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JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
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EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT SERIES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC
EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

HELD AT TORONTO, CANADA
SEPTEMBER 4-7, 1923



MARCH, 1924

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1922-23.

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First vice president: G. Harry Dunderdale, Superintendent Public Employment Office, Boston, Mass.

Second vice president: A. L. Urick, Commissioner of Labor of Iowa, Des Moines, Iowa.

Third vice president: Charles J. Boyd, General Superintendent Illinois Free Employment Offices, Chicago, Ill.

Secretary-treasurer: Miss Marion C. Findlay, Department of Labor of Ontario, Toronto, Canada.

Executive committee at large: Robert J. Peters, Director Bureau of Employment, Department of Labor and Industry, Harrisburg, Pa.; R. A. Rigg, Director Employment Service of Canada, Ottawa, Canada; Francis I. Jones, Director General United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

1921-22.

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

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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 N. Molloy, Commissioner of Labor and Industries, Regina, Canada.

1920-21.

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

First vice president: A. W. Holbrook, Superintendent State Employment Bureau, Dayton, Ohio.

Second vice president: G. Harry Dunderdale, Superintendent Massachusetts State Employment Bureau, Boston, Mass.

Third vice president: J. M. Sullivan, United States Employment Service, St. Paul, Minn.

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Secretary-treasurer: Richard A. Flinn, Superintendent Bureau of Employment, New York State Industrial Commission, 112 West Forty-sixth street, New York City.

1919-20.

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

Vice presidents: L. E. Woodcock, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City; Mrs. May L. Cheney, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; John S. B. Davie, Commissioner of Labor, Concord, N. H.; E. N. Ellis, State Employment Service, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Secretary-treasurer: Richard A. Flinn, 112 West Forty-sixth street, New York City.

1918-19.

President: Hon. John B. Densmore, Director General United States Employment Service, Washington, D. C.

Vice presidents: J. A. Miller, Toronto, Canada; Mrs. Margaretta Neale, United States Employment Service, Washington, D. C.; C. B. Sexton, Superintendent State Public Employment Bureau, San Francisco, Calif.; Morna M. Mickam, Indianapolis, Ind.

Secretary-treasurer: Wilbur F. Maxwell, United States Employment Service, Columbus, Ohio.

1917-18.

President: Charles B. Barnes, Director State Public Employment Bureau of New York.

Vice presidents: Mrs. L. H. Walter, Chicago, Ill.; Royal Meeker, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Washington, D. C.; Arnold F. George, Dominion Inspector of Employment Agencies, Saskatoon, Canada; Wortley Dickey, Superintendent Municipal Employment Bureau, Richmond, Va.

Secretary-treasurer: H. J. Beckerle, Assistant Director of Employment, State Employment Bureau, Minneapolis, Minn.

1916-17.

President: Charles B. Barnes, Director State Public Employment Bureau of New York.

Vice presidents: Hilda Muhlhauser, Cleveland, Ohio; H. J. Beckerle, Milwaukee, Wis.; J. D. Malloy, Saskatchewan, Canada; George D. Halsey, Atlanta, Ga.

Secretary-treasurer: G. P. Berner, Superintendent Buffalo Branch of State Employment Bureau of New York.

1915-16.

President: Charles B. Barnes, Director State Public Employment Bureau of New York.

Vice presidents: Walter L. Sears, New York City; Francis Payette, Montreal, Canada; H. J. Beckerle, Milwaukee, Wis.; Hilda Muhlhauser, Cleveland, Ohio.

Secretary-treasurer: W. M. Leiserson, Toledo University, Toledo, Ohio.

1914-15.

President: W. F. Hennessy, Commissioner of Employment, Cleveland, Ohio.

Vice presidents: Mrs. W. L. Essman, Milwaukee, Wis.; J. W. Calley, Chicago, Ill.; Walter L. Sears, New York City; Edwin Dickle, Toronto, Canada.

Secretary-treasurer: W. M. Leiserson.

1913-14.

President: Fred C. Croxton, Columbus, Ohio.

Vice president: James V. Cunningham, Lansing, Mich.

Secretary-treasurer: W. M. Leiserson.

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

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WASHINGTON

MARCH, 1924

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

INTRODUCTION.

The International Association of Public Employment Services held its eleventh annual meeting at the King Edward Hotel, Toronto, Canada, September 4 to 7, 1923. This conference was attended by representatives of the Federal and State employment services of the United States of America, Federal and provincial representatives of the Employment Service of Canada (including all the superintendents of the 25 local offices in Ontario of the Employment Service of Canada), and members of the staff of the Toronto offices. There were in attendance also many other persons interested in the problems of employment and unemployment although not officially connected with the Government service.

At the opening session of the conference Mr. Bryce M. Stewart, director employment department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, presided, and the delegates were welcomed by Mayor C. A. Maguire, of Toronto. The Hon. Dr. Forbes Godfrey, Minister of Labor for Ontario, in an interesting address extended a welcome on behalf of the Province of Ontario.

The president of the association, Hon. E. J. Henning, Assistant Secretary of Labor of the United States, delivered an address dealing with some phases of the problem of employment and unemployment as presented in the United States. Mr. Henning stated that the best brains of industry and the best brains of Governments should be devoted to solving the problem of keeping the wage earner profitably employed so that he would not function on the liability side of industry. Workers should be placed, as far as possible, in their proper sphere and in positions where adequate wages would be paid. Cheap labor makes a cheap country, and no country ever thrived under slavery. Because of the similarity of the problem in the two countries, such conferences are of great value; for by the interchange of ideas much can be learned about methods of shifting the man power between the different Provinces and States or even between the different countries.

Mr. Frank Hodges, secretary of the Miners' Association of Great Britain, spoke eloquently on some aspects of the industrial situation in Great Britain and the tremendous problem of that country due to

the disordered conditions prevailing generally in Europe. In speaking of the genesis of the British Labor Party, Mr. Hodges said:

. The political turn which we have taken is in the direction of changing radically some of the features of our economic system; hence the birth of the British Labor Party, and that is what has called it into being. It is a party which has been conceived in the very travail of our economic conditions, and sooner or later we shall be called upon in the interests of that population to rearrange the economic forces and institutions in our country to make it possible, even though innovations have to be carried out, for this problem to be less heavy and onerous in its character.

The program was divided under four topics: (1) Public employment service; (2) unemployment; (3) rehabilitation; and (4) migratory labor. Considerable discussion followed the reading of papers.

Mr. James H. H. Ballantyne, Deputy Minister of Labor for Ontario, acted as chairman of the dinner session. Before introducing the speakers of the evening, Mr. Ballantyne referred to the benefits arising from international conferences in making for better and broader understanding of questions associated with the work of the public employment services and in bringing Canada and the United States together in the discussion of questions and methods of organization pertaining to the industrial system. Reference was also made to the tremendous advantages accruing to a country maintaining an efficient public employment service. While such a service could not solve the problem of unemployment, it could do and had done a very great deal to bridge the varying demands for labor as between industries and seasons.

Miss Margaret Strong, who until recently was a member of the staff of the International Labor Office, Geneva, gave an account of some of the work accomplished by the international organization in three and a half years. Miss Strong stated in part:

By the treaty of peace the international labor organization was intrusted with the task of establishing labor legislation on international lines and of collecting and distributing throughout the world information concerning labor conditions. Its aim is to build up gradually an international code of social law for the protection of the workers. Four general conferences have been held, and 16 draft conventions and 19 recommendations have been adopted. Beneficial results are not lacking. Up to the end of May, 1923, 73 ratifications have been registered by the secretary general of the League of Nations and 12 others are known to have passed their respective Governments. There have been striking results in the recent labor legislation of oriental countries. India has reduced her statutory working hours in industry from 72 to 60 per week, and in mines to 54. She has also prohibited the employment of women and children at night and raised the age of employment of children from 9 to 12 years.

Japan, another member State, whose hours of labor in some industries such as the silk industry, exceed 90 per week, has passed acts regulating the employment of women and children under 14 and has in preparation measures for the reduction of hours of labor. So the activities of the organization tend to reduce the unfair competition of sweated labor as well as to improve working conditions in general.

The international labor organization has become the recognized world center of labor information, and inquiries are constantly received from Governments and workers' and employers' associations.

At the business session there was considerable discussion on the subject of the proposed amalgamation of the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials and the International Association of Public Employment Services.

The incoming executive committee was empowered to name a subcommittee of three persons, such committee to meet with a

similar committee of the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials in order to formulate a satisfactory basis for the confederation of the two organizations. It was decided also that the next annual meeting should be held in Chicago, May, 1924, simultaneously with the meeting of the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

President: Hon. E. J. Henning, Assistant Secretary, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Past president: Bryce M. Stewart, director employment department, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

First vice president: Charles J. Boyd, general superintendent, Illinois free employment offices, Chicago, Ill.

Second vice president: A. L. Urick, commissioner of labor, Des Moines, Iowa.

Third vice president: J. J. Burke, deputy commissioner of labor, Hartford, Conn.

Secretary-treasurer: Miss Marion Findlay, Department of Labor, Toronto, Canada.

Executive committee at large: Joseph Ainey, general superintendent, Province of Quebec, Employment Service of Canada, Montreal, Canada; R. A. Rigg, Director Employment Service of Canada, Ottawa, Canada; Francis I. Jones, Director General United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

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PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

BY R. A. RIGG, DIRECTOR EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

The thought in the minds of those who prepared the program for this conference was that this address should deal with the historical phases of the development of the service in Canada during the past year. In conformity with that purpose this address will be confined as strictly as possible to those features of the work in Canada which are indicative of the trend of development as shown by the activities of the past 12 months.

Unfortunately for Canada, the recovery of trade following the slump of 1920 has been neither so rapid nor so complete in this country as has been the case in the United States. It is, however, a source of gratification to note that while this is the case, nevertheless a very considerable improvement in employment conditions has taken place in Canada. A greater volume of employment is to-day afforded to Canadian workers than has been provided at any period since 1920, and there is every reason to hope that business in Canada will steadily continue to improve.

It is quite unnecessary before a gathering of this character, to emphasize the necessity that exists for the thorough organizing of the labor market. It took the catastrophe of the World War sufficiently to focus the minds of governing bodies upon this problem to stimulate specific action in the direction of its solution. Some slight recognition of the need for free public employment offices had, prior to the outbreak of the war, been given by the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, each of which had initiated on a very small scale a system of governmental employment offices. These organizations, however, were purely provincial and gave little promise of coping in any efficient manner with the need that existed. The war, however, bequeathed a heritage of acute problems, many of which are to-day challenging the highest qualities of statesmanship in the world and some of which by their magnitude are even threatening our civilization. Outstanding among these problems is that of unemployment, and, although the question does not fall within the scope of the subject assigned, it is quite relevant to remark in passing that some contribution of a public service character has been rendered, through the activities of the Employment Service of Canada, to the problem of dealing with unemployment. Notwithstanding this, the solution of the problem of organizing the labor market is only in the incipient stage of development. During the past half century the world has progressed mightily in the direction of organization aiming at the marketing of the products of labor but has singularly failed in organizing for the marketing of labor itself. Coordinated governmental employment office systems are a step in the direction indicated by

Thomas Carlyle when he wrote "This that they call the organization of labor is, if rightfully understood, the most vital, universal problem of the world."

The Employment Service of Canada commenced its practical duties in March, 1919, and to-day consists of 77 local employment offices established throughout Canada, from Halifax in the east to Victoria in the west, together with eight provincial clearing houses and two interprovincial clearing houses. All the Provinces of Canada, with the exception of that of Prince Edward Island, cooperate with the Federal Government in the maintenance of this service. All the offices, with the exception of the two interprovincial clearing houses, are established by the provincial governments, the Federal Government functioning as a coordinating agency and contributing, through the Department of Labor, to the governments of the Provinces a sum not to exceed 50 per cent of the total maintenance and operating costs of the service to each Province.

Until the present year only seven of the nine Provinces of Canada had participated through their governments with the Government of Canada in this work, the other two Provinces, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, declining to become partners in the cooperative enterprise. As an obvious need for offices of the Employment Service of Canada existed in the Province of New Brunswick, the Federal Department of Labor entered into agreement with the municipalities of Moncton, St. John, and Chatham under terms identical with those of the agreements between the Federal Department of Labor and the provincial governments. It is gratifying, however, to be able to report that the government of the Province of New Brunswick has become convinced that valuable service to the community is being rendered by the offices of the Employment Service of Canada, and in June of the present year this Province became an active partner, taking over the offices in Moncton, St. John, and Chatham. Comparatively small need exists in the Province of Prince Edward Island for the maintenance of governmental employment offices, and the entry during the present year of the Province of New Brunswick into the copartnership scheme of the Employment Service of Canada adds the last connecting link in this enterprise.

PRIVATE COMMERCIAL EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES.

Associated with the Employment Service of Canada is a council composed of representatives of the Federal and Provincial Governments, various organizations of workers, employers, ex-soldiers, the railways, and other bodies directly interested. This council meets annually for the purpose of deliberating on subjects vitally relevant to employment service work and passes on its decisions in an advisory capacity to the Federal Minister of Labor.

The attitude of the Employment Service Council of Canada toward fee-charging private employment agencies is set forth in the following resolution passed at the annual meeting held in Ottawa last June:

Whereas since its inception the Employment Service Council of Canada has taken cognizance of the need for the elimination of private employment agencies as a means of removing abuses and the exploitation of the workers which too often occurred under such a system, and

Whereas this was stated in the following resolution adopted at the 1920 annual meeting, viz,

"That it has been proven to the satisfaction of the Employment Service Council that commercial employment agencies are retarding rather than promoting the efficient distribution of labor and as full benefits can not be derived from the Government system of employment offices while private agencies continue to exist, that effort should be directed to the elimination of private employment agencies as soon as the laws of the respective governments permit."

Resolved, That we again indorse the above resolution and commend those Provinces which are actively cooperating in bringing about the desired condition and urge upon all Provinces the necessity of taking immediate similar action.

The governments of five of the Provinces of Canada, realizing that serious abuses of workers seeking employment were practiced by many private commercial employment agencies, have enacted legislation declaring the operation of such agencies within their territories to be illegal. These Provinces are Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. This legislation does not seek to interfere with the right of an employer to operate his own employment agency or the right of trade-union officials to act as employment agents on behalf of their membership.

In the city of Vancouver, British Columbia, this legislation has been seriously challenged. Under the statute Mr. James H. McVety, general superintendent of the Employment Service of Canada for the Province of British Columbia, instituted prosecutions against certain agencies that have continued to carry on a fee-charging business. Police magistrate's decisions in respect to these cases upheld the legality of the private agencies. Mr. McVety then took steps to have a reserve case submitted to Mr. Justice Murphy, whose decision was that it was unlawful for an agency to collect a fee or accept compensation of any kind from either employer or employee. Unfortunately, after having passed this judgment, the learned judge proceeded to interpret the statute and gave as his opinion that it is not unlawful for a private employment agent to receive a salary or a fixed amount of remuneration per month, so long as such salary or remuneration was paid regardless of the number of persons engaged by such agent. Following this interpretation by Mr. Justice Murphy, Mr. McVety appealed the decisions of the magistrate to the county court. The decision of the court has been reserved, but Mr. McVety states that Judge Cayley, before whom the appeal was taken, intimated that unless he found himself bound by Judge Murphy's interpretation he would be inclined to rule that under the statute of British Columbia commercial employment agencies were illegal. The learned judge's decision has not yet been rendered.

PART-TIME OFFICES ABOLISHED.

It is the view of the speaker that in order to insure the highest possible degree of efficiency in public employment office activities both the officials and the offices should devote their full time to the work. In Canada our experience has been that where part-time service was rendered, the employment side of the work suffered. In certain of the Provinces offices were established where, in the view of the provincial government authorities establishing them, there was not a sufficient volume of employment activity to warrant the maintaining of a separate office exclusively devoted to such purpose or the paying of a full-time salary to an employment service official. Under these circumstances men who were engaged in other

lines of business, such as real estate, insurance, etc., were appointed as Employment Service officials and part of their business office accommodations used for carrying on the activities of the service. In several instances offices so established have demonstrated that the need for a full-time office existed. Where such has been the case, the part-time office has been abolished, and an office established and the necessary staff appointed in order that full-time service should be rendered. In other instances the experiment of operating a part-time office has proved that no legitimate need existed for the maintenance of an office at such point, and consequently the part-time office was closed and the service withdrawn.

At the present time there are no part-time offices connected with the Employment Service of Canada. Each year, in connection with such seasonal activities as farming and lumbering, some of the prairie Provinces find it necessary to establish temporary offices, which operate for a few months. The general consensus of opinion among the officials of the Employment Service of Canada, however, is that the part-time office is a most unsatisfactory system, and we are glad that such offices are now wholly abolished.

REDUCED TRANSPORTATION RATE.

In order to facilitate the transfer of unemployed workers to points at a distance where work may be available for them, the railways of Canada grant to the Employment Service a special transportation rate of 2.7 cents per mile, provided the total fare is not less than \$4; if it is, full fare must be paid. My own minister, accompanied by representatives of the Employment Service Council of Canada, held a conference with the Railway Passenger Association of Canada in Montreal during June of the present year for the purpose of discussing this subject. It was submitted that the rate should be substantially lower, partly for the reason that it would assist in facilitating the necessary movement of labor, and partly on the ground that the Employment Service of Canada is worthy of special recognition in this direction from the railways on account of the great volume of business directly stimulated for the railway by reason of the activities of the Employment Service offices.

For the past year or so the railway authorities have exhibited considerable opposition to the continuance of the rate of 2.7 cents per mile. Their contention has been that a special low rate was granted only in order (1) to assist the Employment Service to eliminate the private commercial agency, which was regarded as an evil, and (2) as an emergency measure, to assist during the period of the demobilization and reestablishment of the Canadian Army; and that beyond this it has been continued only on account of the abnormal degree of unemployment existing in Canada during the years 1921 and 1922. The railway officials also contended that the reduced rate directly benefited employers who were operating prosperous business enterprises and who were in the habit of paying the transportation fare of workers whom they secured from a distance.

Had the latter contention been well founded, the railways would be justified in refusing to provide a preferential tariff for such purposes, as no good reason can be advanced why the railways should be required to make any financial sacrifice in order to promote the

interests of other employers. Happily, however, we were able to convince the railway officials that the notion that employers who had to hire men from a distance were in the habit of paying the transportation fare was largely a myth, as the number so doing was quite negligible. While it is true that fares are very frequently advanced by employers, the amount forwarded is very generally deducted from the subsequent earnings of the employee.

Special low tariff rates are provided by railways for immigrants, tourists, commercial travelers, etc. Summer tourist rates, for which the railways furnish standard accommodation and first-class service, are substantially lower than the rate provided for the Employment Service transfer of labor. It can not successfully be contended that the transportation of tourists, whose principal object is pleasure seeking, is of greater importance to the national well-being than the transportation of unemployed workers to employment. The low rate provided for commercial travelers is fixed in accordance with the railways of Canada act and is thus an obligation imposed by legislation upon the railways. The principal argument advanced in favor of such statutory legislation was that, inasmuch as commercial travelers were trade boosters, thereby increasing the revenues of the railways, they were entitled to special consideration. It is submitted that the Employment Service of Canada clearance system permits of employers' labor requirements being much more adequately met than was the case under the private agencies system. This condition results in greater production, thereby providing a greater volume of business for the railways.

During the calendar year 1922, 187,863 placements other than local were made by the offices of the Employment Service of Canada. Of these people, 151,632 traveled to distances where the fare was less than \$4—the minimum fare for which the reduced rate was granted—and, therefore paid full fare. The remaining 36,231 benefited by the reduced rate. Of these workers, 42 per cent were farm workers; 36.5 per cent, bush workers; 9.5 per cent, construction workers; 4 per cent, mine workers; 3.2 per cent, saw and pulp mill workers; and 4.8 per cent, workers in various other industries. While it is not contended that none of the work performed by the 36,231 who traveled at the reduced rate would have been done, or that none of the positions would have been filled by a private commercial employment system, it is unquestionably true that a very large percentage of the vacancies would have remained unfilled if there had not been in existence such a national clearance system as the one maintained by the Employment Service of Canada. Obviously, therefore, a considerably lower output would have resulted, with, consequently, less revenue-bearing traffic to the railroads.

This whole question was exhaustively discussed by the Federal Minister of Labor, aided by several officers of the Employment Service of Canada acting in an advisory capacity, with the passenger traffic representatives of the railway association, and it is a source of gratification to us to report that the railways have admitted the force of these arguments and have continued to extend the rate to the Employment Service.

HARVEST LABOR PROBLEM.

The Prairie Provinces—Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta—are the great grain-producing areas of this country and are properly regarded as the granary of Canada. The harvesting of the grain in these Provinces imposes a serious problem upon the Employment Service of Canada and the two Canadian transcontinental railway systems, the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific. Each year a great army of workers, obtainable only by importation from without these Provinces, is required for the purpose of harvesting the crops. This year it appeared that the farmers in these three Provinces would require somewhat more than 50,000 harvest workers in addition to those available within the Provinces themselves. At the present time the harvest is in full swing and complete returns are not available, but indications are that the coast districts of British Columbia provided somewhere in the neighborhood of 4,000, while Eastern Canada, from Sudbury to the Atlantic Ocean, furnished about 35,000. In an effort to meet the demand as fully as possible, the railway and steamship companies brought from the British Isles some 11,800 men, who came in response to the call for harvest workers for western Canada. In addition to these sources of supply a large number of workers were admitted, principally in the Province of Saskatchewan, from the States bordering upon the Prairie Provinces. Special low rates were provided by the transportation companies in order to facilitate the securing and transferring of this labor. The rates provided for this purpose enabled harvest workers to be brought from Halifax, in the extreme east, to Edmonton or Calgary in the Province of Alberta, and returned again to Halifax for the sum of about \$53, the total distance being over 6,000 miles. From this it readily appears that the railways contribute most substantially each year toward solving the problem of securing sufficient labor to insure the harvesting of western Canada's crops.

The problem of determining and meeting the needs of the West for harvest workers involves many serious difficulties. It is impossible within the scope of this address more than briefly to indicate three or four of the principal difficulties. First of all, the railway companies have to be advised concerning the number of workers required fully three weeks before the first harvesters' excursion can arrive in Winnipeg, which is the clearance point for all harvesters arriving from the East. This information is obtained through the medium of the cooperative activities of the Employment Service offices in the three Provinces and the department of agriculture of each Province.

During the weeks following the determining of this estimate, weather conditions, pests, and crop diseases may very materially change the demand. In this way the original estimate may be seriously short of or over the actual demand. Another difficulty is that the Manitoba harvest is generally from about 7 to 10 days ahead of the harvests of the two sister Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. As previously indicated, all harvest excursion trains from the East have Winnipeg as their terminus. There the workers detrain and are distributed to points where they are required, under the joint direction of officials of the Employment Service of Canada, representatives of all three Provinces, and the railway officials.

Workers arriving on the first trains in Winnipeg in many cases insist upon proceeding to Saskatchewan or Alberta in defiance of the advice given by employment service and railway officials that the crops in those Provinces are not yet ready for cutting. Consequently it often happens that numbers of harvest workers arrive in the cities and towns of these two Provinces before harvest conditions require their labor. This sometimes results in complaints being voiced on account of no work being available, although the situation of the harvesters may be due entirely to their obstinate refusal to be guided by the information which is given concerning the points where work is immediately available.

A further difficulty arises from the practice of a great many farmers in refusing to hire men until the day that they are actually needed. Such farmers appear to regard labor as a commodity which should be kept in cold storage until the moment it is required, the result being that certain centers of distribution may have a considerable number of harvest workers who have come long distances at considerable expense and inconvenience but for whom no work is immediately available.

In spite of the difficulties with which the problem of western harvest labor supply bristles, very few complaints are heard, and these might be almost entirely eliminated if farmers generally were willing to hire available labor a few days before the grain is ready for cutting.

BRITISH COLUMBIA FRUIT PICKERS.

In the heart of southern British Columbia lies the Okanagan Valley, a rich fruit-growing district. Each year a small army of workers are required to be brought in from other districts for the purpose of harvesting the fruit crop. These fruit gatherers consist mainly of girls and women, many of them being school-teachers who take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to spend their summer vacation living an outdoor life, engaging in a healthy occupation, and at the same time augmenting their incomes. A very large percentage of these fruit pickers travel from 350 to 500 miles in order to engage in this employment. They are, of course, assisted on the outgoing journey through the special employment service transportation rate of 2.7 cents per mile. It was felt, however, that greater encouragement should be given to workers to assist in the harvesting of this fruit crop, and this year a request was filed with the Railway Association of Canada asking that a rate approximating that afforded to the grain harvest workers for western Canada might be granted. This request was refused by the railway association on two grounds: First, that the employment service rate of 2.7 cents per mile provides a greater reduction in British Columbia than in any other part of Canada, as the regular standard rate is higher in the mountainous districts of British Columbia than in other parts of Canada; second, it was claimed that the fruit growers in the neighboring States of Washington and Oregon frequently have to secure their labor from greater distances than the British Columbia fruit growers and that such labor is transported over the United States railways at standard rates.

STATISTICS OF ACTIVITIES OF EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

As previously stated, the offices of the Employment Service of Canada began to function in March, 1919. During the whole period of operation to the end of July of the present year, 2,374,758 applications for employment were filed with the service. Of this number 1,953,295 were by men and 421,463 were by women. There were notified to the service 2,151,457 vacancies, calling for 1,691,454 men and 460,003 women. The total number of placements during the period was 1,729,668, and of these 1,401,202 were men and 328,466 were women. Placements in regular employment were 1,227,620 men and 136,931 women, while casual employment was provided for 173,582 men and 191,535 women. For the first seven months of this year 300,805 applications for employment were filed, consisting of applications by 234,258 men and 66,547 women. For the first seven months of 1922 the total number of applications filed was 288,348. For the present calendar year up to July 31 vacancies notified number 269,155, representing 204,013 for men and 65,142 for women. In the corresponding period of 1922 the total number of vacancies notified was 226,356. The total number of placements effected during the first seven months of the present year was 228,673, and of these 178,975 were men and 49,698 were women. The total number of placements effected during the same period in 1922 was 190,663. The figures above quoted reflect the improved employment conditions existing in the Dominion of Canada.

It will be noted that over 38,000 more placements have been made during the first seven months of the present year than were made in the corresponding period last year, and it is quite confidently anticipated that the total number of placements made during the present calendar year will be considerably more than 50,000 above the total number of placements during 1922.

Having regard to the population of Canada, it will be conceded that the record of the activities of the offices of the Employment Service of Canada is by no means a discreditable one. It justifies the hope that the Federal and Provincial Governments of Canada participating in this enterprise will be satisfied that the organization performs a useful and necessary community service. It is not represented that the offices of the service are by any means 100 per cent efficient in the discharge of their duties or that there are no new lessons to learn. It is, however, submitted that useful work is being performed. The governments of Canada are looking forward toward the service rendering an increasing measure of useful work, and the officials of the service are, in the main, keenly bent on giving material realization to that expectation. We may, therefore, hope that the future will see the Employment Service of Canada functioning with an ever-increasing measure of efficiency, not only as an agency for the purpose of bringing together the jobless man and the manless job, but also in some measure as a guide to Governments respecting measures that may be deemed desirable and practicable in order to minimize as far as possible the evil of unemployment.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

BY FRANCIS I. JONES, DIRECTOR GENERAL UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

The employment service is regarded by the speaker as the most important service of government, for he believes there is no other service that means so much to a man as a service that can and does connect him with a job. There is nothing in this world so important to a man as a job; without it he perishes, or if he does not, his family does. It is most gratifying to the Secretary of Labor, the Assistant Secretary of Labor, and the Director General of the United States Employment Service that the United States Employment Service is to-day living and breathing in a different atmosphere than that existing two years ago. There is a changed sentiment concerning the Employment Service, and we believe that we have the right to say that it is winning its way by reason of actual service performed. When the Secretary of Labor appointed the director general, he stated:

We are going to make the United States Employment Service a service that means service, the keynote of it to be service.

And to that end we have labored.

The United States Employment Service during the past fiscal year has extended and widened its opportunities for service. It is cooperating with public employment services in 40 States and the District of Columbia, and practically one-third of the annual appropriation is used to maintain the Federal Government's share of this cooperation. Nevada has just been enabled to join this cooperative service through the recent appropriation by its legislature, and the work in placements accomplished during the few weeks of cooperation has been noted with much satisfaction. It is hoped that the several States which at present have no employment services will soon, with the aid and cooperation of the Federal Government, be able to establish them, thus effecting complete cooperation throughout the nation in employment and placement work.

The idea has been prevalent that an employment service is necessary only during periods of business depression and unemployment. That idea has, however, been undergoing changes and there is slowly evolving the idea that in times of prosperity also a public employment service is a necessity for the stabilizing of labor. When men by the thousands are walking the streets in search of work, it is a late hour to undertake the finding of jobs for them. A service functioning throughout the country at all times is in a position to direct surplus labor to the place where it is needed.

An illustration in point as to the value of a cooperative service is the recent movement of negro labor northward. The director of the Ohio service, through the superintendent of the Cleveland office, informed the Federal office that Cleveland was confronted with a surplus of negro labor. Due publicity was at once given through the press and warning sent immediately to all Southern States having cooperative offices that negro labor was becoming a surplus in Ohio. This advice had a stabilizing effect in restraining migratory laborers and keeping them at home where they were needed. It has been noted that those States having public employment services preserve a more stable labor situation and suffer less from migratory movements.

The Washington office constantly receives letters of inquiry from all parts of the country concerning opportunities for employment in the several States and in Alaska. These letters are referred to the Federal director in the State where the applicant wants work. In order that accurate information about opportunities in Alaska might be given, a special survey of industry in Alaska was made by one of the Federal directors and given due publicity. It brought to light many interesting facts which should be useful to those contemplating work in that Territory.

The account of the cooperative work accomplished for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, is interesting from many points of view when compared with the work accomplished during the previous fiscal year and clearly establishes the fact that an employment service is even more useful during great prosperity than during times of depression. The following are the figures for the past two years:

	1922	1923
Registrations.....	2,874,785	2,887,697
Help wanted.....	1,810,490	2,864,393
Referred to positions.....	1,734,493	2,516,617
Placed in positions.....	1,458,746	2,156,466

We are looking forward to the time when a larger appropriation will make it possible to assist further in the development of the service in the several States. It is also hoped that a better system of clearance will be established, as clearance of labor is one of the great problems in connection with a cooperative service.

A cordial and sympathetic understanding prevails throughout the service; without this spirit, it would not have been possible to accomplish the splendid achievements of the past year. At this time I wish to express publicly my appreciation to the Federal directors and to all those engaged in the public employment service for their loyal cooperation.

The junior division of the United States Employment Service deals with the placing of the youth of the country in employment. It cooperates with the public employment offices and with the local school system. Offices are established in certain strategic industrial centers where there is a demand for junior labor. An official of the school system is usually appointed as Federal superintendent in charge of guidance and placement, and thus close cooperation with the public school, the source of the junior labor supply, is assured. These offices serve as junior placement bureaus and as centers where information concerning junior placement problems can be collected and distributed.

As the future welfare of the country depends upon its youthful citizens, it is of the highest importance that they be trained to make satisfactory and satisfied workers. Confronted by the complications of modern industry and by the monotony and dullness of the beginner's work, not to mention the small pay, the young worker is at a loss how to direct his energies and how to conduct himself. At the age of 14 or 15, when the majority of youthful workers leave school for mill or factory, their education is incomplete, and their knowledge of industry is hazy. They waste time in going from factory to factory and finally drift into a job. In those cities where there is a junior placement office boys and girls upon leaving school may be

directed by it to jobs. At such a time the junior counselor advises as to the requirements of the employer and of the job, takes stock of the applicant's qualifications, and makes all efforts to place the youth where he can work well. Part-time work and additional schooling are often advised, and the junior counselor follows up the worker to ascertain if he makes good on the job.

The more junior workers are satisfactorily placed in industry the more the labor unrest of the country is reduced. Special studies of the requirements and opportunities in different industries and of special placement problems are being made constantly by the personnel of the junior offices. There are at present 17 junior offices functioning in 13 States, and arrangements are under way for the opening of others. In order to keep the field well informed, news letters are published from time to time and reports of special field studies are sent to junior placement workers.

The industrial information section is yet another activity of the United States Employment Service. Its work is to collect regularly and to distribute impartial and authentic current information regarding general and specific industrial employment conditions, the distribution of labor, and the fluctuations in employment throughout the country. To facilitate the collecting of this employment information, the country is divided into nine districts, with a director in charge of each district. These directors forward to Washington information concerning the state of employment and business, which is collected by special agents in industrial centers. Contacts have been established with 1,428 firms, each employing 500 or more persons, which send monthly telegraphic reports regarding the fluctuations in employment. The Industrial Employment Information Bulletin, containing the information gathered from these two sources, is issued monthly. It informs the public employment offices throughout the country as to the location of the demands of industry for labor as well as of those places where no opportunities for labor exist, and thus expedites the clearance of labor between the States. It supplies information to labor organizations, to the Federal Reserve Board and its several branches, to banking institutions, railroad companies, business men, and economists.

The demand for the bulletin is evidenced by the growing mailing list, which has exhausted the number of copies authorized by the Government for free distribution. The information supplied by this publication is not gathered or furnished by any other agency of the Government, and there is a continued demand from the public for the extension of the scope of this particular service. It is the hope and ambition of the Employment Service, when money is available, to gather employment information not only from the 1,428 firms but from all industries in the United States employing 100 and upward, thereby reflecting a true picture of industrial employment, comparable month by month, and not merely the trend in industry, as now given in the bulletin.

The present time of year, which in this part of the world we call the harvest season, is a fitting time to consider another of the activities of the United States Employment Service. This is the farm labor bureau, which makes preparation for harvesting while the snow is still on the ground and has barely finished its work when the snow flies again.

For a number of years the Government has maintained this service in the interest of farmers and farm laborers, and during the past two years the farm labor bureau has been expanding rapidly. Because of limited funds it has not been able to extend its activities to meet all the demands made upon it. It has not reached into all sections of agricultural America, yet throughout a large portion of the country it is known and recognized as indispensable by producers and business interests dependent largely upon agriculture. The principle on which this farm service is being advanced is the old one that anything that is worth doing should be done well; hence it does not enter any new fields unless it has the organization and funds to handle the work effectively and to get satisfactory results.

The real activities of the farm labor bureau are confined chiefly to the handling of seasonal farm labor. This carries with it extensive statistical crop and labor survey work, for the bureau must know acreages, probable yields, seasons, and periods when labor will be required, the number of men that will be necessary in each section to care for its particular needs, the most adaptable desired types or classes of labor, the wages to be paid, living conditions to be provided laborers, cost of transportation, most direct route between points, and the sources of supply from which labor can be recruited. This information must be accurate in order that the farm labor bureau, when called into service, can see to it that the right number of men arrive at the right places at the right times.

Perhaps no man in the country is in personal contact with more farmers of so many diversified branches of agriculture and scattered over so large a portion of the United States than the field director of this service. It is doubtful if any one man knows and understands the farmers' point of view better than he. A farmer himself, he talks the farmers' language, sympathizes fully with them in their struggles and problems, and knows their labor needs usually far better than they themselves know them.

The United States Employment Service undertakes the work of the farm labor bureau because the welfare and prosperity of the Nation requires that proper care be taken of such important crops as wheat, cotton, potatoes, sugar beets, and fruits. The farmers by themselves are unable to recruit harvesters in such numbers and as quickly as required. It is essential to business that these crops be cared for, harvested, and delivered to market and that the billions of dollars which they represent be poured into the channels of trade. The relation of these crops to business well-being makes the maintenance of the farm labor bureau a proper function of government, and this branch of the service alone justifies every dollar appropriated by Congress for the United States Employment Service.

The farm labor bureau is strictly a field service. The central office is at Kansas City, Mo., in nearly the geographical center of the country and in the heart of agricultural America. Here the field director and two assistants maintain their headquarters when not out in the field investigating crop and labor conditions or recruiting and distributing seasonal labor.

There is a branch office at Sioux City, Iowa, which is meeting the farm-labor demands of a large and important agricultural territory. In May of this year another branch office was opened at Fort Worth, Tex., a strategic point for maximum service. The department had

the establishment of this office under consideration for some time, but the opening was hastened by the insistent importunities of the cotton growers and other interested agriculturists. It was opened in time to give assistance to the wheat section of that State as well as of Oklahoma and of Kansas. Thousands of men have been directed to the cotton fields, and the work accomplished has been excellent.

The harvesting of the cotton crop has many angles which do not appear to the casual observer. The uncertainty of the date of ripening of the cotton and the predominating part played by weather conditions make difficult the distribution of labor to handle this crop. For instance, last year the cotton in west Texas ripened three weeks earlier than was expected, and in the words of Mr. Wade, assistant manager of the West Texas Chamber of Commerce, "Were it not for the United States Employment Service, which recruited over 6,000 men to harvest the crop, the cotton growers of west Texas would have suffered a loss of over \$1,000,000." This work was done at a cost of less than \$1,500.

The successful harvesting of the cotton crop concerns the entire United States, and the United States Employment Service will extend its activities in the cotton-producing States of the country. One of the handicaps in the distribution of men for the cotton fields is lack of adequate rail transportation. Another handicap is that a large number of cotton farmers are not equipped to board single men and boys, but want families or sets of pickers who can take care of their own physical wants.

Before next season it is hoped that another branch office will be established in a strategic point in one of the Western States to provide help for the sugar-beet districts of Idaho, Colorado, Utah, and California, as well as to assist cotton growers of Arizona and New Mexico.

During the past 90 days the bureau has handled an average of more than 1,000 men a day, and frequently at intensive periods the number has reached several thousand in a single day. It has first recruited these men, then brought them in from other States and distributed them in farming districts where needed, preventing congestion at certain places, relieving shortages at others, and bringing about equitable distribution.

Within a trifle over 90 days, a vast army of seasonal workers is urgently needed to meet agricultural demands from Texas to the Canadian line, and prevent loss of grain through delays. By means of an intensive publicity campaign, of recruiting stations maintained at advantageous points, and of distributing agents placed in definite labor districts, the important labor centers are drained to the utmost of suitable labor, and this labor is directed to the fields and distributed as needed. It is interesting to note the number of college students who each summer swell the ranks of the harvesters. The vast number of laborers recruited would fall short of meeting all demands if it were not possible, through an adequate and efficient field organization, to redirect many of the men to employment in more than one State. With nearly 50 temporary offices and a satisfactory field force, it is possible to bring about an orderly movement of men from South to North and to accomplish a reasonably even distribution, cutting down the number that must be recruited for replacements and avoiding the danger of a serious oversupply.

The splendid accomplishments of the farm labor bureau would not have been possible without the hearty cooperation of the departments of labor in those States in which the bureau functioned. The commissioners of labor, many of them serving also as our Federal directors, have aided the bureau field agents by their special knowledge of the labor needs of their own States, and have assisted in every way to carry out the program of the farm labor bureau. County farm agents have cooperated with the agents of the farm labor bureau, and chambers of commerce throughout the whole district covered have given hearty assistance.

The farm labor bureau serves the farmers who need help and the laboring men who need employment, and the nation is getting value received in bettered business conditions for every dollar thus expended. The possibilities for the expansion of this farm service and its usefulness are restricted by the limitation of the funds appropriated to carry on the work, for the demands upon this branch of the United States Employment Service are far greater than our financial ability to meet them.

There is no branch of government so important to the Government itself as a well-conducted public employment service. There is no other service, arm, or branch of the Government which contributes so much to the common welfare, to the national happiness, and to the stabilization of labor. A well-conducted service contributes to the insurance of domestic tranquillity, for there can be no tranquillity in the home when the bread winner is out of work; it also provides for the common defense against unemployment and hunger. It is, too, a defense against unscrupulous private employment agencies which take advantage of the helplessness of the unemployed.

There is no quarrel with those who conduct an honest, fee-charging agency, supplying a service which the public employment service is not prepared to give. There are many such services throughout the country, and there is need of a service where professional and scientific men can apply for opportunities for employment, but there is the utmost contempt for the leeches conducting fee-charging agencies which are sucking blood money out of the pockets of the unsuspecting unemployed and giving no value in return.

The speaker is looking forward hopefully to the day when the public employment service shall consist of a unified system of offices, established and maintained, as are the public schools, by the municipal, State, and Federal Governments.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS.

BY ETHELBERT STEWART, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF LABOR STATISTICS.

The secretary of your association asked the speaker for an address to-day on the subject of labor statistics. As the convention adjourns within the next three or four days, it will be necessary to limit the address to some particular branch of the subject.

That branch of labor statistics in which we are most interested here to-day relates to the question of unemployment. What has been said so often need not be repeated, that any statistical record of unemployment as such is physically impossible. The number who are out of work and seeking employment varies from day to day, and can be located only when they apply to some agency to assist in securing employment; and it is questionable whether 50 per cent of the people who really desire work if they can get just what they want ever apply to any sort of employment agency.

The number and variety of employment agencies make it practically impossible to get returns of the number who really do apply with sufficient frequency to mean anything. For instance, practically every local trade-union is an employment agency for its membership or for the membership of the national organization of which it is a part. Large employing corporations have their own employment bureaus where men may register for prospective jobs. The great associations of employers for the most part, and particularly those banded together for the open shop, maintain an employment registry for those seeking work. There are the bureaus which deal only with professional workers and there are those private employment agencies dealing with all kinds of labor. To these we must add State, municipal, and Federal employment agencies scattered over the entire country.

The physical impossibility of getting accurate returns from all these concerns each month or even each quarter, so as to tabulate the facts as of a given date, should be apparent to everyone. If we admit that this machinery could be constructed, there is still a very large element of uncertainty in our figures. First, as indicated above, it is questionable whether a very large per cent of the people who would really like work if they could get just what they want ever register at any kind of agency. Second, not every man who registers for employment is unemployed; many of them simply want to see what the chances are to get a better job. How many there are of these men we do not know. Again, we would be up against the question of duplication, as many persons register at several agencies or types of agencies. Because of uncertainty and questionable accuracy of the returns, they would give at best simply another checking basis for an estimate.

Unemployment insurance, or what has come to be popularly known as the dole, now so generally in use in Europe, does not give a record of unemployment, and the figures taken from such registers should be used only for what they are worth in making up an estimate. Take England, for instance. It is only such industries as elect to come under the unemployment insurance act for which we have any figures at all. These industries are the most substantial ones and employ a comparatively small proportion of the total working force of the country.

From these registers are gotten only the number of people in these industries who are out of work and have applied for the unemployment insurance benefits, and this number only for a certain period of time, because after this period has elapsed the dole ceases whether or not the worker has secured employment.

The Italian National Labor Exchange and Unemployment Bureau stated that there were on February 1, 1923, 391,794 persons unemployed in Italy, 317,516 of whom were men. At that time the official figure showed 78,215 as receiving unemployment benefits. For the reasons stated above any registration of the unemployed must, in the nature of things, show a result below the actual number, and if this larger figure for Italy is an understatement, what must we think of the official announcement which shows simply the number receiving benefits?

EMPLOYMENT FIGURES.

The next recourse, and the only one that has any element of statistical soundness in it, is the volume of employment and the relation of these figures to each other from month to month and from year to year. It is possible under the sampling method—and here it must be assumed that the sampling theory of statistics is essentially sound—to secure from a sufficient number of establishments in any industry the number of persons on their pay rolls at a given date each month, to determine the per cent of increase or decrease in employment in that industry as a whole, and to prepare an index number which will convey an idea as to whether employment is increasing or decreasing by industries and a composite index which combines all the industries covered, and provides an easy way of reading the changes on the employment ticker.

A number of things should be considered, however, in this connection. First, it is absolutely essential that the sample be large enough, comprehensive enough and representative enough to be a true sample as this term is used by statisticians; and unless the sample is equally representative for all of the industries which go into the composite index, you may find this to be true, that while the industry indexes are 90 per cent of them true, yet because of the inadequacy of 10 per cent, the composite index is not satisfactorily close.

It must be admitted that there is some validity in the plea for geographical distribution. It must be realized that the boot and shoe industry, for instance, might be strictly normal in its volume of employment in Chicago and St. Louis at a time when the industry was practically dead in Lynn, Haverhill, and Brockton, Mass. It is conceded that the large industries should be shown by the geographical centers of such industries, and it is only regretted that the Bureau of Labor Statistics has not the force necessary to do this.

On the other hand, the sample, in order to be safe, must take into consideration all types of establishments, large and small. Arbitrarily to say that reports will be accepted only from firms employing 500 or more persons again throws the statistics into geographical ridges as it were. To illustrate: New York City employs a great many more workmen than does Detroit, Mich., but in New York City the factories are small. Very few employ 500 or more in one plant. On the other hand, in Detroit a very large proportion of the establishments have to exceed this number of employees. Under the 500 rule, therefore, Detroit becomes a very much more important city than New York City and influences the final statistical average much more.

But aside from all these details, however important, another element makes our employment statistics not quite comparable over a long period of time, or to put it this way they do not mean exactly what they seem to mean. What is referred to is the increased productivity of labor. When labor is cheap men are employed to do many things that are done by machinery when wages reach higher levels. The war worked marvels in the reorganization of industry.

A New England can-manufacturing plant announces that it has increased its production 100 per cent by the simple routing of material, placing the machines in rows in the order of their place in the work of production so that the material simply glides from one machine to another instead of being trucked from one part of the plant to another as before. The whole question of trucking and assembling has been made mechanical and automatic.

A plant at Worcester, Mass., that employs 6,000 people is producing more goods with 600 fewer employees than it had before the war. Formerly the steel billets were carried by low-wage workmen from the stock pile to the initial piece of machinery. Now a huge magnet attached to a crane picks up tons of these billets at a time and swings them around where they are needed, one crane engineman doing the work of 66 men.

I was told by an official of the International Paper Co. that in one plant 48 coal shovelers have been replaced by three men who turn the valve to feed the fire boxes with crude oil, and that the difference in the wages very much more than compensates for the difference in the cost of the fuel.

Taking it all in all I estimate that 10 per cent fewer men are performing the same work that was performed before the war. This of course means that the employment index of to-day stands for greater productivity than the employment index of 1914. The Bureau of Labor Statistics index, taking 1914 as 100, reached 115 in May and June, 1920. In January, 1921, it had fallen to 79, in June, 1923, it had gotten back to 103, and in July it dropped to 100 or precisely the same as the basing point in July, 1914. But the 100 of July, 1923, means a whole lot more in actual output than did the 100 of July, 1914.

This leads to the consideration of the fact that the remedy for labor surplus and labor shortage lies with industry itself. It is realized that the members of this association are not called upon to analyze the reason for the applications they receive either for workers or for jobs. A man who wants 50 unskilled laborers registers with them. Later 50 unskilled laborers register asking for work. It is

their business to bring the jobless man and the manless job together regardless of any question of poor or good economics behind these demands.

Some stabilizing may be done with profit to everybody. It is, however, up to the iron and steel industry to answer the question as to why it has 441,560 names on its pay rolls in January and 292,469 names in October, a difference in employment of 149,091 men in one single industry. It is up to the lumber men to say why they have 548,665 names on their pay rolls in December and 427,802 names in January, a difference of 120,863; both of these months being winter months the plea of seasonality does not quite answer the question. Boot and shoe factories had 228,412 employees in December and 199,025 in April, a difference of 29,387; foundries and machine shops had a difference of 76,216 between the highest and lowest number employed in any one month in the year; tobacco, cigar, and cigarette factories had a difference of 40,589. In other words, the manufacturing industries alone, which employed 10,320,013 people in the highest month, employed but 8,019,113 in the lowest month, a difference of 2,300,900. This employment movement, which resembles the pumping of an accordion or the blowing of a bellows, might if straightened out have very happy effect both upon unemployment and labor shortage. Manufacturing industries only are referred to at this time.

The records of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in the production of pig iron from 14 to 16 one-man hours were required per ton in 1890 and 1891. To-day in the eastern district 2 hours and 18 minutes one-man time is required per ton, in the Pittsburgh and the Great Lakes districts 1 hour and 54 minutes, and in the Gulf States district 4 hours and 30 minutes. It costs 1 hour and 12 minutes one-man time to produce a ton of pig iron in the best furnaces, and the range is from this all the way to 11 hours, though the average for any one district is, as stated, not over four hours and a half. However, if in the best pig-iron furnaces men can produce a ton of pig iron for each hour and 12 minutes per man employed, why not solve labor shortage by making over the other pig-iron plants so that they will not require five or six times this number of men? It is far better to stop wasting men than to let down the immigration bars and flood the country with more men to waste.

The window-glass employers, for instance, had a working agreement with the union to run the factories 17 weeks out of the year, because in that time they could supply all the window glass that could be sold, the men thus getting their work all together and their time of idleness all together, so that they could use this spare time to fill in with work in other industries or with other forms of work. I grant that these people have met with some legal difficulties,¹ but in the inflation of prices of building materials and everything in fact, window glass did not increase in price in a proportion anything like that of many of the articles in the production of which labor is not organized at all. It is hoped there may be found some legal

¹ An injunction against carrying out this agreement was granted on Feb. 2, 1923, by the U. S. District Court, Northern District of Ohio (287 Fed. 223), but by a decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, Dec. 10, 1923, the agreement was held not to be a combination in unreasonable restraint of trade (*National Assn. of Window Glass Mfrs. et al. v. United States*, 44 Sup. Ct. 148).

way by which we can map out the wants of society, produce what society needs with the best forms of machinery and the greatest efficiency of production in the shortest possible time, and then leave the workers in the industry to do what they like with their time outside of that industry.

Twenty-five per cent of our bituminous mines, employing 60 per cent of the present total number of workmen engaged in the industry, could by running 312 days a year produce all the bituminous coal that we can use in the United States or sell for export.

If all the common brick made in the United States were made on the best known machines, such as are actually now operating, the entire supply could be produced with less than one-third of the men now engaged in brick manufacture. The same is true of boots and shoes, though here it is not only a question of machinery but of the intelligent routing of the material in process of manufacture.

In agriculture the situation is still worse. I was born and raised in Illinois and know that the agricultural methods of that State are none too good, yet, taking the acres of crops actually harvested, the acres per person classed under agricultural population were 45 acres. If the agricultural population of Alabama would do as well as Illinois, the number engaged in agricultural occupations in that State need not be 664,647, as it would require only 158,985, and the number of persons saved in that State alone would be 505,662. On the same basis over half a million would be saved in Georgia, 319,000 in Kentucky, 536,000 in Mississippi, and 475,000 in North Carolina. In other words, if agriculture in the United States was as efficient as it is in Illinois, which as stated before is none too good, there would be 4,619,372 fewer persons engaged in it than there are now. Only one State would require more people to tend its crops than it now employs, and that is the State of Iowa.

These figures are based upon acres actually harvested, and when you have admitted, as I do admit, every argument that can be brought against it as to difference in crop, difference in soil, and so on, the fact remains that these figures show an enormous waste of our agricultural labor in most of the States of the Union. When they have substituted tractors and gang plows in the South for the negro and the mule it will be infinitely better for the South and better for the negro.

EDUCATION AS A SOLUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

BY DR. G. E. REAMAN, EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR Y. M. C. A., TORONTO.

Being asked to speak on the relation between education and unemployment the speaker has chosen as his theme "Education as a solution of unemployment," and it will be noticed that he has used the term "a solution" instead of "the solution," because it is only reasonable to state that such a large problem as unemployment can never be solved by any one means.

It is a very trite thing to say that for every effect there must be a cause, but so trite is it that frequently the relationship is ignored, and since the speaker is associating unemployment with education, these terms must first be defined and an effort made to show how one may be a solution for the other.

Unemployment is brought about by at least one of three causes: Dearth of positions; inability of the individual to accept positions open from at least one of two reasons—inherent inability or inability through lack of training; and disinclination on the part of the individual to work.

It is well also to think of a present and a future situation. That is, an effort must be made to lessen unemployment at the present time and to prevent it, because it is just here that the law of cause and effect operates. If the attempt is forever going to be to provide only for the man out of employment it is but dealing with the effect, whereas it may be possible to prevent unemployment by adopting certain measures, and prevention is always better than cure.

Not only is there a present and future situation to think of, but a twofold group to consider—the youth and the adult. The youth who is not prepared for a vocation when young becomes the man out of employment when he grows up. It is a well-known fact that the first man to be let out when work becomes slack is the untrained, unskilled workman. Matters are not helped any by blaming or worrying about the unskilled workman. The situation must be accepted as a fact, and deduction made from things as they are, not from things as we would have them.

Education is the adaptation of the individual to an environment which is physical and social. That is, a human mechanism is at one end which has to find its niche in society. At the beginning the mechanism is crude, but by the proper treatment it can be changed so that it fits in. In other words, the proper treatment is formal education.

Society has come to see that there is nothing like helping a man to help himself. Surely it needs no argument to prove that it is better to give a man skill to get a job and earn his own living than it is to give him financial assistance when out of work. Good citizenship is the outgrowth of good character; good character is impossible without self-respect; self-respect can not be maintained by dependence upon any public body for subsistence. Hence, if good citizenship is desired there must be assurances that each individual can carry his own load, this being essential to self-respect and the foundation stone of good character.

But, suppose it may be granted that education is of great benefit to the unskilled, which is almost synonymous with the unemployed, how is the unskilled man to become skilled, and by what means of formal education is that to be brought about?

In the classification referred to above the type brought out by dearth of positions was mentioned. If there are not enough positions to go around at the present time nothing can be done, but thinking of the immediate future something might be done. Since the Government takes an active part in this problem, would it not be possible for the Government to consider the goods imported to our country and train workmen to manufacture similar goods? There is one line, tooled leather, the manufacture of which might be encouraged here. Tooled-leather goods are very expensive because in many cases they are imported, with high duty. If manufacturers could be provided with skilled labor, it ought not to be impossible to interest them in the manufacture of such articles. Should the manufacture of tooled leather prove feasible, see how it would react—more leather would be

required from the tanneries, more hides bought from the farmers. This is used as an illustration only to show that the Government would meet with little opposition in encouraging new industries, because it would not be interfering in any detrimental way with the labor market.

The next type of person considered is the unfit through lack of ability, be it inherent or through insufficient training. For those who are mentally not up to standard, special classes would have to be held to teach them to do mechanical processes within the grasp of their mentality. For the mentally fit, short courses can be given to teach them certain trades. About three years ago, during the period of acute unemployment, I organized a class in basket making and in about ten weeks' time half of the class had been placed in positions, and two men are known to have followed basket making as a trade and means of livelihood. These had no prestige and very little experience, and yet it was demonstrated that reeducation was possible. Here, again, the different lines of work which are not overcrowded must be studied and those selected which will provide a means of livelihood. This kind of thing is going on continually in the professions. Just as soon as one line becomes overcrowded young people choose other lines, so it is no argument to say that certain trades might become overcrowded. Every man ought to be taught to do as many things as possible, because the more trades he has knowledge of the more arrows he has for his bow. The large attendance at evening technical schools and the interest in workmen's educational classes, in Y. M. C. A. schools, and the like, show the tremendous urge for further education on the part of the adult.

The third and last type of person is the individual who is disinclined to work—the one who is looking for work and afraid he may find it. For this man education can not help except in so far as it may be possible to interest the individual in new lines of activity. Perhaps this type of man has been created by the educational system of his youth, and this brings the last point—how the school should deal with the growing child, so that he may be anxious to continue in school longer, thereby getting better trained, and hence safeguarding himself against later unemployment. Many a disgruntled individual is such because he left school too young, got into a dead-end job, and, seeing no future for himself, lost all his ambition and became a drifter and eventually an impossible. A different type of education might have prevented this situation.

To take another example, suppose a young lad seeks employment and decides that he would like to learn the rubber business. He goes to the employment manager of a rubber firm, who is impressed with the personality of the lad but who can not engage him, much as he would like to because the lad has no knowledge of rubber and would not earn his wages. Suppose the young lad asks the employment manager what he can do to fit himself for this work, what can the manager say? Where can he advise him to go? This is where education can step in to fill the gap. If rubber firms would cooperate and draw up certain courses which they could advise the boy to take, it would do two things. It would provide them with a boy who knew something of the work he was undertaking and who

for this reason, would be more likely to stick, and it would show that the boy had gumption enough to take the course and get his certificate.

It is urged that certain courses, broad in their outlines, should be available in order to give young people some knowledge of industry. One subject common to all is industrial history. The only time effort is made to educate either capital or labor is when a strike is pending, and every one knows how successful one is in teaching a person when he is incensed. Industrial history should be started with children when they are impressionable and should not be delayed until the situation is under stress.

The root of the subject is the educational system. There is time only to point out some needed changes. A great deal is said about vocational guidance, and the problem is thought to be solved when a boy is taken into the presence of a successful lawyer or business man and the latter tells the boy about his line of work. The glamour of success is about such a man as he talks and the boy naturally thinks he would like to gain similar success by a like means. But how different it is when he starts to do the work. The glamour wears off and the boy tires and changes his mind.

The adoption of the junior high school is recommended, the school for the adolescent child, in which he is able to sample different lines of work under the vocational guidance of his teacher and to learn for what he is best fitted. Moreover, the variety in the curriculum holds his interest and he is not so likely to drop out of school, because his school is a reflection of the world outside. It has been made real to him; consequently, he does not leave school, take a dead-end job, get discouraged, become a drifter, and later an impossible.

Is it not apparent that education can be a very real factor in the prevention of unemployment? Technical education is not meant as the panacea for our ills, but what is needed is an education which suits itself to the individual, an education which is always feasible, always changing, and the school superintendent should be the man who has his finger on the pulse of the movements in life, whether they be in the industrial or professional fields, to see that youths are properly introduced to the different phases of life as they shall find them when they leave school.

If the right type of education could be attained, it would go a long way toward the solution or the prevention of unemployment. Of course, there will always be human nature to deal with, but I claim that education is one of the best human means for the solution of this problem of unemployment.

REHABILITATION.

PLACEMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED.

BY T. G. MILL, HEAD OF JUVENILE AND HANDICAP SECTION, TORONTO OFFICE, EMPLOYMENT SERVICE OF CANADA.

A few years ago there was a very general belief that rehabilitation was synonymous with vocational retraining, and in accordance with this general opinion great numbers of returned soldiers have received vocational retraining courses in Canada and in the United States. Perhaps it is too soon to gauge accurately the results of this great experiment, as some time must necessarily elapse before the results are made available. From the experience of the handicap section and from the data accumulated, the conclusion is reached that the main factor in rehabilitation is not vocational retraining. By rehabilitation is meant the restoration of the individual to his proper place in the productive forces of the community, retraining, where necessary, being simply one method of producing the desired results. To supply artificial limbs and to see that the injured individual receives suitable medical and surgical attention also are necessary means to the general end of rehabilitation.

It is clear that any wide scheme for rehabilitation must be based upon a correct estimate of the number of persons likely to come under the scheme and a clear understanding of the physical and mental condition of the candidates for rehabilitation. No well-organized plan for rehabilitation exists in the Province of Ontario. There has been established, however, a handicap section in the employment office, where men suffering from physical injuries or infirmities may register for suitable employment.

The handicap section of the employment office was originally intended to be a classification center for the applicants for employment; but the data which it has collected can easily and quickly be used for the purpose of estimating the feasibility of any scheme for rehabilitation which may be contemplated. The handicap section has not made a survey of the cripples of Toronto; it has only collected data from those who have presented themselves voluntarily and have asked for suitable employment. In other words, the handicap section comes in contact with a self-selected group of handicapped men who have failed to adjust themselves to the demands of modern industry and whose failure to obtain employment is due chiefly to lack of training. Sixty-two per cent of the clients of the section never were skilled nor trained for any occupation or trade.

RETRAINING.

Study of records and personal contact with clients justify the statement that only 10 per cent of the handicapped men could be retrained with sufficient likelihood of success to warrant the expenditure of public money. This group of young men crippled through

accident or disease should be given a chance to become self-supporting citizens through retraining. Charitable organizations would be relieved of a burden and the productive forces of industry would be strengthened. Sufficient training should be given to enable these men to obtain and retain a job in the occupation for which they are trained, but there exists a belief that no effort should be made to turn out finished or skilled artisans. From a study of the boys' department, where many boys were found between the ages of 15 and 17 who are handicapped by reason of physical injury or disease and without appropriate training, it is believed that preventive training would be more efficient and more certain in its results than the attempted retraining of these same boys when they reach the age of 40.

A survey of the men who have received retraining after injury in war shows that age is distinctly detrimental to success. Retraining is most effective for men up to the age of 25. As the age of the student rises, so does the percentage of failures increase until the age of 40, when only exceptional men should be retrained.

Mental development is an important factor in retraining, many men having failed to profit by retraining courses in highly technical trades because of mental inability to master the course.

OLD AGE.

About 11 per cent of applicants suffer principally from the infirmities and weaknesses of age. Diseases such as rheumatism or bronchitis reduce their efficiency; physical injuries acquired in their youth now grow burdensome and mental peculiarities become more marked. Physically they are too slow for the modern employer, too set in their ways, slow to learn new tricks, and often on the sick list. A large number of firms in this city have an age limit and will not hire a man over 45 years of age. Old age is most pathetic, most hopeless, most dependent; odd jobs are scarce and charity is a bitter alternative. Industry incessantly clamors for youth, youth and ability; and the aged laborer has neither the ability they ask for nor the youth they demand.

PHYSICAL INJURIES.

Rehabilitation through vocational training will be found most effective when applied to those persons who have sustained physical injuries either through accident or service in war. It has been found that employers are anxious to cooperate in placing men who have lost an arm or a leg, providing these men have been trained and are anxious to work. There are a very large number of men who are physically injured working in Toronto, and there is reason to suppose that industry will be able to absorb many more. A minority group of these men are suitably trained but are unable to find permanent positions because of their mental attitude.

MEDICAL CASES.

Rehabilitation for the victims of disease and those suffering from the effects of disease is difficult and uncertain. Those who suffer from respiratory diseases are liable to frequent periods of sickness,

especially in winter, and are often discharged because of unreliable attendance at their work. Rheumatism also varies greatly in its attacks, with the same general result of uncertain employment for those so afflicted. Retraining is just as urgently needed by those who are partially disabled through disease as by those who suffer amputation, but the outcome is, for obvious reasons, more uncertain. The number of men who are practically unemployable through disease is much greater than the number of men who are unemployable because of physical injury. Very few applicants lack medical attention and advice; the great majority make full use of the hospitals and receive every reasonable medical treatment.

ESTIMATED INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY.

Fifty per cent of the applicants for the year 1923 were conditionally employable, and, providing suitable positions and conditions could be found, these men would not remain unemployed. Many of the young men in this group who are physically injured could be retrained, with advantage to the community and themselves.

Thirty-nine per cent of the new applicants for the year 1923 suffer from a roaming disposition. The majority have never held a job for more than six months; many have traveled widely, and few have ever had any training in any trade. They all give a history of many jobs in a great many places at odd times. A great number of these men have been tried out, with the same general result of dissatisfaction on the part of the employer and the employee. Their disabilities are mostly respiratory diseases, hernia, rheumatism, varicose veins, and debility. The majority of the employable mental cases are also classified in this group, which also contains those who suffer from war neurosis and neurasthenia of some other origin.

UNEMPLOYABLE.

Eleven per cent of the applicants for 1923 are classed as unemployable. The majority, 55 per cent, are unemployable because of mental disease or defect. Extreme old age and its attendant infirmities, both physical and mental, account for another 24 per cent. Diseases not mental, defective vision, etc., make up the balance.

No man is classed as unemployable until there is convincing evidence that a suitable position can not be found for him. Very few are classed as unemployable until the handicap section is convinced that their appearance, manner, and speech are of such a nature that the average employer or foreman would refuse to hire them.

Twenty-five per cent of these men are feeble-minded to such an extent that no average man could fail to perceive that they are abnormal. Sixteen per cent of them are insane, to such an extent that the average school boy would detect their queerness. Thirteen per cent are classed as afflicted with disease of the central nervous system, which includes the cases of general paralysis of the insane. The majority of these cases have been examined by specialists who have reported their findings. A specialist's report that a man is insane or feeble-minded does not mean that the man is unemployable. Most of the mental cases are partially or conditionally employable.

PLACEMENT.

From November 1, 1922, to July 31, 1923, 554 men have been placed in positions. During that period 427 new applications have been registered. A permanent placement is not recorded unless the employer gives assurance that the position is a permanent one. All other placements are considered temporary, whether they last for a week or three months. Under these limitations, 80 per cent of placements are classed as temporary, only 20 per cent being of a permanent nature. A detailed report of permanent placements would look like a catalogue of trades and occupations. Among the handicapped has been found the very greatest variety of disability and ability, and in consequence they have been fitted into a great variety of positions. With the exception of heavy and laborious labor and positions requiring a great degree of skill, handicapped men have been found who were able to fill all those positions requiring no great physical strength and not very much skill. Cleaners, janitors, bench hands, routine clerical workers, warehousemen, factory workers, elevator operators, and watchmen are the most common types of work which can be suitably filled by the handicapped. It will be noticed at once that the majority of these positions can be suitably filled by men of a certain age, corresponding to the fact that 49 per cent of the clients are over 40 years of age.

It has been found that in this city the only really successful method of placement is through a personal interview with the employer. The interviewer carries with him cards giving all the necessary particulars of certain handicapped individuals, as well as their photographs. These he lays before the prospective employer and practically sells the services of the handicapped men through samples submitted, much in the same way as a commercial traveler sells his wares. Using this method of approach, the employers, almost without exception, are bound to be sympathetic and interested in the work. Conditions in certain industrial establishments are such that few, if any, handicapped men can be engaged in actual production. Nevertheless, an effort is made to impress the employer with the idea that watchmen, gatekeepers, storekeepers, sweepers, etc., can always be obtained by application at the handicap office. When the man is placed in a permanent position, the employer is telephoned to about two weeks later to ascertain whether the man is making good or failing in any way. Some men have been placed in suitable positions through the use of the telephone, but there has been little or no success with letters.

Perhaps the failure to interest employers by letter is a local peculiarity, or it may be due to the fact that the average employer in this city receives so many applications by mail that he ceases to attach much importance to such a letter.

FAILURES IN PLACEMENT.

Some of the men placed in industry by the handicap section fail to make good. To be exact, 15 per cent of the placements are failures. It has not been possible to obtain any information from the rehabilitation service in the United States indicating the extent of their failures. Perhaps their failures are very few. In any case, it is thought the percentage of failures would be greater in Toronto than in

some of the cities of the United States, owing to lack of organization and limited facilities for rehabilitation. About 80 per cent of the failures of this office are due to the weak character of the employee. Getting drunk on the job, agitating, repeated absence from work without reasonable excuse, doing no work unless the boss is looking, etc., reveal that the main cause of failure is temperamental and apparently not due to the disability. In a few cases clients have deceived the handicap office and the employer as to their training and experience. In still fewer cases we deceived ourselves. To err is human, and as yet there is no exact science of character reading which will give a scientifically accurate estimate of human failings.

A great increase is anticipated in the very near future in the number of handicapped men registered in this section. It is hoped that the knowledge and the power to render much greater service to those who seek aid will be given.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FAILURE.

BY NORMAN L. BURNETTE, WELFARE DIVISION, METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

The problems in social adjustment presented in the preceding paper by Mr. Mill are not altogether peculiar to postwar years. In common with all civilized countries, Canada has suffered in the past from periods of acute industrial depression, and there seems little to suggest the hope that it shall not do so again. Whatever may be the true reason for cycles of unemployment, the explanations offered to date by the learned are so unsatisfying that placing the blame with fine impartiality on both the Government and the climate should not be counted against the unlearned as evidence of feeble-mindedness.

It is hard enough in normal times for the infirm, the aged, the crippled, the mentally deficient, and the emotionally unbalanced to meet competition in the open labor market. Under stress these types automatically fall to the bottom of the heap. The war focused public attention upon the reduction of wage-earning capacity through active service. It also brought into sharp relief the whole question of success and failure in mental adaptation to physical or environmental conditions.

The speaker is tempted to reiterate two statements made some years ago before a similar gathering. First, society has progressed beyond the point where it was content to let nature's remedy take its full course and exterminate the weak. This is tempered by protecting both the individual and his dependents, but it is questionable whether at the present time this is done adequately, owing to insufficient attention to causative factors. Second, the multiple efforts in social welfare are all interrelated. It is not because this is an audience primarily interested in employment that the speaker expresses the belief that your work is the most important of all, and one around which all other social-service work revolves. The Ontario government service can not be sufficiently praised for its foresight in recognizing the necessity of special facilities for handling those who are in any way handicapped. It was not long before those connected with this branch of employment work realized that intricate individual problems confronted them.

One fact stands out beyond all others. A surgical or medical viewpoint of a man's condition is not by itself a sufficient guide to his abilities or disabilities. It is the individual variations in personality make-up which spell disaster or success in the battle for rehabilitation. The world is not yet wholly free from the effects of a war-time abnormal psychology. In addition, even if to-morrow all the wheels of industry were to start humming full time, it would still be necessary to combat the unhealthy mental attitudes which like a miasma rise from the stagnation and deterioration of a long spell of involuntary unemployment. Nor in a sincere desire to understand the social ills from which we suffer is it any use shutting one's eyes to the effects of unemployment relief. The speaker does not criticise; it would be impertinent to do so, even if for no other reason than that one has no idea how, otherwise, the emergencies of the last few years could have been met. But where there is no work and the applicants know it, and the employment bureau knows that the men know it, an atmosphere of unreality and subterfuge is created, and the question "I suppose there is nothing for me to-day?" takes on a new meaning which needs no psychoanalyst to interpret. To all these influences the sick, the crippled, and the infirm are not immune. They are hard enough on what Henry James called "the tough minded." With those handicapped by emotional-volitional weaknesses, mental attitudes are produced which far outweigh any physical disability which may exist. From the standpoint of understanding and treatment, mental maladaptation among civilians is a far harder problem than that among ex-service men. The war veteran is reacting to events of recent occurrence, easily uncovered and understood. With the civilian the trouble is often of long standing, obscured by and overlaid with episodes which are forgotten by the sufferer, or else intentionally withheld from the interviewer.

Industrial accidents, occupational diseases, ill health, and even old age, are minor factors in failure of adaptation, in comparison with bad emotional methods on the part of the individual in adjusting himself to his environment. This not only constitutes the only actual disability in a large number of cases, but it runs like a red thread through the warp and woof of a great many of the others.

This statement need not be taken entirely upon faith. Investigate for yourself. Take problem cases; all have them even in the smaller offices. Get back beyond present conditions and reconstruct the man's history and it will be found how prevalent is the defect. "The sufferer has been assailed all through life by two of the greatest enemies of efficiency, enemies not detected either by intelligence tests or tests of skill—discouragement and discontent." The accumulated effect of this is sullen resentment, apathy to the urges which motivate normal individuals, self-pity, and not infrequently a functional condition which has not the slightest foundation in organic disturbance, or else is superimposed upon a surmountable handicap. It would be quite fair to say all this is interesting, and of course the more interest one experiences the greater emotional satisfaction one gets out of one's job, but can any use be made of this knowledge?

An English writer on unemployment problems roughly divides individuals into three groups, the highly endowed, the great middle grade, and the inefficient. Labeling these three broad subdivisions A, B, and C, he goes on to say that all the useful work of which those

in grade C are capable, and all the wealth which they could collectively produce, and all the wages they could earn in return for their efforts, could be absorbed by group B without upsetting the equilibrium of society one whit more than the ripple caused by the dropping of a stone affects the face of the water.

Quite apart from the humanitarian questions involved in this terrible dictum I totally disagree with the hopelessness of the viewpoint.

One can not favor the industrial retraining of the civilian handicapped as a solution, except in the case of a selected few, nor can industrial workshops be run under any other pretext than straight philanthropy, although such shops have some slight additional value as a medium of observation in relation both to retraining and replacement. Finding men jobs and helping them remain stabilized in jobs, are the big features of rehabilitation work. I may be an incurable optimist but I fully believe that many of the individuals that have been described can be both placed and rehabilitated. Four things are necessary: Understanding of their handicap; education of the employer to the social viewpoint; frank cooperation between placement bureau and employer; facilities for a period of oversight and encouragement, so that the individual is not thrown too hurriedly on his own weakened powers of initiative and resourcefulness.

In this respect the New York State system of parole for arrested or improved cases among the insane is admirable. The parole clinics, the employment service, and the follow-up work are a revelation. During a visit of the speaker to one of the great State hospitals a couple of months ago, a building contractor actually rang up to say that he could use a few of what he picturesquely described as "nuts." He knew exactly what he was getting and what they could and could not be trusted to do. It was the result of public education and proper organization.

Presupposing ideal conditions, could industry absorb all the handicapped? The answer is emphatically no. But here another side of the employment service is touched. The bureau was mentioned before as being in the central position in the field of social welfare. One visualizes the service of to-day as being greater than a placement agency. It is, through such gatherings as this, a broadcasting station of information, and it should be a laboratory and an educational force as well. At present the line of demarcation between the functions of an employment service and philanthropy and private charity is obscured. As a means of clarifying this situation, the information obtainable by the employment service will be of inestimable value. In fact, in drawing the line with the individual case it is conceivable that the decision will rest with you, providing that the bureaus have the proper facilities. And under facilities is included the right of the bureaus to practice self-protection.

With many adults the reactions to insufficiency have become so deep-rooted that even where there exists a possibility of social reconstruction, the effort and time necessary to bring this about will not justify the bureau in attempting the task. This is particularly true of cases where the industrial history is one of recurring maladjustment from adolescence on. Last year we had the privilege of cooperating with Mr. Mill in a study of boys applying for work in the Toronto office. Several things were learned. Previously antisocial youth had been seen only when it falls out of

step with the community and lands in the juvenile court or the clinic. In the employment bureau one saw the genesis of evils more widespread than delinquency and the initial stages of those defects which enter so largely into the mental make-up of failures in adult life.

The importance of a psychological viewpoint is at all times apparent when dealing with those passing through the storm-and-stress period of adolescence. With the boys coming before the bureau one was under the constant temptation of forgetting the particular setting in which the investigation was conducted, and of attempting to tackle the varied wrong influences which play about the impressionable mind of the growing boy. Intellectual deficiency was not a major factor in failure among the boys examined. It is interesting to note some figures in this respect. Eight per cent were feeble-minded, but of these 8 per cent over 60 per cent had satisfactory industrial records in occupations suited to their capabilities. Five per cent of unsatisfactory records were attributable to physical subnormality, and 20 per cent could neither be attributed to physical subnormality nor feeble-mindedness.

Of course, some of the less fortunately endowed boys were suffering from defects in the school system, defects which will disappear with time as the newer movements in education begin to produce results, but in studying personality it must not be forgotten that one is speaking of a sum total which, in addition to inheritance, includes the result of the experiences through which the individual has passed. Some of these things stand out very clearly when dealing with working boys. One is struck with the wastefulness and lack of foresight among many employers in their dealings with promising human material. Time after time one comes in contact with boys who had been for periods of from one to two years in occupations which were congenial and suitable to them. These boys were invariably the first to be laid off when a reduction in staff was made, and they were thrown back upon unemployment or casual jobs, with a good deal of the heart knocked out of them.

To use a homely metaphor, you can not have beef if you kill off your veal, and one can not feel a great deal of sympathy with the complaint concerning the shortage of trained workers in skilled trades, when industry is unwilling to do its part in the conserving of its future supply.

Home environment is a tremendous factor in the boy's life. The parents' attitude toward the boy when he becomes a wage earner is sometimes very curious. Boys who refused offers of work were always urged to discuss their reasons frankly and without fear of prejudice to their case. The validity of certain reasons is admitted, as, for instance, over-long hours, night work, too great distance from home, work too heavy for strength, physical aspect of work (handling of sharp steel plates, burns from acids, nauseating smells, extremes of heat or cold), bad reputation of firm, etc. But often boys refused work offered at a wage which is a fair return for the services demanded, because of the proportion of earnings that they were expected to turn over to their home. The following situation is apparently very common. As long as the boy is out of work he is kept in food, shelter, and clothing by his home. Once he takes a job the home seeks to charge him for maintenance at a figure

which is sometimes unjustly high. Either it absorbs all his wages or at the best leaves him 25 or 50 cents a week as pocket money. The boy feels a sense of injustice, and as it is possible to get a lot of fun out of life in the city streets without spending any money, he often decides that liberty without regular pocket money is worth more than the curtailment of liberty plus very small pecuniary benefits. Quite frequently the sum set by the home is higher than that which the boy is worth to the employer—messenger jobs at \$6 a week were turned down by boys because the home asked them to pay \$7 and \$8 and in one case \$10 a week. Among a number of boys who refused jobs at from \$6 to \$8 per week were some who had been out of work for months, and in two of these cases the boys' mothers were in receipt of relief. These conditions are potent factors in the manufacture of inefficients. It is a pleasure to give the other side of the picture, and note the many cases in which one met working boys starting on the journey toward manhood, trained in habits and ideals which will carry them to success.

The unpleasant things are quoted without any idea of either moralizing or preaching. They are merely facts which have to be taken into account when facing a problem which is not theoretical but concrete, and that problem is how to reduce at its source one of the main streams leading to failure in adult life. If one may offer a suggestion, it is that you concentrate on the boys. You will not be alone in this endeavor, and the field can never be overcrowded, but as an agency confronted with the task of placing men, you are vitally interested in the making of men. The employment bureau is the most hopeful place in the world in which to do vocational guidance in the broadest and best sense of the term. In the main, the boys applying for work are not beginners. They are over the initial stages of job sampling and have learned the A B C of wage earning. When one talks to them of industrial life, it is not a completely strange country that is conjured up in imagination. The boy is still pliable and open to influence and counterinfluence, and most important of all, the employment bureau has an atmosphere of reality which the school can never hope to approach.

In conclusion, both for the sake of those to whom at times advice may have to be offered, and perhaps for the use of those who are faced with personal problems of adjustment, the following delightful fable is read with due acknowledgment to Professor Burnham, its author:

A large bottle of milk two-thirds full was left one night in a farmer's shed. Two mice investigated the situation. By vigorous jumping they succeeded in gaining the top of the bottle and jumped in for the cream; then they were in danger of drowning. Mouse No. 1 had been trained by the modern method of constant failure and he cried out, "Help," "Help," and when no help came, gradually lost strength and fell to the bottom. Mouse No. 2 had been trained by the constant stimulus of success and had become so habituated to facing difficult situations that he had even in a practical way gained the insight that doing is itself worth while for its own sake. So he cried out lustily, "Hustle," "Hustle," and suiting the action to the word, kept trying to jump out of the bottle. At first he improved by practice and jumped higher and higher, but soon the effect of practice was overcome by fatigue, and then, as he became exhausted, his jumps were lower and lower, but he nevertheless kept struggling; and gradually, as exhaustion came on, the cream became harder and harder. In the morning mouse No. 1 was dead at the bottom of the bottle; mouse No. 2 was serenely asleep on a lump of butter.

REHABILITATION COORDINATED BY STATE LEGISLATION.

BY FRED H. ALBEE, M. D., CHAIRMAN COMMISSION OF REHABILITATION OF NEW JERSEY.

During the period of the Great War it was the privilege of the speaker to start the organization of a great rehabilitation military hospital of 2,000 beds, located at Colonia, N. J., and entitled United States General Hospital No. 3. This was the only hospital organized by a civilian surgeon in the United States Army Reserves and constructed in the home country during the war period. This hospital covered an area of 200 acres, and consisted of 110 buildings, costing approximately three and one-half million dollars when equipped. It represented the last word in equipment and organization for surgical reconstruction and rehabilitation of the crippled soldier. The governor and influential members of the New Jersey Legislature visited this institution and were much impressed with the work done there. This influence was, at least in part, the cause which brought about the passage in 1918 of the rehabilitation law, providing for rehabilitation of State civilians who were crippled from industrial or other accidents, disease, or malformation. The law provided for nonsalaried executives, entitled the "Commission of Rehabilitation," to be appointed by the governor of the State. The speaker was honored by being appointed by the governor as the chairman of this commission.

On account of the newness of the work, the absence of precedence, the impossibility of obtaining experienced and efficient personnel to carry on such work, and the handicap of clashing with the prerogatives of State departments of long existence, the early organization of the work was most difficult. In spite of everything, the work has progressed in a most gratifying way.

The procedure initiated by the rehabilitation commission and the late Col. Lewis T. Bryant, in accordance with the provisions of the workmen's compensation act and for the injured workmen at the same time to receive the benefit of the rehabilitation service, may be summarized as follows: It was deemed advisable to organize the rehabilitation districts throughout the State on lines parallel to the territory covered by the workmen's compensation judicial districts. When the injured worker submits his case to the compensation bureau for adjudication he is referred to the rehabilitation surgeon for examination and determination of the percentage of disability, temporary and permanent. In a very large percentage of cases, the chief of clinic has had special opportunity to study, and in many difficult cases it is necessary to study, cases throughout the treatment as well as a thorough diagnostic study in order to estimate correctly the amount of temporary or permanent disability. The medical director advises when the temporary compensation ceases and finally reports the percentage of permanent disability to the deputy commissioner of the workmen's compensation bureau. On hearing days in the workmen's compensation court room when informal issues are heard, the deputy commissioner frequently confers with the medical director to assist in the friendly settlement of the compensation payment involved. This service is rendered gratuitously by the State to the employer, insurance carrier, and injured worker. After the patient is discharged he either returns to his former employment or he is referred to the rehabilitation examiner for vocational direction. About 2,905 injured workers, registered at the five clinics during the fiscal year, were enabled to be reemployed at their former occupation after physical rehabilitation.

A survey of State hospitals was made. The cooperation of the medical profession, hospitals, employment bureaus, and philanthropic and other lay organizations, was urgently requested and generously received. Lectures in first aid were started for the general public

and the police and fire departments of the various cities; lectures on safety devices and prevention of accidents were also started and illustrated by one of the largest museums of safety devices in the country, which had been previously assembled at one of the clinic buildings through the initiative and perseverance of the late Colonel Bryant, commissioner of labor.

It has been urged in a general way that the initial treatment of injuries should be by the patient's own physician or at the most available local hospital, but always with the understanding that the State expert on rehabilitation is available for consultation with the local surgeon when the difficulty of the case demands it.

Contrary to the conception of some, the commission early took the stand that reconstruction, surgical or orthopedic clinics, must be the clearing house for the segregation of cases as to treatment, follow-up, and occupational education and placement.

Because of the difficulty of securing the services of a person experienced and trained in rehabilitation work, the late Colonel Bryant consented to act as director during the organization period, and, acting in close cooperation with the chairman of the commission, the work was organized and developed to its present completeness. Colonel Bryant's wide experience and influence gained through his having been commissioner of labor of the State for 16 years, were brought unstintingly to the interest of this work, and it is to him that great credit should be given for whatever success has been obtained in the work.

The commission has urged that members of the profession who are not interested or able to qualify as efficient practitioners in rehabilitation surgery should not attempt to treat such cases. This stand has been of importance, because insurance carriers were foolishly, in certain instances, allowing their work to go to men of the profession who in bidding for this work used methods other than a demonstration of their ability efficiently to treat these cases.

After the initial treatment of acute injury, the case is received into the State clinic for physiotherapy or vocational therapeutic treatment. These clinics are equipped with all the very latest appliances for carrying on such treatment.

If definite reconstructive operative work is necessary it is referred to the chief of the local State clinic, who assigns the case to the surgeon best qualified to do the work in the particular case. If orthopedic braces or artificial limbs are necessary, the commission will supply them if the patient is unable to or if the case is not a compensable one, it being always understood that patients are to reimburse the State for artificial limbs by installment payments, as fast as possible.

The compensable cases, which, by the way, form the largest percentage coming under treatment, are followed all the way through their convalescence until the final settlement is determined as provided for by the compensation law in effect since 1911.

All cases are settled in the compensation court, which is very informal and much simpler in its procedure than the old common-law court. The judges of these courts are paid partly by the rehabilitation commission and partly by the department of labor, and naturally are under the direction of both the compensation commission and the rehabilitation commission.

The chief of the rehabilitation clinic is the trusted adviser of the compensation court. On account of his close touch and long observation of his patient, he is eminently the best qualified to advise the court as to the degree of permanent injury of the claimant.

Important features of the organization of this work are lectures on prophylaxis of injury, a museum of safety devices affixed to actual machinery under power, instruction in first aid to the injured, and the rehabilitation clinic, compensation court, and the State employment bureau, which are in the same building and in close proximity and cooperation with each other.

The welfare, follow-up, and employment portion of the work is most important, and here the State has sought the cooperation of philanthropic and lay organizations. This has consisted of most praiseworthy humanitarian welfare and follow-up work, as well as the solicitation of positions for the placement of the physically handicapped or crippled. This most important work has been done better in this way than it could possibly have been done by State officials, in that the voluntary sympathy of the captains of industry has been more readily engaged.

The keystone in the arch of rehabilitation is functional restoration. The rehabilitation commission in New Jersey especially stresses the fact that fundamentally the handicapped would be most materially benefited if surgical and medical skill combined with physiotherapy and functional reeducation could be provided for as great a degree of physical improvement as is warranted by the nature of the disability involved.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, the clinics of the State recorded 114,218 activities. The detailed compilation of these activities is shown for each clinic for the fiscal year by the following tabulation:

ANNUAL REPORT OF ACTIVITIES FOR THE MEDICAL DIVISION OF THE NEW JERSEY REHABILITATION COMMISSION, JULY 1, 1922, TO JUNE 30, 1923.

Item.	Camden.	Jersey City.	Newark.	Paterson.	Trenton.	Total.
Baking.....	2,621	10,845	9,920	1,702	4,985	30,073
Massage.....	2,550	8,618	9,727	1,561	1,854	24,310
Functional reeducation.....	1,073	6,795	9,207	1,433	1,365	19,873
Heliotherapy.....	878	4,132	963	560	664	7,197
Surgical.....	30	29	115	2	13	189
Plaster casts.....	20	6	32	0	27	85
Orthopedics.....	27	11	113	7	80	238
Dressings.....	1,361	1,410	1,197	214	1,008	5,220
Strappings.....	62	24	299	55	174	624
Dentals.....	3	0	84	0	0	87
Operations.....	68	6	26	3	10	113
Medical.....	75	46	172	4	35	332
Electrotherapy.....	460	1,987	2,766	691	183	6,087
Hydrotherapy.....	0	775	581	4	9	1,369
Pathological.....	65	78	71	19	1	234
Gymnastics.....	0	493	4,710	0	1,325	6,528
Subtotal.....	9,323	35,265	39,993	6,255	11,733	102,559
Other services.....	0	0	4	0	295	299
X-rays.....	884	344	1,013	20	208	2,469
Examinations.....	1,725	1,696	2,678	344	395	6,838
Reexaminations.....	206	380	1,279	46	142	2,053
Grand total.....	12,138	37,685	44,957	6,665	12,773	114,218
Cases received.....	653	1,140	1,185	197	292	3,467
Cases cured.....	565	817	964	156	239	2,741
Cases still treated.....	88	323	221	41	53	726

Compilation of educational qualifications of 6,768 registered in the fiscal year 1922 shows 2,104 practically no schooling, 3,737 are noted under school course of one to six years, 690 have completed from seven to nine grades, and 173 reported from ten to twelve years schooling; 64 not determined.

Study of the age record and educational limitation of the majority of registered handicaps, coupled with the economic factors involved, in our judgment in most cases warrants a conclusion that, where possible, the injured should be returned to their previous employment if the nature of the disability permits; in certain other cases reemployment or placement training in employment has been found most expedient. However, during the fiscal year it was found advantageous to place 33 of the registrants in school, training for rehabilitation. Sixty-six of the applicants during the year were noted not eligible, and 143 were unsuceptible to rehabilitation. Of the 6,566 cases closed during the fiscal year only 77 rejected the service.

The value of the State rehabilitation law as a supplement to the administration of compensation acts, is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that since New Jersey passed its rehabilitation law in 1918 (the first law of its kind to be enacted throughout the world) 36 other States have passed such laws.

The future magnitude of this work as a national or world-wide movement is shown by the fact that in the State of New Jersey alone the rehabilitation and compensation acts provide for the distribution of two and one-half million dollars annually.

COMPENSATION AND REHABILITATION.

BY T. N. DEAN, STATISTICIAN WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BOARD OF ONTARIO.

Of the accidents occurring in Ontario during 1921, 2,085 were compensated by the Workmen's Compensation Board of Ontario as permanent disabilities, there being 343 pensionable cases; that is, cases in which the disability was held by the board to be or to exceed 10 per cent of working capacity. The average impairment was about 22 per cent. If the average expected industrial life of these pensioners be taken as 25 years, calculation being made on the average wage, the probable wage loss for these cripples is \$7,115 each, or, for the 343, \$2,440,445. The wage loss occasioned to the cripples of one year under the Ontario workmen's compensation act is roughly two and one-half million dollars, or, conversely, every year there is a wage loss of two and one-half million dollars to cripples under the Ontario workmen's compensation act. Accepting the Canadian Production Census Report figure of \$5.053 worth of finished product for each dollar expenditure for wages, Ontario is losing \$12,331,568.59 worth of product by reason of pensionable accidents to workers; that is, provided no production is substituted.

It seems idle to assert that no production replaces that which is lost by reason of the crippling of workers. During the years 1919 and 1920 a study of all the disability pensioners of the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board was carried on under the direction of the board.¹ Some of the conclusions reached in that study were:

Over 67 per cent of the employable cripples were working at a time when unemployment was rather prevalent, and the unemployment among the pensioners was due rather to inability to secure positions than to disinclination to work, although certainly a small residue have determined that their working days are over. * * *

While occupational changes are many and often among pensioners, they are perhaps no more frequent than among workmen generally. The changes show, among other things, that occupational retraining is not always a prerequisite of

¹ Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board. Report for 1920. Toronto, 1921, pp. 52-56.

employment of pensioners. In point of fact, the great bulk of workmen's compensation disability pensioners in Ontario have rehabilitated themselves quietly, quickly, and efficiently. * * *

Disability is most felt almost immediately after accident. Wages tend to lessen, then to increase gradually to normal or to near equality with those of nondisabled workers. In some cases the disability acts as a spur, and resolution and courage put the pensioner ahead of his fellow workers without disabilities. * * *

Although the difficulty of drawing summary conclusions is present herein, it might be said that the data collected seem to indicate, among other things, that the pensions awarded by the board are adequate, that there is an opportunity for almost every pensioner to become more or less self-supporting, provided the opportunity be seized, and that direction of pensioners for at least a little while after their surgical recovery would likely hasten industrial reestablishment.

An attempt was made in the study just quoted to determine the effect of injury on occupation. Of the 980 pensioners employed at the time of the survey 636 had changed occupations, there being an increase from 16 to 164 in light employment and from 4 to 84 in clerical employment. Those in unskilled employment decreased from 287 to 269. Of the 1,647 cases studied, 79 were unable to work, 18 were going to school or were employed at home, 95 were in business for themselves, 980 were employed, and 475 were unemployed. Of the 79 unable to work 59 were permanent total disability cases, and 7 were between 70 and 100 per cent disabled, and 13 were unable to work from causes extraneous to injury. Of the 475 who were unemployed at time of survey 113 had done no work since injury. Thus, subtracting the number who were unable to work, and considering those in business for themselves and those going to school or employed at home as able to work, it is found that out of 1,568 able to work 1,455 had worked. Of the 113 who had done no work 7 were females living at home or with relatives. Again, out of the 113, 33 had been disabled less than a year, 21 were over 60 years of age at time of injury, and 14 were rated at 70 per cent and over disability.

A fair summation of the statistical detail just quoted seems to be that the number of pensioners who have not done any work at all is quite small when compared with the total number of pensioners. It is a striking evidence of the fact that for those unemployed at the time of survey, the cause of unemployment was the lack of work rather than desire, to state that the average period of unemployment for those who had worked since injury but were unemployed at the time the study was made, was 2.29 months as compared with 27.69 months for those who had done no work since disablement. Of the 475 unemployed, 165 had been unemployed less than one month, while 253, or over 50 per cent, had been disabled for less than 2 months.

The average wage at the time of injury for all injured workers under the Ontario compensation act for the period January 1, 1915, to December 31, 1920, was \$18.77 weekly; for all employed disability pensioners during the same period \$20.95 weekly. The average weekly wage at the time of injury for all workers injured during 1920 was \$25.57, an increase of 36.2 per cent; and at the end of 1920 the average weekly wage for the employed disability pensioners was \$25.02, an increase of 19.41 per cent. In addition to their wages, pensioners received, on the average, compensation on the basis of a rated impairment of 24.6 per cent.

During 1916, 1917, and part of 1918 careful note was taken of all cases of second injury where there was prior permanent disability of a pensionable degree. It was found that handicapped workers were successfully competing with nondisabled workmen in occupation as well as in wage.

About 18 per cent of the employees of the Ford plant at Detroit are physically below par, according to a statement rendered to the Surgeon General of the United States under date of November 1, 1917. Of the total number of cripples and others physically under par working at that plant, namely, 6,095, 85 per cent were classed by their foremen as fully efficient and 15 per cent were unable to keep up with their able-bodied fellow-workmen in the matter of production. In this latter class the deficiency in almost all cases was but slight.

Complete rehabilitation perhaps connotes six things: (1) Adequate medical and surgical care to relieve physical disability as far as possible; (2) functional reeducation to encourage latent functional powers; (3) prosthesis, the fitting of and instruction in the use of artificial appliances to overcome bodily disadvantages; (4) professional reeducation, where necessary, to hasten and encourage social and economic rehabilitation; (5) facilities and aid to insure employment consonant with disability; (6) compensation for permanent disability.

Under the Ontario workmen's compensation act, workmen are entitled to the medical and surgical aid and hospital and skilled nursing services necessary as a result of the injury. This provides adequate medical and surgical care, and since functional reeducation is part of the medical and surgical care it is included therein. The act provides further that workmen are entitled to be supplied with artificial members and apparatus rendered necessary as a result of the accident and to have the same kept in repair for the period of one year. A totally disabled workman is entitled to receive two-thirds of his average earnings, but he is not in any case to receive less than \$12.50 a week unless his average earnings are less than this amount, in which case he is to receive the full amount of his average earnings. Where the earnings are more than \$2,000 a year, compensation is to be allowed only on the \$2,000. Compensation dates from the commencement of disability, but there is no compensation when the disability lasts less than seven calendar days. After the healing period has been taken care of by biweekly payments, any permanent disability resulting from the accident is considered, the award for all disabilities, partial as well as total, being in the form of a monthly pension for life, except where the impairment does not exceed 10 per cent of total earning capacity, in which case payment is made in a lump sum or by installments. In pension cases the board may commute a small part of the pension into a lump sum or make a limited lump-sum advance to meet any urgent special need of the workman.

The securing of employment for crippled pensioners is an activity with which at present the workmen's compensation board has nothing to do. A select committee on industrial rehabilitation appointed by the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, on April 16, 1920, indorsed a bill which, although styled "The industrial rehabilitation act," was really an amendment to the workmen's compensation act. It provided among other things:

Where a workman by reason of permanent injury entitling him to payment of compensation for life is or may be expected to be seriously handicapped in ob-

taining remunerative employment, the board, if of opinion that he will be materially benefited thereby, may within a reasonable time after the injury arrange for or provide * * * such assistance as it may be able to give the workman in securing suitable employment.

This is the crux of this whole matter of rehabilitating workmen's compensation pensioners, to "speed up" the natural process of rehabilitation. While courses of retraining are desirable perhaps in individual cases, the results of the survey of its disability pensioners by the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board, it is submitted, fairly indicates that, generally speaking, occupational mobility is little, if at all, restricted by even serious permanent disability; that reestablishment could be accelerated by intervention, it would seem, is also made manifest.

Such intervention naturally would be by an organized agency having to do with both employers and pensioners, logically the workmen's compensation board. In this connection the select committee on industrial rehabilitation stated:

The administration of legislation providing rehabilitation for pensioners or persons severely disabled under the workmen's compensation act should, it is submitted, be under the jurisdiction of the workmen's compensation board. This would prevent duplication, confusion, and expense. The board not only is in possession of the medical and vocational history of the workman, and is in contact with the employers of labor, but also is now charged with the supervision of medical aid, the awarding of compensation, and the furnishing of artificial appliances.

In this connection it must be remembered that it has been found that the problem of application of rehabilitation is essentially one of the individual. Mr. W. E. Segsworth, M. E., who was an early pioneer in the reestablishment of Canada's war cripples, has stated this fact succinctly:

Not to be solved by any scientific formula, for the factors due to varying individuality are not susceptible to accurate measurement. These men [i. e., the cripples] can not be sorted and classified and then each group treated according to some prearranged scientific plan. The most complete system charted, organized, and planned in advance, will fail if it does not provide a ready means of adapting it to individual need, and unless it provides at all times for the fullest understanding of human nature.

The following general outline of a plan for practical reestablishment of compensation board pensioners has already been placed upon record:

The first thing necessary to a plan of rehabilitating industrial cripples is the appointment of a vocational officer, a man of broad sympathies and good judgment, one conversant alike with industrial processes and human nature. On notification of an accident likely to result in serious permanent disability this officer should, if possible, interview the injured man and his dependents, assuming proper hospital accommodation and a living allowance for maintenance of family, so that the fear of want could be eliminated from the mind of the patient, for it is the actual fear of want, of subsequent incapacitation and industrial uselessness that engenders psychothemia, the poison that creeps into the mind suddenly shocked by injury and then allowed to stagnate through long and forced idleness, and psychothemia, even as neurosis, often disables more than injury itself. Any business or financial worries settled on the mind of the patient should be dissipated by sound advice so that surgical recovery can be hastened. The patient should be visited often, his prior occupational record should be studied, and his employer canvassed for suitable employment. The thought that any service rendered is with the ultimate idea of reducing compensation should not be allowed to germinate. When convalescing time comes, a start, where necessary, should be made toward suggesting new avenues of employment necessitated by injury; that he can be self-supporting; that his

power to work can be restored should be the thoughts dominant in the patient's mind—this by the power of suggestion. Naturally the man's desires should be consulted, but he should be impressed gently but firmly with the fact that he must compete with nondisabled workers and so piloted into a sensible and practical occupation. Employers within the jurisdiction should be canvassed for suitable opportunities. It is more than a belief that there is suitable employment for every disabled man, provided he is not insane and that he retains some useful faculty. In point of fact, experience and such meager statistical data as are available demonstrate this fact. The actual introduction to the new trade should be in the shop or existent institution for rehabilitation and reeducation. If necessary, the man should receive further general education—in night schools, social service classes, technical schools, or business colleges. Finally, when placed he should be further encouraged to "carry on" and sympathetic tolerance should overbear his vagaries. It is manifest that pay and allowances would be necessary. These could be deducted from compensation without too greatly reducing the amount and without fear of overpayment.

In last analysis the argument against action in restoring cripples to industrial usefulness in view of the necessity to provide for the added risk by reason of prior disability is untenable. In the case of jurisdictions which refuse permanent total disability compensation to a substandard workman who has his remaining earning capacity seriously impaired or wiped out in the accident under consideration, the conclusion can not be supported by the premises. A careful calculation for a jurisdiction which provides for total disability regardless of whether that disability was incurred in the present or in a previous accident shows that the average rate per hundred of pay roll would be increased by less than one-third of 1 per cent in order to meet the added burden necessitated through a humane consideration of facts.

Under the Ontario plan of assessing employers in groups, the problem of second injuries does not loom large, industry generally bearing the cost. Pertinent to this is privy council order in council 4432, dated 1921, as amended by P. C. 2247, dated 1922, which provides that where a compensable accident occurs to a 20 per cent or more war pensioner, the full cost of such accident is met by the Government of Canada.

One stumbling block to endeavor is the common prejudice against the employment of cripples. In some cases employers adopt the attitude that the usefulness of the crippled workman has ended. In a recent case before the Ontario board the claimant said the employer told him he had no work he could do with his mutilated hand and he would not give him \$10 a week. The employer in his report to the board stated:

"Physically mutilated to the extent of having lost all fingers on left hand just below second joint, leaving only short stubs. As far as his former position in this shop or any position in this shop is concerned, earning capacity is 100 per cent below former."

This workman was injured on a Pawtucket press operated by foot treadle, and in no way, according to the employer, was the accident due to his serious or willful misconduct. The employer also stated:

"We have always found Mr. ——— to be straightforward and anxious to make headway." The employer averages about \$75,000 annual pay roll.

This case has been quoted at length to demonstrate the chance for intervention. A talk with the employer, a pointing out of a job in his plant which the crippled workman could handle, encouragement of the discouraged workman to persist in his search for employment, would in all probability unite the workman with a job in which he would maintain himself.

The chairman of the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Board, has stated:

Of far greater importance [than malingering] is the problem of finding something for a willing but crippled workman to do, and often a crippled workman is in need of a little encouragement. Nothing, I think, raises an employer more in the good opinion of his own workmen and of the community generally, or conduces more to good feeling and good relations, than sympathetic interest and consideration for the workman who has been crippled in his employment. We have been hearing much in recent years about rehabilitation. I think one of the most useful improvements that could be made in our act at the present time would be a provision enabling the board to do a little more than it is now able to do in the matter of rehabilitation. The expense need not be great, and the work would need to be handled with care and judgment. Harm instead of good, I think, can easily be done by too much paternalism or ill-considered action. The best rehabilitation is to get the workman back, if possible, into the same or some other occupation in the employment in which he was injured.

REHABILITATION OF THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CIVILIAN.

JOHN E. RANSOM, SUPERINTENDENT MICHAEL REESE DISPENSARY, CHICAGO.

Many hopes grew out of the World War. One of these was that out of the efforts expended to rehabilitate the disabled soldier there might develop incentive and means to render a similar service to the disabled civilian. The rehabilitation of the disabled veteran has been properly looked upon as a sacred obligation. His disability resulted from service he rendered in the cause of his country. The country could do no less in return than to help him become as fit as possible to resume his rightful, normal place in the civil life of the community. It was a stupendous task our Governments undertook to meet this obligation. Not the least of the difficulties they had to meet was that in large measure it was a new undertaking and hence there were comparatively few persons available who had had experience in such work. To be sure, vocational training was not new, but it had not been directed to any considerable extent to meet the needs of physically or mentally handicapped persons. A discussion of what has been accomplished by the Canadian and American Governments in fulfilling this obligation, though it would be most helpful in relation to the subject, is not within the scope of this paper.

The hope that the development of rehabilitation programs to meet the needs of disabled veterans would tend to attract attention to the needs of those disabled in civilian pursuits has not been without a measure of realization. Perhaps the most conspicuous of the results has been the system developed in the United States under which there is provided a Federal subsidy to States which will maintain a vocational rehabilitation service for physically handicapped persons. Under the provisions of the law establishing this subsidy and through the activities of vocational rehabilitation departments in many of the States, a large number of disabled civilians have been and are being trained for gainful occupations. Here again, organization, programs, and methods had in large degree to be developed de novo. Some of the States have made enviable records. For example, the New York State Bureau of Rehabilitation reports that in a recent nine-months period it rehabilitated 408 physically handicapped persons, of an average age of 31 years, who at the time the report was issued were earning an average weekly wage of \$19.25. In addition to these there were 257 persons in training for new occupations, 700 receiving social

service, 19 in business under supervision, and 111 in employment under supervision. The total number of persons referred to the bureau during the nine months covered by the report was 3,227. An analysis can not be made here of the work being done by the various States. It is far better in some States than in others. It is meeting some of the needs of certain types of handicapped persons very admirably. It is the first large-scale effort ever made by society to reclaim its members whose productive capacity has been seriously lessened by illness or injury. Whatever may be the future of the system now in operation, a great gain has been made in bringing the needs of handicapped persons into public notice and in establishing the principle that public funds may be used for their rehabilitation.

Inability to earn a livelihood for himself and his dependents is the most serious fact that confronts the physically handicapped adult. If still able to do some work provided he can find just the right job, he faces the probability that he will have a lessened income and a consequent lowering of his standards of living. Heroic souls may meet such difficulties stoically. For some, such obstacles may become a spur to greater effort, but the majority find the struggle too hard and too discouraging. Resourcefulness is occasional rather than general. Many yield to the escape from responsibility which their incapacity affords, and add themselves and their families to the ranks of those whom public or private charity must support.

From the standpoint of their capacity for rehabilitation the physically handicapped may be divided into two general classes. In the first place, there are those who by medical or surgical treatment, vocational training, or careful industrial placement can be enabled to earn a livelihood. The other group consists of persons for whom there can not be restored or created such a degree of capacity that they can be employed profitably in competitive industry. To these two classes there may be added a possible third, consisting of persons who are recovering from incapacitating illnesses and who need a gradual return to work, beginning with only an hour or two per day and increasing the length of their working day as increasing health and strength may indicate. The needs of these several groups of handicapped persons can be adequately met only as the community organizes the facilities necessary for their rehabilitation. These facilities naturally consist of medical and surgical service, vocational guidance, and vocational training, special employment service, shops which shall provide permanent work for persons unemployable in industry, and industrial convalescence for those who can return to work only by degrees. Very briefly what would be necessary in order that a community might offer such rehabilitation service as this? In the first place, there would need to be a central organization coordinating the various types of needed service and giving direction to the program as a whole. For the purposes of this discussion let this central organization be called the rehabilitation bureau. To this bureau handicapped persons would be referred by the various social agencies of the community, by the employment departments of various industries, by industrial commissions, by public employment services, by hospitals and dispensaries, and by other agencies which might have contact with disabled individuals. The disabled applicant for charity, the rejected applicant for work, the victim of indus-

trial accident, and the convalescent from debilitating disease, would seek from the bureau the service which would help them make best use of whatever capacity they might have or might develop. The first function of the rehabilitation bureau would be to study the individual applicant. It would have to diagnose accurately his handicapped condition, and to reach a conclusion as to whether it could be removed or made less disabling by means of medical or surgical treatment. To this end it would need the services of physicians with experience in the field of industrial medicine and surgery and a cooperative relationship with the hospitals and dispensaries of the community. If an applicant's handicap is of such a nature or degree that medical science can not rid him of it, it may be that education for some new occupation may be the means of his rehabilitation.

Before the best choice of occupation for which an applicant is to be trained can be made, his past experience, age, general aptitude, and desires should be carefully weighed. These are diagnostic processes, and the carefulness with which they are carried out may determine the success or failure of the experiment. The training itself may be provided in special vocational schools, in connection with existing trade schools, in industry itself, or in community workshops organized for this special purpose. During the period in which the handicapped person is being diagnosed, during the time he may be under medical or surgical treatment, and during his training period, it may be necessary that he and his dependents be supported. The rehabilitation bureau must have funds for this purpose, or such a working relationship with family welfare agencies that they will agree that it is a wise investment of community funds to use them to take care of a man and his family while he is acquiring the training which will insure his future self-support. After training is completed, placement naturally follows. As is well known, to be most effective placement must include much more than obtaining employment for an applicant. Not infrequently one of the losses the handicapped man has suffered is confidence in himself. Though retrained, this confidence may not have been restored. If he is to succeed he may need some one to stand by him during the early period of his reemployment. Adjustments of one kind or another may have to be made. Here, as all through his rehabilitation process, the bureau must stand by its man until both he and they feel he can "carry on" of and for himself.

The writer of this paper knows he is drawing the picture of a service which is ideal rather than real. So far as he knows no such service for the physically handicapped civilian is in existence. Perhaps the nearest approach to it in service to disabled veterans is that provided in England for blinded soldiers and sailors by St. Dunstan's Hostel and After Care Organization. The work of St. Dunstan's has been highly successful because it has built up the plan of its service on the basis of a careful study of each man it undertakes to serve, and because its service follows him until it has made him not only a self-supporting individual but also one who no longer looks upon himself as handicapped. What he has gained is far greater than what he lost.

It will cost money for any community to undertake the organization and maintenance of such a rehabilitation service. It will take

vision on the part of those who have money to give and those who assume the responsibility for directing the enterprise. It represents an indirect attack upon the problem of dependency, rather than the more appealing and more easily comprehended direct attack. But think of the saving when all the values concerned are taken into account. Most important of these is the value of the man himself. If you or I, or the community of which you or I may be a part, has helped a man who had lost his capacity for self-support to regain that capacity, a service has been rendered him which can be out-valued by no other possible contribution to his well-being. Until self-respect is lost there is no more wretched state than dependency. Another value worthy of consideration is the economic one. We can not afford to be wasteful of the human element in industry. Each man withdrawn from productive employment because of incapacity means loss to the whole body politic. Not only is the value of what he might have produced lost, but out of what others produce he must be supported.

Thus it would seem that from whatever angle the problem of the physically handicapped individual is viewed, be it from the purely humanitarian standpoint or that of reducing the drain upon resources, caused by dependency, or because of the interest in adequate production, the means must be provided by which anyone who through illness, accident, or other adverse circumstance has lost his working capacity can regain all that is possible of what he has lost. In order that this may be done, organization of resources by which it may be accomplished is absolutely essential. The purpose of this paper will have been accomplished if it in any way helps to direct intelligent thought to a consideration of the question of how such organization may be brought about.

MIGRATORY LABOR.

THE NEGRO MIGRANT.

BY PHIL H. BROWN, COMMISSIONER OF CONCILIATION, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

By designation from your distinguished president, Mr. Henning, who is my friend, my chief, and the palladium of my official liberties, I am an observer of the present remarkable hegira of the colored people from the Southern States, who are obtaining employment in northern industries. The wonderful metamorphosis now in process, by which cotton pickers are being transformed into steel workers, is quite as interesting and has as many approaches and slants toward industrial economy as any event that has occurred in the history of the country.

The romantic sagas that recount the reclamation of this great north country by its pioneers may be absent in the exodus of the colored people from the Southern States; but who can gainsay the presence of sentiment when a purely sentimental race elects to forsake the fire-sides of its fathers, the friends of its youth, and the soil of its nativity to follow the orbit of the North star, in which it sees the promise of better wages, enlarged opportunities for living, fuller recognition of manhood, and adequate educational advantages for its children? These form the composite urge of the negro migrants from the South.

PROBLEM OF THE AGES.

The negro has always been a problem in the scheme of civilization, and from what we read we are led to infer that his status evolved from what is called "prohibition." It appears from the record that Noah, celebrating his safe voyage over the crest of the flood, became more or less inebriated. Ham, one of his sons, said to have been my original progenitor, became so amused at the condition of his father that he repeated the scandal to his brothers, Shem and Japheth. Being human Noah was greatly humiliated, not so much from being drunk, but from the fact that it was noised about. He became very angry at Ham, cursed him roundly, in a patriarchal way, and said that he and his descendants "would be servants of servants unto his brethren."

This was a long time ago, and colored people, being disposed to believe that the sentence was too severe, are appealing from Noah's decision to the higher court of human conscience. A few thousand years should bring the statute of limitations into force, with an excellent opportunity to demonstrate its efficacy.

Nevertheless, the progeny of Shem and Japheth have always held Ham's essay in behalf of prohibition against all of us. Aaron and Miriam became greatly incensed at their brother Moses because he married Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro, the Midianite priest. They did not take into account that their beloved brother was a fugitive from justice at the time he pledged his betrothal, and the black priest

and his sable daughter were really furnishing him refuge from the wrath of Pharaoh. They also forgot that Moses, during his exile in the land of the Midian, was studying under Jethro, that famous philosopher of the law. There will be no attempt to go into details, for this address is not a sermon, but if you will read the eighteenth chapter of Exodus you will become convinced that the scheme of English and American courts, as it is exemplified to-day, came not from Moses, but from Jethro, the colored man, and that representative government found its origin at the same source.

So along the variant gamut of history runs the narrative of color distinction, sometimes softened by incidents like that when Simon, the Cyrenian, helped the weary Master bear the cross up the sacred hill at Golgotha, while Peter, a favored apostle, followed from afar.

TRIUMVIRATE OF CONQUEST.

Consequently, the negro has always been and probably always will be a problem to civilization, and his natural fecundity renders his problem more acute. Its perplexities increase as his numbers increase. It is the way of civilization. Civilization is as soulless as a corporation. It always pays, but pays itself first. It underwrites comforts for humanity but it exacts preferred profits. The predominating influences in the development of the world are the great triumvirate of "C's"—Christianity, commerce, and civilization. Christianity explores, commerce barter, and civilization collects.

The Crusaders sought to redeem the Holy Land from the infidel Turk, and returned from their enterprise, not with possessive papers for the Holy Land but with silks and linens from India, which opened up a trail for commerce that prevailed for centuries, and still prevails, and will prevail.

This suggests that civilization does not bestow its comforts and its blessings upon lesser peoples unless they pay the price, and that Christianity, with its divine tenets of humanity from man to man and the brotherhood of all, is essential with its checks and balances, but it is often perverted by stronger influences into the handmaiden of civilization. A clever American Indian once said that when the Puritans landed at Plymouth Rock they "immediately fell upon their knees and then fell upon the aborigines."

AN ECONOMIC EXPERIMENT.

But let me descend from the clouds that obscure the psychology of civilization to discuss the subject of "Migratory labor." Since I have come to this beautiful city and this meeting of earnest and capable men and women to add a little color to their deliberations, I shall proceed from a colored man's point of view. Man is made of clay, which, like a meerschaum pipe, is more valuable when highly colored. Consequently, I am predisposed to take a colored view of every situation.

A great industrial drama, a problem play, is being enacted across the border. Emerging from the devastation of the great war for the correction of civilization, reconstruction is being undertaken upon a scale more extensive than has ever been known before and calling for a high-g geared production that is a marvel even to our marvelous

country. This production is meeting a demand, the chief essential of which is domestic necessity. Railroads were run down at the heel by the merciless pounding of the war, steel and its dependent industries are strained to live up to the demands, and building trades are called upon to relieve a housing famine that spreads over the country like the morning dew.

This great industrial revival, which was necessary to meet prevailing conditions, was ushered in simultaneously with a sweeping reform of the immigration laws. Immigration was the chief source of recruits for unskilled and semiskilled labor, and the open door that erstwhile obtained admitted certain human raw materials for the melting pot that not only failed to conform to American ideals, but threatened their perpetuity. In the alchemy of the melting pot liberty became mixed with license, making a dangerous alloy. Various noxious social revolutionary schisms, impossible of assimilation with American citizenship and with destructive designs upon American institutions, were escaping from the melting pot. So, as first aid to the country against this menace of bolshevism, the opening to the melting pot was unceremoniously closed.

But the great revival of production was on and had to be carried on. The need of labor was insistent. It was then that the country bethought itself of the immense multicolored labor reserve, and in the emergency it was called out.

EMERGENCY RESERVES.

Immediately an upheaval of labor conditions ensued. Since December 1, 1922, negro men and women to the number of 358,856, according to the Labor Department's surveys, have caught the lure of opportunity, deserted the southern plantations and cities, and moved into northern industrial centers. These, added to 250,000 of the same class of workers who were left in the North from the war-time migration of 1917 to 1919, make a conservative total of 608,856 negro units added to industrial labor in the North within five years.

The mad rush to the Klondike in search of gold is nothing as compared with this northern movement. The center of negro population in the United States has been changed 9.4 miles farther east and 19 miles farther north on account of this movement. This is the first time in the history of the country that this center has assumed a northeasterly trend. Trains coming from the South are loaded with pilgrims seeking the promised land. They are coming often without coin in their purses and without change of raiment. Many have definite objectives, directed by friends or relatives who have preceded them, while others follow the crowd and the lure of better conditions. Cities bordering upon the line that separates the North from the South are converted into clearing houses, where agents of employers meet the migrants and pilot them to available jobs.

DESERT THE SOUTH.

The plantations and the levees of the South are becoming depopulated. The cabins are empty, and a shortage of cotton, one of the fundamentals of the textile industry, is imminent, because there are not sufficient hands to cultivate it. The southern section of the

United States is sorely put to on account of the deflection of this labor, which has always been that section's greatest asset. For 200 years, until the advent of the World War, there had never been a shortage of labor in the South. In fact, there had always been such a plethora of cheap labor available that the South had been backward in adopting modern machinery and tractors in its agriculture and steam shovels and hoists and cranes in its construction and excavation.

As must occur upon reflection, this great shifting of colored laborers evolved new phases of the racial problem. This country has at best a larger stock of the by-products of this problem than any other nation, and it is never any trouble to show the goods.

The textile industry, which looks to the South for its raw materials for the manufacture of fabrics, is faced with a shortage of cotton. The South itself is suffering on account of the departure of its labor. Northern industries find themselves momentarily face to face with the problem of assimilating their newly acquired labor into their processes of production and settling its housing problems and making social adjustments. Most of the labor with which these industries have dealt, which was not to the manner born or inured to manner, has been distinctly foreign labor, which moves in groups controlled by nativity and language and lives in ghettos entirely from preference, while the Southern migratory labor is disposed to ramble. The North, like Canada, knows the negro more as an individual than as a race, and pressing him into its labor forces is entirely an experiment, the outcome of which is far afield in conjecture.

RELATIVE EVALUATION.

Relative evaluation of negro migrant labor in northern industries has been more or less prejudiced by race distinctions as old as the world itself, and this shift, in such large numbers, from a section purely agricultural to another that is predominately industrial, meeting new conditions, different employers, and new jobs has not been attained without friction. In fact, the negro, entering upon his second emancipation, is but slightly removed from the same environs that obtained when Lincoln made him free. He is—

Launched in the eclipse
And rigged with curses dark.

He has entered upon a pilgrimage to the goal of enlarged opportunity, shadowed by the doubts of his friends and the venality of his foes. He is drafted in the great industrial crisis as he was drafted in the war. He is sought to perform the unskilled functions of alien labor. At best, and without deep thought, he is classified as emergency labor, rather than as preferred labor. To the industries the inclusion of his labor is an experiment; to him it is the realization of a century of dreams. The tolerance of the one, combined with the awakening of the other, should render this labor permanent in the scheme of industry, but the failure of either to contribute its full share in essential cooperation will cause the great plan of absorbing a large part of the nation's population into its industrial life either to fail or to be hopelessly deferred.

GROUP PROGRESS.

The negro has been an apt pupil of the white man and has learned much from him, incorporating many of his virtues and many of his vices. It is a pity that the white man has not acquired from the negro his characteristic contentment, his inherent cheerfulness, and his singular loyalty on the job.

The negro possesses these qualities, which are offered as the first steps in his aspiration for promotion from an emergency factor to a preferred labor utility. Physically, he possesses every requirement. As an American he is unsurpassed by the proudest products of the best American antecedents. In all our wars he has borne arms for, but never against, his country. He has never destroyed property nor assailed his Government. He accepted his freedom not as a gift, but as a compact, and sealed the covenant with his blood that it might endure. He has shown that his emancipation was not in vain by moving along the lines of progress laid down by the exacting American ritual. He has been sinned against without excessive sinning. He sent 400,000 of his sons to the war, some of whom were the first Americans to meet the enemy. His percentage of acceptance for military service was 31.7 as against 26.8 for the white American; and, be it said to his undying credit, of the 10,000 convictions for disloyalty under our country's espionage act there is not a negro's name among them. He invested \$200,000,000 in Liberty bonds to carry on the war. He has established 72 banks, and 36 insurance companies, and owns 218,972 farms. He has 325 newspapers and 50 building and loan associations. His church property is worth \$87,208,377, and his own wealth is \$5,000,000,000. When it is considered that he started 60 years ago with empty hands, this is a splendid achievement.

Comparative evaluation of this labor, considered in the mass from an economical point of view, is difficult, because the process of absorption is yet in its beginning; but the principal complaint raised against it is its disposition to enlarge its migratory inclinations after it reaches the North—that once it acquires the wanderlust, it drifts from one industrial center to another, led by no other reason than a desire for a change. This characteristic has strongly militated against the salesmanship of colored labor. The head of one firm wrote that he had about 150 negroes in an open-hearth furnace plant, but had employed 1,236 since November 1. Such an enormous turnover must necessarily be a drag on the industry. Others complain of the difficulty of getting the workers to report for duty after pay days and holidays.

Another case emphasizes a racial characteristic, the penchant to attend funerals. This employer said that he had on his roll 10 colored men who belonged to the same lodge, and when a member died the whole 10 left the job to attend the funeral. He asked one of the workmen why it was. "Well," came the ready answer, "the deceased brother was a member of my lodge, and if I don't turn out with him, I will be fined one dollar." The worker was willing to lose the \$5 he would receive for working a day rather than be assessed a fine of \$1.

DIFFICULTIES OF ORGANIZATION.

Leadership is absent in the great mass of the exodic migrants and wise direction, even collective bargaining, might be considered indispensable.

There exists a sort of "mutual askance" between organized labor and the colored workers; that of the former being fed by a reluctance to include colored men and that of the latter being the result of their native individuality in working, which has been fostered by the conditions in the South. Labor organizations do not have an extensive vogue in the South, due probably to the fact that agriculture has the upper hand of manufacturing in that section. Besides, there has always prevailed, up to the present time, an abundance of negro labor there, which was apparently contented until the present avenues to higher wages in the North were opened. Aside from this, a formidable barrier was erected by the employers to prevent organization.

The speaker feels a pardonable pride in the fact that he was one of the first negro printers in the United States admitted to the International Typographical Union. There is no organic reason for the exclusion of negroes from labor unions. The objections to their acceptance appear to be entirely of a local nature. Scattered over the country are 165 distinctively colored locals, with a membership of 6,000, all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which has removed all fundamental bars to recognition. Aside from this, a large number, reaching into the thousands, are members of the United Mine Workers of America, and other labor units.

VISIBLE RESULTS.

In the last five years the number of negroes in the manufacturing and mechanical industries has increased 255,389, of which 37,016 are females. During the same period the number of negroes engaged in domestic and personal service has decreased 57,642.

That opportunities for education are part of the lure is indicated by the fact that the number of negro children in northern public schools has increased 51.6 per cent since the beginning of the hegira of colored people from the South.

Concluding, the speaker refuses to confess judgment that negro labor is inferior. Inured to the language of the country, to its customs, ideals, and traditions, it should have priority over distinctively alien labor. The simon-purity of its loyalty, its cheerfulness, and its availability weigh strongly in its favor. It asks only an opportunity to show its fine points. The labor is not perfect. What labor is? Negro labor is striving to catch up with acknowledged standards, and when it catches up it will keep up.

As a sound economical proposition, the industries should foster the improvement of the quality of this labor, not only because it will help in emergencies, but because one-tenth of the population must not trail behind the nine-tenths nor tarry along the fringe of our industrial progress. "A chain is no stronger than its weakest link." The spirit of toleration and of the Golden Rule should prevail—human brotherhood and universal opportunity should inure. In short, civilization should loosen the reins on Christianity, to the end that this great force may function for humanity, for all of humanity, black and white, Jew and Gentile, as conceived by the Master Mechanic of creation.

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS IN THE PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY.

BY T. A. M'DONALD, EMPLOYMENT SUPERVISOR ABITIBI POWER AND PAPER CO.,
IROQUOIS FALLS, CANADA.

The question the speaker was asked to deal with is, "The employment problem in the pulp and paper industry from an employer's point of view," and it will be treated by telling of experiences in the plant with which the speaker is connected, which may be more interesting than an outline including the whole industry.

The Abitibi Power & Paper Co., at Iroquois Falls, has the largest newsprint mill on the continent. It has seven paper machines, two of them the largest in the world, and these machines run at a speed of 700 feet per minute. If the paper were cut one foot wide, the output of one of these machines in three hours would be almost 500 miles long and would reach from Toronto to Iroquois Falls. The plant produces about 500 tons of paper daily. It uses 650 cords of wood a day or 200,000 cords a year, and 300 tons of coal a day or 90,000 tons a year, worth about \$1,000,000. The enterprise covers an area of 1,000,000 acres. The output is worth over ten and three-quarter million dollars per year. About 1,400 men are employed at Iroquois Falls and up to 2,000 men on the wood-cutting operations in winter, and the pay roll runs over \$3,000,000 annually. The company operates, besides the mill, two electric-power plants, a railway, a fleet of boats, and the townsite.

The Abitibi company started building operations in 1913 in what was then a northern wilderness miles away from the railroad, and to-day, after ten years, has one of the finest and most efficient mills, as well as the largest mill on the continent. Iroquois Falls is a model town, with all the modern conveniences found in an up-to-date city, and with schools that are seldom equaled by any town of its size. The time allowed will not permit a recital of the early difficulties that the company had to surmount and of the courage and determination displayed by the president and his associates in carrying through what seemed an impossible task.

The real development of the mill and all of the departments, including the employment department, dates from the time the present manager took charge in July, 1917. About the first thing he did was tackle the labor problem. The mill was very short of men, and the sleeping quarters were not large enough to accommodate any more. A noted specialist on employment problems made a survey of conditions and offered certain recommendations, which the manager put into operation as rapidly as was practicable.

It seemed an impossible task to keep that mill supplied with men. Men were leaving faster than they could be brought in, and everyone in the organization was overworked. The manager, however, convinced the company that men could be secured, and very soon there were enough men, such as they were, to do the work. Until there were enough sleeping quarters two men had to use the same bed; that is, when one man got out another got in. By checking up it was found that the company was losing over \$700 a month on board from men who were loafing and not working. This was cut down to almost nothing by close follow-up work. New men coming in failed to report for work on the night shift; they were

given the choice of either going to work or spending the night outdoors at 25° below zero. They went to work. The block pile was a problem that winter. Men would go home to supper and if the night was cold they would not come back and the mill would run short of wood. This was overcome by building a shack at the pile, where the men were made to eat their supper. In the meantime a husky foreman guarded the path away from the pile, and if anyone wanted to go home he had to give a very good explanation. Needless to say, a man seldom got home until his work was finished. Two foremen who did great work that winter are still with the company, now being superintendents. The manager built up a high morale. He put backbone into all of the men. No job was too difficult; to his mind, nothing was impossible. He was on the job night and day. He told everyone what was expected and he usually got what he went after.

At that time the turnover in all departments was very large. At present, while the common-labor turnover is large, the superintendents, foremen, skilled men, and staff men are fairly well settled, and the turnover in their ranks is comparatively small. The stabilization of this group is due largely to the good feeling existing between the company and the men, and to the excellent living conditions provided by the company at Iroquois Falls. Good feeling toward the company exists because the men know the management is sincerely interested in their welfare and will give them a square deal. The company pays as good wages as any other mill, and the system of promotion gives a man something to work for. Last year over 600 men in the mill alone received advancement. This includes men who were advanced to positions paying only 3 or 4 cents an hour more than they were receiving, as well as men who were promoted to the positions of mechanics, foremen, and superintendents.

Long ago it was realized how difficult it was to secure high-class men for executive positions from other mills and to get them to come North without paying salaries far larger than the positions were worth. So it was decided to promote the company's own men if they were willing to work for promotion and were prepared when the opportunity came. The assistant general superintendent started as a clerk; the paper mill superintendent as a machine tender; the chief engineer as a draftsman; the office manager, chief timekeeper, chief cost accountant, and chief of order department, as clerks. There are very few positions of importance that have not been filled in this way. The company is convinced that this system pays. If it did not the mill would not stand where it does to-day.

There are few outstanding stars in the organization; if there were, all the other paper companies would be bidding for them. The manager has an uncanny ability for developing men and getting them to pull together; he knows how to inspire them to give the last ounce in an emergency. The business is so organized that almost any man could leave and not embarrass it very much. If a man asks to be promoted to a better job, he is asked what position he has in mind. Usually he has none in mind. After talking to him, he is told to think things over and to come back in two weeks and tell what he thinks about it then. Many of them do not come back. Thinking about or planning their future is too much like work. However, if a man shows promise the endeavor is made to direct his efforts along

right lines. If he is too lazy to try to think out his problems, the company is too busy to do it for him. The effort is made to impress all men with the importance of being liked and respected by other men.

The common-labor turnover is large, due principally to the difficulty the men experience in finding living accommodations for their families. Single men are well cared for in the hotel. Some houses are built every year, and this condition is improving. The company also endeavors to help the settlers of the district by giving them employment during the winter, knowing full well that they will go back to their farms in the spring. When they go their places are filled by men coming from the woods after the winter cut. Quite a few men from the mines, who have had their fill of underground work, come to recuperate for a period of three to six months. The most difficult period starts in August. A great many men get the harvest bug and off they go. Construction work in the North is then at its peak, and contractors start bidding for men, wages go sky high, and they take their quota; bush operations start and jobbers pay fancy prices to get enough men to build camps, and start cutting. The company is kept on the jump till the freeze-up, about November 15. Then things settle down till spring comes.

The number of men going and coming is not as detrimental to operation as appears, because about half of the men hired have worked for the company before and it tries to place them on the work they were doing. If a good man wants to leave and has a reasonable reason he is rarely coaxed to stay, but is wished the best of luck and is told to look the company up again if seeking employment. He usually leaves with a kindly feeling toward the company. It is surprising how many of these men come back and bring their friends. They stay longer the second time and are generally better employees than they were before.

A question often asked is "How do you handle grievances?" A grievance is rarely ignored no matter how small, and the company goes to great lengths to settle things in a way that will be satisfactory to all concerned. Anything a foreman or superintendent can not settle is settled by the employment supervisor, and if his decision is not satisfactory the question goes to the manager. One method found very effective in settling certain matters about which the men have complained is by discussing the question with a committee of the men and putting the solution up to them.

The town has to be seen to be appreciated. The staff and skilled men are more comfortable and enjoy more privileges than they would in the city. They have comfortable homes and good schools in which to educate their children. Night schools provide instruction for the ambitious men, and technical classes are conducted at the mill for anyone seeking that kind of instruction. Besides the union organizations there are lodges representing all the prominent fraternal orders, as well as social and church organizations. Sport plays a big part in life in the North, and the necessity for recreation is realized. Teams play just as hard as they work. Two years ago the senior and junior hockey teams won the championship of the N. O. H. A. and were represented in the finals at Toronto against the Granites and Aura Lee. Last year the junior hockey team was again the champion of

the N. O. H. A. and the baseball team has won the championship of northern Ontario three times within the last four years.

The other great industries of the North, mining and lumbering, will not be touched upon, but they are just as important in their development as the paper industry and have just as hard problems. The assistance of all of you is requested, but particularly that of the employment service. Help is needed and in fact must be had to secure the best results. Your superintendents have shown a personal interest in studying the requirements of the plant, and this opportunity is taken of expressing the company's appreciation and commending the good work that is being done by the Employment Service of Canada and the important part it is playing in the development of northern Ontario.

