ideal of industry as an instrument of human welfare, then it will ultimately, and at long range, have made the most important contribution toward the prevention of unemployment.

REVIVING PRIVATE INDUSTRY THROUGH PUBLIC WORKS.

BY OTTO T. MALLERY, MEMBER OF THE INDUSTRIAL BOARD OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Every one of us employment officials has advocated and influenced the execution of public work during periods of unemployment. Why have we done so, and what is our ultimate goal? It will encourage us all to consider the great possibilities within our reach and the material we can supply to stabilize the foundations of our civilization. For civilization rests upon the conviction that man is captain of his ship and master of his destiny, able to steer a true course between the rocks of circumstance.

CONTROL OF NATURAL LAWS.

Civilization has been and must continue to be a progressive victory over the belief that man is the helpless victim of inexorable natural laws.

Unnumbered Pharaohs had reigned in Egypt while countless famines had swept away their subjects as the wind scatters chaff

before Joseph suggested that it was a function of the State to store grain in State storehouses in time of plenty against the next crop failure. Doubtless Pharaohs and their advisers had long regarded famine as a natural law of agriculture, the memory of man running not to the contrary. Doubtless they had bowed their heads before famine as an expression of the will of the great gods Isis and Osiris. But Joseph proved that storage and transportation were mightier forces for man's survival than were any Egyptian gods for man's annihilation.

What we have read in the Bible we may also read in the newspapers. Turn to the files of 1917 to 1919 and consider how the loyal cooperation in food saving of 100,000,000 Americans went Joseph one better. Our will to save, plus our mastery of the technic of transportation and distribution, altered the path of history and suspended the operation of a so-called natural law. For what natural law is more natural than that people eat what they like when they have the price to buy it? This human habit is the pillar and prop of the law of supply and demand. But what happened to that law? Although more Americans had the price and the desire to demand more wheat and more meat than ever before, they voluntarily accepted a smaller supply. The national will controlled the operation of the law of supply and demand because that law blocked our road to victory. Joseph and Hoover had the same job a few thousand years apart. Joseph persuaded Pharaoh to put his power behind Joseph's conception of the supremacy of man over the immemorial law of periodical mass starvation. Hoover persuaded the American people to make a moral issue alter our most deep-seated habit, which economists have called the law of supply and demand. Hoover seems to have put one over on Joseph.

Consider the control man has shown over nature in the development of irrigation. Man has actually accomplished miracles simply by gathering and storing from all times and from all available sources a supply that can be used periodically in just the same fundamental way that financial resources can be collected and stored ready for periodical release as occasion demands. Just as man's foresight and conscious control have turned the Imperial Valley of California and the San Luis Valley of Colorado from barren deserts into fertile farming regions, so they can also transform the barrenness of industrial depression into the fertility of industrial revival. Just as the United States Reclamation Service and private irrigation have been the agencies to transform sage-brush lands into wheat fields, so corresponding governmental agencies and private initiative can be developed to transform waste periods of unemployment into active periods of public work in the common interest. Such a task is small compared with some already achieved. For how new and man-made a phenomenon is industrial depression compared with the race experience that a body heavier than air must fall to the ground? Yet a thousand times a day do not men control the law of gravitation by guiding airplanes in the skies? To guide and steady industry and employment is the next great engineering task of our day.

THE RELATION BETWEEN PUBLIC WORKS AND PRIVATE INDUSTRY.

There are two kinds of industry, private and public. Private industry is performed for private profit; public industry or public

works are performed to fill public needs. Periods of acute industrial depression have been occurring once in every seven to ten years during the twentieth century. If public works were increased in years when private industry decreases, how much stabilization of employment would occur!

The following estimates are tentative and doubtless will be improved by later students. No complete records are kept of the aggregate wages of the workers of the United States in any year. The following results are arrived at by percentages based on the wages paid to factory workers in the State of New York as reported by the New York Industrial Commission and on the classifications by occupations of the United States census. Our base figures are these:

2,400 millions in wages were paid to factory workers in New York State in the boom year of 1920.

1,900 millions in wages will be paid them in the year of depression, 1921, taking May as an average month.

500 millions in wages per annum therefore represents the difference between boom and depression in the factories of New York State.

Taking New York State factory wages as one-fifth of the wages of the factory workers of the United States, 2,500 millions in wages will represent the difference between boom and depression in the factories of the United States.

The number of persons engaged in trade and transportation in the United States is about 70 per cent of those engaged in manufacture. Assuming the same average wage and the same percentage of fluctuation in aggregate wages in trade and transportation as in manufacturing, 1,750 millions will represent the difference in wages between a good and a bad year in trade and transportation.

The fluctuation in persons employed in the other census classifications of agriculture, fishing, domestic, personal, and professional service are insignificant compared to the foregoing and might perhaps be omitted from our calculations, but to be on the safe side we will add 250 millions as the aggregate wages lost for these classifications in 1921 over 1920.

As no figures are available upon which to estimate the loss in aggregate miners' wages, a widely fluctuating figure, we will add 500 millions for the miners' loss for the same period.

Our first final figure is therefore a grand total of 5,000 millions less aggregate wages earned by all workers in the United States in 1921 than in 1920.

5,000 millions decrease in total wages is our yardstick measure of acute unemployment.

Our next step is to compare the wages paid in public work with those paid in private industry. The public-works figures have been gathered for me by Prof. M. I. Faust, of the University of Pennsylvania, a careful student of the subject.

700 millions per annum represents the total sale of municipal bonds by States and all municipal subdivisions as an average for 1919 and 1920.

110 millions per annum is the average appropriation of the Federal Government for ordinary public works for the five years ending 1913. Taking

125 millions per annum as the minimum present and future average for Uncle Sam's public works, we have

825 millions per annum as a total average for all public works within the United States by all governmental agencies, without considering those public works paid for by current taxation.

If we should adopt a national policy of expanding public works in years of depression and contracting public works during the other years is it too much to believe that we can execute three times the average in the year of unemployment, which is likely to occur once in ten years? If so, our figure for public works will be 2,475 millions in a bad year, or an increase of 1,835 millions for a year of depression over an average year.

The total expenditures for public works are not the same as the total wages paid in public work, but when all the indirect employment given in forest, mine, and factory in the preparation of materials is considered 90 per cent of this sum may be regarded as wages or payments, which will quickly find their way into the channels of trade and industry. This percentage is larger than that allowed by other careful students of the subject, but I will not pause to attempt to substantiate my own estimate. If this is correct 1,650 millions in wages in a year of depression will represent the potential usefulness of a national public works program as a safety valve for unemployment in a year of depression in private industry.

The final picture which I desire to present for your careful consideration is that the lifting power of public works is 1,650 millions, or one-third the maximum dead weight of an industrial depression of 5,000 millions.

At first sight it would seem that a comprehensive national public-works policy would check unemployment in its worst year by one-third. If so, it is a force of the first magnitude.

We must pause to remember that public works do not directly employ idle factory workers to any great extent. Garment workers in New York can not be transported for road building in Illinois or for Federal irrigation projects in Colorado. If they could be transported they would be largely unfitted for the work. But when some hundreds of thousands of unemployed lumbermen, cement workers, builders, and unskilled laborers earn wages on public works, their wages create a demand for garments which call the garment workers back to their factories and liquify frozen credits in wool and cotton. The wages paid the garment workers create a demand for shoe operatives and steady the leather market. And so all along the line from one industry to another. The wages paid each new group create a demand for still other groups to produce the goods demanded by the wages of the preceding. No fact is more readily observed than the interdependence of modern industries. What depresses a few industries depresses all. When some industries pick up, others are stimulated. Consequently, it is a fact of the deepest significance that the wage bill of public works potentially contains more than enough water to prime the pump of private industry and

to start a steady flow through the channels of production. Or, to state this more vividly, to drop a nation-wide public works program into an industrial depression is like dropping a pebble into a quiet pond. The ripple extends in all directions to the farthest shores and is felt even farther than it can be traced.

STEPS ALREADY TAKEN.

To carry out our theory in practice will be a far-reaching achievement. Fortunately mileposts already show the road.

In 1907 the French Minister of Public Works requested the French railways to plan their construction and equipment program in 10-year periods and to give their principal orders during years of depression.

About 1912 the British Government set aside funds for the execution of public works in future periods of unemployment and again in 1919 took more far-reaching steps.

The State of Pennsylvania has an emergency public works commission with legislative appropriation intended to accumulate during good times and to be expended in periods of unemployment. Although its appropriations have been unimportant, the existence of the commission has called attention to the principle involved and resulted in an increased program of public works in Pennsylvania during the demobilization period and again in 1921.

After the armistice of 1918 the United States War Labor Policies Board urged all local officials to expedite public work delayed during the war so that contracts would be under way in fullest volume during the demobilization period. You remember with what anxiety the expected unemployment of returned soldiers and munition workers was contemplated. Yet the work of the War Labor Policies Board, followed up by a special subdivision of the War Department, resulted in the breaking of all previous public-works records in 1919 and contributed largely to the avoidance of widespread unemployment during and after demobilization.

Among the leading American proponents of a better public works practice is Senator William S. Kenyon, of Iowa, chairman of the Labor Committee of the United States Senate, who has introduced pioneer legislation on the subject.

Secretary of Commerce Hoover has recently asked local public works officials to plan their public work so as to continue during next winter and spring when labor is expected to be plentiful, rather than next summer when a revival of industry is confidently predicted. Mr. Hoover's announced conference on unemployment will doubtless take up the methods of accomplishing this result.

The committee on waste in industry of the Federation of American Engineering Societies has recently submitted suggestions for the stabilization of industry and has included among them the expansion of public works during periods of unemployment.

PRESENT AND FUTURE STEPS.

Finally what are the concerted moves necessary to force home the attack? The zero hour for the attack is such a period as the present because public attention can not be secured during times of ease.

With the Department of Commerce properly rests the task of developing traffic regulations, and traffic policemen give the go-ahead signal to the public works ambulances when a blockade is threatened in the main avenues of industry. Until Mr. Hoover announces his plan I may well defer describing any suggestions of my own for the creation of new governmental machinery and practice. Any such new governmental machinery will be well oiled after public discussion and understanding shall have made unemployment prevention a platform plank of a political party. Such a plank is good patriotism as well as good politics, for a man without a job feels and looks like a man without a country, and the two may become one.

What can be done this year? Although such a national public works policy and practice can not be extemporized in a few months, nevertheless we must do whatever can be done now, no matter how inadequate.

We can back up with publicity and persuasion Mr. Hoover's request that public works be pressed forward during this winter. We will find difficulty in increasing the amount quickly because a super-average of public works is already in progress. The time and red tape required to authorize and sell municipal bonds are so great that in this critical winter we may find it necessary to ask private citizens to donate funds for civic improvement instead of for soup kitchens and bread lines. In every city there are deferred projects such as playgrounds, boulevards, river-front improvements, elimination of condemned housing, replacement of superannuated school buildings, the laying of sewer and water pipes, etc. To make the home town a finer place for all time and by so doing to banish the specter of direct want and suffering from our streets, are human motives compelling us to give until it hurts. Chamber of commerce committees or other representative local committees working with the local government should be responsible for the raising and expenditure of such funds. That public works can be done economically in winter, even in northern sections, can be shown by specific cases, sometimes at less cost, sometimes at an increased cost of 25 per cent to 100 per cent. Any increased costs may be offset by a decreased demand for charitable relief. Above all, such public works must be necessary public works and not make-believe. Employ for the usual hours and wages, but rotate employment by periods of not less than three days. Give preference to resident heads of families. Make more general the practices reported by Doctor Andrews, of the American Association for Labor Legislation, of using in private industry the device of a short day and a short week to avert as much unemployment as possible. Use the same methods for fighting unemployment and for raising funds and for uniting the community behind the agreed program as were used in Liberty loan and food saving campaigns. For the task is one of the same size and appeals to the same high motives of self-sacrifice and self-preservation.

If all Americans are to feel secure in America, if all Americans are to feel proud of America, if America is to progress in civilization as it must, public works and all other means must be utilized to relieve the unemployment of 1921 and to make the recurrence of such a period of unnecessary waste and suffering forever impossible.

