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OUR

TOILING CHILDREN,

. . . BY . . .

FLORENCE KELLEY WISCHNEWETZKY.



WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE PUBLICATION ASS'N,  
CHICAGO.



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**PRICE, 10 CENTS.**

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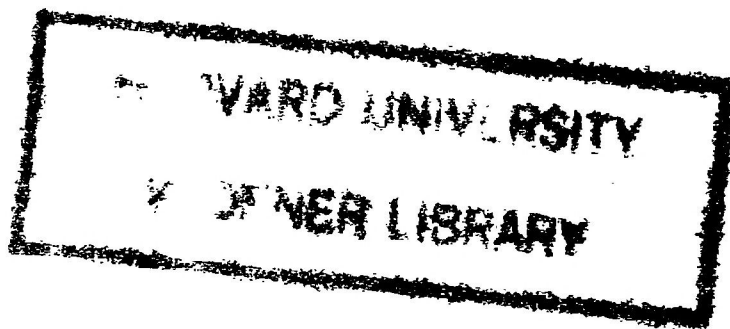
In preparation, by the same author, "Child Labor in the United States." A treatise upon the historic, economic, social, educational and legal aspects of child labor. 8vo, 250 pages. To be published during 1889.

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WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE PUBLICATION ASSOCIATION,  
CHICAGO.



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# OUR TOILING CHILDREN.

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FLORENCE KELLEY WISCHNEWETZKY.

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## EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR.

There is a prevailing impression that the wage-earning employment of children is an exceptional phenomenon in American communities, peculiar to population of recent immigration, and confined among families of American birth to the children of widows. The data afforded by the records of statutory legislation, however, show that the wage slavery of children not only now is, but for half a century has been, a legally accepted American institution; in fact, ever since the development of machinery, and the production of commodities on a large scale, for sale and profit, made child labor profitable.

There was a time in the history of the country when every child was a child, granted as its birthright ample time in which to grow to manhood or womanhood, and required to work only by the exigencies of family life on the paternal farm. That was in the early days, before the capitalistic system of production had developed in the new country, while work was still done chiefly for its product's uses, and not exclusively for exchange and profit. To-day the child is a child only in case it is born into the property-holding class. The workingman's child is a drudge from its babyhood. The children of

the clothing-makers in New York City begin work at four years of age, their labor power being available, under the sweating system of tenement-house manufacture, for picking out basting threads. In New Jersey, previous to the appointment of factory inspectors in 1883, the labor power of children seven and eight years old, was a commodity extensively consumed in the mills of that state. In the Granite Mill disaster in Massachusetts in 1874 a number of children under ten years of age were burned to death. There were according to the Massachusetts census of 1885, 3,040 children between the ages of ten and fourteen working for wages in that state. In Rhode Island, in 1875, there were, according to the state census, employed for wages, one-hundred and forty-six children aged nine years, sixty-four aged eight years, eight aged seven years, five aged six years, and *three but five years old*. And last year, 1887, the commissioner and clerk of the Bureau of Labor Statistics "found while visiting the mills, children at work who could not have been more than eight years of age."<sup>1</sup>

The school authorities throughout the country lament that the average age of the children leaving school to go to work is but ten, eleven or twelve years. The census of 1880 returned the number of wage-earning children in the United States as 1,118,000, and General Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of the Census, elaborately explained why that number was too small.<sup>2</sup> The factory inspectors of Massachusetts report 9,471 children under sixteen in the textile mills alone, in January of 1889, Commissioner White expressing the belief that "much of

<sup>1</sup>Annual Report Commercial Industrial Statistics, R. I. 1888. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup>Census 1880, Compendium Vol. II, p. 1352.

the larger portion of small children employed is outside of the textile factories."<sup>1</sup>

In Ohio in 1880, there were, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 48,593 children under fifteen years of age working for wages, and the commissioner writing in 1886 says :<sup>2</sup> "The annual reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction prove one thing conclusively, that under a depressed condition of trade, the school attendance rapidly decreases, and with every improvement in business comes an increase in the number of scholars. If, under favorable conditions, such as were experienced in 1880, nearly 50,000 children were engaged in gainful occupations, to what extent has child-labor grown under the depressed conditions of trade of the last six years? "

Writing in 1888, the commissioner of the same bureau said in his latest annual report :<sup>3</sup> "Girls can be found in the factories and in the planing mills running planers, and in the potteries doing men's work. \* \* \* I made an investigation of the cigar and 'stogie' makers of the city of Columbus. \* \* \* There are fifty establishments employing in the aggregate nearly 1,000 people, mostly boys and girls. Less than one hundred men are employed. \* \* \* At Ironton, of the 1,500 employés in the industrial establishments of the city at least 300 are boys." <sup>4</sup>

In Wisconsin, thirteen knitting mills employ "1,583 persons. The work is performed mostly by boys and

<sup>1</sup>Report of Chief of District Police of Mass., 1888 pp. 22, 46.

<sup>2</sup>Bureau of Labor Statistics, Ohio, 1886, 10th Ann. Rep. p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 9 and 230.

<sup>4</sup> Third Biennial Report Bureau Labor and Industrial Statistics, Wisconsin 1887-1888, p. 23.

girls." Of New York state Mr. James Connally, Chief Factory Inspector, says: "Year after year we have seen the demand increase for smaller and still smaller children, until it became a veritable robbery of the cradle to supply them."<sup>1</sup> In Connecticut, "the industries visited and employing children under sixteen years of age, consist of thirty-seven varieties. Out of a total of 127 establishments, sixty-six employ children. \* \* \* 1,173 were dismissed from work for being under thirteen years of age."<sup>2</sup>

The very general employment of very little children in Rhode Island has already been mentioned. The census of 1885 returned 8,011 wage-earning children between seven and fifteen years of age, an increase of twenty-five per cent in the five years since 1880.

In New Jersey the Commissioner of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, writes me that the factory act, and compulsory education law are practically a dead letter; and in his published report for 1886 he says: "Over one-half (of workingmen's families) would have been as badly off (*i. e.*, in debt at the end of the year) if the wages of the head of the family had not been supplemented by those of other members of the family."<sup>3</sup>

Boys are found in the glass industry as snappers up, mould shutters, carriers, supernumeraries, gatherers, packers, tender and roller boys. They form a very important part of the labor employed in glass making; children are found in electric light works, vitrite and luminoid works, silk, cotton, and woolen mills, rubber

<sup>1</sup> Second Annual Report Factory Inspector, State of New York, 1887, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report Board of Education State of Connecticut, 1888, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>3</sup> p. 6.



works, scissors, shoe, bag, and box making, in the potteries and brickworks, in needle and lamp making, in the manufacture of medicinal plasters, wall papers, snuff, crackers, button-holes, cigars, shirts, organs, saws, and baskets; in short, in every branch in which the application of machinery renders child labor available.

#### CONDITIONS OF WORK — DANGER TO LIFE FROM FIRE.

The conditions under which children work are fraught with danger to life and limb, to health, morals and intelligence. The danger to life takes the form of fire, boiler explosions, unguarded machinery, uncovered vats and tanks of boiling fluids, fatal diseases from contagion, foul air and poisonous work. Painful as is this part of my subject, it is nevertheless necessary to take up each of these dangers in its order; first, then, the danger to life from fire.

I have already referred to the burning of little children in the Granite Mill disaster in Fall River, Mass. Fourteen years after that fearful warning, at the convention of the National Association of Factory Inspectors, Inspector White, of Massachusetts, said: "It would be very little use to put a fire-escape on a powder house, and hundreds of the buildings now occupied for tenement and lodging houses would, under favorable circumstances, burn down so quickly as to render nearly useless any means of escape that can be provided. The late fire in a tenement house (factory) in New York is a striking example of the terrible results of such methods of construction."<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of Ohio factories, Chief Inspector Dorn of

<sup>1</sup> Second Annual Convention of Factory Inspectors, June, 1888, pp. 37, 39.

that state, says : "Most of the buildings are improperly constructed with reference to egress, the ingenuity of the architect having apparently been exerted to secure the greatest possible economy of space in the matter of stairways. \* \* \* Many of the buildings used for shops and factories are from four to seven stories high, and generally the first three or four floors of the buildings are used as store-rooms, the employés using the upper floors, escape from which would, in most cases, be extremely difficult in the event of a rapidly spreading fire, and loss of life and serious bodily injury almost inevitable. Some of these buildings are supplied with but a single stairway, and where there are two or more, they are generally located so near together that a fire which would render any of them useless as an avenue of escape would be very likely to do so with all. In many cases, also, these stairways are located near elevators, which are most potent aids to the rapid progress of fire."

"In a good many instances parties have provided buildings with straight ladders, which are frequently useless, especially where there are women employed, and in many instances even men can not use them. Other parties, again, have provided wooden ladders, claiming that the law does not specify the material to be used."<sup>1</sup>

"It is somewhat difficult to speak with calmness of men who, while liberally insuring their property against fire, so that in case of such a visitation—a danger always imminent—their pockets shall not suffer, will not spend a dollar for the security of the lives of those by whose labor they profit."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Second Annual Report Chief State Inspector Factories and Workshops, 1885, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Report Second Annual Convention Factory Inspectors of America, June, 1888, p. 19.

Inspector Schaubert of New York, reports :

I find some fire-escapes made of gas-pipe bent and driven into the wall, that would require a trapeze performer to ascend them. For instance, in Rochester are two buildings seven stories high. In one there are usually 150 and in the other about 270 female operatives employed on the top floors. But one stairway in each connects the various stories. In the rear of these structures, I find these gas-pipe arrangements for fire-escapes. \* \* \* Another alleged fire-escape is that in the rear of a certain printing house. About sixty females are here employed on the fifth floor. Only one narrow staircase runs from the top of the building to the street, and in the rear a straight ladder extends from the top to the second floor. This ladder would be almost valueless in case a panic should seize the workwomen.<sup>1</sup>

Even in Massachusetts, according to Commissioner White, "the statutes in this regard (*i. e.*, precaution against loss of life by fire) are less definite in their provisions, and there is less in them to guide the inspector than in any other laws which we are called upon to enforce."<sup>2</sup>

To aggravate the danger of fire, there is a very general practice of locking the work-room doors.

"Just imagine," says Inspector Dorn of Ohio, "a large building filled with work-people—men, women and children—all the doors closed, the custodian of the keys absent, all means of egress cut off. In what peril would those people be in case of fire!" And elsewhere the same inspector makes the following suggestions, which are worthy of careful consideration in relation to the employment of children :

<sup>1</sup> Second Annual Report Factory Inspectors New York, 1887, p. III.

<sup>2</sup> Report Second Annual Convention Factory Inspectors of America, June, 1888, p. 37.



“An insecure building liable to tumble down at any time, and unprovided with adequate means of escape in case of fire; so poorly ventilated that death is only a question of time, so far as its occupants are concerned; machinery so unguarded that it is a continual menace to every one whose business requires him to be in its vicinity—should not be tolerated for one moment longer than is necessary to make the required changes. We have laws severely punishing all offenses against the person, excepting this refined, civilized, and, to a great extent, legalized mode of torture and death. A man who attacks another on the highway, or elsewhere, and kills him, is very justly hanged as a murderer; but it is too often the case that a manufacturer tortures a little child to death by means of improperly ventilated work rooms, or mangles or kills a man, woman or child by means of unguarded machinery that could, by the expenditure of a few dollars, have been made safe and harmless, and the event is spoken of in the public press as an ‘accident,’ a deplorable, a frightful accident, it may be, but still—only an ‘accident!’ ”<sup>1</sup>

#### DANGER FROM BOILER EXPLOSIONS.

Children are employed in vast numbers in mills of many kinds in tending steam-driven machinery. They are therefore especially exposed to danger of explosion. Of boiler explosions Factory Inspector Dorn, of Ohio, says :

The number of lives annually lost by the explosion of steam boilers is so great that it seems almost incredible that the state has done nothing towards securing a proper inspection of so necessary and yet so dangerous

<sup>1</sup> Fourth Annual Report Chief State Inspector Factories, Ohio 1887, p. 5.

an adjunct of our manufacturing industries. In all manufacturing establishments of any importance, steam power is a necessity. Owing to its dangerous character, companies have been formed for the purpose of insuring risks of this class. These companies employ most thorough experts to frequently examine all boilers insured by them. But there is a vast number of boilers in the state that are not and cannot be insured, owing to their condition. No sound company will touch them, for the reason that they are liable to give way at any time. These are the boilers that the state should look after. One great source of trouble and serious accidents resulting from the use of steam boilers is chargeable to the unwise policy of manufacturers employing inexperienced and incompetent men as engineers. Then why should any man incur such a risk to his own safety or that of his property? There is but one answer, if indeed it can be called an answer, viz.: an incompetent man will work for less money than a competent man will. Should this be allowed? (No competent engineer will ever tie down his safety valve, but it is a common occurrence with an incompetent, low salaried one.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. J. M. Allen, president of the Hartford Steam Boiler Insurance and Inspection Co., writes to the *New York Spectator* the following results of his twenty years' experience :

The principal causes of boiler explosions are poor materials, faulty type, poor workmanship, careless management. The tendency to employ cheap engineers is no doubt a fruitful source of disaster, and under careless management the best boiler may be ruined in a week or less. The desire for excessive pressures, especially on boilers that have been some years in use and that are not of a sufficient capacity for the work required, is another prolific source of disaster. Steam users, in many cases, forget that with the enlargement of their works for increased production they should add correspondingly to

<sup>1</sup> Fourth Annual Report Chief State Inspector Factories, State of Ohio, 1887, p. 8.

their boiler power. They often try to provide for this increase of product by ordering their engineer to increase pressure on the boilers. This invites disaster.

Inspector Connally, of New York, reports for last year :

Complaints are frequent that the boilers in various factories are unsafe, and that the hands working therein are in constant fear of their lives. There have been some disastrous boiler explosions in this state this year. There was a boiler explosion at the Hitchcock Manufacturing Co., Cortland, N. Y., caused by a defective boiler. I understand that the engineer was an experienced man and had on several occasions refused to longer fire the same unless it was repaired. However, when the firm gave him the choice of quitting work entirely or continuing with that boiler, he reluctantly took his chances. On the morning of the explosion he again reported to the firm the condition of the boiler, and refused to put fire under it; but being again met by the same kind of argument and persuasion, he was forced to comply. He had not even opened the valves to start the engine when the explosion took place, killing himself and two other persons, and blowing down the boiler and engine house. An insurance company exists, and has a regular corps of inspectors to test such boilers as are insured by the company. Only a comparatively small number are insured, however, leaving the great majority without other inspection than what may be given by the engineer, who is often ignorant of the first principles of steam force and entirely incompetent to judge the condition of a boiler. An element of danger to the lives of workers in factories is the employment of novices in the trade of engineering and giving them sole charge of the engine and boilers.

The National Association of Stationary Engineers furnish the following information in their address :

We believe that the frequent killing and maiming of people by the explosion of steam boilers is unnecessary ; that it can and should be entirely prevented ; we have the evidence that our membership, numbering several

thousand operating engineers, does not furnish a single one chargeable with the rupture or explosion of a boiler while under steam pressure. We ask that the prime cause of boiler explosions be removed, by enacting laws preventing the ignorant, drunken, unskillful from taking charge ; that the law shall only permit the skillful, sober and competent to take charge of this terribly destructive explosive. During the past twelve months a record has been kept of boiler explosions comprising only those published by the daily press and others that came to the knowledge of our members and were reported to the secretary of the society. From these reports we can give the following aggregates : Number of boiler explosions, 496; number of deaths, 697; number of injured, many fatally, 1,273. Thus with incomplete returns we have 1,970 people killed, maimed, or crippled, all resulting from ignorance, intemperance and avarice.

Not only are scores of thousands of children directly exposed to the danger of boiler explosions in the course of their daily work, but other thousands of children, also, are liable to indirect injury from such "accidents." For whenever a workingman is killed or disabled, his widow and orphans must thenceforth earn their own bread, and boys and girls who might have gone to school to the full term are mustered out of school and into the army of toiling children.

#### UNGUARDED MACHINERY.

The records of death and mutilation inflicted by machinery are defective everywhere, and the effort to obtain adequate data is new, even in Massachusetts. The first attempt to publish an official record, however incomplete, for one full year, of all accidents to employés reported to the state factory inspectors was made simultaneously in Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey, and is embraced in the inspectors' reports of those states



for 1887. A similar attempt is embraced in the report of the factory inspectors of Ohio for 1888. This record is in no case even approximately full, because the law requiring employers to report is nowhere adequately enforced. Yet the official data with their descriptions of the killed and wounded, rival the records of actual warfare, and sustain the metaphor of the battlefield of industry. Although in these lists the ages of the slain are not always given, the "accidents" to children are known to be so numerous that Professor Hadley while commissioner of labor statistics for Connecticut expressed his official opinion that this subject required special legislation.

Inspector Wade, of Massachusetts, prefacing his statement with the assurance that "there has been a steady decrease both in the number and severity of accidents from unguarded machinery," proceeds to report 638 accidents to 642 persons, including twenty-three fatal accidents, sixty-two injuries to hands, fifty-three to arms, 224 to fingers, twenty-nine to thumbs, thirty-eight to legs, forty to feet, twenty-nine to heads, besides a large number unspecified.<sup>1</sup> And Massachusetts, be it remembered, has, until very recently, been the banner state in the matter of legislation, inspection and general precautions for the health and welfare of her workers. Of these "accidents" 228 occurred in cotton, woolen, paper and shoe factories, in all of which branches the labor of boys and girls is very largely concentrated. Of the specifically detailed cases in this report, those showing the child's carelessness or folly to have contributed to its death or mutilation are precisely the strongest arguments for banishing children from mills and workshops. For heedless-

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report Chief of Massachusetts District Police, 1887, pp. 37 to 47.

Some factories where scroll sawing, piano and other furniture-making is largely carried on, employ chiefly this kind of labor. We found one establishment of this kind employing a number of children under sixteen years, and even a few under thirteen, the proprietor of which bitterly complained because we caused him to discharge the latter. This man is reported to have become quite rich by the employment of just this class of help, to whom he pays the merest pittance, and he has never bothered himself about those unfortunate juveniles who have been maimed for life through his machinery. It is not an uncommon thing to hear of men of mature years losing fingers and even hands by these saws. Surely, if a man have any conscience he will, at least, provide proper safeguards for such saws, but the trouble is that a conscience does not burden every employer.

In his report for 1887, p. 43, the same Inspector says:

Establishments where tinware, buckles, knives, forks and spoons are stamped into shape, are very prolific of accidents to fingers and hands. The machines which do most damage contain obverse and inverse dies which come together with great force when the foot presses a lever near the floor. Before putting the foot upon the lever, the operative is supposed to place the article to be stamped in the lower half of the die, and then take the hand away. But in the hurry incident to working by the piece, or possibly, by having his attention momentarily called from his work, the operative places his foot on the lever without removing his hand, and the heavy steel die comes down with crushing weight, smashing whatever is beneath it. This explains many of the accidents reported from Buffalo. No means have yet been devised to prevent them, though the matter has long been, and is now, the subject of attention.

A prompt, simple and final way of preventing such "accidents," would be to prohibit the employment of

minors at this work. There are two especially horrible dangers to which children are exposed in the mills and workshops. One is death by drowning or scalding in vats and tanks of liquids used in industrial processes. Take, as an illustration, the case of Albert Marsh, aged twelve years, who was drowned September, 1888, in a Newark (N.J.) rubber works by falling into a naphtha tank. The other especially horrible death is by being torn limb from limb by revolving shafting. This latter danger menaces girls more often than boys, because skirts and hair braids are peculiarly liable to be caught. The New York factory inspectors mention a large number of terrible "accidents" of this kind to women and girls. The "accidents" caused by cleaning machinery while in motion are simply countless.

"The time taken to clean the machinery is not considered by a few employers as a part of the regular working time, and they require the operatives to clean it after shutting down. Probably one-third of the accidents occurring are caused by cleaning the machinery while in motion."

So says Inspector Fell of New Jersey, adding :

It is too much the practice of the management of factories for the purpose of saving five minutes of time, rather than stop the machinery, to allow (if they do not command) boys as well as men to replace a belt which has slipped off a pulley, while the driving shaft giving the power to the pulley, is running at full speed; or oftener, to shut down to half speed, which is a dangerous practice and should receive the fullest condemnation.

The number of accidents occurring daily through unprotected machinery is really frightful. It is estimated that from fifty to sixty persons are killed or injured daily through accidents occurring by operating buzz saws. We frequently read of young girls having their scalps torn

off, boys having their fingers and arms cut off, or injured; death by being carried around shafting and so on, and yet *almost all these frightful occurrences might be prevented by the strong arm of the law.*<sup>1</sup>

When we compel *all* our children to go to school to the age of sixteen (giving to the poorest the means of living while attending school), when we make the employer responsible for every injury occurring upon his premises, and enforce the responsibility, when the women of the nation, who are the buyers of the nation, unite with the wage-earners to control the conditions under which the things they purchase are produced, and to keep the conditions of production humane, then, and then only, will there be an end of "accidents" to children, by fire, boiler explosions and unguarded machinery.

#### HEALTH AND MORALS.

The dangers to health and morals besetting the working child, though less sensationally conspicuous than the danger of death by fire and explosion, are neither less deadly nor less widespread. They are most hideously visible in the tenement houses of such cities as New York, Chicago, Boston and San Francisco, but every manufacturing community has its own share of havoc wrought upon the health and purity of the children of the working class.

New York state taking the lead in manufactures, both in the amount of capital invested and the number and importance of its establishments as well as population, New York as the "epitome of the nation," naturally forms the greatest market for child labor and presents

<sup>1</sup> Third Annual Report Inspectors Factories and Workshops, State of New Jersey, 1885. p. 29.



the most perfect types of its employment. The tenement houses of New York City and the corporation towns of New York state present the status towards which the whole country tends as our industrial system develops—the utmost possible employment of the cheapest possible labor power. I therefore give a good deal of testimony throwing light upon the condition of the children of that state.

First as to the tenement houses. Commissioner C. F. Peck in his report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of New York for 1884, p. 143, says :

The employment by parents of children of tender age in the tenement house cigar factories of New York City furnishes one of the strongest arguments presented in favor of the enactment of stringent and effective laws against the evil of enforced employment of children at laborious, unhealthy, and immoral callings, in many cases to satisfy the greed of those who by nature are intrusted with all that pertains to their present or future welfare, and who should be compelled by law to provide for the health, the morals, and the educational training of their offspring.

Mr. Theodore Guno, a journalist of Brooklyn, is quoted in the same report as testifying :

I have seen children from four to six years of age sitting on the floor of the tenement houses pulling threads out of clothing. The sanitary condition of these houses is terrible.

The following is sworn testimony of cigar workers taken from the same report : (pp. 171, 162, 181, 180, 148).

“All the children in tenement houses work. I have seen those of nine and ten years old at work.”

“I have seen children employed in tenement house cigar factories varying in age from six years, I should say, to fourteen ; they have been kept from school and been

obliged to work almost any length of time without any regulations as to time, and barely have time to go through with their meals. \* \* \* They were often compelled to remain in rooms which were overcrowded with adults, where decency was a strange factor, morality unknown, and where, in the heated term of the year, the adults were almost nude."

"I have seen eight persons working in one small room about twelve by fourteen. One of the eight was a little fellow not more than nine years old, indescribably dirty and ragged."

"In busy seasons you can see any number of children engaged in stripping and preparing tobacco; the number so employed would average more than twenty to a house, and the ages would range from five to fourteen; they work from eleven to fourteen hours a day, sometimes more. They do not work as long hours as the grown people, but enough to kill them rapidly."

"The children in our trade are pressed into the service from the time they are nine years of age, and from then on they work pretty steadily until they reach an age at which to assume the responsibilities of manhood and womanhood. I very well remember one tenement house where manufacturing was carried on. \* \* \* The building was used as a tenement house factory, and was inhabited by families numbering on the average about five or six members. \* \* \* Most of these families occupied two rooms. \* \* \* These two rooms served as the workshop, and, of course, dwelling; in most cases there would be no ventilation, because the houses are so built that, unless you can get a whole floor through, you can get but little ventilation; they get a certain amount of tobacco from the foreman, enough to do a week or half a week, as the case may be, and that is prepared by the children for the parents to work up; the tobacco lies around the floor, and the workshop and the kitchen are in the same room. If once any of it accumulates, it begins to sweat, and the rankness of it is carried off through the air; then add to that the steaming stew kettle on the stove, where the woman is about preparing dinner, and you can imagine what the ventilation must be, and what

is the condition of these people. \* \* \* The only comparison I could make for the New York tenement houses would be the Black Hole of Calcutta."

"In another house the children were sitting on the floor dirty and filthy; they were drying tobacco on the bed for fillers; in general I found these places without ventilation."

"I have seen large accumulations of tobacco scraps and tobacco stems which, having long lain in that condition, would become putrid. I ran the point of my shoe into a mass of this, and it was filled with vermin."

"Generally, they use a room and bedroom, and sometimes there are five or six persons in the family, and they cannot open the windows much, because they have small children that they cannot let the air in on."

"The stench, the filth, the utter wretchedness and seeming hopelessness of the inmates, and the thought of the future of the little children brought up under such circumstances, is simply heartsickening."

"The physical appearance of the girls in cigar factories is such as we would find in some of the pauper schools that Dickens describes in England. When we take into consideration that they are to become the future mothers of the Republic, it bodes no good to the coming generation of workingmen. \* \* \* The close confinement in an atmosphere where tobacco is being manufactured is detrimental to full grown people, and must be more so to those not physically developed so as to withstand, at least in some degree, the effects of it."

Mr. Peck observes (p. 179):

Whenever persons work at home, their surroundings are almost always dirty; nay, often filthy, especially if the women of the family are engaged in the same trade; hence children brought up in this state cannot expect to be cleanly, and the sanitary conditions are such that they fall an easy prey to zymotic diseases.

I have found friends of mine in these tobacco factories with several children sick with measles and other children's diseases, and the father and the mother working in the same room where the children were sick.

A plumber testified as follows :

I very often have to go upon roofs to repair them where this class of people are working in tenement houses making cigars. Generally I go up through the top floor to discover where the leaks are, and the sights that I see in these rooms are very sickening. I see women surrounded by filth, with children waddling in it, and they having sores on their hands and on various parts of the body; they can be seen even on their lips. They are all the time handling the tobacco they make into cigars, which leads me to believe that it is almost impossible for anyone to smoke a cigar made by such labor as that, and be free from contamination.

A tobacco worker testified :

I have known children to get the seeds of consumption there ; that is the principal disease they do get.

Another tobacco worker :

Many times I have found the children sick in tenement house factories from inhaling too much dust of the tobacco.

Dr. Roger Tracy, in his treatise on "The Hygiene of Occupation," says :

It has appeared to me from observations made in cigar factories and in dispensary practice, that sexual development is decidedly retarded in young girls who enter the factories before the sexual evolution has begun.

So much for the health of the children ; now as to their morals. I continue the quotation from Mr. Peck's report, each paragraph from a separate witness :

Morals are more or less lost sight of where there is a battle going on to keep the wolf from the door.

There was one shop where I worked down town, and there were two boys who fairly stripped a child and sent her out into the street, and the girl came back just as



smiling as she had been before, and thought nothing of it.

In nearly all instances the water closets for the males and the females are upon the same floor, and right next to each other.

They (the children) are very immoral in all factories where many are employed. \* \* \* The bad spoil the good.

The children have to work, I know positively, until ten o'clock at night ; you can see them every night until that hour.

Now as to the other branches of tenement house work. A girl between thirteen and fourteen years of age testified :

I work at tailoring and have been at work for nearly a year ; I work on a sewing machine ; I have been in tenement houses and seen children seven to twelve years of age at work. \* \* \* Sometimes two or three are employed in each shop. When busy, they work from 7 o'clock in the morning till 9 o'clock and sometimes till 10 o'clock at night. The children pull out basting threads. Some work by the piece, and the regular price is two coats for a cent.

Inspector Connally in his factory report for 1887, p. 26, says :

The workshops occupied by contracting manufacturers of clothing, or sweaters, as they are called, are foul in the extreme. Noxious gases emanate from all corners. The buildings are ill-smelling from cellar to garret. The water closets are used alike by males and females, and usually stand in the room where the work is done. The people are huddled together too closely for comfort, even if all other conditions were excellent. And when this state of things is taken into consideration with the painfully long hours of toil which the poverty-stricken victims of the contractors must endure, it seems wonderful

that there exists a human being that could stand it for a month and live. We are not describing one or two places, for there is hardly an exception in this class of manufactories in New York.

An artificial flower-maker testified before the New York Bureau of Statistics of Labor. (Report for 1884, p. 181):

I work where twenty-one girls are employed in a little room. I know many girls working who are under fourteen years of age; we work nine hours a day and I earn \$1.50 (one dollar and fifty cents) a week. The girls often have to go home with headaches especially when we work on carmine or yellow.

The following two paragraphs are taken from the testimony of a cigar-maker given in the same Report (p. 155):

In the city of New York there are places which are known as cruller bakeries, and in these exist some of the worst evils I have ever seen of child labor. The whole place is one mass of smoke from the heated oil, and I have seen children start for these places to work from 11 to 12 at night till 1 o'clock in the morning, and then work the whole night through, or until 4 o'clock in the morning. And you see children lying upon barrels or about the stoves, and they are children from thirteen years old down to nine.

In the American District Telegraph Company they have lads who are supposed to be fourteen years old, but it would not take a connoisseur to discover that the given age is not the true one. They are boys eleven and twelve years of age, who are required to be continuously at work for at least ten hours a day, running into the worst places in all sorts of weather, mixing with all kinds of people, into houses of the most damnable disrepute, houses of assignation and gambling houses. It is very deleterious to their health and morals.

The Board of Health declines to interfere with these pest-breeding conditions. The truant officers have no

authority over a child "engaged in a legitimate calling," There is but one factory inspector for the whole of New York City, while there is work for a score. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is deaf, mute and blind to the wrongs of the toiling child slave. Even the Children's Aid Society can only tear the child bodily from its foul surroundings, and banish it from the city. It is powerless to compel parents to take advantage of its industrial schools and proffered daily meal. And were it given control of the tenement house toilers to the age of sixteen, the pecuniary resources of the mightiest of private philanthropies must prove inadequate to cope with the mass of children who there lack everything. Not until organized labor gains the mastery of the situation, and wrests the means of production from the service of the exploiting minority to the service of the now exploited majority, need we look for any radical change in the conditions of life of the child-workers of our tenement house populations.

Meanwhile the mothers, the women of the nation, can join in the demand of the Knights of Labor for immediate comprehensive state legislation protecting the worker while at work ; and with the same efficient persistency that has raised the age of consent and provided police matrons, they can re-inforce the Federation of Labor in the demand that child labor be abolished now and forever. They can abstain from the purchase of goods in the manufacture of which child labor is employed, and they can make their purchases in those stores in which cash boys and cash girls are visibly beyond school age. Wherever women have the school vote, they can use it for securing more schools and better ones, and for the enforcement of the compulsory school laws, now a dead let-

ter in a baker's dozen of our greatest states. And where they have no vote, they can do as the Working Woman's Society in New York has done with great success, organize the working women into Trades' Associations, and petition the Legislature for the care of the children, by the appointment of women inspectors. The key to the child labor question is the enforcement of school attendance to the age of sixteen, and the granting of such ample help to the poorest of the working children as shall make our so-called public schools not the class institutions they now are, but in deed and in truth the schools of the people, by the people, for the people. Only when every child is known to be in school, can there be any security against the tenement house labor of children in our great cities.

#### HEALTH AND MORALS IN MILLS.

Lest any one should suppose that the industrial conditions of New York are peculiar, local, worse than those of other American communities, I quote testimony covering several states and showing that the evils of the exploitation of labor are inherent in the system of production by exploitation, and appear wherever that system develops.

In his report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor of Massachusetts for 1881, Mr. Carroll D. Wright said :

In our cotton mills especially, the women and children largely exceed the men, being often from two-thirds to five-sixths of the whole, and the proportion is steadily increasing. And what are these women and children but the very weakest and most dependent of all the people?

Elsewhere in the same report an operative testifies :

Mill life has a most demoralizing effect upon women and children, especially on girls who have no parents in



the mills to watch over them. I will not permit my girls to work in any other mill than the one I am in, and where I can keep my eye on them. Not that I am afraid they will do anything wrong, but the influences of a mill are very bad. If a child of a tender age goes to work in the mill, constantly breathing a temperature of ninety degrees both winter and summer, it is sure to grow up puny and die early. I get so exhausted that I can scarcely drag myself home when night comes.

Another operative testifies :

Young girls from fourteen and upward learn more wickedness in one year than they would in five years out of a mill.

In 1874, in his first report, Mr. Wright had already observed :

Personally, we believe in the extremest legislation in this direction, and could we have the power given us we would not allow a girl under sixteen years of age to be employed in any kind of a factory or workshop. If she could be free till she reached the age of twenty, mankind would be the gainer.

Yet after all these years, in the face of repeated testimony to the same effect from the same bureau, in defiance of the returns of the census, and the school statistics published meanwhile, there were, as already stated, 3,043 children between the ages of ten and fourteen, working for wages in Massachusetts in 1885, and ten thousand children under sixteen in her textile mills alone, in January, 1888.

So much for the Banner state of the Union.

The following is taken from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Wisconsin for 1888, p. 264.

Jackson Cotton Manufacturing Company. I went to these mills some time ago, and found several children whom I suspected of being under twelve years of age.

The company promised to discharge them, and I have every reason to think they have done so. But there are some three hundred women and children who are working eleven and a half to twelve hours per day and night, *the night being the time most of the children are employed.* It is a hard place to work; young persons cannot stand the strain and long hours. Child labor is the main feature; there are many of them under fourteen years of age, and all have to work eleven and a half hours. The thermometer (I am told by an employé) averages in the heated term about 108 degrees. There are plenty of openings for light and air, but if there is too much air stirring the windows must be left closed on account of blowing the cotton. The dressing-room thermometer runs (I am told) as high as 140 degrees, and averages 110 to 120 degrees. (Men work here eight to ten hours a day.) I am told by employés that girls who have worked here since last September are quitting on account of loss of health caused by hard work and long hours; they cannot stand the intense heat at night, and they cannot get sufficient sleep in the daytime.

Mr. Fassett, Commissioner of Bureau of Statistics of Labor for Ohio, says in his report for 1887 :

I have found boys twelve and fourteen years old struggling for a livelihood in a room heated 120 degrees Fahrenheit.

Comment is superfluous.

Mr. Connally, Factory Inspector of New York, says :

Many children overestimate their strength and endurance, and take hold of work for which they are unfitted by nature, and thus work themselves into consumption or sustain ruptures or other bodily damage. \* \* \* The water closets for males and females adjoin each other in ninety-five per cent of the workshops and factories throughout the state of New York, where females are employed, and in hundreds of cases the sexes both use the same retiring rooms. The ventilation of the average closet in manufactories is very poor, the science of hygiene not being well understood or considered when the

structures were erected. The odors very often have no other escape but into the workrooms, and the smell is very perceptible to the nostrils of the visitor. Disease must of necessity burden the air of these institutions, and the health of the operatives be gradually, but surely, undermined.

The following sworn testimony is taken from Mr. C. F. Peck's report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1884.

Police Justice Thomas Dacy, of Little Falls, sworn :

I have reason to believe this : That children brought up in mills learn a good deal of bad stuff in the mills, and evenings ; when they get to be fourteen or fifteen years old, the females get to going to the skating rinks, and when they are sixteen or seventeen they are seduced, and get to drinking beer with the boys in saloons.

George Vosburg, Chief of Police of Little Falls, sworn :

Do you in your capacity find that it has a tendency to make bad citizens of people put in the mills when young ?

I do ; I think it is the worst thing that ever happened to a child ; these young fellows when they get through a month's work, they take out a dollar or two and give it to their parents, and the balance they spend for drink with the boys.

Robert McElwain, Chief of Police of Utica, says of children placed in the mills at an early age in comparison to those not in the mills :

I rather think they will not compare favorably, the girls more particularly than the boys. I mean the girls are more immoral than those brought up outside, as a rule.

Dr. Roger S. Tracy, Sanitary Inspector of the New York Board of Health, says, in his "Hygiene of Occupation" :

Although the sanitary surroundings of the workmen, as regards ventilation and light, together with the hours of

labor, wages, and consequently food and clothing, are generally growing better, certain new dangers have been introduced by the new processes of manufacture which have not yet been fully met. Striking examples of these are seen in the manufacture of matches, and of chemicals such as potassium, bichromate, quinine, etc., and the use of such agents as carbon, bisulphide and the brilliant colors produced by various compounds of arsenic.

Elsewhere in the same treatise Dr. Tracy says:

Instead of saying, "This child began factory work at eight, and was injured thereby, and so, hereafter, no child shall work until he is nine," it should be remembered that just previous to puberty occurs the most rapid growth of any age; and that during this time, say from eleven to fourteen, and while the sexual evolution is in progress, the stamina of the child is taxed to the utmost. He or she should, at such time, be engaged in the most healthful occupation of body and mind; not subjected to great physical fatigue, and should be so employed that whenever it seems advisable, the habitual occupation be intermitted. This intermission is possible if the child is employed only at home or at school, *but not under the inexorable discipline of the factory.*

Be it remembered that these crimes against the children of the working class are committed by the exploiting, *i.e.*, the employing class, with no extenuating circumstance. For while they coin gold out of the life-blood of toiling children, a million adults, unemployed, seek in vain for work.

#### EDUCATION.

Working children know nothing of the education of happy home life. Many of them are orphans, for the average life of the workingman is short at best and the "accidents" involved in scores of occupations rob a very large number of children of paternal care and support. Then the widowed mother is obliged to turn home into a



laundry, or to become a charwoman, or go into the mill. In all these cases home life is lost. More working children are the victims of the dissipation of one or both parents, and in that case home life is a curse. Most all are slaves of that poverty which makes home a mere sleeping place, sought only in the intervals of exhausting toil. For on this point the testimony is unanimous that the cause par excellence of child labor is poverty, and that in comparison with this, all other causes sink into insignificance.

But if their homes were cosy and attractive, the education of home life would still be lost to the army of working children. For child labor and long hours go together; and Massachusetts and New York, Connecticut and Ohio, alone of all our states, have records of successful limitation of the child's working day to ten hours. Eleven, twelve, even fourteen hours, boys and girls work in stores and mills, little cash-girls sometimes being absent from home seventeen hours out of the twenty-four when the season is at its height, and their car ride a long one to and from the store. Under such conditions the childish frame craves sleep or the stimulus of sharp excitement, and after the evening meal the working child seeks its bed or the street. In either case there is no home life and no educational influence.

So much for the home training of our working children. Now as to the schools. Scores of thousands of American-born children under sixteen years of age are earning their bread to-day who have never entered a school-room. I am not speaking of the negro illiteracy of the South, but of the great manufacturing states of the North. For thousands of these children there are no schools provided. New York and Philadelphia have not even an

accurate census of the school population upon which to base calculation of the school accommodations necessary. Superintendent McAllister, of Philadelphia, believes that ten thousand children of that wealthiest of cities are out of school because there are no schools provided for them. And he has shown in his report for 1888 that 4,716 children attending school are unprovided with desks. A like story comes from Chicago, and from every large manufacturing community outside of Massachusetts.

The New Jersey Compulsory School Law especially exempts from its provisions those cities which have not provided sufficient school accommodations, thus putting a premium for manufacturing communities where child labor is a tempting commodity, upon failure to provide adequate schools.

Mr. A. S. Draper, State Superintendent of Public Education for New York, says in his report of 1888 :

There is a large uneducated class in the state, and our statistics show that it is growing larger. The attendance upon the schools does not keep pace with the advance in population. Recent legislation forbids the employment of children under thirteen years of age in any manufacturing establishment, but *no adequate provision is made for gathering them into schools*, and the number of children in the street is growing more rapidly than in the schools.

In 1884 Mr. Charles F. Peck, Commissioner Bureau of Labor Statistics, selected for investigation Albany as the capital of New York state, and as comparing favorably in school facilities, school supervision and instruction with other cities, and made the discovery that with 35,855 children of school age there were registered in all schools but 13,914, the average daily attendance was 9,059, the

number of sittings was 11,840, of which there were but 607 in the High School. Mr. Peck says :

It is rather significant that only about 12,000 sittings are provided for these 36,000 children, of which only 607 are found in the High School. Where are these absentees, and what are they doing? who knows? Many are leading a treadmill life, ten or eleven hours a day, in the factory or the shop; they skip about as runners or cash boys in the stores; take places as "office boys," "messenger boys," "boot-blacks." All have opportunity to learn much of human nature and the ways of the world, and little of literature, systematic knowledge or sound morals. As a rule, nobody cares. Service is all that is called for. Many of these children are, it may be, as bright as the "mute, inglorious Milton" of Gray's Country Churchyard, by nature. But of this fact they usually remain in blissful ignorance this side their graves. They only "stand and wait;" they grow up "dumb, driven cattle;" they vote as would their master's dogs if allowed the right of suffrage.

It is a fact not widely recognized that twenty-four states of the Union have a compulsory school law upon the statute book while one state enforces its law. The one state deserving honorable mention in Massachusetts. Yet in spite of a rather stringent enforcement of the law, Commissioner White reports finding factories where twenty per cent of the children could not read in any language. This in the banner state of the Union in respect to compulsory education!

I need not dwell upon the illiteracy of the country in general, nor that of any state in particular, for the foregoing data are typical. We first fail to provide schools for the working population of the great manufacturing cities and then excuse the fact of the children's working, upon the plea that they are better in the mill than in the street.

We first impoverish the parents by our system of universal employment of wage labor, and then acquiesce in the absenteeism of the children from school upon the plea that they are better off earning their bread (that is, creating profit for the employing class,) than going hungry to school. Our national boast of universal education and an equal chance for all the children of the country is vain hypocrisy so long as there is one child unprovided with school facilities, left a prey to the poverty of its parents and the greed of profit-grinding employer.

#### LEGISLATION.

It is clear that our legislation upon child labor is hopelessly inadequate. Such meager provisions as are anywhere enforced have been wrested from reluctant Legislatures by the growing might of the labor organizations. And every law upon the subject bears traces of the struggle between employing capital and employed but increasingly intelligent labor.

Twenty-four states have a compulsory school law; Massachusetts alone enforces it. Fourteen states have more or less factory legislation. In six of them it is strictly a dead letter, no officers whatever being empowered to enforce it. In eight of the fourteen, factory inspectors are provided and equipped with salaries and traveling expenses in various degrees of inadequacy to the duties imposed upon them. These states are Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Pennsylvania and Illinois do absolutely nothing to protect the children of the working class. They have neither factory inspectors nor investigations by their



bureaus of labor statistics into the condition of working children. Although the city of Chicago has within a few months appointed truant officers, thanks to the efforts of the women of Chicago, yet the assertion remains true that Pennsylvania and Illinois as states, have done nothing for their toiling little ones.

The demand of the labor organizations is for the abolition of child labor to the end of the fifteenth year, and compulsory education. The effort of our legislators is to appease the workers without depriving the employers of their supply of child slaves. The result is a shameful collection of laws either incapable of enforcement or provided with every device for easy evasion. No law has ever prohibited the employment of children to the age of sixteen, or even fifteen. New Jersey places the limit at fourteen for girls and twelve for boys, and empowers the factory inspector to permit orphans likely to need poor relief, to go to work even earlier, so making their misfortune a direct advantage to employers unscrupulous enough to engage them. The same state while prescribing school attendance, accepts night school as an equivalent for day school, thus forcing the little toiler to work twelve hours daily, by adding two hours' brain work to his ten hours of wage labor. In that same New Jersey the factory inspector must prove an infringement of the law to be *willful* before the employer can be punished. Thus when Albert Marsh was drowned, the only charge upon which the inspector could prosecute his employers was their failure to report the accident to him. Yet the boy was as clearly murdered as any one who ever perished. The employer, under the law of the state, cannot be punished beyond a fine of fifty dollars. The child slave's life is cheap in Free America.

I quote the New Jersey provisions thus at length because they are typical of the whole mass of such legislation throughout the country. Connecticut fixes the minimum age for workers at thirteen and requires all children under thirteen to attend school 120 days in each year. By way of comment, Mr. C. D. Hines, Secretary of the State School Board, says in his report for 1888:

“The law prohibiting employment of children under thirteen would naturally increase the number in attendance ; but so many advanced with a bound from eleven or twelve to fourteen, that in few schools has any increase from this cause been noted.”

The compulsory school law not having been enforced in previous years, there are no school attendance records by which to verify the parents' statements.

The legislation needed is of the simplest but most comprehensive description. We need to have, (1.) The minimum age for work fixed at sixteen ; (2.) School attendance made compulsory to the same age ; (3.) Factory inspectors and truant officers, both men and women, equipped with adequate salaries and traveling expenses, charged with the duty of removing children from mill and workshop, mine and store, and placing them at school ; (4.) Ample provision for school accommodations ; Money supplied by the state through the school authorities for the support of such orphans, half orphans and children of the unemployed as are now kept out of school by destitution.

Any provision less than this will share the defects of our present deplorable measures, whose very meagerness makes enforcement impossible. It is impossible to ascertain which children have gone to school ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, or twenty weeks, as different states

provide. But when all children are compelled to go to school all the school year, there will be no difficulty in verifying from the school records the statements of parents, children and teachers with reference to the age and past attendance of a child applying for work, and claiming to be beyond the compulsory school age.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, neither the women of the nation, nor our philanthropic bodies, have thus far taken steps toward the emancipation of our toiling child slaves, except the women's organization of Chicago in co-operation with the Woman's Alliance of Illinois, recently formed for the purpose, and Mrs. Leonora Barry, of the Knights of Labor, who is now agitating the subject in Pennsylvania. With these exceptions, all the noble struggle of half a century for the rescue of our toiling children seems to have been confined to the labor unions, and to the Bureaus of Statistics of Labor which have themselves been created year by year by the efforts of the workingmen since 1869.

#### THE ECONOMIC ASPECT.

Child labor comes of poverty and breeds low wages. When the father's earnings no longer buy food and clothing and pay the rent, the children must earn their own bread. But in doing so they drive down wages, furnish non-resistant stop-gaps used for breaking strikes for living wages, supplant adults, and thereby increase the army of the unemployed, weaken the labor organizations and so force the great militant body of labor to renew the agitation for the abolition of child labor once and forever.

Though there are no adequate statistics for showing the ratio of increase, it is a fact acknowledged by all who

have investigated the subject, that child labor is increasing with unheard of rapidity in the textile industries and elsewhere; and that, though the sensational horrors with regard to the employment of children under ten years of age may diminish, here and there, yet the great mass of American children leave school at the age of twelve to enter into the industrial army.

The closeness of competition keeps the employer ever on the alert for cheapening the price of "hands;" and man makes room for woman, who gives place to the cooly, who being legislated out of the field, is succeeded by the tiny boy or girl until some invention does away with this last vestige of human labor. And for every child employed there is an adult supplanted, so that we have a million wage-earning children and a million adults unemployed; and this mad reversal of all social order is solely for the purpose of enriching the exploiting minority.

At the meeting of factory inspectors last August, Mr. Henry Dorn, of Ohio, said:

*There is no gain to the general welfare from this class of ill remunerated toil. Its products are not materially, if at all, cheapened to the consumer. The profit is reaped by the employers. And it is the heartless cupidity of this class, incidentally aided by the improvidence of parents, that is responsible for the extensive prevalence of child labor. To combat successfully this sordid instinct, there is required something more aggressive than a simple statutory declaration of hostility. As previously observed, there must be a zealous and vigilant executive force behind the declaration.*

So far so good, but this is not enough. For the progress of invention is mighty, the army of supplanted men grows from year to year, and the consequent progress of poverty



and temptation to substitute the child's earnings for the lacking wages of the unemployed father, press more heavily with every passing month, upon the children of the working class. Mere inspection of factories and prohibition of child labor will prove inadequate unless we face the fact that a nation's children are the future nation, and must be maintained and educated at the national cost.

While we labor to promote the transition from the class of production by irresponsible monopolists, to the order of social production, conducted through the servants of the people, by the people, for the people, we are nearing the point at which the blind movement of industrial development must involve us in utter social chaos, the means of production all concentrated in a few irresponsible hands as the telegraph is to-day, the whole body of adult workers dependent for opportunity to labor, *i. e.*, for life itself, upon the few owners of the means of production, the army of the unemployed swollen to such proportions as to burden and cripple all industry, standing forever ready to take any work at any price, and rendering futile all effort at maintaining wages at such a level as enables the workingman to send his child to school, dispensing with its work, and maintaining it himself. Every labor-saving invention hastens the crisis from which there is no escape. The old order of society is passing away, the new has yet to be evolved. The transition may excel the horrors of the French Revolution, or be ushered in as calmly as the dawning of the day. That will depend upon the insight of the workers and the women of the nation. If every step is taken as the time is ripe, the New Order may be evolved without catastrophe, that new order in which, as Frances Willard

aptly puts it, "All may live by the avails of their activities."

Of the transition measures none is more vital than the assumption by the community of the care of its children. We now give education, technical, professional, almost gratuitously to the sons of the wealthy. To the worker's child, we give not even a seat in a primary school. We boast a system of universal public school education and leave those who most need it, without a school to enter and too poor to leave their work if schools were furnished. Our grammar, high, and normal schools are beyond the reach of the children of the proletariat, and are not meant for them. But even the primary school is not meant for all our children, as we have seen.

To make school life to the age of sixteen accessible to every child involves vast outlay for school buildings, teaching corps and support for the poorest of the pupils. But Mulhall, the English statistician, tells us that each new day the sun rises upon two and a half million dollars in value added to the capital of our fabulously wealthy country. And this value is created by labor, and labor alone. Labor, represented by the Knights of Labor and the Federation of Labor, demands that the toil of children be prohibited once and forever, and the rising generation of the nation be given leisure and school life.

Who will help in the realization of this demand?