

9th
National Convention
OF THE
Officials of
Bureaus of Labor Statistics
IN THE
United States.

DENVER, COLORADO, MAY 24-28, 1892.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NINTH CONVENTION
OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics
IN THE
UNITED STATES.
HELD AT
Denver, Colorado, May 24-28, 1892.

WITH PAPERS READ BEFORE THE CONVENTION.

TOPEKA:
THE HALL & O'DONALD LITHO. CO.
1892.



OFFICERS FOR 1892-93.

President :

CHARLES F. PECK, ALBANY, NEW YORK.

First Vice President :

LESTER BODINE, DENVER, COLORADO.

Second Vice President :

SAMUEL W. MATTHEWS, . . . AUGUSTA, MAINE.

Secretary-Treasurer :

FRANK H. BETTON, TOPEKA, KANSAS.

Delegate to International Statistical Institute :

CARROLL D. WRIGHT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Executive Committee :

CHARLES F. PECK, Chairman, New York.

HORACE G. WADLIN, Massachusetts.

SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, Connecticut.

WILLIAM A. PEELLE, Jr., Indiana.

FRANK H. BETTON, Kansas.

The next meeting of the Convention will be held at
Albany, New York.

CHRONOLOGY OF ASSOCIATION.

Year.	Convention held at	Month.	OFFICERS — NAMES OF.				Executive Committee.	No. of Bureaus represented . . .
			President.	First Vice President.	Second Vice President.	Secretary-Treasurer.		
1883	Columbus, Ohio.....	September.....	H. A. Newman.....	.....	.....	Henry Laskey.....	.....	6
1884	St. Louis, Mo.....	June.....	H. A. Newman.....	.....	.....	Henry Laskey.....	.....	10
1885	Boston, Mass.	June.....	Carroll D. Wright..	James Bishop.....	.....	John S. Lord.....	.....	13
1886	Trenton, N. J.....	June.....	Carroll D. Wright..	James Bishop.....	.....	E. R. Hutchins.....	.....	14
1887	Madison, Wis.....	June.....	Carroll D. Wright..	Frank A. Flower....	.....	E. R. Hutchins.....	.....	14
1888	Indianapolis, Ind.....	May.....	Carroll D. Wright *.	Frank A. Flower....	.....	E. R. Hutchins.....	.....	13
1889	Hartford, Conn.....	June.....	Carroll D. Wright..	Sam'l M. Hotchkiss..	.....	E. R. Hutchins.....	.....	17
1890	Des Moines, Iowa † ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1891	Philadelphia, Pa.....	May.....	Carroll D. Wright..	Sam'l M. Hotchkiss..	Willard C. Hall....	Frank H. Betton....	{ Lester Bodine Chas. F. Peck. Wm. A. Peelle, Jr..	20
1892	Denver, Colo.. ..	May.....	Charles F. Peck.....	Lester Bodine.....	Sam'l W. Matthews..	Frank H. Betton....	{ H. G. Wadlin Wm. A. Peelle, Jr. S. M. Hotchkiss	16

* Frank A. Flower presided; Mr. Wright absent. † No meeting.

NOTE. — In 1883 there were 11 Bureaus; 1884, 13; 1885, 16; 1886, 16; 1887, 21; 1888, 22; 1889, 22; 1890, 20; 1891, 20; 1892, 29.

CHRONOLOGY OF BUREAUS.

State.	When or- ganized.	Chief officers.	Years of service	
			Date.	No.
California...	1883	John S. Enos	1883-1887	4
		John J. Tobin.....	1887-1891	4
		George W. Walts.....	1891	1
Colorado.....	1887	C. J. Driscoll.....	1887-1889	2
		John W. Lockin.....	1889-1891	2
Connecticut *.....	1873	Lester Bodine.....	1891	1
		Arthur T. Hadley.....	1885-1887	2
		Samuel M. Hotchkiss.....	1887	5
Idaho †.....	1890			
Illinois.....	1879	F. H. B. McDowell.....	1879-1881	2
		John S. Lord.....	1881	11
Indiana †.....	1879	John Collett.....	1879-1881	2
		John B. Conner.....	1881-1883	2
		William A. Peelle, Jr.....	1883	9
Iowa.....	1884	E. R. Hutchins.....	1884-1890	6
		J. R. Sovereign.....	1890	2
Kansas.....	1885	Frank H. Betton.....	1885	7
Maine.....	1887	Samuel W. Matthews.....	1887	5
Maryland.....	1884	Thomas C. Weeks.....	1884-1891	7
		Allen B. Howard, Jr.....	1891	1
Massachusetts.....	1869	Henry K. Oliver.....	1869-1873	4
		Carroll D. Wright.....	1873-1888	15
		Horace G. Wadlin.....	1888	4
Michigan.....	1883	John W. McGrath.....	1883-1885	2
		C. V. R. Pond.....	1885-1887	2
		A. H. Heath.....	1887-1891	4
		Henry A. Robinson.....	1891	1
Minnesota.....	1887	John Lamb.....	1887-1890	3
		L. G. Powers.....	1890	2
Missouri.....	1879	W. H. Hilkene.....	1880-1882	2
		H. J. Spaunhorst.....	1882-1883	1
		H. A. Newman.....	1883-1885	2
		Oscar Kochtitzky.....	1885-1889	4
		Lee Meriwether.....	1889-1891	2
		Willard C. Hall.....	1891	1
Nebraska.....	1887	John Jenkins.....	1887-1890	3
		Philip Andres §.....	1892	...
New Jersey.....	1878	James Bishop.....	1878	14
New Mexico.....	1891	Max Frost.....	1891	1
New York.....	1883	Charles F. Peck.....	1883	9
North Carolina.....	1887	W. N. Jones.....	1887-1889	2
		John C. Scarborough.....	1889	3
North Dakota.....	1889	H. T. Helgesen.....	1889	3
Ohio.....	1877	Harry J. Walls.....	1877-1881	4
		Henry Luskay.....	1881-1885	4
		L. McHugh.....	1885-1887	2
		A. D. Fassett.....	1887-1890	3
		John McBride.....	1890-1892	2
		W. T. Lewis.....	1892	...
Pennsylvania.....	1872	Thomas J. Bigham.....	1872-1875	3
		W. H. Grier.....	1875-1879	4
		M. S. Humphreys.....	1879-1883	4
		Joel B. McCamant.....	1883-1887	4
		Albert S. Bolles.....	1887	4
Rhode Island.....	1887	Josiah B. Bowditch.....	1887-1889	2
		Almon K. Goodwin.....	1889	3
South Dakota †.....	1890	Frank Wilder.....	1890-1891	1
		Robert A. Smith.....	1891	1
Tennessee.....	1891	George W. Ford.....	1891	1
Texas.....	1892	John E. Hollingsworth.....	1892	...
Utah.....	1890	Joseph P. Bache.....	1890	2
Wisconsin.....	1883	Frank A. Flower.....	1883-1887	4
		H. M. Stark.....	1887-1891	4
		J. Dobbs.....	1891	1
United States ||.....	1884	Carroll D. Wright.....	1885	7

* Abolished and reestablished 1885.

† The office of Commissioner of Labor Statistics of Idaho is at present vacant, the Legislature having failed to appropriate any sum for salary and expenses.

‡ In Indiana and South Dakota the office is elective.

§ Governor Boyd, who was elected at the general election in 1890, appointed Philip Andres. A contest was instituted in the courts as to Boyd's eligibility, and he was unseated, the former Governor, Thayer, assuming the office, pending a final settlement. From this time until August, 1891, the Chief Clerk, H. F. Downs, acted as Commissioner, when Luther P. Ludden received the appointment from Governor Thayer. When the gubernatorial matter was finally settled, and Governor Boyd declared eligible, he again, in March, 1892, appointed Mr. Andres.

|| No officers were appointed for this Bureau until January, 1885.

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PROCEEDINGS.

The Ninth Annual Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of Bureaus of Statistics of Labor of the United States met in the club room of the Windsor Hotel, Denver, Colorado, at 10 o'clock A. M., May 24th, 1892.

The Convention was called to order by the President, CARROLL D. WRIGHT, of Washington, D. C., who introduced Hon. JOHN L. ROUTT, Governor of Colorado, who spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY GOVERNOR ROUTT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I am glad to see so many good-looking gentlemen here this morning. We are all interested in your labors. We are all concerned in the settlement of the labor problem; everybody—every man, woman and child—in the whole land wants to see a proper adjustment of the labor question. There is nothing that has done so much to harmonize and adjust the various elements of disagreement between capital and labor as your organization, and I confidently look forward to the time—probably within a few years—when the result of your efforts will be a complete and agreeable adjustment of all difficulties. This happy effect will be produced through your influence. Ahead of everything else combined is the collection of your labor statistics. We are a young State, and a young people, as you will observe by my appearance. It is our earnest endeavor to satisfy all who come to our State. When a man comes among us, if he wants coal, we give it to him; if he wants to be stony-hearted, we have the stone at hand—from the hardest granite to those of the soft and easily-worked varieties; if he is desirous of silver, we have mountains filled with it; if he prefers gold, we can crown him with it; is he an agriculturist, we furnish him with the most fruitful valleys of the earth. We want you to see all these; and, in addition, notice our schools, which are our greatest pride; and our churches, with their spires heavenward pointed; and while looking at these monuments of industry, remember that a girl born in our State is not yet old enough to marry. This country is unlike most of the States of the East; we live in the shadow of mountains, whose grandeur and boldness cannot help but influence the tenor of our lives. Sometimes we live on the top of these same mountains; I advise you to go up on top of Pike's Peak. You can ride to its summit as comfortably as you sit here. Yes, I advise you to go up, for you may get higher that way than you ever will in any other. This gathering of labor statisticians is one of the most prominent features of the day. The work you do will educate the boys, who are soon to take their places in the active battle of life, and they will mold this Government. We old fellows will soon have to go "across the range"—across the river, as you would say, yet, we are a hustling people. And I

call your attention to our manufacturing industries, of which we have quite a number; they are filled with a sturdy, industrious and contented people. We agree to pay good wages, and we pay every dollar that we agree to. We are proud of our working population; they are the basis of our prosperity. I now extend to you the welcome of the State. If you get into trouble, as its Executive, I will pardon you. If you should be unfortunate enough to be overcome by the exhilarating effects of our air, and therefore arrested, I know that the Mayor of the city [pointing to the Mayor] will see that the whole prison is evacuated in order that you may be free. Again I welcome you. Go see our State; you will be broader, bigger, better men. We are young, but we are growing, and we will try to prove to you that our hospitality is keeping pace with our increasing strength and age.

Hon. PLATT ROGERS, Mayor of the city of Denver, was then introduced by the President, and welcomed the members of the Convention in the following language:

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY MAYOR PLATT ROGERS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATION:—The city of Denver gives you most hearty welcome. It is not alone the high character of the gentlemen who compose this assemblage, but the great and far-reaching importance of the subjects to be discussed that arouses in the breasts of the people of this city a just pride in having their loved city selected as the theater of your deliberations. No question engaging the best thought of the country is of greater importance than that which seeks a solution of the respective rights and duties of the employer and the employed. The marvelous material advances that have been made during the past century have depended upon labor as a substratum. But full success has been and ever will be predicated upon the joint efforts of brain and muscle. While directing genius can always command a royal revenue for the exercise of its splendid power, the hands that fashion, the skill that controls, should have measured to them the largest recompense for the exacting nature of their occupations. If from the impressiveness of our great mountains or the invigorating breezes of our valleys, the problems you are to discuss may be further advanced toward a happy solution, we will feel grateful in the recollection of having added something toward the realization of that perfect day when equality has passed from promise to fruition as the essential element of our Government. I welcome you on behalf of the citizens of Denver; may your visit be pleasant and your sessions profitable.

Mr. ANDREW CHALMERS, President of the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, was introduced by the President.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY ANDREW CHALMERS.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—It gives me great pleasure to be with you this morning and to listen to the very cordial welcome tendered you by the Governor and the Mayor. You have penetrated with your investigations all the ramifications of human industry in the United States; you have even crossed the Atlantic and measured the homes and the incomes of some of Europe's industrial army, and from what I have read of your statistics I conclude that your sympathies are largely with those who toil. I hardly need to remind this Convention that the work of labor organizations is not to pull down and destroy, as has been often charged against them, but

their unfaltering purpose has been to make the foundation of society so broad that all the world could stand upon it. All we claim or desire is that equal opportunity which, Mayor ROGERS has declared, the Government should secure to every citizen. Much of your statistics, gentlemen, prove that neither state nor national governments have made any serious efforts to secure equal rights for all men; but they have, in too many cases, been the willing tools of powerful organizations of capitalists.

Our trades unions, Mr. PRESIDENT, will ever protest against injustice and wrong, and will ever strive to maintain and perpetuate the liberty and the civilization for which the heroes of the Revolution and the Rebellion cheerfully gave up their lives.

The statistics, gentlemen, you have been compiling these many years will be of great value to the historian, the statesman and the political economist.

In his history of England, Macaulay promised to relate the history of the people, and to cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history to do so. But in the archives of Great Britain there was no reliable record of the working-people, and their history is still unwritten.

A few years ago the students of Glasgow elected John Bright Lord Rector of their University. The country was in high expectation to hear and read his inaugural address, which was based upon statistics collected, probably, by a newspaper reporter, as they had no bureaus of labor statistics. This reporter had counted the large number of families that lived in homes of one room in the city of Glasgow, also the number who lived in cellars where the sunlight never penetrated. Mr. Bright's speech was an earnest and eloquent appeal for these unfortunate citizens, who, though living in a city of wealth and commerce, were crowded into one room with their family. The reporter who collected these statistics little dreamed that he was building the foundation for the inaugural address of the great tribune; he little expected that the eloquence of Bright would cast these statistics to the four corners of the world in words of living fire, and that they should travel on with their sad and pathetic message as long as the English language endures.

Gentlemen, I have not the ability to give intelligent expression to the thoughts that come to me at this moment. Yet, as your sympathies are clearly with those who are bearing the heat and the burden of the day, I have no hesitation in welcoming you in the name of the organized labor of this city.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, on behalf of the Convention, I thank you for your kind words. I think I but express the sentiments of all here in thanking you for the welcome you have so happily and warmly tendered us on behalf of the State of Colorado, the citizens of Denver, and the organized labor of the city. As statisticians and workers in the field assigned to us we are not making a noise about what we have accomplished, or expect to do in the future. The Governor has struck the keynote in saying that we are doing the work in seeking the truth. Personally we each have pet theories, probably, but as our reports will show, we endeavor to present to the public only the truth as we find it. You, Gov-

enor, told us that you agreed to pay your workers good wages, and paid every dollar that you agreed to. This we know to be a fact; from personal observation and experience some of our members can bear witness to the truth that there are no "cut prices" in Denver. Our labors during the year are very exacting. We must devise methods for obtaining facts relative to private business. We must obtain the confidence of the suspicious employer and the cautious manufacturer, and we have to overcome the prejudices of both the wage-payer and the wage-earner. We must select suitable agents for the collection of the data desired. And then we must present it to the public in such a way that it will be easily comprehended. Thus you will see that we can thoroughly appreciate the entertainment you so generously tender us, the pleasure you proffer, and the hearty welcome you extend. We like recreation. Again thanking you for the welcome, I feel in advance that our stay in your State will be pleasant and profitable to us all, and I promise you that in spite of the pardon given beforehand, we will endeavor to conduct ourselves properly while in Colorado.

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

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

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

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

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Connecticut. Established 1873; abolished. *Re-established* April, 1885. Samuel M. Hotchkiss, Commissioner, Hartford, Connecticut.

Bureau of Labor Statistics of Ohio. Established 1877. W. T. Lewis, Commissioner, Columbus, Ohio.

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

Bureau of Labor Statistics and Inspection of Missouri. Established 1879; enlarged 1883. Willard C. Hall, Commissioner, Jefferson City, Missouri.

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

Bureau of Statistics of Indiana. Established 1879. William A. Peelle, Jr., Chief, Indianapolis, Indiana.

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

Bureau of Labor Statistics of California. Established 1883. George S. Walts, Commissioner, San Francisco, California.

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

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

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

Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Maryland. Established 1884. A. B. Howard, Jr., Chief, Baltimore, Maryland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of Nebraska. Established 1887. Philip Andres, Commissioner, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Department of Labor and Statistics of South Dakota. Established 1890. R. A. Smith, Commissioner, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

Department of Agriculture and Labor of North Dakota. Established 1890. H. T. Helgesen, Commissioner, Bismarck, North Dakota.

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

Bureau of Statistics of Utah. Established 1890. Joseph P. Bache, Territorial Statistician, Salt Lake City, Utah.

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

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

Bureau of Agriculture, Insurance Statistics and History, of Texas. Established 1891. John E. Hollingsworth, Commissioner, Austin, Texas.

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

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

HORACE G. WADLIN, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau.

ALBERT S. BOILES, Chief of the Pennsylvania Bureau.

SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, Commissioner of the Connecticut Bureau.

*The office of Commissioner is at present vacant, the Legislature having failed to appropriate any sum for salary and expenses.

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

WILLARD C. HALL, Commissioner of the Missouri Bureau.

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

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

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

HENRY A. ROBINSON, Commissioner of the Michigan Bureau.

FRANK H. BETTON, Commissioner of the Kansas Bureau.

CHARLES A. HENRIE, Chief Clerk of the Kansas Bureau.

SAMUEL W. MATTHEWS, Commissioner of the Maine Bureau.

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

PHILIP ANDRES, Commissioner of the Nebraska Bureau.

E. J. EATON, Commissioner *ex officio* of the Colorado Bureau.

LESTER BODINE, Commissioner of the Colorado Bureau.

C. J. DRISCOLL, ex-Commissioner of the Colorado Bureau.

E. E. RICHARDSON, Chief Clerk of the Colorado Bureau.

GEORGE W. WALT, Commissioner of the California Bureau.

J. R. SOVEREIGN, Commissioner of the Iowa Bureau.

At the conclusion of the roll-call, President WRIGHT delivered the following

OPENING ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I congratulate you on the large number present at this, our Ninth Annual Convention. We have cause to congratulate ourselves upon the advancement made in the building up and extension of the work of Labor Bureaus, or Bureaus of a similar character, since our last meeting. The example set by the Bureaus of the United States is influencing the statistical methods of countries in many parts of the world. During the past year France has established a Labor Bureau, and has sent a representative—M. PAUL DESCHANEL—to this country to examine our systems of gathering statistics. His report will undoubtedly be highly complimentary to our system of Labor Bureaus. New Zealand has established a Department of Labor within the past year, and Sweden has one working after the American method; and the English government is seriously considering the advisability of enlarging the scope of the work now conducted under the title of a Correspondent of Labor. England has dealt only, except possibly to a limited extent, with vital and commercial statistics in the past, but the work of the American Labor Bureaus is exciting the English public to a desire for statistics concerning the individual laboring man. New South Wales has had a bill pending for a year for the establishment of a Statistical Bureau. So you will see that the example set by the American Bureaus is

meeting with its own reward. One of the most encouraging things that I have noticed was the action at a recent meeting of the International Statistical Institute at Vienna. The statistics of Europe have heretofore been almost entirely collected along lines that were of interest chiefly to the scientist. The International Institute passed a series of resolutions recommending that the governments of their respective countries establish Bureaus at once, modeled after the American fashion. This action of the Institute justifies us in taking renewed pride in our own work. It shows that while we may not be as well trained as some of the European statisticians, yet we are doing a work which comes into contact with the direct interests of the people themselves; it shows that our work is an essential work, and one which, when age comes to it, will result in a unification of the labors of like Bureaus in a complete and great chain, and make a fund of statistical information which will be of the utmost possible value. This International Institute is desirous of holding a world's congress in America during the year 1893. It is proper at this time that I should call your attention to this matter, and in doing so I would respectfully recommend that this Convention take some action looking toward this meeting of the notable statisticians of the world. The congress—if this body takes favorable action—will be conducted, so far as the United States is concerned, under the auspices of three American societies: this Association, the American Statistical Association, and the American Economical Association. You ought to make arrangements to work in harmony with the other two.

It is proper that I should repeat what I have said at previous meetings. You should at this time make arrangements for a new President. My relations with this Association have been extremely pleasant; yet I have been its President since and including the third Convention. I now feel that I am entitled to be relieved of the responsibilities of the office, and that the duties, as well as the honor, should devolve upon someone else. I do not make this statement as a mere matter of politeness, but from an earnest desire that you should do as I have indicated. In conclusion, I desire to say that we are doing a great work, and in the course of years we shall be able to present a solution of some of the great problems that are now connected with the welfare of capital and labor.

Mr. BODINE: Mr. PRESIDENT, I desire to present at this time letters of regret from two gentlemen whose names are mental evergreens to all who are interested in the labor problem.

These letters were handed to the Secretary, who read as follows:

NEW YORK, April 20, 1892.

Mr. Lester Bodine, Chairman Executive Committee National Association Commissioners of State Bureaus of Labor Statistics, Barclay Block, Rooms 24-25, Denver, Col.,

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:—Your favors of April 4th and 16th came duly to hand. In the former you extend a cordial invitation to attend the Ninth Annual Convention of your Association and to address that body on any subject I desire.

In the matter of your invitation let me say that I know of nothing in the near future which would have afforded me more pleasure than to be in a position to accept it. I find, however, that the duties of my office will not permit me to leave this city for so long a time as the attendance upon your Convention would involve.

The opportunity to present the question of labor so conspicuously before the thinking world, as an address to your Convention would give, does not often occur, and you can

readily imagine that I employ no idle words when I say that I deeply and sincerely regret my inability to be with you and to take advantage of the circumstance.

If at any of your future Conventions the same invitation would be extended and my duties admit of it, I can assure you that I shall endeavor to acquit myself with credit to our movement.

Earnestly hoping that the Convention will be entirely successful, that the noble work in which your various bureaus are engaged may achieve the great objects for the amelioration and emancipation of all labor, and trusting that I may hear from you as frequently as convenient, I am

Truly yours,

SAM'L GOMPEES,

President American Federation of Labor.

SCRANTON, PA., April 21, 1892.

Lester Bodine, Esq., Chairman Executive Committee Labor Commissioners,

DEAR SIR:—I have before me your kind invitation to attend the meeting of the Commissioners of Labor of the various States and the United States, to be held on the 24th to the 28th of this month. It would be a source of great pleasure and profit to me could I attend your Convention, but the time is too short and the distance too great. I can only extend an expression of my very best wishes for the success of your meeting, and at the same time add that the future may witness the inauguration of many reforms as the result of your labors. With sincerest wishes, I remain

Very truly yours,

T. V. POWDERLY,

General Master Workman.

The SECRETARY: Mr. PRESIDENT, If I have the unanimous consent of the Association, I desire to introduce my report as Treasurer at this time. There seems to have been no provision made for it in the order of business; probably for the reason that prior to our Philadelphia session we had no recognized Treasurer, it having been the understanding that the report of the proceedings should be furnished to the members at cost of publication, and that the five dollar fee was adequate to meet the cost of preparation, postage and incidental expenses. But adding the duties of Treasurer to that of Secretary would seem to imply that a report of the finances was expected. Therefore I respectfully submit the following account of receipts and disbursements:

To the National Association:

GENTLEMEN:—I herewith respectfully submit my report as Treasurer for the year just closed:

RECEIPTS.

From sale of 3,215 copies Report of Proceedings Eighth Convention.....	\$450 10
From fees for incidentals.....	90 00
Total.....	\$540 10

DISBURSEMENTS.

For printing 3,500 copies proceedings Eighth Convention—128 pages, \$430; four extra pages, \$12; alterations, etc., \$13 62; total.....	\$455 62
Boxing and drayage.....	3 25
Postage and express.....	15 00
Office expenses.....	62 00
Balance.....	535 87
	\$4 23

Respectfully submitted,

F. H. BETTON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Denver, Col., May 24th, 1892.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer was agreed to, and ordered filed.

The President submitted a communication from ELLEN M. HENROTIN, Vice President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, containing resolutions adopted at the regular meeting of the Woman's Labor Committee of said society, held April 21, 1892, copies of which had been previously sent to members of the Association. The communication was as follows:

CHICAGO, U. S. A., April 30, 1892.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, United States of America,

DEAR SIR:—At the regular meeting of the Woman's Labor Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary, held April 24th, the following resolutions were adopted:

WHEREAS, We, the members of the Woman's Labor Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary, have been appointed for the purpose of holding a congress in October, 1893, which is to consider the industrial conditions of women and children; and

WHEREAS, We realize that the only effective means of obtaining the information necessary for the success of such a congress is through properly-appointed channels,

Resolved, That we address the Labor Commissioners of the various States, urging them to make the conditions under which women and children are employed for hire the special topic in the next report of their Bureau.

Resolved, That in the consideration of these conditions we urge the Commissioners to make the following topics the basis of their statistics:

First. Actual numbers under and over fourteen years of age.

Second. Age at beginning to work.

Third. Difficulties in way of school attendance.

Fourth. Illiteracy; familiarity with the English language.

Fifth. Work by the day.

(a) Wages per day or week.

(b) Days employed during the year.

(c) Hours per day or week.

Sixth. Work by the piece.

(a) Maximum and minimum price per piece.

(b) Maximum and minimum pieces per day.

Seventh. Night work; danger connected with it.

Eighth. Sanitary and humane conditions in factory, shop, store.

(a) Ventilation.

(b) Seating provisions.

(c) Protection against dangerous machinery.

(d) Provision for escape in case of fire.

(e) Privacy and proportionate number of toilet rooms.

(f) Length of time allowed at noon.

Ninth. Membership in labor or beneficiary organizations.

Tenth. Amount saved during the year.

Eleventh. If mothers, what provision made for care of children.

Resolved, That we urge the Commissioners to pay especial attention to the condition of employment of women and children in factories and retail stores, and to those engaged in the manufacture of clothing and those in the textile and tobacco industries, and in farm, field and mines.

Enclosed is the circular letter issued by the committee, which outlines the scope of the work for which it was appointed, and will explain the need for your help and endorsement of the resolutions.

The committee prays for your approval, and earnestly desire that you enter the enclosed list of its members on your permanent list of recipients of the documents issued from your office.

Will you kindly send the list of Labor Commissioners throughout the United States at your earliest convenience, and greatly oblige

Yours truly,

ELLEN M. HENROTIN,
Vice President.

The communication was placed on the calendar for future discussion.

MR. BODINE: MR. PRESIDENT, as chairman of the Executive Committee I desire to introduce the report of that committee. I would say that no important changes have been made in the Constitution of the Association; the only point that has been covered that was not covered before is that the resolutions and rules governing this body were scattered through each of the reports of the proceedings, and it was almost impossible to discover what was law and what was not. We have collected and compiled the whole thing together. I therefore submit the following report, and move its adoption:

RULES OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF OFFICIALS OF
BUREAUS OF LABOR STATISTICS.

1. This organization shall be known henceforth as the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics.

2. Its object is to meet annually for the discussion of business pertaining to the Association—for the discussion of methods of work, current and otherwise, pertaining to Bureaus of Labor or Industrial Statistics and kindred departments with which its members are connected in their respective States; also to foster the ties of friendship, interchange ideas, and in various ways seek to promote the welfare of these Bureaus of Statistics; to present subjects for investigation and to transact all such business as is deemed consistent with the duties of statisticians.

3. The active members of this Association shall consist of Commissioners and Chiefs of State and National Bureaus of Labor and Industrial Statistics, their deputies and chief clerks. All ex-commissioners and ex-deputies of such Bureaus shall also be *ex-officio* members of the Association, entitled to all rights except election to office; and all officers of the Association shall be entitled to serve out the full term of their election.

4. The officers of this Association shall consist of a President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, Secretary-Treasurer and an Executive Committee, who shall serve for the term of one year from the date of their election, or until their successors are elected.

5. The officers shall be elected at each convention annually, by ballot, and those receiving a majority of votes of the total number cast shall be declared elected to the positions for which they were nominated. All officers shall serve for the term of one year from the time of their election, or until their successors are elected, and shall assume their respective duties immediately after being thus elected.

6. The Executive Committee must, by either session or correspondence, agree upon a date for Convention sixty days previous to the date selected, and immediately, within ten days after such agreement, issue the official call for the Convention, which must be signed by all members of the committee and approved by the signatures of the President and Secretary.

7. The Executive Committee shall consist of five members, to consist of a chairman, who shall be the member residing in the State wherein the next Convention is to be held, two members to be selected by ballot, and the Presi-

dent and Secretary-Treasurer of the Association. It shall have charge of all preliminary arrangements pertaining to each Convention that occurs during the term of said committee.

8. The cost of membership in this Association will be five dollars per year for each State represented and as much more as is necessary to meet the maintenance of the Association: *Provided*, That the maximum cost of said respective membership does not exceed the sum of ten dollars per year.

9. Any State in arrears for a period exceeding one year will be suspended from membership until such time as all arrears are paid.

10. The Conventions of this Association shall be held annually at a place chosen by ballot at the immediately preceding Convention. The annual Conventions of this Association will convene in the month of May or June at a date agreed upon by a majority vote of the Executive Committee. In the event that neither May nor June proves practicable, some other month, to be selected by a majority vote of all members—sent to the chairman of the Executive Committee—shall be named. No Convention shall convene, however, earlier than May or later than September in each year.

11. The place of meeting selected by the Convention cannot be changed except by unanimous consent of all members of the Executive Committee, including the acquiescence of the resident member in the State wherein said Convention was to have been held.

12. A standing committee of three, composed of the President, First Vice President and Secretary of the Convention, is hereby created, whose duty it shall be to select such question or questions as they may deem, in their judgment, of general interest, to be taken up for investigation by the Bureaus of Statistics.

13. The Conventions of this Association must extend through at least two full days, and shall not exceed five days.

14. The duties of the President shall be to preside over the deliberations of the Association and to preserve order, and transact such business as may of right appertain to his office. The First Vice President shall perform all duties of the President in event of the absence or resignation of the President. The Second Vice President shall perform the duties of the President in event of the absence or resignation of the President and First Vice President.

15. The proceedings of each session of the Convention shall be printed under the direction of the Secretary-Treasurer and published in pamphlet form, each Bureau to be supplied with copies at cost. The Secretary shall also keep a correct record of all proceedings of the Convention, transact correspondence incidental to his duties and deliver to his successor all books, papers, moneys, etc., that are property of the Association. He shall also be custodian of all moneys of the Association.

16. All rules inconsistent with these are hereby repealed.

Respectfully submitted.

LESTER BODINE, Chairman,
CHARLES F. PECK,
W. A. PEELE, JR.,
CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
FRANK H. BETTON,

Executive Committee.

Denver, May 24th, 1892.

After some discussion, the report as read was adopted.

The President then announced that discussion of subjects pertaining to statistical work and the duties of Labor Bureau officials was in order.

Mr. BODINE, of Colorado, said that he would like to hear from Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, on the subject of building and loan associations.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: The subject of building and loan associations has attracted my attention for several years. The successful working of these associations in a number of the States, especially in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, led me to believe that if they were carefully guarded by legal restrictions, they would, in many instances, prove a safe and practicable way for laboring people to acquire and pay for homes of their own. I had intended to make a careful investigation of the subject during this year, and report to the next session of the Legislature, in the hope and belief that the Legislature would pass a law which would provide proper safeguards and the necessary encouragement for the formation of these associations more generally in our State. But just before beginning the proposed investigation, agents of the National Department of Labor called and informed me that they were already entering upon such an investigation in Connecticut as I had proposed, in the interest of the Department of Labor, and of course the subject was dropped by the Connecticut Bureau. Many years ago Connecticut passed a law authorizing building and loan associations, with privileges which enabled capitalists to obtain usury in loaning their money. This gave an unfavorable impression of these associations in my State, which has not yet been fully removed. The law was soon repealed. Such associations are, however, authorized under existing laws, and prevail to a limited extent. I am of the opinion that the presentation of the results of such an investigation as I had proposed, to the Legislature, with the recommendation of a proper measure, would have resulted in the passage of a law which would have been much more to the purpose, but the course pursued by the Department of Labor will prevent action on our part for the present.

The PRESIDENT: Our Department is about to enter upon an investigation as to the number, capital, influence, etc., of

building and loan associations; but I hope that no Commissioner will drop any investigation he may have contemplated because of it. Instead of doing the work single-handed, we want to coöperate. We have been engaged in experiments to get correct schedules. We think we have about succeeded, and we hope to be able to take the subject up in a few weeks. It is our intention to so collect and present our data that they will be of value to each State, and for this reason it is desirable that our work should be supplemented by the work of the State Bureaus. Coöperation with the State Bureaus is my ideal; as I believe it will be advantageous when the amount of money appropriated by the United States can be supplemented by the smaller amounts of the different States. That the work can be done together I have no doubt.

Mr. DRISCOLL: My belief is like that of Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, and that is that with proper legal restrictions building and loan associations may become a benefit to the laboring people, but it is evident that a great majority of these associations are not now controlled by such restrictions. In an investigation of the effect these associations have upon communities it should be ascertained what per cent. of the working people who attempt to secure homes through them succeed, and what per cent. of these homes eventually fall into the hands of speculators, who embark in enterprises of this kind with the hope of being able to squeeze out the "little fellows" before the affairs of the association are finally settled up.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Two years ago a law was passed in New Jersey making it the duty of building and loan associations to report annually to the Labor Bureau, and for the past two years, and in future Reports, the Bureau will have a complete statement of their condition and progress. I understood the gentleman from Colorado to ask what was the effect of building and loan associations in the community. For my State I can reply that hundreds of men have been able to build homes through the agency of the building and loan associations. But there are some drawbacks: such as financial depressions, strikes or lockouts. In the period from 1873 to 1879 many who were building homes through building associations lost them. For instance, employers have taken advantage of the

fact that their employes had their homes partially paid for to make a reduction in wages. I would not like to say that this is the rule, but it has been done. But where industries and occupations are reasonably permanent there is a great advantage in securing homes through this means: for it only takes about eleven and a half years for a man to pay for a home with little more than he would pay for rent. The success of our local building associations has induced the starting of what is known as national building and loan associations, very many of which are a fraud. The success of the building and loan association depends largely upon the fact that its affairs are conducted by the local shareholders and by officers of their own selection. But it is impossible for the affairs of an association to be managed locally when the money must all be sent away to headquarters in some distant place, and when the management and investments are necessarily left to the judgment of officials who have no knowledge of the conditions where the shareholders live. They have a set of head officials, agencies and numerous canvassers, which necessitates large expenses; while the success of our local associations is largely due to the fact that they are conducted at little expense by the shareholders who are willing to do the work without pay; so that in many of them the only officer that is paid is the secretary. This is true of most of the coöperative societies in England, where they are so successful that in many of the towns of that country almost the entire business of distribution is done through coöperative societies in the same way. In New Jersey hundreds of thousands of dollars are handled annually by the building and loan associations, with but a trifling expense; but these national associations are seriously condemned by our people, for it is plain to them that it is an abuse of the principle of coöperation, and that men who put money in the national associations put it there for the purpose of making money by large per cent. interest only, while in the local associations men put their money in for the purpose of getting homes. That's the difference. Building and loan associations are a species of coöperation that I am in favor of.

Mr. DRISCOLL: In this connection we should take cognizance of those who go into such associations, and those who

remain in them to the last. I venture to say that it will be found that those who remain in them are persons who invested money for the purpose of making large profits, and are not governed by any desire to assist the worthy poor in securing a home. I was in one of these associations, and fell behind in my payments; the interest rolled up higher than any Shylock ever heard of would demand. My home was advertised in an obscure weekly newspaper, and it came near being sold without my knowledge. Many of these associations, in my opinion, are like our mountains. They look green at a distance, but when you get close to them they are found to be brown and bare. To be sure, building and loan associations have now and then aided some of the industrious working people to build homes; but it must be remembered that one or two swallows do not make a summer.

Mr. SOVEREIGN: Building and loan associations are not, as a rule, actuated in their business transactions by the spirit of philanthropy. The building and loan associations of Iowa are closely scrutinized by the people. A building and loan association doing business at Sioux City issues to each of its borrowers a life-insurance policy covering the period of installment payments, the provisions of which cancel all claims of the association against the home in case the borrower dies before full payment is made. But to offset this advantage, it is claimed by some of the borrowers that the association erects poorly-constructed houses. However, notwithstanding this and other objections to the present methods of building and loan associations, they are by no means universally condemned by the laboring people of our State. To a greater or less extent they have given satisfaction to the borrowers. About what has been said concerning the national associations I heartily concur in; they are, as a rule, fraudulent, and at all events they create a spirit of distrust which makes it difficult for those to succeed who are doing a legitimate business. I sincerely commend the Commissioner at Washington, Mr. WRIGHT, for his investigation of the building and loan associations, and thank him for the opportunity he offers to the State Commissioners to make full and comprehensive reports on that subject.

Mr. BOLLES: I wish to say a word in defense of these associations. We have 1,200 of them in Pennsylvania, with seventy million dollars or more invested; and they are, in nearly every case, honestly and intelligently conducted. The unsuccessful are those which departed from the original plan. The irregularities can be attributed to this departure. I am glad that the subject is to be investigated this year, for it will interest all the people in the different States.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: The investigation and discussion has already led to the formation of a State Building and Loan Association League in our State, which meets twice a year, so that now it is not so easy for men to go around and get people to put their money into these bogus associations. Mr. DEXTER, of New York, in an address before our State League last year, showed very clearly why these national associations must fail.

Mr. WADLIN: The various State associations have united in a national association, and it may be of interest to mention that this national association has, by resolution, requested the United States Commissioner of Labor to make such an investigation of the methods and results of building associations throughout the country, as he has projected. In Massachusetts we have a very stringent and well-considered law governing building and loan associations, which with us are called "coöperative banks." They are under the direct supervision of the Commissioners of Savings Banks. Their loans are confined to members of the association, which is regularly incorporated, with properly-bonded officers. The business of the banks, as they are called, is done practically on the old town-meeting plan. Each member has an equal vote in the election of officers. So far they have proved entirely safe, and a great help to persons of small means, in the acquirement of homes. They have not only assisted in this direction, but are great incentives to thrift. The annual reports of these associations are very interesting and instructive. From my experience of their results in Massachusetts I should say that the method of administering such institutions should be made by proper State legislation to embody the essential features of the Massachusetts plan. This would prevent the

evils incident to the absence of proper legal safeguards and retain the undoubted benefits of this system of coöperative saving, when properly conducted.

Mr. DRISCOLL: In your State do the stocks vote?

Mr. WADLIN: No, sir; in our State each member has an individual vote without regard to the number of shares held by him. The number of shares per member is limited, so that there can be no concentration of money or influence in the hands of a few. Loans are never made except on first real-estate mortgage security, or on the shares themselves after they have acquired a paid-up value. All loans are made under open competition, on the auction plan, to the bidder of the highest premium, and each member has a full report, semi-annually, of the operations of the association.

Mr. BODINE: Mr. PRESIDENT, I move to adjourn until 2:30 P. M. I wish to state, before the motion is put, that ex-Senator VANWYCK, of Nebraska, is in the city, and I hope that he will address us immediately upon reassembling. Also, that Knights of Labor Assembly, No. 3,714, holds its anniversary to-night, and extends a hearty and cordial invitation to the Commissioners to be present.

It was found necessary to decline the invitation of the Knights of Labor on account of previous arrangements that had been made.

The Convention adjourned to the hour named.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 2:30 P. M., President WRIGHT in the chair.

Mr. BODINE: Mr. PRESIDENT, I desire to introduce the following communication from the organized musicians of Colorado. The writers of this communication have a serious grievance against our United States Army bands. In our State the army band from Fort Logan frequently takes engagements that our home musicians would get were it not for their unwarranted interference. Colorado is not alone in making complaint of this evil. It ought to be a plain proposition that when the Government pays men for service the same men

should not be allowed to take the bread from the mouths of citizens in private life:

Mr. Lester Bodine, Commissioner of Labor, State of Colorado,

DEAR SIR:—We, the undersigned, representing musicians of Colorado, which includes organizations at Denver, Leadville, Pueblo, Aspen, and other cities of this State, also the National League of Musicians of the United States, do most respectfully request you to call the attention of the National Association of Commissioners of State Bureaus of Labor Statistics to the question of the competition of army bands with citizen musicians. It is of vital interest to 80,000 musicians of the United States—members of organized labor. The continued methods of army bands, which are not dependent upon their profession for a livelihood, deprives deserving citizens of the income essential for the maintenance of their families. It is a labor question of growing importance, and has received the favorable attention of national bodies during the last year. This sympathy for a deserving cause has resulted in the introduction of a bill in Congress prohibiting army bands from competing with citizen bands.

It is to be hoped that your honorable Association, composed as it is of men whose reports are the basis for legislation and whose constituents are laboring people, will at least add to the good work by an expression of sympathy for the union musicians of America. We, as your constituents, urge you to use all honorable means to enlist the cooperation of your associates.

{ SEAL. }

MAT. PETERS, Chairman,
THOMAS HUTCHINGS,
P. J. DEVAULT,

Army and Navy Band Committee.

The communication as read was referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to report at the next meeting of the Association.

President WRIGHT stated that he would like an index of all reports now in press, in order that they might be included in the analytical index of all the reports of all the Bureaus which he was soon to print.

Mr. DRISCOLL requested that the several Bureaus send statistical publications to the Denver high school library.

It was recommended that the request be complied with.

Upon motion of Mr. BODINE, the communication from the Woman's Committee of the World's Congress was taken up for discussion. Upon request of members who had not been present at the previous meeting, the communication was read again.

Mr. SOVEREIGN: Mr. PRESIDENT, I move you that the request of the committee be complied with by the Commissioners as far as possible, and that the committee be so notified.

Mr. DRISCOLL: I insist, Mr. PRESIDENT, that if the women want this investigation they should help now, and should have helped in times gone by, to procure the means by which to make it. Until they show some disposition to help us to secure adequate appropriations I am inclined to think that we

can find work to do that will be of more advantage to the working people than that asked for in this communication.

Mr. SOVEREIGN: I am willing to admit that many of the questions contained in the circular are not germane to the conditions in my State, but they are highly practical in many other States. I believe the members of this Association should coöperate with the Woman's Labor Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary as far as possible. The Iowa Bureau has already begun the work of collecting data suggested by the recent circular from the Woman's Committee. It is evident to me that this committee has outlined a grand work, and deserve the hearty support of this Association. If a special investigation cannot be made to answer the queries contained in the circular, let us give the committee such material as we already have on the subjects proposed. I trust my motion will prevail.

Mr. BODINE: It is my opinion that there should be no hesitancy about taking up this motion. Men have labor organizations in which they band together and protect their interests, but women and children are almost helpless and are therefore dependent upon Labor Bureaus for information of this kind. We should be doing less than our duty if we did not devote our energies to furnishing information to this Woman's Labor Committee. During a previous session of our Legislature a law was introduced providing that seats should be furnished to salesladies. This movement originated from an investigation made by the Colorado Labor Bureau. When it was before the Legislature the ladies assisted materially in its passage. This was one of the most humane acts of our Legislature, and has resulted in lessening the severity of the work of women clerks. Now we have got to look out for the women wage-earners. We should certainly encourage them now when they are trying to do something for themselves.

Mr. DRISCOLL: It may be well that this motion should pass, yet I declare that I am somewhat impatient with women who do nothing but petition, when with a little energy they could help out the Labor Bureaus greatly in their work.

Mr. ANDRES: I am in about the same position as my

friend SOVEREIGN. I have already done what I could to meet the requirements of this circular, and expect to give all the information possible. Surely we should not hesitate to give our assistance to women and children.

Mr. BETTON: I received this circular, and replied to the committee that in 1889 I had investigated the condition of women wage-earners in Kansas and submitted the result in my Report for that year; and that in the following year I had inquired concerning child labor and devoted a portion of my Report for 1890 to that subject. I forwarded copies of these Reports to the committee. Having so recently reviewed these questions, I found it impracticable—and possibly unnecessary—to comply with the requests as set forth in their circular. It seems to me that in States where recent investigation of these subjects have been made it will be unnecessary to so soon again undertake to cover the same ground.

The question being upon Mr. SOVEREIGN's motion, the motion prevailed and the Secretary was instructed to communicate with the committee.

The President then introduced ex-Senator VANWYCK, of Nebraska, who spoke as follows:

REMARKS OF EX-SENATOR VANWYCK.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I can assure you that I am greatly pleased to meet you. I did not expect to make a public speech at this time, nor do I intend to; but let me say that nothing but your work, and the work of a great many of your fellow-students in the same line, can accomplish what you are doing. I feel great sympathy in this work. From its accomplishments I have had for years much hope. The conscientious discharge of your duties will result in the elevation of labor and placing it where it belongs. It is only a few years ago that America began this work. Massachusetts was the first to lead off, and I might remark that that State generally leads off in good things. Finally the American Republic is represented in this work by twenty-eight of these labor bureaus, and the General Government is now represented. You have come away here to the west of the Missouri river to this grand, magnificent city—one of the finest cities of the American continent—built by American labor. You have a right to rejoice, and to say that your work has accomplished great results, the greatest of all—the elevation of American labor; and when that is done, we make liberty dearer on this continent. Everything that can be done for mankind makes liberty dearer to the hearts of the American people. With liberty made more lovable, and the elevation of our citizens increased, the prosperity and well-being of our country is assured. Gentlemen, I am glad to have met you; may your efforts be crowned with the success that they deserve.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Convention, Senator, I thank you for your kind words. It is our hope that we shall deserve the confidence you have expressed.

Mr. BOLLES: I should like to inquire if any of our Conventions have passed resolutions asking for the establishment of a permanent Census Bureau at Washington?

The PRESIDENT: I think such a resolution has been passed.

Mr. BODINE: I am quite positive that no resolution of the kind has been passed.

Mr. ROBINSON: Mr. PRESIDENT, I move you that it be the sense of this Association that a permanent Census Bureau be established.

Mr. KEAN: If this motion is passed, the Convention might be subjected to criticism by that portion of the press which is opposed to Mr. PORTER and his methods of collecting statistics. Our action might be looked upon in the light of an indorsement.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: I think this is a matter which may be safely left to the individual members of the Association. All of the Commissioners have received communications from Superintendent Porter on the subject; probably most have replied, and their replies have already been given to the public. I am not at present prepared either to favor or oppose the establishment of a permanent Census Bureau, but I object to the passage of a vote by this Association which will seem to pledge its members to any specified course in this matter. For myself, while open to conviction, I am not prepared to advocate such a measure.

Mr. BODINE: I offer as an amendment that the question be referred to the standing committee of three, to report one year hence.

Mr. DRISCOLL: Mr. PRESIDENT, let us be honest about this matter. Referring this proposition to a committee, to report one year from now, is not square. I think we should speak plainly and censure the census management. The Colorado Bureau desired to ascertain the number of children who were employed as wage-earners in this State, and applied to Mr. PORTER for the information; and the reply to the inquiry was that the figures would not be ready for another year. In the

meantime the country has to abide the pleasure of the gentleman who bosses the Census Office. I would like to know of what practical use figures ten years old are—and it seems we won't get them much before that—to communities that are changing their conditions as rapidly as ours.

A standing vote on the amendment was called for, and the motion as amended was carried by a vote of 9 to 6.

Mr. ROBINSON: Mr. PRESIDENT, I think we have been hasty about this matter. If we want to do anything, it must be done in time for the present Congress to act. I do not think that there is any question but that a permanent Census Bureau is needed. The work of the Census Bureau and the collection of statistics can be much better carried on by a permanent Bureau, with men trained to the work, than it can be by the kind of men that are usually picked up once in ten years' time, and chosen more for their devotion to party than for their fitness to do the work required. Many of the faults of the last census complained of here are the results of the incapacity of the men suddenly called to work for which they had no preparation, rather than the methods of Mr. PORTER.

The PRESIDENT: The only way to bring this question before the Convention again is by a motion to reconsider. Discussion on the question now is out of order.

Mr. ROBINSON: Mr. PRESIDENT, I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That efficiency in statistical work requires the establishment of a permanent Census Bureau.

Mr. PRESIDENT, I move the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. BODINE: I think this matter has been properly disposed of. I, for one, do not want to do anything that would savor of an indorsement of the eleventh census. I am not the only citizen of Colorado who regards that census as being "short" on count and "long" in making its appearance.

Mr. HALL: I raise the point of order that the motion now pending is practically the motion that has just been passed upon.

The PRESIDENT: The point of order is well taken. The matter, to be open to further discussion, must be brought up by a motion to reconsider.

A COMMISSIONER: I would move to reconsider if I could; but I voted the wrong way.

Mr. SOVEREIGN: Mr. PRESIDENT, I move that the motion to refer be reconsidered.

Mr. SOVEREIGN's motion to reconsider was lost.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, we are still under the head of the discussion of statistical work.

Mr. BOLLES: Mr. PRESIDENT, Mr. HALL, of Missouri, has with him a map, illustrative of the work he has done and is now doing relative to the collection and compilation of the various products of his State. I should be pleased to hear from him an explanation of the work.

Several of the Commissioners coincided with Mr. BOLLES, and Mr. HALL took his position in front of a map which hung on the wall, and proceeded with an explanation of the same:

Mr. HALL: The Labor Department of Missouri has for several years past been receiving communications from other States and countries inquiring as to the output of the different natural products. These communications are all kept on file, but I had no efficient data from which to make replies. One man, for instance, wanted to locate in a county where the mineral resources were large; another was desirous of knowing where fire-clay abounded; some wanted to go into counties where stock-raising predominated; and some wanted fruit-raising localities, and so on *ad infinitum*. The rights of the poor man demand that this information shall be furnished to him promptly and without cost. He has no money with which to pay expenses of an investigation. There are three ways by which the surplus of the country is carried to market: On the railroad by freight and express, and by river transportation. If you visit the different railroad and express stations and river landings of a State, and get from them a classified statement of the products shipped during the year in car-load lots and in less than car-load lots, this will give practically the surplus of a State. This was done in Missouri. We have 2,107 of these shipping points, and these were all visited and a classified statement of Missouri's products, showing the shipments made during the year 1891, was obtained. These shipments were classified and each county

given credit for the shipments made. This represents the surplus of the State and of each county. In the statistical map produced the State is divided plainly by its county lines, and within the boundary of each county are placed the figures showing the surplus produced—that is the amount shipped to market. The valuation of these commodities is also given. This brings into prominence the counties in which certain products predominate. At a glance a capitalist or an emigrant could see that Jasper county produced a very large proportion of the zinc of the country; St. Francois county the same with lead, while St. Louis county marketed over 10,000 car-loads of sewer pipe and fire brick. The same knowledge is given with reference to coal, lumber, agricultural products, etc., etc. After the investigation as to the amount is made, a careful inquiry as to the average prices of the products is also given.

Mr. BOLLES: Suppose the shipping point is on the border of two counties, how would you tell which county to credit the shipments to?

Mr. HALL: There is no absolute way of discovering which county the shipment came from under such circumstances, but this would be evened up if an error was made. To get the value of live stock, for instance, I go to the cattle commission men and get the average value of a car-load of cattle; then I multiply the total number of units of product by the average.

The PRESIDENT: Suppose the product is simply sent to another county?

Mr. HALL: It is treated in the same way as though it was shipped out of the State. I take the total valuation of each county and divide the total valuation of the commodities sold by the total population and this gives me the per capita that comes into the county in the form of money.

A COMMISSIONER: Taking cattle, for instance, at what point do you take the price, at the home market where they are sold, or at the end of the shipment?

Mr. HALL: For stock I take Chicago prices.

Mr. DRISCOLL: Then you credit up to the value of Missouri's products all the money that the middlemen make on the shipment and handling of the stock from the market in

Missouri to the stockyards in Chicago? Now, Mr. PRESIDENT, I would like to know if this line of investigation is a part of the legitimate work of Labor Bureaus. It don't seem to me that it is, nor is this map even a useful auxiliary, as it fails to present the actual prices received by farmers, mechanics, miners and other producers. It furnishes an estimate of wealth, predicated on the prices paid by consumers, and we all know that there is a wide difference between these two prices. I should like to know who suggested an investigation of this kind, anyhow? Was it the labor organizations or the land speculators of Missouri? Investigations of this nature are foreign to the objects of Labor Bureaus and have a great tendency to drift them away from the real purposes for which they were established. They also give the laboring masses, for whose benefit these Bureaus were created, good ground for dissatisfaction.

Mr. HALL: The largest body of organized workers in the United States is the Farmers' Alliance. In my State they requested this investigation.

Mr. DRISCOLL: It seems to me that this comes under the head of immigration or "booming" statistics. It is a regular "booming" outfit! The money Mr. HALL says is left in Missouri may just as easily be claimed to have been left in New York or England to pay interest. I don't see how it betters the condition of the workingman any. From this map we cannot obtain information as to how to increase wages, shorten the day's labor or improve the surroundings of the industrial classes.

Mr. HALL: If a party gets money and pays his debts he is enriched just the same. This map shows where a workingman could find employment at his chosen trade, and a business man opportunities for himself.

Mr. MATTHEWS: Has the cost of freight been deducted from the valuations you give?

Mr. HALL. The prices used are net prices—the valuation is a secondary consideration; it is the amount of the product that we want to show.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Mr. PRESIDENT, this may be a very valuable document for some purposes, but I am not able to

discover that it has any value in the way that the gentleman claims for it. I regard it as a very ingenious way of advertising the commercial interests of his State, and if it is intended for the Board of Trade in St. Louis it is all right, and will doubtless be appreciated; but I cannot see how it is to be of any value to the farmer who works a farm. I can understand how it would be of interest to a farmer if he should want to sell his land, where there are mineral or clay deposits—that is: for speculative purposes it might be of great service, but for its benefits to him as a farmer I cannot see that it is of any use whatever. And experience in other sections of the country where all that the gentleman claims for his work has been accomplished shows this to be true. As I understand him, he is following the theory of creating a home market for the farmer. We have had many years of experience in this direction in the United States. We have done all in the way of developing a home market that the gentleman claims for his work; yet the farmers are everywhere the loudest in their complaints against existing industrial conditions. And in the States where coal, clay, iron and other mineral deposits have been worked the most—in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the New England States—is where farm lands are most depreciated, and the farmers now say that they are scarcely able to make a living. This kind of work is useful to speculators, and it may be the means of inducing capitalists to go to Missouri and buy up all the clay, mineral and most productive farm lands, because of their prospective value. That is: It is good for what we call the “boomers.” It is purely commercial in its object, and if it is put on this basis alone I have no complaint to make against it; but when it is put forth as being in the interest of farmers or wage-earners, then I protest against the imposition. It cannot be maintained that the farmer is benefited because one hundred and sixteen millions of dollars worth of products are shipped out of the State. It may be that many of them, and hundreds and thousands of other workmen are in want and would consume this seeming surplus if conditions were different. Such statistics may do a great deal of harm to the laboring classes, by inducing a surplus of workmen to go into

the State. Mr. PRESIDENT, as I have said, it is purely commercial in its objects, and if the boards of trade throughout the State see the value of this map as I understand it, they ought to pay its author a good price for it, or else see to it that his salary is increased. But I cannot see how it can improve the condition of workingmen or how it serves to solve the labor problem. On the contrary, I regard such statistics as a waste of time and an abuse of the confidence reposed by workingmen in the Labor Bureaus of the country—which have been inaugurated and are kept in existence through the demands of the industrial classes.

Mr. HALL: If it is shown where there is a large surplus for sale, that brings buyers and helps the farmer in his prices; points out to the capitalist where large amounts of raw material are located; it makes work for the mechanic. According to Mr. SIMMERMAN's own statement, this scheme creates a demand for land, and adds to the demand for workmen by giving the information desired.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: I live in the center of the pottery industry—in a city where there is more pottery manufactured than in any other locality in the country—where the clay deposit has been developed, and a large city population has grown up within a few years, and yet farm land within three miles of the city of Trenton is not worth as much per acre now as it was in 1850. That is to say, where I live all that the gentleman claims his work is intended to do has been achieved. The clay deposit has been developed and a large population secured, and yet there is a greater need for the work of a Labor Bureau in New Jersey than in Missouri. The fact is, the demand for investigation of the social condition of farmers and wage-earners, is greater in the most highly-developed commercial centers of the country than anywhere else; and so it will continue. After all the gentleman now proposes has been done, after all the mines of coal, iron, clay deposits and other resources of his State have been developed by the present commercial methods, there will continue to be a still greater need for what a Labor Bureau ought to do than there now is. Labor Bureaus were never thought of, nor was there any need for them, in the early history of our country. It was not

until after our modern system of commercial aggression had worked its course, that the observant people of the country discovered that social justice had not been secured with political liberty. And it is only in those sections of our country where the encouragement the gentleman proposes by his map has worked its results, that you can study the problems that Labor Bureaus were instituted to solve. The Government of the United States, and some of the States, take a periodical census, which gives substantially the information contained in this map. There are other sources from which the value of the products of almost every section of the country can be obtained—the Government has already provided for this. It is not difficult for anyone to determine approximately the amount of almost every product of the soil or factory in this country. This is not the concern of Labor Bureaus; they are not instituted to promote commercial interests or the interest of commercial men; nor do they need the assistance of Labor Bureaus; they have their paid agents in every part of the country to look after all matters in which they are interested. Commerce is wealthy and should not absorb the scanty appropriations made on the demand of the industrial classes for a different purpose. Its greed should abate somewhere, and I draw the line at this point. The workingmen, through their organizations, have asked the Government for this money because it was impossible for them to present their side without it; for be it understood there are two sides to the industrial question. They have tried through their organizations to do it themselves, but they are too poor to pay for the work. To illustrate my idea of what a Labor Bureau should do and what it should not do: Take this map, for instance, which shows that there are great possibilities for labor in the State of Missouri. Now, do any of you doubt that capitalists and speculators are prepared to take advantage of these opportunities, even in advance of their being needed by the existing population of the country? There is no need to advertise them for their benefit. These people will be there in time, and will be sharp enough to forestall the working pioneer. What we should do is to show to those who are to go there and do the hard work and the drudgery of develop-

ing these resources, how it can be done so as to conserve their own best interests, and leave the results of their labor within their control. We have nothing to do with the commercial side, except to correct the wrongs perpetrated under it. The very fact that Labor Bureaus have been created is an acknowledgment that our present industrial and commercial system is not just to the workingman. I have no recollection of ever hearing of a board of trade, a produce exchange, a manufacturers' association, bankers, money lenders, or a body of railroad officials petitioning Government for the institution of Labor Bureaus. On the contrary, they have, as a rule, been suspicious of the work they are intended to do. But at every meeting of the workingmen, every labor organization has been asking for them for the past twenty-five years, and now, having secured them, I, for one, protest against their perversion and control by commercial men for such purposes as I conceive this to be. If the farmers have asked that the causes of agricultural depression be inquired into, let us do it; if they ask for water to cool their parched lips, do not press a sponge saturated with vinegar to their mouths. That there is a work for us to do that relates to farming, and in which farmers have an interest, is quite apparent. As I have said, in the oldest and most densely-populated sections of the country farm lands are worth less to-day than they were forty years ago. The young men are quitting the life of a farmer and the farms that their fathers were able a generation ago to acquire a competency on, and are now compelled, from some cause, to go to the cities and serve as lackeys to the rich, or wear the livery of a corporation to earn a living. Here is a problem to solve, and if you can explain why this is so to the fathers and mothers, why it is that their children are leaving them in their old age for such purposes in preference to the old homestead, you will confer a real blessing, and I am sure your work will be appreciated.

Mr. BODINE: I think Mr. HALL's map may inspire a rivalry among the various counties to be the banner county of the State. It is not purely a commercial plan, but it will give to men seeking employment information as to what county they should settle in.

Mr. HENRIE: It is this claim for the map that it seems to me is fallacious. I would ask Mr. HALL if he did not state that he only took into consideration those shipments that were to points outside of the State?

Mr. HALL: I did not intend to so state. I take into consideration all the shipments that leave each county of the State. This county receives a money consideration for the shipments given, hence the county should be credited for shipments, whether made out of the county or out of the State.

Mr. WALT: How does it work to show the undeveloped wealth? For instance, a county has coal fields, not opened, and a county with fields much less prolific, but worked, would make a better showing than the richer field.

Mr. HALL: These coal fields generally lie contiguous one to the other, and capital would thus be attracted. It would not entirely overcome the difficulty mentioned by you, but it would be conducive to bring men of wealth to the coal-producing parts of the State.

Mr. BODINE: Mr. PRESIDENT, I move that the Convention now adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning. I also desire to call the attention of the Commissioners to the banquet to be given this evening in the ordinary of this hotel. All are respectfully invited to be present at 8:30 P. M. The Governor and his staff, the State officials and quite a number of citizens will be present to welcome you. There will be something to eat and something to drink—champagne for those who like it, and cold-water cocktails for those whose prohibition principles are against the use of intoxicants.

The PRESIDENT: Let it be understood that we mean 10 o'clock. If we don't want to meet until eleven, we had better adjourn until that time. I shall be here promptly at the time fixed.

Mr. BODINE's motion then prevailed.

SECOND DAY.

MORNING SESSION.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, and upon motion of Mr. MATTHEWS, of Maine, the roll-call of States on the current work of the Bureaus was proceeded with.

The United States Department of Labor.—Mr. WRIGHT: The current work of the United States Department of Labor was fully outlined in my remarks last year at Philadelphia. The Department has practically completed the collection of statistics of wages and prices for a long period of years, in coöperation with the Senate Committee on Finance. It has also completed, so far as it is possible for the Department to complete it at present, the investigation relative to the cost of production, as ordered by Congress. It has also carried, as far as it can be carried now, the field-work relative to industrial education in different countries of the world. The results of this will appear in the next Annual Report of the Department, or in a special Report. The Department is immediately engaged in the investigation of building-loan associations and coöperative banks, as well as all kindred associations. This is a vast work, but one which I hope can be carried to successful completion. The Department is also carrying along an important work relative to the housing of working people in different countries. Under this investigation financial, sanitary, and other conditions and relations will be thoroughly considered. Bills are pending in both branches of Congress directing the Department to do certain things, the chief among which relate to an investigation of the population in localities known as the “slums” of great cities, and an investigation relating to the influence of machinery in various directions. Should these bills become laws, appropriations will probably accompany them, so that the Department will be sufficiently equipped to carry out the directions of Congress.

Massachusetts.—Mr. WADLIN: The question of the increase of tenement-house population in large cities is now everywhere receiving attention. For the purpose of obtaining data on the subject, the Massachusetts Bureau has conducted an investigation in the city of Boston. The results are now in process of preparation for the press. This constitutes the current work of the Bureau. The Report will show the number of persons who pay rent for their habitations, the number of persons per room, the amount paid in rent for tenements of all classes, the sanitary condition of the same, and the occupations and nativity of those living in tenements. A special appropriation of \$12,000 was made by the Legislature, with which to carry on this investigation. The information was derived from a house-to-house canvass, conducted by special agents of the Bureau, and will fully portray the conditions surrounding the tenement-house population of the city. It will also show the effect of immigration and the degree of concentration of population in different districts. As the investigation is exhaustive, the best and worst conditions will be shown with equal fullness. The Report will not only be complete as to statistics and analysis, but will contain comprehensive maps. It will cover all classes of rented apartments; not simply the poor, nor the well-to-do who rent separate property, but every one who rents, thus giving an entire picture of the tenement population of Boston. The first part issued will be purely statistical, relating to the number of tenements, the number of persons to each tenement, and information as to rents, to be followed later on by descriptive text concerning sanitary and social conditions. The work of collection has required some thirty-five or forty special agents who were employed from September until January.

THE PRESIDENT: Has this work been done by special authority of the Legislature?

Mr. WADLIN: Yes. It is similar to the investigation conducted by Mr. Charles Booth in London. In the collection of information we have found little difficulty, the people generally regarding it as an important social investigation.

THE PRESIDENT: To those interested in this subject I would

recommend a reading of Charles Booth's work on the tenement population of East London.

Mr. WADLIN: Mr. Booth's work covers East London, and is quite graphic in its descriptions, as well as complete in its details. It has a large number of maps illustrative of the tenement district. The work is in three volumes.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: It strikes me as a good point, this getting legislative appropriation for work in progress; it shows that public interest warrants the investigation.

Mr. HALL: The investigation includes, does it not, all who pay rent? In all cities there are quite a number of people who are wealthy, but they live in rented homes. Do you include these in your tenement investigation?

Mr. WADLIN: Wherever the place of residence is hired the facts respecting it appear. The resolve under which I have conducted the work makes no discrimination as to classes, but refers to all "rented tenements."

Mr. DRISCOLL: Are those who visit "slums" honest? Do they go there to assist the people, or do they visit these places just for the fun of looking at a social ulcer? What are the "slums," anyhow? Where do they commence? Can we draw the line? Are there no "slums" except among the poor? I notice that Congress has before it a resolution that the "slums" should be investigated. I am anxious to know what limits it will fix for this investigation. When they start out to investigate, where will they go? This business seems to me to be establishing lines that are undefinable. Where are the "slums," and who live in them?

The PRESIDENT: For this investigation Congress fixes the limits and locates the "slums." The location is based somewhat on the condition and character of the people.

Pennsylvania.—Mr. BOLLES: The current work of the Department covers three topics: Employers' liability for injuries to their employes; the number, cause and result of strikes for 1890; commerce and ship-building on the Delaware from the earliest times to the present. With respect to the first topic, I shall present a digest of all the decisions rendered by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from the earliest period, about three hundred in number, and in addition the legisla-

tion respecting employers' liabilities in all of the States and foreign countries, with a draft of a bill on the subject for the consideration of the Legislature. This work is in line of investigations made by Commissioner BISHOP, of New Jersey, and others. The subject of strikes will be treated statistically, with full details relating to the strike among the miners, occurring last May, which was one of the most serious events of the kind that has ever taken place in the State. The subject of commerce and ship-building will be an account of the rise and growth of one of the great industries of the State. This is one of those investigations that has been regarded here by some persons as in the interest of commercial classes. Each Bureau must determine what can be done. If such investigations were wisely made, it is possible that more money can be obtained from the Legislature, because as the people become interested they will be more willing to pay for the work we do. It seems to me that we ought to look at our work broadly, and not confine it to any class.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: I should like the sense of the Convention as to the advisability of this kind of investigation. Is it in the line of our legitimate work? I think it is, and should like to know if there is any difference of opinion among the Commissioners as to the desirability of such investigations.

The PRESIDENT: I think we are all of one opinion.

Mr. HALL: I think that any investigation that treats of the results of labor is in order. Of course each State can best decide for itself what it must take up—that is, what the people want. The laws governing the Bureaus are very broad. The people of Pennsylvania may want the ship-building industry investigated; this would be of little interest to the people of my State. I am decidedly of the opinion that any investigation the people want is in order.

Mr. BOLLES: My remarks were made partly in defense of my own work and partly in defense of Mr. HALL. The position that investigations must be confined entirely to workmen, to the exclusion of other industrial classes, I consider very erroneous. These Labor Bureaus are for all the people, and should be so conducted, with regard to the interests of all.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: One year ago I read a paper before this

body, giving my idea of what a Labor Bureau ought to do. I said then, and I still believe, that Labor Bureaus have not been understood, and are often perverted from their legitimate objects. The business of a Labor Bureau is to deal with social questions only. I said that the results of labor are not equitably distributed, and it is to correct this wrong that they were instituted. Their existence is due solely to the demands of workingmen, the organized wage-workers, those who perform the physical labor of the country. They are the only institution that government has created that can be claimed as primarily in the interest of labor, and as one who has always been identified with that class, I protest against their being diverted from their original object. We have lived under the regime of commercialism, we have been law-abiding, loyal to the institutions of the country, we have performed the part allotted to us under the existing social order, and who is there among us who has the boldness to say that the result has been just to us? We know that it has not, and to determine the causes and perfect a remedy for the wrong, is what we expect of Labor Bureaus. They may be controlled and used for other purposes, but such work will die with its authors and be forgotten. There is no question about the increase of wealth or commercial development in this country. It is our boast that this exceeds any precedent in history; but everywhere we hear it deplored that such vast wealth is being centered in the hands of a few men. Now, I do not believe that this can be checked by duplicating the processes that have produced this state of society. What we should seek to discover is, why, with all our commercial progress, with the vast increase in facilities for producing wealth, the laborer has not kept pace with it. This is what I said years ago when I was agitating for the establishment of a Labor Bureau in New Jersey, and it was this and for similar reasons that induced the Legislature of the State to pass the act creating it then. The original bill, and the one that was considered by the Legislature in all of its stages, limited the work, and made it the duty of the Bureau to do what I say; but after the sentiment for it was made, Governor McClellan then interfered, and the present law was the best we could get. Now, I do not doubt that the

law of New Jersey, as it now is, and those of other States creating the Bureaus there, allows such investigation as has been done and defended by Mr. HALL and Prof. BOLLES; but I am certain that the spirit which moved those who originated the idea does not warrant their use for such purposes. The laws as they exist may be used to justify such work, but it is no proof that it is necessary or useful. I understand the argument by which it is defended to be: Let us show the opportunities for commercial enterprise, and for investing capital, and they will employ labor. This may be true; but it is no assurance that they will deal fair with the laborer. It is about what the laborers have always been told: "That it is their duty to do the work and leave the thinking and planning to others." I believe there is a higher and better conception of work to be performed by Labor Bureaus.

Mr. PECK: I suggest that the gentleman continue his argument before the Legislature. I am clearly of the opinion that so long as the law allows the Commissioners to do as they now do, the investigations objected to will be made.

Mr. SIMMERMAN: Mr. PRESIDENT, this is the place to agitate. The Bureaus have been created, and I now protest against their use for such purposes as I have indicated. I take the position that the money appropriated has been diverted from what it was intended to be used for. I speak from the standpoint of a physical worker. Every argument used for their establishment or for their continuance has been that they were to be devoted to the interests of labor, and to improve the condition of wage-earners. Now, sir, it does not appear to me that anybody who has given any thought to the industrial situation, or who is familiar with the history of industrial events, would undertake to say that this is being done by merely analyzing the state of commerce. As I have said, there are two sides to the industrial question: One is, that which deals with the production of wealth in the aggregate, which is the commercial; the other is, that which deals with its distribution and the effect upon those engaged in its creation, which is the social. Now, my contention is, that the commercial is well cared for; in fact, the devotion of our people to the pursuit of wealth has been used as a reproach, and

it cannot be said that the aggregate production of wealth is not ample for all. The people of this country are well informed in all the methods of money-getting as a whole; but it cannot be said that our social order is based upon any justifiable basis of either physical, intellectual or moral usefulness of men in the world. This constitutes the social problem, as I understand it, and the fact that Labor Bureaus are in existence is an acknowledgement that there is need for a change. To merely seek to increase the wealth of a locality, or to promote new enterprises by existing methods, will not change these conditions, but will simply be a repetition of what is already condemned. But it is the urgency for a better knowledge of the social laws that underlie our industrial organization, that makes me so persistent in the demand that our Bureaus shall be devoted to their solution, and why it is that I protest against their being used for any other purpose than that for which they are clearly intended.

MR. BODINE: MR. PRESIDENT, MR. THOMAS TONGE, Secretary of the Colorado Manufacturers' Exchange, is with us, and I move that we now suspend the regular order of business, and listen to the paper prepared by that gentleman.

This motion prevailed, and the President introduced* Mr. TONGE, who read a paper as follows, the subject being

A COMPARISON OF THE CONDITION OF EUROPEAN AND
AMERICAN LABOR.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:—The subject assigned to me, viz.: "A Comparison of the Condition of European and American Labor," is one which can only be superficially touched upon in the time allotted to me. In discussing such a subject in this presence, I feel like Saul among the Prophets. Moreover I regret to say that I have not been able to give that time and care to the preparation of my address which the distinguished character of this audience warrants. Permit me also to say that my personal observation as to the laboring classes is limited in Europe to the north of England, more particularly the district within fifty miles of Manchester, and in America to Denver and Colorado. Of other districts I only know from general reading and hearsay.

One of the first points of difference to be noticed between the laboring classes of America and England and those of the continent of Europe is, that France, Germany, Austria and other European countries have compulsory military service and vast and expensive standing armies, involving severe taxation. These things necessarily affect the condition of the people very materially and prejudicially. The relative condition of the laboring classes in the various countries is, perhaps, most readily illustrated in a paper re-

cently drawn up by Mr. J. S. Jeans, Secretary of the British Iron Trade Association. With respect to wages paid for mining in different countries, it is stated that in Great Britain they average \$1.04 per day for underground work, in the United States \$2.50, Germany 66 cents, France 81 cents, and Belgium 62 cents. The average above ground is 86 cents, \$1.35, 45 cents, 58 cents and 52 cents respectively. Contrasting the United States with Durham, England, the average weekly earnings, on the assumption that the miner works 300 days in the year, stand thus: Coal hewers, United States, \$7.52; Durham, \$6.50; general laborers at surface, United States, \$5; Durham, \$4.50.

With respect to the hours of labor in mines, it is stated that there are only two districts in England where the hewers work more than eight hours a day; while in Germany, above and below ground, they vary from twelve to eight; in Belgium from twelve to nine, and in France they average at the face eight hours and thirteen minutes.

Sir Lowthian Bell states that the wages paid in puddling forges are often fifty per cent. higher in England than in western Germany and eastern France, and apparently this difference continues in respect to many departments. Similar figures could be given as to the textile and other industries, and also as to the cost and character of food, living, etc., in each country. It is generally admitted, however, that in England the wages are higher and the condition of the laboring classes better than in any of the continental countries of Europe; and assuming this to be so, it only remains to draw a comparison between the condition of the laboring classes of England and those of America.

That comparison may be briefly stated in the words: that American labor is as much better off than English labor as English labor is better off than that of continental Europe.

A new, or comparatively new, country like America, and especially western America, can always learn from an older country either what to adopt or what to avoid. England being an older, and preëminently a manufacturing country, has, from the necessities of the case, worked out many problems regarding and for the benefit of the laboring classes the outcome of which is well worth examination and study by the younger manufacturing communities on this side of the Atlantic. I allude to the Factory Acts of 1802 and 1815, the Coal Mines Regulation Act of 1887, the Factory Act, Extension Act and the Workshops Regulation Act of 1867, placing the whole of the manufacturing industries of the country under special legal control, the Factory and Workshops Act of 1878, and the act of 1891, prohibiting the employment of children under eleven years of age, strengthening the provisions for the security of life and limb from dangerous occupations and fire, and providing for the more effectual performance of the duties of the local authorities. It is possible that under the foregoing and other acts of Parliament the laboring population of England has more *legal* protection in its daily labor than has the laboring population of most, if not all, of the American States.

On the other hand, however, anyone at all acquainted with the magnificent reports presented by the American Bureau of Labor, wherein the fullest information as to economic questions and the position of capital and labor is given, must regret the poverty-stricken position of the Labor Department of the English Board of Trade. Everyone expected that when this new office

was created, and Mr. Burnet was appointed thereto, it was but the prelude to a Ministry of Labor. England, although the greatest of commercial empires, has shown considerable neglect and indifference in respect to industrial questions.

At the present time, with a view to further legislation, a Royal Commission on Labor is taking evidence, under the chairmanship of the Duke of Devonshire, the Commission containing such distinguished labor representatives as Mr. Thomas Burt, M. P. for Morpeth, and Mr. W. Abraham, M. P. for the Rhondda Valley District of Glamorganshire, both of whom were for many years working coal miners. That is a matter in which England sets a good example; and I would ask what chance there is, as politics are conducted in America, for any workingman or labor representative to be elected to Congress? It is not necessary in this meeting to say that few men command greater respect or are listened to with more marked attention in the British House of Commons than Thomas Burt, the Northumberland miner, who is paid a salary by a miners' trades union, in order that he may sit as Member of Parliament. By his sound judgment, wise counsel, practical ability and strict integrity, he has much influenced labor legislation, earned the thorough esteem of both sides of the House, and more than once been publicly complimented in the House by the Prime Minister for the time being.

The growth of trades unions in the United Kingdom can be measured by the membership represented at the Trades Union Congress. At the first congress in 1868, 118,000 members were represented; in 1878, 623,000; in 1888, 674,000; in 1889, 835,000; in 1890, 1,470,000, and in 1891, close on 2,000,000.

But passing on to the condition of the laboring classes: During the Presidential campaign, four years ago, many misleading and one-sided statements were made from the platform and circulated in the usual campaign literature, as to what was called "the pauper labor of Great Britain," ignoring the fact that vast numbers of men, the lowest strata of various European nations, were and are employed in some American industries at inadequate wages, one of the evil consequences of unrestricted immigration, resulting in a condition of things which I, personally, never saw equaled in England.

Unfortunately, many Americans who take a flying trip to Europe and back within three months, get their only ideas of the working classes of England from a casual visit to, or hasty tour through Whitechapel and the east end of London. The miserable population of that section is about as fair a sample of English workingmen as the non-English-speaking denizens of the "sweating shops" in the tenement houses of New York are of American labor. Great Britain is the only country in Europe, except Portugal, which can neither restrict the entrance of nor expel foreign paupers; and a recent report of the Chief Constable of Leeds states that destitute Jews are sent to that town from Russia and Poland by means of advances made by money-lenders. For years past London has been the refuge of many thousands of Jews from Russia and Poland who had not sufficient means to carry them to New York. Before that time, and since, there was also a constant migration to London from France, and other continental countries, of political refugees in needy circumstances. Added to this, the working population of London is annually augmented by thousands of persons of both sexes from the purely agricultural communities of the midland and southern counties of England, who, failing to obtain employment on the soil, largely owing to the peculiar land system which prevails in England, and being without financial means

to carry them to a new country, where many of them would make good citizens, flock to London on the off chance of getting some kind of employment, and so bettering their condition; and there they get swallowed up in the vortex of that wilderness of bricks and mortar, or in the words of Gerald Massey—

Labor is drawn from the soil,
To beg for city crumbs;
And fiercely fights for leave to toil
And the right to rot in the slums.

It is sad to know that on the 1st of January, 1891, out of every 100 persons in England and Wales, very nearly three per cent. were in receipt of poor-house relief. It is only fair, however, to say that much of the poverty of the laboring classes in England, especially in the larger cities, results from intemperance and improvidence.

Let me turn to a pleasanter phase of the labor question in England: Within a radius of forty-five miles from the Royal Exchange, Manchester, there is a population of 7,000,000 of people, all directly or indirectly dependent on manufacturing. If I gave my own opinion of the condition of the laboring classes around Manchester, some of you might be inclined to suspect that I took a rose-colored view of the place which was my home until I came to Denver, over eight years ago, so I will quote another witness. According to the testimony of an American gentleman, lately United States Consul at Manchester, recently quoted in the *Spectator*, the great London weekly, the district of which Manchester is the center, enjoys a greater measure of prosperity than any similar community in America—therefore in the world. In no part of Europe are the laboring classes so well off as in Lancashire; nowhere are wages so high, hours of toil so short and the cost of living so moderate. Poverty and pauperism, the outcome of drink, idleness, accident and disease, exist in the most prosperous communities, but in Lancashire none who are able and willing to work need to want. Wages were never so high there; labor never more in demand. It is satisfactory to find that prosperity has promoted thrift. Every village, almost every hamlet, has its coöperative store, managed by workingmen, who provide the capital and neither give nor take credit. It is difficult to find a man whose life is uninsured, and benefit and building societies number their members by the million.

The fact that, while the position of labor is improved, the difficulties of employers are increased is not peculiar to Lancashire; it is due in great measure to the waning value of money. Never was it so hard for manufacturers to make a profit, or for capitalists to obtain a fair rate of interest on their investments. Moreover, the work people, through their unions and their class papers, are so conversant with the cost of production and the price of materials, that they know as well as their employers whether at any given moment the trade is profitable or the reverse, and are as prompt to demand an increase of wages as they are slow to admit the necessity of a reduction. Nevertheless this growth of knowledge has its compensations, even from the employers' point of view. For instance, the agitation for an eight-hour day has found little favor in Lancashire. The operatives, knowing full well that any such measure, unless it were accompanied by a more than proportionate reduction in wages, would ruin the local trade and throw the same into the hands of competitors on the continent of Europe, wisely decline to back up the impolitic demands of the London extremists. It is said that the average profits of the Oldham spinning mills, the best managed in the world,

(some of the stock in which mills is owned by the employés) do not exceed five per cent. on the capital invested in them. Owing to the drop in cotton, their balances this year are nearly all on the wrong side. A reduction of the working day to eight hours would compel those mills to shut up in favor of the continental mills. The cotton operatives of Lancashire also recently showed their intelligence by adopting resolutions in favor of the remonetization of silver, and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has more recently adopted similar resolutions. The manufacturing centers of the Eastern States will do well to follow suit.

On the wage question, as between Lancashire and New England, I will quote another witness, viz., an Englishman in Massachusetts, who (perhaps in a dyspeptic frame of mind) writes as follows: "As regards the boasted higher wages, take a spinner or weaver, or skilled mechanic; the actual pay is a little more—only a little more, because clothing and the cost of living are higher—but mark, the amount of work to be done is nearly double what is expected in Europe. Take looms or mules running in such places as Fall River, New Bedford, Lawrence and other cities. They are run at extraordinary speed. English manufacturers would not think of putting their machinery to such tests; and what is the consequence to the worker? Young men and girls who come to this country rugged and with rosy cheeks, in one twelve-month are nervous, bloodless-looking, blanched and pale, sickly altogether. Take the dye-house and finishing-room. Two men, the boss dyer and boss finisher, are well paid. They are expected to 'drive' things, and are responsible for the goods coming up right. The men under them are badly paid in all the Eastern States. There are many concerns where they can and do get all the help they want at 80 cents to \$1 a day. Many of these are married men, paying at the very lowest estimate \$1 a week for a small tenement of three rooms, often paying \$1.50 to \$2 rent per week. Thousands of laborers are coming here every year from Southern Europe who are content to exist under such conditions. They can exist where Englishmen would starve to death, because the English want to live and die like human men and women. The superintendents and agents of the mills are well paid, as a rule. They are paid to take their pay out of the rank and file, the workers. Take machinists: There is near Boston the Thompson-Houston Electric Company, with a pay roll of \$40,000 per week, employing close on 3,500 men. Many helpers are employed at \$6 to \$8 per week. The skilled mechanic is mostly paid by piece work, and when a man is found who can make, by extra skill (with helpers), \$20 a week, he is cut down to about \$15 or \$18. He has to do more work, so that he cannot make so much money." The writer I quote maintains that the difference in house rents, clothing and cost of living is 33 per cent. to an artisan and 25 per cent. to a laboring man, as between Lancashire and Massachusetts, and naturally asks: Where is the great big pay? He admits, however, that wages are better in the West.

There is one important factor affecting the condition of the laboring classes in England which American visitors frequently overlook, or are not familiar with, viz.: the land system—a relic of the Middle Ages—by which the soil and the people of England have practically been divorced, and a great land monopoly created. In making a comparison of the respective conditions of the laboring classes of America and England, this subject calls for mention.

It is estimated that there are nearly 1,000,000 farm laborers in England, and the present Duke of Devonshire, when Marquis of Hartington, said that under the present English land system "the cultivators of the soil (the laborers) are never, and can never, hope to become its owners; and they have this one claim upon it: that in case of old age or absolute destitution, they should be supported without expense and almost without labor on the land." Sir Charles Dilke expressed the same views more concisely, as follows: "The life of an agricultural laborer is a life of toil down-hill, with the poor house at the bottom." The *Saturday Review*, one of the leading weekly journals of London, a few years ago contained an article well worth quoting from, as follows: "The old feudalism of England—the state of things when there yet were serfs, and when the lords of the soil were almost a different order of beings—still colors the relations of the rich and the poor," and further, "it is looked on as the duty and place of the poor man, to stay in his native village forever; to work hard for ten or twelve shillings a week, and bring up a large family respectably on the money, to go to the Episcopal church regularly, and to make out as much as he can of the service; to hate the public house (saloon) and feel no longing for company and a bright fire or gossip, and to be guided toward heaven by the curate and the young ladies. This is the poor man which modern feudalism actually produces, and who may be seen by anyone who stands opposite the door of the village beer shop on a Saturday evening."

What are the homes of the agricultural laborers? The much-respected Bishop Fraser of Manchester, who was one of the Commissioners, visited Norfolk, Essex, Gloucestershire and Sussex, and described the cottages in one district as "miserable," in a second as "deplorable," in a third as "detestable," in a fourth as "a disgrace to a Christian community." He further said that "even where adequate in quality they are inadequate in quantity. Out of 300 parishes which I visited I can only remember two where the cottage accommodation appeared to be both admirable in quality and sufficient in quantity." The reason is that the laborer is not the landlord's workman, and he is not the farmer's tenant. There are far too many counterparts in America of those wretched English cottages. But a better day is dawning for the laboring classes of England. The extension of the public-school system and the electoral franchise, the Allotments Act of 1890, and the better government of rural districts which will result from the county councils, are destined to have a very beneficial effect, in time, on the agricultural laborer, while the power and influence of the rank and file of the people, by means of the ballot box, on the government of the country are ever on the increase.

But is it to be wondered at that many brought up under such conditions as the above have neither the enterprise nor means of getting out of their environment, or even any particular desire to do so? Such a man is best described by the lines:

Born like a plant, in his particular spot,
To draw nutrition, propagate and rot.

The land monopoly of England, originated and perpetuated by the law of primogeniture and the custom of entail, is the basis on which the land-holding hereditary House of Peers rests, and the hereditary House of Peers is the bulwark of the hereditary throne, and to preserve those two hereditary institutions a land system is continued, which has been described by the present Duke of Devonshire as one which prevails in no other country in the

world. He illustrated this by saying that it is a system under which the land is divided into large estates, and where the proprietors, though wealthy men, are often not complete masters of their own property, and not able to deal with it as they desire. It is a system under which the cultivation of the soil is carried on by a class of men (the farmers) who are not the owners of the soil, and under whom the actual cultivators of the soil (the laborers) are never and can never hope to become its owners. Under this system the English workingman is practically doomed to be a rent-payer all his life, except in cases, mostly near large cities, where land in small plots can be obtained on long lease at so much per square yard, ground rent; the title frequently involving as many parchment deeds as a man can carry, and heavy legal expenses. It is this difficulty in acquiring a home of his own that causes much of the intemperance on the part of the workingman in England. A man doomed to live in a poorly-built terrace house in a narrow street in a great manufacturing center, is naturally attracted to the brightness of the neighboring saloon. If it were as easy to buy a home in England as it is in America, English intemperance would decrease and English providence and thrift increase. Few things have done more to develop the character and prosperity of the laboring classes of America than the fact that this country did not inherit a land system from the Norman conquest, but started (except in the older States) with a vast public domain, common-sense land laws giving facility and economy of transfer and a clear title, which enables every industrious, thrifty man to own his home, and so become in the highest sense a conservative member of the community in which he lives, a "citizen," and not a "subject."

In my own case, with experience of both sides of the Atlantic, in answer to all inquiries from England, I reply that if a workingman has no capital beyond his brains and his labor, has a position, is insular in his ideas, or liable to look back towards England in the same frame of mind as Lot's wife, and is content to be a wage-earner and rent-payer all his life, as many of them are, he had better remain where he is. But if he can arrive here with some capital, knows thoroughly a trade or business which is in demand, is industrious, sober, thrifty, shrewd, adaptable, enterprising, ambitious to own his own home, to get on in life and make a position for himself, by all means let him come to Western America, passing by the overcrowded East, and especially come to Colorado, for it will be the best day's work he ever did for himself. We have already here thousands of such examples. There is room in the great New West, with its vast undeveloped resources, for any number of the right sort of men, and the greatest State of the West is and ever will be, Colorado.

In conclusion, I would say that the twentieth century is not likely to see Macaulay's "Traveler from New Zealand, in the midst of a vast solitude, taking his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Pauls;" but it will see the British coal fields, the foundation on which British manufactures rest, at the present enormous rate of consumption, much nearer exhaustion than they are to-day, if not practically exhausted in some localities; it will see the center of power and influence of the English-speaking peoples of the earth located in the United States; it will possibly, if not probably, see the commercial scepter of the world pass from Great Britain to America; it will see 100,000,000 of people located in the valley drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries; it will see the States west of the Missis-

issippi and Missouri the wealthiest, most populous and most influential portion of the American Union, and the country east of the Alleghenies correspondingly "tipped up" as lighter weight; and it will see Colorado a great manufacturing State, supplying surrounding populous States and probably countries beyond the sea with the manufactured products of her immense wealth of coal, iron, lead, copper and other minerals. Let us hope that long before that time capital and labor will have fully realized that their true interests are identical.

MR. DRISCOLL: I would like to ask you, MR. TONGE, if the cost of living is higher in England than it is in America, or vice versa?

MR. TONGE: I think there are gentlemen here who are better prepared to answer that question than I. I have submitted the paper without that thorough research that I should like to have made. When I am written to concerning this question, I reply that I think living is some higher in Denver than it is in England; but I cannot speak for the eastern portion of the United States. When people write to me about coming to this country, I tell them that if they have any money to invest this is probably a better country for them than England; but if they are simply laborers, and expect to always remain so, England is the better place for them. But if they are ambitious, industrious and economical, come to America; and if they want to find the best State in the Union, come to Colorado; and if they want to live in the best city in the best State, come to Denver.

A vote of thanks was tendered MR. TONGE for his very interesting paper, and the same was ordered printed in the proceedings.

Connecticut.—MR. HOTCHKISS: The Report of the Connecticut Bureau of Labor Statistics will be issued in August. It will contain a continuation of our annual statistics of manufacturers relating to capital, wages, profits, etc., which have been gathered and compiled in the same manner as in the past. It is our purpose to continue this personal investigation for as long a series of years as circumstances permit, in order to present the most reliable data upon which to base conclusions respecting this important subject. The rest of the Report will be devoted to a presentation of the facts relating to the fraternal mutual-benefit societies of Connecticut, and others doing business in the State. The Connecticut

Bureau selected this year, for its special topic, a study of the fraternal mutual-benefit societies of the State, and others doing business therein. The object was to ascertain the membership and the proportion of members among the various grades of working people, to inquire as to receipts, expenses and sick and funeral benefits paid, and in fact to obtain as far as possible, full statements of the business for the year 1891 and for the preceding four years, so as to cover a period of five years. The investigation had its origin only in the desire to obtain statistical information which would afford further light concerning the social and economical problem which these fraternal mutual organizations present. How far the working people are able to solve the problem of providing for sickness and death as well as for the support of survivors and dependents, without the interference of the State, is a most important question. It has demanded and received the attention of statesmen abroad, but has not, so far as we know, been given the consideration in this country which its importance justifies. So far as we are informed, no statistical investigation of its various phases has before been undertaken in any State in this country. It is hardly necessary to say that the Connecticut Bureau was not moved by any motive or purpose to impose upon these societies restrictions of statute law. It was an honest effort to ascertain the origin, rise, growth and present condition of these valuable societies for mutual assistance, to meet the varied vicissitudes incident to and growing out of human life, accidents, sickness and death. The manner in which the work was begun may be of interest. There was absolutely no available basis from which a start could be made. The directories of the various cities were gathered, and from their incomplete mention of societies certain facts were selected as a nucleus. This list was enlarged by conversation with friends and inquiries among those interested. It was a marvel to observe the way in which the societies multiplied. After the directories and society men in the large towns and cities had been exhausted, a canvass of the promising small towns was made. This proved equally prolific. From the first the Bureau was in communication with the headquarters of the

societies out of the State who were doing business in Connecticut, and the location of many branches was thus secured. The investigation was conducted both by mail and special agents. Seven schedules for the different kinds of societies—life insurance, sick and funeral, benefit, endowment, and trades unions having sick and funeral benefit features were prepared. The first schedule of the series, No. 12, related to life-insurance associations. It contained forty-one questions, some of them subdivided, and its contents is fairly representative of the others. The subject was large for a single year, with the limited force at the command of the Bureau, but it was thought best to treat the whole subject in one investigation, rather than to continue it from year to year. The forty-one questions related to name, headquarters—National, State and district; to date of organization of National and State body and of the first subordinate body in the State; to the number of members at the close of each year during each of five successive years, from 1887 to 1891; to qualifications of membership, age, color, nationality or descent, society membership, church membership, moral and physical requisites; average age of members each year for five years; occupation of members—percentage in business, professions, of well-paid and lower-paid mechanics, of clerks; character of society jurisdiction, whether incorporated, whether having secret work, whether financial officers were bonded, in what amounts insuring; plan of assessment—whether graded or not graded, with gradations; questions as to changes from level to graded, if changes were made, the reasons therefor; number and total amount of assessments in Connecticut each year for five years; number of permanent suspensions and withdrawals each year for five years; deaths in Connecticut, with total death payments each year for five years; invalidation of insurance by suicide or otherwise; sick benefits, amounts per week, how many weeks in the year, payment for first week, amount paid in the State each year for five years. Then there were questions as to receipts from fees and dues each year for the five, rate of per-capita tax, whether salaries of subordinate officers were paid from subordinate funds; amount of general expense by years; total accumulated fund, and how

invested. The closing question was, "Has your order continuously met its obligations?" There was also a supplementary schedule of 19 questions for branches. The trades unions proper were also considered, but only incidentally, as they have no sick and funeral-benefit features. In tabulating the information obtained, the subject was divided generally under the heads which have already been given: life insurance, sick and funeral benefit (affiliated and unaffiliated), endowment and trades unions (with sick and funeral benefits). These general divisions present themselves naturally. Among life-insurance societies there are those that have a State jurisdiction only, and those that embrace the whole country in their field. The former are contracted by State lines as to membership and receipts; and all the money received for death assessments is paid within the State lines, and so kept at home. The latter draw assessments from the State, restoring only such amounts as are paid in death claims. New England has the reputation of paying out more money than she receives in fraternal insurance; our statistics will tell the story for five years so far as Connecticut is concerned. Those societies of National jurisdiction have features of strength which are wanting in those of limited territory. Among life-insurance orders, both State and National, there are differences of assessments; some assessments are scientifically graded by age, using actuarial tables as a basis; others are level, all members paying alike from the minimum to the maximum age, while others are mixed. Some have a medical examination; some have only a requisite of "sound health," as determined in some cases by the word of the applicant himself; some have a religious qualification; some a national or racial, and some a society prerequisite of membership. These features will be presented in appropriate tables. The same method of presentation will prevail concerning the mutual-benefit societies, both affiliated and unaffiliated. The group will be in some cases different, but on as interesting lines. There are religious and birth-right qualifications for members; differences in plan of government, both State and National, and a great difference in dues and rates of weekly benefits paid. The unaffiliated society showing will furnish interesting information as to the manner in

which self-help circles spring up in shops and neighborhoods, and the character and efficacy of their growth. It will be a photograph of beginnings, the like of which have, in other instances, developed into State and National orders, with elaborate rules and regulations. The crowning presentation will be one showing the membership in all societies in each town, compared with the population, according to the census of 1890. There are 126,613 members in the State of Connecticut in the various societies. Of these 8,000 are women. On Connecticut's registry list of voters for 1890 there were about 163,000 names, while the population was 746,258. These 126,613 are members of 386 societies, having 974 branches and lodges, and an accumulated fund of \$1,200,000. Some are members of more than one benefit society. The English rule assumes that one man is a member of two. It may seem that this is not sufficient for the United States, with its multitude of new societies, but acquaintance with the elements which make up the mutual-benefit societies in Connecticut induces the Bureau to believe that the English rule allows quite enough. Making all deductions for women who are members of a few of the endowment orders and sister lodges of mutual-benefit orders, it is safe to say that from one-third to one-half of the voters of the State are members of these societies. The receipts for 1891 were \$1,400,000 and the expenditures \$1,160,000 — \$465,000 of which was for death claims and \$320,000 for sick and funeral benefits. The totals for five years are, approximately, \$5,380,000 for fees and dues, and \$2,000,000 for death assessments, while the expenditures were \$1,200,000 for sick and funeral benefits, and \$2,000,000 for death claims, and \$1,200,000 for general expenses. The keeping of a register of average age argues an advanced position on the part of fraternal life-insurance associations. Some of them have adopted it for States. Many of the State organizations have also statements of average age; but most societies content themselves with giving the average age of deceased members and the average age of new members. The material is in their office, but the time and expense of properly preparing it are obstacles to publicity. The affiliated sick and funeral-benefit societies have made little

or no attempt to give average age in their annual reports. Some of them have recognized the importance of the age problem by raising dues and grading initiation fees, but it is a blind attempt at adjustment. They have discovered that they are growing older and that their permanent fund is diminishing. These certainties they might have provided for earlier and more wisely through a yearly compilation of average age. The older affiliated fraternities, have the necessary data in the State office, or on the books of their branches. The Odd Fellows have a mass of valuable figures, some of which have been presented in a partial way; but no thorough study of it has ever been made. The Ancient Order of Foresters of America have a most complete system of bookkeeping, including age, by branches, but these figures are not in the possession of the State office of the order. Some of the larger affiliated orders have just begun to get their books into condition; the expense of supporting a competent head secretary has been a bar to proper care of the records. The unaffiliated sick and funeral-benefit societies rarely, if ever, keep their average age. Many of them are societies of hasty construction, where all that is required is the payment of a certain sum as membership fee and a certain other sum, usually fifty cents or a dollar, when a member is entitled to a sick benefit or his widow to the expense of her husband's funeral. Some of the more backward relief associations have no records but scraps of paper. One society lost its records with the mysterious disappearance of its secretary who had them in his pocket. Notwithstanding all these difficulties the Bureau has received representative returns on which to base a statement. The average age of the members of the life societies was, in 1891, 36.3, whereas in 1887 it was 37.9 years. The members of the sick and funeral-benefit societies had, in 1891, an average age of 32 years, and in 1887 an average age of 33 years. The average age of the life and the sick and funeral-benefit societies computed together is 33 years and 3 months for 1891, and 34 years and 6 months for 1887. No average age was taken for the endowment societies or for the trades unions. As to presenting facts concerning occupation of members, much the same obstacles bar

progress as in the matter of average age. It may be generally stated that the fraternal life-insurance societies do not reach down to the lower-paid workmen—workmen who receive \$2 or less a day. His higher-paid and more skilled brother is found in them to a limited extent, and perhaps in the life-insurance societies on the level assessment plan, rather than in those having a scientific and graded scale of assessments. This, however, is only a crude characterization. The affiliated sick and funeral-benefit societies, like the Odd Fellows and the Ancient Order of Foresters of America, include a large per cent. of higher-paid mechanics and a small proportion of lower-paid workmen. The average lower-paid workman seems to be generally found in the unaffiliated sick and funeral-benefit societies, the shop societies, and circles of aid in the neighborhood. The inquiry shows that of the 97,410 members, the character of whose occupation is reported, 14,757 are in business, 5,279 in the professions, 872 in agricultural pursuits, 41,808 are well-paid mechanics, 20,226 lower-paid workmen, 7,877 clerks, 5,366 housewives, and 1,225 are working women. The inquiry, so far as it related to endowment societies, has met with but limited success. Only a few of these are now doing business in the State. They are generally the long-term societies, and but few of their policies have yet matured in the State. The endowments have all been shy of giving information. The short-term orders have gone. It was one of the curious incidents of the investigation to watch their flight. Our special agents were scarcely ever able to discover them at all until after they had gone into the hands of the receivers, where information could not be readily obtained. The Bureau has been most agreeably surprised at the interest taken in this investigation by the fraternal societies. Not more than a dozen, including branches, refused to give information. Of course there was considerable delay on the part of overworked officials who did not see how they could spare the time to look up and arrange the data asked for by the State, but the inquiry has been successful to an unexpected extent through the kind coöperation of the fraternities.

Missouri.—Mr. HALL: The laws of Missouri require yearly

factory inspection by the Labor Commissioner. Under this law, he is required to discover if proper and adequate fire escapes are provided; to see that the sanitary conditions are such as they should be, and that in factories where males and females are employed separate water-closets are furnished for their use. I have made, and nearly prepared for publication, a full report upon my investigation in this direction. In performing my duties as factory inspector, I have also collected data as to the number of operatives, average ages of same, sex, wages, number of adults, number of children. I have also taken up the amount of mortgage indebtedness of the 114 counties of Missouri. This work has been done with a great deal of care, and is of considerable magnitude, as it consists of a complete schedule of the number and value of mortgages filed, the amount that has been paid on same, the number and amounts of those released. The investigation of the number, numerical strength and growth of the different bodies of organized labor was commenced this year. Of course, I give the various scales of wages, hours of labor, and am attempting to get at the general condition of the people who are connected with these unions. In making this investigation one of the points will be to show whether the higher wages are obtained by virtue of the organization, and for this reason not only the cities, but the smaller towns are visited. One of the most important investigations I now have on hand is that of employment agencies. I think that the next Missouri Legislature will enact a law establishing free employment bureaus—similar to the law now in operation in Ohio. In St. Louis and Kansas City, I find, for instance, that there are twenty-eight of these labor agencies, which claim that during the year 1890 they obtained employment for 121,000 people, collecting a fee from each of from \$1 to \$4, making a total of over \$240,000 collected from poor people seeking employment. This enormous sum was collected from a class of people who can ill afford to lose it. One of the most despicable features of these agencies is, that quite a number are run in connection with, and in some cases directly in, saloons. It is the habit of these people to advertise in the morning papers for one or two hundred men for work at some distant point,

transportation to be furnished free, and wages from 50 cents to \$1 higher than is usually paid. This advertisement rarely fails to bring numerous responses. The men are required to deposit a fee of \$1, and are told to wait around in the immediate vicinity until transportation can be obtained. Of course the saloon is the only convenient place where these men can wait. With the prospects of a good job ahead, the men naturally feel good, and in the majority of cases patronize the bar freely. Of course no transportation comes that day, and at night, if inquiries are made, plausible excuses are given, and the men are told to call around again in the morning, early. In the morning, the same kind of a talk is made, and the men still hang around. This kind of a thing is kept up until the protests become vigorous, and then the dollar fee is returned—which not infrequently goes to the bar. But meanwhile, the saloon has taken in from \$3 to \$5 from each of the applicants. There is no law by which these kind of operations can be reached at present. Now, if we can devise some way by which we can save these working people this great amount of money and give them reliable information, we have done a great work. If any of the Commissioners have any information on this subject, we should like to have it.

Mr. KEAN: In the Fourth Annual Report of the Department of the State of New York, some attention was given the matter referred to by Mr. HALL. It was found that much the same condition of affairs existed as is complained of by him, and a systematic collection of the advertisements inserted in the daily papers by these employment agencies was made. It was disclosed that a large number of them were duplicates. Reference is directed to the Report referred to. This will make the statement more clear. So sure were many of the printers on the daily papers in the city of New York that these advertisements would reappear two or three times a week, that after they were put in type and used for the edition for which they were ordered, they were not distributed as ordinary matter, but were kept standing, and rated in printer's parlance as "phat." It would follow that this class of advertisements were not legitimate; if they were, they would not be repeated so frequently without change of some kind.

If an advertisement calls for the employment of several classes of workers, day after day, it is plain to assume that, at some period, the situations the agencies claimed to be able to fill would have been secured by some of the applicants, whose desire for work was evinced by the loss of time in looking for it, and the consequent loss of money, which was brought about by patronizing such institutions; car-fare and meals are no inconsiderable items. Applicants for a situation or job are frequently sent to a legitimate advertiser, who has been accommodated early in the day or week, and the intelligence office or employment agency would claim that they had performed their part of the contract by giving an opportunity to an applicant to procure work. These instances are not rare. It made no difference to them whether the party to whom they had sent was in possession of help or not. In no case was the fee returned. Several agencies, conducted by labor organizations, for the employment of persons out of work, have existed for years in sections of the city of New York where workingmen mostly congregate. There are at the same time the headquarters of the organizations (although termed labor bureaus) under whose authority they are conducted, the secretary having his office on the floor or in the building. When employers desire help they send word to the secretary or official in charge, and he notifies those who have signed earliest in the day of the fact, and those who are in search of work make haste to call upon the employer.

Mr. BODINE: Colorado suffered for years from this employment-agency business. They used to be conducted here in saloons, but they didn't very often pay the dollar back. Last year a law was enacted to regulate the agencies. A man must now give a \$2,000 bond, and the bond cannot be a straw bond, because the law requires that the surety shall be a taxpayer; and a license of \$100 per year is charged by the cities. The law provides that the license shall be issued to do business at a specified number; the application is then investigated, and if the number has a saloon license, no employment-agency license will be granted to the applicant.



Mr. HALL: Could not the agent establish a saloon as soon as the license for an employment agency was granted?

Another thing, the criminal court docket is filled, page after page, with "said agent charged \$25 for securing employment for John Doe. Case continued." The last entry being "Case dismissed," or "Case compromised." This entry is secured because the applicant, who has been swindled, had neither the time nor means to wait for the law's delay. The agent, knowing this, secures a continuance or compromise for a very small amount.

Mr. SOVEREIGN: The last Report of the Iowa Bureau contains a rigid and extensive investigation of private employment agencies. This was comparatively an easy matter, because the business of private employment agencies in Iowa is almost wholly conducted from the city of Des Moines. We have some of the most unscrupulous, despicable, double-dyed villains that ever lived engaged in this business. The principal office of the National League of State Teachers' Bureaus is located in Des Moines, and is managed by Prof. Frank E. Plummer. The principal business of this office is to furnish positions for school teachers. Each patron of this office pays a registration fee of \$2, and on being assigned to a school by the Bureau agrees to pay a commission equal to five per cent. of the first year's salary, which must be paid out of the first two months' teaching; if engaged to teach after the beginning of the school year and if at the end of the year reëlected to teach in the same school, must pay full commission on one year's teaching, regardless of whether the Bureau assisted in such reëlection; if engaged to teach without fixed salary, as in a school supported by tuition, must pay \$25 if a lady and \$40 if a gentleman; if an increase of salary is secured, must pay an additional commission equal to five per cent. on the amount of increase. Board, when given as part of salary, is estimated at \$200 per year, on which a five per cent. commission must be paid. We also have at Des Moines an employment agency known as the United States Bureau of Information. It was chartered under the laws of Illinois, in 1879, and conducted its business from Peoria until about four years ago, when it was removed to Des Moines; its name and euphonious mottoes are copyrighted. Nevertheless, it is delusive. I here display a copy of the contract used by this

concern. You will notice that the form of this contract is very alluring in appearance; it bears the emblems of brotherly love and the eye that never sleeps:

CONTRACT.

THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF INFORMATION.		
<i>Please register your wants.</i>		<i>We are the helping hand of the public.</i>
AND THE ALL-SEEING  OF YOUR INTERESTS.		
REGISTRATION.		
Office at Des Moines, Iowa, — 189—		
THIS AGREEMENT, Entered into this date, by and between — — and the Managers of THE UNITED STATES BUREAU OF INFORMATION, is as follows:		
That the said Managers are to try and assist me in my wants pertaining to —, on payment of — Dollars to said Managers for services. I shall in no way hold said Managers responsible for failure of services. —. I do hereby comply with all herein stated.		
Signed — —.		
Put references on back.		

P. O. Address
No.

It will be noticed that the provisions of this contract in the beginning are full of promise, but concludes with a provision relinquishing the agency from all responsibility, and therefore no legal prosecution can be instituted against it. But to more fully explain this contract and the nefarious methods of this agency, I beg to read the testimony of a former partner in this business, which is corroborated by the testimony of many reliable witnesses:

Mr. W. W. Townsend, real estate agent, 304 West Fifth Street, Des Moines, Iowa, being duly sworn, testified as follows:

Question. How long have you resided in Des Moines? Answer. About eighteen months.

Q. Are you acquainted with Mr. T. C. McNeal, general manager of the United States Bureau of Information? A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. When did you form his acquaintance? A. On or about February 12, 1890.

Q. Did you ever have any business relations with Mr. McNeal? A. Yes, I have.

Q. You may state the character of such business relations. A. I bought a half interest in his business on or about the 15th day of February, 1890, for which I paid \$400.

Q. Did you assume the management of any part of the business at the time of your purchase? A. I was considered one of the firm and was to have a say in the business and was to receive one-half the profits.

Q. How long were you in business with Mr. T. C. McNeal on those terms? A. About five weeks.

Q. During those five weeks did any person, male or female, call at your office and register for employment? A. Yes, about twelve or fifteen registered for employment during that time.

Q. What charges generally were made to those who registered for employment, if any? A. Three dollars each, the regular fee.

Q. Did Mr. McNeal or yourself assume the duties of securing positions for them? A. Mr. McNeal; he did all the registering.

Q. You may state what per cent. of those applying for positions received employment through that bureau while you were connected with it? A. No per cent. at all.

Q. Did Mr. McNeal make any effort to secure positions for those who applied for

employment? A. No effort whatever was made to find positions for any of them while I was with him.

Q. When parties registered for employment, and retired from the room, did Mr. McNeal, in any case, express himself as regards to what his conduct toward them would be? A. Yes, he made the remark twice that I can remember, "There goes another damned fool. He has thrown his money away." He used so much profane and vulgar language that it would not sound well to repeat it. And when I called his attention to registering parties and not trying to procure positions for them, he made the remark: "We must make ice while the weather is cold; when the weather gets warm the fellows will hunt up their own work and not hunt us up." I objected to that way of doing business, and from that time on there was no more registering done in the office while I was with him, which was about two weeks. I know that his calculations were to do no one any good. It was only to get the \$3 registration fee.

Q. Were his business methods, as you understand them, of a fraudulent nature? A. Yes, sir; I know them to be so. [Here a copy of the blank contract used in registering applicants for employment was placed in the hands of the witness.]

Q. Do you recognize that contract in blank as being a true copy of the contract used by Mr. McNeal? A. Yes, sir; I do.

Q. Can you state upon oath what words were usually written in the two blank lines following the words, "I shall in no way hold said managers responsible for failure of services?" A. They were generally filled in with an agreement to pay a per cent. or commission on the applicant's first and second month's wages, providing McNeal found him a position. This was simply done as a form to make parties believe he was going to do something for them. It was kind of a blind.

Q. Do you know what the rate or per cent. was? A. I think about ten per cent. That was to be additional commission above the \$3.

Q. Did he break the copartnership with you. A. He did.

Q. What cause did he allege for breaking the copartnership? A. He broke it because I would not cater to his wishes.

Q. Was it because you would not assist him in swindling those who came for the purpose of securing positions through his services? A. Yes, that was the principal reason. I objected to that kind of work going on. I did not consider it honorable, right or decent. I considered his business a regular confidence game to entice the people into his office, get their money and give them no value received. Finally he told me to get out and stay out, and I did so.

Q. Did any parties apply for help while you were in partnership with Mr. McNeal? A. No, sir.

Some of the practices of private employment agencies are very inimical to the interests of the laboring people; they invariably receive applications for employment and advanced fees far in excess of their ability to supply situations; the advance fee of a poor, needy applicant is received with as much pleasure when the chances of securing a position are a thousand to one against the applicant as under any other circumstances; they nearly always advertise for ten times' as many laborers as are needed. They advertise for laborers and mechanics to go to the State of Washington or some other remote part of the country, under the vague promise that steady employment and good wages will be secured. In addition to the usual registration fee the applicants must buy railroad tickets, out of which the agencies receive additional commissions; it makes no difference whether there is any employment for them at the point of their destination or not; the railroads get their pay, the agencies get their fees, and employers get a surplus of laborers, in consequence of which wages decline, many are unemployed, and thus trampism is superinduced through no fault of those honestly seeking employment.

Mr. POWERS: Minnesota has a law similar to that in Colorado, but there appears to be plenty of ways to get around the law. Agencies give straw bonds, and have straw bondsmen in case of arrest. The evils of the system are well known; but the law doesn't seem to help it much. This is an important question, and I am glad to see it taken up and discussed.

Mr. BODINE: In Colorado the bondsmen must be two taxpayers, and the bond must be approved by the mayor. Taxpayers are not liable to sign a bond for a fakir. Besides, the license paid by men who are doing a legitimate business causes them to keep on the watch for men who come in competition with them, and the police are soon put on the track of dishonest agencies.

Mr. WALT: California has had some experience with this same evil, and attempts have been made to guard against it. At the last session of our Legislature a bill providing for the establishment of free employment agencies under the direction of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was introduced, but never reached final consideration. So far, nothing practical has been done. You must understand that on the Coast we have, at times, many immigrants, who, being ignorant of the country, become easy prey to the wiles of the dishonest employment agent. We have had, also, considerable numbers landed in our State, penniless through the misrepresentations of Eastern employment agencies; for you must remember that the fascination of California is not easily resisted, even by the rogues in employment bureaus. The subject is being considered by our people, and will undoubtedly be reached in time and satisfactorily disposed of.

Mr. POWERS: Ohio has a law on this subject, the working of which cost \$10,000 in one year, and saved some \$200,000 to the people. This shows its practicability. I don't know how you're going to get at the poor fellow who is duped in one State, and don't find it out until he gets into another State. You can't make a law that is operative outside of the State where it is enacted. As much as I would like to see this evil abolished, I have not much faith in city councils nor their ordinances; because city councils, as a rule, will not revoke a

license so long as the money is paid and good faith is apparent, no matter what is done under cover. But I am willing to try anything, and work with the rest of you.

Mr. KEAN: It occurs to me that it might be suggested in the annual reports of the different departments that the cities included in their investigations be requested to pass ordinances to correct the evils complained of; they are mostly confined to municipalities. This has been done in New York city. There is also a State law bearing upon the general subject.

Mr. BODINE: Mr. PRESIDENT, I desire unanimous consent to speak of a growing evil that deserves our immediate attention: the steady growth of crime, and the increased number of lynchings.

Consent was given.

Mr. BODINE: Statistics of the past demonstrate that idleness, intemperance and an ambition for wealth are the three largest pathways to the penitentiary, leaving in their wake the strewn fragments of broken hearts, while tears of repentance flow in sufficiently copious draughts to irrigate an arid region. Within the past year, however, there has been an alarming increase of a particular class of crime, attended with reckless lynching before the suspected offenders have been accorded a trial. This, too, in a country where civilization was believed to have a foothold. The victims of this rampant mob vengeance have in many instances been laboring men. According to the spirit of justice every man, be he white or black, is innocent until proven guilty before a judicial tribunal. What causes this frequency of mob vengeance? Do the laws in the various States impose too slight a penalty for certain offenses? Is lynching more effective in attaining a decrease in crime than the law? Is the frequency of the particular crime that provokes organized mobs caused by retaliation for previous lynchings that discriminate largely against one race? Is it not an easy matter for a mob to make a mistake in its identification of a culprit, during an excitement that temporarily dethrones reason and robs the law of its own? Why are participants in lynching bees never punished? Why is there such a frenzy against a colored

man when he commits a crime, while a white man who is guilty of the same offense seems to enjoy better protection? These are questions deserving of investigation by statisticians, particularly those in States where mob law is perched upon a throne of undisturbed serenity. An investigation of this subject is essential to avert the appalling possibility of a race war. During the past eighteen months 267 colored men have been lynched in various portions of the country. One was literally burned at the stake, and the nostrils of 1,500 people inhaled the odor of his sizzling flesh in a community supposed to be civilized. I believe that "the punishment should fit the crime" on our statute books, and that comparatively too trivial a legal penalty is imposed in most States for violent outrages upon virginity. Virtuous womanhood and girlhood should be protected. Doubtless if the death penalty, instead of a few years in prison, for outrages on that sex, was legally sanctioned in every State, it would cause mobs to be more patient and feel satisfied to let the law take its course. The lives of some innocent men have been sacrificed to the fury of mobs. Remorse of the lynchers does not restore men to life in such instances. The great increase in the acts of this lawless element deserve the attention of all fair-minded men. The greatest sufferers of these lynchings have been laborers. They were colored men, 'tis true, but they are entitled to better protection as American citizens, at least until their guilt is fully established by a trial. Surely the rights of a race that won the esteem of Washington, Lincoln and Sumner deserves more consideration than has been meted out to it of late. We are statisticians. Our reports are a comprehensive basis for legislation. Events of the past eighteen months which demonstrate that reform is needed, certainly appeals to the heart of humanity, and I therefore hope that everyone within the hearing of my voice will lend his official influence in behalf of law and order and discourage the idea of a lawless element making a door mat out of the banner of civilization. Mr. PRESIDENT, I move that this subject be referred to the Investigating Committee for investigation, and that they report at the next meeting of the Association.

Mr. BODINE's motion prevailed.

Mr. HALL offered the following resolution, and moved that it lie on the table until afternoon, and it was so ordered:

Resolved, That the Commissioners of Labor of the different States of the United States recommend to their next Legislature that the Legislature pass a law establishing free public employment agencies in their several States, said free employment agencies to be under the control of the State Bureau of Labor; and that the members not present be mailed copies of the resolution.

Upon motion the Convention took a recess until 2:30 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention assembled at 2:30 P. M., President WRIGHT in the chair, who announced that the presentation of the current work of the Bureaus was the regular order of business.

Ohio.—Mr. LEWIS (by mail): The Ohio Bureau of Labor Statistics is now engaged in investigations, as follows: Coal mining, with a special view of ascertaining the effects of the introduction of mining machinery into the mines; the iron and steel business, confining our inquiries to rolling mills and blast furnaces; the building trades, and female labor in the principal cities of Ohio.

Illinois.—Mr. LORD (by mail): The Illinois Bureau is at present engaged on an investigation of the social and economic condition of working women in Chicago. The work is confined to that city for the twofold reason that the funds of the office do not admit of a canvass of the whole State, and because the industrial life of any great city presents aspects peculiar to itself and deserving of special study and presentation. Even within the city of Chicago the field and subject expand as the inquiry progresses, and with whatever zeal and labor it may be prosecuted very much will certainly be left undone. Something, however, will be accomplished in the way of holding up the mirror to metropolitan conditions of living among working girls and women. The statistics of the subject will be gathered at least from many of the more conspicuous occupations, and with such care that the results will be entirely conclusive as to a good many points, and strongly indicative of others. Our method is to establish our facts by the testimony of both parties to the employment, and this is done, first, by transcribing the entire wage and work record of each person from the books of the employing es-

tablishment, and subsequently by obtaining, through personal visitation, the home experience, conditions and environment of each. The former is a much simpler matter than the latter, and it is unnecessary to say to you, who are familiar with original investigations, that progress on these parallel lines is necessarily slow, and the results very costly. Whatever may be theoretically predicated as a fair return for a given expenditure of time and money is usually found, I think, to be an underestimate before the work is done. Such has been the experience in this case, and the chief obstruction has arisen from the difficulty of getting thoroughly reliable and consistent statements from the girls themselves. While we have been obliged, for reasons indicated, to make selections of the industries and establishments canvassed, we have in no case permitted any selections to be made from the pay-rolls, but have taken each individual from the top to the bottom of the list in every establishment. We have endeavored also to reach the greatest possible variety of employments, and this has taken the special agent all along the industrial scale, from the counting-room stenographer to the rag sorters and victims of the sweating shops. There is probably little or nothing about this undertaking differing from the experience of others in similar work. The policy of the Bureau has been to secure accuracy of detail and completeness of statistical statement in each case, rather than a great number of cases, and, whenever the alternative was presented, to sacrifice the latter to the former. We have met with very little obstruction from employers, the most of whom have opened their books to us without reserve; and employes have refused to assist us only when too young or ignorant to comprehend our purposes. We have employed men and women both, as special agents, and they have been equally useful in their respective spheres.

Indiana.—WILLIAM A. PEELLE, Jr.: The Reports of the Indiana Bureau of Statistics are issued biennially, and the forthcoming Report will differ materially from those of former years. Heretofore the labors of the Bureau have been confined almost entirely to agricultural and economic statistics, the latter relating to expenditures of the counties in the

main, but in the next Report attention will be given to every phase of the labor question. We are now compiling tables relating to wages, manufactories, hours of labor, cost of living, and kindred subjects. It is proposed to enlarge upon these subjects and make their investigation the principal work of the Bureau. While doing this, however, it is also proposed to incorporate tables relating to agriculture, building and loan associations, railroads, and county expenses and indebtedness.

New Jersey.—Mr. SIMMERMAN: The Report for 1891 is now in press, and will, as it has for the past two years, contain reports from the building and loan associations, as required by law. There will also be a continuation of the investigation of what we term the "trade life of workmen." The Bureau has already made reports for hatters, potters, glass workers and iron miners, and the Report now in press will contain that of printing and the building trades—carpenters, painters, masons and bricklayers, stonecutters and plumbers; for the current year we shall take that of cigar-making, bakers and railroad employés. The idea is to determine what the average period is that workmen are able to follow a given trade. We assume that if we get the age at which men commence to work, their present age, and the number of years actually at work, the average of this will give approximately the age when they begin to quit, and also the average number of years they work. The correctness of the data will also depend very much upon whether there has been a large increase in the number of workmen spasmodically, as this may sometimes cause others to quit working even though they are not incapacitated. The purposes of this investigation are various. The question of industrial insurance is now assuming importance, and if it is to be established, it must be based on well-understood data as to the number of years the average workmen can do work at their respective trades. Evidently it has also been the means of causing both employers and workmen to pay more attention to the sanitary condition of workshops and factories, as well as to improve their personal habits of cleanliness and care for health. This work must necessarily progress very slowly, and it will take several years to get a sufficient number of occupations to

give any general conclusions. The changes in the methods of work, owing to the introduction of machinery and new processes, may modify the deductions somewhat, but if we are correct in the plan we are pursuing, this will not be material. I have not heard of any criticism as to whether the data we are seeking, or the way of getting it, will give the facts that we assume it will or not. I wish to say that our Report now in press contains all of the labor laws of the State, and a synopsis of the cases tried under them, and the decisions of the courts.

New York.—MR. KEAN: The work reported at the last Convention is now being completed. As to the Report for the present year, no decided answer can be given to the question at this time. It may include a review of the labor laws of the State. It has been the custom of the Department to present in its Annual Reports copies of the labor laws which have been passed one year and amended the next. Sometimes they have been issued in pamphlet form. Corrective legislation has been so frequent and varied that it may be necessary, as I have said, to have them presented in a revised form. There is also under consideration the practicability of giving a review of the work of the Department for ten years, that being the length of the Bureau's existence. We have also sufficient data to make a report or historical sketch upon the condition of organized labor in the State. Some of the oldest organizations in the country have had their birth and early growth in the Empire State. It is now one of the best-organized sections of the Union. The representatives of these organizations have been uniformly courteous to the Department, and have placed it in possession of much valuable statistical information. The Bureau will, this year as in the past, append to its Report, whatever it may be, a full and complete statement regarding all strikes and labor disturbances which have occurred in the State. Under this head is included the causes of the strike, the matter in dispute, the result of the same, the wages and hours of labor, both before and after the difficulty, together with the hundred and one other details which are connected with an investigation of this kind.

Michigan.—Mr. ROBINSON: My next Report will, among other things, cover the expense of living. To reach this, 5,000 expense or account books were sent out last year. This year I have taken up the condition of the men working in the building trades, and will be able to present, I think, quite an interesting budget on this subject. I am also endeavoring to get some statistics of wages for the city of Detroit as early as 1800, tracing the same downward for a number of years. I am also making an investigation as to the farm indebtedness of Michigan. Colonel Heath, my predecessor, investigated the subject in his Report of 1887. My investigations of this year will probably show whether or not the farmers of Michigan are getting out or going more deeply into debt. There has been quite a demand for this investigation, and the results, I hope, will be satisfactory to all. Anyhow, I shall be able to give the facts. I shall include in my Report a miscellaneous chapter containing gleanings from other statisticians upon subjects upon which the average man desires to be posted, which I hope to make both useful and interesting. To sum up, the forthcoming Report will contain statistics on the cost of living, the building trades, a probable chapter on mortgages on city property of four or five of our principal cities, farm indebtedness as shown by mortgages, some facts as to ownership of realty in those cities, and a miscellaneous part as stated. In my last Report I devoted a chapter to the effect upon farmers of direct and indirect systems of taxation, the object being to discover which system is the more favorable to the farmers, also small property owners of cities. I commend this investigation to other State Bureaus, and hope they will follow the example set in the Ninth Annual Report of Michigan's Bureau of Labor.

Wisconsin.—Mr. DOBBS (by mail): The Fifth Biennial Report of this Bureau will be ready for distribution about September 1st of this year. Tabulating the work of the factory inspectors and reports of those engaged in the building trades is now occupying the force of the office. Nothing short of a synopsis or abstract of the Report would give a correct idea of the work this Department is doing, and the Report you will receive as soon as published.

California.—Mr. WALTERS: Being a novice in this business, I came here in the capacity of a student, fully prepared to do a great deal of listening, but poorly equipped for talking. I will venture, however, to say a word regarding the difficulties met with in my short experience, in order that you old veterans in the cause may realize my great need of your counsel and advice. I find it uphill work gathering statistics relating to the condition of wage-workers in California, for the reason that our people have not been educated up to the point of freely giving information of a personal nature for statistical purposes. They have yet to learn the uses of a public record of private affairs. The spirit of independence, so characteristic of a Californian, pervades all classes. The average laborer is so well housed, well fed, and well clothed that he is inclined to resent, as savoring of impertinence, any inquiry as to his personal surroundings. Anticipating no difficulty in following the line of inquiry suggested by the duties my office imposed, I prepared blanks containing an elaborate array of questions designed to elicit information on all points touching the labor question. Placing these blanks in the hands of special agents, charged with the duty of having them properly filled out by manufacturers, miners, laborers, mechanics, merchants, professional men, employers and operatives in the various industries represented in our State, I congratulated myself upon having completed arrangements for securing a fund of information sufficient to enlighten the world upon all questions pertaining to labor upon the Pacific Coast. The agents, full of energy, entered upon their work with buoyant spirits, and I, full of hope, awaited the result. They are still working, but their buoyancy of spirit is gone. I am still waiting, but hope has lost its brilliancy. A very short time sufficed to demonstrate the fact that we had reckoned without our host, and that no amount of expended energy would secure satisfactory answers to our questions. Repeated trials and continued failure convinced me of the futility of proceeding further on the lines laid down, and reluctantly yielding to the inevitable, I laid my ambitious aims an unwilling sacrifice on the altar of necessity. Reducing the scope of our inquiry to a mere shadow of its former

greatness, and eliminating from our blanks all questions to which the most reticently-inclined individual could reasonably object, we are now making better progress; but as I said before, it is uphill business trying to get satisfactory answers given to even a few questions. The questions we are now asking are so arranged as to elicit the rates of wages paid, the hours of labor, the sanitary conditions of the factory and workshop, the safety of mines, and like general information. Labor is well organized in California, and with better wages and as short, if not shorter, working-days, and pleasanter surroundings than are to be found in any other part of the world, there would seem to be little cause for complaint. Yet, notwithstanding these favorable conditions, the industrial situation is not what it should be, nor what is desired. There is too much friction between our labor unions and the employers. General depression in business has not checked the aggressiveness of labor organizations, but has served to bring the employers together for united action in meeting this aggression. An organization, embracing nearly all the employing manufacturers, has been perfected within the past year. With a view of getting reliable data touching the situation, I, recently, without consulting either side, cited a number of representative men from the manufacturers' organization and from the trades unions to appear before me to give testimony in the matter of an investigation into the conditions of labor and capital in their present relations to each other in California, with special reference to: First, the origin, aims and objects of certain organizations representing capital and labor, respectively; second, the nature of complaints, abuses and grievances that come within the province of these organizations for hearing; third, the methods employed in determining a wrong and obtaining redress; fourth, the causes which engendered hostility and led up to the present antagonistic attitude of the respective parties toward each other; fifth, the character and magnitude of the differences comprising the real issues between them; sixth, the possibilities in regard to finding a remedy and restoring harmonious relations between employer and employé. This action brought together, face to face, the leaders on

both sides of the question, and, although at the first meeting much bitterness was manifested, each side believing that the other was the instigator of the call for the investigation, I finally succeeded in getting both parties thoroughly interested and earnestly at work upon agreed lines. I am confident that it is a move in the right direction, and will develop a great deal of valuable information. I propose to continue the investigation just as long as there is anything to be brought out, and at the end hope to find employer and employé much closer together in feeling than they have been for some time past. It may be interesting for you to know that our last Legislature passed a law requiring every Chinese person in California to register, and take out a certificate of residence—said certificate to contain a full description of the applicant, as to age, size, weight, physical peculiarities, sex, name, place of birth, date of arrival in the United States, etc., besides a well-taken photograph of the individual. Apparently thinking that the Labor Commissioner had too few duties, the vast work of this registration was placed upon his shoulders. The preparatory work in this connection has occupied a good deal of my time; but the Celestial—like his white brother—fails to appreciate our efforts in his behalf, and does not respond, and the results are that but four Chinamen out of the 80,000 in our midst have filled out the registration blank. What effect the recent United States Chinese exclusion act will have on this registration I am not prepared to state. I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you all again.

Colorado.—Mr. BODINE: The forthcoming Report of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics of Colorado will be the Third Biennial Report of that Department, and will be issued before November 15th, 1892. It will give special attention to statistics and data pertaining to mining, silver production, agriculture, manufacturing, wages and hours of employment, railroad labor, child labor, education of children, labor organizations, sanitary condition of workshops, employers' liability, the Chinese, convict labor, unrestricted immigration, the employment of women and girls, employment agents, the sweating system, strikes and the unemployed. That is an index of its contents, and while each subject will necessarily

have to be dwelt upon briefly in order to get them all in the Report, the most important features of each will be carefully and accurately reviewed. Child labor will receive particular attention in the Report of the Colorado Bureau. This State is now in the incipient stages of the evils that follow the employment of children of tender age. Possibly the next Legislature will adopt timely suggestions upon the subject that will form a feature of the Report. The subject of the women wage-earners will also be reviewed. The large increase in the demand for feminine labor in this State, attended with competition for employment, and the unfortunate retrenchment in wages that challenges virtue and imposes suffering on many poor working girls, certainly should attract the attention of the public and secure relief. The mining resources of the State and the encouraging impetus given to manufacturing, as well as the marvelous stride taken by Colorado toward agricultural supremacy, form leading features of the current work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Employers' liability is another subject that will be accorded space, and it is to be hoped will meet with favorable legislative attention. As Colorado is one of the best-organized States in the Union, the various labor organizations will be reviewed. These are the principal features of current work. The subjects previously enumerated, and possibly others that may be born of future events, will all be carefully considered and laid before the men who make the laws of the Commonwealth. It is the intention of the present administration to compile a report to be presented to the next Legislature that will be one of statistical value to the public in general and the working people of Colorado in particular. I am positive in my conviction that the people of this State feel gratified at the fact that Colorado has been honored by a convention of the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor, and I desire to thank the Association for its recognition of the efforts of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Silver State.

Rhode Island.—JOHN H. DAVIS, Chief Clerk, (by mail): Regarding our current work I will state that we propose investigating the building trades of the State: wages, hours of labor, and cost of living for a period of five years. We will,

in this connection, compare the wages and hours of labor of organized and unorganized men in these occupations.

Iowa.—Mr. SOVEREIGN: The subjects for the next Biennial Report have not yet been fully selected, owing to the fact that the biennial period has but recently begun. The law of Iowa governing the Bureau is a little peculiar; it provides that the Biennial Report shall be issued on or before the 15th of August preceding the session of the Legislature, and the succeeding Commissioner is not appointed until the following April, making about seven months in each biennial period in which the Commissioner can do comparatively nothing, for the reason that he cannot with propriety collect statistical matter for his successor. The next Report will show the gravitation of population in Iowa towards towns and cities, and the increase and decrease of population by minor civil divisions. Child and female labor as suggested by the Woman's Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary will be fully considered. Also an investigation showing the local market price paid for farm products during the past ten years will be made. The Iowa Bureau is somewhat hampered for want of funds, but whatever our Bureau does will be devoted exclusively to the interests of the working people.

Maryland.—Mr. HOWARD (by mail): The office, as at first created in 1884, was wholly a Bureau of Labor Statistics, and as such was in charge of Mr. THOMAS C. WEEKS, until my appointment a few months ago. The Legislature, at its session last winter, abolished the old office, and created a new one with largely-increased powers, known as the Industrial Bureau, which is to include all industrial statistics in the State, in addition to the labor statistics covered by the old office. I am required to collect statistics concerning and examine into the condition of labor in this State, with special reference to wages and the causes of strikes and disagreements between employers and employés; to collect information in regard to the agricultural condition and products of the several counties of the State, the acreage under cultivation and planted to the various crops, the character and price of lands, the live stock, etc., and all matters pertaining to agricultural pursuits which may be of general interest and calculated

to attract immigration to the State; to collect information in regard to the mineral products of the State, the output of mines, quarries, etc., and the manufacturing industries; to collect information in regard to railroads and other transportation companies, shipping and commerce; to keep a bureau of general information, and to classify and arrange the information and data so obtained, and as soon as practicable after entering upon the duties of the office, publish the same in substantial book form, and annually thereafter revise and republish. You will readily see the vast amount of work under these heads. In other words, to carry out all the provisions of this bill would be practically to make a census of the State. To do this work, I am given the very meager appropriation for expenses of \$2,500, the same as given Mr. WEEKS for much less work. I have had to organize the office, and furnish it throughout, as the old office was almost wholly without appliances or facilities, and existed in fact only in Mr. WEEKS's law office. This expense, together with office rent, stationery, fuel and general running expenses of the office, with the salary of a clerk, the only one I am enabled to employ, leaves me, at the most liberal estimate, not more than half the total appropriation, if indeed, I have that much. Even the most casual observer will see at once that it is a physical impossibility to carry out all the provisions of such a bill. I have undertaken the work, therefore, solely on the principle that "Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well," and instead of attempting that which is impossible of performance, have determined to take up one or two subjects in the way of original investigation and treat them as thoroughly as possible. I have been for some time in great doubt as to my selection of subjects, as so many important considerations are involved in a field so large. In reaching a conclusion I have considered more carefully those things which all in all are of the greatest public interest, which are likely to yield the best results, and which can be more readily handled with the means at hand. These appear to me to be agriculture and some one feature of the labor question—this last, "child labor." Both of these, I am well aware are attended with many and great difficulties, and while

at best my first Report must, in the nature of things, be crude and far below what I would like it, I hope to secure some good results upon the lines I have marked out. The agricultural work, I expect to secure largely with the assistance of the granges and various agricultural organizations, and individual farmers. This will be largely as outlined in the second section of the bill, which I have given you, together with the general industrial condition of the State by counties. As I have not the means to employ agents, which is the only true way of doing such work, I am compelled to rely to a considerable extent upon schedules and letters. This, we all know, is an uncertain business, but the encouragement I have already received justifies me in the belief that in the main I will have the cordial coöperation of the farmers. From some of the labor organizations I am afraid I cannot hope for much assistance. This, I believe, is the experience of many of us. I have addressed communications both to the Knights of Labor and the Federation of Labor for suggestions and for their preferences as to the line of work which I should take up, and assuring them of my good-will and my desire to serve their interests fairly and impartially. I have also had repeated conferences with the leaders of both organizations, but have received no response to my communications from the Federation. The Knights of Labor have done better, and I am reasonably certain, will endeavor to respond to my efforts, and one of the local unions belonging to the Federation has undertaken to work jointly with me. There is in the Federation, however, a deep-seated feeling of bitterness toward the office, which will probably not be overcome. This comes, first, from their lack of confidence in the former management of the office, and second, from the disappointment growing out of the fact that one of the principal officers of the organization was a candidate for the office now held by me. I have made all the efforts I deem it proper to make to allay this feeling, and having so far done my duty, as I understand it, I shall proceed on my own lines and according to my best judgment to do the work before me as honestly and without prejudice between employer and employé as seems possible. The manufactures, and such other statistics as are specified in the bill, which

have been covered by the United States census, I will compile from that with such revision as may be necessary. The railroad and other transportation statistics, as well as those of the mines and quarries, I will handle as briefly as possible, and will have them made up by the companies operating them. This seems to me to cover the case as far as my first Report is concerned. I am prepared, of course, for any amount of criticism that will inevitably come, but if I can attain the measure of success which I desire, I hope to open the way for a more liberal appropriation from the next Legislature, two years hence. The only true way to carry on the work of an office such as this is to take up one subject for each Report, and go into an exhaustive investigation of that. The selection of this subject should be left largely, if not entirely, to the executive head of the office, and he should be given ample means to secure the best attainable results.

Kansas.—Mr. BETTON: As I stated last year, at our Philadelphia session, I have sought to make as thorough an investigation as possible of the hours actually on duty of persons employed in train service by the railroads of Kansas, and have succeeded in obtaining and analyzing the details of some 3,500 trips. This information has been secured directly from engineers and conductors, from records kept by them—duplicates of reports sent in to the company. The work involved a vast amount of labor on the part of the Bureau, from the fact that in most instances we were forced to copy the books kept by a large number of engineers and conductors, which were sent us for that purpose. Our mode of procedure was as follows: We first prepared and had printed 200 books, containing thirty blank schedules each (covering a calendar month), and mailed them to that number of trainmen throughout the State, with a request that they be filled and returned; accompanied, however, by a statement that if the recipient could not devote his time to the work of copying, if he would kindly return the book, together with the stubs of his filled-out “trip-books,” covering the year, we would copy them ourselves. The result was, that in most instances the books were returned, together with the stub-books as suggested, and in a majority of cases letters of explanation were

added. These stubs were all copied into our schedule-books, and afterward groups of tables were compiled, bringing out all the details as set down in the stubs. In cases where the details of important entries were not clearly understood, or were omitted, we corresponded with the owner of the book, and usually succeeded in obtaining the lacking information. In this way an absolutely accurate showing has been made of 3,500 trips of trainmen over our Kansas railroads during the year 1891, and it will constitute a very prominent feature in our Report for that year. The copy is now in the hands of our State printer, and the book will soon be ready for distribution. In addition we have exhaustively sifted the data regarding the daily wages paid and the number of days lost as shown by each of our six Annual Reports since the organization of our Bureau in 1885, and we submit tables of comparison for each of the six years considered. The result is extremely interesting, and shows, as a rule, that wages have slightly advanced, and that lost time has slightly decreased between the years 1885 and 1890. Another feature of our Report is, an investigation of the working of the eight-hour law, passed by our Legislature early in 1891, and which went into effect about a year ago. This law applies to all persons employed by the State, counties, cities, or other municipal organizations, and to employes working for contractors engaged by them. As no provision was made by the Legislature to render the law effective in our State institutions, the Warden of the Penitentiary protested, and by agreement the Attorney General brought suit in the name of the State requiring him to comply with the law. The Supreme Court decided that the act was not intended to apply to officials of State institutions where a stipulated annual salary was provided; but intimated that it might be enforced in the case of manual workers. I addressed a circular letter to county and city clerks, superintendents of State charitable institutions, and to boards of police commissioners, and with very few exceptions found that the law was entirely ignored. These subjects will constitute my Report for the year 1891.

Maine.—Mr. MATTHEWS: The current work of the Bureau is not fully formulated. The work of last year was a state-

ment of debts, wages, earnings and cost of living of workingmen, as obtained from an investigation and data from the workingmen themselves. I have obtained reports from 1,100 individuals, covering twenty-five separate trades. The current Report will be a continuation of these facts, especially as they relate to working women, and also in reply to the questions proposed by the Woman's Labor Committee, as submitted to the Association. I intend to ascertain the number of trade organizations and their membership. Organization is increasing very rapidly among the trades in Maine, and it is comparatively a new thing with us; but our relations are generally pleasant and agreeable. Just at this time there is an extensive strike in progress in the granite business. It is not a demand for higher wages, but is a disagreement as to the time when the bill of prices shall be fixed. The men want the bill made in the spring, instead of winter. The differences in this case I shall investigate. In the State of Maine, as is well known, there is a great diversity of industries. Our work people, as a class, are pretty steadily employed, and are generally prosperous. We have a superior class of people. We do not, perhaps, increase our population as rapidly as you do out here, but then we endeavor to make up in quality what we lack in quantity. In order to make this fully appreciable, it is likely that I shall investigate the criminal statistics of our State at an early period.

Minnesota.—Mr. POWERS: The report I made at the Convention last year, of current work, must be repeated in part this year, since we are engaged upon the same lines of study as then. This state of affairs is due to the fact that we issue our Report only once in two years. Our next Report will be issued the coming December. Our work is divided under a number of branches. I will* speak of the leading ones separately and at length. And first I am giving much attention to the subject of factory inspection. The law under which we are acting directs us "to visit and inspect factories and workshops with reference to the safety of workmen and to their sanitary condition, and to make a record of the same." In connection with the performance of this duty imposed by law, our Bureau calls the attention of factory managers to all the

most practicable means of guarding their machinery and to making their workshops more healthful and desirable places for their workmen. As a rule, the factory owners show a commendable spirit of complying with the suggestions made by the officers of the Bureau. A few, however, disregard them, since we have no authority to compel compliance. The condition of factories as we find them, the changes recommended and those adopted by the factories visited, and all similar facts noted by us, will be included in our Report. These facts thus covered by our investigation will be made the basis of an effort to secure in our State the enactment of a systematic factory-inspection law, such as is now in force in many of the older States. A second department of the next Report of our Bureau will consist of a study of the beneficiary features of trades unions, and incidentally the economic value of these unions. One object of this study will be, if possible, to show the truth or falsity of the assertion so often made by the enemies of the unions, that money paid to trades unions is always thrown away. I start out on this study with the fundamental maxim of finance or political economy. No organization, as a trades union, can long continue to take money from its members unless it gives full value in return. In this investigation I shall try to ascertain if trades unions do thus give their members value received. To that end I compare the several unions with some other financial institution or organization concerning which the public are not divided in opinion. As there is much diversity in the several unions, they cannot properly all be compared with the same organization or institution. Care must in each case be taken that the comparison is just; that it is made with some corporation whose business most nearly corresponds with the working of the beneficial features of the union at any time under consideration. So far as made, this investigation presents a magnificent showing for, and thus defense of, the methods of the trades unions. As an illustration of the spirit and methods of our investigation, and as an example of the results to be presented in our next Report, I will speak of one or more of the many cases already reviewed by our Bureau. The beneficiary features of the Cigarmakers' International Union

are by us compared with the results of the so-called system of industrial insurance. The leading companies at present doing that class of business in the United States are the Metropolitan, Prudential, and the John Hancock. Comparing the results obtained by the beneficial features of the Cigarmakers' Union with those following the investment of money in the policies of the companies named, we obtain the following results: Disregarding all the purely trade features of the cigarmakers, and for the time being considering them as an organization existing solely for the purpose of managing their five benefits, the comparison between the cigarmakers and the corporations exhibits these facts: The industrial insurance companies only furnish a death or funeral benefit, the cigarmakers have five benefits—death or funeral, sick, strike, out of work, and traveling. In addition to these they practically for their members maintain in every town a free employment agency and manage all their trade affairs. Now, a person at twenty-one years of age joining the union and taking out a policy in one of the companies named and paying the same sum weekly to each for fifteen years, would, at the end of that time, find the following results: Twenty-five cents a week in these insurance corporations for one twenty-one years of age, guarantee at death \$550. The same weekly dues with the cigarmakers would give to a member of fifteen years' standing the same sum. In addition, the cigarmaker in his union would be entitled to the following, not given by the insurance companies: A weekly sick, strike and out-of-work benefit of five dollars in each case. He is guaranteed a traveling benefit to take him, when out of work, to a place where he can obtain employment. He has his free employment agency and general trade management thrown in for nothing. This difference of results and the superiority of those achieved by the cigarmakers is due to the difference of the ratio of expense in the two classes of organizations. The ratio of expense to benefits paid to members or policyholders is for the cigarmakers only from one-fourth to one-eighth what it is in the case of the companies doing an industrial insurance. In other words, the cigarmakers, through their union, secure the management of their benefits at an immense

saving, as compared with the companies named, and have the direction of all trade affairs thrown in for nothing. Stating this in other words, we see that the support of their trade affairs, to which the enemy of the union objects, absolutely costs the workmen nothing. The German printers have a similar system of benefits to that of the cigarmakers, and present the same general results of work. The experience of these two organizations therefore utterly refutes the charge of the enemies of trades unions that the money paid to them is thrown away. It is not thrown away, but secures to the contributing members much larger returns than they could obtain at the same outlay of any corporation or society managed by so-called business men in their interests. As further showing the saving effected by the cigarmakers through their management of their benefits, the study of the Bureau presents these results in favor of the management of the union: If the members of the Cigarmakers' International Union had purchased all their benefits of corporations managed with the ratio of expense of the Prudential, instead of through the union, the sum total of the money that would have been lost by such a move would have sufficed to pay full wages to all their members who were on a strike in the year 1891. Again, if the policyholders in the several industrial insurance companies of the United States had secured their death or funeral benefits in connection with unions as well managed as the cigarmakers, they would have thereby effected a saving equal to one-half the loss sustained by all the workers of the Nation by strikes in any of the years investigated by the National Bureau of Labor. Now, the loss by strikes is by everyone considered a grievous and useless burden upon both labor and capital. To remove that loss is considered a subject worthy the attention of statesmen and philanthropists. But here is a loss to the working people by a system of insurance almost equal to the loss by strikes. It is a loss that for the workers can be removed by the extension of the insurance system of trades unions, and thus a substitution of its benefit feature for the insurance of the industrial companies. Does not the existence of this loss by insurance corporations, a loss obviated by the trades unions, justify the continued existence of

these unions, and make a powerful plea for their growth and the establishment of new ones in other fields? The conclusion of our study of trades unionism in Minnesota is thus in favor of the unions. We find the unions managing their benefits with economy. The establishment and growth of trades unions make the workers more conservative. It lessens the tendency to strikes, and removes the cause of many disturbances between labor and capital. It develops a spirit of self-control, independence and temperance among the members of the unions, and thus advances the cause of public morality. The beneficiary features of the cigarmakers are by us, as has been said above, compared with the various corporations for industrial insurance. The beneficial features of the various organizations of railway employes will be analyzed with a view of deducing therefrom a practical argument for an employers' liability act. We shall in like spirit treat the beneficial features of all the trades unions, striving in each case to present such comparisons as will show the real value of the several organizations. As a third portion of our work, we are tabulating the land values for the State for the years 1881 and 1891. These values are deduced from the *bona fide* sales of land as recorded in our registers of deeds' offices in the State. In this connection, we also show the number and value of the mortgage foreclosures in the State for the same years. This tabulation will present the farming industry in our borders as in a satisfactory condition. Land values have steadily advanced through the decade, and the mortgage foreclosures have decreased to but one-tenth of what they were in 1881. Other subjects considered in our Report, are: the effect of the modern methods or processes of milling upon the relative prices of winter and spring wheat; the prices of flour; the profits of the milling industry; the cost of manufacturing flour, and the "toll" or the charges made by the miller for grinding grain, etc., etc.

Nebraska.—Mr. ANDRES: Mr. PRESIDENT and colleagues, I am simply here as a student; like others, I came here to learn. Nebraska being largely an agricultural State, the work of our Bureau must of necessity be in the interest of the tillers of the soil; while at the same time the Nebraska Bureau

of Labor has not neglected to look up questions which more directly concern the toiling masses in our cities. Owing to the peculiar political disturbance which prevailed for a time in my State, I was unable to discharge the duties of my office, and am now compelled to push my investigations on the various questions with greater haste than is desirable. With the means at my command, and authority vested in my office—both limited—I have been fairly successful in securing statistics on the following questions, and will be able to present the same to the coming Legislature: First, a complete record of the indebtedness of the State and counties, the mortgage indebtedness on farms, city and town lots, as well as all chattel mortgages; second, the question of irrigation, in which the citizens of the western counties of the State are largely interested (although irrigation in Nebraska is yet in an undeveloped state, it promises to become an important factor in our agricultural interests); third, the question whether farming pays has been the topic of many discussions, and engaged the minds of the people; this Bureau has, in order to investigate the question of “the cost of producing corn per acre,” sent out several thousands of blanks to farmers throughout the State, to ascertain the facts and obtain the most reliable figures; the returns, as far as they have come in, will, in a measure, answer this vexed question; fourth, I have also undertaken to show the shipments of our surplus of products of the farm; fifth, the working and effect of our eight-hour law is the subject of an investigation, as well as the question of women and child labor. Various other matters of importance are looked after by this Bureau. For instance, the law makes the Labor Commissioner a factory inspector, in fact, to look after the health and safety of the workingmen and women, to prevent the illegal employment of child labor, etc. Under the law, the Labor Bureau is not only directed to collect and collate statistics showing the condition of the laboring classes and industries, but it is also required to embody recommendations and suggestions to the Legislature in its regular Report on the subject of investigations had. Now, in order to make the work of the Labor Bureaus more effective, it seems to me to be one of the first duties of this Convention to agree upon a plan

of joint action. We ought to give facts as we find them. There should be no variety of opinions as to the cause of certain economic conditions. If the agricultural States would agree as near as practicable upon a plan of investigation, upon certain questions, the result would be of greater value, not alone to the persons directly interested, but also to the law-makers. The law makes it mandatory upon us to report our findings, and asks for the necessary recommendations or suggestions. Recommendations for what? Undoubtedly, to assist in future legislation, if such legislation is desirable or practicable. This is one of the reasons why I thought it my duty to attend this Convention, and to profit by acquaintance with gentlemen who have years of experience in the science of statistics.

South Dakota.—Mr. SMITH (by mail): The Department of Labor Statistics was created in January, 1889, during the first legislative session of the State, but came very near being abolished by the Legislature of 1891. It escaped by a mere accident. The appropriation, aside from the Commissioner's salary, is only \$750, which is entirely too small to be of much benefit to the State. In this State the office of Commissioner is made elective, and as the political horizon is squally, it is difficult to determine who will have charge of the office after the close of the present year. We have as yet published no Report. The first Commissioner, Mr. WILDER, made a report to the Governor, but it has never been printed. I shall make what effort I can with my meager appropriation to ascertain the social, sanitary and financial condition of the working people of the State, wages received, etc. I am thinking also of ascertaining the volume and value of surplus products, agricultural, animal, mineral, etc., for the years 1891 and 1892. This will be in the interest of the commercial classes, but the law creating this Bureau gives the Commissioner jurisdiction over both. It is my purpose to visit the Black Hills during the summer, and I shall try to learn all I possibly can regarding our miners employed in that section; their wages, social condition, etc. The idea of collecting statistics regarding the surplus products of the State I received from the Commissioner of Labor of Missouri, Mr. WILLARD C. HALL, with

whom I have had considerable correspondence. I have also received considerable information in the same line from the Minnesota Commissioner, Mr. POWERS, who is an old acquaintance.

North Dakota.—Mr. HELGESEN (by mail): The North Dakota office necessarily confines its labors chiefly to the agricultural interests of the State, for two reasons: because the State is almost exclusively agricultural, and because to make any extensive investigations relating to labor and kindred subjects would require greater means and facilities than have yet been provided for the office. Last year an attempt was made to collect through the assessors statistics relating to time of employment and wages of agricultural and domestic labor, with only partial success. The effort is being repeated this year, and it is hoped fairly complete returns may be had from all the counties, that will enable reliable deductions to be drawn. The State has very few manufactories, and these usually in their infancy. Statistics relating to capital invested, materials used, product or output of plant, number of employes and wages, are now being collected by means of blanks sent through the mails. It is regretted that this is the only means open to the North Dakota statistician, no money for special agents or traveling expenses being allowed. Heretofore attempts have been made to collect through assessors facts concerning mortgage indebtedness, ownership of land by corporations, etc.; but two years' experience has shown such a method to be impracticable, and as no other method is open to the State, such investigations have been abandoned till a more favorable time. Attempts are being made this year to secure more complete and accurate agricultural statistics than heretofore, with the losses to the farmers last fall from the unusual amount of rain and failure in consequence to get their threshing done in proper season. The Farmers' Alliance has complete organization in the State, and at the annual State meeting of this body in 1891 the Commissioner tendered the services of his office for making any investigation the Alliance desired, and urged that they make full and complete use of his office to ascertain the facts concerning any grievance or burden under which the farmers

were laboring, calling attention to the fact that the first necessity in righting any wrong or accomplishing any reformation is the procuring of the exact facts. To the surprise of the Commissioner, the Alliance ignored this offer, and has not seemed inclined to render any aid in procuring statistics or information for their own benefit. This is perhaps an extreme instance of a feeling entertained among a certain class of people, and nurtured and propagated by certain demagogues, whose business is to prey upon the weaknesses of their fellows, that their grievances are best removed by keeping the facts from the world. They will often listen to the blandishments of a demagogue whom they know to be dishonest, unscrupulous, and possessed of only selfish motives, while turning a deaf ear and cold shoulder to those they know, or ought to know, are unselfishly laboring for the good of humanity. People will in a few years better realize that full and complete knowledge and broad publicity are the best safeguards against oppression of all kinds. The oppressor possesses the knowledge and cunning, and uses it against those who do not. Yet a considerable class profess to believe that the masses can be lifted out of such bondage by covering up the facts and allowing only their oppressors to possess a full knowledge. People must learn sooner or later that when the full sunlight is turned upon any wrong, so that all the world can see that it is a wrong, the battle for its righting is practically won. If capital oppresses labor; if grain dealers and common carriers overreach and cheat the producer; if middlemen reap all the profits in any class of commodities, let those that are wronged be able to exhibit to the world in cold facts and figures just where and what the evil is; let the logic of mathematics speak for them, and deliverance is not far off. But so long as the alleged oppressor can tell one story and the oppressed another, with equal plausibility, and no man or set of men can find out the real facts on either side, so long will the weak be the victim of the strong. Here comes in the work of the statistician, the official labor and agricultural departments, in ascertaining the exact facts, in such a conclusive manner that there will be and can be no appeal from them; so authentic and accurate that neither side will ques-

tion them. The laboring men and farmers have the greatest interest in bringing this about, yet, strange to say, the most opposition comes from these same ranks.

Tennessee.—Mr. FORD (by mail): The work of the Bureau of Labor in this State has been, for the most part, the inspection of coal and iron mines, woolen and cotton mills, and furnaces. At the beginning this work was considerably interrupted by the trouble in our coal-mining region, on account of the employment of convict labor, resulting in the releasing of 458 convicts from the coal mines, where they were working. At the present time the excitement has subsided so as to enable me to engage in the preparation of a report on the investigations of the Bureau in other work. The first Report of the Bureau has been distributed, being devoted to the subjects most prominent with our people at the time: the employment of convicts in our coal mines, the causes of the miners releasing convicts, and a synopsis of convict labor in our State from 1866 to 1891. This Report was so much sought for, that the two thousand copies coming from the printer was not sufficient to reach one-tenth of the applications, but the limited amount appropriated for the expenses of the Bureau did not permit the expending of any reasonable sum in the proper distribution of the Report. I am highly gratified with the manner in which the Report has been received, especially among the working classes, who, without exception, express themselves as being pleased to see a truthful report of the subjects with which it deals.

The President introduced to the Convention Rev. MYRON REED, of Denver, who addressed the Commissioners as follows, on the subject of

LAND AND LABOR.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I am pleased to meet with you to-day. There is a constantly-increasing interest in the subjects which you, in your various reports, treat upon, and I congratulate you upon the honest and conscientious way in which your work is done. In common with others I have noticed the growing interest on the part of the clergy in the subject of "Land and Labor" in late years. The Protestants speak of it from every pulpit and the priests from every altar. The Pope has taken cognizance of it. Indeed, we find that the subject has been thrust upon us; for the church has lost its grip upon the working masses and has not increased its hold upon the millionaires.

A man to think intelligently about the care of his soul must have a sufficiency for the body for to-day and security for to-morrow. It is hard to interest a man in a life to come while he is hungry and in a worry about the daily bread for himself and family. I appreciate that you men have not only discovered that the world is out of joint, but you are trying to discover just what joint is loose; just what bone is out of place. I take it that you are looking for the cause of the trouble in order that students may have the data to work on for a cure. Now, here with us the condition is peculiar, for so many come to our State who are sick—financially as well as physically—with little money and little health, and in some cases lose both. The people in the eastern part of this State depend on the unpromised bounty of God for grain, while those in the western part go in and gather the great riches God has already placed there. It is a question of land and labor all through this Western country. I was passing through a part of our State recently, and in the course of my trip I took dinner with a man who lives in a sod house. He hopes to build a wooden house some of these days. Of course he was in favor of a high protective tax on lumber and nails, glass and putty. We dined on bread and boiled carrots and tea. In the village where he trades I noticed a sign, "Law Office." I walked in; the law library consisted of "the statutes of the State." The book fell open at the law of chattel mortgages, as an old family Bible opens at the twenty-third Psalm or at the fourteenth chapter of St. John. That "law office" and that dinner of carrots and tea are in direct relation.

I have heard that the condition of the workingman here is better than in the older countries. Ought it not to be much better? I hold that it had. It is stated that the condition of the wage-earner is better now than it was fifty years ago. Who will say that it ought not to be greatly improved? When Columbus crossed the ocean it was for the purpose of making the condition of the workingman not a little better. We cross the plain in a Pullman car on steel rails, the motive power being steam harnessed; we send a message across the country or around the world by the electric telegraph instead of using the slow messenger boy. But with all these mighty changes, I am ready to say that men have not been improved as much as the wild roses that bloom in our dooryards, the canary that sings in our houses, the tomatoes we have on our tables, or the dogs and horses we have in our stables.

Why is it that when my brother buys a self-binder that cost \$78 he pays \$325? I bought a copy of Hamlin Garland's "Main Traveled Roads," and loaned it to a friend. He returned it, and said: "It is too d—d true."

I take hope in the fact that the minds of the people are taking hold of the land and transportation question. The question that confronts us to-day is not Ireland; it is a new Ireland—we want no new Ireland established in this country. It is not the conditions in Wales that is worrying us; we must look with care that we do not establish the same bad things here. We have freed the black slaves, and now we must determine not to have any white slaves. These questions are being taken hold of by the newspapers—not the big ones, perhaps—but by the numerous little ones that reach the homes and hearts of the people. The novelists are writing books on these subjects, and are doing for the industrial masses what Harriet Beecher Stowe did for the black slaves. Let us hope that these good works do not come too late. I read in the paper this morning that we are bound to have poverty with us.

I have heard preachers quote from the Scriptures this text: "The poor ye have always with you." My observations have led me to believe that there is no single prophecy in the Bible that we work as hard to fulfill as this one.

An orator was declaiming on the degeneracy of the race — on the lack of great men. An old lady listened to him and said: "Thank God, you are a liar!" When I hear that in America pauperism is a necessity, and a mortgage is eternal, I wish that the old lady were present to speak for me.

Professor NATHAN B. COY, after being made acquainted with the members of the Convention by the President, spoke at some length upon the subject of "Education and Labor." Mr. Coy is Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Colorado. His address was as follows:

EDUCATION AND LABOR.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I take pleasure in greeting you, whose services are rapidly growing in the appreciation of the general public. Your mission, as I understand it, is to collect and disseminate facts not heretofore attainable regarding the social condition of our manual workers. Next to the church and school, labor organizations have, I think, contributed more than any other factor to the uplifting and advancement of the great mass of our people. Their economic value has been great, but their educational value has been still greater, through the many agencies for mutual aid which their members have found in organization. A better acquaintance from social intercourse, the intellectual stimulus from discussions, and the moral elevation through guardianship of the habits of their members, have combined to make these organizations instrumental in the very best sense in promoting the welfare of the laboring classes.

A distinguished German lecturer recently remarked to a body of European students, that the civilization of the Greeks began to decline from the time that the philosophically educated separated themselves from the mass of the people. There is no such tendency yet in America. A marked feature of educational development during the last few years has been the special provision for the masses, extending elementary education down through the kindergarten, and university privileges by lecture courses to adults. College settlements, too, consisting of encampments of college and university students upon the edges of the poorer districts of our large cities, for the purpose of closer acquaintance with their condition and needs, attest the sincere humane motive pervading our entire educational system.

The welfare of the laboring classes has invited the attention of America's most gifted scholars, for example: Dr. Wayland, Dr. Bacon, ex-President Wolsey, ex-President Hopkins, of former days; and of to-day, ex-President White, President Andrews, Professors Ely, Hadley, Adler, etc., not to mention the eminent divines, Doctors Hale, Gladden, Taylor, Parkhurst, Bishop Huntington, etc. Looking abroad, we discover that splendid example, Mr. Gladstone, whose fame, it is said on high authority, will finally rest not upon his gifted oratory nor charming literary expositions, but upon his achievements as a financier, arresting by his bold and unique devices the tendency of his country towards impoverishment, and setting it on the highway of economic thrift and progress. Who can estimate the influence of Canon Kingsley's stories of the unjust treatment of the laboring classes? Our fore-

fathers appreciated the necessity of education for all, in the Republic which they founded. They had had the best educational advantages themselves, and were well read in the history of the past. They knew why former efforts for republican government had failed, and made careful provision for the one condition that guaranteed the success of their own experiment. They did not originate the notion of universal freedom based on universal intelligence; they found the country which invited its favorable trial. The notion itself was then centuries old, dating as far back as Plato's time. There was no need in the days of our forefathers, to enforce attendance upon school; opportunity was sufficient. But the introduction of modern industries, brought to our shores classes inferior to the first settlers. From that time began legislation looking to enforced attendance of children at school. Massachusetts led the way, and Connecticut closely followed. Every phase of the compulsory system is developed in the experiences of these two States. Their experiences are not alike, however, but represent two distinct types or systems. In Massachusetts, "though the law is in its terms obligatory upon all towns, the system is practically a local option, administered by the town. In Connecticut, on the other hand, a more centralized system has been developed, in which the State executes the law through its own agents, with the coöperation of the local authorities. The Connecticut system seems to be the more generally effective." Up to March, 1891, twenty-seven States and Territories of the Union had compulsory-attendance laws in operation. Maryland, Texas and Arizona had such laws on the statute books, but repealed them or suffered them to lapse. In nearly every State the subject has been discussed, and in some, notably Pennsylvania, Indiana and Iowa, bills have been introduced, but have failed for the time being to become laws. The principle is steadily gaining ground. The law, in the introduction usually moderate and inoffensive, is easily made more rigid and binding as the people become acquainted with its merit and its necessity. One of the best results of legislation for compulsory education has been to show to the people the necessities for education. The arguments and discussions carried on for many years have "gradually silenced opposition." The principle involves the rights of children and the protection of the family and the State. One of the chief purposes of compulsory laws has been to rescue children from being put to labor when they should be in school. The factory has proved a hot-bed of iniquity for the family. Much of the work of the factory may be done by the children, and as their wages are far less than those of adults for the same services, naturally they have been sought as wage-earners by the merciless and avaricious employer. In many instances they have supplanted the parents in the work-shop. The effect has been to degrade and demoralize the home, and to perpetuate a worse condition of things. In other instances, the cupidity of parents has led them to place their children in the factory when no real necessity existed, but only the desire to add still further to the family income. Deception was practiced to keep the children at work, such as a dead father, a widowed mother, family sickness, etc. The past reports of your Commissioners have drawn attention to the extent and enormity of this evil in our own country. A compilation (in epitome) of statistics from these reports is found in a little volume of less than two hundred and fifty pages published last year in London—"The Working-Class Movement in America," by Edward and

Eleanor Marx Aveling. This little volume would be a startling revelation to the majority of Americans, who plume themselves in the exemption of the working classes of their own country from the evils common to the old world. But as the statistics quoted are referred to by year and page of the reports, they seem to be accurate and reliable. It is noticeable that the evil of child labor has developed rapidly wherever new manufacturing industries have been established. This is especially marked in the Southern States, within the period of their recent industrial progress. Colorado has had occasion to become alarmed by the rapid increase of this evil in her own borders within a comparatively recent period. That period corresponds with the period of the establishment of important manufacturing industries favorable to the employment of children. I am informed, by ex-Commissioner Buchanan, that more girls under fifteen years of age are at service to-day in the cotton factory at Manchester, near Denver, than all the girls under fifteen years of age who were at service in the State in 1880, not including those engaged in professional and domestic service. This great increase is in keeping with the growth in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits in the State, which has been 800 per cent. as contrasted with an increase in population of only 112 per cent. In view of this, the compulsory-education law enacted by Colorado in 1889 will need to be made more rigid and effective. As it now stands, it is little more than a signal of danger. It should be made more preventive. The connection between education and crime has been long recognized. Statistics from reports of prison wardens published in a circular of the Bureau of Information at Washington in 1880, show for seven European countries and the United States the principal causes of crime to be, in all but one of these countries, neglected education coupled with illegitimacy, want of homes, bad company, second marriages, unhealthy family influences, and street associations. Statistics sometimes seem to contradict the theory that education is a preventive of crime. This arises from a superficial examination of statistics. For instance, some years since an examination of the criminals in one of the States showed seventy per cent. who could read and write and only thirty per cent. of illiterates. On the face of it, this was a serious reflection upon our schools, indicating that they furnished the great majority of our criminals. Investigation, however, revealed the fact that the State in question had in 1880 an illiterate population of less than five per cent. This changes the aspect of the question, by showing that seventy per cent. of the population in the jails were furnished from the ninety-five per cent. who could read and write; while thirty per cent. were furnished from the five per cent. of illiterates, making eight times as many criminals from each thousand of illiterates as from a thousand of those who could read and write. This, on high authority, is the actual showing of the House of Correction in Detroit, Michigan, for the first twenty-five years of its existence, during which forty thousand inmates were committed. In 1870 an investigation of the returns of seventeen States that kept a record of the educational status of their criminals, showed nearly the same results as these from Michigan. A proper estimate of the significance of statistics relating to education and crime will not overlook the character of the offenses committed. For instance, in the State of Massachusetts, the commitments to jails and prisons have increased in number out of all proportion to the increase of population. This is not due to an increase of crime against person

and property, for crimes of this sort have decreased to the extent of forty-four per cent. The crimes for which this large increase of commitments was made were lightly esteemed in former years and seldom punished, such as drunkenness, etc. These might be defined as crimes against decency in contrast with the more heinous crimes against person and property.

When we consider that only about sixty per cent. of the total school population are in attendance, we cannot avoid the conclusion that much remains to be done before our educational system can be considered complete and satisfactory. Ideally it is sound, but in execution defective. This may be attributed to the diffusion of authority, arising from the local self-government which characterizes our republican communities. The most advanced European countries, whose government is marked by a stronger central authority, show better results in school attendance. Sweden, under Charles X. and Gustavus Adolphus, accomplished, more than two hundred and fifty years ago, what America with all her advancement has failed to do since: made education so common that in the year 1637, the year of the founding of the oldest university in America, "not a single peasant's child was unable to read and write." Our Government and our schools, alike ideal in conception, are still in the making, and it is the glory of both that the people are the makers. This very feature is promising, because the process of self-government is a continuous education. We advance awkwardly, blunderingly, but we advance. Our very mistakes enlighten the pathway of the future. Our educational progress will be in proportion as law is illumined by intelligence. Compulsory laws in Massachusetts have kept about even pace with the advancement of the people in knowledge and intelligence. Seldom have they been a strain upon the willingness of the people, but they have rather reflected the conscience of a large majority. All popular reform is slow, and usually originates in individual effort. "The wholesome conservatism of government throws the burden of proving a thing upon individuals and societies. It was so with the first Indian and Negro schools; with the first art schools and galleries; the first museums; the first manual-training schools, and the first kindergartens; the beginnings of primary schooling; the instruction of girls, and the higher education of women; and equally so the common school had its birth in the abounding individual enterprise of colonial New England, New York and the South." Its wonderful growth in popular favor and security, attested by the ever-increasing tendency to extend and enrich its privileges in all departments, make it still the country's chief pride and promise. The ideal will be reached when all, voluntarily and heartily, will avail themselves of its opportunities.

It is quite the fashion to talk glibly of our superior civilization, pointing to the costly and comparatively comfortable provision made for hardened criminals, juvenile offenders and the unfortunate of all classes, "but a far grander standard of a noble age would consist in the utter demolition of prisons, of refuges, of protectories and asylums, of alms-houses and soup-houses, and of all this sort of institutions, because society had grown so wise and good that there were in it no neglected children, no children destitute of wise and loving home influences." Such a standard would realize the declaration of the greatest Teacher of all time, when He took a little child and set him in the midst of His disciples, saying: "Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, the same is

greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in My name, receiveth Me. But whoso shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea."

MR. SOVEREIGN: MR. PRESIDENT, I avail myself of the privilege of extending a greeting to the gentlemen who have just addressed us. I very recently attended a labor meeting in Iowa, and was delegated to bring to these gentlemen the greetings of the Iowa workingmen. The sentiment expressed by the REV. MYRON REED, that is: "No country is in a healthy condition whose social system has a Vanderbilt at one end and a tramp at the other," has touched a responsive chord with thousands of our citizens.

A vote of thanks was extended to Messrs. REED and COY, and it was ordered that a copy of their remarks be printed in the Proceedings of the Convention.

MR. HALL: MR. PRESIDENT, I desire consent at this time to call from the table the resolution which I laid upon the Secretary's desk this morning.

The Secretary read the resolution. [For resolution, see page 66.]

MR. HALL: I think no more important matter could come before this Association than the one of free employment agencies. Their establishment means the abolishment of a great stumbling-block now in the path of every unemployed workingman. I therefore move the adoption of this resolution.

MR. SIMMERMAN: I am not prepared at this time to say what action the New Jersey Bureau might desire to take upon this subject. I am not prepared to say that it would be good policy to have free employment bureaus placed under the control of the Labor Bureaus. It seems to me, MR. PRESIDENT, that before a demand of this kind is made upon the legislatures a thorough investigation of the subject should be made, in order that we could show cause why we want these free employment agencies. If this resolution is passed, and published at this time, it will be utterly impossible for us to get the facts to lay before the legislatures. There has been no complaint brought to my notice in our State concerning them, and hence I am unprepared to say what is needed.

Mr. HALL: The evils of labor agencies are commonly known, having been repeatedly exposed in the newspapers. In the majority of cases I believe all that will be necessary is to call the attention of the legislatures to the evil, and cite them to the practical remedy now in use in Ohio. The legislatures generally meet in January, and that is when we want to take action.

Mr. DRISCOLL: I think we should take this resolution up and pass it without delay. I have spoken of the evils that are practiced under the present system of employment agencies; but it is not men alone who suffer; these agencies are helping to fill the ranks of prostitutes. It not infrequently occurs that poor, ignorant working-girls are sent by these agency sharks to houses of ill-fame, and once there, their downfall is accomplished by flattery or force. They very rarely escape unscathed. Is not this an evil that needs immediate attention? The strong arm of the State is the most effective power that can be invoked to correct the evils that seem to be a part and parcel of many of these agencies, at least in the West.

Mr. WADLIN: There are certain provisions in the resolution which are not applicable to the conditions existing in Massachusetts. The enforcement of law is there left with the district police, and not with the Bureau of Statistics, and the supervision of such offices as are referred to in the resolution so far as relates to their conforming to such legal regulations as might be fixed, should not be vested with the Bureau, which has no similar functions, but should be given to the district police, or to some authority having police power.

Mr. SOVEREIGN: I hope this resolution will pass. As a matter of simple justice to labor, every State in the Union should have free public employment offices. The laboring man out of employment can receive no benefit from private employment agencies, however well they may be managed, except he has the money with which to pay for it. The laboring man who needs a situation most is the man without a dollar. He must sell his labor, starve, or go to jail. Nothing is a greater strain on the morals of a laboring man than to be out of employment and money at the same time. To tramp is degrading; the

very word "tramp" is repulsive and offensive to refined people. I believe it is proper that the State should make it as easy as possible for the willing yet needy laboring people to secure employment. With employment it is easy for the laborer to do right; without it, it is easy for him to do wrong. It is the first duty of government to make it easy for the people to do right and hard for them to do wrong. When I investigated the subject of private employment agencies, I also made a careful examination of the free public-employment offices in Ohio, and found them very beneficial, rendering help alike to both employer and employé.

Mr. WADLIN: I should like to have the resolution, as submitted, amended by changing the words "under the control of the Labor Bureau" to "under control of the Commonwealth or State." I submit the following as a substitute for the resolution now pending, and move its adoption:

Resolved, That the Commissioners of Labor of the different States recommend to the legislatures of their different States the consideration of the advisability of creating free public employment offices, under State control and supervision; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of this Association be requested to send a copy of this resolution to the Commissioner of each State that is not represented in this Convention.

Mr. HALL: With the consent of the Association, I will accept the substitute of Mr. WADLIN.

Mr. ROBINSON: I desire to offer an amendment, to read as follows:

And be it further Resolved, That in case said public employment offices do not find private employment for all those who need it, that it shall be the duty of the State to supply such employment.

Now, Mr. PRESIDENT, I move the adoption of my amendment for several reasons: the principal one being, that if the State is to enter into the business of seeing to the finding of employment for its citizens it should go far enough to provide employment for all; these employment offices or agencies would find private employment for only a certain proportion of those applying for and needing work, leaving, doubtless, a large number unprovided for. Now, inasmuch as the State, by this resolution, is to be committed to the business of getting work for those who need it, why should it not perform this duty thoroughly, and not by halves as it were? The

principle involved in the resolution is, of course, purely communistic, but so also is the great principle of protection to American industries; so that fact should not prevent us from extending the principle in practice to the limits provided for in my amendment. Let us treat all of our citizens alike. If the State is bound to look after one thousand idle people, it should likewise care for the other thousands who are also "men without a dollar," and who by the terms of the original motion are left out in the cold and not permitted to participate in the benefits of this very choice specimen of paternalism.

Mr. ROBINSON's amendment was lost, and the substitute offered by Mr. WADLIN prevailed.

The PRESIDENT: The call of States for current work having been completed, the next order of business is the selection of a place for the meeting of the Association in 1893.

Mr. PECK: Mr. PRESIDENT, I have here a resolution which I desire to have read, and move its adoption:

Resolved, That the National Association of Officials of Labor Bureaus co-operate with all similar associations of the United States in making proper arrangements for the reception and entertainment of the members of the International Statistical Institute, which is to be held at Chicago in 1893.

The resolution as offered was passed.

Mr. PECK: Mr. PRESIDENT, now that we have decided to do what we can to assist this notable gathering of statisticians, I know of no greater aid that we can give to the enterprise than to send to them as a delegate from this body, one of our most able members; one who has been of invaluable assistance to us, and I have no hesitancy in predicting that he will perform a like service for the statisticians of other countries; one who will reflect credit upon the country which delegates him, and add honor to the Association which he will represent. I therefore move the adoption of the following resolution by a rising vote:

Resolved, That the Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT be and he is hereby elected to represent the National Association of Officials of Labor Bureaus at the International Statistical Institute, at its congress, to be held at Chicago in 1893.

The resolution was seconded by a number of the members, and the question being put by the Secretary, was unanimously adopted.

Mr. KEAN: Mr. PRESIDENT, it gives me great pleasure to

present the following resolutions. So sure am I that they echo the sentiments of every member of this Association, that I refrain from any extended remarks and move their unanimous adoption:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered the City Council and Chamber of Commerce, of Denver, for generous entertainment extended; also, to the press of Denver, for the able and extensive manner in which the proceedings have been given to the public. The thanks of the Convention are also heartily extended to Governor ROUTT, Mayor ROGERS, Secretary of State EATON, Mr. ANDREW CHALMERS, ex-Senator VANWYCK, Mr. DONALD FLETCHER, Mr. RICHARD LINTHICUM, Mr. THOMAS TONGE, Rev. MYRON REED, Hon. N. B. COY, and all who have contributed to the success of the programme of the Convention.

Resolved, That a special vote of thanks be tendered the Committee of Arrangements, Reception Committee, and Executive Committee for the very successful and highly appreciated manner in which the arrangements for our entertainment have been conducted; that thanks be extended to Mr. H. B. ADSIT, of the Windsor Hotel, also the Board of Trade of Pueblo, for invitation to visit that city.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The PRESIDENT: The regular order of business is the selection of a place for the holding of the next Convention.

Mr. PECK: Mr. PRESIDENT, for nine years the meetings of this Association have been held at various points, east, west, north and south. I have enjoyed the hospitality of nine different States; but the Empire State has never been honored by being selected as the seat of our deliberations. If our turn is ever coming, it seems to me that it comes next year. I am placed somewhat at a disadvantage in offering you welcome and entertainment after the royal style with which we have been entertained in Colorado; but our welcome will be as hearty, and our entertainment as spontaneous, if not so regal. We have not insisted at former meetings that you should accept our invitation. Not because our invitation was less earnest, but for the reason that some States urged their claims because of peculiar circumstances. These States have all been honored, and I now, on behalf of the State of New York and the city of Albany, earnestly invite you to select that State and that city as the place for holding the next Convention of the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics.

Mr. BODINE: I move, Mr. PRESIDENT, that the Secretary

be instructed to cast the vote of the Convention for Albany as our next place of meeting.

The ballot was so cast by the Secretary.

Mr. BETTON: Mr. PRESIDENT, I desire to place in nomination for the office of President for the ensuing year one of our oldest and most esteemed members. A man who, nearly ten years ago, organized the Bureau of the Empire State, and who has succeeded in placing it in the front rank of institutions of this character, receiving the first premium at the Paris Exposition, in 1889, over all competitors of the world. I have the honor and pleasure, Mr. PRESIDENT, of nominating for this high office the Hon. CHARLES F. PECK, of New York.

The nomination of Mr. PECK was seconded by Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, and Mr. DRISCOLL, of Colorado, and the Secretary was directed to cast the ballot of the Convention for Mr. PECK for President for the ensuing year.

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the Convention, I congratulate you upon the choice you have made. I return to you my heartiest thanks for the kindness which I have always received at your hands. I am glad that you have taken me at my word, and will henceforth allow me the privilege of taking my place on the floor, and bearing a part in the discussions and work of the body. You cannot appreciate what I feel, unless you have for seven sessions presided over a body of this character. The honor, for honor I deem it, of having been so often selected as your presiding officer, will not be forgotten by me. The acquaintances I have formed with the members of this Association have been profitable and pleasant. In the future, as in the past, the welfare of this Association will lay close to my heart, and I promise you that as a member, I shall endeavor to be as active and considerate as the gentleman whom you have selected for the honor, which I cheerfully resign for the rights of a private among the workers. I appoint Mr. BETTON, of Kansas, and Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut, to conduct Mr. PECK to the chair.

Mr. PECK was conducted to the chair by the committee, and spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—For the manifestation

of esteem shown in conferring upon me the great honor of President of this Association, I tender you, personally and collectively, my most sincere thanks. To be considered worthy to assume the duties of a position held with such marked ability for the past nine years by the honored gentleman who is about to retire, is indeed a distinction which justly fills my heart with feelings of pride and a sense of gratitude that I find it difficult to fitly express. While the position is not one of special labor, I yet realize that it calls for those qualities of head and heart possessed in such an eminent degree by my distinguished predecessor, and which I fear are not mine to bestow, that I feel great embarrassment in accepting the same. The honor, however, having come to me with such apparent unanimity, I feel to decline would be construed as an act of ingratitude on my part; and I therefore accept it with assurances that it shall ever be my ambition and pleasure to so administer its duties as to meet the approbation of every member of the Association. Gentlemen, I again thank you, and await your further pleasure.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: Those of us who attended the Convention in Philadelphia will remember with what pleasure we met the new Commissioner from this grand, booming State of Colorado. You will remember the interest with which we listened to his eloquent descriptions of the wonder and beauty of her natural scenery, her vast mineral and agricultural resources, the enterprise of her citizens, and the generous hospitality of her whole people. For several days we have been experiencing the justice of the glowing encomiums which he bestowed upon his State, and we are now prepared to believe that the half was not told. It seems fitting that our hospitable entertainment at the hands of the generous people whom he represents should receive acknowledgment in the choice of officers. I therefore take pleasure in nominating for First Vice President, the Hon. LESTER BODINE, of Colorado. If there are no other nominations, I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the Association for the gentleman whom I have named.

There being no other nominee, the President instructed

the Secretary to cast the unanimous vote of the Association for LESTER BODINE for First Vice President.

Mr. BODINE: I take it that as the situation now stands, I shall have no duties to perform, unless our worthy President should cease to fill the duties of the office to which he has been elected, and his robust health and bachelor habits are such as to preclude any remote probability of his decease; consequently, I think I have the ability to fill the office to which I have been elected. Therefore, Mr. PRESIDENT, relying upon the fact that there are no duties to perform, I cheerfully and with many thanks accept the honors of the office of First Vice President.

Mr. KEAN: Mr. PRESIDENT, we have just elected the youngest member of our Association to one of the highest offices in its gift. Having encouraged youth, I deem it proper that we should honor age, and it is very fortunate that we have an opportunity to so distribute our favors at the present session. The gentleman whom you have just elected for the second highest office in the gift of the Association is in age the youngest member of this body, and he comes from one of the youngest States. The gentleman whom I shall place in nomination for one of our highest offices, is one of our oldest members, and he comes from one of the oldest States. I take great delight in presenting for the office of Second Vice President, Mr. SAMUEL W. MATTHEWS, of Maine. I feel sure that all of the old members of the Convention will agree with me that his years of experience are a guaranty of his ability to ably and honorably fill the position.

There being no other candidates, the Secretary cast the ballot of the Association for Mr. MATTHEWS for Second Vice President.

Mr. MATTHEWS: I accept with gratitude the honor you have conferred. This mark of distinction has come to me unsought and unlooked for. Our friend BODINE, whom you have associated with me in sharing the "honors and emoluments" of the office of Vice President of this distinguished body, has accepted his position with the understanding that little or no burden of duty to be performed will come upon him. The office of Vice President is usually a "fifth wheel"

to the coach, which may become useful in certain unlooked for and un hoped-for contingencies. Thanking you for the honor conferred, I promise to be "ever faithful" to the trust reposed in me.

Mr. WRIGHT: Mr. PRESIDENT, I rise to place in nomination for Secretary-Treasurer a gentleman who has been a faithful and hard-working member of this Association since its meeting at Boston, in 1885. I but voice the sentiments of all when I state that his work as Secretary of our last Convention was admirably done. I have often said, and now repeat, that when a public officer has well performed the duties assigned him, a change is unwise. The gentleman whom I shall name is one that is worthy of our confidence, and in giving him the honors of this office we also place upon him duties which he is thoroughly competent to perform. For the office of Secretary-Treasurer I place in nomination FRANK H. BETTON, of Kansas.

The nomination of Mr. BETTON was seconded by several members of the Convention, and the President was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for him.

Mr. BETTON: I thank you for this renewed expression of your confidence. The work of your Secretary is largely a labor of love, as you all know; yet the duties of the office, as I have learned by experience, are at times perplexing. The informal talk which prevails here, when submitted in cold type, is liable to sometimes frustrate the impassioned orator who uttered it. I will, however, do my best, and I promise that every speaker shall have ample opportunity to revise his "remarks" before the journal is published.

The nomination of members of the Executive Committee being in order, Mr. BODINE nominated Mr. WADLIN, of Massachusetts; Mr. ROBINSON nominated Mr. SOVEREIGN, of Iowa, but Mr. SOVEREIGNE declining, he nominated Mr. PEELE, Jr., of Indiana, and Mr. DRISCOLL nominated Mr. HOTCHKISS, of Connecticut. The Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Association for the three members nominated, and they were declared elected.

Mr. BODINE moved that the thanks of the Association be tendered to Mr. C. A. HENRIE for his work as assistant secretary, and also to the retiring officers. Carried.

Mr. BODINE stated that in the morning carriages would be in waiting to convey the Commissioners around the city of Denver; at noon the "call" at the Mining Exchange would be witnessed, and after luncheon a visit would be made to the smelters. At 6 o'clock p. m. the Commissioners would leave Denver over the Santa Fé, arriving at Colorado Springs at 9:30 p. m. Friday morning carriages would be at the hotel, and a drive would be had to the Union Printers' Home and other points of interest at Colorado Springs and Manitou.

Dispatches were read from the Pueblo Board of Trade inviting the Commissioners to visit that place. The time being all appropriated, the invitation was declined, with thanks.

Mr. WRIGHT: Mr. PRESIDENT, I move that we adjourn, subject to the call of the President. Carried.

SESSION AT THE UNION PRINTERS' HOME.

The Convention met in the dining room of the Union Printers' Home, in Colorado Springs, Friday, May 27, at 10:30 A. M., a majority of the members present, and President PECK in the chair.

The PRESIDENT: When we adjourned, it was to meet at my call. I therefore call the Convention to order for such business as may come before it.

Mr. WADLIN: I move that a vote of thanks be tendered Superintendent VAUGHAN, of the Union Printers' Home, for the courtesies extended to our Association.

This motion was unanimously passed, and the Association adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

SESSION AT BARKER HOTEL, MANITOU.

The President having issued a call for a meeting of the Convention in the parlor of the Barker Hotel, at 6 p. m., Saturday, the Commissioners and many citizens assembled there at that hour. President PECK called the Association to order.

Mr. KEAN: Owing to the fact that several changes have been made in the rules and by-laws of the Association, I think it would be well to have them put in printed form. I move

that the Secretary be instructed to have two hundred copies of the Rules of this Association printed.

Mr. KEAN's motion prevailed, and the Secretary was instructed according to the sense of the motion.

The PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen, before the close of this, the last session of our Ninth Annual Convention, I feel that some action expressive of that deep sense of appreciation felt by every member of the National Association of Officials of Labor Bureaus of the United States for the courtesies and hospitalities extended it, should be taken and made a part of the Proceedings. For one, I find it difficult to express all that I feel. The reception accorded our Association by the citizens of Denver, of Colorado Springs and Manitou has indeed been such as to command our admiration and to forever give them a very warm place in our hearts. But it is not alone to the citizens of these magic cities that we confine our thanks, but our hearts go out to the citizenship of the whole State of Colorado, who, through its robust Governor and genial Secretary of State, has greeted us with such warmth and generosity of welcome. Words are cold and formal at a time like this, but believe me, they come from hearts full to overflowing, and on behalf of the Association I thank you. Many of us have traveled over two thousand miles that we might witness the grandeur of your State. You have made us feel the magnificence of a Western welcome. We came here with our Eastern conceit, but have lost it crossing your broad and endless prairies, your mighty rivers and dirty waters; we have wondered at your lofty mountains; we have been impressed with your seemingly inexhaustible resources of mineral wealth, and lost ourselves in admiration of your beautiful women. It has been left for Colorado to give us the most difficult labor problem ever presented for the solution of statisticians, in trying to investigate the Cheyenne Cañon with its seven falls—on foot! It was unnecessary for you to take us through the Garden of the Gods to impress us with the fact that you were the lords of creation and the princes of entertainers. The sunshine and salubriousness of your climate has warmed our hearts and given us renewed vigor; the mysteries of your mountain caves have filled us

with awe, and we have bowed our heads in response to the wierd music of the stalactite chimes that sang forth their welcome from the inner earth. And yet, my friends, a fact has impressed itself upon me that, after all, you Coloradoans are but Eastern people. You but represent much of the best brains and genius of the East, which, in this high altitude, seems to have become intoxicated by your pure ozone and to have been on a long-continued spree of improvement. The consolation I derive from these thoughts I know you will not begrudge me; nor will you misunderstand or censure me when I say that, as I recall the pleasures and profits of my sojourn in your wondrous State, your kindly welcome and your generous acts, I am constrained to say that we are sorry we came—because we have got to leave. And now on behalf of this Association, I extend to one and all who have assisted in making this the most enjoyable and profitable of the nine annual conventions of our Association, its most sincere thanks. May your greatest ambitions be reached; may your infinite resources be fully developed; may your people march on to even greater prosperity, and in all time to come may the God of nations bless and keep you in health, wealth, and the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

Mr. PELLE offered the following resolutions, and moved that they be adopted:

WHEREAS, We, the delegates to the Ninth Annual Convention of the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, have been the recipients of the most cordial hospitality at the hands of Colorado citizens during our Convention in Denver, and subsequent sojourn in Colorado Springs and Manitou; therefore, in the spirit of keen appreciation of such a generous, whole-souled welcome, be it

Resolved, That the sincere thanks of this Convention be and the same are hereby tendered to all citizens of Denver, Colorado Springs and Manitou, who contributed to our entertainment. Although thanks have previously been tendered, in Convention assembled at Denver, to the Chamber of Commerce, City Council of Denver, Committee of Arrangements, C. J. DRISCOLL, DONALD FLETCHER, E. J. EATON, LESTER BODINE, ANDREW CHALMERS, and others, who made that Convention such a success, we do heartily take this occasion to extend to them further thanks.

Resolved, That thanks be tendered to Hon. E. J. EATON and wife, GEORGE BUCKMAN, Mr. DE LAVERGNE, President SLOCUM and wife, C. S. SPRAGUE, A. A. MCGOVNEY, A. L. LAWTON, J. D. VAUGHAN, officers of the Colorado Springs Trades and Labor Assembly, and all other members of the reception committee and citizens who furnished carriages at Colorado Springs,

for kind and fully-appreciated treatment while in Colorado Springs. Thanks are also extended to the Colorado Springs Rapid Transit Company and Broadmoor Casino management.

Resolved, That we furthermore extend thanks to C. W. BARKER, CHARLES FROWINE, Mr. LEDDY, SNYDER BROS., JOHN HULBERT, Mr. SIMMONS, H. S. CABLE and JOHN B. GLASSER for most hospitable and hearty welcome to Manitou, and entertainment while at Manitou.

Resolved, That we extend thanks to the management of the Manitou & Pike's Peak Railway Company for an excursion on that marvelous railroad.

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the official Proceedings of our Association, and that a copy thereof be furnished the local press.

Mr. HOTCHKISS: Mr. PRESIDENT, I wish to say a few words to the people of Colorado through their representatives present with us. I do not believe that it would be possible to express in words the delightful experience of the members of this Convention during our brief sojourn in this beautiful State; the Wonderland of the world. Most of us have come here for the first time, and we have been favored with rare opportunities for witnessing scenes of natural beauty and grandeur, new to us, which will never fade from memory. We have been filled with wonder and awe as we have stood in your narrow cañons with their majestic perpendicular walls, and have climbed and looked from the heights of your lofty mountains. We have grasped in some measure the wide expanse of your fertile plains, and the rich mineral wealth which is being brought to light in the mountainous portion of your State. But what has moved us more is the universal spirit of generous hospitality which characterizes the officers and other citizens of your State with whom we have come in contact. You seem to have known just what would be most interesting and instructive to us, and to have provided means admirably adapted to filling the days of our sojourn with you with the keenest enjoyment. The genuine kindness of the hearts of your people has made an impression which will afford pleasure for a lifetime. When we of the East come into these new and rapidly-growing States, we are struck with the wonderful progress you have made. You have begun with the two hundred and fifty years of experience of the older States, avoided their mistakes, and profited by what they have done. The older States cannot move as rapidly as the new; the people are more conservative and

fixed in their ways; habits and methods that have been the growth of centuries cannot be easily set aside; change comes very slowly, while you of the newer States are unhampered by set ideas and traditions of the past, and branch out freely. You have availed yourselves of our best experience, and improved upon it. The enterprise and energy of your Colorado people have made you famous. The President has said that most of your people have come from the East. This may be true, but we have found in Colorado a realization of the Scripture idea that "Men have come from the East and the West, from the North and the South," so that all sections of our country are represented in the people of your Commonwealth. The vital energy and progressive character of your State is probably largely owing to this fact. The delightful social influences that have pervaded the Convention, and which have been so delightfully illustrated in our relations with the Colorado people during this eventful week, are really among the greatest factors in the solution of the problems of social and political science with which we have to do, and this kindly spirit, which has been so manifest in this Convention, will bear fruit in the distant regions which we represent. We bear peculiar relations to the people of our several States. We are familiar with the employer and employed, the capitalist and the wage-earner, and we realize more and more that the forces which affect the different classes most powerfully for good are the genial, silent influences flowing from the genuine kindness of heart which has found such general expression during this Convention week. This Convention will be remembered with pleasure for many reasons, but one of the most pleasing features has been the presence of ladies among us. The cause which we represent will gain by the refining influence which a more considerable attendance of ladies in our Convention would bring, and it is to be hoped that in the future, where it is convenient, we may be favored with their presence in larger numbers. And now, as the Convention is about to adjourn, permit me to again express to the officers of the State, and especially of the Bureau, to the committees who have contributed so generously to our enjoyment, and to the generous people whom

you represent, the sincere thanks of the members of this Convention.

MR. MATTHEWS: MR. PRESIDENT, I rise to second the resolution just offered. If, in this hour of parting, my tongue refuses to voice the sentiments I would express, it is because, as the poet has said, "The heart feels most when the lips move not." We came among you a few days ago, many of us from far distant sections of the country, *strangers*; we leave you *friends*, whose memories we shall delight to cherish while life shall last. We have found your wonderful State and its people all and more than we had anticipated. When, at Indianapolis, and again at Philadelphia, Mr. DRISCOLL and Commissioner BODINE spoke of Colorado in such glowing terms, some of us may have listened to their statements, if not with incredulity, at least with several degrees of "allowance;" but we have come, we have seen, and we are conquered. Nature has endowed your State with a lavish hand. Words are inadequate to describe the grandeur of your scenery, and with all the useful and practical resources which make a people truly great and prosperous you are richly supplied. Your people, too, are capable of appreciating and developing the wealth of natural endowments furnished them. They are a vigorous, active, enterprising and intelligent people. Many of them came from my own beloved State of Maine, where good men are raised; and wherever they go they carry true manhood and womanhood with them. I know you appreciate Maine people who come to your State, for I have seen some of them while here occupying positions of trust and responsibility to which you have assigned them. But I will not detain you. For your open-hearted hospitality, your abounding and constant kindness and attention, which made our visit so pleasant and our meetings in Convention so profitable, I can only feebly express the thanks of myself and my associates, and wish for you and your people all individual and social good things.

MR. BODINE: In reply to the President, Mr. HOTCHKISS and Mr. MATTHEWS, who have so eloquently and warmly thanked us for hospitality extended, I desire to say that the gentlemen and ladies whom you have met have only acted for the State. We are but representatives of the citizens of Colorado. We

are glad if you are satisfied. It is mutual gratitude. If your stay with us has been pleasant, it has been a pleasure to us to have you here. Your entertainment and the civilities that have been shown you could not have been less, and represent the people of the Silver State.

MR. WATTS: MR. PRESIDENT, among the Commissioners here assembled, I stand alone as a representative of the Far West; and as such I cannot resist this opportunity to express in words what my heart feels in sentiment. As a Westerner, I am familiar with the hospitality always accorded to the "stranger within our gates," and can truthfully say to these representatives of the grand State of Colorado, whose guests we are, that the heartiness of your greeting has been worthy of the people who gather gold and silver from the mountains and food and raiment from the valleys of this wonderful land. If you could see my heart to-day, you would find it completely filled with gratitude for the pleasures we have experienced and the hospitalities we have enjoyed. True to your reputation, you have not only tendered us the freedom of your cities, but have thrown open your homes and lavished upon us the sweets thereof. There is nothing on earth more delightful than the cordiality of noble men and women, and this we have been the recipients of to the fullest extent. We have passed resolutions of thanks, but the members of the Association realize that they very inadequately give expression to our feelings. Our visit to Colorado will ever be remembered with sentiments of keenest joy. California greets you, and thanks you.

The resolutions were passed by a rising vote.

MR. BODINE: MR. PRESIDENT, I move you that the Investigating Committee be instructed to investigate the advisability of the various crafts establishing national homes for the use of their members. I should have offered this motion before, but I thought it better to wait until a practical illustration of the benefits of such institutions were shown you by a visit to the Union Printers' Home, at Colorado Springs.

The motion of Mr. BODINE was seconded by Mr. KEAN, who called attention to the fact of the establishment of similar homes in England. The motion prevailed.

A call was made for Mr. DRISCOLL, in order that he might recite a poem, entitled "The Governor's Reception."

Mr. DRISCOLL: Mr. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN AND LADIES:—In a government like ours it is always expected that on public occasions the people will be all treated alike by those who are placed in high positions. By the grace of God and the votes of the people, Colorado elected a Governor, and he gave a public reception at one of our fashionable hotels. No person was admitted to the reception unless provided with an invitation, and by some management the invitations were furnished only to the wealthy. The Governor's poor constituents were given the pleasure of standing on the sidewalk and seeing his richly-dressed guests alight from their carriages and enter the hotel. Among a party who were reading a description of this grand reception the next day was a wag, who recited the following, entitled

THE GOVERNOR'S RECEPTION.

- "Mister Governor, your Honor, sir, as near as I can see,
Your reception was a grand affair. With Mary Ann McGee
I stood there, just ferninst the door, as the guests were piling in,
And the ladies, too, God bless them, they looked neater than a pin!
- "My, wer' n't their dresses handsome, and their diamonds, too, galore!
And their trails, away behind them, swept the dust from off the floor.
And, I says, says I to Mary, 'Let us go and see
The Governor and his lady.' 'Indeed, Pat, you can't,' says she.
- "'Why not?' I whispered Mary; 'sure 'twas him that got my vote,'
Says she, 'You have no invite, nor you have no split-tail coat.'
It's then I looked around me at the guests still piling in;
'Twas swallow-tails and kids and stove-pipes, nothing else as sure as sin.
- "Now, I'd like to ask your Honor, if it's not too impolite,
Was Tom Jefferson's reception same as yours the other night?
If a fellow had n't money to rent a split-tail coat,
Was he left outside to peek in, like the Widow Garry's goat?
- "Now, what riles my blood is this, sir: sure them chaps in split-tail coats
Are a mighty small percentage of the boys that cast their votes.
Take your ballot on a Pullman train, you'd never think you'd win;
But your votes they roll up mighty when the gravel train comes in.
- "Mister Governor, your Honor, sir, since bringing to an end
This epistle, I've met Martin—that's Mart Currigan, my friend—
He says, with this reception you had naught at all to do,
That you're really quite a common chap; the boys all hope it's true.
- "We're going to have a meeting to-morrow, sir, at ten,
In the bottoms. Could you step around and see some solid men?
They'll be Mart and John and Denny there, no swallow-tails you'll see;
But we'll fix the ward up solid, on the word of Pat McGee."

Mr. KEAN: Mr. PRESIDENT, I move you that this Convention do now adjourn, to meet at Albany, New York, in 1893.

The motion prevailed, and the President announced that the Association was adjourned, to meet at the call of the Executive Committee.

APPENDIX.

BANQUET AT THE WINDSOR HOTEL.

TUESDAY EVENING, MAY 24.

At the conclusion of the first day's session, Mr. BODINE announced that a banquet in honor of the Commissioners would be given in the ordinary of the Windsor Hotel, at 8:30 P. M. This brilliant interlude in the regular proceedings of the Convention is described by the local press as follows:

Governor Routt, accompanied by his staff, clad in all the brilliancy of their official uniforms, preceded the guests from the parlors of the hotel to the banquet room. The hall was very elaborately decorated. On every side were floral ornaments. Smilax and delicate, trailing ferns were laid down the center of the tables, interspersed with large baskets of cut flowers. There were no huge set pieces, but the simple treatment of the designer was as effective as more elaborate efforts might have been. The tables were arranged in the form of a hollow square, and plates were laid for eighty-five persons. When the master of ceremonies, Mr. BODINE, took his seat beside his Excellency every chair was occupied. Those present were: Governor John L. Routt, Mayor Platt Rogers, Miss May Gentle, Edward Bailey and wife; Governor's staff — Adjutant General John C. Kennedy, Colonel Frank D. Bartlett, Colonel Francis J. Crane, Colonel Horace N. Chittenden, Colonel Harrison E. Hoyt, Colonel P. B. Russell, Colonel Charles A. Jochmus; Mrs. Harrison E. Hoyt, W. H. Montgomery, wife and son, Secretary of State E. J. Eaton and wife, Superintendent of Insurance Nathan S. Hurd and wife, Chief Clerk Labor Bureau E. E. Richardson and wife; Hon. Horace G. Wadlin, of Massachusetts; Hon. Albert S. Bolles, of Pennsylvania; Hon. George W. Walts, of California; Hon. Willard C. Hall, of Missouri; W. C. O'Brian, President Andrew Chalmers of the Trades Assembly, Vice President James H. Cater of the Trades Assembly, Secretary Thomas Tonge of the Manufacturers' Exchange; Hon. Charles S. Simmerman, of New Jersey; C. A. Heurie, of Kansas; Hon. J. R. Sovereign, of Iowa; Alderman J. S. Riche, M. D. Van Horn, Assistant Attorney General H. B. Babb, Charles Hartzell, Samuel Lesem; Hon. Philip Andres, of Nebraska; Hon. William A. Peelle, Jr., of Indiana; J. T. Peelle, of Illinois; Superintendent of Union Printers' Home J. D. Vaughan, of Colorado Springs; Charles Broders, Orlando Kling, Hon. Donald Fletcher, James T. Smith, J. S. Appel, B. S. Tedman and wife, Perry Smith, Mrs. Gelleland, George H. King and wife; Hon. Frank H. Betton and wife, of Kansas; Hon. C. J. Driscoll, President C. W. Rhodes of Denver Typographical Union, Richard Linthicum; Hon. Henry A. Robinson, of Michigan; Hon. Samuel W. Matthews, of Maine; Hon. Edward J. Kean, of

New York; Hon. Samuel M. Hotchkiss and wife, of Connecticut; Thomas Withers and wife, Rev. William H. Brodhead, Walter S. Johnson; Miss Barnes, of Kansas; Hon. Charles F. Peck, of New York; Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Lester Bodine. After the elegant table decorations had been sufficiently admired, the guests turned their attention to the good things before them, and soon demonstrated that the men who are habituated to dealing with large tables of cold figures were disposed to follow their usual habits of analyzation, and the good cheer so abundantly provided was dissected with a heartiness and pleasure that showed the statisticians' ability to deal successfully with the food question.

At the conclusion of the repast, the toastmaster's duties began, the first toast proposed being "Our Association," which was responded to by Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Commissioner of the National Department of Labor, in a very graceful and appropriate speech. He said:

The Bureaus represented in this Association are a part of the great educational system of the country, and the men who control them, regardless of their political affiliations, are working earnestly and efficiently in the collection of an array of facts which are destined to exert a powerful influence in the solution of some of the perplexing social problems which now confront us.

"Our Guests" was the toast that came next on the programme, and Governor ROUTT responded. After extending a cordial welcome, he said:

You are doing a great work for America; not so much as the ministers, perhaps, because you are not so numerous. The collection of statistics on the labor question is a great work. I believe it will result in fixing this labor question permanently. Information is what this people need. It is published in books, so that the boys and the girls can read. Unlike the early days, the boys and girls are given a chance.

The Secretary of the Association, Mr. BETTON, of Kansas, replied on behalf of the guests.

He thanked the Governor for the magnificent reception extended to the members of the Convention, who came from all of the most progressive States of the Union, from Maine to California and from North Dakota to Tennessee, and who represented a new factor in social ethics—the effort to learn from personal intercourse something regarding the actual condition of the vast army of wage-earners. The investigations of the Labor Bureaus had demonstrated the fact that the large majority of our people were rearing the next generation of American citizens on an average family income of less than six hundred dollars a year. He said: "Although the family income has increased and the burden of human toil diminished during the last half century, yet, on the other hand, the facilities for production have enormously increased, and the ability to consume must keep pace with this increase, or the surplus product will be useless. How to justly and equitably distribute this ever-growing volume of product is the question of the hour."

"Colorado—Past, Present and Future," was the next toast, and to this Hon. LESTER BODINE spoke as follows :

There is but one Colorado—Nature's favorite daughter. In 1876, when a mere child of the plains, she rapped at the door of Statehood with knuckles of gold, and demanded admission in a voice of silver. It proved a sesame. The door was opened, and now, although but "sweet sixteen" in Statehood age, she blushing wears the well-deserved crown of Queen of the West.

An eminent but somewhat cynical English writer once said that America was noted for its great lakes, great harbors and great liars. Colorado has none of these. Yet when a Coloradoan goes abroad and recites the marvelous resources of this State, without exaggeration, it sounds to the listener like a sepulchral voice from the tomb of Ananias. It dims the luster of Aladdin's lamp and causes that fabled beacon of radiance to look like a tallow dip compared to a dynamo.

The Colorado of the past, according to geographical map-makers, was a plain square of four lines, a scrambled dash of mountains, a serpentine line denoting the course of the enthusiastic Arkansas river, and a map-maker's "chrysanthemum" labeled Pike's Peak. The modern map of Colorado has had its complexion improved. It is now dotted with thriving cities and bustling mining camps. It is streaked with railroads, and discloses fifty-five flourishing counties. It has been but a few years since the primitive architecture of the prairie dog and the unostentatious tepee adorned corner lots in Denver that are now occupied by towering business blocks. Less than thirty years ago Indians, or "reds," as they are known in popular parlance, roamed our streets without a white. Pardon the satire, but now there are perhaps many whites that roam the streets without a red, although less here than in the over-crowded East. The only warriors now visible on our streets are the mute sentinels of wood that act in each instance as a reception committee of one in front of cigar stores. However, in some remote portions of the East there are a few misguided people who imagine that the noble red man still strokes the shaggy beardlet of the buffalo on the outskirts of Colorado cities. Now, official statistics demonstrate that the Indian population of New York and Maine each exceed that of Colorado, while in that rose-garden of culture, Massachusetts, there is as much Indian blood as there is in this State. The Massachusetts Indian is probably more cultured than his Western brother. He does not eat pie with a knife or wear rings in his nose, and perhaps is better versed in Browning than the Colorado redskin, but there must be some social qualities about the Western Indian that would inspire the envy of Ward McAllister when a Massachusetts school teacher comes out west and marries one of them.

The thirty-eighth star in the constellation corner of the nation's flag, placed there in commemoration of the admission of Colorado, is also emblematical of the star of empire, which, according to tradition, took its way westward, and although the fact is not generally known, permanently located in Colorado. The five points of this star shed brilliant rays on Colorado's advantages, namely: Mining, agriculture, manufacturing, commerce and climate. That star is but the nucleus of a glittering galaxy of other resources that have never suffered an eclipse. Among the natural advantages of Colorado may be mentioned inexhaustible resources of gold, silver, copper, coal, lead, iron, petroleum, granite and sandstone. Colorado soil responds generously to the plow, as well as to the pick and drill.

In manufacturing and industrial enterprises Colorado possesses natural advantages that are yearly attracting capital and yielding handsome returns. The climatic advantages of Colorado are incomparable. This is the health-seeker's paradise—the invalid's Mecca. Figuring the value of a pair of lungs at \$5,000, and realizing the large number of lungs manufactured by Colorado atmosphere every year, the value of the manufactured product of this State leads the world.

The scenic grandeur of Colorado has long been a household word. Its praises have been sung in the parlors of the rich and the garrets of the poor. Year after year thousands of visitors gaze with rapture at the impressive grandeur of God's handiwork visible in our lofty peaks, rugged cañons and bubbling springs. Colorado scenery also deserves the distinction of having faced the deadly kodak oftener than anything else on American soil except Niagara Falls, and I regard Niagara Falls as a scenic half-breed, as half is in the United States, while the other portion is in Canada. Show me a State where engineering skill has proved a greater mastery than in Colorado.

The public-school system of Colorado is a homestead pride. Over every school house within the borders of this State floats that majestic pennant of liberty—the red, white and blue. We educate our children in patriotism, as well as books, and it is the easiest and most popular of their studies. A flutter of the stars and stripes, or a few strains of "Yankee Doodle," inspires the childish heart fully as much as it does that of its parents. Colorado, even in its Territorial infancy, in 1862, remained loyal to the flag, and although the population was at that time limited, Colorado sent 4,903 soldiers to the front, in response to the call of that heroic, heaven-sent President, Abraham Lincoln. None of them were ever shot in the back, and when they were told to strike for their country and their home, they struck for their country and didn't "strike for home" until the war was ended.

Deserved consideration is shown to labor in this State. The penitentiary is maintained at a heavy loss year after year, rather than allow convict labor to compete with the free and unstained hands of honest workmen. Most of the mercantile establishments close their doors at 6 o'clock and Sunday, too, in order to shorten the hours of labor of faithful and deserving clerks. Through legislative enactment the first Monday in September, each year, known as Labor Day, is made a legal holiday, as a deserved tribute to the wage-earners of Colorado.

In 1870, Colorado's population was 39,864; in 1880, it was 184,327, and in 1890, it had increased to 500,000, although the census returns only made it 412,194.

Do you know what caused this rapid increase in the population of this State? Do you know what has builded our cities, kept our commercial channels free from the breakers of adversity, and caused this prosperous State to act as a magnet upon outside humanity? Are you aware of what gives employment to over 21,000 men, whose wages are circulated with the merchant, the miller, and the tradesman, and keep the wheels of progress in motion? It is the mining industry.

When that famed Columbus of the plains, Zebulon Pike, sighted the lofty peak that bears his name, he little thought that it was a milestone in the mineral development of a State whose mountains were filled with precious metals. Colorado has had a diversity of nicknames. Even when the dignified robes of Statehood fell upon her shoulders, she was called the "Centen-

nial State" and "The Nation's Kid." But to-day Colorado has but one sobriquet. It is written on the hearts of her people. It is nailed over the firesides of her miners, and emblazoned on the crest of her prosperity. That name is the "Silver State." The mines made Colorado — mines of silver and gold. Colorado is a proud and protecting mother of these precious children. She believes, and justly, too, that her silvery-haired child should be equally as well treated as her offspring of golden hair. A stab at silver means a thrust at mining labor. It means an attempt to introduce the hideous skeleton of despair into the households of our miners. It is the index to business depression. If Congress would quit "starring" in "Rip Van Winkle" and awake to the necessity of the passage of a measure for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, the population and prosperity of this State and others would be materially benefited.

The future of Colorado is a brilliant one. Each succeeding year will increase the greatness of this State. In twenty years from now the golden radiance of an every-day sun will beam upon this grand Commonwealth and cast genial warmth upon a State that will then be first in agriculture, first in production of coal, second in manufacturing, and at the same time maintaining its supremacy in the production of gold and silver. I do not wear long hair or otherwise possess the personal individuality of a prophet, but I make these predictions, and if any of you are on earth in 1912, just remember these assertions. In the city of New York there was recently unveiled the statue of Horace Greeley, one of Nature's greatest noblemen. His advice to the youth of this country became proverbial. I feel confident that if some modern Pygmalion could put the breath of life into that statue now, that the bronze lips would move and Greeley's revised advice would be: "Go to Colorado, young man, and catch up with the country."

The next toast, "Abolition of Poverty," was responded to by Hon. DONALD FLETCHER, of Denver, who said :

The last generation abolished slavery ; this generation should abolish poverty, and he suggested as a means to that end, an amendment to the constitution of the United States that should exempt from taxation and legal attachment the first two thousand dollars worth of property accumulated by any one individual; formulate a graded scale of taxation, giving a minimum or a ratio for the guidance of the assessors and county commissioners, and a graded scale of assessment in probating wills and settling estates, the proceeds thereof to be for the general good.

JAMES H. CATER, Vice President of the Denver Trades Assembly, responded to the toast "Organized Labor." He said :

Comparatively few men understand the nature of the labor movement. Men who are regarded as well-read in science and literature, as a rule, fail to give the labor question that study and investigation which its importance demands, and it is only too common for possibly well-meaning — but in many instances superficial thinkers — to air their theories both on the lecture platform and through the press. It is an old axiom that knowledge is power, but knowledge is only powerful when applied. Ignorance breeds weakness and decay, and requires no effort in application. It is ever with us, working evil. Only those familiar with the work of labor organizations can realize

their value as educators; no other agency has exercised so potent an influence in the practical enlightenment of the people. The daily press and current literature are the popular educators. Unionism has wrought a great change in the mind of the average worker. The pole-star of the labor movement is equality; it means equal and exact justice to all men; the removal of unfair and unjust conditions that surround the people, and the true adjustment of those matters that pertain to the business and work of the Nation. Organized labor is sometimes accused of disloyalty to the Republic. This charge I deny. Let foreign invasion threaten or domestic treason rear its head, and among the very first to respond to the bugle's call will be found the members of organized labor. Denver is the best organized city in America—perhaps in the world, and nowhere does a more friendly spirit exist between employer and employé. The existence of a strong central labor organization checks and prevents strife. Gentlemen, for you and the noble work in which you are engaged we have only words of encouragement. Go forward in your grand and exalted mission, with unflagging zeal and unshaken determination! Spread the light of knowledge in your valuable reports! We do not ask you to distort or misrepresent for our sakes. We have everything to hope and nothing to fear from the result of your faithful labor. Let the living stream of truth flow in your minds. State things as you find them; no matter where the blow falls. If it hits us we will stand it, and mend our ways. When doing wrong we should be corrected. We know full well that the execution of your work will bring to us exact justice, with its train of inestimable blessings. Your reports will demonstrate that the world has vastly improved by reason of trades and labor unions having lived and flourished. May the day soon come when all men shall recognize them as the heralds of a higher civilization and the promoters of a grander era! Organized labor salutes you, and earnestly desires your abundant success in this and all coming years.

Hon. C. J. DRISCOLL, ex-Labor Commissioner of Colorado, spoke to the toast "Bureaus of Labor Statistics." He said :

The eight-hour agitation in Massachusetts in 1867-68 forcibly demonstrated the need of reliable information concerning the condition of the laboring masses. The people were aroused to a high pitch of excitement by the burning eloquence of Wendell Phillips. During this agitation reforms in oppressive systems were demanded and denied; employers reasoning that the old customs which made up our civilization should not be changed at the request of uninformed men. The agitation continued. The evil effect of the prevailing system, especially as it applied to the employment of women and children, was exposed, and to appease the excitement a Bureau of Labor Statistics (the first in the world) was established. Other States soon followed, until now we can count twenty-eight State Bureaus, as well as a Department of Labor at Washington. It is frequently asked, "What have Labor Bureaus accomplished?" We answer by asking, "What has education accomplished?" Labor Bureaus educate the people upon matters that closely concern their temporal welfare. They endeavor to create a friendly feeling between employer and employed by exposing certain fallacies; they furnish information upon which beneficial legislation may be founded. The benefit to be derived from the work of these Bureaus cannot now be fully estimated. They are building for the future. Sometimes the Commissioners meet with

adverse criticism, but they go right on, believing that the right efforts will be better appreciated by and by. The Commissioners are nerved to labor by the consciousness that they are earnestly working for

"A cause that lacks assistance,
'Gainst wrongs that need resistance,
For the future in the distance
And the good that they can do."

Mayor ROGERS spoke to the toast "Denver, the Convention City." After eulogizing Denver as preeminently fitted for conventional gatherings, and briefly referring to her record in that direction, he alluded to the conflict between capital and labor, and was inclined to blame the trustees of capital for in many cases unnecessarily and arbitrarily precipitating the collisions which too frequently occur. He said:

There can be no capital without society; it is the product of the many and not of the individual. Those who control it are in a broad sense trustees, and are responsible for their stewardship. The happiest and most prosperous community is where this truth is intelligently recognized. However wealthy an individual may be, he can only command for his personal needs food, clothing and shelter.

The remaining toasts were as follows: "Labor and the Press," response by Richard Linthicum, of Denver; "The Ladies," Col. T. B. Russell, of the Governor's staff; and "The Military and Labor," Adjutant General Kennedy. Mrs. W. H. Montgomery gave a recitation entitled "Two Loves and a Life," which was enthusiastically applauded. Thus concluded one of the most pleasant episodes of the Ninth Convention.

SIGHT-SEEING IN DENVER.

THURSDAY, MAY 26.

On Thursday morning carriages were provided, and the Commissioners were taken through and around the city. Hon. SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS, the Connecticut Commissioner, gives the following graphic description of the ride:

On Thursday the city officials took the members of the Convention in carriages, and showed them the beauties of their delightful city and its surroundings. The beautiful residence portion of the city is at the same level above the sea as the top of Mount Washington. From almost every dwelling may be seen across the plain the beautiful foothills of the Rocky Mountains, the lofty Cheyenne Mountain, and the snowy top of Pike's Peak, eighty miles to the south; and that of Long's Peak, of equal height and at an equal distance to the northwest.

After visiting the city park and the magnificent capitol building—now in course of construction—the carriages were

halted at the entrance of the building erected by the Denver Stock and Mining Exchange, and the Commissioners were met by the officers of that association, and escorted through all parts of the lofty structure, concluding with a view of the floor of the Exchange during the selling hour.

After dinner the Commissioners again took carriages, and drove to the Grant Smelter, located some two miles from the center of the city, where they were shown all the various processes of converting the crude ore into bullion ready for shipment. This is one of the great Denver silver smelters which employ hundreds of men and constitute an important factor in the material welfare of the city.

At 6:30 P. M. the Commissioners bade a reluctant farewell to the hospitable people of Denver, and departed for Colorado Springs, via the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, at which place they arrived at 9:30 P. M., where they were greeted by Mayor Sprague, Colonel De LaVergne, President Slocum, of the Colorado College, Mr. A. L. Lawton, Hon. A. A. McGovney, members of the Trades Assembly, and others who had assembled for that purpose.

COLORADO SPRINGS.

FRIDAY, MAY 27.

To-day the Commissioners had a good opportunity to judge of the scenic advantages of Colorado Springs and vicinity. At 9:30 A. M. Secretary BUCKMAN, of the Chamber of Commerce, Secretary of State EATON and wife, Senator McGOVNEY, Colonel DE LAVERGNE, Colonel ERVAY, Mr. A. L. LAWTON, Mr. COCKS, of the Trades Assembly, and others, secured carriages and drove to The Antlers. The Commissioners and the ladies were in readiness, and the party was soon bowling over the smooth road leading to the Union Printers' Home, where they were received by Superintendent VAUGHAN, and shown over the building. After leaving the Home the party was driven through the city over the boulevard to the Garden of the Gods and Glen Eyrie, returning to The Antlers for lunch at 1 o'clock. At 2:30 electric cars were taken to the Casino, where Herr STARK, leader of the

Hungarian band, had prepared a special musical programme for the occasion. At 4:45 the party visited Cheyenne Cañon, and ascended the steps to the top of the Seven Falls. At 8:30 the Commissioners attended the reception given by President and Mrs. SLOCUM, of Colorado College, and at 10:30 Mr. BARKER took charge and escorted the visitors to his famous hostelry at Manitou, going over in special cars. Our worthy colleague, Commissioner HOTCHKISS, thus happily describes the delightful day spent at Colorado Springs:

In the morning our party was taken in carriages about the city and to the Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers, which had been dedicated only a few days before. It is a beautiful and unique provision for the comfort of superannuated and disabled printers from all parts of the country. A large tract of land was presented by the city of Colorado Springs to the Home, the most beautiful and commanding site occupied by any building which we saw in the vicinity. Some of the rooms have been richly and beautifully furnished by private parties. From here the drive was across the plateau between Colorado Springs and the Garden of the Gods, where we encountered one of those sudden storms of rain and hail which so frequently form in the lofty mountains and as quickly pass over. The beauty and grandeur of the scenery and the unique geological wonders everywhere presenting themselves are too familiar to the public to require description. From the Garden of the Gods we were driven to Manitou, nestled among the hills at the base of Pike's Peak, and from which the cog-wheel railway starts, leading to the summit. In the afternoon of Friday the guests were invited to the Casino, a beautiful resort, four miles from Colorado Springs by electric cars, at the base of Cheyenne Mountain and the entrance to the famous cañon. Most of the party left the cars at the terminus of the road, and walked two miles through Cheyenne Cañon, which was probably the most impressive experience of the whole trip. The abrupt face of rocks rising on either side of the narrow cañon to the height of 1,200 feet produced an effect of indescribable wonder and awe. Following the trail from the cañon we came to a rough sign-board, where a trail branched off to the left, with the significant words, "To the Grave," referring to the grave of Helen Hunt Jackson, who was buried, at her own request, on the top of the highest peak of Cheyenne Mountain. Recently, however, the revered dust has been removed to a cemetery in Colorado Springs, owing to the traces of vandalism and desecration found in the vicinity of her chosen resting place. After reaching the Falls and ascending the rough steps which lead to the height from which the stream flowing through the cañon tumbles by seven consecutive falls, we returned to the hotel.

MANITOU AND PIKE'S PEAK.

SATURDAY, MAY 28.

For the day spent at Manitou we will again quote from Commissioner HOTCHKISS:

On Saturday morning, after visiting the mineral springs, we were taken in 'busses to the Manitou & Pike's Peak Railway, and at 9:30 started on the

ascent of Pike's Peak. The management of the road had made great efforts to clear the snow in order to be able to take our party to the summit, but as the snow lay in many places to the depth of more than twenty feet, after passing the timber line, it was found impracticable, and we were obliged to stop within sight of the Government house on the summit, or rather its roof, for all but the roof was hidden by the surrounding banks of snow. Two miles beyond the half-way house the train was stopped to enable the party to ascend the peak known as Observation Point, the highest except Pike's. The ascent is most abrupt and some of the way very rough, and burros, those unique, woolly, sure-footed little animals which have proved so useful in mountain climbing, were provided for the use of such ladies as had the courage to mount them and ride up the winding paths to the summit and back. After a hasty lunch at the Barker Hotel, on Saturday afternoon the Commissioners were taken on a drive through the Ute Pass and up the zig-zag road which climbs to the entrance of Grand Cavern, which we entered and traversed for a long distance. A rugged mountain trail led us to the Cave of the Winds, from which we made the dizzy descent to Williams Cañon, where the carriages had gone to await us. This cañon is like the others in most respects, but in one place the perpendicular walls are so near together that there is barely room for the carriage wheels to pass, and sitting on the seat of the carriage I could touch with the tips of my fingers the walls on each side at the same time.

One of the most instructive, as well as pleasant, features of the day at Manitou was the ascent of Pike's Peak, and the courtesies extended to the Commissioners by the officials of the Manitou & Pike's Peak Railway, notably by Mr. H. S. CABLE, the youthful but efficient Superintendent. This road is a few feet short of nine miles in length, and in that distance surmounts an elevation of 7,525 feet, or nearly one and one-half miles of direct perpendicular. The engines will weigh about twenty-eight tons when loaded, and are of 200 horse power. Their maximum speed is about eight miles per hour, and they are designed to push the trains when going up the mountain and to precede them in the descent. This gives them perfect control over the coaches, which, not being coupled to the engine, can, if desired, be let down independently, as they are all equipped with two very substantial pinion brakes, operated in a similar manner to those on the engines. One of these brakes is of sufficient power to stop and hold the whole train. The rails in the center, of which there are two, are set $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches apart, and vary in weight from 21 to $31\frac{1}{2}$ pounds per foot, and are made of the best-adapted Bessemer steel, the teeth being cut from a solid piece in specially constructed machines. Each rack rail is 80

inches long, and they are so placed as to break joints. It is claimed that this is the highest railway in the world.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

For the following sketches of members present at the Denver session we are indebted to the Hon. SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS:

It is a matter of no small interest to see the men assembled who, by virtue of their official position, not only wield a potent influence in industrial matters, but control the expenditures of large sums of public money, and the questions who these men are, what their antecedents have been, and to what extent they are capable of a judicious discharge of their great responsibilities, are questions of vital importance to the public.

It is reassuring to observe that all of the fifteen Commissioners are in the prime of life, when men ought to be capable of doing their very best work. The youngest Commissioner present is thirty-one years of age, and the eldest sixty. Their average age is forty-seven years. Of the fifteen, only eight are under forty, five range from forty to fifty and six from fifty to sixty. Many are known as men of marked character and individuality, and have proved their ability by the quality and scope of their work.

The President, Hon. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, was an attorney at law and a member of the Massachusetts Senate when he was made Chief of the Bureau of that State in 1873. He was appointed United States Commissioner of Labor by President Arthur in 1885. He had not been connected with any labor organization in any way; is a Republican in politics, and fifty-two years of age.

Hon. FRANK H. BETTON, Secretary, had been engaged in milling in Kansas, and was appointed Commissioner of that State on the creation of the Bureau in 1885; was elected Secretary of the Convention in 1891; he is a Knight of Labor, a Republican in politics, and is fifty-six years of age.

Hon. WILLARD C. HALL succeeded LEE MERIWETHER as Commissioner of Missouri in 1891; had been engaged in agriculture and stock raising; he is a brother of U. S. Hall, who was President of the Missouri Farmers' Alliance in 1891, and led the opposition to the sub-treasury and land-loan scheme through the United States; is thirty-nine years of age, and a Democrat in politics.

Hon. CHARLES F. PECK was made first Commissioner of the New York Bureau by Governor Cleveland on the recommendation of Lieutenant Governor David B. Hill, in 1883. He is a journalist, and had not been connected with organized labor; is forty-five years of age, and is a Democrat in politics.

Hon. HORACE G. WADLIN succeeded CARROLL D. WRIGHT as Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau in 1888, and has been twice reappointed. He had been connected with special work in the Massachusetts Bureau since 1879; is an architect by profession; is forty years of age, and a Republican in politics.

Hon. W. A. PEELE, Jr., has been Chief of the Indiana Bureau since 1883; had previously spent several years in the service of the State; has been

elected five times Chief of Bureau; is forty-six years of age, and is a Democrat in politics.

Hon. H. A. ROBINSON was made Commissioner of the Michigan Bureau in 1890 in response to petitions signed by 20,000 laboring men; has been actively interested in the labor movement for twenty-five years, and edited a paper in support of the Greenback party. He stumped Indiana in 1876 and 1878, and nominated Peter Cooper for President at the Indianapolis convention in 1876; in 1879 he stumped the State of Maine, and other States later in the interest of that movement; in 1889 he stumped Ohio with Governor Campbell; is Independent in politics, and is fifty years of age.

Hon. ALBERT S. BOLLES was made Commissioner of Pennsylvania to succeed JOEL B. McCAMENT in 1887. He was at one time editor of the *Norwich Bulletin*, in Connecticut, is now a practicing attorney and editor of the *Bankers' Journal*, of New York; is Professor of Commercial Law and Banking in the Wharton School of Political Economy, University of Pennsylvania; is forty-seven years of age, and is a Republican in politics.

Hon. J. R. SOVEREIGN was appointed Commissioner of Iowa to succeed Dr. HUTCHINS in 1890, by Governor Boies. He is Independent in politics, and is thirty-eight years of age. He is State Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, and has published a labor paper for seven years.

Hon. PHILIP ANDRES, Commissioner for Nebraska, was appointed by Governor Boyd in 1890; and he began the discharge of his official duties after waiting nine months for the decision of the Supreme Court in the Thayer-Boyd contest. He is State Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, and only employs Knights of Labor for his assistants; he was in the Legislature in 1887-88, and introduced the measure establishing the Bureau. He is a Democrat, and is fifty years of age.

Hon. SAMUEL W. MATTHEWS has been Commissioner of the Maine Bureau since it was created in 1887; is an attorney and journalist; was Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue, and a member of the Legislature in 1873; is a Republican, and is sixty years of age.

Hon. GEORGE W. WALTZ has been Commissioner of the California Bureau since 1891. For several years he was General Freight Agent of the Union Pacific Railway at San Francisco, was afterwards arbitrator for the Passenger Agents' Association, representing the twenty-three railroads engaged in Pacific Coast interests; he is a prominent G. A. R. man, is Past Commander of George H. Thomas Post, and was for many years Treasurer of the Veterans' Home Association, of California; is a Republican, and is fifty-two years of age.

Hon. LESTER BODINE was made Commissioner for Colorado in 1891. He received a newspaper training in Chicago, and has been active in his profession for the last seven years in Colorado; he is a Republican, and is thirty-one years of age.

Hon. L. G. POWERS, Commissioner of Minnesota since 1891, is a clergyman, and for six years previous was pastor of the Second Universalist church in Minneapolis; he was engaged for several years in educational work, and has always given much study to economic subjects; he is a Republican, and is forty-five years of age.

Hon. SAMUEL M. HOTCHKISS has been Commissioner for Connecticut since 1887; had been engaged in manufacturing; is a Republican in politics, and is fifty-three years of age.

EDWARD J. KEAN has been Chief Clerk of the New York Bureau since 1885; he is a printer, and for many years was connected with the printing department of the *New York World*; was an active member of several typographical unions, notably of No. 6, known as "Big Six of New York." He was Secretary and subsequently President of the State Trades Assembly; he has been identified with many other labor organizations for twenty years; he is a Democrat, and is forty-two years of age.

CHARLES H. SIMMERMAN has been Secretary of the New Jersey Bureau since 1881; he worked at his trade as a glass-bottle blower for twenty-five years, and has been actively associated with labor organizations; is a Democrat, and is fifty-six years of age.

CHARLES A. HENRIE, Chief Clerk of the Kansas Bureau, is a printer, and has published a paper in the interest of tax reform, has been active in labor organizations, is a Republican, and is thirty-two years of age.

ERNEST E. RICHARDSON has been Chief Clerk of the Colorado Bureau since 1891; is a mechanical engineer, is a Republican, and is twenty-six years of age.

C. J. DRISCOLL is now engaged in special work for the Colorado Bureau; he secured the establishment of the Colorado Bureau in 1887, and was its first Commissioner; he has been actively engaged in labor organization since he was seventeen years of age; he learned the carpenter's trade in Meriden, Connecticut, and has followed his trade there and in Colorado; he is forty-eight years of age, and is a Republican in politics.