

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

in the

ORIENT

A Source Book

Compiled by the Education and Research
Division and the Industrial Department of
the Y. W. C. A. as a background for study
and understanding of industrial conditions in
the East particularly as they affect women.

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The material used in this Source Book was compiled in 1924 for use in connection with a discussion course, "The East and West Meet in Industry," published in *Industrial Bulletin*, Number VI, of the Industrial Department, National Board, Y. W. C. A. New material was added in 1925-1926.

The excerpts have been chosen from two points of view. The first endeavor has been to include that information necessary (even though not always of most recent date) for any real study of the development of industry in oriental countries, its effect upon the life of women, and the factors concerned with its proper development—information which was relatively inaccessible, either because it could be found only in special reports or because it was published in expensive form. The second endeavor has been to offer as far as possible a review which may be studied from different angles, but which in itself presents the subject not from the situation in one country particularly or in any special phase of industry or from any one approach. The topical index—a feature of the revision of the original book—should be of assistance in any detailed search for material of particular import.

Under each country the arrangement of this very unarrangeable material is as follows—somewhat loosely, of necessity, since one article often overlaps another both chronologically and topically:

First—that material which has to do with the general situation; sometimes a brief historic view, sometimes a summary. Second—material upon special subjects. Third—actions or activities of groups within a country in connection with the problems presented.

This Source Book can, however, only supplement other material easily found in other books which, taken together with the Source Book, form a minimum amount of resource for real understanding of the subject. The books suggested are these:

THE NEW WORLD OF LABOR. Sherwood Eddy. George H. Doran Company, New York, \$1.50.

This gives briefly the situation in China, India, Japan, and is very readable.

LABOR IN INDIA. Janet H. Kelman. Doran, \$4.00.

CHINA'S REAL REVOLUTION. Paul Hutchinson. Missionary Education Movement, New York. Paper 50 cents; cloth 75 cents.

CREATIVE FORCES IN JAPAN. Galen M. Fisher. Missionary Education Movement. Paper 50 cents; cloth 75 cents.

THE REAWAKENING OF THE ORIENT AND OTHER ADDRESSES. Sir Valentine Chirol, Yusuke Tsurumi, Sir Arthur Salter. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, \$2.00.

PROCEEDINGS, ADDRESSES, ETC., OF INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, AT HONOLULU, 1925. Published by The Institute, P. O. Box 156, Honolulu.

CHINA IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS. Henry T. Hodgkin. Doran, \$2.00.
LABOR IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES. Gladys M. Broughton. Oxford University Press, \$3.00.

Anyone who makes use of this Source Book will, we hope, be inspired to follow up for himself the facts here given; with a view to finding out—through current newspaper and magazine articles, later reports of the organizations here represented, and from the increasing number of books now being published—what has further happened; where these beginning steps have so far led. The publishers themselves hope to issue from time to time such new material as may seem pertinent to a further understanding of women's place in industry in the Orient.

We are sincerely grateful for permission to use excerpts from the books just mentioned, and from the following: *Christ and Labor*, by C. F. Andrews, published by the George H. Doran Company; *Handbook of the League of Nations*, published by the World Peace Foundation; *Economic Conditions in India*, by P. P. Pillai, published by George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., and E. P. Dutton & Co.; *Population of India*, by Brij Narain, professor of economics, Savatena Dohrma College, Lahore; *Labor and Housing in Bombay*, by A. R. Burnett-Hurst, published by P. S. King and Son, Ltd.; *Whither Bound in Missions*, by D. J. Fleming, published by the Association Press.

We are also indebted to publishers of magazines for permission to quote from the following articles: "The Storm Out of Asia," by Herbert Adams Gibbons, and "Is Modern Industry a White Peril to China?" by Vera Kelsey, from *Asia* (magazine); editorials from *The American Federationist*; "Home Rule and Homespun," by C. F. Andrews, from *The Living Age*; "Race Contacts in the World Today," by Harry F. Ward, "Asiatic Labor Conference," and "Statement of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation," from *The World Tomorrow*; "What the Chinese Want," by Harry F. Ward, from *The New Republic*; "The International Issue of the Pacific," by Chester H. Rowell, from *The Survey*; "China Today," by Mrs. Raymond Robins, from *Life and Labor Bulletin*; "Facing World Friction Points," by Sherwood Eddy, from *International Review of Missions*; "Chinese Industrial Administration Conference," "Phosphorus Poisoning in Chinese Match Factories," "Factory Conditions in Bombay Presidency," and "All India Trade Union Congress," from *Monthly Labor Review*.

We also wish to acknowledge gratefully the use of material quoted from the following sources: *Industrial and Labor Information, Factory Inspection*, and the *International Labor Review*, published by the International Labor Office; *Modern Industry in China*, Industrial Reconstruction Series No. 4, published by the Commission on Church and Industry of the National Christian Council of China; *China Medical Journal*, published by the China

Medical Missionary Association; *Life and Labor Bulletin*, published by the National Women's Trade Union League of America; *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa*, published by the Federation of Christian Missions in Japan; *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, by Sir W. W. Hunter, published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, England; "Industrial Relations and the Churches," published in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*; *Indian Year Book*, 1924; *China Mission Year Book*, 1924; *China Mission Year Book*, 1925; *Papers Respecting Labor Conditions in China* (printed by the government of Great Britain); *The Present Situation in China and Its Significance for Christian Missions*, issued by the Committee of Reference and Counsel, Foreign Missions Conference of North America; *Women and the International Labor Movement*, in the Women in Industry Series, published by the National League of Women Voters; *Report of the Proceedings, Addresses, etc., of the Institute of Pacific Relations*, 1925; *Kaizo*, a Japanese periodical; bulletins of the Foreign Policy Association.

Finally we would especially acknowledge the kindness of Mrs. Esther Fox for generous permission to make use of her valuable charts on industry and trade.

GENERAL

Above the individual, like an ardent flame, floats the standard of nationalism; above nationalism waves the banner of race; free and untrammelled, far above nationalism and race, streams the oriflamme of the spirit, for the spirit knows naught of limitations, which are consumed and annihilated in its ardent white flame.—*Gabriela Mistral*.

From "Gabriela Mistral" in *The Womens Press*, March 1925.

I call myself a nationalist and I pride myself in it. But my nationalism is as broad as the universe. It includes in its sweep even the lower animals. It includes in its sweep all the nations of the earth, and if I possibly could convince the whole of India of the truth of this message, then India would be something to the whole world for which the world is longing. My nationalism includes the well-being of the whole world. I do not want my India to rise on the ashes of other nations. I do not want India to exploit a single human being. I want India to become strong in order that she can infect the other nations also with her strength.—*Mahatma Gandhi*,

in a speech to Indian Christians. From "Gandhi on Nationalism," in *The World Tomorrow*, October 1925.

Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice.

And whereas conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great

that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labor supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures;

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following: [Organization of Labor].

—From the preamble to Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles.

Doubtless there have always been individuals whose idealism reached the bounds expressed in the passages quoted above. Our generation is marked by a spread of such ideals to include whole groups of individuals who are as vigorous in their action as they are ardent in their belief. Further, men and women are realizing that there is no permanence in the solution of any problem that is made without reference to associated problems in other parts of the world. Especially is this true in matters of industry and commerce, where no one country can for long stand alone.

It was a realization of this fact that prompted the original demand for which this material was assembled. Knowledge added to idealism can be a powerful weapon for good. It is with this hope that this new edition of the Source Book is sent out.

CHARTS

The fundamental idea worked out so ably in the following charts is the interdependence of all parts of the world today.

As President Coolidge said last January before the Women's Conference on Peace at Washington: "The interdependence of peoples and nations becomes more marked every year. None can stand alone. None dares risk the ill opinion of civilization—Thus shall we begin the actual outlawry of war."

Our own country cannot flatter itself that it is independent of the rest of the world. We must sell much of our cotton, corn and wheat abroad or else entirely reapportion our use of land and capital. The foreign demand for copper may make all the difference in the world to our copper mining territory—Michigan, Montana, Arizona, Utah, and Alaska—regions often thought of as too far west to be interested in "abroad."

About one sixth of all we consume comes from other countries abroad and if that sixth were cut off the remainder would shrink. We must buy raw materials from other nations in order to work them up into finished products, many of which are so difficult to do without as to be "necessities." Yet few who use them stop to think of them as foreign products. Ex-Secretary Redfield has asked us to imagine a man living through a single day without any dependence on "abroad" for the things he consumes and uses. Such a man would, of course, have to forego any tea, coffee, cocoa, or chocolate, any silk hosiery or ties, any linen shirts, collars or handkerchiefs, towels or napkins, or tablecloths, any hat, whether felt or straw. He could wear no rubbers and carry no silk umbrella. He could not walk on shellacked floors nor drive in an auto unless he took off the tires of Singapore rubber. His bread, even if made of American wheat, required for bolting the flour bolting cloths of Japanese silk woven in Switzerland; and, going back, we find the wheat harvested required Yukatan sisal for binding. The table cutlery and china are largely of foreign origin. Every American tomato can is indebted for its tin to the Dutch East Indies, the Malay Peninsula, or Bolivia; and for the palm oil used in sticking that tin on American sheet steel, to West Africa.

There are certain raw materials in the world which cannot be replaced when the supply is used up. As all nations need them, their conservation is a matter in which every country has an interest. When we find the gasoline tank empty after an afternoon's ride, a certain amount of the world's crude supply of crude oil is gone forever. As the other nations of the world own or control eighty-five per cent of the reserve supply of crude oil, our interest in automobiles has a direct bearing on the foreign policy of our government. We are living in an age of oil.

Business today knows no international boundary. Our salesmen sail the seven seas to buy and sell; our government has its representatives in every corner gathering current business information to aid us; our banks have their branches in the great centers of trade doing their work in our international business.

On January 10, 1920, forty-two nations of the world, since grown to fifty-five, put in operation an agreement to cooperate in developing an organization to insure the conditions upon which their people could have happiness and prosperity. Nations of the west and nations of the east joined in this agreement which in five years has become the strongest force in the international world.

This League resembles an insurance company by which fifty-five nations join in mutually insuring each other against war and other interruptions of their economic life. Every business man is interested in the success of such an influence.

The charts in this book have been made to visualize, in convenient form, the relation of the people of the United States to this League of Nations. They speak for themselves.

Now that Europe has begun to "come back" in her manufacturing, having at her command all the information, the technical knowledge and skill, and contacts at the conference table for discussion of immediate problems which the League gives her, she has an advantage in the struggle for the world markets which we lack. Our business man is handicapped by our political isolation.

The question of South America and the Monroe Doctrine is one of human nature. We think of South America as under our wing. Really it is associating to its advantage with other countries. All Latin American countries except Mexico and Equador belong to the League. Brazil and Uruguay are represented on the Council which meets every three months to discuss current questions and find an answer to them. They are in touch with European capitalists, and European buyers. They are developing their resources as we developed ours in the middle of the last century and it is human nature for them to stand in with the group which gives them the most.

One-third of our total imports are raw materials used in manufacturing. It took a great steel corporation six weeks to make out the list of imported articles necessary in its business and the list covered fourteen pages.

We have a double interest in the economic life of the rest of the world, not only as trader but also as creditor. In trade we must give a *quid pro quo* and the net gain to ourselves and the other nations is only a differential advantage, each nation getting something better than it could otherwise get. But as creditor we are entitled to interest and principal for which the *quid pro quo* has already been given. So far as the future is concerned, the twelve billion dollars owed us by Europe is clear gain—"velvet." On the economic recovery of this slowly convalescent world will depend how much we get, and how fast we get it. To help toward the convalescence is therefore particularly to our interest in our new role as a creditor nation.

These are some of the reasons why America should be interested in the international problems set forth in these charts.

Yale University, February 1925.

—Irving Fisher.*

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RAW MATERIAL

The Foundation of Modern Power



Business Corporation.
 Economic control through
 Investment of capital
 Exploration for new supplies
 Concessions
 Limited production

The People.
 The people as consumers in our modern democratic world control the forces behind economic and political production and distribution. Knowledge of facts and understanding of the needs of the peoples of the nations is the basis of international relations upon which business is founded.

The Governments
 Political control through
 Government ownership and operation
 Leases, royalties, licences, taxes, tariffs
 Inspection and regulation
 Military and naval aid given private interests.

THE VALUE OF THE WORLD TO THE UNITED STATES

EXPORTS \$4,591,000

Total
\$8,202,000,000

IMPORTS \$3,611,000,000

Per capita
\$73

Great Britain	\$603,246,000
Canada	405,632,000
Germany	281,171,000
France	190,326,000
Japan	163,375,000
Cuba	148,080,000
Italy	120,120,000
Mexico	98,369,000
Australia	94,416,000
Netherlands	41,917,000
China	87,148,000
Argentina	83,518,000
Belgium	75,753,000
Spain	48,363,000
Brazil	45,818,000
Philippine Is.	43,613,000
Russia	36,810,000
Sweden	29,865,000
Denmark	29,609,000
South Africa	28,610,000
India	25,650,000
Chile	22,514,000
New Zealand	22,267,000
Panama	19,860,000
Colombia	19,603,000
Peru	17,756,000
Norway	14,552,000
Uruguay	14,022,000
Hongkong	13,730,000
Venezuela	12,675,000
Ireland	11,672,000
Dutch East Indies	11,368,000
Dominican Republic	10,977,000

Cotton
Mineral oils
Wheat and flour
Automobiles
Machinery
Tobacco
Animal fats
Iron and steel products
Copper (refined)
Cotton (manufactured)
Coal and coke
Meats
Lumber
Fruits
Electrical machinery
Agricultural machinery
Leather
Rubber (manufactured)
Rye
Oil cake
Petroleum (crude)
Naval stores
Paper
Sugar (refined)
Milk (condensed)
Barley
Fish
Leather manufactures
Vegetables
Cigarettes
Paraffin wax
Corn
Hides and skins



International Trade
(exclusive of the United States)
\$4,146,000,000

Sugar
Silk
Coffee
Rubber
Paper
Wool
Cotton (manufactured)
Furs (undressed)
Copper ore
Wood pulp
Tobacco
Hides and skins
Petroleum
Tin
Fertilizers
Diamonds
Vegetable oils
Burton
Lumber
Wool (manufactured)
Cotton (raw)
Fruits
Silk (manufactured)
Art works
Flaxseed
Fish
Cocoa beans
Nuts
Vegetables
Tea
Petroleum refined
Glass
Copper (refined)

Cuba	\$208,406,000
Canada	293,790,000
Japan	242,702,000
Great Britain	232,487,000
Mexico	123,740,000
Brazil	118,872,000
Straits Settlement	109,146,000
France	105,364,000
Germany	100,934,000
China	85,219,000
Philippine Is.	79,763,000
India	76,327,000
Chile	76,139,000
Argentina	59,735,000
Netherlands	54,263,000
Belgium	50,268,000
Italy	48,409,000
Colombia	45,367,000
Dutch East Indies	39,478,000
Sweden	28,448,000
Australia	26,942,000
Switzerland	24,712,000
Ireland	22,444,000
Greece	22,253,000
Egypt	21,213,000
Spain	20,408,000
Ceylon	17,174,000
Peru	16,865,000
Czechoslovakia	16,465,000
Norway	14,777,000
Hongkong	13,802,000
Venezuela	11,758,000
New Zealand	11,430,000

	1910-1916	Average 1915-1919	1924
North America	\$501,694,966	\$479,875,976	\$1,000,041,346
South America	121,028,013	250,838,959	314,271,551
Europe	1,350,299,322	3,534,472,928	2,445,300,134
Asia	121,041,877	403,716,233	514,591,534
Oceania	47,715,481	87,261,732	150,504,866
Africa	24,638,468	52,869,007	70,294,414

	1910-1916	1924
Tonnage of vessels in foreign trade		
Entered	40,619,323	68,274,532
Cleared	44,579,057	68,809,001

	1910-1916	Average 1915-1919	1924
North America	\$95,155,751	\$60,400,544	\$347,135,866
South America	466,073,844	466,211,572	206,857,911
Europe	1,096,087,463	525,121,575	836,498,524
Asia	930,708,486	642,479,194	258,933,728
Oceania	48,944,804	59,001,984	17,275,624
Africa	72,992,231	61,341,972	22,572,814

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Foreign Service Series No. 17

OUR FOREIGN BUSINESSES

THE PRESIDENT IS CHARGED WITH THE CONDUCT OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES

VALUE
\$8,202,000,000

with him is associated to a certain extent the United States Senate, which has a Foreign Relations Committee composed of 16 Members having special charge of such affairs as come to the Senate.

State Department. Secretary appointed by the President, is the official channel for communication for our Government with other Nations.

Department of Commerce. Secretary appointed by the President, has representatives in foreign countries seeing the interests of our business men.

Physical and Geographical

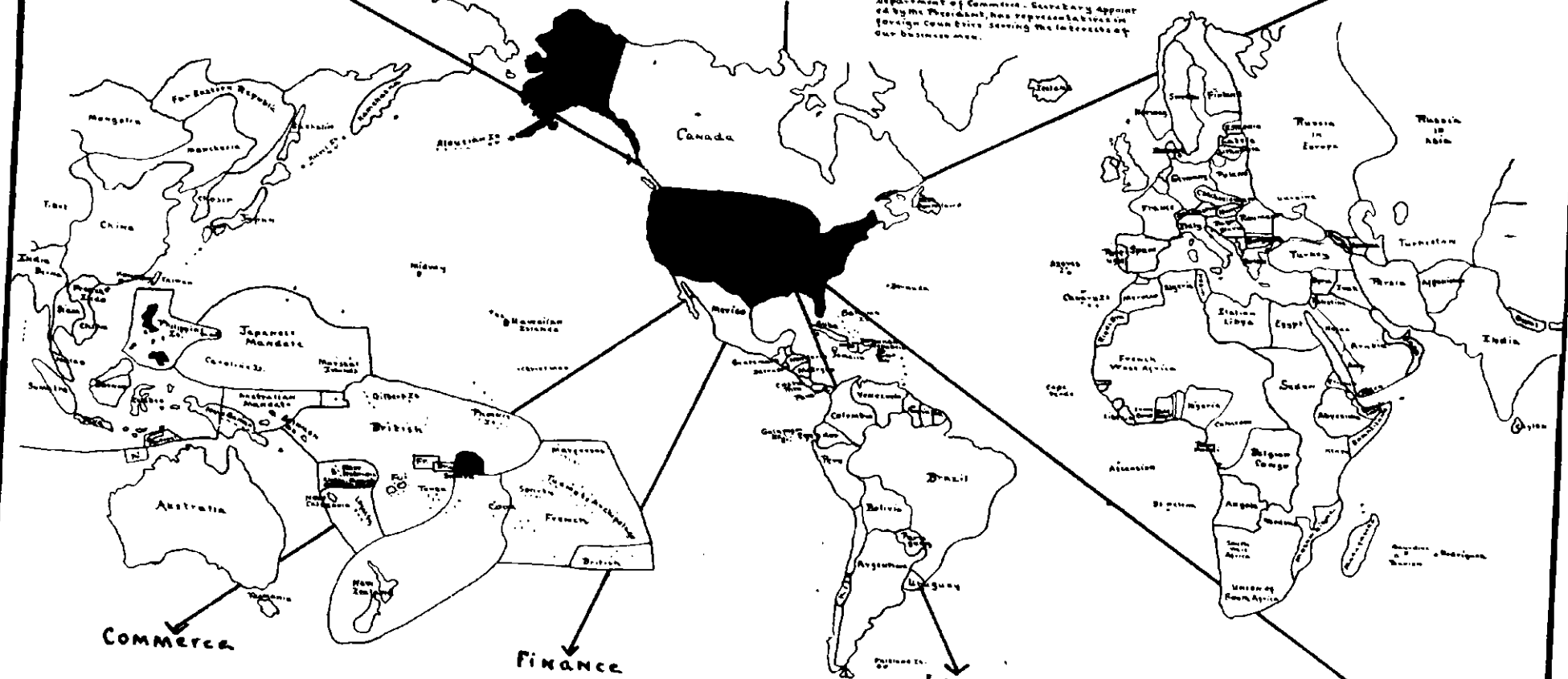
Racial and Psychological

COMMERCE

FINANCE

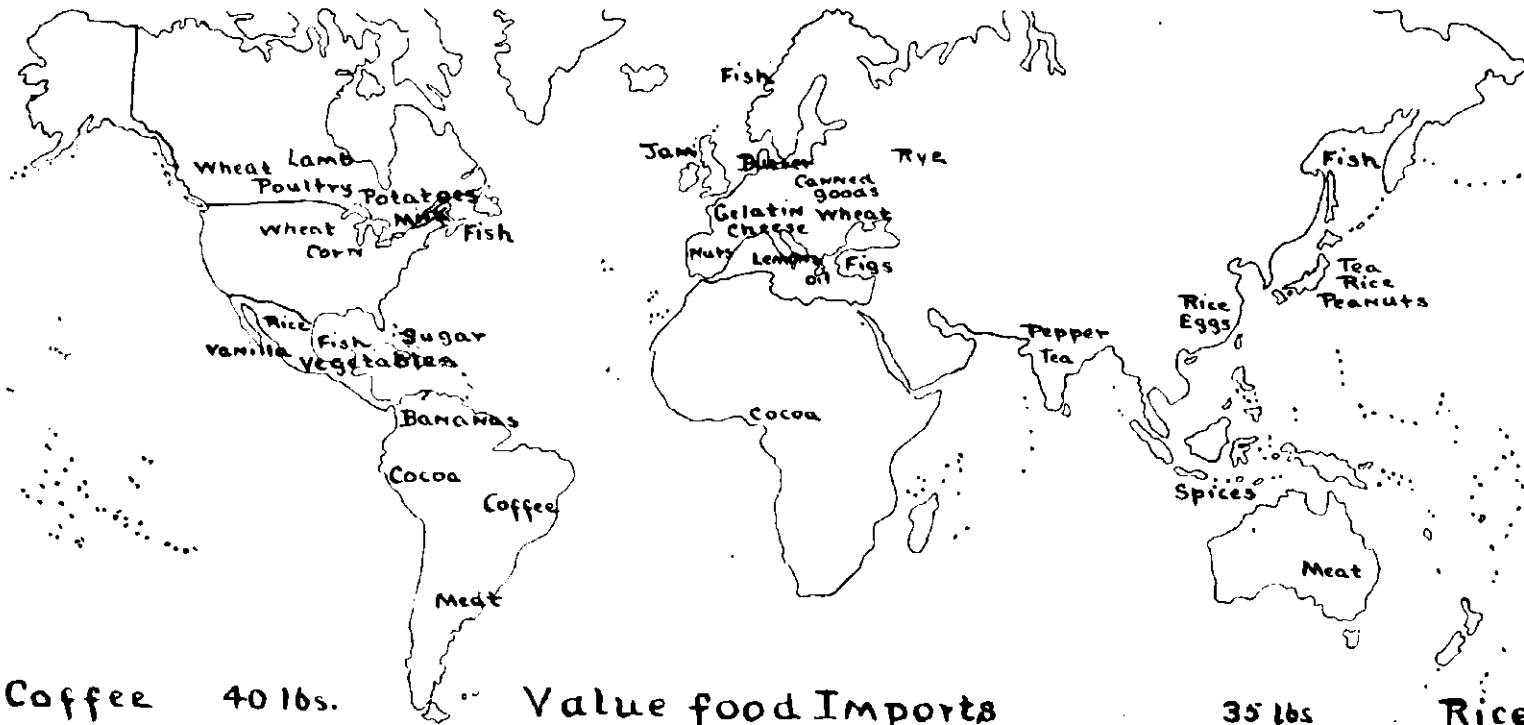
LAW

DIPLOMACY



OUR DAILY FOOD

The Interlocking World



Coffee	40 lbs.
Tea	8 lbs.
Cocoa	
Sugar	147 lbs
Meat	255 lbs
Milk	337 qts
Flour	264 lbs
Butter	66 lbs

Value food Imports
\$947,000,000

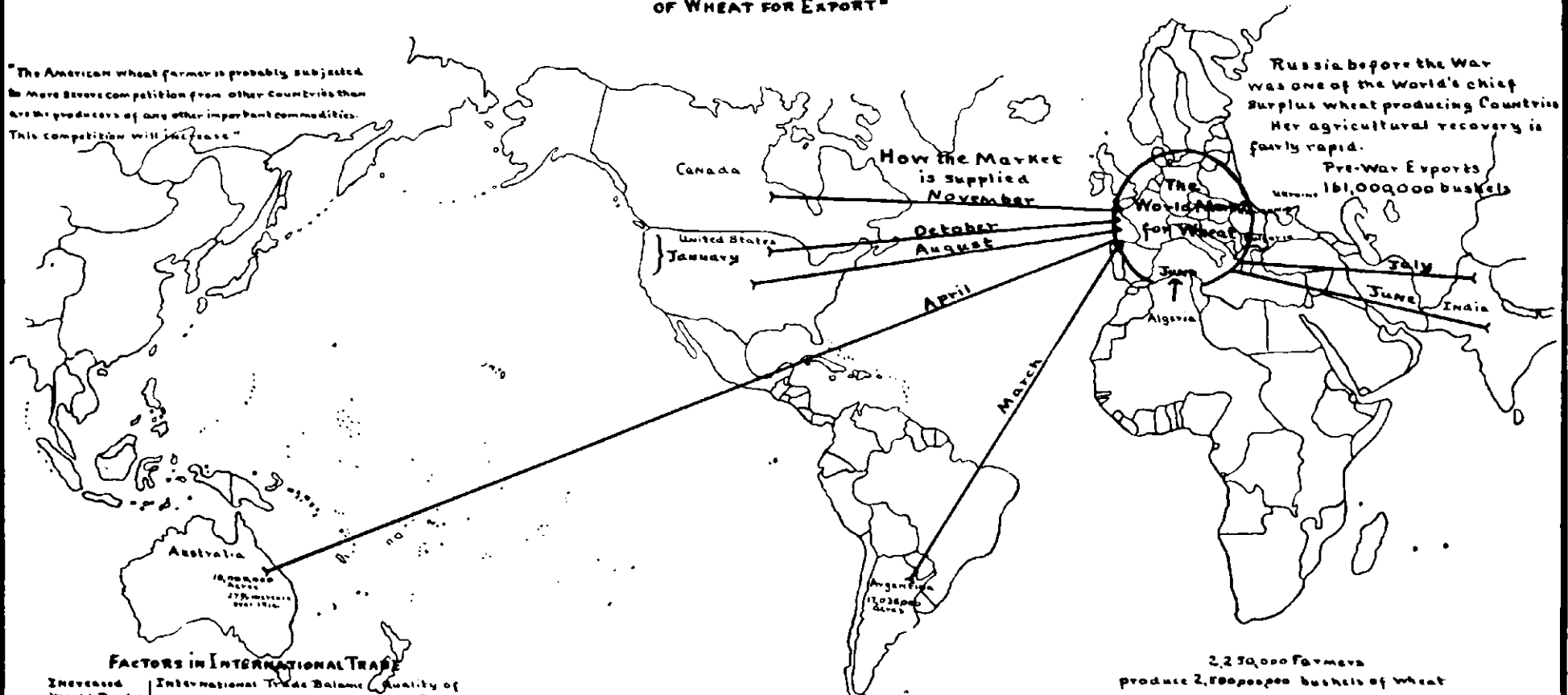
Grocery Stores
Wholesale 6,362
Retail 235,799

35 lbs	Rice
12 lbs	Cheese
23 lbs	Macaroni
11 doz	BANANAS
531 lbs	Bread
36 lbs	Canned Goods
55 lbs	Cereals
704 lbs	Potatoes

Food used per year by American Family

INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION IN THE PRODUCTION OF WHEAT FOR EXPORT

"The American wheat farmer is probably subjected to more severe competition from other countries than are the producers of any other important commodities. This competition will increase."



FACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Increased World Production	International Trade Balance	Quality of Wheat Demanded
Canada: Has virgin lands, transportation facilities, marketing systems, low cost of production.	The United States: This depresses the value of its dollar. Canada, Argentina, Australia, debtor nations paying interest and principal largely with agricultural products. A debtor nation must each year purchase foreign exchange in large quantities.	we cannot afford wheat from Canada for our consumption. This leaves surplus and in price enables for competitive world marketing and lowers the price realized by the producer in this country as well. Only 80% of our wheat belongs to export quality.
Russia: the natural food base of Europe. She can do her products.	The depression of the dollar value of its debt. Currency in terms of foreign money. The importer buys at a debit value. The importer buys at a debit value. The importer buys at a debit value. The importer buys at a debit value.	

Exports of Wheat and Wheat flour (in terms of grain) from the surplus producing countries, 1910-1925.

Countries	[In millions of bushels]					Increase or Decrease	
	Average 1910-1914	1920-1921	1921-1922	1922-1923	Average 1921-1923	Quantity	Percentage
United States	105	366	279	221	209	+104	+77%
Canada	92	169	175	274	206	+114	+125%
Argentina	89	103	124	148	115	+35	+40%
Australia	49	87	116	99	84	+34	+69%
Russia	161					-161	
India	51	12	6	10	9	-42	-81%
Approximate exports	547	687	632	609	602	+55	+9%

Trade Information Bulletin No. 210

2,230,000 Farmers produce 2,800,000 bushels of wheat

180,000,000 bushels must find a market abroad.

Classified Wheat Exported

Hard winter	81,000,000 - 29%
Mixed	60,000,000 - 21%
Soft winter	60,000,000 - 21%
Spring	13,000,000 - 5%
Summer	5,000,000 - 2%
Western white	1,000,000 - 0%
Total	180,000,000

Method of Selling

- Farmer
- Elevator
- Terminal Dealer
- Export

Price Considerations

1. Cost
2. Insurance
3. Freight

Method of Buying

1. Spot
2. Sight or Order
3. International Export Association Contract

Terms of Sale based on London Open Trade Association Contract.

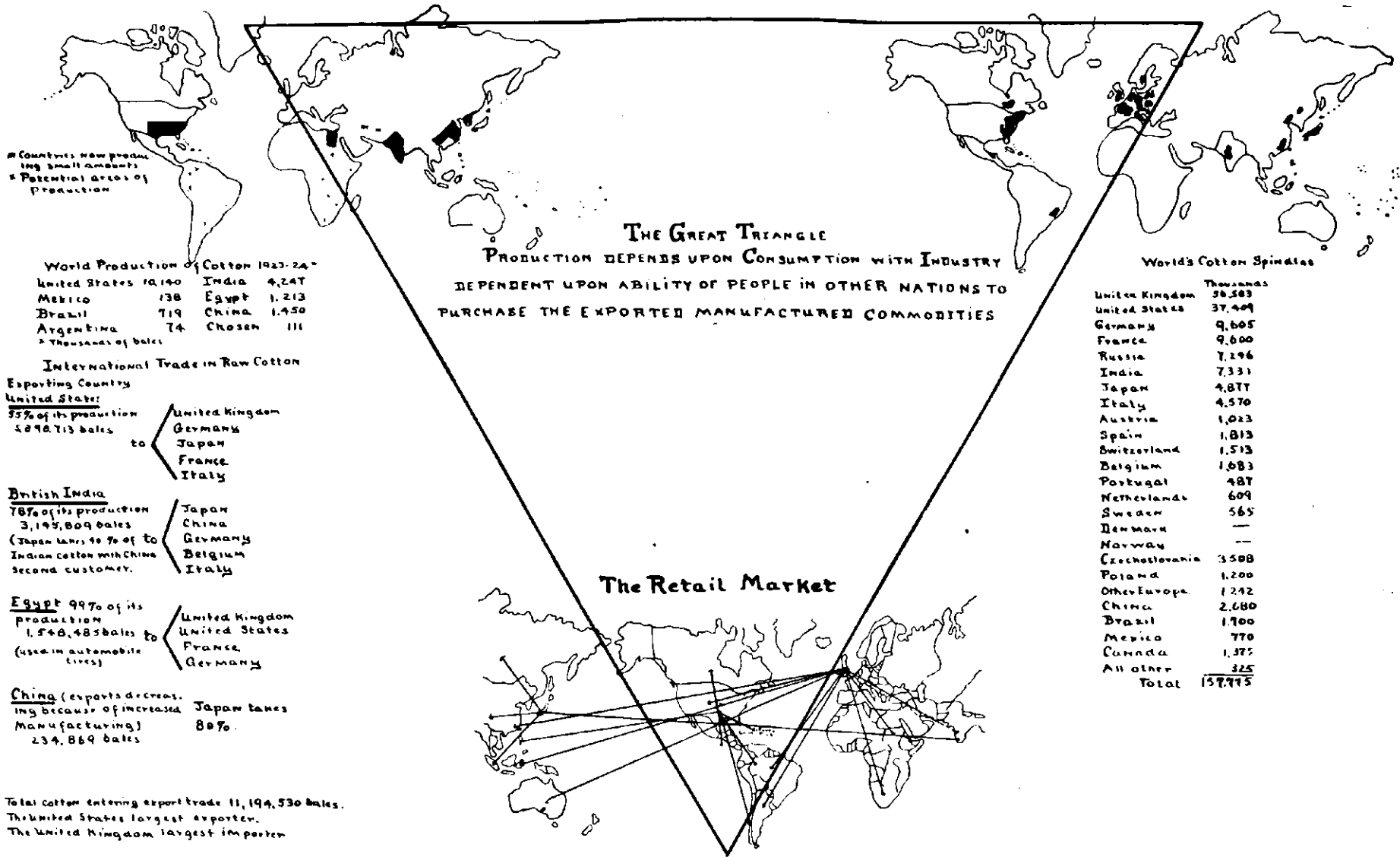
Interpreted according to laws of Great Britain. Disputes settled by British arbitration. Foreign Terms basis No. 10 B.

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Where it Grows

COTTON

Where It is Manufactured



■ Countries now producing small amounts
 - - - Potential areas of production

World Production of Cotton 1923-24*

United States	10,140	India	4,247
Mexico	138	Egypt	1,213
Brazil	719	China	1,450
Argentina	74	Chosen	111

* Thousands of bales

International Trade in Raw Cotton

- Exporting Country**
United States:
 55% of its production
 5,096,713 bales to
- United Kingdom
 - Germany
 - Japan
 - France
 - Italy
- British India:**
 78% of its production
 3,145,809 bales (Japan takes 9% of to Indian cotton machine second customer.)
- Japan
 - China
 - Germany
 - Belgium
 - Italy
- Egypt:** 99% of its production
 1,546,485 bales to (used in automobile tires)
- United Kingdom
 - United States
 - France
 - Germany
- China (exports decreasing because of increasing manufacturing):**
 Japan takes 80%
 234,869 bales

Total Cotton entering export trade 11,194,530 bales.
 The United States largest exporter.
 The United Kingdom largest importer.

THE GREAT TRIANGLE
 PRODUCTION DEPENDS UPON CONSUMPTION WITH INDUSTRY
 DEPENDENT UPON ABILITY OF PEOPLE IN OTHER NATIONS TO
 PURCHASE THE EXPORTED MANUFACTURED COMMODITIES

World's Cotton Spindles

	Thousands
United Kingdom	50,583
United States	37,409
Germany	9,605
France	9,600
Russia	7,296
India	7,331
Japan	4,877
Italy	4,570
Austria	1,023
Spain	1,813
Switzerland	1,513
Belgium	1,083
Portugal	487
Netherlands	609
Sweden	565
Denmark	—
Norway	—
Czechoslovakia	3,508
Poland	1,200
Other Europe	1,292
China	2,680
Brazil	1,700
Mexico	770
Canada	1,375
All other	325
Total	157,775

The Retail Market

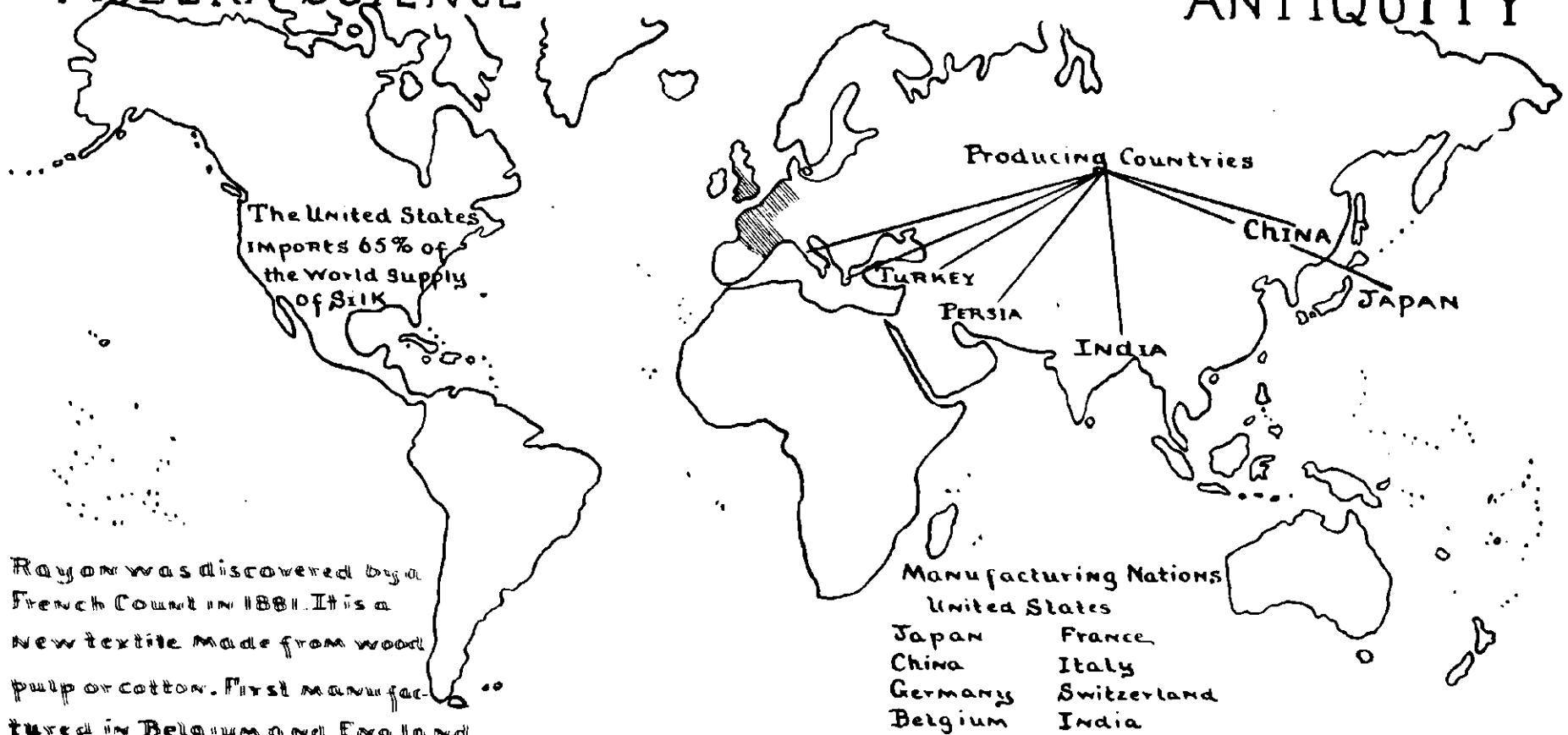
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 70-1000 Main Street, Boston, Mass.

THE ROMANCE OF

RAYON MODERN SCIENCE

AND

SILK ANTIQUITY



Citizens Service Bureau.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD
Office: Geneva, Switzerland



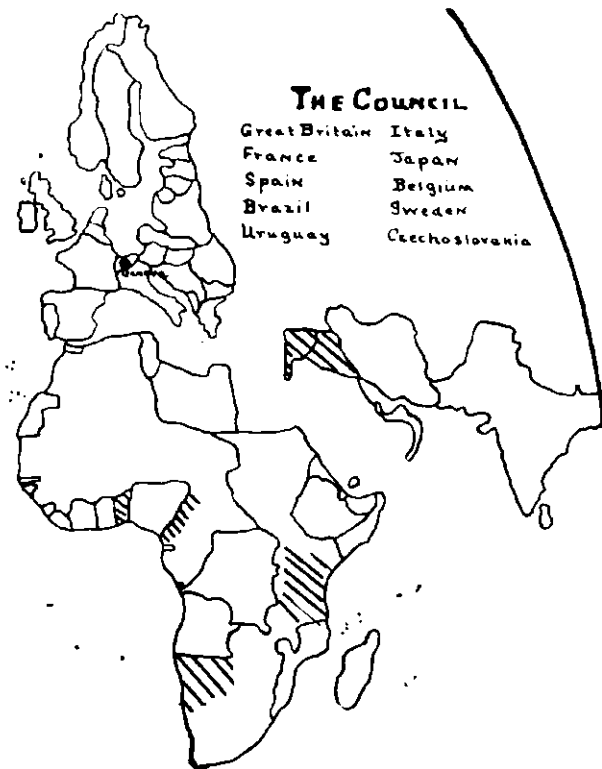
INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

All Members of the League become Members automatically.



THE COUNCIL

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| Great Britain | Italy |
| France | Japan |
| Spain | Belgium |
| Brazil | Sweden |
| Uruguay | Czechoslovakia |



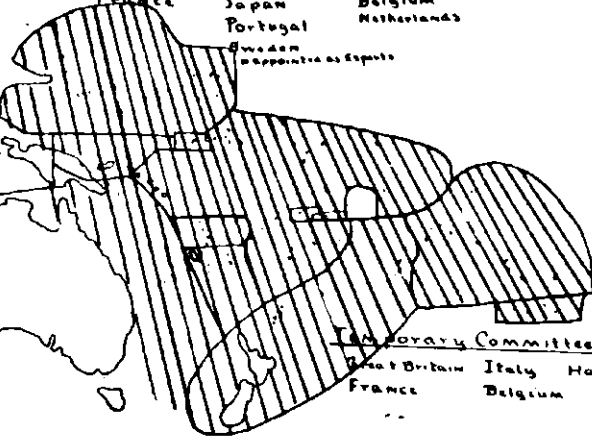
THE ASSEMBLY

Not more than three representatives from each Member State of the League.



The Permanent Mandates Commission

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|-------------|
| Great Britain | Italy | Spain |
| France | Japan | Belgium |
| | Portugal | Netherlands |
| Sweden appointed as Experts | | |



Temporary Committee on Slavery

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------|-------------|----------|
| Great Britain | Italy | Haiti | Portugal |
| France | Belgium | Netherlands | |

Permanent Court of International Justice

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------|
| Great Britain | Japan | Spain |
| Netherlands | Cuba | Brazil |
| Switzerland | Italy | France |
| Denmark | An American. | |

Committee for the Codification of International Law

- | | | |
|----------------|----------|---------|
| Great Britain | France | Japan |
| Netherlands | Salvador | Italy |
| Czechoslovakia | Sweden | Spain |
| Argentina | Poland | China |
| Portugal | Germany | Belgium |

a Master and an American Jurist

Health Committee

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------|----------|
| Great Britain | France | Italy |
| Japan | Spain | Denmark |
| Switzerland | Belgium | Portugal |
| Netherlands | Brazil | Turk |
| Poland | Roumania | Germany |
| An American Citizen. | | |

Intellectual Cooperation

- | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|---------|
| Great Britain | France | Spain |
| Argentina | Germany | Poland |
| India | Italy | Belgium |
| Brazil | Switzerland | Norway |
| An American Citizen. | | |

Permanent Advisory Commission on Naval, Military and Air Questions

- | | |
|----------------|---------|
| Great Britain | Uruguay |
| France | Belgium |
| Italy | Sweden |
| Japan | Spain |
| Czechoslovakia | |

Traffic in Opium

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Great Britain | France | China |
| Netherlands | Japan | Germany |
| Portugal | Siam | India |
| Kingdom of Serbs-Croats and Slovenes | | |

Advisory and Technical Committee for Communications

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| British Empire | Belgium | Venezuela |
| France | Cuba | Poland |
| Italy | Chili | Lithuania |
| Japan | Salvador | Greece |
| Spain | Columbia | Roumania |
| Norway | Venezuela | Austria |
| China | | |

- Sub-Committees
- Ports and Maritime Navigation
 - Inland Navigation
 - Transport by Rail
 - Electric Questions
 - Legal Questions
- Special Committees:
- Inquiry on Road Traffic
 - Telegraphic Questions
 - Reform of the Calendar

Economic and Financial Commission

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|---------|
| Financial Committee | | |
| Great Britain | France | Italy |
| Japan | Spain | Belgium |
| Netherlands | Switzerland | Sweden |
| Czechoslovakia | South Africa | |

Economic Committee

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|----------|
| Great Britain | France | Italy |
| Japan | Belgium | Brazil |
| Australia | Switzerland | Poland |
| Czechoslovakia | Denmark | Roumania |

- Committee of Experts on Double Taxation
- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| Great Britain | Italy |
| Netherlands | An American |

- Sub-Comm. for the Equitable Treatment of Commerce
- | | | |
|----------------|--------|---------|
| Great Britain | Italy | Japan |
| Czechoslovakia | France | Belgium |

- Sub-Comm. on Inquiry into Economic Crises
- | | | | | |
|---------------|---------|--------|----------------|--------|
| Great Britain | Germany | Italy | Belgium | Poland |
| Switzerland | Sweden | France | Czechoslovakia | |

ECONOMIC NATIONAL POWER

PRIMARY

COAL

WATER

OIL

SECONDARY

Transportation
Land—Sea

Markets
Domestic—Foreign

Production
Farm—Factory

Accumulated
Capital

Historic Factors

Commercial Imperialism

Modifying Factors

16th to 19th Century: Territorial Conquest.
18th to 20th Century: Industrial Revolution—
Mechanical Invention.
Today: Commercial Revolution.
Change in form of wealth from gold and
land to printed paper—i.e, stocks, bonds, in-
surance.

Political control of territory for raw materials
and markets by "spheres of influence"; "Mon-
roe doctrine"; "mandates."

International Conferences.
International Organizations.
Social, Scientific, Statistical.

Methods Used
Protective Tariff

Labor Movement
Missions

Government Aid

Concessions

Trade Restrictions

Charters for banking and industrial corporations for control financially of raw materials.
Combinations of producers controlling coal, iron ore, steel, petroleum.

Results of Economic Imperialism

I. Conflict for control of raw materials,
markets, financial investment, international
communication, territory.

II. Conflict between the peoples of the
Occident and of the Orient against ex-
ploitation.

Three Necessary Things

1. Study of Facts: Nations cannot success-
fully act alone in clashes of national interests.

2. The "Open Door" Policy for All Nations:
Fair treatment and freedom from unjust dis-
crimination.

3. International regulation of raw materials.
Improved commercial treaties.

Use the League of Nations as an international fact-finding agency for basis of control of non-reproducible materials throughout the world; for national security through international cooperation.

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DEVELOPING CHRISTIAN WORLD-MINDEDNESS

The universal brotherhood of children of God is one of the great Christian convictions—so common as to seem trite, and yet so rich in implication that if it were once taken seriously by professing Christians on this planet it would transform their world. Entrance upon this larger fellowship of the family of God makes bigger, broader, nobler men and women. To see with clearness the preciousness of our national heritage, and yet to realize one's membership in something indescribably higher and greater and nobler; to be lifted up in Spirit and made part of the great world company, is an experience that thrills one through and through and that ushers in life on a new plane.

On its international and interracial side this great formula means that all men are children of God, and hence have a common divine heritage. It means that others presumably have the same right to their opinion as we have to ours, and that one must not forcibly overrule another's habit of thought, principle of living, or ways of doing things.

* * *

As brothers in the family of God we are to accept individuality, and not to suppress it. We are to rejoice in variety of personality rather than to limit and destroy it. Universal brotherhood assumes universal and mutual goodwill prompting men anywhere to help others everywhere where there is need, just as Americans gave to the Japanese earthquake sufferers, and Japanese gave to the Near East Relief. Brotherhood is the antithesis of international and interracial jealousy, hostility and distrust.

* * *

A second cardinal Christian belief is the primal importance of world-wide cooperation in common constructive tasks. We believe that God intends us to share in his great purpose of developing a world-wide society of Christ-like personalities, set in an environment such as beings with unlimited possibilities should have.

* * *

Some favored few gain through travel and intimate personal contact a feeling of respect, sympathy, and appreciation for other peoples. But for the vast majority of human beings the experience of world fellowship can come only through increasing participation in the pursuit of world objectives. As such ends are grasped and made our own, world-wide fellowship deepens even with peoples we do not see. We grow to spiritual maturity as we participate in this process with other humans and with God. Generation by generation, as we grow in the capacity to vision and to adopt cooperative ends, our capacity for fellowship with God and man will deepen. Such suggestions as the League of Nations and the World Court are not merely possible ways of escape from war; they may be thought of, also, as providing contacts in the pursuit of common ends that will mean greater richness of life.

The church has seen to it that Christianity stands for personal purity, for honesty, and for love of strangers, the uncongenial, and those in need. With a persistence and an emphasis never used before, Christians in these days should make men see that Christianity involves the universal brotherhood of children of God and purposeful, constructive endeavor for world ends. The organization of humanity for cooperative association with mutual respect and service necessitates a persistent and world-wide educational preparation of mind and spirit. The world's public opinion must be so penetrated and saturated with facts and convictions as to make possible an intelligent commitment to a harmonious, a progressive, a Christian world order. The next quarter of a century presents no more claimant duty to the church than the proper selection of and emphasis on those Christian fundamentals which constitute the priorities of our day.

* * *

Implied in what has gone before, and yet sufficiently urgent to be worthy of separate mention, is the common acquirement of an international mind. An immediately pressing task for this generation is the development in all lands of Christian personalities who have wide thoughts, a genuine feeling with the rest of the world, and outlooks which include other races. Prominent in the thought both of leaders and of followers in all nations should be world consciousness, world outlook, world background, world fellowship, and world objective. This means a persistent struggle against the great age-long barriers raised by oceans and continents, language and race, tradition and custom, provincialism and inertia, and by man's meagerness of imagination and vision. Developing and maintaining this world consciousness has not usually been a definite factor in what has been understood as missionary education.

The international mind has been defined as "that fixed habit of thought and action which looks upon the several nations of the civilized world as cooperating equals in promoting the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in diffusing science and education throughout the world."

* * *

The brotherhood of man is in no small way dependent on reliable and impartial information with regard to the farthest corners of the earth. There is a terrible drag on growth in international and interracial comity as long as opinions are formed concerning sister nations from papers that inculcate racial and national animosities, and as long as the dailies of a great city can disseminate a vicious propaganda of misrepresentation against those who strive to teach and forward Christian principles of national cooperation. Newspapers all too often carry from country to country the story of the crime and the disorder of the nations. Few are the writers who have learned the art of making the goodness of the world interesting to newspaper readers. Hence the spiritual development of the great news agencies is a matter of prime importance. The church may not be able to develop great right-spirited dailies of its own, but it can raise up men of character and of knowledge who will be

able to create an atmosphere in our nations which will encourage a news service more helpful internationally.

In the future we will pay more attention to the foreign news columns of our daily papers, or insist that there be such columns if there be none. Just as now one of our outstanding Christian weeklies* has regularly a page from a British correspondent, so our weeklies of the future will doubtless have regular Indian, Japanese, and Chinese surveys of the affairs, the needs, and the accomplishments of their respective areas.

More use, also, undoubtedly will be made of papers originating in other lands. Already the New York Public Library receives eighty-nine current periodicals from India, fifty-nine from Japan, and forty from China. As the demand for international knowledge becomes greater, smaller libraries throughout the land will undoubtedly supply something of this kind of service.

We should expect the cinema, also, to render its service to the international mind. Even the most ignorant can catch through this agency of wide popular appeal an idea of the humaneness of life in other countries than his own. But if the Mexican always has a sinister, sidewise slant of the eye, and if the Chinese is always used to commit some sly crime, if the Hindu is always sensual, or if films of American family life as shown abroad represent it as characteristically immoral, seeds of international distrust are implanted in impressionable people. It would help to create goodwill if we did more to represent the people of another country or race as likable.

* * *

The Christian internationalist will not confine himself merely to what has been known as "missionary publications." Samples, at least, of the best general literature on other lands will be read in order further to develop a genuine and intelligent conception of other countries and peoples. That noble Rumanian statesman, M. Take Jonescu, one of the finest international leaders in Europe, once told a friend that he considered it a piece of absolutely necessary intellectual hygiene to leave his country once or twice a year and see something of other nations. Not all of us can do this in fact. But under the guidance of expert authors we can be swiftly taken to the very heart of another nation's life so that we may feel its problems and possibilities and intense aspirations.

—D. J. Fleming: "Whither Bound in Missions?" (1925).

**The Christian Century.*

RACE CONTACTS IN THE WORLD TODAY

The world of our dreams and hopes is a world in which the currents of human existence that have for so long flowed separately are now gradually meeting and merging in a common course. This world that ought to be, is

also the world that might be—the world that seemed until the last few years to be actually in process of formation. Our faith in the possibility of a world community finds a reason for its daring in the knowledge of social facts, and in the amount of unity in the thought-life of man that has been brought about through the multiplied contacts of the modern era.

But the world that is, presents to us a different picture. The news of the day tells us constantly another story. A glance at the world situation, a perusal of a week's journalism, reveals conflict at almost every point where the races come together in organized contacts. While the aspirations of men of good will and the thoughts of men of science tend to mingle, yet in the practical affairs of government and economics, where the multitudes are brought together, it is antagonism and not unity that grows between the races. One of the major facts of the present hour is that national strifes and hatreds are being superseded by the same attitudes between races. The present impending menace to the peaceful, spiritual development of mankind is not so much the old friction of conflicting nationalisms in Europe as it is new antagonisms between the races in various continents. . . . Wherever one race is trying to rule another, there is the smouldering of resentment, the flames of rebellion, the stern measures of repression, that threaten a wider conflagration.

* * *

The observer in the world of today must also record the growth of antagonistic race consciousness. In the days of isolation those who lived in ignorance of others were also unaware of themselves as separate races. Today their partial knowledge of each other is being followed by fear, which is induced both by facts and propaganda.

* * *

It is evident that those who in the pursuit of peace in the earth, good will among men and the solidarity of the human race have transcended the attitude of race superiority in their own thinking, feeling and actions, now face the problem of changing the course of conduct and thinking which the white race has for several generations followed in its relation to others. If the widening streams of common thought in the field of democracy, science and religion are not to be dried up by the fires of race war, it will be necessary for the white people to change their underlying policy toward the rest of the earth and their dominant attitude toward other peoples.

* * *

Stated in the simplest form, what the white man has to do if he is to cease being the white peril is to stop trying to govern other races and quit seeking to use them and their ancestral homes for his profit.

Within its own borders the white race counts as one of its greatest discoveries in the field of politics the principle that government must rest upon the consent of the governed if it is to endure. The time has come for the recognition and extension of this principle in the relation between the races.

The end of the colonial period has come. One race will no longer consent to be governed by another. It is no longer possible to do good that way. If there is any statesmanship left in the white race, it will frankly abandon the attempt to seek to discover what "self-determination for all peoples" may mean in all the aspects of organized life, not only in Europe but clear to the ends of the earth.

Such an attempt will necessarily involve the abandonment of the idea of profit and the practice of economic exploitation. It is a commonplace that the points of hottest conflict between the races, as between the classes, are the points where profit is highest. If there were no profit for the white man in China or India or the Philippines, there would be no objection to their independence.

If we cannot accept the idea that the earth is for the development of all the children of man, if we cannot learn how to administer it for purposes of mutual aid, then we must resign ourselves to a future of increasing conflict between the races. Unless we can construct its economic base, the ideal of world fellowship will remain only an ideal; the possibilities of fusion that now exist in the realm of mind and spirit will remain unrealized.

—Harry F. Ward, in *The World Tomorrow*, November 1925.

THE STORM OUT OF ASIA

More attention to Asia and more light on Asiatic problems are crying needs of the day. It is not too much to say that there can be no peace in the world without the cooperation of the peoples of Asia. What they think and what they do during the coming decade will determine whether we can hope for the reestablishment of political and economic equilibrium in Europe; what they think and do during the coming decade will influence vitally the course of the conflict between capital and labor in the occidental world; what they think and do during the coming decade will determine the fate of the League of Nations and the World Court as factors in bringing about and maintaining world peace.

Although we have been interested in various phases of nationalist movements in Asia, the seriousness of the crisis that has arisen from the weakening of the hold of Europe upon Asia has not yet impressed itself upon the American people. Although we have a Philippine question, Asia's problems have appealed to us chiefly as interesting objective studies. Yet it is time for us to decide not merely what we ought to do about them but what we shall have to do!

* * *

The post-bellum developments in India are too complicated to be summed up here. It is sufficient to note that in that country the future of one-sixth of the human race has become the prime problem of the British Empire. Internationally, India has been accorded recognition as a separate unit of the British

Empire, with representation in the League of Nations like the self-governing Dominions. The Indian peninsula, with a population greater than that of the two Americas and a diversity of tongues and religions, is swept with the Nationalist agitation. Leaders like Gandhi, the Ali brothers, and C. R. Das are trying to compel the British to grant additional modifications of the limited form of autonomy announced in 1919.

China, with a larger population than India, has been floundering in an experiment of republican government for twelve years. During most of the time since 1911 there has been civil war in China, which has undergone internal disruption to the point of anarchy. In almost every province local military rulers have not only denied the authority of the Peking Government but have bluntly refused to acknowledge the validity of China's international obligations. The situation has changed in a kaleidoscopic fashion, one bewildering problem following another from Tibet to Manchuria.

But for all the internal dissensions in China, the Chinese delegates at international conferences have stood up stoutly for the rights of China. In every instance they have failed to secure treatment as equals; even at Washington, where public opinion was sympathetic with the Chinese contentions, the deliberations ended, as at Paris, with China in a position of inferiority to other nations. The Chinese, unlike the Turks, who emancipated themselves by the Treaty of Lausanne, are still saddled with treaties that are a serious infringement upon the sovereignty of their country. Since the Bolshevist Revolution, Russia has made strenuous efforts to win a predominant place at Peking and has voluntarily given up its peculiar privileges. Germany and Austria-Hungary were compelled to renounce theirs in the treaties after the war. But the Entente Powers and the United States have retained so-called rights, which amount to special favors for foreigners without reciprocity for Chinese abroad. Until recently Japan has been tirelessly aggressive in attempts to establish a status in China that will mean economic advantages out of the ordinary.

Japan is the one case of an Asiatic country that escaped European exploitation. The European Powers were thwarted in their intention to extend their political sovereignty over Japan and to place it in economic dependence, because Japan successfully imitated the aggressors and became strong enough to defend its integrity and maintain its sovereignty. The result has been that Japan, opened up by an American fleet to international intercourse after three hundred years of minding its own business, has developed into a great Power, driven by the same economic necessity as other great Powers. Population is bearing down on food supply, and Japan must seek to expand, to find colonization outlets, foodstuffs from abroad, sources of raw materials, and markets for manufactured articles.

And yet, although the adoption of our standards and civilization has placed Japan under this necessity, we continue to deny to the Japanese what we of the white race consider indispensable to our prosperity. The brutal fact is that we control the world, and we exclude Japan from the world. We

control even the continent to which Japan belongs, and in the name of peace we assume the right to exclude Japanese from their own continent.

Clemenceau was right when he said that Asia would compel our attention "very soon." The time has come when we simply must realize that the storm is upon us. It will take all our wits and knowledge and goodwill to weather it. If we are courageous in facing Asiatic problems and making the sacrifices demanded for their solution, the storm may not be so serious as some expect.

—Herbert Adams Gibbons, in *Asia*, May 1924.

THE FAR-REACHING EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

An acute conflict is taking place almost all over the world between human emotions and economic laws. The latter must inevitably prevail, but the struggle is attended with a tremendous amount of human suffering and incalculable waste of commodities and of human effort. The supremely tragic feature of the situation is that much of this is unnecessary, and could be avoided by the adoption of intelligent measures.

There has been a growing tendency in Great Britain and in the United States to act as if economic forces were the only ones to be considered, but this is a great mistake, for human emotions are the driving forces of conduct, which is only rarely governed by reason. Emotions even control economic forces by stopping and starting them. For instance, it seems probable that wages are controlled by supply and demand, but labor unions can limit the supply of workers, and fashions increase the demand for some goods and make others unsalable. Careful balancing of all forces is of the utmost importance and due weight must be given to each.

There is a general agreement that it is of the utmost importance to remove the causes of war, and as many of them are of economic origin, it is impossible to remove or modify them. Unless the causes are removed the movements to outlaw war and for disarmament may be not only futile but positively dangerous.

The Great War showed us that the world is one economic organism and that serious injury to one country means disaster to the rest. One of the tasks of this Institute is to show that the world is one social organism also, and that if the workers in one country are in misery, the masses in other countries will also suffer. One great task of the future is to devise means to prevent the political dismemberment of the world, due largely to nationalism, from inflicting constant injury on the human race.

One of the principal reasons why the industrialization of the Orient is of the utmost importance to the world as a whole is the fact that the occidental nations have based their policies toward the Orient largely upon the necessity of securing raw materials from the Orient, such as silk, jute and rubber, to support their factory industries. Imported foodstuffs, such as sugars and starches, as well as coffee and tea, are needed to feed the operatives in these

mills. It is of course evident that these foodstuffs and raw materials have to be paid for with exports of some kind in order to balance the trade, as no industrial nation could pay with gold and silver for all the raw materials and foodstuffs which are imported over long periods. Thus the markets for manufactured goods are even more important to the industrial nations of the west than sources of foods and raw materials, as the latter can usually be purchased in the world's markets, while manufactured goods can generally be sold to the best advantage in the less developed countries, and are not ordinarily purchased by other competing industrial nations. The great difficulty was that the Orient did not buy large amounts of the goods produced by the Occident, owing to low purchasing power and differences of habits, while the Occident was anxious to buy things from the Orient.

The result of this situation has been a fierce competition between European nations for markets, raw materials and foodstuffs, which has been constantly increasing. Efforts were very often made during the last century to eliminate competition by political control of markets for manufactured goods and of sources of foodstuffs and raw materials. An excellent example of this policy is the exclusion by high tariffs of manufactured goods of other lands from the Philippines.

There is one thing of the greatest practical importance, that is, that most countries are under imperative necessity to secure sources of foodstuffs, raw materials and markets for their manufactures, and most nations are willing to go to war rather than have their basis of national life imperilled. This is unfortunate, but we have to face the facts.

Before the war, the trade of the world was roughly balanced and this balance is now being gradually restored. A serious new factor, however, is beginning to make itself more and more manifest, which may upset the whole economic organization of the world. While the industrial system was first perfected in the Occident, it is not a monopoly of western countries. First Japan, then India, and then China began to manufacture locally, with European machinery, the raw material which had formerly been manufactured in Europe and the United States. As oriental labor is much cheaper, the cost of production lower, enormous profits resulted.

It is evident that if the demand of the Orient for manufactured goods was supplied by goods manufactured in Asia, the demand for goods formerly imported from Europe would be greatly lessened.

For example, formerly Britain supplied the cotton cloth with which the Indian masses were clothed, but now the masses are clothed with the product of Indian factories and hand-looms.

The decreased demand for imported cotton cloth caused unemployment in cotton mills of Britain. Further, Indian cotton yarn exported to China replaced that formerly sent from Great Britain, while Indian cloth was substituted in the Red Sea trade for that which England had formerly supplied, and Japanese cloth made from Indian cotton replaced British goods in China

and other places in the Orient. The final blow came when the 119 mills of China began to manufacture the cotton cloth which had formerly come from the Lancashire mills. The idle operatives had to be supported by unemployment doles, the cost of which had to be borne by industry in general. These expenses, added to high taxation and the restrictions upon output imposed by the labor unions, have raised costs of production to such an extent that Great Britain is often unable to compete. The tendency was to decrease the effective demand of Great Britain for foodstuffs and manufactures, and this tended to lessen the demand for American wheat and other foodstuffs. The price of wheat was decreased, which profoundly affected American politics. A direct result was a lessened demand for American cotton.

For the present, the tremendous demand of Japan, India and China absorb the local production, but the goods of those countries are already going to Oceanica, Malaysia and Africa and may before long reach South America. We can almost foresee the time when they will be sold in Europe and America, if not prevented by high protective tariffs.

The situation as regards other commodities is similar and will require painstaking analysis, as it is extremely dangerous to generalize, or to draw conclusions without a careful study of the evidence. Many concerns engaged in international trade foresee cut-throat competition between the Occident and the Orient, as the cost of production in the Occident is much higher than in the Orient, with its lower standards of living, longer hours and poorer working conditions.

There is much discussion as to whether oriental labor is really cheaper, owing to its inefficiency, but it is unsafe to dogmatize, as it may be that the smaller output is due to overwork, underfeeding, and bad living and working conditions. Some of the employers of India are convinced that costs of production can be lowered by raising the standards to approach more nearly the occidental level. We must not forget that a comparatively short time ago the textile and metal workers of India, China and Japan surpassed those of Europe.

There is much anxiety as to what will happen when the Orient is completely industrialized. One of the most fatal things that can happen to a nation is to be undersold in the international markets. It is evident that occidental countries will have to protect themselves with prohibitive tariffs, which may increase prices so much that the necessary imports of raw materials and foodstuffs cannot be paid for with exported goods sold in the international markets. It is clear that manufactured articles or agricultural products which are sold in the competitive markets of the world cannot be protected with tariffs, but must meet world prices. It can hardly be expected that any country will be willing to pay higher prices for goods manufactured at home than are obtained for these same goods when sold abroad.

A battle of standards of living is imminent, for the industrialization of Orient will tend to lower the standards of the Occident to meet compe-

tition. There are two alternatives—one is to bring up the standards of the Orient to those of the Occident, and the other is to lower costs in the Occident without lowering standards, through the adoption of better methods of production and distribution, especially large-scale production.

Japan is struggling with the situation, and has passed much useful labor legislation, while wages have been raised by strikes and in other ways; India has enacted excellent laws along the lines recommended by the Washington Conference; China has done little, owing to the existing political instability, but its standards must be raised, as it is potentially the most important industrial nation.

The most important thing of all is that the Orient must not make the mistakes of the Occident, and must avoid the sweat shop and the slum, long hours, and the exploitation of women and children, of the weak and the poor, underfeeding, bad housing and working conditions.

The peace of both the Occident and the Orient demands the balanced industrialization of India, China and Japan along carefully thought-out lines, accompanied with improvement of social conditions.

It is of the utmost importance that the changes should not be hurried but should take place slowly enough to permit readjustments, and not throw too many people out of employment at any one time. If the processes of evolution are not carried out properly and intelligently, there will be the sharpest kind of international competition, the unsettlement of our existing economic organization and widespread unemployment in many lands, which will be resented by the laboring classes and may lead not only to a serious economic crisis, but to political changes of the greatest importance.

The people of the Orient are unconsciously showing the greatest wisdom in resisting the advance of the factory system, thus permitting the machine system to absorb the handloom worker who has lost his occupation, as was the case in Europe.

Delay will also enable the thinking classes of the Orient to consider whether they wish to adopt definitely the capitalistic system, with its control by the employers of the means of existence of the workers, and its division of the economics of production between the employer and the general public in the form of lower prices and increased supplies of goods, while the workers can only increase their share by strikes or collective bargaining.

In Asia, the individual is accustomed to operate as a member of a family, of a clan, or of a guild, and is inclined to cooperation in various ways. Co-operative production and distribution may be more successful in the Orient than in Europe, and the satisfactory results of the cooperative associations of fruit growers, grain dealers, and creameries in the United States may cause the thinkers of Asia to insist upon the substitution of similar methods for unmodified capitalism. There is a strong tendency to consider the happiness of the worker as more important than mere efficiency of production, and to endeavor to retain for the producer the same creative satisfaction which he

now secures from his handicrafts, instead of sentencing him to a life of inescapable monotony, bound to a machine, and forcing him to seek relief in drink or drugs, or in diversions totally disconnected with his work. The whole situation requires the most careful thought, and no well informed person can jauntily recommend to Asia the adoption of the material civilization of the Occident without very important modifications.

It is most important to have accurate information about the existing situation in various oriental countries, in the form of surveys, such as have been made by the Labor Office of Bombay, and an investigation of industrial conditions in China along the lines of these surveys would be of the greatest immediate practical use, and might form one of the first activities of this Institute of Pacific Relations, if it should be made permanent.

There is a general tendency to consider China, Japan and India as remote countries which do not concern us in any way, but we must realize that their economic competition, and the pressure of population, will affect us much more seriously in the future than at present. If we do not take advantage of our many opportunities for helping intelligently our brethren of the Orient, and of giving them the benefit of our experience and of personal service along economic lines, as well as those of religion, education and sanitation, we shall certainly suffer. Every one of us has a direct, personal, selfish interest in the well-being of the toiling masses of Japan, India, China.

—Address by C. C. Batchelder at Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1925.

Note: The Institute of Pacific Relations, held in Honolulu the first two weeks of July of this year, was the beginning of what may be a uniquely significant experiment in international understanding. It was a completely unofficial . . . but carefully chosen group of individuals from the various Pacific countries, whose sponsors adopted in advance the policy of "accomplishing" nothing; of reaching no conclusions, passing no resolutions, and neither agreeing nor disagreeing on anything. Against considerable temptation, this program was resolutely carried out. The result was a freer and more illuminating exchange of views, and the foundation for a sounder collection of facts, than would have been possible under any other circumstances. The final attendance was 111 active members, in nine groups, numbering, Australia 6; Canada 6; China 13; Continental United States 28; Japan 19; Korea 6; Philippines 3; New Zealand 11; Hawaii 16; at large 3. There were also about forty associate members, mostly American.

—*The Survey*, September 1, 1925.

THE INTERNATIONAL ISSUE OF THE PACIFIC

The great international issue of the Pacific is of course immigration. Left to itself, the human race has a certain fluidity. It tends to flow from regions of low living standard to those of higher. When the actual migration of men is obstructed, the movement of their products attempts to take its place. When both are artificially obstructed, the pressure sometimes reaches the bursting point. Then we have wars, or other forms of explosion.

Around the Pacific are countries of sparse population, large resources and high standards of living (mostly occupied by peoples of European race who

have come to them as immigrants within the past few generations), and other countries of dense populations, limited or undeveloped resources and low standards of living (mostly occupied by peoples of oriental race who have dwelt in them immemorially). Distance, ignorance and lack of transportation have hitherto kept them apart, but now these obstacles are removed, and the natural flow is from the low-standard regions to those of higher opportunity. Since the inevitable result would be to equalize the higher standards downward, those now in possession of the favored regions naturally resist the flow. This makes the fundamental conflict.

—"East of the East, West of the West," Chester H. Rowell in *The Survey*, September 1, 1925.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Buying and selling, however, are not confined to the limits of a nation. Wheat from the United States, from Canada, and from the Argentine is sold all over the world. Laces from Belgium, watches from Switzerland and silk from the Orient come to our shores. The automobile industry and many other utilities depend upon rubber from South America. Sometimes one country is unique in its production of a commodity. More often goods "made in Germany," "made in Japan," or "made in Paris," compete with those made in America.

We need not discuss in this connection endeavors to prevent the flow of commodities from one country to another through erecting tariff barriers. These attempts may succeed in individual cases but in the main are as futile as Pharaoh's command to the Red Sea that it divide. The economic forces causing international exchange are too powerful to receive more than temporary reverses from tariff barriers.

The effect of international economic and industrial competition upon labor, however, can readily be seen. Not only is the worker in a factory in Massachusetts confronted with the pressure upon his employer of consumers, retailers and wholesalers in every portion of the United States, but of consumers, retailers and wholesalers throughout the world. No longer must the employer compete only with American employers, affected to a greater or less degree by American standards of living. Production, like markets, is world wide. American-made products may lie on the same shelf in a store with similar goods produced by highly skilled workmen in Europe or by children in one of the "backward" countries, who may receive a pittance for their labor at home or in a factory.

. . . The sweep of the labor movement among women in America and throughout the world points to its vitality, to the fundamental similarity of working women's problems and to the inevitability of their organization to solve their difficulties. Today all about us we see organizations, beneficial or harmful. There are organizations of women, of voters, of employers, of farmers, of physicians, of buyers, of teachers, and of workers. These organiza-

tions are state wide, nation wide, some even world wide. We cannot stem the tide of organization. . . .

Attempts to meet and solve their common difficulties have brought together workers of diverse, even hostile nations. Working women of many lands are doing their part toward the development of labor standards and the promotion of genuine internationalism. It is the privilege of all women in America to aid by sympathetic understanding and active cooperation in this task.

—Mollie Ray Carroll: *Women and the International Labor Movement*.

FACING WORLD FRICTION POINTS

Spiritual life is vitally affected by the lack or presence of harmonious human relationships. Our Lord asked us to consider whether our brother hath aught against us. Gifts were to be left at the altar until reconciliation had been brought about. We have understood this as applicable between individuals; but does not its wisdom hold for nations as well? In the light of Christ's teaching can we be complacent when one group of nations, mainly of the white race, has in past years acquired certain endowments, privileges and territories which they are eager to retain; while another group, less materially advanced but with newly awakened national and race consciousness, are becoming restless with their relatively inferior situation, and increasingly resent the retention of certain advantages wrested from them? Undoubtedly our low spiritual levels are in part due to the fact that we have presumed to go on with our worship without first being reconciled in great corporate ways to our brothers. Let us face four areas in which reconciliation is needed.

One friction point has to do with standards of living. In one group of nations it is a question of what kind of a car to buy; in another group whether it will be one or two bowls of rice per day. We are told that in Detroit, thirty-three per cent of a man's wage goes for food; in China, eighty-seven per cent. In one group the masses have what might be called an adequate provision for primary wants such as food, clothing and shelter, besides a sufficient margin of wealth to provide for child welfare, education and leisure; in another, the masses struggle for bare existence. With intercommunication set up, pressure toward equalization is inevitable.

There are labor leaders in the United States who have said that while they do not want their levels lowered, they do sincerely want eastern levels raised. But, apart from a few labor organizers sent abroad and the industrial work of foreign missions, the general economic impression made on the Far East is the result of capitalistic industry and government loans. The conviction grows that the high-level groups are mainly bent on making their levels higher. Oberlach, concluding his book on foreign financial control in China, says that "the foreigners were eager to build railroads, not because they thought the Chinese needed the railroads but because the foreigners needed

the profit of the railroads. This then is the point of supreme significance, namely, that the bottom idea of all the treaty stipulations and arrangements as to intercourse, customs, extraterritoriality, spheres of interest, railway concessions and control was not the welfare of the people of China but the profit and the ease of doing business by the people of the west. With the exception of a few missionaries and a few scholars, writers and artists who admire Chinese civilization, the interest of the world was a money interest pure and simple."

* * *

In particular, Young China regards the possession of the privilege of extraterritoriality by foreigners not only as a national humiliation but as a means of unjustly maintaining a high economic level of the Treaty Powers. With the diversity of law and multiplicity of courts necessitated by this system, unscrupulous foreigners frequently evade justice and put the Chinese at an economic disadvantage.

China has been pointing to another situation that she believes keeps her levels down in order that the higher levels of the west may remain high, namely, the foreign control of her tariff on a five per cent basis on all goods. China's young leaders know that this undifferentiated tariff is unscientific in that it draws no distinction between raw materials and manufactured goods, nor between necessities and luxuries . . . Since individual missionaries unquestionably had a part in framing the unequal treaties, what part should missions play now in their revision? We are told that abstract morality will get nowhere; for, even granting that China ought to have tariff autonomy, to give it immediately would wipe out some business and would give unexpected advantages to others. Has Christianity anything practical to say on this?

* * *

A second center of friction has to do with population. Ties which bound people to the soil have become loosened. Motives and devices of transportation and communication have been developed, so that persons and peoples have been mobilized. The resulting difference of pressure between saturated populations, on the one hand, and peoples still uncrowded, on the other, constitutes one of the most disturbing elements of our time.

* * *

Population pressure is closely connected with standards-of-living pressure. The cause of migration is preeminently economic. Peoples with a lower economic standard of living migrate to a country where higher standards prevail.

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Now that the world's population is getting the motive and means for becoming mobile, certain great questions have to be faced. Have human beings on this planet the inherent right to migrate from one country to another, just as they now have the right to move from place to place within any given country? On the other hand, has a nation the inherent right to set up a

valve in the connecting line, and thus determine the character and quantity of the inflow?

* * *

A third kind of maladjustment has to do with cultures. Across the Atlantic the cultural flow has largely been in one direction; about the Pacific cultural expansion comes from every side.

* * *

The distances which have separated peoples have been not only physical but moral and social. And these are the distances that tend to remain longest. Yet a levelling up is in process here. The rapid increase in literacy, the ability to interpret photographs of other lands, the penetration to human motives and passions through literature, travel to strange worlds, the cinema, the radio—all are helping us to know the inner and personal life of individuals and peoples. Culture plays on culture. The goal is one moral universe.

Even this limited survey indicates how complex these interlacing problems are. In the face of these situations it is not sufficient merely to affirm one's faith in general principles of love and brotherhood. No easy passing of resolutions or affirmation of principles will suffice. These disturbing pressures and centers of friction are facts and must be dealt with. Just because we are idealists we must take into consideration hard facts and the inertia of human nature, realize that each situation has had a life history and cannot be broken off without reference to this, and see how complex and difficult is the detailed practical working out of human brotherhood in treaties, laws and actual practice. Constructive thought must be put into reconciliation. The same missionary zeal which has attempted such great things for God in the past is needed to make Jesus' spirit operative in great areas of international life. When we have first done this we can go back and offer an acceptable gift at the altar.

—D. J. Fleming, in *International Review of Missions*, January 1926.

ACTIONS BY INTERESTED GROUPS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The convention [Atlantic City, 1925] requested the government of the United States to relieve China from the principle of extraterritoriality and from foreign control of her customs. At the time of their establishment these practices served the immediate interests of both China and the Powers concerned. But with the coming of social and industrial changes within China and the development of a national movement, these institutions have become obstacles to the development of a unified, responsible government.

While denying China the sovereignty necessary to cope with her perplexing problem, foreign nations have been bringing to the shores of China

the products of western commerce and the machinery of western industrialism. The problems of western industrialism threaten a complete breakdown of the political institutions of China.

Practically all nations concerned have approved the principle of the abolition of extraterritoriality and the relinquishment to China of control of her customs. Failure to carry out these intentions constitutes a potential menace to international peace. The wage-earners of China are suffering through the delay.

As an organization dedicated to justice between men and to humanitarian ideals, American labor has an obligation to hold out a hand to the struggling labor movement of China. The convention of the American Federation of Labor, therefore, called upon the government of the United States to follow a purposeful and aggressive course in the conferences of October 26 and December 18, for the abolition of extraterritoriality and customs controlled by foreign powers.

It is evident that all countries will find it necessary to develop definite policies with regard to issues in the Pacific. American labor, concerned that standards of political and social justice shall prevail and that there shall be uniform and cooperative efforts of the workers of all nations concerned to assure opportunities for higher life both at home and at work, directed its executive to give thought to the labor problems of the Far East. Western industrialism is making an entry into Japan, China and India. The products of their factories will compete with the products of ours. In a very real sense their economic problems are meshed into those of our country. American labor properly turns its mind upon labor problems of the Pacific. Finally the convention authorized that efforts to reach an understanding with the International Federation of Trade Unions be continued.

—Editorials in the *American Federationist*, November 1925.

CHINA

A traditional relationship of good will between the United States and China has made for friendship between our two nations. Because of the spirit of its national culture, China has long been non-military and self-sufficient. Century-old practices and traditions remain, regardless of changes in the outside world. The national wealth of China and the potentiality of her trade induce foreign nations to attempt to get trading footholds in China. The efforts of Great Britain to establish trading advantages led to the opium war which established the precedent of treaty ports. Treaty ports were virtually taken from under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government and given to foreign nations. Foreigners living within these ports were subject not to Chinese law but to the law of their own countries. These foreign nationalities built up vested trade interests in and about these ports. There also developed the practice under which the tariffs on imports into China are collected by foreign countries. These two practices constituted a serious invasion of the sovereignty of China and have contributed to a situation that makes im-

possible the establishment of an effective national government for China. The treaty ports have grown to more than forty-nine in number. The course followed by the United States with regard to its indemnities growing out of the Boxer uprising laid the foundations for a strong feeling of friendliness to the United States and the education of many of the youths of China in American schools.

Since the revolution that overthrew the Chinese ruling dynasty, an effort has been made to establish a Chinese Republic. Out of the rebellion came a division of the nation, and two governments were established, one for North China and the other for South China. For a time these were united under one president, but the government proved inadequate, and again divisions developed. However, there is a nationalist movement in the making in China, with the development of which has grown resentment of invasion of Chinese national rights through treaties and other policies of force.

With the extension of the organization of industry and commerce to a world basis, the desire to exploit Chinese labor has steadily increased. The Chinese, with standards of work and life much lower than those in countries where power and machinery are used in industrial production and where organization of labor is powerful enough to protect the workers, have been cruelly exploited in factories built in treaty ports and elsewhere in China by foreign capital. The most revealing efficient account of conditions of labor in Chinese factories is in the report on child labor in Shanghai made by the Child Labor Commission appointed by the municipality. The report disclosed shockingly degrading conditions of work and standards of pay. The commission, which was composed of foreign and Chinese members, found a revolting system of child labor that practically constituted child slavery. In some instances it was found that factories negotiated with parents for the labor of their children, paying them but a small sum per month, and taking charge of the children. Other children come to the factories with their parents. Some are employed regularly and others give what assistance they can to the parents. The twelve-hour work-day is the rule. In cotton mills night work prevails; in the silk mills it is unusual. It is quite common to see children six years of age in the mills. In the silk mills one child is usually employed for every two adults.

The average wage in China varies from sixteen shillings to thirty shillings a month with a subsistence level of over thirty shillings a month. Skilled male textile workers at Shanghai earn from ten pence to one shilling sixpence per day and women earn from nine pence to one shilling. The highest paid workers in China are locomotive engine drivers, who earn twenty-five shillings a week. In central China the wages of skilled cotton operators vary from eight shilling to fifteen shillings a week (\$1.94 to \$3.65).

In 1923 the Peking Government formulated a labor code, but the code has remained ineffective. The greatest obstacles to industrial labor reform are that there is practically no regulation of labor in any port in China,

there is no system of education for children of wage earners, and labor organizations have hardly yet begun. The first trade unions were formed in 1919.

The international conference called by President Harding in Washington, in 1921, considered both limitation of armaments and the Pacific problem. Under the latter head both tariff and extraterritoriality were considered, and a resolution was adopted by the nine participating nations providing for the convening of a commission in ninety days to consider plans for the abolition of the practice of extraterritoriality in China. For various reasons these pledges were not fulfilled.

In the meanwhile, foreign capital was being increasingly used in internal development in China, both industrially and for the development of mineral resources. The financial problems of China were virtually taken over by the bankers' consortium. This consortium consists of seven British, nine French, thirty-eight American, and seventeen Japanese bankers. There has been growing in China a student movement consisting of patriotic Chinese educated both in the United States and in Chinese schools. There have been an increasing number of foreign colleges and universities established in China. Many of the most beneficial of these have been medical schools. Recent outbreaks in China have been the result of all these influences for discontent. The recent bloodshed in Shanghai was precipitated by an industrial revolt to which the nationalist movement contributed.

Appreciating that the situation was of that nature which could be utilized by radical propagandists if constructive and humanitarian organizations did not offer a helping hand, President Green addressed the following letter to President Coolidge:

Washington, D. C.
July 10, 1925.

Sir:

On behalf of the American labor movement I wish to urge for your favorable consideration and speedy action that the United States take the initiative in calling an international conference to make plans to abolish extraterritorial rights in China.

Since the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments and Political Questions in the Pacific and Far East, convened at our invitation in 1921, provided for the appointment of a commission to study this subject, and that action was not carried out, there develops upon us a responsibility for keeping the faith with China and the friends of international justice to see to it that the intent of that pledge is redeemed. For the declaration was in fact a pledge of help to China, then struggling with the problems of reorganization, as well as to countries participating in the conference which wished to assure China opportunities for self-development and reorganization.

There is every reason to believe that the fundamental cause for present disturbances in China is due to special privileges given foreign nations in treaty pacts and that the abolition of extraterritorial rights of foreigners is necessary to China's administrative integrity and sovereignty. The Chinese are an ancient and honorable people who have developed a distinctive culture of rare qualities and they have a right to demand the respect and deference accorded to national sovereignty.

Because of the fact that present political provocations have paralleled the coming of trade unions in Chinese industrial development, and the struggle of Chinese wage-earners for industrial justice and civil rights is projected into the international problem, it is most important and necessary for fully balanced consideration of the whole question that representatives of wage-earners participate in this inquiry. We urge that the

initiative be taken by the government of the United States in calling an economic conference to consider the Chinese situation, and that this provision for labor representation be incorporated in the conference invitation extended to the countries. Ratification of the Washington treaties by France makes a strategical opportunity for such action.

Our American trade union movement believes firmly that our Republic stands for ideals of human justice and equality of opportunity for all and that these ideals must direct not only national policies but our relations with other countries. The Chinese situation is an opportunity for further application of these ideals, and Labor earnestly desires that our country act in conformity to the highest ideals of humanism and constructive program.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN, *President, American Federation of Labor.*

The letter was given to the press, and following its publication, representative Chinese organizations sent messages of appreciation. Copies were also sent to representative trade unionists in Japan and in the Philippines, with the request that the message be placed in the hands of Chinese trade unionists. A copy was also sent to the office of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Declaring for the Withdrawal from All Nations of Extraterritorial Privileges in China

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate G. W. Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

Whereas, during the past hundred years foreign nations have been imposing limitations upon China's sovereignty through treaties that accorded them special privileges and guarantees; and

Whereas, the development of national institutions and a responsible government in China are retarded by the prerogatives exercised by foreign nations in settlements over which the government of China has no control and by treaty provisions which deny China the right to fix and collect customs duties; and

Whereas, foreign nations have been developing in China modern factory production and branches of commercial undertakings, thus imposing the complexities and difficulties of controlling these technical developments in the service of human welfare upon a people familiar only with hand production and unprepared to protect themselves through voluntary economic organizations and necessary protective and humanitarian legislation; and

Whereas, not only the world-wide organization of industry and commerce make it necessary for Labor to concern itself for the establishment and maintenance of such standards of life and work as will assure opportunity for progress for all who work, but Labor has a very deep sense of responsibility for using its influence to promote human justice and freedom in all human relations; and

Whereas, international conferences have been arranged for October 26 and December 18, the first to consider customs and the second to consider extraterritoriality; therefore, be it

Resolved: that this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare itself for the withdrawal from all nations of extraterritorial privileges, and for giving to China customs autonomy, and that we urge our government to further the policy of speedy action upon these principles; and, be it further

Resolved: that the American Federation of Labor express to the Chinese Federation of Labor our fraternal desire to render them all possible assistance in the development of their trade union movement, and our deep concern for the establishment of high labor standards in all countries bordering the Pacific.

Your committee is in accord with and notes with deep satisfaction the statement made by the Executive Council and with the forceful and fundamental portrayal of cause and effect of inadvised treaties and policies of foreign nations in China. We congratulate President Green upon his timely, forceful and convincing statements filed with President Coolidge. We moreover concur in Resolution No. 43 and recommend that both the statement of the Executive Council and the letter of President Green be approved, and that Resolution No. 43 be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

—"Report of Proceedings of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor," 1925.

AMERICAN FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Statement adopted in conference at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, September 10-13, 1925

We have realized anew our conviction that only a fearless reliance upon acts of justice and unarmed goodwill can bring a fair and peaceable relation between the eastern and western peoples.

We know that we ourselves have an inescapable share in the wrongs done by the western nations. When we require of our government, of American investors, and of Christian bodies a new spirit in their dealings with eastern nations, we are seeking the development of a social method which none of us has perfectly applied.

We welcomed with keenest satisfaction the statement made many months ago by twenty-five American missionaries that they would neither seek nor accept military protection in any crisis that might arise. We believe that only as such determination prevails among Christian missionaries and among the church bodies owning mission property can the sincerity and international character of their Christian faith be made clearly evident to non-Christian peoples.

This summer the English-speaking branch of the Peking Fellowship of Reconciliation, composed largely of missionaries, reiterated publicly their conviction of the evil and futility of violence and placed themselves squarely on record for an immediate move by the foreign powers toward the abolition of the unequal treaties and the removal of all foreign troops. With this position we are wholly in accord.

Recent events in China have revealed as with a lightning flash the ways in which the whole mission enterprise appears to eastern eyes as an integral part of our western civilization and bound up with it in reliance upon force and entanglement with capitalistic methods of exploitation.

We believe that the time has come when missionary organizations should completely dissociate themselves and their workers from the special treaty privileges which have been secured from China under coercion. A serious responsibility rests upon them also, we believe, to cooperate with the new

efforts of other agencies to secure and make known to the western public such facts and information about events in the Far East and the trend of oriental opinion as are not now available through the western press.

We urge our government to throw its weight unreservedly toward the extension of the coming conference of the Nine Powers to include a frank, honest and thorough discussion of all special treaty privileges of the Powers in China, so that the western world may have a fair chance to hear China's side of the case. We believe that if the facts were fully known, the public would forthwith demand immediate steps toward the abolition of extraterritoriality and the restoration of China's sovereignty, unimpaired.

We call the attention of the public to the proposal for vast fortifications at Pearl Harbor by the American Government, and to the British plans already under way for the Singapore base, preparations which can only be regarded by eastern nations as threats against their independence. Distrust of the purposes of the western powers and the general atmosphere of mutual suspicion can be dissipated only as such plans are abandoned. We must face furthermore the implications to oriental peoples of our delay in redeeming our promise of independence to the Philippine Islands.

We urge upon our fellow countrymen respect for the oriental worker and a reconsideration of the measures which discriminate against him, forbidding his immigration to the United States and withholding citizenship. We must assist him in his efforts to raise the industrial standards of the East, more especially in mills owned by foreign capital. We welcome the increasing solidarity and determination to achieve freedom and justice among the students, workers and merchants of China shown in the recent strikes.

We would give our support to those throughout the world who are striving to practice the methods of peace which are common to the teaching of Jesus and the great philosophies of the East. It is our conviction that only through a spirit of love that risks suffering and humiliation in an effort to win its opponents, and that steadily refuses to take the way of violence, as Gandhi has refused in India, can people, east or west, achieve a better world.

—*The World Tomorrow*, October 1925.

ASIATIC LABOR CONFERENCE

The representatives of the Indian and Japanese workers at the International Labor Conference at Geneva resolved to convene an Asiatic Labor Conference next year, which will probably be held at Shanghai. Mr. Suzuki, president of the Japanese Federation of Trade Unions, will undertake the post of general secretary of this conference and, in organizing the conference, will get into touch with all the labor organizations of the Asiatic countries.

—*The World Tomorrow*, August 1925.

THE BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

The fifty-seventh annual session of the British Trades Union Congress was held at Scarborough, September 7-12, 1925.

. . . Dealing with the conditions of workers in India, China and Mexico, [it was said] the British trade union movement must help in any and every direction the Indian workers in their political and industrial struggles. The whole British trades union movement must rejoice at the revolt of the Chinese against the degrading conditions which had been made public during the past few months.

The congress would agree with the General Council in making it quite plain to the government and the whole world that "being conscious of the fact that our British movement has won its way from such conditions of slavery as are being imposed in China to our present comparative or limited freedom, we are prepared on behalf of the British trades union movement to raise our voice in condemnation of the atrocities committed by British and other employers in China."

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, September 28, 1925.

CONFERENCE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR

The ideals and activities of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization, and the advisability of American adhesion to the Permanent Court of International Justice were discussed at a conference on "The Cause and Cure of War," organized jointly by the principal women's associations in the United States, and held in Washington January 18-24, 1925.

The organizations cooperating in the conference were:

American Association of University Women.

Council of Women for Home Missions.

Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America.

General Federation of Women's Clubs.

National Board of the Young Womens Christian Associations.

National Council of Jewish Women.

National League of Women Voters.

National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

National Women's Trade Union League.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, March 23, 1925.

THE CURE OF WAR

Preamble

The aspiration of the people of our country to serve mankind functions through many channels—political, economic, social and educational.

Nevertheless, the basis of peace is an intellectual and spiritual problem. The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War calls upon the people of the United States to unite to break down national and racial prejudices and fears, and to build up a spirit of friendship and trust among the peoples of the world.

We find that the cure of war requires a permanent international organization as its instrument.

While realizing that the final cure of war lies with the spiritual healing of the nations, the conference also recognizes the necessity for ameliorating agencies and activities of immediate service.

ECONOMIC FORCES

Since the struggles of nations to control natural resources, raw materials, routes of commerce and trade are among the causes of war, economic security for all nations must be the principle upon which the remedies for the economic causes of war must be based. The conference believes that this can be attained only through international cooperation to the following ends:

1. Access to natural resources which furnish the necessities of human life, the raw materials of industry and the employment of peoples.
2. Development of channels of distribution and the agencies of communication between nations.
3. Establishment of a commercial code between nations, which shall define unfair competition and taboo the exploitation of weaker peoples for the aggrandizement of the stronger. Only such development is legitimate as is fair to the interests of both sides.
4. Establishment of an industrial code between nations, designed to
 - a. Set up minimum standards for conditions of employment.
 - b. Prevent the exploitation of the labor of children.
 - c. Remove industrial injustices between competing nations.

As the means of accomplishing such international cooperation, we urge

- A. International conferences on world resources, the distribution of materials, and the establishment of commercial and industrial codes; and
- B. The utilization of existing agencies for international cooperation in the economic field, especially the Economic Section of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization.

—*The Womens Press*, March 1925.

CONFERENCE ON POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND CITIZENSHIP

The Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held in England, April 1924, was prepared for by means of commissions working for some time beforehand.

1. The ultimate aim of Christians with regard to industry and commerce should be the substitution of the motive of service for the motive of gain.
2. Industry should be a cooperative effort adequately to supply the needs of all. This does not involve one particular type of organization universally applied. It does involve a perpetual effort to find the organization best suited to each industry.
3. Industry should be so organized that all those engaged in it shall have an increasingly effective voice in determining the conditions of their work and lives.
4. The first charge on industry should be a remuneration sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and dignity.
5. The evils of unemployment are intolerable to the moral sense. The causes must be sought and removed.
6. Extremes of wealth and poverty are likewise intolerable. A Christian order involves a juster distribution.
7. The moral justification of the various rights which constitute property depends on the degree to which they contribute to the development of personality and to the good of the whole community. If such rights subserve those purposes they deserve the approval of Christians; if not, they should be modified or abolished.
8. The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all. No inherited wealth or position can dispense any member of the Christian society from establishing by service his claim to maintenance.

—Commission Report, volume IX.

Note: The Continuation Committee of C.O.P.E.C. had a part in the preparation for the vote on child labor in Shanghai in the spring of 1925. A letter to the Shanghai Municipal Council reminded it that at C.O.P.E.C., in April 1924, the conference expressed its concern at the grave situation resulting from the introduction of western industrial methods in the east, and stated that the great body who are still banded together in England under the C.O.P.E.C. name awaited with keen interest the action of Shanghai on the child labor matter.

In the report on international relations was the following significant resolution:

In international as well as in national relationships the methods and results of industry and commerce must be judged by their contribution to the service of mankind.

There were several Y.W.C.A. delegates from China attending the conference and when this report was being considered Miss Shin Tak Hing spoke of the industrial conditions there; the result being that an addition to this resolution was added. (See page 218.)

FEDERATION OF WOMAN'S BOARDS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF NORTH AMERICA

The Federation of Woman's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America is composed of fifty Women's Boards of Foreign Missions in the United States and Canada, and four interdenominational agencies.

At the annual meeting held at Atlantic City, January 1926, much attention was given to the missionary enterprise in its relations to industrialism as it affects the work of women and children.

The subject of industrial relations was recognized as one of major importance to all mission boards in this new day of changing emphases. Miss Mary Dingman* brought us the graphic account of the serious industrial conditions as she had found them in China, and also reported on the action of the China Christian Council in expressing and carrying out the church's responsibility toward this situation. We found ourselves asking this question—Has the church in China clearer vision and more courage than the church at home? We were challenged as we heard of the splendid position taken by the National Christian Conference in China (May 1922), when it faced and accepted its responsibility to conserve human values in the rapid growth of industrialism there. The story of the struggle to translate into action the determination to protect the little children under twelve from the deadening effects of work carried on during long hours and night shifts, with no regular rest days and constant danger from insufficiently guarded machinery, deeply moved the conference.

The implications were clear. Women and children drawn from the home means the disintegration of that sacred unit, the very basis of society. It means increasingly great struggles when the workers unite to revolt against unjust exploitation. It holds, for those who have vision to see, tremendous significance to the peoples in western lands who are losing their markets because of the competition of industry carried on under conditions which stifle body, mind and soul.

One sees new meaning in the great conception, "That we may all be one," and realizes that, as in the past the mission boards have sent evangelists, doctors, nurses, teachers, agriculturalists, so now we should send those equipped to extend the love of Christ into the complex relationships of industry.

* * *

The following recommendations were adopted:

1. That there be a program of education to enlighten the Christian public, especially the church membership at the home base as to:

*Industrial secretary of the World's Committee, Y. W. C. A.

- a. The far-reaching social changes due to the impact of modern industrialism in the Orient, especially as it affects home life and the group consciousness of the workers.
 - b. The deplorable conditions, wages and hours under which women and children are working.
 - c. The need of studying and translating into action the pronouncements of our church bodies in relation to these great industrial problems.
2. That we study the way in which the Christian Church in China has approached the relationship of Christianity and industry.
 3. That we study the effects of industrial conditions on international relationships.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORKERS

An International Industrial Welfare (personnel) Congress, organized by the Interim Committee appointed by the First International Industrial Welfare Workers' Conference at Argeronne (France) in 1922, was held in Flushing (Holland) from June 19-27, 1925. About 150 delegates were present from eighteen countries.

The situation in China was presented by the late Miss Edith Johnston of Great Britain, and the meeting was chaired by Miss Mary A. Dingman, industrial secretary of the World's Committee, Y.W.C.A.

A special task of the congress was the formation of a permanent international association. The constitution and rules of that association, drafted by the Interim Committee, were adopted unanimously by the congress.

The aim of the new body is to study and promote such principles and methods as tend to improve the human relations and conditions in all undertakings involving the employment of a number of persons. Its official title is therefore "The International Association for the Study and Improvement of Relations and Conditions in Industry."

Membership in the association is open to those who are in sympathy with its aims and who are industrial welfare workers or personnel workers, employers, employees, and those who are engaged in work of social significance or in scientific research in accordance with the aims of the association.

* * *

The work of the association will be conducted mainly through correspondence and publications; the council will meet annually in various coun-

tries, and the general congress at least once in three years. An invitation has been received to hold the next congress in Switzerland.

* * *

In addition to the consideration of the constitution and rules of the new association, the agenda of the congress included a variety of questions connected with industrial relations and conditions.

Reports were presented on the development of industrial welfare (personnel) work in Australia, Austria, Belgium, *China*,* Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, *India*, Italy, *Japan*, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and the United States of America.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, August 10, 1925.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LABOR LEGISLATION

The thirteenth assembly of the International Association for Labor Legislation was held in Bern (Switzerland), on September 23, 24 and 25, 1925.

The following resolution was adopted by the assembly:

CHILD LABOR IN CHINA

The International Congress for Social Politics, Prague, passed a resolution on the subject of child labor in Chinese factories. (See page 43.)

In the meantime, the Shanghai troubles have arisen, with the result of retarding the application of the resolution of the Shanghai Commission.

With a view to avoiding the danger that the exploitation of Chinese workmen, either in Chinese or in foreign factories, should lead to further troubles in the Far East,

The Assembly expresses the desire that the attention of the responsible authorities should be drawn to the necessity of making an energetic effort toward the introduction of effective labor legislation and its application.

Whilst welcoming investigation by the International Labor Office, and in anticipation that the exemption of China from the application of the International Labor Convention should cease,

The assembly expresses the desire that in the near future a Chinese section of the International Association should be established, in order to create public consciousness of the necessity of social reforms.

*Italics ours.—Ed.

The assembly declares that no country in any part of the world should be exempt from the application of labor legislation.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, October 12, 1925.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR SOCIAL POLITICS

This congress, held at Prague, Czechoslovakia, October 2-5, 1924, was arranged by the International Association for Labor Legislation. There were one thousand delegates, representing twenty-eight nations, and including economists, social workers, representatives of employers and employees. Miss Agatha Harrison, of the World's Committee, Y.W.C.A., presented the case of China before the conference.

The following resolutions were passed:

1. The congress warmly welcomes the action taken by the Chinese Government in prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches and hopes that it will receive any assistance it may require for carrying out the prohibition which other countries and social institutions, national or international, may be able to afford from their experience of the methods adopted in countries where the danger of phosphorus poisoning has been successfully eliminated.
2. The congress equally welcomes the publication of the Report of the Commission on Child Labor at Shanghai, and the proposals made therein for introducing the regulation of child labor in Chinese factories, and calls upon all the governments possessing jurisdiction in Chinese territory to cooperate with the Chinese Government with the view to giving effect to the recommendations of the commission, and recommends the members of this congress to do everything in their power to ensure that the necessary action is taken in this direction, in accordance with the principle laid down in Article 23 of the Covenant, whereby members of the League of Nations shall endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their industrial and commercial relations extend.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, 1925

INDUSTRIAL PROGRAM

Equal rights and opportunities and equal pay for women and men in all kinds of employments were the subject of one section of the comprehensive

program laid out by the sixth quinquennial conference of the International Council of Women.

The International Council of Women opposes the professional inequality of women and demands for them equal opportunities and rights within the various employments.

The International Council of Women affirms the principle of "equal pay for equal work," which signifies that wages should be established on the basis of the occupation and not on the basis of sex.

The International Council of Women desires that the prohibition against working the weeks before and (or) after confinement be accompanied by a maternity provision.

The International Council of Women declares itself against any limitation of the work of married women, apart from provisions for maternity.

The Standing Committee on Trades and Professions recommends that a permanent subcommittee be established to act as a liaison committee with the Labor Department of the League of Nations.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions met at Amsterdam on June 29 and 30, 1925. The following are some of its decisions:

In view of recent events in China, it was decided to send a cablegram to the Shanghai trade unions asking them to explain exactly what were the claims of the workers. It was also decided to send a circular to the central trade union organizations in the various countries, requesting them to demonstrate their solidarity with the Chinese workers. The question of sending a delegation of the I.F.T.U. to China to make enquiries on the spot will be considered later.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, July 20, 1925.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF WORKING WOMEN

The International Federation of Working Women, at its congress at Schoenbrunn on August 14-18, 1923, declared by a large majority, with a single abstention on the part of the American delegation, against a separate organization for the women workers and in favor of close collaboration with the International Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam.

In June of last year the Vienna Congress of the I.F.T.U. decided, on the proposal of the International Conference of Working Women, which had immediately preceded it, to set up an international working women's committee to collaborate with the I.F.T.U. and to work under its discretion.

Thus the International Federation of Working Women has virtually ceased to exist and has been transformed into an international women's trade union committee, with the following objects:

1. To draw attention to the particular interests of working women within the general trade union movement.
2. To stimulate propaganda among women and to collaborate all such propaganda.
3. To assist the I.F.T.U. by suggestions and advice as regards social legislation questions concerned with women's labor.
4. To help in the preparation of all statistical and other documents concerning working women.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, March 2, 1925.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

INQUIRY INTO CONDITIONS IN ASIATIC COUNTRIES

The International Labor Conference adopted the following resolution, submitted by Mr. Joshi (Workers, India):

The Seventh Session of the International Labor Conference expresses the hope that the International Labor Office will continue to collect and publish all available information regarding the conditions of labor in Asiatic countries; and also requests the Governing Body of the International Labor Office, in consultation with the governments concerned, to undertake so far as is possible a documentary enquiry into the conditions of labor in those countries, more especially in China, India, Japan, Persia and Siam, and in the colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in Asia.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, June 8, 1925.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Constituent Statute—Part XIII of the treaty of Versailles with Germany; Part XIII of the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye with Austria; Part XII of the treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine with Bulgaria; Part XIII of the treaty of Trianon with Hungary.

Members—“The original members of the League of Nations shall be the original members of this organization, and hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said organization.”
—Art. 387, Treaty of Versailles.

MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION—58

Abyssinia	Australia	Bolivia
Albania	Austria	Brazil
Argentina	Belgium	Bulgaria

Canada	Haiti	Paraguay
Chile	Hedjaz	Persia
* <i>China</i>	Honduras	Peru
Colombia	Hungary	Poland
Costa Rica	<i>India</i>	Portugal
Cuba	Irish Free State	Rumania
Czechoslovakia	Italy	Salvador
Denmark	<i>Japan</i>	Serb-Croat-Slovene State
Dominican Republic	Latvia	Siam
Ecuador	Liberia	South Africa
Esthonia	Lithuania	Spain
Finland	Luxemburg	Sweden
France	Netherlands	Switzerland
Germany	New Zealand	Uruguay
Great Britain	Nicaragua	Venezuela
Greece	Norway	
Guatemala	Panama	

Organs—"The permanent organization shall consist of:

1. a General Conference of representatives of the Members and
2. an International Labor Office controlled by the Governing Body."

GENERAL CONFERENCE

Held at least once in every year.

Composed of four representatives of each of the Members, of whom two shall be government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the work-people of each of the Members.

Each delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters.

Agenda determined by the Governing Body subject to recommendation and modification by the conference.

Produces recommendations to be submitted to the Members for consideration; and draft conventions to be submitted to the Members for ratification.

Sessions

1. Washington, October 29-November 29, 1919.
2. Genoa, June 15-July 10, 1920.
3. Geneva, October 25-November 19, 1921.
4. Geneva, October 18-November 3, 1922.
5. Geneva, October 22-29, 1923.
6. Geneva, June 16-July 5, 1924.
7. Geneva, May 14-June 10, 1925.

*The Italics throughout are ours.—Ed.

CONVENTIONS*

- (a)—Conventions ratified.
- (b)—Approval by the "competent authority."
- (c)—Ratification proposed.
- (d)—States which have supplied information of other measures taken.

1919

1. Limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week.
 - (a) Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, *India*, Rumania.
 - (b) Austria.
 - (c) Argentina, Brazil, Chile, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Spain.
 - (d) Australia, *China*, Guatemala, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Sweden, Uruguay.
2. Concerning unemployment.
 - (a) Bulgaria, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Great Britain, Greece, *India*, Italy, *Japan*, Norway, Rumania, South Africa.
 - (b) Austria, Poland.
 - (c) Argentina, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands.
 - (d) Australia, Guatemala, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Panama, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Uruguay.
3. Concerning the employment of women before and after childbirth.
 - (a) Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Spain.
 - (b) Italy.
 - (c) Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Lithuania, Netherlands.
 - (d) Australia, Austria, *China*, Esthonia, Guatemala, *India*, *Japan*, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Uruguay.
4. Concerning the employment of women at night.
 - (a) Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Great Britain, Greece, *India*, Italy, Netherlands, Rumania, South Africa, Switzerland.
 - (b) Austria.
 - (c) Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, France, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Spain.
 - (d) Australia, Bolivia, Guatemala, *Japan*, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Uruguay.

*A convention in the sense used here means an agreement.

5. Fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment.
- (a) Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Great Britain, Greece, Rumania, Switzerland.
 - (b) Finland, Italy, *Japan*, Netherlands, Poland.
 - (c) Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, France, Germany, Lithuania, Spain.
 - (d) Australia, *China*, Guatemala, *India*, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Uruguay.

6. Concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry.
- (a) Bulgaria, Denmark, Esthonia, Great Britain, Greece, *India*, Italy, Netherlands, Rumania, Switzerland.
 - (b) Austria, Finland, Poland.
 - (c) Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Spain.
 - (d) Australia, Bolivia, *China*, *Japan*, Guatemala, Luxemburg, Nicaragua, Panama, Portugal, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Uruguay.

1920

7. Fixing the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea.
- (a) Bulgaria, Esthonia, Great Britain, Rumania, Sweden.
 - (b) Denmark, Finland, Italy, *Japan*, Netherlands, Poland.
 - (c) Argentina, Belgium, Chile, Cuba, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Spain.
 - (d) Australia, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Haiti, Luxemburg, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, South Africa.
8. Concerning unemployment indemnity in case of loss or foundering of the ship.
- (a) Bulgaria, Esthonia.
 - (b) Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Poland.
 - (c) Argentina, Belgium, Chile, Cuba, Denmark, France, Germany, Lithuania, Spain.
 - (d) Czechoslovakia, Greece, Haiti, Luxemburg, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, South Africa.
9. Concerning employment for seamen.
- (a) Bulgaria, Esthonia, Finland, *Japan*, Norway, Sweden.
 - (b) Great Britain, Italy, Netherlands, Poland.
 - (c) Argentina, Belgium, Chile, Cuba, Denmark, France, Germany, Lithuania, Spain.

- (d) Czechoslovakia, Greece, Haiti, Luxemburg, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, South Africa.

1921

10. Concerning the age of admission of children to employment in agriculture.
- (a) Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, *Japan*, Sweden.
 - (b) Austria, Italy, Poland.
 - (c) Bulgaria, Chile, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Spain.
 - (d) Albania, Australia, Lithuania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
11. Concerning the rights of association and combination of agricultural workers.
- (a) Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, Great Britain, *India*, Sweden.
 - (b) Austria, Italy, Poland.
 - (c) Bulgaria, Chile, Germany, Latvia, Netherlands, Spain.
12. Concerning workmen's compensation in agriculture.
- (a) Denmark, Esthonia, Great Britain, Sweden.
 - (b) Italy, Poland.
 - (c) Bulgaria, Chile, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, Spain.
 - (d) Albania, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
13. Concerning the use of white lead in painting.
- (a) Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Sweden.
 - (b) Austria, Greece, Italy, Poland.
 - (c) Bulgaria, Chile, Cuba, Germany, Latvia, Netherlands, Spain.
 - (d) Albania, Australia, Belgium, Lithuania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
14. Concerning the application of the weekly rest in industrial undertakings.
- (a) Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, *India*, Rumania.
 - (b) Greece, Italy, Poland.
 - (c) Bulgaria, Chile, Germany, Latvia, Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland.
 - (d) Albania, Australia, France, Lithuania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
15. Fixing the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers and stokers.
- (a) Esthonia, *India*, Rumania.
 - (b) Denmark, Great Britain, Italy, Poland.
 - (c) Bulgaria, Chile, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden.
 - (d) Albania, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

16. Concerning the compulsory medical examination of children and young persons employed at sea.
 - (a) Esthonia, *India*, Rumania.
 - (b) Great Britain, Italy, *Japan*, Poland.
 - (c) Bulgaria, Chile, Cuba, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden.
 - (d) Albania, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

1925

17. Concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.
18. Concerning night work in bakeries.
19. Concerning workmen's compensation for accidents.
20. Concerning compensation for occupational diseases.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1919

1. Concerning unemployment.
2. Concerning reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers.
3. Concerning the prevention of anthrax.
4. Concerning the protection of women and children against lead poisoning.
5. Concerning the establishment of government health services.
6. Concerning the application of the Bern Convention of 1906 on the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

1920

7. Concerning the limitation of hours of work in the fishing industry.
8. Concerning the limitation of hours of work in inland navigation.
9. Concerning unemployment insurance for seamen.
10. Concerning the establishment of national seamen's codes.

1921

11. Concerning night work of children and young persons in agriculture.
12. Concerning night work of women in agriculture.
13. Concerning the social insurance in agriculture.
14. Concerning the application of the weekly rest in commercial establishments.
15. Concerning the development of technical agricultural education.

16. Concerning the prevention of unemployment in agriculture.
17. Concerning the protection, before and after childbirth, of women wage-earners in agriculture.
18. Concerning living-in conditions of agricultural workers.

1922

19. Concerning communication to the International Labor Office of statistical and other information regarding emigration, immigration and the repatriation and transit of emigrants.

1923

20. Concerning the general principles for the organization of systems of inspection to secure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the workers.

1924

21. Concerning the development of facilities for the utilization of workers' spare time.
22. Concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accidents.
23. Concerning a minimum scale of workmen's compensation.
24. Concerning jurisdiction in disputes relating to workmen's compensation.
25. Concerning compensation for occupational diseases.

MEETINGS

1. Washington, November 27-28, 1919.
2. Paris, January 26-28, 1920.
3. London, March 22-25, 1920.
4. Genoa, June 8-9, 1920.
5. Geneva, October 5-7, 1920.
6. Geneva, January 11-15, 1921.
7. Geneva, April 12-14, 1921.
8. Stockholm, July 5-7, 1921.
9. Geneva, October 19-21, 1921.
10. Geneva, November 11-18, 1921.
11. Geneva, January 17-19, 1922.
12. Rome, April 4-7, 1922.
13. Interlaken, July 25-27, 1922.
14. Geneva, October 12-14, 1922.

15. Geneva, October 31, 1922.
16. Geneva, October 31, 1922.
17. Geneva, January 30-February 2, 1923.
18. Geneva, April 10-13, 1923.
19. Geneva, June 12-13, 1923.
20. Geneva, October 15-18, 1923.
21. Geneva, January 29-31, 1924.
22. Geneva, April 8-10, 1924.
23. Geneva, June 12-14, 1924.
24. Geneva, October 9-11, 1924.
25. Geneva, January 8-10, 1925.
26. Geneva, April 2-4, 1925.
27. Geneva, May 14-18, 1925.
28. Geneva, June 9, 1925.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

Established at Geneva "as part of the organization of the League," although independent of the League Secretariat as respects policy and administration.

Has director, deputy-director, and staff of 317 persons, including women, representing twenty-eight nationalities.

Carries out duties in connection with international disputes.

Edits and publishes several periodicals and numerous reports dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Collects and distributes information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor.

PUBLICATIONS

The publications of the International Labor Office, which are very extensive, consist of the following series:

- I. International Labor Review. Monthly since January, 1921.
- II. Official Bulletin. Weekly since September 8, 1920.
- III. Industrial and Labor Information. Weekly since November 15, 1920.
- IV. Legislative Series. Publication of labor laws of all countries from 1919 on.
- V. Special Reports. Occasional extensive studies on such subjects as Labor Conditions in Soviet Russia, International Seamen's Code, the Mining Industry in the Ruhr, Factory Inspection, etc.

- VI. Studies and Reports. An extensive list of special articles published in the following series: A, Industrial Relations; B, Economic Conditions; C, Employment and Unemployment; D, Wages and Hours; E, Workmen's Compensation; Rehabilitation and Social Insurance; F, Industrial Hygiene, Accidents and Safety; G, Welfare of Workers; H, Cooperation; I, Protection of Women and Children; J, Education; K, Agriculture; L, Maritime Affairs; N, Statistics.
- VII. International Labor Directory. An annual reference work.
- VIII. Documents of the International Labor Conference. Questionnaires, reports, documents and proceedings of the annual conference.
- IX. Bibliography of Industrial Hygiene.
- X. Encyclopedia of Industrial Hygiene.
- XI. Monthly Record of Migration.

—*Yearbook of the League of Nations, World Peace Foundation Pamphlets.*

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NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF CHINA

Recommendations adopted at the Annual Meeting in 1925

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. There is need of special study of foreign relations. The opinion is widespread that the Christian forces in China depend upon, and are in some organic relation to foreign governments, which are today being constantly charged with having established their position in the country through force of arms. The fact of this widespread opinion indicates the necessity for action that will clear up misunderstandings where they exist and make it plain, to Christians and non-Christians alike, that the church is a spiritual and not a political organization. This will involve, among other things, careful and patient study of the past history and present position of the relation of China to foreign powers and of the Chinese Christian Church to the treaties with those powers.
2. It is agreed that the National Christian Council Executive Committee be asked to take steps to bring the following point before the proper bodies: There is need of an attempt on our part to interpret the present psychological situation in order that the policies of missions and boards may be so determined as to improve and not aggravate the difficulties therein. They should be asked to participate in the study of China's foreign relations, sending out, if possible, one or two persons specially qualified by their knowledge of international law, or otherwise, to aid in such enquiry.

—Bulletin of the National Christian Council, China, July 1925.

A resolution adopted by the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council of China, October 31, 1925:

1. That for the present it shall be the policy of the committee to emphasize local study and experimentation, especially in connection with the churches and other Christian agencies, with a view to the meeting of local industrial conditions.
2. That wherever local churches and other Christian agencies feel that domestic handicraft industries are most important, they should concentrate thereon.
3. That for the current year the secretaries of the committee give special attention to problems connected with handicraft industries.

—Letter of November 5, 1925, from the National Christian Council of China, Shanghai, China, to the secretaries of local Industrial Committees.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF INDIA

(Formerly the National Missionary Council)

The National Christian Council of India met at Waltair, November 5-11, 1924. The Rev. W. Paton presented a report of the industrial education conference held at Allahabad, March 25-29, 1924, and it was

Resolved: That the council invites the attention of the provincial councils to the findings of the Industrial Education Conference and suggests that they might appoint committees to consider them in relation to the conditions and problems of the provincial areas.

Miss Wingate of the Y. W. C. A. spoke of some of the features of the development of modern industrial conditions in India, and after discussion it was

Resolved: That the council welcomes the offer of the Y. W. C. A. to share in the costs of the enterprise and remits to the executive to prepare a definite scheme of work and, subject to the provision of the necessary conditions apart from the budget of the council, to take action.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF JAPAN

The constituent groups of the indigenous Christian Church in Japan are in a transitional stage. In their local work and their missionary activity they are passing from adolescence and are facing the problems of maturity. They are preoccupied with the situation near at hand and immersed in the task of organizing their own inner life and work. They are in the throes of solving the problem of self-support both for their local program and for their missionary work further afield. Their interests, energies and resources are heavily taxed in the effort to assume the responsibilities of adult manhood in their immediate sphere. They lack, therefore, the surplus time, energy and

funds necessary to enable them to consider and deal with the larger matters of cooperation and with problems of national and international scope.

In order to avoid overburdening the indigenous Church of Japan in this critical time of transition, the council may be forced to start out with a much smaller budget and a less ambitious program and reach its maximum usefulness through a period of gradual growth.

* * *

With the launching of this (a permanent organization toward which the National Christian Council was working) the Christian movement in Japan will be in a position to open the way for Japanese leadership to take its proper place and for the indigenous Japanese Christian Church to come to its own. The Christian movement will be in a position to get an intelligent understanding of its field and a truer vision of its task. It will be able to undertake this task as a unit and not as a broken and scattered force. It will be able to function with power in the forming of public opinion and to make a real contribution toward the solution of social and national problems. It will be in line to join hands with the Christian movement in other lands and make its largest contribution toward the building of a better world.

—Rev. William Axling, D.D., in "The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa."

Note: The National Christian Council of Japan held its annual meeting October 8 and 9, 1925.

The report for the year 1924 states that the Social Welfare Committee, in conference with government authorities, has carried out a most exhaustive survey of social conditions in Japan, under three headings; i.e.,

Social Movements
Social Work
Social Education

"It is perhaps not too much to say that these surveys are the most complete of such conditions yet made by the Christian organization in Japan. Much of this material will be made available in the forthcoming Year Book of the council."

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN THE ORIENT

Resolution unanimously adopted by the Ninth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America, meeting June 16-21, 1924, in New York:

Whereas, the conditions under which women are employed in industry in the Orient are a menace to health and life itself through long hours, night work, unsanitary conditions, child labor and lack of factory regulations and inspection, and

Whereas, the hard-won standards in industry in this country are menaced through competition with factories in the Orient, and

Whereas, these mills and factories are largely operated by foreign capital and much of this exploitation goes on in localities governed by extra-territorial agreements, therefore, be it

Resolved: That the National Women's Trade Union League of America appoint a committee which shall have as its responsibility the study of industrial developments in the Orient, particularly as they concern women, with a view of entering into definite relationship with working women in those countries; and be it further

Resolved: That the above resolution be reported to the Women's Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions and that this bureau be urged to conduct a similar study and investigation; and be it further

Resolved: That in view of the international character of this industrial situation in the Orient the International Committee of the National Women's Trade Union League be empowered to invite as advisory members a committee of women from the women's trade unions in Europe, these advisory members to be kept constantly in touch with the work of the committee and to be asked to assist in planning any definite projects; and be it further

Resolved: That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of Commerce, calling his attention to this situation and to the efforts being made in the Orient to better the conditions of women; and that the committee created by this resolution be instructed to continue to present to him the results of further investigation, for possible action.

UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON LIFE AND WORK

CHILD AND ADOLESCENT LABOR

The welfare of the child and the welfare of the community alike require the abolition of child labor. The premature entry of the child into industry puts a stop to education before the results of early teaching have had time to take root, and too often arrests physical, mental and moral development to the spoiling of the man, the worker and the citizen. But the mischief does not end there. By the competition of children the adult labor market is disturbed. Men and women stand idle while children work, or see the standard of their earnings disastrously lowered by the rivalry of boys and girls who ought to be at school. This competition should cease.

Where employment of adolescents is in question, similar considerations apply, but in a modified form. Employment of young people should, as far as possible, include training in and for industry, and the hours of labor should be so regulated as to permit of that continued general education, needful for the development of the whole man.

The evil of child labor is international in its ill effects. The standards of one country react on those of another.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The Christian Church has not by herself to carry out programs of reform but to impart the life-giving spirit to them, and take part in them where desirable. It is not required of her that she should furnish economic systems or technical details or political programs, but it is expected of her to regenerate with the power which comes only from on high. It is demanded that she herself shall be a center of spiritual fellowship, and, above all, that she insist on the great creative power of love, brotherhood and justice.

* * * In order to make this possible, all Christians who believe in the social teaching of the Gospel ought often to meet together and help each other to think out the problem as to how the ideals of Christianity may be better realized under the conditions of modern industrial life. For this purpose we are here assembled. But this meeting is only the beginning. Our movement, to be really effective, must be carried on. This can be done in many ways. For each of us the question now is not to forget what he can do and ought to do.

—Report of the Commission at the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, August 1925.

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

The more one-sidedly the existing order of production is determined with a view to material interests, the more important it is that the individual, whatever his position, should endeavor, as far as his influence extends, to give full right of way to what is human and personal in economic life. The responsibility for this does not rest merely on those who directly take part in the process of production, but is also shared by every member of society.

If Christian principles are to gain ground here, they must first and foremost be realized in the life of individual Christians. In the administration of his property and in the execution of his tasks the individual must regard himself as the steward of God and the servant of his neighbor. As a consumer he must bear in mind the injurious repercussion on production of a consumption which merely gratifies artificial wants. Moreover, great is the responsibility which rests upon him as a factor in the formation of public opinion, with its immeasurable influence for good or evil on the life of the social community.

* * *

The tendency in the modern order of production to make economic points of view the only determining factors should be regarded by the individual as an admonition to redouble his efforts in his own sphere for the attainment of the following aims: That the human and personal element shall also have its due within production; that the relations between the groups or classes taking part in production, despite all differences, may be imbued with the sense of responsibility, confidence and mutual loyalty; that the establishment of superior and subordinate posts which is necessitated by the organization of the work shall not prevent the realization in per-

sonal relations of the human and social principle of the equality of men; and that, in general, consciousness shall be kept alive to the absolute validity of moral canons also in the economic sphere. The more powerful the position held by the individual within the order of production, the greater his responsibility for the spirit prevailing there. But every member of society, whether he directly takes part in the process of production or not, has an incontestable share in this responsibility.

* * *

Of no small importance is the influence which the individual exerts on the moulding of social and economic life by the contribution which he makes to the formation of public opinion. Especially in the modern democratic commonwealth this is a factor of almost immeasurable power for good or evil. Therefore the individual should consider far more deeply than is usually the case his responsibility in this respect, so that while he eschews premature and bitter partisanship, he shall endeavor to the best of his ability to contribute to converting public opinion into an organ through the medium of which profounder moral points of view may make themselves heard. * * *

THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE SOCIAL DUTY OF THE CHURCH

Realizing that the majority of social reforms are impossible unless all the nations agree in electing and applying them; that labor legislation must be international to be efficacious; that the International Labor Conferences and the International Board of Labor, formed under Article XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, have already elaborated, under the name of conventions and recommendations, a whole program of important reforms, we express the wish that church opinion may support this great movement of social justice, and that the federation of practical Christianity (Life and Work) may collaborate in as far as possible with these international organizations, that right and brotherhood may triumph more and more in economic and social relations. * * *

—Memorandum on "The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems," Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm, August 1925.

Note: The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work was held at Stockholm, Sweden, in August 1925. Representatives from seventeen European countries as well as from England and America took part in the discussion. The purpose of the conference was stated to be: "To concentrate the thought of Christendom on the mind of Christ, as revealed in the Gospels, toward those great social, industrial and international questions which are so acutely urgent in our civilization."

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE

The following resolution, which was passed at the annual council meeting of the Women's International League (the British section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), held in London on February 20, 1925, has been communicated to the International Labor Office:

This council of the Women's International League, having heard of the hard conditions of child labor in China, and particularly in the concession areas, rejoices that the Municipal Council of Shanghai have now appointed a commission to report on the need for regulation of child labor.

This council urges that the Ratepayer's Assembly of that city support the adoption by their Municipal Council of by-laws prohibiting the employment of children under twelve years of age and limiting the hours of work as may be recommended by the commission.

That this resolution be forwarded to the British Consul at Shanghai, to be presented to the Municipal Council and other bodies concerned, to the International Labor Office, and to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, for the information of the League Commission on the Traffic in Women and Children which has recently taken over the question of child welfare generally.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, March 23, 1925.



CHINA

CHINA TODAY

An address given before the Chicago Women's Trade Union League, October 8, 1925, by Mrs. Raymond Robins, chairman of the International Committee on Oriental Relations of the National Women's Trade Union League, and reprinted by permission from *Life and Labor Bulletin*, November 1925, published by the National Women's Trade Union League of America. It is recommended as a comprehensive, straightforward statement of the Chinese situation in its significance for the student of modern industrial life in that country. For detailed information and technical discussions of the points touched upon here, see excerpts from other sources.

If it is difficult—as we know it is—to understand one's own time in one's own country, how much more difficult is it to understand international questions—the questions of other nations—the problems and difficulties confronting other nations, and our obligations, as Americans, in regard to those problems. Unless we have in America a far wider knowledge of the conditions in China than there is to be found at the present time, it will be difficult for America to be true to her highest ideals and finest traditions in her relationship with China.

You will remember that at the last convention of the National Women's Trade Union League, held in New York in 1924, it was voted to appoint an International Committee on Oriental Relations. Mrs. Swartz and Elisabeth Christman asked me to serve as chairman. Many of our European friends of the International Congress have been asked to serve with me, and among our

American members are your president, Agnes Nestor, Amy Walker Field, Rose Schneiderman, Elisabeth Christman, Miss Mary Dingman of the National Y.W.C.A. and Miss Agatha Harrison, British representative of the Y.W.C.A. We have also invited Miss Zung, Miss Shin, and Miss Hing as the representatives from China, and Miss Kato as the Japanese representative.

We held our meeting in New York City in September, 1925, and as the questions in relation to China are so imminent, we confined ourselves to these questions.

Treasures from China

During this past summer I traveled along the Atlantic Coast from North Carolina to Maine, and whenever I had the privilege of meeting with any of the old settlers' families going back one hundred or more years, I found treasures from China in their homes—beautiful carved teakwood chests, beautiful China tea sets, silks, embroideries, precious stones, and ivory. In those early days our men built ships and sailed the seas for the joy and spirit of adventure, and because of this love of adventure we find the first American ship reaching the Canton waters in 1784 and called the "Empress of China." Her captain was Captain Green and with him was Samuel Shaw, so keen to establish friendly relations with China that he wrote to John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Relations of the Continental Congress, telling him of the great possibilities of trading with the Chinese. In answer, Mr. Jay appointed Mr. Shaw consul, and thus we have our first consul to China appointed in 1786, three years before George Washington became President of the United States. From this time on, relations with China were established, and in 1801, American ships carried four hundred and twenty-seven thousand seal skins to China, sailing by way of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and touching ports in Africa, India and the Dutch Indies.

In 1840 to 1842, China and Great Britain engaged in what has been called the Opium War, and immediately upon the beginning of the war all Americans left Canton waters, refusing to be drawn into a controversy between these two nations. When the Opium War came to an end, we sent Caleb Cushing as our first Minister to China. Daniel Webster was then Secretary of State. He had a keen appreciation of the need of the Chinese for modern medical science, and therefore appointed a surgeon to accompany Mr. Cushing as a member of the staff. His son, Fletcher Webster, went as under-secretary of the legation. It was Caleb Cushing who signed the treaty with China, establishing extraterritorial rights. What these signified I will speak of a little later, because I first want to call your attention to another great Minister from our country to China. I refer to Anson Burlingham, appointed Minister to China in 1868. Mr. Burlingham won the confidence and friendship of the Chinese to such a degree that the Emperor of China asked him to be Envoy from China with credentials from the Emperor to the nations of Europe. In his letter the Emperor referred to Mr. Burlingham as a man who "managed affairs in a friendly and peaceful manner."

Mr. Burlingham accepted these credentials, and after coming home to report to the President and Secretary of State of our country, he went forth to Europe, but unfortunately died in Russia before finishing his mission. It was Mr. Burlingham who suggested the treaty with China to our government, respecting the integrity of China and its unimpaired sovereignty—securing exemption from religious persecution, establishing the right of voluntary emigration, and giving to the citizens of each country the right of residence, travel, and attendance of schools and colleges.

This was the beginning of the "open door policy," later advocated so passionately by John Hay, Secretary of State in 1899. It involves the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with China. It calls upon these Powers, moreover, to assume a mutual obligation for the preservation of China's territorial and economic integrity.

Before continuing along these political and diplomatic lines, I want to tell you very briefly of some of the industrial disturbances and upheavals, and show you how intimately these are connected with the political questions in China, and with America's relations with China.

The Occidental Factory System

During the last half-century, industrialism and the factory system were introduced into China. When we realize that China represents one of the oldest nations in the world, that her culture goes back thousands of years, and that work with the hands has always been done in the quiet leisurely oriental fashion; when we realize, further, the love of beauty expressing itself in the handicraft of China, we can understand what it means to have the factory system introduced in such a nation. When we remember how difficult it was for the British working-folk to adjust themselves to the introduction of machinery one hundred years ago, we may be able to appreciate the extraordinary difficulties of adjustment in China. These industrial problems alone demand wisdom and courage, but when there is added to these problems the fact that in the foreign settlements of China the Chinese workers are under the mastery of Europeans and Japanese, we can appreciate the human elements entering into the story, and complicating all difficulties an hundredfold.

The industrial disturbances of which we have heard most are those occurring in Shanghai. For many years there has been increasing indignation at the working of little children in the mills and factories of the foreign settlements. So greatly was the public stirred that a Child Labor Commission was appointed by the Shanghai Municipal Council in June, 1923. It is interesting to note that on this Child Labor Commission were such women as Dame Adelaide Anderson, a noted inspector of factories in Great Britain, Agatha Harrison, Mary Dingman, and Dr. Mary Stone; and it is still more significant that the business interests were represented by the leading manufacturers of Shanghai. The commission made its report in July, 1924, and

hoped to have its report accepted by the Municipal Council on April 15, 1925.

Child Labor

We will get some conception of the work of little children when we see that the commission brought in these recommendations:

1. Prohibition of employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under ten years of age, rising to twelve within four years.
2. Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen for a longer period than twelve hours in any twenty-four.
3. Provision for twenty-four hours' consecutive rest in at least every fourteen days for children under fourteen.
4. Prohibition of employment of children under fourteen where especially dangerous conditions exist.

If these regulations could bring relief, what must be the status now? Read from "Threads," the story of the industrial work of the Young Women's Christian Association of China:

At this very moment of writing, we chance to know that, as but one small instance of many, in a hospital a few blocks away there is a small boy of ten who was brought in the other morning with his lips torn to ribbons and his jaw almost fractured because after a twelve-hour night shift he had fallen against the machinery at four a. m.—and he has worked under those conditions since he was a baby of seven for ten cents gold a day.

Another glimpse is given by Miss Harrison, writing on "China: Industry's New Frontier," [*The Churchman*, August 29, 1925]:

The tragedy of it all seemed to be summed up in the answer of a little old man of five and one-half years, who, when questioned, said his name was "Little Tiger" and that he was working because he "wanted to eat rice."

These little children are especially used in the silk mills for the washing of cocoons. Quoting Mrs. C. Beresford Fox, amongst the fourteen hundred modern factories we find spinning and weaving mills, silk mills, flour mills, electric lighting plants, oil mills, match factories, etc. Quoting from the Child Labor Commission's report, based on the testimony of witnesses who have made actual observations:

The contract system of employment is common. Under this the native contractor supplies the requisite labor and is paid on production. This system is obviously open to grave abuse. The commission heard evidence to the effect that in some instances contractors obtain young children from the country districts, paying the parents \$2 a month for the services of each child. By employing such children in the mills and factories the contractor is able to make a profit of about \$4 a month in respect to each child. These children are frequently most miserably housed and fed. They receive no money and their conditions of life are practically those of slavery.

In the cotton industry forty per cent of the workers are women, forty per cent are children, and twenty per cent are men. In central and southern China most of the workers are women and girls. Working hours are ordinarily twelve, fourteen, sixteen, and sometimes twenty hours per day seven days a week. Only a few factories which are under Christian management stop work on Sundays. In the cotton mills a twelve-hour day and a twelve-hour night shift are worked, and workers go alternate weeks on each shift. Wages are very low. Apprentices receive no wages, only their meals, which

are very poor, and a few coppers on holidays. An interesting investigation into the rug industry which was recently made in Peking brought out the fact that of the seven thousand workers engaged in making Peking rugs, five thousand are boys. At the end of the third year they are turned out, for at that time they would have to receive wages. Wages, of course, are very low. Monthly rates for women average about \$3.75 for unskilled labor in cotton and silk factories, \$6 for skilled labor in cotton, and \$4.50 for skilled labor in silk, while \$2.75 is paid in other industries. Remember, these are monthly rates.

It is a well known fact that the conditions of many of these cotton mills cause tuberculosis, but one of the most tragic instances is the work done by the little children in connection with the silk filatures. Little children stand in rows before basins of steaming hot water, stirring the cocoons with their hands, and washing them so as to enable the spinner to spin off more easily the silken threads. We need not wonder that men and women in Shanghai felt compelled to put an end to such conditions of work. As I stated earlier, the Child Labor Commission hoped to have its report accepted by the Municipal Council on April 15, 1925. Now, this council consists of rate payers in the foreign settlements, but though the Chinese pay eighty per cent of the taxes, they have no vote in the Municipal Council. When April 15 arrived, the council met without a quorum to transact business, and the meeting was adjourned to take place on June 2. Again there was no quorum present.

The Affair of May Thirtieth

To understand what happened, we must go back to last spring. Last May a Chinese worker in a Japanese mill in Shanghai was shot and killed. As a protest, a memorial service was planned by students and workers. It took place outside the foreign settlements of Shanghai, and after it was over six of the students marched, carrying banners protesting against foreign imperialism. There was evidently great excitement, and when the students reached the foreign-controlled area of the city, they were arrested and sent to jail. Here they remained for several days, denied all communication with friends on the outside. One of the boys arrested was only thirteen years old. The trial took place on the morning of May 30. It was held in what is termed a Mixed Court, and they appeared before a Japanese assessor. Bail was set at \$100 for each student, and as they were unable to raise that amount of money, they went back to jail. It is not difficult for such a group as ours to understand how high feeling ran when this decision became known.

It is one of our oldest American and Anglo-Saxon traditions that a man is to be judged by his peers, and those Chinese students were rebelling against Mixed Courts. Of this political aspect I will speak later, but let me add here that when the outcome of the trial was understood, the students protested against the decision. They protested against the decision as such, and they

protested against the injustice of bringing Chinese before a Mixed Court. Street meetings were organized with banners and leaflets. Almost at once arrests were made by the police (remember that these were foreign police), and those arrested were taken to the Police Station on Nanking Road. It was estimated that there were about two thousand people assembled, and it has been stated that the British sergeant of police ordered the crowd to disperse, using the English language, and when the crowd did not disperse, he gave the order to shoot. Eleven students and workers were killed, and many others wounded. The Chinese were not armed. As the result of this tremendous excitement, Chinese workers, students and business men went on a strike. The Municipal Council of Shanghai (let us remember, composed entirely of foreigners), declared martial law, and called on the consular body for naval forces, which were accordingly landed from twenty-four gunboats. These statements seem to be now accepted without contradiction. Need we wonder that under such conditions no quorum was present at the meeting of the Municipal Council in Shanghai on June 2? In addition, the Municipal Council at Shanghai had offered certain resolutions curtailing freedom of the press, free associations, and free speech, to be voted upon at the same time. These resolutions demanded that all printing and writing distributed within the foreign settlements be subject to the control of the censor, and when the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce drew up the "thirteen demands," absolute freedom of speech and of press for Chinese in the settlements was included.

These thirteen demands were formally presented by the Chinese Government as terms of settlement for the May affair, and may be grouped in two sections. The first, covering seven points, deals directly with the shooting of May 30, and calls for apology, compensation, punishment of offenders, release of Chinese arrested, reinstatement of strikers and betterment of labor conditions. The second section, representing six demands, includes revision of the Mixed Court, municipal franchise for Chinese ratepayers, and withdrawal of several proposed municipal (Shanghai Settlement) statutes. It is impossible to quote these in full, but I especially wish to call your attention to No. 2, which reads as follows: "Release of all Chinese arrested in connection with this affair and restoration to original state of all educational institutions in the International Settlement sealed and occupied by the authorities." The reference to the educational institutions is in protest against the action of the consular body in quartering American and other marines in Chinese schools and universities located in the foreign settlement. Did you know that we had American marines quartered in the universities and schools of Shanghai?

The Foreigner's Increasing Possessions

There is another interesting fact to be considered in connection with No. 10, which begins with these words: "Restraint to construct roads beyond boundaries." This demand is the result of a controversy between the Chinese and foreigners over the right of the Municipal Council to build

roads beyond the Settlement boundaries. Crowded conditions in the Foreign Settlement led to the construction of foreign residences and business houses in Chinese territory, the land being purchased by individual foreigners and real estate companies. The Municipal Council, in order to establish communications with the new communities, built a number of roads and high-ways radiating from the Settlement boundaries, the land for such being purchased for the purpose. These roads, being the property of the Settlement, automatically came under the jurisdiction of the Municipal Council, and as such had the same status as land within the Settlement boundaries. The roads are policed by the Settlement force, and legally, Chinese police and Chinese troops are prohibited from crossing them. Is not this illuminating? How serious these discriminations can be was pointed out by Dr. Edmunds at Williamstown. He said: "On British-controlled vessels not only along the China coast but even far inland on China's own waterways objection is often made to Chinese traveling first-class. At Canton the regulation was enforced that no Chinese could come into the foreign concession after dark unless he carried a lantern. Imagine the lasting effect upon the Chinese Secretary for Foreign Affairs coming to dine at a consulate and being stopped at the gate of the concession because he did not carry a lantern!"

Before I refer again to the political questions involved in the great Chinese struggle of today, I want to ask you to realize with me some simple significant facts: First, the Republic of China represents over four million square miles. This includes the land in Mongolia, and in Chinese Turkestan, as well as Tibet. China proper is divided into eighteen provinces, and excepting the three eastern provinces of Manchuria, the average area of the eighteen provinces of China proper is eighty-five thousand square miles as compared with an average of sixty-three thousand square miles for the forty-eight states of the United States of America. China has one of the oldest cultures in the world today. It speaks with ease of four thousand years of history and literature, of beauty and art and horticulture. One hundred and eleven years before the birth of Christ, the Emperor Wu Ti established a botanic garden in Chang-an, and we owe to China and to her patient and intelligent care some of our most beautiful flowers and fruits.

How Extraterritoriality Began

With Caleb Cushing in 1844 began extraterritoriality, but let us see for a moment how that happened. When the first Americans or British or other foreigners reached China the Chinese did not permit these foreigners to enter the interior of China. Furthermore, the Chinese said: "You must control your own nationals. We will not do so, and we will hold you responsible for the actions of your people." The Americans and Europeans were glad to accede to this request, for at the time the punishments in China were of exceptional cruelty. For long years, therefore, the foreigner accused of any guilt in China was brought before the consul of his country, and recognizing the difficulties involved in such action, Great Britain as long ago as

1865 established a court in China known as His British Majesty's Supreme Court for China, while we established our court, known as the United States Court for China, in 1906. Besides these courts there exists in Shanghai a tribunal known as the Mixed Court. This court is in fact a Chinese court, presided over by Chinese judges, but with representatives of the Treaty Powers sitting by their sides, and known as assessors.

In theory these assessors are present to see that the interests of their nationals are protected; but in fact they generally dominate the courts in which they sit. Since 1911 the Mixed Court at Shanghai has been controlled by the Treaty Powers, and the assumption of this control was justified by no treaty rights. The Chinese have repeatedly urged that this control be surrendered. When the first treaty was signed, when Caleb Cushing was Minister to China, four Powers were entitled to treaty rights, and these rights were limited to four ports. In 1925 we have twenty-two countries enjoying treaty rights in forty-nine ports. Now what is this question of extraterritoriality? These treaty rights have established foreign settlements or concessions over which the foreign Powers have almost complete administrative authority, and their nationals in China, when defendants in either criminal or civil proceedings, are exempted from the Chinese jurisdiction and entitled to be tried in the courts and by the laws of their own countries. Let us realize, furthermore, that some of these foreigners live outside the foreign settlements, and if a Chinese is injured by the criminal acts of the citizens of any of these twenty-two Powers, he cannot get justice until he takes the offender to the nearest consular court, and produces the necessary witnesses, all of which involves difficulties of transportation which are often insurmountable. Another aspect of this power of extraterritoriality is the question of the Chinese tariff. China is not permitted to decide for herself what customs and tariffs she will place on goods sent into her country. She has been forced to submit to a very low import duty, and to secure an increase she must have the unanimous consent of thirteen other Powers. The Chinese Maritime Customs Service is entirely under the Chinese Government, but by special agreement its administration is under the supervision of foreigners of various nationalities. The inspector general has always been British because the largest share of foreign trade is British. The tariff is fixed by joint treaties, the latest revision being made in 1922 in accordance with an agreement made at the Washington Conference. The manufacture of cotton cloths is a leading industry in China. Great Britain and Japan compete for control of the market. Consequently, whenever there is a suggestion by China for a revision of her import duties there are outcries from Manchester and Osaka.

You will see, therefore, that extraterritoriality means first, foreign direction of the most important of China's sources of revenue; second, foreign invasion into the administration of courts, postal communication, and wireless; third, the general use of foreign advisers and experts. It has been said, somewhat dramatically, "Spheres of interest and influence were the attempts

of foreign offices to stake out political claims to economic monopoly; extra-territoriality was the means to a commercial end; the foreign advisers on the payroll of the Chinese government were listening posts for national opportunities, and came out into the open in the struggle for concessions dealing with commercial opportunities, railway development, and loans." There are foreign armed forces on Chinese soil—legation guards; there are about one thousand troops of the Treaty Powers in the legation quarter of Peking, and about four thousand men at points commanding access from Peking to the sea. There are, further, local corps of foreign volunteers, an example being the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, a municipal militia numbering about 1,500 men. England also maintains Sikhs, recruited as police in her treaty "settlements."

The Baltimore Conference

On September 17, there was held at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore a conference on America's relations with China. This conference was called by one hundred American citizens deeply interested in the questions at issue. There were present at the conference about one hundred and sixty Americans, as well as a great body of Chinese students, who were present as guests of the conference without a vote. The members of the conference were generously housed in the Johns Hopkins dormitories, and the sessions of the conference were held in Gilman Hall. Every effort had been made by the committee in charge to make intelligent discussion possible, and printed papers were presented by such leading authorities on China as Dr. W. W. Willoughby, professor of political science at John Hopkins University from 1904 to 1916, constitutional adviser to Chinese Government, chief technical adviser to Chinese Delegation, Washington Arms Conference; Bishop Logan Herbert Roots, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Hankow, chairman China Continuation Commission, secretary of the National Christian Council of China; Professor S. Gale Lowrie, of the University of Cincinnati; Professor Charles Hodge, assistant professor of government in Washington Square College and assistant director of the Division of Oriental Commerce and Politics of New York University; F. R. Eldredge, chief of the Far Eastern Division of the United States Department of Commerce; while, in addition, among the members we had with us such able men and distinguished friends of China as Professor Paul Monroe, chairman of the Shantung Christian University, Shanghai College, Peking Union Medical College, expert for the Chinese Government Educational Commission; Dr. E. Frederic Lee, economist consul of United States of America to Shanghai and Peking, 1920-1922; and Professor John L. Stuart, of the Nanking Theological Seminary, president of Peking University.

Among other guests who made notable contributions to the conference were Dr. Josephine Lawney, of the Women's Medical College in Shanghai; Agatha Harrison, just back from a three years' visit in China with the Y.W.C.A.; Charles R. Crane, former Minister to China; Julia Lathrop, Dr.

R. E. Diffendorfer, Dr. A. L. Warnshuis, and many other distinguished missionaries in America on leave of absence. I want to add that there were also present two of the leading Chinese women, who had just returned to America, Miss Yang and Miss Wang. Our Chicago friends were Professor Mollie Ray Carroll and Professor Keyser Edmunds, president for many years of the Canton Christian College and now provost of Johns Hopkins. Among the students were many who were called "indemnity" students, having come to America as the result of our government's turning over the Boxer Indemnity for educational purposes in China. The speakers of the first evening were Charles R. Crane of Chicago, Mr. Alfred Sze, Minister Plenipotentiary from China, and Dr. P. W. Kuo, director and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and National Association for Advancement of Education in China.

The conference began on the evening of Thursday, September 17, and finished on Sunday afternoon, September 20. On Saturday afternoon the conference was divided into group sections, and the section which I had the great privilege to attend met with Professor Monroe as chairman, and considered the question, "What is the peculiar opportunity of the American Government in the recent crisis (a) through independent action? (b) in concert with other Powers?" It was the report of this section, presented by Dr. Warnshuis of the International Missionary Council, which was accepted as the expression of the views of the conference. It was carried by a vote of 125 to 25. I am sorry it is impossible to quote the report in full, but you can read it in its entirety in the *New York Times* of September 21, 1925. The outstanding features were: First, the abolition of extraterritoriality; second, tariff autonomy for China; and third, if need be, a position of vigorous leadership by the United States Government.

The Nine Powers

Within the last months the international situation regarding China has changed because France, the last of the nine Powers to act, has ratified the two treaties submitted by the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments in 1921. These nine Powers are the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal, and on October 26 there was scheduled to be held the Nine Power Conference in Peking to consider the question of the Chinese tariff. On December 18 another Nine Power Conference will be held in Peking for the purpose of considering the statements of principles contained in the second treaty. The four most important policies advocated are: First, to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China; second, to grant the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government; third, to allow equal opportunity for all nations in China's commerce and industry—otherwise the principle of the "open door"; fourth, to pledge the signatory governments not to seek special rights and privileges for their na-

tionals in China. Extraterritoriality was not dealt with in the treaty, but was acted upon in a resolution passed by the representatives of the nine Powers signing the treaty.

We have heard much of the Russian, and especially of the Bolshevist influence in China. It is well for us to remember that Russia has relinquished her extraterritorial rights. Need we wonder that the Chinese, and especially the younger Chinese students, feel a debt of gratitude to a nation which recognizes the sovereignty of China? We all know what it means to have help brought at a critical moment. Over a hundred years have come and gone, but we in America still cherish Lafayette, who in one of the dark hours of the American Revolution appeared as the knight in shining armor to lead us to victory. We, too, have the opportunity to do for China what Lafayette did for America. We are told that the Chinese Government is not strong enough to take command, and that the military rulers of the various provinces will become, in reality, the Government of China. How true this is we do not know, but we do know that it would be easier to determine that question if the foreign Powers would relinquish their claims. Can we not understand that it may be the interests of some of the Powers to keep the central government of China weak? And until the foreign Powers have withdrawn, we can not know whether China can or cannot develop a strong central government. Just as at the time of our Revolution we could not develop a strong national government until the foreign Power had left American soil, so it is with China today.

Education

As I have already stated, among the distinguished Chinese present was Mr. Kuo, one of the great educators of China. Popular education in China began in 1898 when the Emperor Kuang-Hsu authorized the establishment of a national system of schools. But the great deterrent to education lay in the fact that the language of the classics was the only recognized literary medium. It has been stated that there was about as much connection between the ancient written language of China and the spoken language of China today as there is between Latin and English. Beginning with the revolution of 1911, and the appointment of the Minister of Education, modern textbooks were introduced, and the most significant indication of educational development in China is represented by the later revolution of 1917 and 1919, which has resulted in the establishment of a popular written language. Under the leadership of the students a movement began to make the common spoken language also the written language, and today the government is printing many of its textbooks in this modern written language, which is also used by the newspapers of the country. It was not long ago that it was estimated that eighty per cent of the Chinese were illiterate, but the accessibility of a written language has led to the inauguration of a mass education movement in an effort to reach some of the two hundred million folk eager to learn. By means of lectures and charts the new system is taught, so that in four

months of classroom work, averaging one hour each week-day, the pupil can write simple letters, keep accounts, and read the new written language easily. Who can foresee the far-reaching results of this mass education?

Missionaries

For over one hundred years China has played into the imagination of America. I have spoken of the early trading days, but though China and America are bound together by material ties, the ties of sentiment, which our religious and cultural associations have knit, hold us even more closely. The first Roman Catholic missionary went to China in 1765, while America sent the first Protestant missionary in 1829. Think of the task undertaken, and the discouraging circumstances surrounding it! Up to 1842, the position of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries was contrary to the laws of China, which prohibited all foreigners from residing in the country, and permitted the traders to visit Canton only during the trading season of each year. The first Protestant missionaries went to Canton as in the employ of the trading houses. Here they met a difficult foreign language, a highly developed culture little known in the West, hostility, and personal hardships; and yet hundreds and thousands of Americans first learned to know China and learned to care for China through these courageous and adventurous men and women. The situation in China today is largely traceable to the cultural and religious influences the missionaries introduced. They brought to the Chinese, schools and hospitals, and a desire to know the learning of the West.

Thousands of Chinese students came west for a British or an American education, and there can be no question that the leading force in China today is the student. It was not until 1858-60 that the treaties contained a guaranty of toleration for Christianity and a promise of protection in the exercise of faith, not only to missionaries, but also to Chinese Christians. Two missionaries, Wells Williams and W. A. P. Martin, inserted an article on Christianity in the American treaty in 1858. Think what it is that we owe those missionaries, those men and women who had the courage of their faith, who went forth into a strange land, who were so conscious of having received a message of glad tidings that they went to share these tidings with an alien race, and brought a message which revolutionized China. In the Constitution of the Republic of China religious liberty is guaranteed, and as Dr. Warnshuis told us, this human right would undoubtedly be defended by the Chinese people themselves. With deep understanding of the people of China, the missionaries have declared themselves ready to forego all privileges and protection under the treaties with foreign Powers.

The Chinese and Their Independence

The Chinese are struggling for independence, and we can help—you and I and every one of us—by giving as wide circulation as possible to authentic information from China. We can urge our government, through

President Coolidge, through Mr. Kellogg, our Secretary of State, and through Senator Borah, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, to stand for the abolition of extraterritoriality—to withdraw our gunboats and marines from China and refuse the use of armed force against a friendly nation. In a recent speech in Idaho Senator Borah said: "The attitude of the foreign Powers toward China is keeping that nation from progressing and maintaining order. Unless the foreign governments conform to new conditions, respect the territorial rights of China, treat Chinese labor with justice and give the government revenue upon which she can live, we are going to have a condition in the Orient which every one who loves peace will regret."

We have a long tradition of friendship with China. Let us prove our friendship today when she is struggling for freedom from foreign oppression and domination. We are a kindly folk, but our kindness has not prevented our gunboats from going up the Yangtze River nor kept our marines from being quartered in the schools and universities of the Foreign Settlement. It is this fact which startles and arrests us. It is this fact which challenges. Friends, let us back the finer spirit of America. That spirit which sent our men into China with the message of glad tidings, which found expression in service in church and hospital, in school and university, which turned trading into a great adventure and made statesmanship serve the finer purpose of man. Let us be true to America.

CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

The *Iron Trade Review* (Cleveland) prints a brief article by Dr. C. T. Wang, the Chinese statesman and diplomat who has been Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Peking Government, which would seem to show that China is, in spite of all disturbances, making steady industrial progress. Dr. Wang cites the following specific features in the industrialization of China:—

1. The growth of the cotton industry and the prosperity of cotton mills. There are today 27 Chinese-owned cotton mills with 2,639,862 spindles in operation and 32,500 spindles under installation, while there are 13,403 looms working and 5,625 looms in construction.
2. The increase in the number of modern factories and their exported output. At the end of 1922 there were no less than 740 factories producing articles of foreign type. Among these, 202 manufactured cotton piece goods, 87 socks and stockings, 69 cotton yarn, 41 cotton towels, 25 cotton thread; 66 specialized in soap, 42 in candles; there were also 38 flour mills, 19 cigar and cigarette factories, 11 paper mills, 7 factories turning out slate pencils, and 7 biscuit factories.
3. The increase in the volume of Chinese exports. Last year (1923) out of the total foreign trade of 1,676,320,303 Haikwan taels, (about 80 cents), Chinese exports aggregated 752,917,416 taels, while the corre-

sponding figure for the previous year was 654,891,933 taels.

—*The Literary Digest*, July 11, 1925.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Since the advent of the Republic in 1911 there has been a steady decrease in the importation of foreign cotton goods, due to the growth of cotton industry in China. In June 1920 there were only 35 mills; last year there were in operation no less than 76 mills, constituting 60 per cent of the whole industry in China. Other industries such as soap and candle factories, match factories, factories for preparing egg products, canneries, cement and brick work, flour mills and various other lines of industry are assuming proportions of importance. . . . In brief, China has not been slow in seizing opportunities for industrial development, and customs receipts during the last decade show a steady increase every year, which is a sure indication of the growing trade with other countries.

—"Present Day China," an address by L. T. Chen, at the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1925.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN CHINA

Digest of the speech of Miss Shin Tak Hing, a delegate to the Third Congress of the International Federation of Working Women, held in Vienna, Austria, in August, 1923. Miss Shin is a Young Women's Christian Association secretary in Shanghai, China. (See page 44.)

China is essentially an agricultural country. Alongside, and often in combination with these agricultural pursuits, are home industries such as silk and cotton spinning and weaving, silkworm rearing, hand embroidery, lace making, ivory and jade carving, brass and metal work, woodwork, lacquer, and so on. But within the last twenty or thirty years modern power-driven factories have been springing up all over the country, especially in those cities favored with means of water or railroad transportation.*

Nature of Wage-Earning Employment of Women

Among the three groups (industrial, domestic, and professional) of wage-earning women in China the industrial group is the greatest. Men from inland who have settled down to work in factories often bring their families

*It is generally held that eighty-five per cent of the population of China is agricultural. This figure is not based upon any accurate census of the country, but merely upon eye-witnesses' assumptions, and is probably too high. Two and one-half per cent of the population is probably sufficient to include the police, or soldiers, ruffians, bandits, etc. Provision must be made for artisans, merchants, bankers, officials, and laborers out of the remaining twelve and one-half per cent, which is sufficient. The probability is that twenty-five to thirty per cent of the population is engaged in non-agricultural pursuits and that only a few hundred thousands are engaged in labor under the factory system. These laborers are principally in the treaty ports and provincial capitals, although factories, mines, railroads, and other industrial enterprises are constantly moving into the interior where labor is cheaper, transportation less expensive, danger from strikes, political agitations and other impediments to industry are less usual. Modern industrial enterprises have been reported in more than fifty centers.

—China Year Book, 1925.

with them. Their wives and daughters find it necessary to work so as to help with the family income. The increase in the cost of living, famine, floods or bad harvests, often urge the women out of their homes to work in factories, as the family income decreases. It is estimated that in the cotton industry about forty per cent are women, forty per cent are children, and only twenty per cent are men. In the silk mills in Central and South China, nearly all the workers are women and girls, though boys between the ages of ten and twenty are largely employed in North China.

The factory conditions of eighty or a hundred years ago in the West are, unfortunately, being reproduced in China. The ordinary working hours are twelve, fourteen and sixteen hours a day, seven days a week. In the cotton mills a twelve-hour day and a twelve-hour night shift are worked, and the workers go alternate weeks on each. The lunch period varies from a quarter of an hour, and in many cases the machinery runs all through the normal mealtime and the workers eat their cold meal while tending their machines. Often no definite time is set aside for meals at all. Sometimes, besides the usual hours, workers are put to work overtime. There is no provision for time off before or after childbirth for married women. Only a few factories, such as the Commercial Press Works in Shanghai and the hairnet and embroidery industry in Chefoo, which are under Christian management or influence, stop work on Sundays. Some of the larger or more modern factories often suspend work for one day in ten, or twice a month, for the purpose of cleaning and repairing machinery. In a few cases two rest days in a month are given, but such a rest only means from six a.m. to six p.m., so those who happen to be working on night shifts do not get it.

The safeguarding of machinery has received little attention. The modern factory system has been mainly introduced by the foreigner, who has erected fine, up-to-date factory buildings with the best modern machinery, but in most cases has forgotten the safeguards for that machinery. Sanitary arrangements, cleanliness, lighting and ventilation are very unsatisfactory. There is no restroom, canteen or cloakroom.

Wages are lower in China than in Europe or America. Wages for skilled and unskilled work vary considerably in different parts. One report shows the average monthly wage for skilled female labor in the cotton and silk mills to be \$7.50, and in other industries \$5.50. Those for skilled labor are \$12 in cotton and \$9 in silk. For children they are \$4 in cotton and \$3 in others. Apprentices receive no wages.*

*The social value of wages is determined in the more industrial cities of China by the cost per picul of rice. When rice reaches as high as \$13-15 per picul in Shanghai, there will be strikes unless some measures are taken by employers to offset the difference between the normal cost of the rice and the abnormal in relationship to the wages paid. One foreign firm in Shanghai, during a period of very high prices for rice, inaugurated a system of fixing an arbitrary price for rice, say \$8 per picul, as normal. They then figured out how much rice each worker ate per month. They gave him the difference in money between what the rice cost at the arbitrary price and what it actually cost. It is estimated that four persons consume one picul of rice per month.

Employment of Children

Up to the present there has been no age limit, small children of six and upwards working long hours and under the bad conditions described above. Mothers and children go to the cotton mills and silk mills together. Hundreds of girls between the ages of eight and twelve are employed to stir cocoons in steaming hot water, which often scalds their little hands and leaves white stains on them. In cotton mills they work on spindles, joining on threads. In both cases they are on their feet for twelve hours a day, in some places even longer, or on night shifts. Besides the small children employed, there are babies of two or three years seen toddling or playing about in some of the factories.

There is no compulsory education for children; no free schools for poor children, except a few established by Christian or charity organizations; and in very poor families parents cannot afford to lose the tiny wages of their small children by sending them to school.

Standards of Living

While the cost of living has increased in China very rapidly since the war, the increase in wages has been slower. The factory girls in China do not live alone or come by themselves to work in manufacturing centers. They usually live with their parents or with other members of their families, and are considered a part of their families until they are married.

The housing problem is very serious, for wherever factories are put up the industrial workers and their families gather round them without any adequate provision to meet the increased demand for housing.

Rice is the main article of diet—rice soft-boiled or hard-boiled. Soft rice is eaten for breakfast and hard rice for dinner and supper. Rice is always eaten with green vegetables, fish or eggs, and a little meat. But those who have to leave home at five a.m., or sometimes before, will not be able to prepare any breakfast for themselves. They pick up a bowl of hot thin rice *congee* and a fried cake or two from the street vendors as they walk to work. If a real noon hour is given, those who live near go home for a hot meal, but those who live at a distance eat the cold rice and vegetables they have brought with them. Supper, the most substantial meal of the day, is eaten as soon as possible after their return from work. But after working twelve or fourteen hours they have very little energy or desire for cooking their own supper and usually have their rice and food, ready cooked, brought in from foodshops—unhealthy foodstuffs that have been exposed to the dust and flies in the street.

The Industrial Revolution at Work

In the Occident, as the factory system developed, employers and workers alike were feeling their way in the dark, with no precedents to guide them, but China has those lessons as a guide. The progressive Chinese, especially

the student group, are developing a keen social conscience and are awakening to the importance of these modern industrial developments, but the system is complicated by foreign influence. Many foreign employers — mainly British, American and Japanese — have come to China for the purpose of exploiting cheap labor, though some of these are really interested in the workers and their well-being.

Various attempts have been made from time to time by missionary and other organizations to help the industrial workers and in the last few years the problem has been tackled in a fundamental and far-reaching way. Principal among the movements working towards industrial reform is the Chinese Young Women's Christian Association, to which various employers, both foreign and Chinese, turn for help. In the training of welfare workers it is interesting to note that the London School of Economics has given a scholarship for a Chinese student for a year's training, and it is hoped that one can be sent over every year.

In closing her address, Miss Shin summed up her appeal to the working women of other nations:

"We are looking to the other countries which have had more experience for cooperation and help in training, ideas, experience, and sympathy. We want them to understand the underlying influences in the development of the labor movement in China. We need our foreign friends' help in developing a well informed and intelligent body of public opinion on the subject of industrial conditions in China, especially as regards their own materials out there. We hope they will study our history, civilization, the modern progressive movements, and our international relationship in China. This could be done by reading some of the modern and sympathetic books about China, and by securing speakers with first-hand knowledge."

—*Life and Labor Bulletin*, May 1924.

BENEATH THE SMOKESTACKS

If you will take your stand in Yangtzepoo Road in Shanghai shortly before half-past five any evening, you will see what sort of human material it is that is being fed into this new industrial order. At your back, stretching from the street to the river bank, are the great mills, many of them concrete-and-steel structures. Across the road are countless Chinese shops and tea-houses. Up and down the street clatter tramcars and automobiles. Rickshas jog by. And in and out of this ceaseless traffic weave along lines of wheelbarrows, each barrow freighted with the workers who are to go on duty at five-thirty and remain there until the same time tomorrow morning.

I have never seen one of these wheelbarrows that bore fewer than six workers at that time of day. Eight is more common, and ten might be called the standard load. Every so often a barrow will pass bearing workers so young that fourteen of them can be wheeled by a single coolie.

That is the sort of a foundation upon which men, in their desire for quick and high profits, are trying to build China's new industrial life. It has been stated that, taking into consideration all the industries in modern China, including those that must use nothing but mature male labor, the workers are fifteen per cent women and twenty per cent children under fourteen years of age. And a careful investigation of the cotton and silk mills of Shanghai disclosed the fact that forty per cent of the workers are women and forty per cent children.

A group of interested Christians tried to give a Christmas party to these silk mill girls of Shanghai a few years ago. One hundred and twenty of them came—one hundred and twenty morsels of dismal humanity. Most of them had bound feet, and the tips of their fingers were white from constant dipping into the hot water in which the cocoons are handled. These children ranged from six to twelve years of age, and were probably familiar with the mills from their earliest days, for mothers frequently bring their babies and place them among the piles of cocoons between feedings. Then when the child is old enough, it is taught to sort the cocoons and pull off the waste, and so it spends the long days, sitting on a little stool in the dark, dusty, unheated room, picking endlessly away.

The youngsters at this Christmas party were curious as to what was in store for them. But the best efforts of the most accomplished recreational leaders of the city could do nothing to arouse them. They had been utterly beaten down by the monotony of the factory. Their young strength had been mortgaged even before they were born.

Even after they have been worked thus hard these mill-hands frequently receive only a pittance. Wages have been slowly forced up in China since the close of the World War (as in other countries, they have not kept pace with the rise in living costs), but still today, in the most highly paid labor center in China, Shanghai, skilled women workers in the silk mills receive but from thirty-six to forty cents a day, gold; unskilled women workers but from twenty-eight to thirty-five cents a day; and girls from fifteen to twenty cents a day. And it is estimated that more than seventy per cent of all the workers in the country are working the seven-day week.

This exploitation is reaching out from the mills to cast its blight upon the homes around the mills. A system of sweatshop labor is coming into existence that bids fair to go far toward the undermining of Chinese village life.

—Paul Hutchinson: "China's Real Revolution."

MODERN INDUSTRY IN CHINA

Women and Children

In silk reeling, spinning, cotton textile work, embroidery, knitting, manufacture of toilet articles and curing of tea leaves the majority of the

workers are women and children. As working hours are unusually long and conditions are bad, many women and children become physical wrecks after working for a few years in factories. There are several factors which draw women and children into factory life. On the one hand, they are working because of absolute necessity—they can supplement the family income to some extent. But on the other hand, they are in great demand because of the low wages they are willing to accept. So every time when a man's position can be filled by a woman we find the woman there. And, in turn, if a woman can be replaced by a child, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the child is found there. Thus the majority of the workers in cotton and silk factories in Shanghai are women, and on account of the extreme poverty and famine in the north, thousands of young children are found in Tientsin cotton mills working on what is called the "apprentice system." The system means that no regular wage is required to be paid to the apprentice. As long as there is no provision for protecting the women and children from being exploited, the standard of wages will be kept low.

Child labor is one of the most urgent problems that need to be solved. Little tots of seven or eight are frequently found working night and day in match, silk and cotton factories. Through no fault of their own they are denied play, education, and all other opportunities which their more favored brothers and sisters enjoy. They become old before their time. It is unbelievable that the public can be so indifferent to such an undesirable system which was only tolerated more than one hundred years ago in the West.

Agitation

The general public may be said to be indifferent to the labor conditions prevalent in the majority of the modern factories, but there are groups of people who take quite a different attitude. Among these are those who are directly concerned—the workers themselves. During the last three years news of strikes has become common. Although the strikes were not primarily directed against the existing system they were, nevertheless, for the immediate betterment of conditions. Aside from the partial success of the seamen's strike in the early spring of 1922, the persistent agitation of the silk workers in Shanghai deserves particular mention. After the failure to get their employers to concede their demands, they sought the help of both the civil governor and the provincial assembly of Kiangsu. This resulted in the issuing of some sort of regulations known as the "Regulations for the Protection of Merchants and for the Welfare of the Workers." The tragedy is that they are not enforced by any means at present, but the women are still persistently demanding that something must be done to improve their working conditions. Anyone who has visited silk filatures will not think such a demand unreasonable. In order to strengthen their position the silk women, in cooperation with the women workers in the cotton mills, started on January 8, 1924, a Preorganization Committee of thirty-three women to form a "United Silk and Cotton Women Worker's Association." The object

of the association as stated in the draft constitution is threefold: namely, to establish friendship, to promote education, and to study health among fellow workers.

The joint committee of the Social Service Departments of the Young Women's Christian Association, Shanghai Women's Club, American Woman's Club, and British Women's Association in Shanghai has been agitating for the protection of factory children in the Settlement. The executive body of the Municipal Council was approached by this group, with the result that a Child Labor Commission was appointed by the council. This commission has been sitting since June 1923, and will probably make some constructive recommendations to the council. Doubtless in no distant future regulations will be formed for the well-being of the factory children, including provision for their education.

The Christian organizations are not behind other forces in agitating for better conditions in factories. The Young Women's Christian Association decided, in June 1921, to refuse to do any welfare work so long as undesirable conditions prevailed in the factories. The organization therefore determined "to begin at once to make a direct and accurate study of industrial conditions in typical centers: to equip it (i.e. the Y. W. C. A.) with the knowledge which will enable it to serve both employers and employees in the most constructive ways, and to help to create the public opinion which must precede legislation." Departments for industrial service have been established in the Young Men's Christian Associations at Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin and other chief centers of industry in a variety of ways.

The Christian Church as a whole, represented at the National Christian Conference in May 1922, adopted a threefold recommendation regarding labor standards, with a forward look towards the ultimate inclusion of China in the international labor standards. The three points are (1) no child labor under twelve full years of age, (2) one day's rest in seven, and (3) the improvement of working conditions and hours of labor. The National Christian Council, which unites the Protestant agencies at work in China, appointed a commission on "Church and Industry" in May 1923. This commission on September 11, 1923, recommended a policy and program to the Executive Committee of the council, which was adopted and endorsed. The gist of the policy and program may be summed up in the following paragraph:

That the National Christian Council utilize every effort at its disposal to promote the three standards adopted by the National Christian Conference in May 1922: to coordinate activities of various organizations in local centers for better industrial and social conditions or relationships; to give advice to those centers where experiments are being made for working toward a better social order; and to take immediate steps toward establishing a center or centers for social and industrial research.

Some definite methods are proposed to carry out the above lines of service, such as conferences in various places, preparation of literature, visits to special centers, institutes or summer schools, and courses of lectures. From time to time foreign specialists will be brought to China to examine into and report on special conditions and problems, and in other ways to render

expert help as the occasion demands and opportunity offers. In order to equip China with specialists in this field, chances should be given to promising students for technical training either in China or abroad.

A cabinet of six was appointed by the Industry Commission of the National Christian Council to carry out the work planned by the commission. The cabinet issues an occasional paper called *Christian Industry* in both English and Chinese, besides a series of pamphlets bearing on the subject. It also carries on correspondence with seventeen local centers where industrial committees are in the process of being organized. The following is the list of the local centers: Peking, Tientsin, Tsinan, Kanking, Shanghai, Foochow, Hangchow, Chefoo, Wuchang, Moukden, Canton, Chengtu, Hankow, Chengchow, Ningpo, and Hongkong. In October 1923, the National Christian Council sent a "Message" to all the national Christian organizations for cooperation in a unified effort to secure a Christian industrial order. To quote the last sentence of the Message: "In order, therefore, to achieve a united Christian approach to this task, it is urged that all Christian organizations, in developing an industrial policy, look to the Commission on Church and Industry appointed by the National Christian Council to secure adequate unification of policy and effort." (See page 53.)

On January 7, 1924, the Commission on Church and Industry adopted the following recommendation submitted by the cabinet.

Be it resolved: That the Industrial Commission instruct the cabinet to proceed forthwith with the inquiry and suggestion of gradually multiplying such groups along lines as were followed by similar groups, preparing for the C.O.P.E.C. conference in Great Britain, but confining their emphasis to the industrial and economic problems as are found in China, with a view to

1. The holding of local conferences on church and industry during 1924.
2. The holding of regional conferences during 1925.
3. The holding of a national conference in 1926.

When the Association of Christian Colleges and Universities met from February 5 to 7, 1924, in Nanking, the section on sociology and economics passed recommendations to the effect that Christian colleges and universities should undertake the training of social workers; look forward to establishing an institute of research, and in the meantime cooperate with other agencies that conduct social surveys, if there be any; create public opinion on social and industrial problems; and appoint committees to deal with literature and with the Chinese equivalents of technical terms, and to consider whether steps should be taken to bring together those interested in sociology and economics in a scientific society.

At the invitation of the National Christian Council, Dame Adelaide Anderson, late chief inspector of factories of Great Britain, came to China in December 1923. As Dame Adelaide has given nearly thirty years' service to her government in factory inspection it is most fortunate that China at this opportune time should be able to secure her help and advice on various phases of the industrial work. (See page 100.)

Welfare Work

Although very little has been done to improve the welfare of the workers, some employers are beginning to realize their responsibility to better the conditions of their employees. There are a number of firms which are already doing something toward that direction, such as the Yangtze Engineering Works in Hankow, the Pacific Alkali Company in Tangku, the British-American Tobacco Company in Shanghai, in giving medical care to the workers and educational facilities to their children. The Commercial Press in Shanghai has provision for pensions, for maternity allowance, medical care, educational facilities and recreational and social amenities for its staff, while a considerable amount is set aside out of its profits and distributed in bonuses.

The Christian employers in Chefoo are doing something for the welfare of the employees. The workers are given Sundays free with pay and a possible Sunday program is being considered by the employers. Day nurseries are provided in some cotton mills in Shanghai and in a silk filature at Wusih. Some of the leading mines also have housing schemes, cooperative stores, facilities for amusement and recreation, baths, savings banks, educational facilities, pension schemes, compensation systems, and so on.

It must be admitted that in so great a country this is only an insignificant beginning. It is nearly all on a paternalistic basis without active participation on the part of the workers. There is danger of such activities being resented by the workers in the future, especially if they are substituted for something more fundamental. There is real fear that employers may be content to assist social and religious agencies that are deeply interested in the welfare of the industrial classes instead of putting industrial relations on a sound basis.

Legislation

As far as the industrial situation is concerned there is every reason to say that history does repeat itself. One cannot see without wonder the faithful reproduction of the eighteenth century thinking in this age when men are supposed to be wise and more enlightened through trial-and-error methods and the experience of their predecessors. Owing to the lack of public opinion the government never gave a thought to the question until last spring, when through the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce two sets of regulations—one for the factory workers and the other for the miners—were promulgated. At the same time the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Communications, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce have each organized a special labor division to look after matters concerning labor. Anyone who glances over the regulations will readily see that there is no way to have them enforced, as there is no provision for inspection. Moreover, there are several articles which need improvement if they are enacted for the welfare of both the employers and workers.

China is to become one of the world's markets. Her national resources are immense and almost inconceivable. Whether the development of these natural resources will be a blessing to mankind or a curse to humanity in the future will greatly depend upon the attitude of mind of the so-called thinking people. Shall modern industry serve a few people at the expense of thousands of human beings? Should modern industry in China take such a course?

—W. T. Zung, in Industrial Reconstruction Series, No. 4, Issued by the Commission on Church and Industry, National Christian Council of China.

INDUSTRIAL HOSPITAL, SHANGHAI: REVIEW OF 880 CASES FROM THE COTTON MILLS

The present study falls into several divisions as follows: men, women, children, their accidents and diseases. Persons under fifteen years of age are classified as children. The average age of 100 children injured by accident was twelve years; the youngest child injured was five years old. Sixty per cent of all the patients were male, and forty per cent female. Table I shows the total number of cases treated, with the proportion treated in each division. The percentage of accident cases and of those not due to accident is also given. In comparing the figures of this table, especially of the accident cases, we must bear in mind the important factor of different occupational hazards. For instance, the occupations of the men are far more dangerous than those of the women and children; therefore fair comparisons of the number and severity of accidents to the men, on the one hand, and to the women and children on the other, cannot be made. But judging from observation we feel that the work of the women compared with that of children is much the same as to industrial hazard, so that in this particular the comparison is fair and likewise valuable.

The textile community served by our hospital consists of about 15,000 workers. Undoubtedly other foreign hospitals near the upper end of the district treat some of the men and children from this district; but most of the women willing to accept foreign treatment must come to our hospital, since there are no available beds for women anywhere else near this section of the city. The exact proportion of men, women and children employed is hard to obtain. In many mills it appears that the manager does not have the figures. Much of the work is contracted out, and in that case no one knows except the contractor of a division, and he knows for his division alone. Even here the personnel changes from day to day. However, from the numerous conversations with managers and contractors, and from figures obtained from social workers in the district, we have estimated the proportion as follows: women, fifty-five per cent; men, twenty-five per cent; children, twenty per cent.

Among the women and children, nearly all of whom work at machines, a larger proportion of the wounds is confined to the upper extremity. Ninety-five per cent of the wounds are of the hand or just above. Many of the permanent disabilities in women and children come from disabled hands. It is most deplorable that the hand, which is so useful, especially to the textile worker, is the part of the body most often mangled.

Number of Hospital Cases with Percentage of Accidents

	No. of		Industrial Accident		Other	
	Cases	Percentage	Cases	Percentage	Cases	Percentage
Men	566	65	231	41	335	59
Women	164	18	43	26	122	74
Children	150	17	100	66	50	33
Total	880	100	374	42	507	57

Accident Cases Resulting in Permanent Disability or Death

	Permanent Disability	Death
Men	20 per cent	1.7 per cent
Women	44 per cent	.0 per cent
Children	29 per cent	.3 per cent
Total	25 per cent	1.8 per cent

From the second table we find that children have the highest accident mortality. The proportion of cases of permanent disability is nine per cent higher among the children than among the men. In seeking a cause for this we are reminded of what has already been said—that it is among the young and inexperienced that accidents are most frequent and severe.

Industrial Hospital Cases Not Due to Accidents

	Tuberculosis	Non-Tuberculosis Respiratory Diseases		Parasitic Diseases	Chronic Ulcers of Leg
		Beriberi	Other		
Men	5%	7.5%	6%	22%	5%
Women	14%	15%	3%	4%	10%
Children	22%	8%	0%	32%	0%
Total	9%	9%	5%	19%	5%

In the above table we have given some of the more common diseases and ailments, not due to accidents, which send patients to us, as we think it may be of general interest. One of the most striking things in this table is that it does not contain, strictly speaking, a single industrial disease. This is not surprising when we consider the nature of the cotton industry. Few if any of the poisonous chemicals are used which in some other industries contribute so largely to disease. The irritating fumes of bleaching powder in cotton mills are for the most part quite efficiently removed. Nevertheless, they do form a factor for consideration in the high percentages of tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases. The hot, humid atmosphere of the cotton mills also plays a part in these diseases. We wish to call attention to the

high percentage of tuberculosis among women and children—fourteen per cent of the women and twenty-two per cent of the children. Besides the above-mentioned causes, the long working hours and poor living conditions should likewise be remembered. It would be interesting to offer some comparative figures on the incidence of disease in other industries. Apparently the percentage of tuberculosis among men in the cotton mills is not higher than in other industries in the community. As to the women and children, we have no comparisons to offer on this point, as on our cooperating lists we have very few industries other than the cotton industries that employ women and none that employ children to any large extent.

Systematically organized work in industrial hygiene and medicine is indeed in its infancy in China. The organization of industries here is also in its initial stage. Therefore it behooves medical men all over the country to see to it that the various industries in China shall not be developed without the aid and guidance of the former. If the two be developed together, not only will the task of organization be easier for medical men but untold suffering and inefficiency among factory workers will be avoided.

—H. W. Decker, M.D., in the *China Medical Journal*, March 1924.

IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS

Many firms provide hospital, dispensary and educational facilities. The Commercial Press, the Naigai Wata Kaisha, the British-American Tobacco Company and other firms have agencies under this head. A number of Chinese and foreign firms operating in the Yangtzepoo district of Shanghai have supported the Yangtzepoo Social Center, which is under the supervision of the Shanghai Baptist College and which provides hospital and educational accommodations for the workers of that district.

With regard to hygienic conditions, all activities are voluntary with the employer. It is impossible to enforce the regulations of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in foreign settlements and concessions or even in many parts of China, whereas regulations by the foreign concessions may not be applied to factories just across the border. Individual employers in Shanghai and Pootung have provided sanitary housing arrangements for their employees in the vicinity of the mills, the rental being lower than is usual for similar accommodations. Most modern factories are built with a view toward adequate light and air.

Efforts to ameliorate the condition of laborers in China have been made by individual manufacturers, by the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture, by the Shanghai Municipal Council and other municipal councils. Associations of proprietors have also endorsed uplift plans. Thus far every step has been voluntary on the part of the employer or suggested by a public organization under the control of the employers. This differs somewhat from the western method, where improvements have been wrested from the em-

employers by strikes, public demonstrations, and similar methods. The employer in China has been in advance of demands by the employee.

Among the agencies at work for the betterment of the conditions of labor is the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council, whose program is stated as follows:

1. The absolute value of every man, woman, and child in China means that every Christian, whether consumer, employer or employed, must put first not his own gain or security, but the good of each person engaged in the industry, his full development and his self-realization through his work.
2. The family relationship of all the people in China means that before class interests or group interests comes the common interest of all members, to be sought by mutual helpfulness, interrelation of functions, and the spirit of fellowship maintained strenuously, especially when conflicts threaten.
3. The Way of Christ is practicable for China and means that we must dare to sacrifice personal gain for the sake of serving our fellows, to risk failure rather than to lower standards, and persist in the way of love and fellowship in face of misunderstanding, isolation or defeat.
4. The present industrial order, so far as its primary motive is profit and personal success and so far as it puts service and respect for each person into a secondary place, contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. We are firmly convinced that the one road to permanence and security for all, as well as to happiness and inner satisfaction, lies in the fearless following of Christian principles and in the choice of methods consistent with these principles.

A commission of which Dr. Royal Meeker of the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations was a member and consisting of Chinese and foreigners visited the principal industrial centers of the country to study conditions and to report on the possibilities of improvement.

—China Year Book, 1925, chap. 20.

FACTORY REGULATIONS IN CHINA

... On March 29, 1923, the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce issued provisional factory regulations, which were to come into force, pending approval by Parliament of an Act for the protection of the workers.

... The bill was not adopted by Parliament before its dissolution. The delay has been due partly to recent political troubles and partly to the fact that the new constitution of the Republic is being drafted.

"Nevertheless, the Chinese Government has on more than one occasion given instructions to provincial authorities for the strict observance of the factory regulations, and has sent special commissioners to Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai and Hankow with orders to conduct enquiries on the spot. The

government hopes that these measures will produce satisfactory results." (Quoting the Chinese Minister at Bern.)

The Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, it is added, is engaged in organizing a new Factory Inspection Department.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, March 9, 1925.

CHINESE INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE

The first industrial administration conference to be held in China was convened by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in Peking, March 2, 1925. The conference, which lasted three weeks, was attended by about forty persons, including representatives of the government, commissioners of industrial boards, and directors of provincial bureaus of forestry and of mining. The conference dealt with a large number of questions relating to the development and administration of different industries and to conditions affecting labor. Among the resolutions passed by the conference were the following recommendations: That provisional authorities be requested to afford better treatment to laborers; that special attention be paid to the organization of labor associations after the promulgation of the regulations concerning their organization; that skilled-labor training schools be established in Provinces and special districts; that labor laws be drafted and promulgated.

—*Monthly Labor Review*, September 1925.

PHOSPHORUS POISONING IN CHINESE MATCH FACTORIES

In view of the fact that the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce had issued an order, effective January 1, 1925, prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in match factories throughout the country, an investigation was made for the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council of China during the latter part of 1924 of the extent of the use of white phosphorus and the prevalence of phosphorus necrosis* of the jaw in the match industry. It was thought that the information thus obtained could be used to support the enforcement of the law and also that it might have a definite educative value for those persons on whom the responsibility for securing just conditions of labor rests.

In general, the factories were "old style," with nearly all the machines operated by hand and with a general lack of cleanliness, ventilation and light. In some places there was overcrowding, especially in the boxing rooms, and there was much dust in the rooms where rosin and other dry ingredients for the match heads were ground.

*Necrosis is the death of cells surrounded by living tissues.

The largest number of factory workers were women and children engaged in filling the boxes. All the work was piecework and it was thought that the women and children worked more or less irregularly. The working hours are long, lasting thirteen hours or more in the factories in the north, with one-half to one hour free for the midday meal. In some factories there were two holidays a month, and one gave Sunday afternoons, while the others had no break except at national feasts. Wages of women ranged from twenty to thirty coppers a day, and for boys and men from \$3 to \$10 per month.

In the factories visited no precautions were taken to safeguard the workers. Facilities for washing were lacking and no attempt was made to remove fumes or even to keep the processes involving the use of phosphorus separated from the other departments of the factory. Lunches were eaten at the work benches with hands reeking with phosphorus, and it was the practice to let the bowls of rice stand for hours in the phosphorus fumes before being eaten.

—*Monthly Labor Review*, June 1925.

RESEARCH, USE OF PHOSPHORUS

The research into the use of poisonous phosphorus in the manufacturing of matches in China was made in 1924, by Dr. C. T. Maitland, through the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council, in cooperation with the China Medical Missionary Association.

In his introduction Dr. Maitland says: "The special circumstances which it was thought rendered the present an opportune occasion for such an inquiry was the action recently taken by the government at Peking. By a decision of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture, January 30, 1923, notice was given of the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in match factories throughout the Republic as from January 1925, and China's adherence to the International (Bern) Convention, agreeing to prohibit its use was registered at the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva on December 1923. This action was taken as a result of a recommendation adopted by the International Labor Conference convoked in November 1919, when all states not signatories of the Bern Convention were exhorted to subscribe.

"Information as to the prevalence of phosphorus necrosis of the jaw in China, known to those interested in this research at its inception, was slight and indefinite.

"Miss Carbutt has this year prepared a Memorandum on 'The Use of White Phosphorus in the Manufacture of Lucifer Matches' on behalf of the Industrial Law Bureau of the Young Women's Christian Association of Great

Britain, which arrived in China as this report was being drafted. This presents a useful historical digest of the subject."

Dr. Maitland says in his conclusion: "There are sound grounds for belief that the match manufacturers of China intend to discontinue the use of white phosphorus at the end of this year (1924) in pursuance of the Peking Government's prohibition."

MISSION INDUSTRIES

Conditions following famine or flood in China present an urge for relief of human suffering that missions continually have to face. The method which pays wages for work given, instead of dispensing charity, has been widely used in the last few years. Industries have been started in considerable numbers as one means of meeting this pressure. Although a few outstanding industries have long been carried on by missions, the majority of those existing have been begun in the last eight or ten years. There are several reasons why they have outlasted the economic catastrophies which caused them to be opened. They offer an unusual opportunity for raising the standards of a group or a community and of otherwise carrying out of missionary program. Moreover, in most cases, their maintenance need not be a financial burden, as is true in some other lines of work. Without plan for permanency in the beginning, this large number of industries is holding a considerable place in mission work. Whether or not it exists only temporarily is, as yet, uncertain. The enterprise is in the early stages. It is only beginning to learn how to apply the Christian laws of sociology and economics for the best good of the workers whom it would serve.

NATIONAL CHRISTIAN INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

In the autumn of 1923 a representative group of those interested in mission industries, from many parts of China, met in conference and organized the National Christian Industries Association. The purpose of this organization is the linking together of these scattered industries, consideration of mutual problems, and promoting the welfare of Christian industrial enterprises in China. Those eligible for membership are "any Christian Chinese or foreigner engaged in industrial work for the avowed benefit of the workers and receiving no personal share from the profits of the enterprise."

The Association has four committees:

1. Methods of Education and Evangelism among Workers.
2. Wages, Working Conditions, and Welfare Work.
3. Undeveloped Possibilities of New Materials and Types of Work.
4. Markets in China and Abroad.

These committees are making a special study of these questions and are at the service of all who may come to them for help.

A questionnaire sent out by the association to all available mission industries brought in data which tell a story of interest. It is far from complete, but thoroughly representative.

Types of Work

Crossstitch on Chinese linen leads as the type of work most in demand. Embroidery follows, and appliqué "patchwork." Different kinds of lace are made in not a few industries. Knitted work, dolls, toys, children's clothing, rugs, leather work, weaving, tapestries, and basketry, as well as other forms of hand work, are the products of the mission industries in China.

Number and Age of Workers

The number of workers employed by each place varies from ten to over two hundred. There are a few boys' schools included and many girls' schools. There are men patients recuperating in hospitals; there are blind girls and lame boys; but the most are made up of women upon whom falls the burden of supporting their families. Their ages vary from ten to seventy years. The majority of these industries, however, will not employ workers under fifteen years of age.

Shop Conditions and Working Hours

Most of the schools which give industrial work to their pupils include it in their regular school schedule. This system enables those who would be unable otherwise to pay for their education, to do so. Less than half of the industries give out work to be taken home. The majority, however, have a workshop and an eight-hour day, with special attention given to shop conditions. More wages are paid "by the piece" than "by the day." A card catalogue system for a record of employees is in favor. Two or three industries are attempting a survey of the communities from which the workers come. When completed they will have data from which to judge what the standard of living is and could become, and what an adequate wage may be.

Welfare, Educational and Religious Work

The industries are proving a human laboratory of unusual opportunity. They are groups in which intensive work can be done day after day. The following forms, also, of welfare activity are being attempted: examination of eyes, and glasses given when needed; dentistry; free clinics; wages paid when ill; graduate nurse visiting homes; baths; day nurseries; lunch rooms, kindergartens; scholarships for children; loan and savings systems, etc. Nearly all are teaching their workers to read. The phonetic system is popular. Talks to mothers, mothers' clubs, representation of workers in manage-

ment, and, in one industry, a cooperative society of the workers—all tell of beginnings that will lead the way. Religious education is emphasized, and trained religious workers are employed by many of the industries.

Markets

The majority find little difficulty in obtaining a market for their products. These are almost entirely designed for foreigners and a large part is sold in China. Several, however, send their complete output to the United States. The record of their annual turnover ranges from \$500 to \$35,000. There are "Exchanges" or mission shops in five of the large cities of China, whose purpose is mainly to offer a market for mission industry products.

Present Needs

There are special needs for the whole enterprise. Social surveys conducted scientifically in the communities of employees would establish a basis for procedure that would be a contribution to the whole country. Conditions over China are so different that many surveys are needed. Trained Chinese employed by the industries, ready to apply their deeper knowledge on problems involved, should be sought. For instance, the problem of converting the industry into an indigenous institution which shall produce an article that can compete with the Chinese market is baffling to the Westerner. There would be a great opportunity also for leaders with ability and vision to use the industry as a means for popular education and widespread evangelism. These and other needs must be filled; and mission industries will have a vital share in quickening the Christian movement in China.

—Helen Davis Chandler in "China Mission Year Book," 1925.

LABOR AND INDUSTRY IN CHINA

Labor Organization

The last few years have witnessed an extraordinary development of labor organizations of a type new to China. A rapidly rising cost of living in the industrial centers, a growing body of workers, the upper sections of which have been increasingly influenced by world movements through seamen and others, the knowledge of huge profits amassed by leading industrial enterprises, and the propaganda referred to above, have provided all the factors necessary for bringing the workers together on the lines of modern trade unionism. It is well known that guilds have exerted a powerful influence in Chinese industry and commerce right down to the present day. But modern industry has grown up outside this system, and the guilds themselves in all the wealthier trades have tended to become employers' organizations. There has thus been an opportunity for workers' unions.

The labor movement began in the south. There had been small beginnings earlier, but the student agitation of the spring of 1919 led to the formation

of twenty-six labor organizations. Early in 1920, a successful strike by the mechanics' union in Hongkong—one of the strongest of the unions—gave a fresh impulse, and more than a hundred new unions sprang up in a few months. It is said that some two hundred have been formed in Hongkong and three hundred in Canton in the last three or four years. Most of these are quite small, the important unions being comparatively few. Some of the smaller, feeling the need for guidance, have sought it from the Y.M.C.A. The activities of these unions have been varied: they observe Labor Day, support strikers, contribute to Russian famine relief, support free schools and evening classes, and publish various periodicals. There are numerous savings clubs and unemployment bureaus. The unions are recognized by the Southern Government in Canton, and there have been many strikes. In a list of twenty-five strikes in Canton in 1921, nineteen led to increases in wages of from fifteen to fifty per cent, four were undecided at the time the list was prepared, and only two small strikes had failed.

The movement spread rapidly from Canton to Shanghai. There are more than fifty labor unions in Shanghai. A great variety of industries is represented and in addition to separate unions there are general unions. The first national labor conference in China met in Canton from May 1-6, 1922. About 160 delegates from twelve cities, representing over 300,000 workers in some 200 unions, were assembled. The chief centers represented at this conference were the cities of Canton and Shanghai and the provinces of Shantung, Honan, and Hupeh; while the railway unions were also represented. Ten resolutions were passed, of which the most important were that all the unions should pledge one another financial support in the case of strikes; that unions should stand for an eight-hour day; that the labor movement should be economic in character rather than political; and that the constitution and organization of a permanent national federation of labor should be proceeded with, including plans for the second national labor conference (National Labor Assembly).

There are, of course, many influences at work within the labor movement and it cannot be said that as yet it has taken a definite form. There is a radical wing, but labor as a whole has embraced no social theory. It is concerned with the very urgent practical problem of bettering its condition and securing a living wage, and is as yet too untrained to see far beyond these. The leading organization in Shanghai has published its program in the form of a manifesto, which it desires to have adopted by the National Labor Assembly. The program aims at the adoption of an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week, with one complete day's rest each week and no night work, especially for persons under eighteen years of age; the adoption of a minimum wage standard; special provision for women; no employment of children under twelve years of age and only part-time employment with part-time education from twelve to sixteen, with other regulations limiting the work of youths; insurance for unemployment, and workers' education. The financial resources of this organization are slender, but it contrives to

maintain branches in various cities which are headquarters for information and propaganda.

It is significant that in some cases the unions have succeeded in bringing together, at least temporarily, elements which have previously been widely separated. In one works, Cantonese, Ningpoese, and Hupeh men are all included, whereas it has been usual for guilds to follow provincial lines. The unions do not distinguish different classes and sometimes not the ranks of workers. The Peking-Hankow Railway union, for example, includes not only all workers in the workshops, on the trains or the track, and at the stations, but even apprentices. It also includes as associate members those who are interested in and are acceptable to the union, especially mentioning foreigners. This is presumably to make room for the students and others who have taken the lead in organizing these unions. Another provision states that there is no discrimination as to nationality.

The aim, at least in the case of the railways, is the formation of industrial as opposed to trade unions, but the policy is to begin with the latter, hoping later to amalgamate them. At the time of writing (November 1922) the Peking-Hankow Railway union is the only complete industrial union. The Peking-Suiyuan line has three separate unions, one of workshop workers, one of locomotive drivers and stokers, and the third of signalmen, shunters, and others. Intimidation has been exercised to a considerable extent in bringing reluctant workers to join. On the Peking-Hankow Railway, we are told that the union contains no foremen, clerical staff, or porters (who have their own union), but that all the other workers are members. They are required to contribute a half-day's wage to the funds of the union each month. Forty per cent of this money is allocated to the branch which raises it; fifteen per cent goes to the central administrative office; while the remaining forty-five per cent is placed in a fund primarily for the purpose of supporting strikes. (It can only be drawn upon by the vote of the executive of the union.)

The fact that the men have in most cases had to depend on outside sympathizers for help in forming their organization has opened the door to all kinds of outside influences, political and personal. It is not to be supposed that the workmen themselves, however, embrace all the political and other purposes of those associated with them. Their immediate interest has been the raising of wages or some other specific economic purpose. More will be said on this head, however, at a later stage. In certain cases the workers have profited by their previous experience in those secret societies for which Chinese life is well known. The Chinese seaman delegate to the First International represented not strictly a trade union but a Heaven-Earth Society, an organization to which many of the seamen belonged. In Shanghai two old guilds, the Red Guild and the Peaceful Purity Guild, promise to change into unions. The latter contains a large number of members. They have forty-eight characters, learnt by all, teaching purity and loyalty. The leader is called the "grandfather teacher" and exercises great

power. The members stand together when trouble befalls one of them. Most of them have red or blue prints on their arms. These guilds include people of all trades, but mostly of the coolie class. In Shanghai the unions of the textile workers are based on territorial divisions.

The secretariat of the China Labor Organization drew up the following program for acceptance by the national assembly:

Rights of combination and association by the workers.

Right to strike.

Right of making contracts by labor unions.

Right of workers to join international organizations.

Eight hours should be the maximum for day work; six hours for night work; and a weekly rest of forty-two hours in succession should be adopted.

Young persons under eighteen, and others who are occupied in heavy work, should not work more than six hours a day.

Overtime should be prohibited. In time of emergency, working hours may be increased by the consent of the labor unions.

Hours for agricultural labor may be more than eight hours, but wages should be based on the eight-hour day.

The standard price of the agricultural products should be recommended by the representatives of the farmers and regulated by law.

Overtime is absolutely prohibited for persons under eighteen who are employed in heavy and dangerous occupations. Night work for persons under eighteen is absolutely prohibited.

Eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement for those women who are employed in physical labor; six weeks before and six weeks after confinement for ordinary women workers; and they shall receive their regular wages.

No employment of young persons under sixteen years of age.

A minimum wage law should be enacted to protect the workers. The representative of the National Labor Association should be allowed to be present at the time when such a law is enacted. Wages of either the private or public concerns or other kinds of organizations should not be below the minimum standard as regulated by law.

Workers protected by their industrial or trade unions may have the right to participate in the government economic enterprises, the government business establishment, and in the private business managed by the government.

Government should establish labor research bureaus for both the public and private business plants.

In order to protect the workers the government should give them the right to participate in the labor research bureaus of the government.

Workers should be allowed to participate in regulating insurance schemes. Expenses incurred by loss or danger should be defrayed by the employers or government. The expenses shall not be shared by the recipients.

All kinds of workers and employees shall have one month's vacation each year. Every half-year two weeks' holiday shall be given to them. They shall receive pay during the vacations.

The government should guarantee the legislation that both men and women workers have opportunity of receiving an education.

Recent Strike Phenomena

It may help one to understand the prevailing unrest a little more fully by referring to some of the recent strikes. Mention has already been made of the frequency of strikes in Canton and their almost uniform success. Considerable public attention has been drawn to the seamen's strike at Hongkong which continued for two months and tied up hundreds of ocean-going steamers. One feature of the strike was the cooperation of sympathizers. The end was precipitated by what amounted to a general strike in Hongkong, including even the house servants and hotel employees, which brought everything in the colony to a standstill. Another significant feature was the power of intimidation exercised by the leaders. Quite a large number of the seamen belonging to companies which had recently agreed to an increase in wages had no desire whatever to participate. They were obliged to do so, as the alternative was the probability of loss of life in their families. It is one of the weaknesses of life in China that a comparatively small but determined group of men can overawe large numbers of people. As a rule, however, the strikes in China have not been attended by violence, though there are reports of collisions with the police and some bloodshed in connection with two or three strikes in outlying areas.

In Shanghai it is significant that the women workers have reached a point of independent action. The women connected with the silk filatures founded a union with the encouragement of some members of the Provincial Assembly. The employers objected to the union and had some of the leaders imprisoned. A strike took place in connection with hours, a reduction of which had been refused by the guild although they were still nominally fourteen hours. After three days, during which the women had paraded the streets with banners, five of the leaders were arrested. They were used as hostages, and for fear of their execution the workers went back. The leaders were released, however, by order of the civil governor, on account of many representations made to him. The hours were reduced to eleven and a half a day (wages remaining the same), but they have since gone back to the old figure.

In a rickshaw strike the men ceased work with a genuine grievance owing to the rise of prices and depreciation of copper coinage; but during the strike they were organized by a lawyer of extreme views. The constitution of the organization was taken bodily from Soviet documents and under his influence the men became very truculent. Strikes on some of the railways have also been organized almost certainly at the instigation of recently dismissed government officials. The men, who were already receiving more than the usual wages in China, asked for such terms as six months' holiday with full pay every three years.

—J. B. Taylor and W. T. Zung: "Labor and Industry in China," in *International Labor Review*, July 1923.

THE POPULAR EDUCATION MOVEMENT

Purpose

"To make China's illiterate millions reading and intelligent citizens" is the primary purpose of the Popular Education Movement.

The Classical Language and the Literary Revolution

One of the principal factors that account for the high percentage of illiteracy in China (where learning and scholarship are universally revered by high and low alike), is the extreme difficulty of the Chinese classical language. For centuries it has been the only recognized literary medium. To learn to use it with any degree of proficiency means a lifetime of study. This at once puts it beyond the reach of the common man.

The Problem

. . . That the adoption of *Pai Hua* simplifies immensely the process of learning the written language needs no proof, but the bigger problem of teaching the three hundred and twenty illiterate millions to read the language still remains. It is estimated that to make education universal throughout China, ten million schools with fifteen million more teachers are needed. At the present rate of development of educational facilities, how many generations will it take before even a fraction of the illiterate millions have a chance?

In the solution of this problem successful and far-reaching results have been achieved by the following methods and in the following centers:

I. The "Foundation" System.

The most immediate as well as the most fundamental step in educating the illiterate masses was to work out a system by which they might acquire a maximum practical vocabulary within the shortest possible time and at the least possible cost. After years of research conducted by the Popular Education Section of the National Committee of the

Y.M.C.A. and the College of Education, National Southeastern University, Nanking, the system finally developed was the "Foundation Character" Course, a course consisting of one thousand of the most commonly used in Pai Hua. Based upon this selected vocabulary, four Readers, called "Popular Thousand Character Lessons" and containing twenty-four lessons each, were prepared. The time required for the completion of this course is four months of classroom work of one and a half hours each week-day. Mastery of this course gives the common man a foundation knowledge of Pai Hua and enables him to write simple letters, keep accounts, and read simple newspapers intelligently.

II. Educational Campaign.

Having developed an educational system, the next immediate step was to discover some practical device by which it would be put into effective operation. It was clearly understood that in promoting mass education of this kind no spasmodic or individual attempts would be of much avail. Organized and cooperative efforts in the form of a city-wide educational campaign have been found practical and effective. An adequate educational campaign aims at enlisting as many volunteer workers as possible and coordinating all the forces available in any given community. Responsibilities of finance and staff for the campaign are placed entirely on the local leaders, for this is a campaign not only to educate the illiterate that they may become intelligent citizens, but also one to educate the rich and the literate to share their possessions with their less-privileged fellow countrymen. They may do this by making contributions to the campaign fund and by volunteering to serve as teachers, supervisors, or in other capacities required by the campaign.

The Follow-up Program

I. Continuation Schools.

After graduating, the students are given an opportunity to go through another four months' schooling in the continuation schools, where such subjects as civics, geography, arithmetic, history, elementary science, ethics and sanitation are taught.

II. Literature.

Follow-up literature on various lines, written in simple and attractive style, is of the utmost importance. Books and pamphlets on citizenship, science, sanitation, industry, economics, ethics, history, geography, and other literature like stories, biographies and songs are either published or under preparation. The *Commoners' Weekly*, based upon the 1000 foundation characters, edited and published by the Kashing High School, has reached its twelfth issue.

With the cooperation of the National Association for the Advancement of Education, a National Convention on Popular Education was called by this committee in Tsing-hua College, Peking, August 20-25, 1923. Twenty provinces were represented. The spirit of unity and the earnestness of the delegates was something unknown in previous national conferences. The result of the five-day meeting was the organization of the National Popular Education Association, which was formally inaugurated on August 26, 1923, with headquarters in Peking.

—J. C. Yen: in "China Mission Year Book," 1924.

BRITISH OFFICIAL REPORTS

Consul-General Barton to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald
Shanghai, China.
June 18, 1924.

It is the regrettable fact that there is no restriction in force governing child labor and that children in local British, foreign-owned, and Chinese factories do work excessively long hours, both on day and night shifts, and that many very young children who do not work themselves accompany their parents in the factories. The normal hours of labor in local British-owned cotton mills are twenty-three and one half, worked in two shifts of twelve hours, allowing only two spells of fifteen minutes each; in the Japanese-owned mill twenty-two and one half hours are worked in two shifts of twelve hours, allowing two spells of thirty minutes and fifteen minutes; in the Chinese mills shifts are generally worked for fourteen hours, with no spells. The hours worked by children and young persons are the same as those worked by adults.

The British Factory Acts have not up to the present time been applied by Order-in-Council to China, and there is, so far as I am aware, no imperial legislation under which the local British authorities could take jurisdiction with regard to general conditions obtaining in British-owned factories in China.

At present the only municipal legislation applicable within the limits of the international settlement is provided by the building and sanitation by-laws under which ventilation, sanitary accommodations, and means of egress in all buildings of the factory class are dealt with when the plans for new buildings are submitted to the Municipal Council for its approval and license. The regulations, however, apply to new buildings, and the question of the council's taking further powers to enlarge its jurisdiction depends *inter alia* on the following factors:

The only foreign-controlled areas at Shanghai, namely, the international settlement and the French concession, form but a section of a vast Chinese city. Local conditions governing factories in general and child labor in particular therefore necessarily approximate to those obtaining in the surrounding Chinese territory.

There are more factories outside the foreign-controlled area than within. The tendency is for new factories to be established beyond the settlement limits, and the number of Chinese-owned factories greatly exceeds that of foreign-owned ones and is rapidly growing.*

It follows that any factory legislation not enforceable equally both within and without the foreign-controlled areas must prove ineffective. Before a reasonable solution of the problem can be found it is therefore imperative that national factory legislation be introduced by the Chinese Government and enforced throughout the country, and that similar legislation be introduced at the same time in the foreign-controlled areas.

The difficulties, however, in the way of the effective enforcement of enlightened factory legislation throughout China are very great.

Modern industrialism is in China being rapidly introduced in a country which in many respects is not organized to absorb it. There is in China practically no civil code, no Statistical or Health Department, no inspection of factories, no effective means whereby laborers could voice their own needs, no dependable Civil Service and no central government capable of enforcing national legislation. Actual control is at the moment in the hands of provincial military governors, whose attitude toward organized labor appears to be dictated either by a desire for repression, when labor organizations by strikes or agitation interfere with their military communications or economic strength, or by encouragement when they calculate that labor organizations can be utilized to further their own political ends. Examples of this attitude are found in the recent executions by Wu Pei Fu of labor leaders in Central China, and of the encouragement of socialists and communists by Dr. Sun Yat Sen in Kwangtung and Lu Yung Hsiang in Chekiang.

Nevertheless, a beginning has been made.

I have the honor to enclose herewith translation of the Chinese Provisional General Factory Regulations, which were promulgated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce at Peking on the 29th, March, 1923. These departmental regulations, though a step in the right direction, unfortunately leave much to be desired. They are not enforced by any systematic factory inspection, nor does the executive authority of the Ministry extend far in China at the moment; they are, therefore, like many other departmental regulations promulgated in Peking, more honored in breach than in observance.

*The International Labor Office reports the rapid spread of trade unionism in China. The greatest progress has been made in the province of Kwang-Tung in southern China. In Hongkong there are already about 200 trade unions and at Canton about 300, and some of them are very powerful. In Shanghai it is estimated that out of a total of 120,000 Chinese engaged in industry about 80,000 are members of trade unions. The movement is tending to overstep the bounds of districts and to think in terms of the whole of China.

Before this beginning, certain mill owners in Shanghai, prominent among whom were British and Japanese, had for many years made private efforts to regulate child labor, to exclude children from night shifts, to provide for their care and education, etc., but insuperable difficulties in the path of private effort arose in the impossibility of securing general voluntary cooperation among competitors and in the unwillingness of parents to deprive themselves of the earning capacity of their elder children or to go to work unless accompanied by their younger ones.

The first public effort to restrict child labor was made in Shanghai in 1922, and I have the honor to enclose herewith the relative correspondence between the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, Miss A. Harrison of the Young Women's Christian Association, the Employers' Federation and the Chinese Cotton Mill Owners' Association, which was published in the *Municipal Gazette*. This correspondence led to the appointment by the Municipal Council of a commission to enquire into the conditions of child labor in Shanghai and the vicinity, and to report as to what regulations could be applied to factories employing child labor to the settlement, having regard to local conditions and to practical considerations generally. This commission was inaugurated on the 22nd of June, 1923, and has just completed its labors. The report, however, has not yet been published.

The appointment by the Shanghai Municipal Council of its commission on child labor has thus already exercised a stimulating effect on Chinese authorities, which augurs hopefully for some practical development from its report.

I have, etc.,

S. Barton.

*Sir R. Macleay to Mr. Austen Chamberlain
Peking, November 17, 1924.*

On receipt of your despatch of the 8th April last, transmitting copy of a letter from the Ministry of Labor, in which information was requested as to labor legislation and conditions in China, I addressed to His Majesty's consular officers in this country a circular instructing them to draw up and forward to this legation reports in accordance with the terms of the last paragraph of the Ministry's letter. To this circular were attached a summary of the draft conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Organization and a copy of the Provisional General Factory Regulations issued by the Chinese Government in March of last year (see enclosure in my despatch of the 12th April last), and His Majesty's consuls were further instructed to report whether these regulations were complied with in

their respective districts, and if so, to what extent. I also suggested that they should add any observations that might occur to them on the question whether it would be possible to give practical effect in their districts to legislation on the lines indicated in the draft conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Organization.

The reports called for have now, with one exception, been received, and I have the honor to transmit herewith copies thereof, as instructed in paragraph 2 of your despatch under reference, together with a summary prepared by Mr. Alexander, vice-consul attached to the commercial counselor's office in this legation.

The reports forwarded to the Foreign Office direct by His Majesty's consul-general at Shanghai, dealing with labor conditions at that port, did not cover the trade union movement, of which a good general review by Mr. Acting-Consul Moss will be found in His Majesty's consul-general's despatch to this legation of the 16th August last.

Of the other reports by His Majesty's consular officers, that of Mr. Clennell, His Majesty's consul at Foochow, merits special attention. It covers in great detail a wider field than was perhaps contemplated by the Ministry of Labor, but I venture to suggest that the Ministry should not be deterred by the length of this report from giving it their most careful consideration; for it contains a valuable analysis of many of the most difficult and subtle questions connected with the economic life of the laboring classes in China.

It is unnecessary for me to labor the point, so clearly brought out in the enclosed reports, that the draft conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Organization, conceived as they are for industrialized communities in which government regulations can be enforced, are inapplicable to China at its present stage of development, except to a small extent at a few of the larger treaty ports.

How limited that extent is will be seen from the report of the Child Labor Commission appointed by the Municipal Council of the international settlement at Shanghai, of which a copy was forwarded direct to the Foreign Office by His Majesty's consul-general at Shanghai in his despatch of the 26th July last. (See page 105.)

It is noteworthy that while the Chinese delegate at the International Labor Conference held at Geneva this year has been asking the other delegates to believe that China has introduced an eight-hour day for children and abolished night work for women and children, in view of the fact that the Chinese Government has done nothing but issue the Provisional General Factory Regulations of March last year, which are of course entirely illusory, and that the only effective action has been taken by the foreign community at

Shanghai, the chief industrial center of China, the International Commission finds it impossible for the moment to recommend much more than the prohibition of the employment of children under ten years of age and does not consider it practical, owing to conditions inside the settlement (under Chinese control) to do more than urge the restriction of hours of labor by day or by night a maximum of twelve in the case of children between ten and fourteen years of age.

I have, etc.

Ronald Macleay.

—Papers Respecting Labor Conditions in China.

CHILD LABOR IN CHINA

Dame Adelaide Anderson's Speech to the Y. W. C. A. in England

After explaining that she had been working in China since December 1923, at the request of the National Christian Council of that country, Dame Adelaide Anderson recalled some of her visits to silk factories, cotton mills, and match factories, both in Chinese towns and in the treaty ports.

In the silk filatures one saw them [children] stirring cocoons in nearly scalding water, in steam-laden air, for nearly twelve hours at a stretch and mostly standing.

In cotton-spinning mills they are working night or day, six, seven, and eight years old; at mealtimes hastily taking food from the rice bowl; with the dust settling on hair, skin, clothes and rice, affecting their general health, digestion and lungs. One can never forget the shriek of the awakening siren at 4:30 a.m. and the hurrying past of long lines of women and children—some of the children crying from coming long distances.

In the match factories they are perched on benches, boxing at incredible speed, their feet not reaching the ground, the matches too often tipped with white phosphorus paste, and with no modern protection against fire.

I was transfixed in a Tienstsin factory by seeing a little boy of ten years boxing at swift pace with a suppurating wound under his eye and his face all swollen from what I judged to be phosphorus necrosis of the upper jaw. This child was helped by the kindness of a surgeon in the Peking Union Medical College hospital and through a Y.W.C.A. worker who went to his guardians about him.

Too often one had to leave a child equally ill, with the illness undiagnosed, standing at work, where there is as yet no organized aid for relief.

I asked a Chinese woman what became of the little ones of six or seven who enter silk filatures. "When they go to work so early they mostly die young," was her reply.

In one silk filature I spoke through the interpreter to a tiny boy and found he was five and a half years old and that his name was "Little Tiger."

I asked him why he was there, and he said "Because I want to eat rice." He earned his rice, for he worked like a "little tiger" and came and went daily alone to and from the filature.

When I drew the attention of the manager of a big cotton spinning mill to two dangerous, high-speed, unguarded pulleys, he said that two small boys had been scalped successively within eighteen months; of what became of them he had no information to give.

The leading manufacturers in the settlement are undoubtedly favorable to this forward movement. They have assented to the most difficult point—the age of entry for child workers. If the Province of Kiangsu will join in enforcing it, the age limit can be twelve years; if not, they suggest nine years, but at least one British and one large Chinese firm have adopted ten years as the age of entry, and this is the first step recommended by the commission, who suggest raising it to twelve years in four years' time.

Only gradually, I imagine, can the removal of the real obstacle—absence of effectual central government in China—be attained. I am certain, however, that there is much public and private opinion ready in industrial parts of China for proper conditions in factories. New conditions are springing up and the people do read and think. There are Chinese manufacturers who are openly pioneers in these matters. The Commercial Press in Chinese Shanghai is working for it. There is great latent readiness to come forward when political conditions are more favorable.

I was enabled to see not only the Peking officials, but also His Excellency the Civil Governor Han of Kiangsu Province, and members of the Provincial Assemblies. I was asked to write memoranda for them on these matters. In a few days Governor Han's ordinance followed, preparing steps for the appointment of a Provincial Child Labor Commission, thus paving the way for cooperation with Shanghai.

Another governor of a province, His Excellency Hsiao Yao-Nan, Tuchun of Hupeh, assured me at Wuchang that he would follow Governor Han's lines. These two provinces alone comprise a population of over 55,400,000 and, with the cities of Shanghai and the Wuchang, include the largest industrial centers.

I believe the first decisive lead will be given for China (when rid of political difficulties) to bring together all these impulses when the foreign settlement of Shanghai takes up the task of beginning a modicum of protection for child workers and providing proper inspection of them.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, March 9, 1925.

REPORT OF MUNICIPAL COMMISSION, SHANGHAI

The Child Labor Commission appointed in June 1923, by the Executive Council for the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai, presented its report on July 9, 1924. The full text of the report is published in the *Municipal*

Gazette, the official organ of the council, of July 19 (Vol. XVII, No. 927) and will be dealt with fully in an early issue of the *International Labor Review*.*

The report was signed unanimously by the following members of the commission:

Mr. H. Lipson Ward, chairman, barrister-at-law; Dame Adelaide M. Anderson, formerly principal lady inspector of factories in Great Britain; Mr. J. S. S. Cooper, vice-chairman, director, Arnold & Co., Ltd.; Mr. E. J. Cornfoot, silk merchant, Dyce & Co.; Miss Mary A. Dingman, industrial secretary, World's Y. W. C. A., allocated to China; Mr. R. J. McNicol, manager of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., Ltd., Cotton Mills Department, Shanghai, and chairman of the Cotton Mill Owners' Association of China; Mr. G. Okada, manager, Naigai Wata Kaisha; Miss Mayling Soong, secretary, Joint Committee of Women's Clubs in Shanghai; and Dr. Mary Stone.

The terms of reference to the commission were as follows:

To enquire into the conditions of child labor in Shanghai and the vicinity and to make recommendations to the council as to what regulations, if any, should be applied to child labor in the foreign settlement of Shanghai, having regard to practical considerations and to local conditions generally.

The commission heard the evidence of thirty-six witnesses, among whom were doctors, officers of the municipal services, social welfare workers, employees, contractors, and one woman who had worked for many years in silk filatures.

Present Conditions

The report sums up the result of the investigation, so far as concerns mills, factories and similar places of industry, in the following words:

"The commencement age varies with the nature of the employment, but it can be asserted that, generally speaking, the child begins to work in the mill or factory as soon as it is of any economic value to the employer. The commission has visited a number of mills and similar places of employment, both during the day and at night, and has seen many children at work who could not have been more than six years of age. The hours of work are generally twelve, with not more than one hour off for a meal. The children frequently have to stand the whole time they are at work. In many industries day and night work is the rule, there being two shifts of twelve hours each. In most instances the mill or factory stops for one shift at week-ends, and in others, in addition to this, endeavors are made by the employers, but without much success, to ensure that their work-

*The Y. W. C. A. cooperating with other forces concerned had a large share in bringing about the appointment of this commission.

people take one day off from work every two weeks. Apart from interruptions and the customary holidays at China New Year, work is continuous."

"Wages are paid only for working days. In many cases the atmospheric and dust conditions are bad. The sanitary arrangements in the majority of mills and factories leave very much to be desired. The average earnings of young child are usually not more than twenty silver cents a day. The contract system of employment is common. Under this system the native contractor supplies the requisite labor and is paid on production. This system is obviously open to grave abuse. The commission heard evidence to the effect that in some instances contractors obtain young children from the country districts, paying the parents \$2 a month for the services of each child. By employing such children in the mills and the factories the contractor is able to make a profit of about \$4 a month in respect of each child. These children are frequently most miserably housed and fed. They receive no money and their conditions of life are practically those of slavery."

Difficulties of Reform

After calling attention to the present international position with regard to the regulation of the employment of children and young persons, with special reference to the draft conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Conference, and also to the regulations promulgated by the Chinese Government in March 1923 (which regulations, it is pointed out, are provisional only and have not the force of law) the report proceeds to set out the special difficulties in the way of the regulation of child labor in the foreign settlement. These difficulties are:

1. The absence of a central government with power to enforce its decrees throughout the country.
2. The circumstance that Shanghai is a treaty port and that the foreign settlement is managed and controlled by a Municipal Council, whose powers are strictly limited by the terms of the Land Regulations and the by-laws made thereunder.
3. Absence of birth registration and the consequent difficulty of proof of the age of children.
4. Absence of educational facilities.
5. The need for the provision and maintenance of a specially trained inspectorate.
6. The circumstance that, owing to the present economic and social conditions of China, children are sent to work by their parents at the earliest age possible.

Recommendations

In spite of these difficulties, the commission expresses the opinion that the problem must be faced and dealt with as far as possible, and that the standard to be aimed at and adopted at the earliest practicable moment is that set up by the International Labor Conference at Washington.

The commission therefore recommends:

1. That the council should forthwith seek power to make and enforce regulations prohibiting the employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under ten years of age, rising to twelve years within four years from the date when the regulations come into force.
2. That the council should seek power to prohibit the employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under fourteen years of age for a longer period than twelve hours in any period of twenty-four hours, such period of twelve hours to include a compulsory rest of one hour.
3. In view of the above, the commission does not recommend that the council should immediately seek power to enforce the prohibition of employment at night of children who can be employed by day. The commission, however, considers night work for young children such a serious evil that it is of the opinion that this question should in any event be further considered by the council at the end of a period of four years.
4. That the council should seek power to make and enforce regulations under which every child under fourteen years of age, employed in factories and industrial undertakings in the settlement, should be given twenty-four hours' continuous rest from work in at least every fourteen days.
5. That the council should seek power to prohibit the employment of children under *fourteen years of age* in factories and industrial undertakings at any dangerous unguarded machine, in any dangerous or hazardous place, or at any work likely seriously to injure body or health, and to close any dangerous or hazardous premises where such children are employed until they are made safe.
6. That the council should establish proof of age either (a) by fixing a standard of height, or height and weight, or (b) by providing that in any prosecution, until the contrary is proved, the child concerned is to be assumed to be under the particular age if he or she so appears to the magistrate. The majority of the commission favor method (b), but the commission suggests that the council should adopt whichever of the two methods is the more suitable from an administrative point of view.

7. a. The expression "factory" should be defined so as to cover premises in which ten or more persons are employed in manual work.
- b. The expression "industrial undertaking" should be defined so as to cover out-of-door occupations, such as building, construction work, and transport, but should not include any agricultural undertaking.
8. a. That any regulations should provide for the imposition not only of substantial fines but also, in case of repeated wilful offences, for punishment by imprisonment.
- b. That the council should provide an adequate staff of trained men and women for carrying out the duties of inspection under the regulations.

The report concludes by stating that "reform of present industrial conditions and the consequent amelioration of the lot of the Chinese child worker cannot be achieved unless it receives the moral and active support not only of the foreign residents, but of the vastly greater body of the Chinese public."

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, October 6, 1924.

SHANGHAI MUNICIPALITY'S RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were to be brought forward at the annual meeting of ratepayers of the international settlement of Shanghai, which was to take place on April 15, 1925:

Resolution I. That the following by-law, to be known as By-Law XXXVIII, be passed and approved and that the numbers of the present By-Laws XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL, XLI and XLII be altered accordingly.

1. No person shall
 - a. For a period of four years from the date at which this by-law shall become effective employ in a factory or industrial undertaking any child under the age of ten years.
 - b. After the expiration of the said period of four years employ any child under the age of twelve years in a factory or industrial undertaking.
 - c. Employ any child under fourteen years of age in a factory or industrial undertaking for a longer period than twelve hours in any period of twenty-four hours, such period of twelve hours to include a compulsory rest of at least one hour.
 - d. Employ any child under the age of fourteen years in a factory or industrial undertaking except upon the condition that every such child shall be given at least twenty-four hours of continuous rest in every period of fourteen days.
 - e. Employ any child under fourteen years of age in a factory or industrial undertaking in connection with any dangerous unguarded machine or in any dangerous or hazardous place or in any work likely to cause serious injury to body or health.

- f. Expose any child under fourteen years of age employed in a factory or industrial undertaking to dangerous or hazardous conditions without having previously adopted all necessary and reasonable precautions for ensuring the safety of such child.
2. For the purposes of this by-law
 - a. "Factory" means any premises wherein or within the close or curtilage or precincts of which any manual labor is exercised by way of trade or for purposes of gain in or incidental to making any article, or part of any article, or altering, repairing, ornamenting, finishing, or adapting for sale any article, provided that at least ten persons are employed in manual labor in the said premises and the close, curtilage and precincts thereof.
 - b. "Industrial undertaking" includes
 - (1) Mines, quarries and other works for the extraction of minerals from the earth.
 - (2) Industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed, including ship-building, and the generation, transformation and transmission of electricity and motive power of any kind.
 - (3) Construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbor, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gaswork, or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure.
 - (4) Transport of passengers or goods by road or rail or inland waterway, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, and the carriage of coal and building material and debris, but does not include any agricultural operation.
 - c. In any prosecution for an offense against the provisions of this by-law if it appears to the court having jurisdiction in the matter that any person who is alleged in the charge to have been a child under a certain age at the date of the alleged offense was under that particular age at the said date, it shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that the said child was under the said age at the said date.
 3. Every owner of a factory and every person carrying on an industrial undertaking shall at all reasonable times permit the duly authorized representatives of the council to inspect such factory or the working of such industrial undertaking for the purpose of ascertaining whether the provisions of this by-law are being duly complied with.

4. Any person offending against or infringing this by-law shall be liable upon conviction to a fine not exceeding \$100 or imprisonment for any term not exceeding one month.

Resolution II. That the council be authorized to proceed with the proposals contained in Part 3 of the Report of the Child Labor Commission dated the 9th day of July, 1924.

—China Year Book, 1925.

CHILD LABOR IN SHANGHAI

The conditions under which such labor is employed were referred to in the report of the Shanghai Child Labor Commission. The authority of its Municipal Council being strictly limited, under agreements between the Treaty Powers holding extraterritorial rights there, in order to carry the recommendations of the Child Labor Commission into effect it was essential that a new by-law should be passed by the annual meeting of the ratepayers* and endorsed by the consular bodies and the legations concerned.

This is regarded as being particularly regrettable, as practically all the leading employers had publicly declared themselves in favor of the by-law which, if passed, would have empowered the Municipal Council to regulate the age of admission of children to industry, their hours of employment, rest periods, and to prohibit their employment in dangerous occupations.

Dame Adelaide Anderson, who took an active part in the promotion of the by-law, writes:

"The requisite quorum of ratepayers failed to appear, as has happened for several years past when other important legislation has been proposed by the council."

"The delay in carrying the measure repeats experience of the past in Western Europe in beginning and developing Factory Law. Here the delay is due to no definite opposition, and a cable from Shanghai to the *Daily Mail* of April 16 reports that the measure will be reintroduced next year. It is also reported by cable to *The Times* of the same date that 'probably the majority of mill owners and silk spinners will voluntarily adopt at least the essential portions of the proposed by-law to which they had already publicly signified their adherence.'"

"The delay in legislation may be made good if employers generally develop an increased individual control of conditions at present adverse to child life in their factories."

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, May 25, 1925.

*Only foreigners and owners of land of a certain value, or householders paying on a determined assessed rental. (Shanghai Municipal Regulations.)

It is interesting to note here that there are close to a million Chinese living in the international settlement, about ninety per cent of whom pay taxes but have neither representation nor a vote on the council which governs the settlement.

Note: The annual ratepayers' meeting of the fifteenth of April, when Shanghai was, among other things, to endorse or oppose the standards of the Child Labor Commission, was a total failure for lack of a quorum in attendance. Undaunted, the industrial staff of the Y. W. C. A. began all over again the next day. Within three days conviction had grown that a special evening meeting of ratepayers must be called for consideration of this one subject. That conviction has grown like a snowball, until plans for the meeting, which will take place on June second, are now in the hands of a group of most influential Shanghai citizens, backed by the leading consuls of the city. The Joint Committee of Women's Clubs, through which the Association industrial staff were working, is conducting with the help of many people a personal canvass for getting the voters out to this meeting.*

A CHANGING CHINA

The events of the last six months in China have attracted the attention of the world. Everyone has so long thought of China as the "sleeping giant" that it was with a start of surprise they found this ancient country claiming space on the front pages of the newspapers. As the situation has developed and people have come to comprehend a little more clearly what the disturbances are and what the Chinese are demanding, different groups have been asking themselves how this would affect their interests in China. Various interests have looked with real alarm at the new and seemingly sudden developments. Some commercial men have been quick to see peril for their business if diplomatic authorities should feel obliged to make terms with the Chinese representatives. Others have been equally ready to recognize the value of goodwill and generous acceptance of the Chinese point of view.

Not the least among the interests in China are the Christian forces. They have gone to China not for purposes of exploitation but in order to help the people, and in their activities they have built up a Christian investment in China. Christians are not behind others in trying to pierce the unknown elements of the situation and see how it affects them. This little booklet is an effort to set forth in clear and straightforward terms how China's new day may influence the future of the Christian movement.

A study of this sort is the more important when we recall that the Chinese people comprise one-quarter of the total population of the world, that they have had a continuous existence as a nation for longer than

*The June second meeting also failed, because of the tense political situation in Shanghai at that time.

Letters and cables and resolutions and whatnot, all in endorsement of and sympathy with the proposed measure, pour in upon all officially connected with this enterprise, literally from all corners of the earth, over such interesting signatures as Alice Masaryk, daughter of the president of Czechoslovakia; Mary Anderson of the United States Department of Labor; Pierre Henry of the League of Nations Labor Office; Tata Sons, the great mill owners of India; Lucy Gardner for the C.O.P.E.C. Conference of England; Justin Godard, Minister of Labor for the French Government, etc., etc. This network of international response to this great human issue but proves again what Mrs. Raymond Robins said in connection with China's present struggle along this line, that "labor's kinship is as wide as life."

A Y.W.C.A. Communique from China, June 1925.

4,000 years, and that the country also contains vast mineral and other natural resources awaiting development and improvement. Here then are the elements for mighty progress—the human resources in man-power, the vast material resources in the raw state, and the spiritual heritage of thousands of years. All that is lacking is the spark of self-consciousness for the “giant” to arise and set in motion forces that can shake the world. The awakening of this self-consciousness is going forward rapidly, as recent events have witnessed.

China is beginning to wonder today whether western nations are prepared to concede her rights or whether she will have to fight for them. Must she, despite her age-long pacific temper, adopt militarism in order to get back from those who hold her in bondage the freedom she is entitled to? It is a most serious question not only for China but for the rest of the world.

The Chinese people are essentially eirenic in disposition and they are not at all eager to become slaves to militarism in order to throw off the shackles of the more galling bondage to Westerners. But they are seriously aroused and apparently resolved to have freedom from western domination at any cost. The picture of this tremendous nation building up a huge military machine should cause every Christian to give serious consideration to means of preventing it.

On the other hand, the genius of the Chinese people is friendly, peaceful and thrifty. With their tremendous human and natural resources they can be of immense benefit to the family of nations. There is no question that China constitutes one of the largest potential markets in the world today for manufactured goods from other countries.

The spiritual processes of such a people are marvelous in their variety and richness. It is well within the range of conceivability that they would contribute most effectively toward the solution of those problems of international relationships that so frequently produce war.

We believe that the most capable course the western world can follow today is the safest. Westerners should unstintingly give of their best to China instead of demanding the most from China.

The Christian enterprise has always stood for these highest ideals of brotherhood and justice for all people. They should stand as a unit today in the effort to uphold those principles which alone can secure to China freedom from the yoke of foreign bondage and an opportunity so to develop as to contribute not only to her own upbuilding but to the greater sense of solidarity of all mankind. Halfway measures will be provocative of greater ills. Let the Christian movement in China face the future without the handicap of our western psychology and interference.

The modern missionary enterprise in China dates from 1807, when Robert Morrison landed at Canton in South China. In the early years of his stay he was able to remain in the country only by living disguised as a

Chinese. So great were the difficulties in proclaiming Christianity that at the end of his life he could count only a handful of those who had accepted his message of truth. After thirty years of effort one of the earliest missionaries, by the greatest exercise of faith, predicted that at the end of a hundred years there would probably be a thousand Christians in China. These early messengers of the Cross were face to face with a different civilization. The Chinese values of life were most difficult to understand and their cultural qualities were far removed from the missionaries' appreciation.

It is now only a few years more than a century, yet the Christian enterprise has grown far beyond the visions of its pioneers. Just a few statistics will help us in gaining some idea of its importance.

There are approximately 8,000 missionaries in China. Associated with them in Christian work are about 27,000 Chinese. There are between five and six thousand organized churches, having about 550,000 baptized members.

The property owned for Christian purposes is valued at many millions of dollars. No one has ever been able accurately to appraise its value. If you will, stop for a moment and try to visualize some of the material manifestation of the spread of Christianity. There are the church buildings, scattered in the many cities and towns. There are the residences in which the missionaries live. Throughout China are a large number of hospitals and orphanages erected by missionaries. The schools and colleges which have grown up constitute a monument to Christianity in almost numberless communities. There are printing presses and publishing houses that add their share to the material side of the Christian investment in China. There are probably not far from 300,000 students in Christian schools in China today.

But we must not put our trust in figures. A mere enumeration of statistics cannot in any sense measure the quality of the investment of Christian missions in China. If it requires imagination for us to picture the material structures which Christianity has built up, how much more must we give it play when we seek to visualize the spiritual side of Christianity's accomplishment in that great country!

The missionary has gone to place his life alongside the lives of a great people. Together with the Chinese who are engaged with the missionaries in Christian work, there are 35,000 people actively employed in proclaiming the kingdom of heaven throughout China. They are spreading a gospel of goodwill. They are living in the most intimate contact with the daily concerns of the Chinese people. They are striving by preaching and teaching, by healing and helping, to win them to friendship with Jesus Christ. Nor must we overlook the lives of the more than half million Christians that are focal points of the contagion of righteousness.

The result is beyond calculation. The latent spiritual perception of this great nation is being awakened—a conscience aroused—an idealism brought to life. Evidences are not lacking that in China the kingdom of God is beginning to be a reality.

The Christian investment in China affects the whole destiny of the Chinese people. This is a day when contacts with western nations are causing Chinese young people to cast aside many of the most sacred traditions and time-honored usages of their society. All the strength and power of the Christian leaven is needed to help guide the nation to dependence on the highest moral ideals. All the help of Christian people is needed to keep the face of this new and changing China toward the light of Christ.

Christians have scattered the seed of the Gospel. It is growing up to a fruitage fraught with tremendous consequences. No one today can destroy the Christian investment in China. It is too firmly established—too securely placed. It might be possible to restrict its growth or to hinder its natural development, but it is too firmly planted to permit of its being eradicated. Our problem is to discover how Christian people in this country can most effectively contribute to the advancement and building up of this great work in China.

—Foreign Missions Council of North America: "The Present Situation in China and Its Significance for Christian Missions."

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA

Recent Industrial Disputes

There have been frequent labor disturbances in China during the past year. In February there was a serious strike in a Japanese-owned cotton mill in Shanghai which affected 30,000 workers. (Out of a total of 198 cotton mills in China, thirty-six are wholly Japanese owned, twelve of these being located in Shanghai.) The cause of this strike was publicly announced to be "the ill treatment of Chinese laborers by Japanese foremen and especially the ill treatment of women workers," who with children constitute eighty per cent of the total. The strike called forth a diplomatic protest by the Japanese. In April another strike occurred in the Japanese-owned mills in Tsingtau, in Shantung Province. This strike led to rioting, as a result of which the Japanese on May 28 dispatched two gunboats from Port Arthur to Tsingtau.

From these two strike incidents it will be seen that any serious labor disturbances in China become very easily international questions, and diplomatic or even military action is often resorted to on behalf of the foreign employers of Chinese workers.

Student Activity on Behalf of Labor

Students from several Shanghai schools interested in the laboring classes were active in helping to organize and direct these strikes. About the middle of May a second strike occurred in the Naigai Wata mills in Shanghai (which, a Japanese company, operates thirteen mills in China). The new strike was said to be due to the failure of the mill owners to keep the agreements made at the time of the previous strike, and particularly to the refusal

of the management to recognize the mill workers' association which was organized at that time, and discharging of the representatives of the workmen who were spokesmen to the management for the union.

On the occasion of both strikes violent outbreaks and anti-Japanese demonstrations were reported on the part of the workers. Because of this fact, the Japanese overseers in the affected mills armed themselves, thereby calling forth vigorous protests from the Chinese workmen. The management stated, when interviewed on this point by a representative of the *North China Daily News* (British-Shanghai) that they "do not censure their foremen should they protect themselves."

A Chinese Laborer Killed

In a strike demonstration at one of the affected mills a Japanese employer fired on the crowd, killing a worker. Two days later, on May 24, a memorial demonstration attended by a crowd of from 7000 to 10,000 Chinese was held for this workman near one of the mills. Student leadership in this demonstration was apparent. This meeting was broken up by the police, who arrested six students on the charge of making speeches which tended to disturb the peace.

Developments from this time forward came rapidly. When no action appeared to be forthcoming from the foreign municipal authorities of Shanghai in regard either to the shooting of the Chinese workman (no investigation, not even a coroner's inquest has, as yet, been reported in regard to this incident) or the arrest of the students, it was proposed to carry the agitation into the international settlement.

The May 30 Demonstration in Shanghai

On the thirtieth of May, therefore, following the hearing of the case of the six students (who, unable to furnish bond, were remanded to jail) a demonstration was "staged" in the international settlement. About the exact nature of this "demonstration" there is considerable disagreement. The students themselves assert that "they went out in groups to different places and on Nanking Road (where the subsequent shooting occurred) there were not more than ten groups comprised of a total of less than fifty students."

Chinese Students Killed

About certain elements in this occurrence there seems to be general agreement. There was a demonstration of rather large proportions at the Louza Station, the ringleaders of which were arrested by the police. The crowd meanwhile had increased until some 2000 Chinese were assembled, students in the foreground shouting their denunciations of the police in particular and foreigners in general. Inspector Everson—so the subsequent inquiry revealed—shouted in English to the mob to disperse, gave them about ten seconds in which to obey and then gave the order to fire. Some forty

shots were fired point-blank at the crowd which—on this there seems also to be agreement—apparently was unarmed. Four Chinese were killed outright and five more died of their wounds.

Results of the Shooting

There appears to be no particular desire, however, to place the blame upon the police who were thus following their instructions. The Shanghai shooting—whatever factors are responsible for it—became immediately the signal for a widespread movement against foreign control in China. The Shanghai episode, however deplorable, has importance in relation to subsequent developments chiefly because it served to provide Chinese nationalist leaders with ready-to-hand material that was usable for furthering their program. Discontent against foreign treatment of China that was merely smouldering, prior to May 30, was fanned into flame by the shooting. The issue already existed. Shanghai made it nation-wide and critical.

General Strike Declared in Shanghai

The shooting at the Louza Police Station occurred on Saturday, May 30. On the day following, a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Shanghai Students' Union to determine what retaliatory action should be taken. A large crowd of workmen, students and business men attended this meeting, and after an extended debate it was voted to call a general strike in Shanghai. Approval of this move was secured from the chairman of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and June first was set as the date for the walkout.

A day later, business in Shanghai came to a virtual standstill. Not only mill operatives but employees of the telephone, waterworks, and municipal electricity companies, staffs of foreign newspapers, bank employees, department store clerks, hotel employees, tram operators, laundrymen, rickshaw coolies, domestic servants, eventually joined the walk-out demonstration. The Shanghai strike extended until it finally called out some 250,000 workmen. To support this strike large sums of money were contributed by the Chinese in China and out—the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Manila leading off with a gift of \$10,000.

Sympathy Strikes

As the strike spread in Shanghai, sympathy strikes were called in other cities, notably in Tientsin, the port city for Peking; Kiukiang, on the Yangtze river between Shanghai and Hankow; Hankow, the industrial city located 600 miles up the Yangtze from Shanghai; Foochow, in the southern province of Fukien; Honkong, the British city just south of Canton; and Canton, the seat of the "southern" government of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. In some of these places, particularly in Hankow and Canton, the strikes were marked with considerable violence. In Hankow a crowd called "rioters" or "demonstrators," whichever the point of view, clashed with the British Vol-

unteer Company, with the result that eight Chinese were killed by machine-gun fire, and in subsequent disturbances six more were killed.

The Hankow shooting added fuel to the flames. From this time forward the movement became distinctly anti-Japanese and anti-British—anti-Japanese, in part, because the disturbances first arose over an industrial dispute in Japanese mills, and anti-British, because of the part which the British are alleged to have played in the various shooting affairs.

The Canton "Affair"

Most serious of the outbreaks that followed Shanghai and Hankow occurred in Canton.

The general strike in Canton was called on June 21, and on Tuesday, June 23, after a great mass meeting of Chinese students, cadets, soldiers and workmen, a demonstration parade was organized. This parade, in which several thousand people participated, proceeded along the Bund in Canton and past Shameen (the European quarter of the city). When opposite the Victoria Hotel in the British part of Shameen firing began between those of the demonstrators who were armed and the British and French marines. The firing lasted for some twenty minutes, with the result that one Frenchman and a number of Chinese were killed, and many others wounded. There is some disagreement regarding responsibility for this clash, foreign observers generally maintaining that the Chinese fired first, and many Chinese replying that the foreigners opened the attack. The skirmish resulted, however, in a general exodus of foreigners from the city. Since then an intensive boycott has been declared against Japanese and British business and shipping, which has had rather disastrous results both on foreign business in Canton and on the business of Hongkong.

Since the Canton affair there have been fewer violent outbreaks, but it can hardly be said that the situation has notably improved. Boycotts against Japanese and British trade in the chief cities of the countries appear to continue unabated. So serious, in fact, has the tie-up of British shipping in Canton become that the British Government has considered drastic action, perhaps in conjunction with Japan.

Basis for Continued Agitation

The basis for this continued agitation and boycott, from the Chinese point of view, may be found in the following facts:

1. The Powers represented in the Municipal Council in Shanghai have not, as yet, made inquiry into the shooting of a Chinese workman by a Japanese foreman on May 22. Up to the present time not even a coroner's inquest has been held.
2. The findings of the diplomatic inquiry into the shooting at the Louza Police Station have not been made public. The diplomatic corps at Peking on June 6 appointed a delegation of six to proceed to Shanghai

and make inquiry into the facts of the situation there, with Chinese delegates. It is rumored among the Chinese that the findings of this inquiry—being unfavorable to the foreigners concerned—were quashed. Up to the present, partly owing to the attitude of the Chinese Foreign Office, which has been sympathetic toward the students, and partly because of a dispute between the diplomatic corps in Peking and the Shanghai municipality as to what agencies have authority to act in the matter, the negotiations for a settlement have made but little progress.

3. There has been no reply by the diplomatic corps to the thirteen demands of the Chinese Government for settlement of the Shanghai affair.

Demands of the Chinese

But these issues as the basis for continued agitation have now become incidental to the fundamental demands which the Chinese are making upon the Powers as the foundation for permanent settlement. There is widespread suspicion among the Chinese that an international conference called to study the China situation will merely result in further delay and not bring any definite action in regard to the concessions which the Chinese are demanding.

—*Foreign Policy Association Bulletin No. 1, September 1, 1925.*

WHAT THE CHINESE WANT

Thirteen demands* were presented in behalf of the Chinese in Shanghai by the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, the most powerful commercial and financial group in China. These were supposed also to represent the Amalgamated Union of Commerce, Labor and Education which is managing the general strike. This body is composed of the General Labor Union of Shanghai, the Chinese Students' Union (national), the Shanghai Students' Union, and the Federated Street Unions. The latter body represents 10,000 shopkeepers organized by streets; the Chamber of Commerce, with 530 members, represents the larger merchants and bankers.

* * *

The demands can be divided into two sections, the first dealing with the shooting and the state of martial law that followed, covering punishment, compensation, apology and restoration of normal conditions. The second section deals with the indirect causes of the incident and asks for certain changes in the government of the international settlement of Shanghai.

* * *

The demands really represent a cross-section of Chinese society. They express ideas which are moving merchants and educators as well as students. Also it must be remembered that in so far as they are the voice of the laborers and the students they represent the forces that are making the China of tomorrow.

*This was following the events of May 30, 1925.

It is evident that we have here a sufficient degree of concentration of various group interests to mark the forming of a national purpose. The secretary of the General Labor Union of Shanghai properly described the movement as "the arising of the national consciousness."

* * *

They might also be depicted as the initial draft of a declaration of independence which China is getting ready to make. In terms of general ideas, what China wants is justice, freedom and equality. These are principles of some historic significance to the Anglo-Saxon. They have come from him to the East in a new form. The question now is whether he can grant others what he has won for himself.

The facts regarding the shooting of the students seem to the Chinese so clear that the issue of justice is beyond discussion. Hence the students demanded punishment of the officials. Hence the National Associated Chamber of Commerce says:

The Chinese Chambers of Commerce at home and abroad, organized for promotion of the interests of the Chinese merchants at large, are now determined, unless the municipal authorities in Shanghai change their policy, to sever economic relations with those nations which are held responsible for the killing and wounding of the students and laborers in Shanghai; and to sacrifice all our material interests for the righteous cause of securing justice and fair treatment for our compatriots.

* * *

What the brains of China want, backed now by several hundred thousand organized and articulate workers, with millions more in the background who at present talk only in terms of that force which the diplomats now know better how to use, is control of their own country and equality of status with other nations. It is a great and proud people, long helpless under foreign aggression in a world they did not understand, that is now speaking its need to the world. That nation is developing a leadership which is trained in the thinking and the ways of the modern age. Baffled by the complexity of their situation they see one thing quite simply, that they must be rid of foreign interference and control as the condition of their own economic and political development. They have behind them forces which will not long be helpless. They are demanding that the stigma of inferiority which is intolerable to men and women of their capacity be removed, for it has become an iron which is burning their soul.

* * *

At present the situation moves in a vicious circle. The West says, "We cannot give you equality of status because you have not a stable government and your courts are now subject to military control." The East says, "We cannot subdue our militarists nor develop a stable government because of foreign interference and control. We must be independent and equal in order to move."

The crystallization of the need of China by this Shanghai situation has created a need for a gesture from the West, a gesture which might cut the

vicious circle and release those powers of national control in China which are now inhibited. The gesture that is needed is recognition before the world of the equal status of China in the family of nations and the guarantee of constructive steps to work it out. For example, the use of the western-trained Chinese capacity, so largely assembled in the international settlement of Shanghai, to work out local self-government might provide just the model that China needs, and prove to be the start of constructive forces nationally. Will the United States make the gesture and follow it up with plans? Or will she continue to deserve the judgment of one of China's prominent officials educated by American money in one of our greatest universities: "America takes a friendly attitude toward China but she does not scruple to benefit from the unequal treaties and she makes no strenuous effort to right them."

—Harry F. Ward.



INDIA

BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

When England was fostering her own industries, prohibitive tariffs were being levied against Indian calicos and muslins, until by these forceful means the sale of Indian goods in England was altogether stopped. Then, when England had obtained a virtual monopoly of the new machinery run by steam power, her machine-made products were poured into India, without any protective tariffs' being raised against them, until at last the spinning and weaving industry which had been universally practiced in Indian villages was practically ruined.

The vast economic dislocation of Indian village society really began from the date when India's village industries were crippled and even—over vast areas of India—actually destroyed. It has been often pointed out by historians how the village life of India before the British economic invasion was very nearly self-supporting. The spaces of the year that were unoccupied by field labor were utilized for home industries. The life was frugal, but it was healthy and lived in the open air. At that time large towns with centralized industries were hardly needed. India was a land of villages with an exceptionally small town population.

The unworldly outlook upon life which India then possessed marked her out among the peoples of the world. The deepest thoughts upon religion and philosophy and concerning the ethical life of mankind came chiefly from this frugal and industrious village population, which lived its own life close to nature and was not greatly demoralized by luxury, though it had faults and meannesses of its own. The remarkable coherence of this village life of India, its self-supporting basis, its self-governing capacities—all this had been pointed out by the great thinkers and historians who had studied it.

Like the parallel communal village life of China, it seemed to have its own place and function in the Body of Humanity. But now, under the impact of the West, both political and commercial, this ancient order in India is rapidly being demolished. To many thoughtful minds who watch the crumbling process—the constant erosion, the ceaseless undermining—there seems very little hope of its survival.

Thus a fundamental problem has to be faced in India today, the importance of which to the world's future can hardly be overestimated. Its solution, whether right or wrong, will affect all the surrounding countries of the East. The question may be stated as follows:

Shall India, having been carried so far even against her will along the path of western industrialism, continue to follow that path? Shall India become one more of the "industrialized" countries of the world? Shall the ancient village life of India, which was so self-sufficing and so productive of plain living and high thinking, be broken up and its family life exposed to new and terrible risks, in order to provide cheap labor for centralized capitalistic exploitation?

Or, on the contrary, is the true development of India (and perhaps China and Africa also) in the opposite direction—to cling to the old village life, to revive the old village industries, to prefer the old frugal social order, with its many discomforts, to the new and modern capitalized society, wherein great material wealth and comfort are possible, at the expense of the exploited poor?

Or, lastly, is there some third course open?

There are those today who have suddenly appeared in the towns and villages of India—men and women, who are clothed not in purple and fine linen but in coarse homespun garments; who by no means fare sumptuously every day but have learned to live the most abstemious lives. These adventurers in social theory have declared with no uncertain voice that the whole fabric of our modern civilization is rotten to the core; that the whole scheme of social life in the West has been founded upon the exploitation of other peoples; that so-called modern "progress" is not truly progressive at all, but rather a pathway that leads astray and ends in moral chaos.

They state that the present condition of the world after the Great War is mainly due to the insensate greed to get rich on the part of the western powers, and that the only way to overcome the evil that has crept into the Body of Humanity is to retrace the false steps that have been taken and to proceed upon an altogether different road, going back to the past for a model and example.

Their thoughts are clothed in a strange language. They speak of *satyagraha*,* *ahimsa*,* and *charka*,* where before men spoke of armaments of war. But the burden of their message, first and last, is a profound and

*"Satyagraha" means passive resistance for the truth; "ahimsa" means non-violence; "charka" means the village spinning wheel.

settled distrust of modern civilization. For the most part these new workers are becoming almost fanatically "nationalist" in their sentiment and aspirations. They have been diligently taught to regard foreign yarn and foreign cloth as religiously untouchable and unholy. They are enthusiastically seeking to make "homespun" the only wear of the whole Indian population, thinking that thus by a single blow they will cut the Gordian knot of India's economic dependence on Great Britain.

In all that they are now determined to carry out they state clearly that no resort to arms will be countenanced or attempted. They have been schooled in the hard discipline of pain, and have been learning with some difficulty from their saintly leader, Mahatma Gandhi, to suffer, but not to strike.

These modern ascetics have gone cheerfully to prison in great numbers for their convictions. At the time that this chapter is being written they are crowded in most of the jails of India, and many endured great hardships. Repression has set in with ever-increasing violence against them. Their leader is himself sharing with them a common imprisonment. He has been sentenced to simple imprisonment for six years.

Mahatma Gandhi, at the time of his trial, gave a terse and pointed explanation of his views concerning the exploitation of his own country by foreign rule. I omit here the picture which he presented of the political emasculation of India by Great Britain, for that would carry me, in a measure, beyond my subject, though the political and economic facts are almost inextricably intertwined. But his words concerning the economic exploitation are as follows:

"I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she was before, politically and economically. She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Before the British advent India spun and wove in her millions of cottages just the supplement that she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. The cottage industry, so vital to India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes, as described by English witnesses. Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of Indians are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter; that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realize that the government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures, can explain away the evidence which the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers in India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for their crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history."

According to Mahatma Gandhi, the truest sign of repentance in the case of British-Indian imperialism would be for Great Britain to abandon altogether, in India, the revenue from the drink and drug traffic which is ruining the country morally. At the same time, British statesmen should be ready to join in preventing the economic exploitation of Indian villages which comes from dumping in them foreign cotton goods from Lancashire. They should do everything possible to encourage home spinning and home weaving. If these two things were done, then he offered to cooperate.

Meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi has called on his own countrymen equally to repent. The truest sign of a change of heart among them would be to treat the many millions of outcasts once more as brothers and sisters and no longer to oppress them. There is perhaps no point in his whole program on which he has laid greater emphasis than this. Of all the features of the movement, this, in my opinion, goes deepest of all.

It will be seen, from what I have said, that the protest in India which is now being made against British imperialism has a moral bearing throughout. It cannot be neglected with impunity by those who seek to find a Christian solution for the social problems of life. The movement has also found its true home among the toiling masses of the people rather than among the intellectuals; it is among the poor in the villages that it has received its steadiest support and its warmest enthusiasm.

The more the subject is studied, the more it is apparent that modern capitalism is intimately bound up with imperialistic aims, wherever some races are strong and others are weak. Predatory exploitation, as I have already pointed out, is by no means a thing of the remote past, which modern civilization has gradually abandoned, just as it abandoned the slave trade. On the contrary, it is still one of the most potent forces of the age in which we live. Indeed, in certain respects it has gained recently even greater intensity of power, because it has been regarded as a necessary link in the industrial machinery which regulates western society on its economic side.

—C. F. Andrews: "Christ and Labor."

LABOR LEGISLATION

... We may now consider how these difficulties affected the decisions of the Government of India, when the various conventions and recommendations of the Washington Conference came before it for ratification.

It must be remembered, in the first place, that these decisions had to be taken at the very beginning of the great constitutional change known as the Reform Scheme; and it was decided, in accordance with the democratic principles of this scheme, to obtain in the first place the general approval of the Legislative Assembly in the form of resolutions to such of the Washington decisions as involved legislative or other action on the part of India.

The most important of the conventions was that which limited the hours of work in industrial undertakings in India to sixty in a week. The sense of the Assembly was decided in favor of the resolution, the only opposition coming from an Indian unofficial member who had no particular connection with labor questions.

The definition of an "industrial undertaking" contained in this convention and in that relating to the age of children involved a great extension of the definition of "factory" in the Indian Act of 1911, and this, in turn, required a great increase in the duties and responsibilities, and therefore in the numbers, of the factory inspectorate. Before considering further the proceedings in the Legislative Assembly, the full scope of this difficulty may be stated. The convention regarding the employment age of children required that the definition of "industrial undertakings" should be expanded so as to include factories employing ten persons and upwards. The Indian Factory Act of 1911 has a minimum limit of fifty persons, which can be lowered to twenty persons if good cause exists. The Government of India recognized the desirability of including the smaller factories, in which abuses are most apt to arise, for all the purposes of their proposed new law and not only for the employment of children. But no information existed as to the number, nature and situation of the smaller factories, and this had to be collected by a special enquiry. A decision had to be reached as to the proportion of these that it was practicable to place under inspection, and as to the possibility of recruiting of the necessary staff. The Government of India finally decided that the farthest they could go without risk of rendering their law ineffective was a reduction of the obligatory limit of numbers from fifty to twenty, and the optional limit from twenty to ten. This constitutes substantial though not exact compliance with the convention. The "time limit" convention also required the application of the sixty-hour week to mines and to certain branches of railway work, still further extending the scope of factory legislation and of the consequent inspection. The Government of India are now engaged in framing the necessary legal provisions to give effect to this convention, but the difficulty involved in so wholesale an extension of the ground to be covered by the inspecting staff, while maintaining their original high standard of work, can be readily understood.

The draft convention regarding unemployment required a good deal of consideration, not as to its desirability in point of principle, with which the Government of India were fully in accord, but as to the practicability of carrying into effect in a country where labor is so unsatisfactory, so ignorant, and, it may be added, so much in demand that employers or their agents who require workers have, as a rule, to seek them out in their homes and arrange for their removal to the factory or the tea-garden. Moreover, owing to the lack of labor organization, labor itself has no machinery whatever for the collection of statistics required by the convention, statistics which, it may be remembered, are mainly collected by the trades unions. The whole burden of this would therefore fall on the government rural and

district staff and on the local authorities. It is, at any rate, clear that so long as Indian industries draw on the surplus of agriculture for their workers, some special or limited form of statistics, differing essentially from those obtained in more highly organized countries, will be required. There was also the fact that in ordinary seasons there is no unemployment; that, in fact, there is scarcely a factory without a large number of vacancies; while in famine years government has itself to provide employment for numbers which often run into millions, and in any case are more than industry can absorb. This employment is at present provided under the Indian Famine Codes economically, efficiently, without pauperisation and as a matter of course whenever the need arises, such need being measured by methods which have been worked out from the experience of many years. This relief is followed up by an extensive system of loans to the small farmer, to restore his seed-grain and cattle and enable him to make a hopeful start with the next season. There are, however, a few congested areas where, though there is no actual unemployment, wages are relatively low in spite of emigration. For these it was thought that employment agencies might be useful, and experience might be gained here for possible future extension elsewhere. The Legislative Assembly, on the advice of the government, decided to ratify the convention, and accepted a resolution to that effect.

The draft convention regarding the employment of women during the night, and the night work of young persons employed in industry, involved no change in Indian law or practice and were therefore ratified without further reference.

The employment of women before and after childbirth formed the subject of another convention, which, so far as India is concerned, was limited by a resolution of the conference, calling on the Indian Government to study the questions of the employment of women before and after childbirth, and of maternity benefits, and to report to the 1921 Conference. This was endorsed by the Government of India, who, both on their own behalf and through provincial governments, have set on foot extensive enquiries; and the question has been discussed at various meetings and conferences. Great difficulties were found to exist, owing to the complete absence of statistical information. Local custom differed greatly and was often not ascertained without personal enquiry from individual workers. The lack of private practitioners, of women doctors, of medical colleges and of government health services has already been described.

Some allusion has already been made to the draft convention on the minimum age for the employment of children when describing the great extension of inspection involved by certain other conventions. This convention, which in the case of India required the minimum age for the employment of children to be raised from nine to twelve, was, it will be remembered, passed in the conference itself, against the considered proposals of the Special Committee of the conference. This committee proposed that the Government of India should be invited to work out and submit a report of the subject to

the next conference. The acceptance of this convention involved, as has been already explained, a widening of the scope of the factory law. In the next place, the registration of births in a country so deficient in education as India is difficult and imperfect; and as no attempt is made to record births in such a way as will enable the age of any child to be ascertained, the age of each child who desires employment in a factory has to be determined approximately by separate medical inspection. This has been a difficult and unsatisfactory procedure in the past, and constant effort has been needed to prevent abuses. Moreover, the custom of the country insists on the employment of the children of the poorer classes in agricultural work or in domestic industries even before they reach the age of twelve. It was also pointed out by opponents of the measure that only a small proportion of children below the age of twelve are receiving education, to the rapid extension of which lack of funds has proved an obstacle that can only slowly be surmounted. The raising of their minimum age would therefore mean that the children would either idle away their time, or, more probably, would be transferred by their parents to other and less desirable forms of employment, lying outside the provision of the factory law.

Though fully aware of the force of these objections, the Government of India were desirous of going as far as they possibly could in the direction of ratification, and brought the proposal before the Legislative Assembly in the form of a resolution. This proved to be the only draft convention to which any serious objection was taken by the Assembly; but the government received sufficient support from non-official members to enable it to defeat by a majority of eight the amendment proposing a minimum age of eleven. It was, however, found necessary to qualify the offer of ratification by two reservations, one of which proposed to allow traditional provisions covering the case of children between nine and twelve at the time of the passing of the new law, similar to those included in the convention applying to Japan. The other provided that in view of the greater difficulty of securing effective age determination in small factories, many of which are in out-of-the-way localities, the application of the reduced age limit to factories with more than ten but less than twenty persons should be left to the option of provincial governments. The Government of India also on their own initiative proposed an extension of the maximum age for the special protection of children, a matter which found no mention in the Washington Convention but seemed desirable in itself.

The two remaining recommendations referred to unemployment and to the establishment of government health services. The Legislative Assembly, to which these questions were referred, felt that they required further consideration, involving as they did the setting up of costly schemes for which neither data nor experience nor, in some cases, even nucleus organizations existed. The Assembly therefore remanded the recommendation for further consideration. To impose wholesale an unemployment insurance scheme on a society whose local organization and social and economic functions—barring

the central and provincial governments, the railways, and the factories—are closely parallel to those of the fourteenth century in Europe, is to invite failure. This relegation of the recommendations in question, however, does not mean that the proposals are in any way shelved. Active enquiries are being set on foot, data are being collected regarding the domestic economics of the working classes, and such action as the conditions warrant is certain to follow.

* * *

The enquiries set on foot by the government in fulfilment of its obligations under the various conventions and recommendations, the notices in the press of the proceedings of the conference itself, and the public speeches of the returned delegates aroused a great deal of interest in the position of labor in India among classes which had previously concerned themselves but little with it. This propaganda happened to coincide with a great wave of unrest among Indian labor itself, caused by the rising prices, by the industrial boom, by the general unsettling of popular ideas due to the war, and to the political awakening in India, which by this time was beginning to exercise a decided and novel influence among the uneducated classes. The immediate practical result was the foundation of a relatively large number of labor organizations, entirely Indian in membership and organization, in almost all parts of the country. The defects of these were obvious. They were organized by persons with little or no interest in labor other than political or philanthropic. Their organization was imperfect; some had no live membership, few, if any, effective rules, and no reserve funds; and they lacked the strength, flexibility, and confidence that can only come with working. But the intelligentsia show signs of either handing over management to workers whom they are training for this end, or definitely throwing in their lot with labor. Labor all over India has begun to be class-conscious. It is learning to know its leaders and its own real interests and needs, and it will never revert to the attitude of inertia varied by spasmodic outbursts of ill-directed turbulence that characterized it in the past. It knows a little of what labor is aiming at in other countries; it is acquiring a little of the international spirit; but it needs direction and advice.

The action of the government has also undoubtedly been accelerated in the path of factory reform by the decisions of the conference; and it strengthened their hands to be able to point to the views and arguments of labor and other interests in countries which were free from any possible charge of looking on India as an industrial competitor to be handicapped by fresh restrictions under the pretext of philanthropy.

—Sir C. Ernest Low, K.C.I.E.: "India and the Washington Conference" (1922).

THE SITUATION IN INDIA

The source of all labor in India—both agricultural and industrial—is the worker on the land; and to get a true picture of the conditions in which

he lives we must look back to mediaeval Europe. The Indian village which is the home of the agricultural laborer holds for him, however poor, much peace and happiness. All his interests are centered in that little plot of land where even the humblest has probably built his own little hut out of free material and on land given to him without money and without price. His family has lived there for generations, he is among friends, and the community in which he lives is pleasantly democratic—within the limits of caste distinctions. He is on friendly terms with his richer neighbor and can look forward at the end of a day's work in the fields to a long, warm evening spent in village gossip, listening to music or to the interminable chanting of some religious mythical poem. His life is not so monotonous as it sounds, for there are numerous festivals, when he takes part in the ceremonies of a picturesque religion, always an excuse for a day off.

There is, however, a darker side to this pleasant picture. Indian law and custom compel the constant subdivision of the peasant's tiny holding. Bad seasons are all too frequent; though the methods of cultivation are well adapted to the economic system, that system itself is out of date and wasteful, and human labor is extravagantly and ineffectively applied. In many cases the load of a debt hangs heavy round the neck of the Indian small-holder, and he is forced to add to the income of the family by seeking employment elsewhere. Lured by high wages, he naturally turns to the city. But it must be remembered that as a class the peasant immigrant has one ambition: to earn enough to enable him to return to his village and dwell there in comfort. City life has no attractions for him; the noise of the streets, the glitter of the shops cannot make up for the comfort and the friends that he has left. He hates the costliness of city life; the idea of paying rent for the cramped and dirty room where he lives is foreign to his mind; and he usually returns to his home as soon as he can and for as long as he can afford.

The urban industrial population is thus constantly changing. The workers are unskilled and differ widely, for example, from the spinner or weaver of Lancashire, who has gained a high degree of skill from constant attendance on a particular type of machine, who often has ambitions of rising in the industrial world, attends evening technical classes, and invests in the shares of the mill where he works. Indian labor, though its wages are low, is not necessarily cheap; it is in many cases as dear as or dearer than western labor. Congestion in some of the larger cities is as acute and as costly to remedy as in Europe. The physique of the Indian peasant is often poor. He suffers from several preventable diseases; hookworm, malarial fever, and tuberculosis are frequent. Matters become worse when he leaves his village and crowds into the cities. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the Indian mill-hand is not, as a rule, in favor of concentrated effort. Factory labor through the long hot hours of an Indian day is leisurely in the extreme, and the breaks in work, when the laborer takes a "spell off" for a drink and a smoke, are very frequent. The worker has a low standard of comfort.

There are few things on which he cares to spend his money; and, provided he can secure a certain sum per month, he prefers to make use of a rise in wages by taking more days off from the mill rather than by increasing his monthly earnings.

The country, however, is so large and its conditions so diverse that departures from the normal types are frequent. The peasant of northern India is a fine, sturdy specimen of mankind; he is often ambitious of bettering himself, and in the engineering shop is capable of putting in very effective work, if the job suits him and rates are favorable. Many factories are situated in rural areas, or in the still uncrowded fringes of larger cities, and there the worker still lives in rural or semi-rural conditions. Employers in some places began, a few years ago, to see that industrial dwellings were a fine asset and tended to attract the pick of the labor market. Though labor was, as a rule, unorganized, there were a few more or less inchoate Indian labor unions; and unions of a somewhat more effective type were found on the railways and in the post and telegraphic service, everywhere, in fact, where Europeans and Anglo-Indian workers were employed in considerable numbers. The few educated Indians who had interested themselves in the cause of labor had done so from political or philanthropic motives; Indian labor had produced no leaders of its own. But because Indian labor was unorganized it would be a great mistake to think that employers had everything their own way. The demand for labor greatly exceeded the supply; and the workers were capable of rapid and effective combination for a short time, to protest against isolated acts of injustice or to secure favors or privileges to which they thought themselves fairly entitled. But such movements were spasmodic; there was no class consciousness and no steady pressure to better the general position of labor. It is important to bear in mind this utter lack of organization, since it is precisely here that the change during the past two or three years has been most remarkable.

Finally, it must be remembered that, though India contains many immensely wealthy landowners or capitalists, it is as a whole one of the very poorest countries of the world. No country can afford to spend more than a certain proportion of its income on its public services, however necessary. Though the central and provincial governments are efficient, they cannot afford a very numerous or well paid staff, and many fields of useful activity have to be left untouched. The local authorities are not very effective, as they have little or no indigenous basis but are foreign institutions, which have not yet developed much life or initiative of their own. The factory inspectorate has so far been recruited almost entirely from the United Kingdom, owing chiefly to the very small number of technically trained Indians available. The number of doctors, especially women doctors, is very few, and in rural areas the private practitioner is almost unknown in most parts of India. The organizations for training doctors are quite inadequate. The government health services, therefore, are rudimentary. Thus the agencies for maintaining relations between the government of the local authorities

and labor are slight; and labor itself, as has been shown, has been practically unorganized.

To sum up, on a rural economy resembling that of a mediaeval country had been superimposed a modern, highly developed system of transport and commerce, together with large organized industries, which though much more extensive than those of European countries are yet relatively of small importance compared to the scores of millions employed in agriculture. The administrative responsibility for all this lay with a government still mainly foreign in personnel and principle, which, however profoundly it had affected the ideals and culture of the country, was yet not itself deeply rooted in popular sentiment.

The factory legislation in force had been passed in the year 1911, and that time represented the utmost that public opinion, so far as it was effective, would accept, and perhaps a little more. It did not protect labor engaged in the smallest and therefore the least efficient industries; nor did it apply to mining and transport. The law affecting these said very little about the hours and conditions of labor.

—Sir C. Ernest Low, K.C.I.E.: "India and the Washington Conference," in the *International Labor Review*, January 1922.

THE LABOR PROBLEM

To the ordinary westerner who looks upon India as the mystic land where brown humanity lives a drowsy life under a tropic sun it will come as a surprise to be told that the workers in Indian industries, mining, and transport outnumber the whole population of Spain; that, though possessing in her population of 319 millions a monopoly market for many important branches of home production, India exported (in 1920) manufactured goods worth \$86,911,000, and in the foreign trade alone 13,000,000 tons of shipping entered and cleared from her ports; that the mileage of her railways exceeds that of the United Kingdom or France; that the Indian jute industry is unrivalled in magnitude, and her cotton industry fifth in importance in the world; and that she possesses flourishing iron and steel works, foundries, railway workshops, dockyards, paper mills, petroleum refineries and rice mills. It follows that in order to keep going, these industries should be affording employment to a vast army of workers.

Judged by the test of the number of workers, India, with about 100 millions of occupied males, is easily the first among all the countries of the world.

* * *

Ordinarily, the Indian laborer is drawn from the lowest stratum of society. The ancient village organization of India does not appear to have provided any place for the independent laborer. Attached to every village was a class of predial serfs belonging to the lowest class or caste which performed certain lowly, if necessary services to the small village community,

and was in return maintained by it. But with the advent of better communications, the village, with its quaint sense of isolation from the rest of the world, began to show signs of disintegration, one of the earliest of which was the attempt of the village drudges to better their position and prospects by seeking employment in the larger world beyond. Their numbers must have been considerably augmented by the small-holders deprived of their strips of land, either through the operations of the money-lender or of the tax-gatherer, so that we have now a large and rapidly growing population of unskilled labor, commonly called the "agricultural proletariat." There are also at the same time numbers of small-holders who in slack season or in times of distress seek employment as casual laborers.

The labor force in India is recruited almost entirely from these three sources, and this circumstance in a large measure determines the ordinary laborer's habits and methods of work. The factory operative is primarily an agriculturist. In almost all cases his hereditary occupation is agriculture; his home is in the village, not in the city. His wife and family ordinarily live in that village; he regularly remits a portion of his wages there, and he returns there periodically to look after his affairs and to obtain a rest after the strain of factory life. It follows that the Indian operative does not rely exclusively upon factory employment in order to obtain a livelihood. At most seasons he can command a wage sufficient to keep him, probably on a somewhat lower scale of comfort, by accepting work on the land; and there are also numerous other avenues of employment more remunerative than agricultural labor which are open to every worker in any large industrial center.

This independence of the Indian laborer has had a baneful effect upon the nature and quality of his work. He is irregular and unsteady, likes to take things easy, and chafes at the rigorous discipline of the factory as compared with the easier methods of the field.

—P. P. Pillai: "Economic Conditions in India" (1925).

THE INDIAN LABORER

Laborers a Minority of the Population in India

The laborers, in the sense of hired workers, form a minority of the population in India. Agricultural laborers, as we have seen, are twelve per cent of the population. Industries, indeed, support ten per cent of the population, but a considerable proportion of these are engaged in unorganized industries. According to the industrial census, the total number of persons employed in 15,606 businesses in all India, excluding agriculture but including growing of special products such as coffee, indigo, tea, rubber, etc., and mining and quarrying, was 1,994,314 males and 686,811 females, a total of 2,681,125 persons, or eighty-five per cent of the whole population.

The Typical Indian Worker

It will appear that the position in India is very different from that in western countries like England, where the workers form the majority of the population. The typical worker in the West is the wage-earner who works for a master. The typical worker in India, whether on the land or in industries, is an independent man working on his own account. He is capitalist, entrepreneur and laborer rolled into one.

An Industrial Proletariat Does Not Exist in India—The Character of the Factory Worker

An industrial proletariat in the proper sense of the term does not exist in India. The character of our factory labor is very unstable. The factory worker is an agriculturist. He has not yet made the town his home, and work in the factory his permanent occupation. This largely explains the present unorganized state of Indian labor. The poverty, ignorance and illiteracy of the worker are very serious obstacles to the formation of unions. True selfless leadership is also lacking. Labor must learn to combine if it is to improve its economic position by putting economic pressure upon the capitalist class. The demand for industrial labor is constantly increasing, and on account of their small numbers, industrial workers, if they were well organized, would be in a very favorable position for enforcing their demands. But owing to their small numbers and other causes they cannot put much pressure on the government. And so far as the establishment of the "Diktatur des Proletariats" is concerned, it must in India remain a dream for a long time to come.

Economically speaking, the socialization of industry in India seems to be impossible on account of the absence of concentration even in organized industries. Politically speaking, a proletarian revolution which would socialize industry is out of the question.

Differences of Race, Religion and Caste

The industrial proletariat in India is composed of many heterogeneous elements. In Bengal the great majority of the workers are outsiders; about thirty-nine per cent belong to Bengal. There are very few bonds of union among workers coming from Behar, Chota, Nagpur, Orissa, United Provinces, Madras and other parts of India. They speak different languages, profess different faiths, belong to different castes, and sometimes represent different levels of civilization, as for example the intelligent Brahmin and the wild Santal and Bauri. Similarly the labor supply of Bombay is very heterogeneous, the laborers being drawn from different parts of India. Religion and caste are, as we in India know to our cost, very powerful factors of disunion. The organizers of the North-Western Railway Workers' Union personally assured the present writer that Hindu, Mussulman and Sikh employees of the North-Western Railway were able to act together when the first big strike was organized in 1920. When it is a question of de-

manding higher wages or improving the conditions of work, workers of different communities may be expected to take common, united action.

* * *

Further, in considering the possibility of an armed revolt of the working classes against property-owners one is bound to give due weight to the fact that the majority of the industrial workers belong to non-fighting castes. They have been long under the influence of religion, and religion has still a powerful hold on their minds. The Hindu religion teaches the doctrine of class supremacy, and the lower castes still look up to the higher castes, who dominate industry, with instinctive respect. Of course the influence of old ideas is declining, but an uprising of the proletariat presupposes a revolutionary change in their social and religious outlook, of which there are no signs at present.

—Brij Narain: "Population of India" (1925).

INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The life of the average Indian worker is conditioned by the basic fact of India's greater poverty, for it is the poorest country in the world. The per capita income of the people was estimated by Lord Cromer in 1882 as twenty-seven rupees, or \$9 a year; in 1900, in Lord Curzon's time, it was estimated at thirty rupees, or \$10. The director of statistics for India now reckons the per capita income as fifty-three rupees, or \$17.66 a year. Thus the average income of this entire fifth of the human race is less than five cents a day.

Such a statement is easily written or read, but what does it mean in terms of human life? It means for tens of millions in India perpetual poverty and often actual hunger.* It means one or at most two scanty meals a day of millet or the cheapest grains; it means an earthen floor and four mud walls of a little one-room hovel for a large family, in a smoke-filled room with no chimney, and often no bed, table, chair or stove. It means that, without adequate industries, in the frequent periods of drought millions face the hunger famine. It is the bitter poverty that drives the worker from the land in times of scarcity to the dreaded factories of Bombay or Calcutta, and from them he seeks to escape whenever his poverty permits.

* * *

India has an industrial population of some eight millions. There are approximately fourteen million people engaged in primitive or cottage in-

*Figures for 1920 from authoritative sources show food consumption per man per year, relatively:

United States,	1,775 pounds
Japan,	905 pounds
India,	741.4 pounds (with no meat, fish, eggs, milk, sugar, or fruit, and all food inferior in quality)

—Rajari Kanta Das, Ph.D., "Factory Labor in India."

dustries and over two hundred millions in agriculture. In 5,312 modern factories British India has 1,367,136 workers, a number larger than in China and a little less than that in Russia or Japan.

After considering India's poverty, we may now examine wages, hours and conditions of labor. According to the report of the Government Bureau of Statistics, the wages of the majority of common laborers were from eight to fourteen cents a day, of carpenters and iron workers fourteen to forty-nine cents, of cotton weavers eight to forty-nine cents, and of rural workers four to twenty cents a day.

In North and South India we found skilled artisans, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, blacksmiths, weavers and engine drivers receiving from \$6 to \$12 a month. In the coal mines of Bengal we found unskilled labor paid ten cents a day, for women, twelve cents for men. The average earned by miners in one mine was \$1.49 a week; but they only cared to work three days a week. In Cawnpore we found men working for eighteen cents a day, women for nine to thirteen cents, and children for eight cents a day.

We cannot forget the sight of some of these children who were under age toiling in the heat, half suffocated by the stifling dust of the tan-bark, in a shoe factory which has made large profits and has done nothing for its labor. A neighboring mill has declared 120 per cent profit, paying many of its women ten cents a day, and unskilled men sixteen cents a day. Last year fifty-seven per cent of the children of these workers in Cawnpore died during the first year of their impoverished lives; that is, 570 per thousand of these poor children died during the first year, compared to eighty-three per thousand during the same year in favored England. In the model village furnished by one company the lives of 232 children per thousand are saved a year, but the majority of the employers seem to view with suspicion any suggestion of such welfare work or housing for their workers.

Let us examine for a moment this wage scale in India in the light of profits and the ability of employers to pay a living wage. During the hard times over most of the world in 1922, the mills of Bombay on an investment of some \$40,000,000 made a profit of over \$50,000,000, or an average of 125 per cent. The year before they made a profit of over 170 per cent. These were certainly exceptional years, but in the meantime their wage scale for all workers averaged only \$10 a month, or thirty-three cents a day. Many of the mills of Western India are now demanding a reduction of this wage scale. Is the profit of the single manufacturer or the welfare of the thousands of these stunted personalities of greater moment?

A foreign cotton mill, in a city in the south of India visited by the writer, after having made far more than 200 per cent profit last year, paid from eighteen to thirty-three cents a day for unskilled labor, and from \$11 to \$21 a month for skilled workers. A thousand boys and a thousand girls are working here at from sixteen to twenty-four cents a day. The company does not believe in any welfare work and has discouraged trade unions or

any effort of the people to improve the miserable condition. Which is more important, that a few foreign employers should retire with a comfortable income for life, or that the more than two hundred million toilers in India should receive a living wage?

On the whole we found that the foreign firms pay better wages and provide better working conditions than most of the Indian employers. In one Indian cotton mill which we inspected we found they were paying their skilled labor \$8 a month, unskilled workers \$5 and boys \$3 a month, plus a temporary grant of seventy-five per cent increased cost of living, while their printed balance sheet showed a profit of 200 per cent.

What share in these enormous profits has the poor mill worker or jute cultivator received? "The inarticulate peasant himself has to work in the fields during the monsoon, often standing waist-deep in the water. He is saturated with malaria in these mosquito-ridden districts, and the continual dampness brings on ague, rheumatism and fever. All round his village he has to bear the stench of rotting jute fibre, the stagnation of standing pools of water, and a hundred other evils. . . . Directors of jute companies have been congratulating their shareholders on bumper dividends, and not a hint has been given in their glowing reports about the condition of the peasantry from whom those dividends were extracted."

We visited certain typical jute mills near Calcutta. In one we found excellent conditions and an honest effort for the welfare of the workers. In another we found very different conditions. The Indian workers were driven here by hunger and would escape back to their impoverished villages if they could. Most of the Europeans were here to make money and get out of India as soon as they could. The mill seemed a penal settlement for both. In the light of recent and present profits the wages seemed pathetically small. Unskilled men were receiving one dollar a week, women eighty-two cents, and boys fifty-seven cents a week; coolies were paid twenty cents a day. The young European who showed us over the factory naively informed us that they "managed to break up all the unions" which the men tried to form to improve their miserable condition. This European spoke with contempt of the workers. "They have to be driven," he said.

In the roar and dust of the driving machinery we saw the dull toilers plodding at their work. They are handicapped by tropical heat, hookworm, illiteracy, poor pay, bad housing and the low moral conditions reported by the inspecting lady doctor in these jute mills. Not they, but the machines and the money behind them are masters here. There lies a baby of one of the working mothers, asleep on the floor in the din and dust. What chance will this child have in life? It may grow up to aspire to earn a dollar a week in this mill. It will join the thirty million children and youth already in India for whom there is no school. What chance have these women and children, or these helpless, unorganized men against the vast forces of the industrial revolution in India? But still, "they must be driven." How long? How long will they stand it?

The condition of women and children in labor in India calls for special consideration. Dr. Barnes in her report speaks of their state of fatigue when forced to work ten hours while standing, and then walking the long journey to their homes where they have all their own housework to do. Only a few mills provide maternity benefits before or after childbirth, and few have crèches for the care of the children who must play about the floor of the factory, or in some sections of the country are given opium and left uncared for at home. The vast majority of the mills have no welfare work whatever and when the weekly wage is paid feel no further obligation for their employees. One of the deplorable features connected with the employment of women in industry is the immorality which the system entails. The power of the foremen and middlemen in some mills enables them to make immoral overtures which, if refused, may lead to dismissal. The shortage of houses, over-crowding, poverty, and the absence of so many of the workers from their village homes increase the moral problem.

The report of the mine inspector in 1921 showed that there were 249, 663 mine workers, among whom there were 91,949 women and 8,548 children under twelve years of age. Some of the worst conditions found in India were in the most backward mines of Bengal.* One is reminded of recorded conditions of labor in England before 1842, when women were finally excluded from underground labor.

* * *

After considering the profits of many employers and the wages and conditions of the workers, it is not to be wondered at that there is a growing evidence of labor unrest in India. Indeed, what human being, except a profiteer, could wish them to be contented? Sir Thomas Holland, speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council, declared he would rather see the mill industry of Bombay wiped out than accept the perpetuation of the conditions which had goaded the workers to their last great strike. Labor unrest is the first hope of improvement. During the typical year of 1921 there were 341 strikes and industrial disputes reported, or about the same number as in Japan. Of these, 110 were won by the workers and 225 were unsuccessful or indefinite in their terms of settlement.

Before the war, conditions in many mills in Ahmedabad and elsewhere were intolerable. Abusive language and sometimes thrashing were resorted to. In 1917 the poor workers struck. Again in 1918 the Ahmedabad weavers and 10,000 workers under the leadership of their townsman, Mr. Gandhi, went on a long strike which was finally settled by arbitration. The great strike in the textile factories of Bombay in 1920, which began as a lockout, was entered into by over 150,000 workmen, though ignorant and unorganized. India, like Japan and China, was feeling the influence of the universal upheaval in the labor world after the war. The employers failed to realize the new spirit of the workers. The men were driven by

*See page 142.

the goading sense of injustice, the pinch of hunger for many, the squalor and misery of their surroundings, exhausting drudgery and lack of personal touch between the employers and the employed. One mine superintendent said to the writer: "I can't beat the men as I once did. There is a new spirit among the workers since Gandhi appeared. For two years I have not dared lay hands on a man. If you beat one now, a hundred others will go for you. The workers have been quite spoiled by the new movement."

The year 1921 witnessed a remarkable growth of the trade union movement throughout India and the world. Mr. N. M. Joshi of Bombay, the able labor representative in the Legislative Assembly, places the present number of trade unions in all India at about 150 and their membership at nearly 200,000. It is impossible to state numbers with accuracy, as many of the unions, owing to their poverty, ignorance, lack of experience and absence of indigenous labor leadership, are little more than strike committees. When we visited the government labor office in Bombay in 1923 we found five blue flags locating on the map the five strikes then in progress. Only three weeks during the previous ten months had been free from strikes in that city.

There is almost a complete absence in India of radical and especially of Bolshevik influence which one finds in Japan and China. A wise and generous attitude on the part of the government and employers may win the whole movement to a fair policy of constitutional cooperation, while a selfish and reactionary policy will drive it toward radicalism as in other countries.

The trade union movement is in its infancy in India and the great mass of the workers are too illiterate and untrained to be leaders. During the period, many barristers, philanthropists and others are leading the movement. These men are of two kinds, interested and disinterested. Self-appointed labor leaders who are seeking personal notoriety are not only exploiting labor but deeply wronging this needy cause and bringing it into ill-repute.

On the other hand we cannot agree with the employers, who, like those of several other countries we have visited, refuse to see or recognize any but their own employees. Labor is now in a vicious circle of low wages, illiteracy and unorganized helplessness. If we wait till labor is able to furnish its own leadership, for how many generations will it be exploited? The employers are strongly organized and financed and they can afford the best legal counsel. Are the impotent workers alone to be denied all help from outside?

* * *

Article 427 of the Peace Treaty, to which India was a signatory, lays down "the right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers." The right of collective bargaining and trade union organization has long been recognized in Great Britain.

In considering the question of labor legislation, full credit should be given to the Government of India for its wise and generous policy for the protection of labor. India was almost the first country in the world to ratify the action of the Washington Labor Conference. No other country has been more responsive to world public opinion regarding industrial conditions or has more improved its labor legislation since the war. In the debates in the Council of State in Delhi we heard repeated assurances of India's loyalty to the labor organization of the League of Nations. India has far surpassed Japan and has set a shining example to China in her labor legislation.

The outstanding achievements of India's industrial legislation since the war have been the Indian Factories Act, which was followed by the Mines Act and the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The Indian Factories (Amendment) Act, 1922, provides for a maximum eleven-hour working day and a sixty-hour week, which was allowed to India by the Washington Labor Conference, as against forty-eight hours for Europe, or an average of six days of ten hours each; one rest day in seven; for fixed hours of employment and periods of rest. Work is forbidden for children under twelve, those from twelve to fifteen may work half time, not exceeding six hours a day. There is no night work for women. We only wish that every state in America had such a law.

The Indian Mines Act of 1924 provides for one day's rest in seven, work above ground limited to sixty hours a week, work below ground to fifty-four hours, no children under thirteen to be employed either below or above ground; with provision for inspectors, health and safety of workers, etc. The Workmen's Compensation Act provides for compensation for injury and death to cover 3,000,000 workers in factories, mines, railways, ships, etc. This is most important, as in Bombay alone during the last decade 12,000 workers were incapacitated permanently or temporarily by accidents, in many cases without any compensation from their employers.

—Sherwood Eddy: "The New World of Labor."

THE CASTE SYSTEM—ITS RELATION TO INDUSTRY

It is clear that employment in mills tends to break down distinctions. Local conditions, and the comparative numbers of each of the *jats* (*jat* is a word in common use to denote a social group, which may be a caste or a tribe) that work in the same mill, are responsible for the rapidity with which the barriers go. It seems clear that while modern industry offers emancipation to the outcastes and a settled occupation for those of the criminal tribes who can be admitted to it, it also brings large numbers of caste people into surroundings which tend to lower their standards. It is found that within the same caste and within the highest castes even, very great differences with regard to moral standards are found in neighboring villages, each village being ruled to a certain extent by its own public opinion.

In Bombay the great majority of workers come from the Konkan, a district which stretches along the coast of the mainland opposite to and north and south of the island on which the city is built. Many of the immigrants have land of their own or still have links with the family land.

Muslim women in some mills work quite apart from Hindus, with a *naikin* (forewoman) of their own. Others mix among the other workers at the winding frames. A large number of them, and of the Muslim men, come from hand-weaving communities which are considered amongst the most riotous. They may have been resident in Bombay or may have come from Cawnpore or Delhi. In either case they are landless, and poorer as a class than the Hindus. A young Muslim woman on piecework, when asked whether she would not stop to eat, replied: "No, I have got to work, work, work till I die. I cannot stop. Oh, I am very tired. I am always tired." These women are not in purdah, but a curious relic of it may be seen sometimes where a group of markedly dishevelled, untidy women will be pointed out as Muslims. They are said to cultivate this unkempt appearance lest they might be thought to be attempting to attract men other than their husbands. This, however, is an entirely local development, as in other places it is possible to pick out Muslim women by their dignity and by a certain simplicity in the fall of the folds of their *chadars*.

Another local characteristic is that all the Muslim women wind colored yarn because white is the sign of mourning and they refuse to work on it. This and the fact that color winding is better paid led to congestion of workers. The dye adds to the cost of the yarn and waste is more expensive, therefore only the more skilled operatives are employed on it. The rivalry is so great that women would rather stick to the colored side with only six or eight bobbins than have the full number on white. In white weaving, on the other hand, the women like to have many bobbins; even though they can only manage about twenty-two, they are annoyed if they are reduced to that number after having had twenty-eight.

There are also groups of Kolis, who are Hindu women from the fishing villages on the coast. In many mills in Bombay no untouchables are allowed to work, but in other mills they are employed in the same department as caste Hindus and Muslims. There are curious distinctions, however. A group of Mahars working on front rows by themselves on the colored side in a winding department "would not be tolerated" among gray winders in the same room. Whether the reason of this was that the workers were too eager to stay on the colored side to risk making difficulties or that the caste Hindus would be less likely to place their food under machines on the colored side and so did not fear its contamination, or something entirely different, the fact suggests the subtlety of many distinctions. The European manager in this factory, though obviously interested in his workers, did not know that the Mahars were untouchables and apparently had not heard of the depressed classes. "I'll see who depresses them," he said, as he promised to inquire about the supply of their drinking-water!

In Ahmedabad the workers, though to a much greater extent drawn from the immediate neighborhood than in Bombay, are much more mixed. There seems to be no preponderating group of one *jat* that corresponds to the Konkani Mahrattas.

The untouchables are no longer represented by the Mahars but by the Dheds, a scavenger caste lower in the social scale than the Mahars, and by the Chamars or workers in leather, a higher, though still untouchable group, and the Mochis or shoemakers, a sub-group of Chamars. On the other hand, Rajput caste women are found not only working in separate groups on hand-winding but in the ordinary reeling departments. They are the wives of hereditary weavers and come to this northeastern industrial city with their husbands, from Central India and even from Madras. These women are said to be much harder workers than the men of their caste and to have the chief share in the management of affairs.

* * *

In many mills it is quite impossible to get definite statements about the different *jats* that are employed. Some necessary arrangements are made about separate supplies of drinking water, and care is taken not to infringe customs, but no further interest is taken in the characteristics of the workers. A little experience makes it possible to pick out by sight members of some of the larger groups. The *sari* or the *chadar* of the Northern Hindustani covers head and shoulders. Bengali and Madrasi women are alike in having the head and one shoulder bare, but the latter wear a special type of jewelry and can be identified by the form of nose-ring. Tamil women wear their hair in a loose knot on the right side of the neck.

In some places Muslims and Hindus are chiefly employed in different departments; in others they mix in work; but however willing they may be to work under one roof, their presence necessitates special arrangements for drinking-water. There are few mills in which such supplies are brought within the actual building. A row of taps is usually found in some convenient part of the compound, and once the distinction is made between the pipes used by Muslims and those used by Hindus, it is rigidly adhered to. Sometimes outcaste demands involve further regulations. In other cases outcastes working in the mills may have to bring drinking water with them. The fact that supplies are now so generally conveyed by pipes simplifies to some extent caste difficulties with regard to drinking from a common source. The water that issues from the pipe is considered uncontaminated, and all that is not used flows away.

Before setting off to work in the morning, cold rice or *dhal* (lentils) left over from the previous night is eaten, but the earlier of the two principal meals of the day is taken within the mill compound unless the rooms occupied are very close, or unless there are restaurant hotels close at hand. In the majority of cases the midday meal is either carried by the laborer to the workshed in the morning or brought later by some messenger. By the second

alternative the advantages of hot freshly cooked food is gained, but it can only be employed when the wife or some other relative remains in the lodging to cook it and bring it or send it by a child. When all the adults work in a mill, a cold meal hurriedly prepared in the early morning is all that can be obtained. The form of the pot or bowl in which the food is carried, showing through the cloth in which it is tied, is a familiar sight on the streets and in the mills. Food that has to be prepared in the early morning makes a big demand on the woman worker, and her anxiety is not at an end when the meal has been prepared. It must be kept from contamination of every kind till it is actually eaten. The fear of having it touched or even shadowed is one cause of the difficulties that sometimes prevent mills from employing members of the depressed classes in the same room with caste women. Curious bundles wrapped in cloths that have been much used are poised high on machinery or hung from a nail in the wall, and it is strange to think that if a covering of one were but touched, the contents would be flung away, no matter how hungry the owner might be. The food thus brought is usually eaten by a family group, or by a single worker, sitting in an odd space between machines or in a neglected corner of the compound, indifferent to all the world and eating steadily through the meal. The disadvantages of such haphazard arrangements are very evident in dry weather, but during the period of the monsoon, rains that in a few moments convert streets into rivers descend at short intervals and may continue for weeks on end. It is not difficult to imagine the misery of conditions then. Various efforts are being made to meet the need of shelter and of hot food provided on the spot. In some mills rows of sheds are found, each one set aside for a particular national, caste, or outcaste group. In these, workers may find shelter from sun and from rain, but the sheds are seldom large enough to give room for all the workers in a mill and in some cases they are only sparingly used in dry weather.

A further step has been taken by some employers, who provide tea. Tea-drinking is a new custom amongst the workers in India but it has taken a firm hold, and the tea-houses in mills are very popular. In some cases they seem to be open all day, and workers find their way to them as they will. In others, times are fixed. In one of the latter the two tea-rooms, one for Hindus and one for Muslims, were built in a quiet, enclosed yard. At the far end were kitchens, but in this case the two nationalities had chosen to use the same room, and the second was turned into a godown for straw. Though both groups used one fireplace, there were two cooks, a Muslim and a high-caste Hindu. Tea with sugar but no milk was poured into the buyers' tumblers of brass or white metal, and cost a halfpenny. A few employees spent another halfpenny on a piece of country bread or a biscuit. The tea-drinkers in this mill were chiefly drawn from the better-paid workers amongst the men. Few women took tea, and those who did had to drink it in the compound, as the men would not allow them to enter the shelters.

Other mills have gone still further and have arranged for canteens from which vegetables, dishes of rice and *dhal*, and loaves are served. Such an experiment demands a Brahman cook, with a kitchen into which no one but himself, or another Brahman is allowed to enter, and different serving windows for Muslims, caste-Hindus, and others. The food is carried to dining sheds and eaten there. It is probable that the special arrangements for cooking and serving make it necessary to charge rather more than the price for which the workers could get similar food outside, for, in some cases at any rate, few take advantage of the new source of supply.

—Janet H. Kelman: "Labor in India."

HOME-RULE AND HOMESPUN

Since this was written, Gandhi, the native champion of home-rule in India, has been set free from prison. Concerning the writer of this article the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* says: "Mr. Andrews has been for many years an intimate friend and co-worker of Rabindranath Tagore, as he was also of the late Mr. W. W. Pearson. He is perhaps the foremost living authority among white men on Indian native opinion."

It is vitally important to realize that among the masses of the common people in India the whole electoral system is unpopular owing to Mr. Gandhi's disapproval. It is regarded as a mere foreign innovation—to take part in which is to become identified with the government. It has not yet to any considerable degree acclimatized itself to Indian life, which is a life of villages rather than of towns. I can understand how extraordinarily difficult it is to realize this in England, where elections are commonplace events affecting the whole people. But if we are not very careful we are in danger of mistaking what is still merely a side current in Indian affairs for the main stream.

There has been no one in all my recollections of India who has understood the masses of the people like Mahatma Gandhi. He has held them in the hollow of his hand, and even from jail he still holds them today. The reasons for his great influence among the masses are twofold—his saintliness and his voluntary poverty. He has lived their own life at all times and shared with them their desperate hardships. I have seen them coming to him and pleading, "Mahatmaji, do take more care of yourself. You are the only one in the world who understands us. If you die, who is to look after us?"

He is as different from any political leader in the West as it is possible to imagine. Only in a country so essentially religious as India would such a saint be made into a political leader. Perhaps the most wonderful thing of all, which shows his magnetic personality, is the fact that he has carried away with him on a wave of high enthusiasm very nearly the whole of the English-educated Indian community, men and women who have received the full training of the West.

In London I have been living in the Indian students' hotel, in Gower Street, and the reverence for Mahatma Gandhi's name is quite universal. There is no difference of opinion about him. This brings me to a second

astonishing factor. The enthusiasm of Indian Mohammedans for him is as great as that of Hindus. He is the one man in modern times who has united the whole of India—rich and poor, caste and outcaste, Hindu and Muslim.

I have often pondered over the nature of his supreme influence, and more and more it has seemed to me to be due to the two things I have mentioned—his saintliness and his voluntary poverty. At one time, as every Indian knows, he was earning by his brilliant talents at the bar £5000 a year in Johannesburg, in South Africa. He kept open house with lavish hospitality. But after reading Tolstoi's life and corresponding with him he abandoned everything he possessed and clad himself in the coarse homespun dress of a village peasant and began to plough and spin and weave at Tolstoi Farm. That was thirty years ago, and he has never since abandoned this life of extreme poverty.

When he goes to see the viceroy he wears the same villager's dress. When he was asked at his trial, as a prisoner, to state his occupation, he said, "A farmer and a weaver." When he found that owing to high prices after the war it was impossible for the poverty-stricken villagers to wear more than a loin cloth, even in the cold weather, he determined to do the same.

The essential feature about Mahatma Gandhi's political program was that he made the educated classes and the Government of India itself face the reality of the poverty of India. That poverty was to him the one vital problem to be solved. It was because he found the Government of India failing to face that problem that—to use his own word—he became a "rebel" and refused to cooperate with it.

So utterly bent upon reality was he that at the very height of the political ferment, when passions had been aroused on all sides and extremist views were carrying everyone away in the excitement, he suddenly startled Lord Reading by offering voluntarily to drop his own boycott of the British Government and cooperate again if the viceroy would only join with him in a campaign against the drink and drug traffic and would help forward home spinning and home weaving in order to recuperate the village life of India and make it morally healthy. If these things were done, he said, it would be the first sign of repentance on the part of the British Government for "the wrongs done at Amritsar and the infamous Treaty of Sevres." It would also be the first step toward complete Indian *swarai*.*

He added, characteristically, that he knew that Lord Reading was bound hand and foot by a military budget which only the drink and drugs revenue made solvent, and that Lancashire would never allow the British Government to foster an industry which would destroy the trade in cotton goods on which Lancashire people depended. Nevertheless, he added, if the British Government, as a sign of repentance for wrongs done in the past by the oppression of the village poor, could shake itself free from vested

*Home-rule.

interests and could take boldly the side of the poor and become their true protector, he on his part was ready to cooperate and to throw his whole strength into a united effort for the relief of the desperate poverty of India.

This offer of cooperation was made perfectly clear to the Government of India, but it was not even debated. No conference was called and the non-cooperation movement went on. To me, at the time, this appeared to be a failure in Lord Reading's statesmanship which was almost unaccountable. For I believe him to be essentially a Liberal at heart. Probably "prestige" more than anything else stood in the way, and it had been determined not to parley with "rebels."

This brings me to the point where the Indian situation today, in perhaps its most fundamental aspect, directly affects Lancashire. There is one word which is on every Indian's lips. It is not the word "councils," but the Indian word *khaddar*. Its meaning is "homespun cotton," and the supreme effort is being made to clothe the people of India once more with homespun cotton cloth instead of the mill-made product. The economic argument is used that India, because of its monsoon, is like no other country in the world. Its climate is divided into one long dry season, during which very little agricultural work can be done, and one short wet season, during which the village agriculturists must work long hours in order to get the cultivation completed. The one problem, therefore, of the 800,000 villages of India, if poverty is to be avoided, is how to employ usefully the slack months of the year, in the dry season, when very little agricultural work is possible.

This problem, so it is asserted, was solved in ancient India by the use of the home spinning wheel and the village loom. Each village produced its *khaddar*, and thus saved the expense of purchase from abroad. The argument runs on that Lancashire during the last century profoundly disturbed this village economic life of India by flooding India with cheap cotton goods. Little by little the temptation to buy these Lancashire goods and to wear them instead of the coarse homespun crept in. This became the fashion in India even among the poor.

In direct consequence of this change the arts of home spinning and home weaving died out. India became almost entirely dependent upon foreign cloth. The villagers spent their spare time idly instead of industriously. When famine came they had no occupation, nothing to fall back upon. They either died or else subsisted on government doles. So the poverty of India increased. Therefore the modern economic solution of poverty in India is to find out a way to reverse the process by building up the village industries once again.

I have stated the argument without any qualifications. It will be necessary to examine it; for it means a new situation to be worked out, not only by the villages of India, but also by the Lancashire population.

—C. F. Andrews in *The Living Age* (1924).

THE COAL MINES

The total amount of coal in India has been estimated roughly at 54,000,000,000 tons, though a considerable proportion of this total is not workable at a profit. The output of coal, however, in the adjacent coal fields of Bengal and Behar, usually known as the Jharia and the Asansol coal fields, respectively, is so immensely greater than that of all the rest of India together that for the purposes of this article the Bengal-Bihar field alone need be discussed.

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The total output of coal in 1924 was 20,256,034 tons, which represents an increase of almost eight per cent on the output of the previous year. The total number of persons employed in mines regulated by the Indian Mines Act in the year 1923 was 234,864 and of these 182,601 were employed in coal mines. The totals of men, women, and children in the coal mines are not given separately in the official mines report, but for mines as a whole the proportions were as follows:

Men	147,250
Women	80,254
Children, under twelve.....	7,360

The proportion of men, women, and children working in the coal mines is presumably proportionate to these figures, except that the number of women working in the coal mines is higher than in other mines.

The bulk of the labor in the Behar coal field is drawn from the aboriginal peoples of the neighboring territory. Workers at the more skilled parts of coal mining, for instance blasting, come from other races and castes; the Central Provinces supply a considerable number, and there are many Muhammadans. As in the case of the cotton and jute industries, and indeed of all Indian industries, the working man or woman is not employed all the year round in the mine. The miner is also a cultivator, and the principal problem which faces the mine manager in regard to the supply of labor is that of securing a supply at times when harvesting operations or the marriage season take the aboriginal worker back to the village. The absence of a permanent mining population and the fact that coal mining is to the bulk of the miners in a sense an occupation subsidiary to agriculture, carry with them both good and evil consequences. The good lies in the fact that the working population, not being dependent solely on the mine, has something to fall back upon when employment is bad. On the other hand, the fluctuation of labor is a very great hindrance to the development of decent conditions of housing and the carrying out of welfare provisions. It is, however, beginning to be apparent that improved housing tends to draw the miner into the mining settlement as a permanent resident, at least to the extent that having secured a good house he will do all he possibly can to retain possession of it.

A new Mines Act was passed in February 1923, by which, with effect

from the first of July, 1924, no person may be employed underground for more than fifty-four hours in the week and no child under the age of thirteen years may be employed in a mine or be allowed to be present in any part of the mine which is below ground. The limit of hours for work above ground is sixty per week. The report of the chief inspector of mines for 1924 is not yet available and we have therefore to wait for official information as to the working of the new act during the latter months of 1924.

The whole question of hours of labor is complicated by the conditions of mine organization and by the low working capacity of the miner. A miner and his wife will frequently spend ten hours down the mine, but of this period they may work only four or five hours, perhaps mainly for the reason that they will wait at the foot of the shaft until the tubs are ready for them, and on a day when labor is plentiful tubs may not be available in sufficient numbers. Moreover, the skill of the workmen is greatly inferior to that of the miners of the West, as is clearly shown by the figures of output. In 1923 the number of tons raised per person employed below ground was 172, taking the whole of British India, and for those employed above and below ground 103 . . . These figures are almost identical with the figures of the preceding five years and may therefore be regarded as a reliable index. In Great Britain, in 1922, the output of coal per person employed below ground was 271 tons and per person employed above and below ground 217 tons. A fairer comparison, however, would be with the United States of America, where seams of coal are, as in India, of considerable thickness and where consequently mining conditions approximate more closely to Indian conditions than to conditions in Great Britain. In 1922 the output of coal in the United States per person employed below ground was 611 tons and person employed above and below ground 504 tons. The comparatively low output of the Indian miner is largely due to the small extent to which labor-saving appliances are used.

The related questions of the comfort of the miner and of his efficiency are worthy of all the not inconsiderable attention which has been devoted to them in recent years. The questions of housing, of the employment of women, and of education are all intimately related to one another and they underlie, to a considerable extent, both the problem of output and of the rate of accidents. The rate of accidents is on the whole high and shows an ominous tendency to increase. During 1923 the number of fatal accidents was 237, involving a loss of 387 lives, including ninety women. In 1922 the number of fatal accidents was 205 involving a loss of 243 lives, including twenty-five women. The chief inspector of mines states that the accident figures for 1923 are the highest on record.

The principal issue in regard to the coal mining industry at the present time, is that of the labor of women underground. When the new Mines Act was passed, an effort was made to include the prohibition of the labor of women underground, but the effort was unsuccessful. The question is being actively debated and the argument of the mining companies in favor of

the retention of the labor of women underground is shown in the following statement, laid before Sir B. N. Mitra, the Member for Industries and Labor of the Government of India, by the Indian Mining Federation, on 25th July, this year. The federation remark as follows:

“Under a family system the labor of the woman is intrinsically different from that of the man; her labor is different in kind and not in degree from that of the man, and as such complementary and not additional to the labor of the man. In such circumstances it is difficult to imagine how woman labor can be withdrawn from the mines without an entire breakdown of the industry. We are fully alive to the humanitarian issues involved in the question but in this respect it is our view that under the Indian conditions the working of men and women side by side distinctly makes for a better standard of social and moral life among the laboring population than would otherwise be the case.”

“It has been often urged that in the matter of employment of women in mines the position of India is singular, she being the only country permitting women to work underground. With regard to such argument we would only submit that the position of India is singular in many respects, and with the wider disparity in the economic and social life of India with other countries, it is a bad analogy to indulge in, that India should follow the example of other industrial nations.”

In reply, the Member pointed out that “there are certain humanitarian considerations against the employment of women in the mines which cannot be wholly ignored,” and further pointed out that when the Mines Bill was being debated in the Assembly in January, 1923, the representative of the federation did not object to the principle of the prohibition of women's labor but urged that time should be given to the trade to adapt itself to the proposed change.

In the better conducted mines it is usually true that the work of the woman is confined to carrying on her head baskets of coal from the coal face, where her husband cuts the coal, to the tub, and it is probably also true that both the parties would object, at least to begin with, if the labor of women underground was prohibited. It appears to us, however, that this is the sum total of the argument that can be advanced in favor of the *status quo*. Against it there are powerful considerations to be urged. It is not the case in all mines that the women's work is confined to carrying of the type described. Women in some mines have been carrying coal not merely to the tub but to the surface, up long inclines dripping with water, a highly dangerous and exhausting form of labor. Further, the somewhat idyllic views expressed by the federation regarding the family system in the coal mine do not bear close examination. The chief inspector in his report remarks as follows: “A great deal has been said in favor of the so-called ‘family system’ in Indian coal mines, by which the miner gets the coal and his wife and the children carry it to the top, while the latter learn at their parents’ knees how

to become miners and carriers themselves. The family system, however, is not what it seems, for it is not unusual to find the carrier to be someone else's wife. However this may be, there is an increasing body of informed opinion which thinks that a mine is no proper place for women and that the output would increase and the cost would go down if women were excluded from the mines." Apart from the humanitarian considerations referred to above, it appears to be reasonably clear that the removal of women from the mines is, along with housing, the principal necessity if the standard of life of the mining community is to be raised. It surely needs no argument to prove that the standard of life of a community where the women spend their days down in the mine with the men must be low and that family life in any true sense of the term must be non-existent. Undoubtedly the prohibition of the labor of children has brought nearer the removal of the labor of women, if only because children in a mining settlement require someone to look after them.

Discussion with men themselves engaged in the management of mines indicates that the difficulties in the way of the prohibition of women's labor underground are not so great as they are usually represented to be. We have been assured by men who are unquestionably in a position to judge, that the problem is mainly one of organization; that with better organization below ground the miner can, without spending longer time below ground than he now does, cut and carry as much coal as he and his wife do now. Opinion is divided as to whether the better plan would be to select certain mines as particularly unsuitable for women's work, and to begin prohibition there; or to appoint a definite period at which all women's labor underground should cease and to direct the industry to make arrangements for the cessation of women's labor at that time. The present depression through which the coal industry is passing is the principal obstacle to any immediate steps being taken, but the prohibition of women's labor underground ought undoubtedly to be achieved in the near future, and to this end public opinion should be directed.

It may be added that the conditions of labor in Indian mines are sometimes described in too glowing terms. It is true that there are mines where the workings are lofty, the ventilation good, and the temperature equable. The tendency, however, is for workings to be deeper and more extensive, and in the majority of mines the physical conditions are far from agreeable. There were, in 1923, 942 coal mines at work in India, but at only fifty-five have ventilating fans been installed, and the air current is often inconstant and frequently changes at certain times of the day or seasons of the year. The temperature of the mines is gradually increasing and in many the humidity is so high that any exertion causes profuse perspiration. We have referred already to the increasing frequency of accidents.

We pass on to the topics of health and housing. Under the Mining Settlements Act, Boards of Health are set up in the Jharia and Asansol coal fields armed with statutory powers, in virtue of which they have been

able to achieve very considerable results in the matter of public health. The chief sanitary officer of the Asansol Mines Board of Health reported the general health of the settlement as extremely good; the death rate was 17.97 per thousand and the infantile death rate 153.5 per thousand. Mosquito and malarial surveys have been carried out and infested tanks cleaned and drained, with the result that malaria is said to have been completely suppressed. The death rates in the Jharia field are almost the same as in Asansol.

The Asansol coal field differs in one important respect from the Jharia field, in that the bulk of the mining population has its home in the villages scattered about the coal field, whereas the Jharia field is practically a hundred square miles of nothing else but coal. The mining population comes from villages outside the coal field, and if it lives in the coal field, can only do so in property owned by the mining companies. The Jharia Mines Board of Health, under the leadership of its extremely able and energetic medical officer, Dr. G. W. Thompson, has laid down a scheme of building to which, by 1929, all colliery housing is to conform, and no new houses may be built except in compliance with its regulations. There is to be a minimum inside floor space of one hundred square feet; air space, one thousand cubic feet; width of room, six feet; and average height, seven feet. There shall also be at least one verandah attached to each house, with a floor space of forty square feet and a width of five feet. (The complete housing regulations are contained in the by-laws of the Mines Board of Health). The new houses—*dhauras* as they are called—are an improvement on even the best houses provided before the Board of Health regulations came into force, and are enormously superior to much of the housing accommodation existing before. Already it is becoming evident that the mining population appreciates the better houses, and a man on returning to his village will leave someone in charge of his *dhaura*, or take some other steps to ensure that he gets the same house on his return. It is, however, to be added that owing to the depression in the coal industry the progress made with the carrying out of the housing scheme has been slower than was originally anticipated, and only continuous effort will achieve a complete re-housing by 1929.

Qualified doctors are attached to all the mines. There are no women doctors and it is not certain that the type of woman worker in the coal fields demands the provision of women doctors, although further investigation might well be given to this problem. There is, however, no doubt that women health officers to work in connection with the care of children and maternity cases would be of great value.

In an article in this *Review* in August 1924, to which reference may be made, the Rev. W. Hamilton, speaking out of an extensive knowledge of the Santals of the coal field, lays stress on the need for education and for drastic dealing with the liquor traffic. Of education, apart from a certain number of schools for the children of skilled workers and minor officials, clerks, etc., there is practically none, and now that the children up to the age of thirteen are prohibited from being in or about the mines, education becomes an im-

mediate and urgent need. There are in the mine fields thousands of children who are not allowed into the mines, whose homes are of a very poor type, and for whom there are no schools. The improvement of housing will gradually but surely lead to greater permanence in the mining population, and the need for education is obvious and should be met by government action.

Mr. Hamilton, in referring to the drink traffic, spoke very strongly of the immense evil done by the grog-shops in the coal field. The country spirit is not the natural drink of the Santal, for he normally consumes rice beer, but country spirit is supplied in grog-shops and has an appalling effect upon the aboriginal mining population. The chief inspector of mines states that on an average one and a half *lakhs* of rupees' worth of country spirit is re-tailed in the Jharia coal field every month. There would be considerable support from a number of mining authorities for drastic action in regard to this problem, for the efficiency of the miner is greatly lowered by his addiction to ardent spirits, and the effort to increase the amenities of life by the provision of decent housing is frustrated by the prevalence of drunkenness.

The raising of the standard of life of the mining population is thoroughly practicable. The children have been removed, the women will in all probability be removed at no very distant date, and housing is improving. Education is the next great desideratum, and perhaps welfare activities of the kind successfully conducted in connection with some of the cotton mills might be opened up in the coal field also. There is, of course, the great difference that the mining labor is scattered over a great area in a way that the factory hands are not; but this should not be a fatal bar. It is to be hoped that a way may be found whereby the Christian bodies at work in the coal area (it is to be remembered that numbers of the miners are Christians), working together with the mining authorities and the Boards of Health, may join forces to produce a very considerable improvement in the entire situation.

—Rev. W. Paton in the *National Christian Council Review*, September 1925.

VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

About ninety-three per cent of India's population lead a rural life. In India, however, places with 5,000 or more inhabitants are generally counted as towns. The local conditions are wholly different from those prevailing in western countries; and the great majority of places with that number of inhabitants, whether municipalities or not, partake rather of the nature of overgrown villages than of towns, as the term is understood in Europe. Trade and industry are still to a great extent monopolized by the larger towns. With the spread of railways and the general improvements in the means of communication, the smaller towns are growing in importance as distributing centers, but the process is a slow one, and comparatively little progress in this direction has yet been made. The small market-town so common in

Europe and America is rarely found in India. Nor, as a rule, do the smaller Indian towns possess the other amenities associated with urban life in Europe, such as the better class of schools and public institutions of various kinds. It is true that a new type of town is springing up in the neighborhood of important railway stations, with stores and provision shops and a considerable coolie population, and that these, in many cases, have not yet reached the prescribed standard of population. But the total number of such places is still small. . . . It was not, however, till the construction of roads and railways facilitated and cheapened transport that rural areas began to lose their distinctive Arcadian flavor. Isolation was the principal rampart behind which the old-time village had entrenched itself; when that was carried, its entire internal organization was thrown into confusion.

The gradual break-up of the village organization has had its inevitable reaction on the industries of the village. With only a limited market and the simple needs of a rural population to cater for, the village artisan was content to work along the old traditional lines, while his place in the village community, which gave him an assured clientele and a secure income, offered but little inducement to attempt innovation or improvement. He therefore received a rude shock when faced with the massed production of factories, whether Indian-made or imported, and some industries have collapsed before this unequal competition. The spinning of cotton by hand, for example, has almost entirely disappeared. In cases where the machine-made goods came into direct competition with the village-made article, the artisan has been forced to give up his vocation and swell the ranks of agricultural labor. But in some other directions the import trade has actually strengthened his position. The reason that cottage industries have survived is that they are in some respects adapted to their environment. The artisans produce commodities for which there is a demand, and which so far have not been displaced by factory-made goods, and they work under conditions which they prefer to factory life. Under the influence of the industrial changes of the past century, they have increasingly adapted their trades to the altered conditions. Owing to their corporate connection with the village organization, and their numerical superiority over the town workers, the rural artisans have always played a prominent part in the manufacture of India; and in such industries as hand-loom weaving, carpentry, shoe making, pottery, building, oil-pressing, metal work, etc., the production of the village workers approaches, and in some cases outdistances, the total output of their town competitors.

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The question has often been raised whether in these days of big business it is worth while to prop up the small producer against the mill and the factory. . . . A review of the present position of small industries in various parts of the world, however, leads to the conclusion that they form an organic part of the economic structure of each country. The imposingly rapid growth of large industry, "electric power and the steam engine, the demands

of cheap goods of uniform pattern, capitalist power and the Juggernaut of modern labor policy, crushing individualism under its huge wheels of insistence upon collective fighting with an ever-mobilized army, which grudges individual workers their freedom—these have wrought sad havoc in this once fruitful field of human industry.” Yet it is a mistake to assume that small industry is yielding ground hopelessly to large.

* * *

The trend of evidence, therefore, is in favor of the conclusion that the elimination of the cottage worker is not an inevitable, or even a frequent concomitant of the growth and development of large-scale production. In India, particularly, where there still flourishes an enormous diversity of handicrafts, some of which, like the hand-loom, have successfully withstood the competition of factory production, there is no reason to suppose that the days of the small producer are numbered. India has often been called a country of small industries and fully does she deserve the name.

* * *

Mr. Ewbank found in the course of a recent enquiry that small industry figures very largely indeed in Indian economic life as a whole. There were, a short time ago, so he shows, of the 315 millions peopling India, thirty-five millions depending on industry. Of that number, eighteen millions were dependents, leaving seventeen millions actually employed. And of these, only 823,000 were known to be employed in power mills, leaving over sixteen millions occupied in small workshops. That clearly shows the capacity of Indians for small industry and the readiness with which they take to such industry as a congenial calling.

There is also another reason why small industries should be supported and encouraged. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the crying need of India is for a diversity of occupations. The development of new industries on modern lines will ultimately increase the avenues of employment, but the present tendency of industrial development is to substitute the machine for the hand-worker. The available statistics leave no room to doubt that machinery is everywhere displacing the manual worker, who is thus forced to fall back on the land and thus augment the evil for which we have sought a remedy in industrialism. The larger concerns in India gave employment for only 1,367,136 persons in 1919, out of a total population of about 319 millions; and, whatever may be the rate of industrial development, it will have to be admitted that the multiplication of large-scale industries alone will not be a sufficient answer to the demand for employment. Again, cottage industries in India are in many instances the spare-time occupation of many people.

* * *

In adjudicating upon the rival claims of small and large-scale production, it is necessary to take into consideration yet another point. The close and heated atmosphere of factory life, its congestion and insanitation, its

hard work and discipline, are generally repugnant to the Indian villager, who is an agriculturist by tradition and temperament, and a factory worker only by necessity. The environments of the mill and the factory are not such as to attract him from the independent ways of a not unpleasant rural life; while the cleavages in family life caused by the abandonment of the home for the factory will have an effect on other things than mere production. The unity of interest and occupation among the members of an Indian family has always been one of its characteristic features. "The collaboration of the family members not only economizes expenses, but sweetens labor. Culture and refinement come easily to the artisan through his work amidst his kith and kin." In answer to this it may be urged that shorter hours of work and higher wages will be the recompense for the sacrifice of independence and the abandonment of the home. The Indian artisan is tempted to ask himself, Is not the sacrifice too great? The recompense too inadequate? To him, the "amenities" referred to form part of his real wages and even among English workers there is a class which "cares very much about being able to settle its own time of work, and about being able to go out in the afternoons and to have visitors." From the point of view of non-economic welfare, therefore, the policy of allowing the workers to carry on their occupation amid congenial surroundings and under conditions suited to their temperament is deserving of every encouragement.

—P. P. Pillai: "Economic Conditions in India" (1925).

THE DECLINE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

As in Germany and England, the last forty years have been a period of the decline of cottage industries in India. But while the decline of cottage industries in Germany and England is due to the growth of capitalism in these countries, the decline of Indian cottage industries is principally due to the progress of foreign, not so much of Indian, capitalism.

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In view of the development of our foreign trade and its character, it should not be difficult to understand that it has exercised the profoundest influence on the occupation of the people. Before the rise of modern capitalism India was a great manufacturing country. She excelled in hand-work of all kinds. In the past, industries must have supported a far larger proportion of the population than at the present time. But as soon as this terrible competition with machinery began, Indian industries began to decline, and labor was more and more driven to the land. Western countries like Germany found room for the displaced hand-worker in factories. But in India the development of factory industries has proceeded very slowly.

—Brij Narain: "Population of India" (1925).

FACTORY CONDITIONS IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

The report on the administration of the Factories Act during 1923 shows that the number of registered factories in the Presidency increased by 141 over the number registered in 1922, the increase being largely due to an amendment to the act, under which registration is required for all factories employing twenty or more workers, instead of fifty or over, as formerly.

The total number of operatives employed in all registered factories was 356,480, as compared with 360,518 in the preceding year. The cotton textile industry showed a decrease of nearly 8,000 in the number employed, and railway shops a decrease of approximately 3,000, but these and other decreases were largely offset by the inclusion of the smaller factories.

One of the most striking features of the report is the showing as to the employment of women and children. The figures for the last five years are as follows:

	Women Employed	Children Employed
1919	60,578	14,875
1920	64,834	15,435
1921	66,226	15,766
1922	67,518	13,392
1923	69,456	11,411

The employment of women, it will be noticed, shows a steady increase, while the number of children at work has fallen off sharply since 1921. A part of this decrease is ascribed to the better enforcement of the laws requiring certificates before children may be employed. Special note is made of the care now taken to prevent children from obtaining two certificates and working in two mills, a practice which was rendered possible by the half-time limitation upon the work of children. A part may also be due to the fact that the age at which they may be employed has been raised from nine to twelve. Some question is raised as to what is happening to the children thus shut out of the mills.

The wholesale check on the employment of children in Bombay mills is a matter worth the attention of the economist and the welfare worker. What are the children now doing? Are they being educated? One result of the diminution of child labor is that numerous mill schools have lately been closed. A year ago there were fifteen mill schools for half-timers and children of operatives in (the city of) Bombay; now there appear to be only four, of which only one is an institution recognized and inspected by the government. . . . In Ahmedabad there are six factory schools instituted by mills, and nineteen managed by the labor union.

A workmen's compensation act was to become effective in July 1924, and in the meanwhile the custom has been followed of awarding to the injured person any fine imposed upon the factory owner in cases where the accident

could be ascribed to a failure to observe the safety provisions of the Factories Act.

—*Monthly Labor Review*, January 1925.

LABOR IN BOMBAY

Industrial Employment of Married Women

No official statistics are available of the number of married women engaged in industry. The Census Report, 1921, and the Factory Report for the same year respectively state the number of women employed (a) in "Industry" and "Trade" and (b) in factories, and these figures can be expressed as percentages of the total female population for each of the three largest industrial centers of the Presidency.

	Bombay		Ahmedabad		Sholapur	
	Nos. (ooo's)	Percentage of Population	Nos. (ooo's)	Percentage of Population	Nos. (ooo's)	Percentage of Population
Female Population	405	—	119	—	53.7	—
Women in "Industry" and "Trade" ..	45	11	12.9	10.8	10.2	19
Adult Females in Factories.....	31.6	7.8	9.3	7.8	4.6	8.6

Bombay shows no excessive employment of women in industry as compared with the other cotton towns.

. . . The hours of labor of women workers, like those of men, are limited under the Indian Factories Act of 1922 to eleven per day and sixty per week. In actual practice, thirty-two per cent were found to be on a ten-hour day, while the remainder worked less than ten hours. The hours are generally from seven in the morning to five or six in the evening, with an interval of an hour at midday.

The life of the married woman worker with young children is a hard one. She has to rise before daybreak, prepare the food of the household, give attention to the children, and sometimes wash the clothes of the family before she can go to her work. At midday she usually returns home, prepares another meal and nurses her infant. She resumes her duties at the mill in the afternoon and after several hours' hard work returns to her room in the evening only to face more household duties—to fetch water, cook food and clean the utensils. There is no leisure for her, and even if there were she would be too fatigued to take advantage of it. Nevertheless, in the opinion of Dr. Barnes, she is better off in the healthier and more hygienic surroundings of the mill, even though the air is fibre-laden, than in the impure atmosphere of the *chawl* (tenement).

CHILD LABOR

Children are encouraged both by their parents and by jobbers to work in the mills from an early age. Under the Indian Factories Act, 1911, children certified to be above the age of nine years were permitted to be

employed in factories for seven hours daily, provided they were not at work before 5:30 a.m. or after 7 p. m. They might not be employed full-time till they had attained the age of fourteen. In practice, the age limit was lowered owing to the difficulty of ascertaining the correct age of a child, and to children obtaining certificates of age before they were entitled to them. Further, the law was frequently evaded, especially in "up-country" mills, by children working in a factory from 6 a. m. to 12 noon and then going to a neighboring one where they would work in the afternoon. As they would be enrolled under different names, such malpractices were difficult to detect . . . Only a thousand to fifteen hundred women are employed daily for moving coal, manganese ore, firewood, bricks, light cases (weighing up to 100 lbs.), etc. Two to three hundred of them are engaged in keeping the docks clear of grass. . . .

—A. R. Burnett-Hurst: "Labor and Housing in Bombay."

FACTORY INSPECTION IN INDIA

It will have been noticed that the inspection staff is under the control of the local governments and not of the central government. It is entirely composed of male officers, twenty-eight in all.

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The area under inspection is the whole of British India. Throughout this area there were, in 1921, 4,081 undertakings subject to inspection, of which 118 remained closed. The total number of workers in 1921 was about one and a quarter million. The number of undertakings liable to inspection increased considerably in 1922 as a result of the wider definition of the term "factory" adopted in the Amending Act of 1922. Thus the number of factories in the Madras Presidency rose from 545 in 1921 to 769 in 1922 and in the Punjab from 297 to 366, with a corresponding increase in the average daily number of operatives from 102,341 and 42,428 to 110,193 and 46,588 respectively.

* * *

The acts and orders enforced by the inspectorate are the Indian Factories Act and the Rules issued thereunder.

Inquiry into accidents is a very important part of the inspector's functions. Section 34 of the act prescribes that when any accident occurs in a factory causing death or bodily injury whereby the person injured is prevented from returning to his work in the factory during the forty-eight hours next after the occurrence of the accident, the manager shall send notice of the accident to such authorities in such forms and within such time as may be prescribed.

* * *

Inspectors are not expected to intervene in industrial disputes and they have generally no other duties not coming strictly within the scope of the

act. Questions of public health or safety or annoyance outside the factories are primarily the concern of the sanitary authority. But the model rules which have been generally followed by the local governments prescribe as follows:

In the case of factories situated in places coming under the Municipal Act, if it appears that there has been a disregard of the provisions of any municipal or other local act relating to sanitary arrangements, removal of objectionable rubbish, the cleaning and fencing of water tanks, or the like matters, the inspector shall, without prejudice to any action which he is empowered to take under the act and rules, draw the attention of the health officer or sanitary inspector of the municipality to the breach of the sanitary regulations in question.

* * *

A factory inspector generally inspects a factory only when it is working and if his inspections are to be of any value he must make surprise visits.

—International Labor Office, Geneva, 1923.

LABOR REGULATIONS

Social Consciousness

Side by side with this industrialization there has grown an increased social consciousness of the responsibility of the community toward labor. The Government of India passed its first Factory Act in 1881 and amended it in 1891. But experience showed that these acts permitted considerable abuses, and largely as the result of the agitation raised by the *Times of India* in Bombay in 1905 against the excessive hours worked in the Bombay textile mills, inquiries were set afoot which resulted in the passing of a new act which limited the hours of labor, in 1911. With the constitution of the League of Nations, India as a signatory thereto became a participator in the decisions of the League on labor questions. India was represented at the International Labor Conference held in Washington in 1919 and it became obligatory on her to enact legislation giving effect to the decisions of the conference. Another International Labor Conference was held at Genoa in 1920 to consider a number of questions relating to seamen, such as the hours of labor, manning scales, accommodations, the provision for finding employment and other cognate questions, and the third and fourth sessions of the conference were held at Geneva in 1921 and 1922. The fifth session of the conference assembled on October 22, 1923, and dealt with only one item of importance—factory inspection. India was represented at all of these conferences. In 1922 India was admitted as one of the eight countries of industrial importance after protracted examination of the grounds of her claim by experts appointed by the League of Nations. India, therefore, assumes responsibility for giving effect to the decisions of these conferences. There has been a considerable extension of what is known as "welfare work," and although this so far depends on the individual activities of employers of labor, the work is progressing well. Further, there is the nascent trade union movement in India. This movement lies rather more on the surface than in deep roots, but it flares up in times of labor unrest and is, nominally

at all events, focussed in the All-India Trade Union Congress. The frequency of strikes and the lack of any means to hasten a solution have given rise to careful investigation of the possibility of establishing Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration. In most industrial centers the housing question is one of great difficulty. It assumed its most acute form in Bombay City, where, owing to industry's being concentrated in a narrow island, where land is extremely dear, the provision of sanitary dwellings at a price within the means of the laborer, by private agency, was impossible. Much good work was done by the Improvement Trust, but government stepped in in 1921 with a scheme for the provision of accommodation for a quarter of a million under its own agency working through the Development Directorate. The program for the year ended March, 1923, provided for the completion of sixty *chawls* (houses) by March 31, 1923, against which the equivalent of fifty-six had been finished on that date. The total number of tenements let or ready to let on March 31, 1923, was 2,720. The last few years have therefore seen a remarkable change in the attitude of the state and the community toward labor, which under the more democratic constitution which now obtains is assured of a hearing in the legislature.

* * *

The conditions of factory labor until 1913 were regulated by the Indian Factories Act of 1881, as amended in 1891. The chief provisions of the amended act were: local governments were empowered to appoint inspectors of factories, and certifying surgeons to certify as to the age of children. A midday stoppage of work was prescribed in all factories, except those worked on an approved system of shifts, and Sunday labor was prohibited, subject to certain exceptions. The hours of employment for women were limited to eleven, with intervals of rest amounting to at least an hour and a half; their employment between 8 p. m. and 5 a. m. was prohibited, as a general rule, except in factories worked by shifts. The hours of work for children (defined as persons below the age of fourteen), were limited to seven, and their employment at night time was forbidden; children below the age of nine were not to be employed. Provision was made for the fencing of machinery and for the promulgation of rules as to water supply, ventilation, the prevention of overcrowding, etc.

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The Act of 1922

The acceptance by India of her obligation under the International Labor Conference of Washington in 1919 necessitated the further amendment of the Factory Act in 1922.

In the following pages it is intended to give the present law on the subject by combining the act of 1911 with that of 1922. The Amendment Act of 1922 came into force on the first of July 1922, and it extends to the

whole of British India, including British Baluchistan and the Sonthal Parganas.*

Hours of Employment

Rest Periods in Factories. In every factory there shall be fixed:

- (a) for each person employed on each working day—
 - (i) at intervals not exceeding six hours, periods of rest of not less than one hour, or
 - (ii) at the request of the employees concerned, periods of rest of not less than half an hour each, so arranged that for each period of six hours' work done there shall be periods of rest of not less than one hour's duration in all, and that no person shall work for more than five hours continuously, and
- (b) for each child working more than five and a half hours in any day, a period of rest of not less than half an hour.

The period of rest under clause (b) shall be so fixed that no such child shall be required to work continuously for more than four hours.

Weekly Holiday. No person shall be employed in any factory on a Sunday, unless

- (a) he has had, or will have, a holiday for a whole day on one of the three days immediately preceding or succeeding the Sunday, and
- (b) the manager of the factory has previous to the Sunday or the substituted day, whichever is earlier, given notice to the inspector of his intention so to employ the said person and of the day which is to be substituted . . . Provided that no such substitution shall be made as will result in any person working for more than ten consecutive days without a holiday for a whole day.

Employment of Children. With respect to the employment of children in factories the following provisions shall apply:

- (a) No child shall be employed in any factory unless he is in possession of a certificate granted under Section 7 or Section 8 showing that he is not less than twelve years of age and is fit for employment in a factory and while at work carries either the certificate itself or a token giving reference to such certificate.
- (b) No child shall be employed in any factory before half-past five o'clock in the morning or after seven o'clock in the evening.
- (c) No child shall be employed in any factory for more than six hours in any one day.

Employment of Women. With respect to the employment of women in factories the following provisions shall apply:

*See also Eddy, page 135.

- (a) No woman shall be employed in any factory before half-past five o'clock in the morning or after seven o'clock in the evening.
- (b) No woman shall be employed in any factory for more than eleven hours in any one day.

Prohibition of Employment of Persons in Two Factories on Same Day.

No person shall employ, or permit to be employed, in any factory any woman or child or, save in such circumstances as may be prescribed, any other person whom he knows, or has reason to believe, to have already been employed on the same day in any other factory.

Hours of Employment to Be Fixed. The manager of a factory shall fix specified hours for the employment of each person employed in such factory, and no person shall be employed except during such hours.

Limitation of Working Hours per Week. No person shall be employed in a factory for more than sixty hours in any one week.

Limitation of Working Hours per Day. No person shall be employed in any factory for more than eleven hours in any one day.

Exceptions

Where it is proved to the satisfaction of the local government

- (a) that any class of work in a factory is in the nature of preparatory or complementary work which must necessarily be carried on outside the limits laid down for the general working of the factory; or
- (b) that the work of any class of workers is essentially intermittent; or
- (c) that there is in any class of factories any work which necessitates continuous production for technical reasons; or
- (d) that any class of factories supplies the public with articles of prime necessity which must be made or supplied every day; or
- (e) that in any class of factories the work performed by the exigencies of the trade or by its nature cannot be carried on except at stated seasons or at times dependent on the irregular action of natural forces; the local government may, subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council, by notification in the local official Gazette, exempt on such conditions, if any, as it may impose.

The system of inspection is being steadily improved by the appointment of more whole-time inspectors with good technical qualifications in the principal industrial centers.

Further legislation is contemplated dealing with other important issues. A bill is in preparation for the registration and protection of trades unions and the Government of India hope to be able to introduce a bill early in 1924.

The Government of India have also decided to repeal the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act of 1859 with effect from April 1, 1924.

The Indian Mines Act, 1923. The Indian Mines Act, 1923, received the assent of the Governor-General on February 23, 1923. It extends to the whole of British India including British Baluchistan and the Sonthal Parganas, and comes into force on the first day of July 1924. By this act the definition of a mine was made clear, and the weekly hours of employment were limited to sixty hours for work above ground and fifty-four hours for work below ground.

—Indian Year Book, 1924.

THE LABOR UNION PROBLEM

The spread of the strike epidemic is causing grave anxiety to the government and to industrialists, and has drawn prominent notice to the necessity for finding out the ways of securing industrial peace. Trade unionism once again comes into importance, since employers are desirous of calling into being organizations authoritatively representing labor interests with which they can negotiate. The inherent defects of the present labor unions—their lack of coherence, their numerical weakness, and their failure to obtain for themselves an undoubtedly representative character—place great limitations on their power of collective bargaining and ventilation of grievances. All parties are now agreed that, in the changing conditions of industry, labor unions have a definite function to perform, and while the laborers are trying to strengthen their movement by banding themselves into Central Labor Federations and Trades Union Congresses, the government is now busy drafting a bill giving the unions legal recognition and protection. But the history of older countries has taught us the bitter lesson that well established trade unions will not by themselves ensure industrial peace, and so the various provincial governments in India have recently been making detailed enquiries into the various ways of preventing and settling industrial disputes. Thus the question of popularizing Works Committees on the lines of the Whitley Report engaged the attention of the Second Conference of the Directors of Industry held at Cawnpore in November 1920, and on the 30th of July, 1921, Mr. J. B. Petit, the mill owner, carried a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council, asking for the appointment of a committee to “consider and report upon the practicability or otherwise of creating suitable machinery for the prevention and early settlement of labor disputes.” The report of the committee was published some time back; it has recommended the setting up of Courts of Enquiry and Conciliation constituted by three members from each side, with a neutral chairman selected from a panel maintained in the Labor Office. It is expected that in the first place, after the enquiry, public opinion, which always plays a prominent part in the settlement of industrial disputes, would have some effect; but in case it did not the Conciliation Board is to be brought into use. It is proposed to give the courts statutory recognition but not to make their decrees mandatory. The Government of Bombay has not taken any action on these recommendations, as an all-India Bill on these lines is under contemplation.

—P. P. Pillai: “Economic Conditions in India” (1925).

UNEMPLOYMENT

India is one of the seventeen countries which have ratified the draft convention concerning unemployment (see page 121). The first public employment exchange has been established at Madras.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, March 30, 1925.

INDIAN MILL OWNERS' PROTEST

The *Times*, London, on March 26, 1925, published the following telegram from its Bombay correspondent:

"The Bombay Mill Owners' Association and the Ahmedabad Mill Owners' Association have published the draft of a Memorial to the Viceroy praying for the repeal of the cotton excise duty."

"The appeal refers chiefly to the disabilities under which the Indian mills suffer as compared with Japanese mills, and shows that the increased importation of Japanese goods constitutes the most disturbing factor in the Indian mill industry, which has for three years past experienced an almost unprecedented depression. Owing to the high degree of protection which the Japanese mills enjoy, they sell goods in the Indian markets below the cost of manufacturing similar goods in Indian mills. . . .

"The memorial further states that the Indian mills work only ten hours daily, or sixty hours weekly. The Washington Convention imposed other legislative restrictions on Indian mills. The memorial says, 'with a due sense of responsibility,' that Japanese mill owners are not observing the terms of the Washington Convention and that the hours of labor are unrestricted. Japanese mills work twenty-two hours daily in two shifts, employing female labor at night."

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, April 20, 1925.

Note: It should be stated here that when this difficulty was presented on May 28 before the International Labor Conference by Mr. Joshi of India (Workers' member), he was answered by Mr. Maydea of Japan (Government member) to the effect that "though Japan had for various reasons not yet ratified the conventions concerning hours and night work, the Japanese Government was by no means indifferent to them. By the amendment adopted in 1923 the Factory Act provided that hours in factories should not exceed ten actual working hours (i.e., eleven nominal working hours and one compulsory rest hour for women and young persons under the age of sixteen). This amendment would be put into force without delay as soon as the preparation requisite for its execution was completed."* The incident is reported here for its significance in the interdependence of workers of separate countries.

SOCIAL SERVICE REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

There have developed within the past few years a new and vital Indian social service movement and various efforts for reform and reconstruction.

**Industrial and Labor Information*, June 1, 1925.

The following organizations are among the most important. The sources used are recent reports of the societies described.

BOMBAY SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE

The Bombay Social Service League was organized in 1911, with headquarters at Bombay, and has extended its services to half a dozen centers. "It stands for education, organization, cooperation, self-help, general uplift of the working classes, and above all for the spirit of service actuated by love and enlightened by knowledge of actual facts."

Its social service activities include mass education—day and night schools, libraries, reading rooms, traveling libraries and magic lantern lectures; Boy Scout and boys' clubs; public health—3 dispensaries, doctors' visits to homes, rounds through wards of the city and reports to authorities on insanitary conditions, sanitation work in rural areas provided for by a special fund; child welfare—maintenance of day nurseries; work for women—cooperation with special women's organizations, cooperative societies, classes and lectures at various centers; support of a police court agent, who cooperates with Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society; excursions, gymnasias, and theatricals for working men.

"The league set to work from its very inception to emancipate the working classes in different parts of the city from the bondage of the usurious money-lenders by providing facilities for the former to obtain loans at a reasonable rate of interest and then to inculcate in them habits of thrift, mutual goodwill and self-reliance." At the close of 1923 it had under its auspices eighty-three credit societies, one banking union, one store, one medical relief society, and one dramatic club, all organized as cooperatives.

Three social centers and settlements, each carrying on social service activities, are in operation among industrial and backward classes.

Three Workmen's Institutes conduct welfare work, classes, and various efforts for economic betterment, including organization of cooperative societies among mill operatives in different centers.

THE POONA SEVA SEDAN SOCIETY

Origin and Purpose: The society was organized in 1909, when fifteen poor women were given two hours a day of instruction. It is now "a well defined organization in Poona aiming exclusively at the all-round progress and well-being of the women of India."

Educational departments of headquarters include facilities for medical education, the Bai Motlibai Wadia Training College for Women, a practicing school for little girls, primary classes for adult women, first-aid in domestic economy classes, industrial classes, music classes, cultural courses. The number of women and girls enrolled in these classes in 1923 was 1,056. Four hostels are maintained for women and girls who come from a distance.

Outside branches have been established in four cities and several others will be opened if support can be found.

The society conducts two small hospitals and dispensaries and seven infant welfare centers; lady doctors, nurses and midwives devote themselves to this work, which includes distribution of medicine, milk and clothes to the children of the poor, and advice and treatment to expectant mothers.

To provide facilities to its medical workers for learning practical methods of work on preventive lines in addition to the curative methods learned at the hospital, a public health school in charge of a competent instructor has been opened recently in Poona.

The society "has sent workers trained by itself throughout the Presidency and outside, after securing for its own work at various centers women trained by itself entirely at its cost. More than 150 women have been sent out as teachers, nurses, midwives, sub-assistant surgeons, governesses, sewing and singing mistresses."

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

The objects are "to train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people. It has from the outset been the general policy of the society to work through independent organizations, either by joining existing institutions or by starting new ones." The work of members comes under the general heads of political, economic, social, educational and relief.

As its activities (as concerned with this study) are social service—one of the members, Mr. Joshi, for instance, acting as the general secretary of the Bombay Social Service League described above, and other members participating actively in social service in other places; elevation of the depressed classes—this being described as "one of the most important activities of the society"; promotion of the Scout movement; social reform—"in regard to the promotion of social reform of the Hindu society, the members of the society have taken a leading part in its propoganda; educational activities"—for instance, members "played a not inconspicuous part in preparing the ground for the introduction in 1918 of the Compulsory Education Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council, in promoting it, and after it became a law, in trying to see that practical effect was given to it"; economic work—a member of the Bombay branch "devotes most of his time and energy to the work of the Indian Economic Society" and other members "conducted a revenue inquiry in the Kaira district in Gujarat," and one "was a member of a small committee appointed to investigate into the causes of industrial disputes"; relief work in time of famine and epidemics.

—*Social Service Bulletin*, April 1925, issued by the Methodist Foundation Social Service.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A PROGRAM OF INDUSTRIAL INVESTIGATION AND SERVICE

To be worked out through the National and Provincial Christian Councils

1. There is a great need for diffusion of general information regarding the growth of industrialism in India. Comparatively few people know much about the subject, hardly any Christian leaders have given their minds to it, the mass of the Christian community knows nothing about it, and both among Christians and non-Christians there is a conspicuous lack of a generally informed public opinion. There are hardly any general books on industrial questions in India of the type which have been so influential in Europe and America in helping to create the conscience in the average man on this subject. Steps should therefore be taken to diffuse information through books, pamphlets, periodical literature, addresses, and in other ways. A beginning is being made by the series of articles begun in the June issue of the *National Christian Council Review*.
2. The need for local knowledge. While general ideas are useful, knowledge has little practical value unless it is knowledge of conditions in given localities. The people who live in and near Bombay, Calcutta, the Bengal-Bihar coal fields, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore, Nagpur, Poona, Sholapur, Madras, Madura, etc., ought to know or to have among them people who know and can give information regarding the wages, conditions of labor, housing conditions, etc., etc., prevailing among the operatives in those areas.
3. Steps should be taken in the interest of the Christian community as such to gather accurate information regarding the share of Christians in industrial enterprises. We know already that in the Deccan, for instance, considerable numbers of depressed class Christians, driven from the land by famine or onerous conditions of life, are drifting to Bombay, Poona and Sholapur. Considerable numbers of the depressed class Christians in the U.P. are found among unskilled workers in Cawnpore. There must be many more instances. The Christian Church cannot possibly view with unconcern the drifting of great numbers of its members into the big urban industrial centers. It is imperative that they should be cared for, both spiritually and materially, and first of all the facts must be discovered. Underlying this question is the great question which affects Christians and non-Christians alike, namely, the change from the rural society to the urban society, the dangers arising from a transitory and fluid social economy, and the need for the building up in the new conditions of a suitable society in which personality can be developed.

4. Legislation. There are several points on which a further legislation is desirable and it should be pressed forward:
 - a. A Bill for Maternity Benefit; either Mr. N. M. Joshi's bill or some other.
 - b. The prohibition of the labor of women in mines either by a fresh bill or by local governments' taking executive action as provided under the Mines Act.
 - c. The enlargement of the area to which the Factory Acts apply. At present the acts apply to industrial establishments employing twenty persons and may, by provincial action, be made applicable to those requiring ten. It is in the small establishments that the worst abuses occur.
 - d. A Truck Act covering such matters as excessive fining, arbitrary deductions for absence, payment in arrears, etc.
5. Matters which concern partly legislation and partly the fuller use of existing provisions, e.g., stricter regulations regarding the age of half-timers and their fitness for work. The establishment of crèches where there are many women workers. (It might be made obligatory that any mill which employs, say, 200 or 100 women should have a crèche for the children.) The appointment of more factory inspectors and more doctors and most particularly the appointment of more women factory inspectors and more medical women. There is also room for the tightening up of legislation about accidents, particularly in mines.
6. We have to find suitable people for the posts already available and for those which we wish to be created. It is, for instance, a real obstacle to the provision of more women factory inspectors that it is difficult to find suitable Indian or Anglo-Indian women who can do the work and can overcome the difficulties inherent in such appointments, and the provision of European women inspectors is exceedingly expensive. Bodies like the Y. W. C. A. have a clear field here in the finding and possibly also the training of women to take up work of this kind.
7. Whether or not an economic survey of India is undertaken, there is room for work to be done along the line of the survey of economic and industrial conditions. Such matters as the study of fatigue in industry (compare the work done in connection with the Ministry of Munitions in England during the war) and the study of a standard diet for the workmen seem to call for the kind of careful scientific work which might be done by the Economics Department of a university; or again, the type of investigation which issued in Dr. Harold Mann's two volumes, *Land and Labor in a Deccan Village*, suggests a line of study in which the students and teachers of Christian colleges might take part. In this connection it may also be urged that guidance

might be given to Christian students and to branches of the student Christian Associations as to really scientific social service.

8. Means must be found for bringing persuasion to bear on the employers to do what the best are doing already in the provision of decent housing, welfare work, dispensaries, medical provision, maternity benefit, etc. Each big industrial area should be studied and the main needs of the industrial population reviewed with the object of laying specific needs and suggestions for meeting them before employers. Informal conferences could be assembled in which employers, possibly labor officials of the government and representatives of the Christian bodies and of different social agencies, might meet together. The one matter which should be taken up in this connection is the provision of welfare work inside mills and factories. At present all welfare work in India appears to be outside the mills. Opinion in England among welfare workers is virtually unanimous that no welfare work is really effective if it only touches the leisure of the workers, and the appointment of the welfare worker inside the establishment, called superintendent of labor or some such title, means a great advance. Such a worker responsible to the employer will serve both his interests and those of the workers by seeing that grievances of operatives are listened to and met, seeing that men and women are put to work which they are able to do, seeing that medical regulations, certificates, etc., are observed, and in general befriending the worker, who, in Indian mills even more than in the West, is mainly friendless and is in an alien atmosphere as different as possible from the village life to which he is accustomed.
9. Welfare work of all kinds needs to be pressed forward, including education, both of children and of adults, the provision of camps and entertainments and the various activities carried on, e.g., by the Y. M. C. A. at Nagpur, or by the Social Service League and by the Y. M. C. A. in Bombay. What has been done by these bodies can be done elsewhere. Along with these should go the giving of help to any organizations of workers themselves, whether cooperative societies, cooperative stores or trade unions. The redemption of labor is fundamentally a matter of the stimulation of the personality of the worker to do things for himself, as the history of the labor movement in the West abundantly proves, and the most fruitful efforts in the long run are these which have for their end the stimulation of the self-help and activity of the worker.
10. Is there a place for a new kind of missionary, a sort of industrial helper, who would give his or her energies to some of the various lines of activities sketched above in welfare work inside and outside the mills and in helping the laborer to help himself? Undoubtedly there are people animated by a genuine Christian spirit to whom the ordinary avenues of missionary work do not appeal and who are trained and

equipped for this kind of work. It is conceivable that the missionary societies might consider the provision of a certain number of such persons, and in view of the importance of the experience of western social workers in this field, such help might well be invaluable.

In addition to any such foreign aid there is need for the raising up of a type of men and women, by whatever style they may be called, who regard work of this kind as a Christian vocation.

11. The specific functions of the N. C. C. and Provincial Councils. Someone must be discovered to come to India, for in any conference with employers or officials on the various points mentioned above progress will be very difficult without expert help; particularly will objections be raised on the ground of the feasibility of proposals which the experience of the West may have already proved possible. Many employers in India are not acquainted with methods and forms of the utility of which the same class of men in the West are quite convinced, and along this whole range of subjects expert assistance is essential. If therefore we succeed in securing someone of the desired type, she should devote herself firstly to the study of conditions. The bulk of this should be done before she comes, but an expert in this field will wish to make some investigations herself and will in any case seize opportunities and needs which might escape the untrained observer. Secondly, she should meet with groups in main industrial centers and go in detail into the need of those centers, both suggesting methods by which private bodies may help and still more urging upon employers lines of possible advance. She should also confer with labor officials and members of the Legislative Councils and of the Assembly.

Our Provincial Christian Council has appointed or is about to appoint a committee on industrial affairs, and these committees should meet and consider, on the basis of ascertained facts, the needs of their own area. They should then attempt to locate the responsibility for different types of activity on definite bodies, suggesting, e.g., to the Y. M. C. A., some opening for its characteristic activity; or to a missionary society the establishment of a community center, as in the case of the American Mahratti Mission in Bombay; or to a Christian college some lines of social service or of study.

The N. C. C. officers must persevere with the task of disseminating literature and information and maintain contact both with labor officers of government, with the International Labor Office in Geneva, with social service and labor movements in the West, and, not the least important, with China and Japan.

—Address delivered by Rev. W. Paton, secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, at the Y. W. C. A. (India) Summer School, 1925.

THE ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The *All-India Trade Union Bulletin*, in its issue for February and March 1925, gives a report of the All-India Trade-Union Congress which met in Bombay, February 14, 1925, with a large number of delegates from the different provinces. Resolutions were passed, calling among other things for the eight-hour day, better educational facilities, especially along technical lines, adult suffrage, the establishment of unemployment, health and old-age pensions for all workers in organized industries and commerce, the removal of discriminations against natives in industrial civil service employment, and the redress of seamen's grievances in regard to recruiting methods. One resolution strongly recommends that workers should refuse to treat "any section of the population as untouchables, inasmuch as untouchability impedes solidarity of the working class in the country." The government is urged to amend the Railways Act by inserting provisions for the establishment of a central wages board and a national wages board for settling disputes concerning wages and working conditions, and a number of recommendations are made in regard to the proposed bill to regulate trade unions, which the government has under consideration. The following resolutions deal with the employment of women:

That the congress urges upon the Government of India the immediate necessity of legislation prohibiting the employment of women in factories, mines, and other industries, at least six weeks before and six weeks after childbirth, and providing adequate maternity allowance during the period of absence thus caused in the case of women who have been employed in any of those industries for at least six months.

That this congress requests the employers of labor in India to provide for the children of women operatives crèches and day nurseries.

That this congress urges upon the Government of India to further amend the India Mines Act of 1923 so as to prohibit the employment of women for underground work in mines.

That this congress is strongly of opinion that more women should be employed in the factory inspection staff in the different provinces of India.

—*Monthly Labor Review*, June 1925.



JAPAN

WOMEN WORKERS IN JAPANESE FACTORIES AND MINES

Outstanding Characteristics of Industry

The presence of a highly centralized, powerful government whose leaders comprise a small group, well educated in eastern arts and acquainted with

the material development of the West—educated far in advance of the great mass of the people—is a fundamental factor in the phenomenal growth of industry in Japan. In addition, in order to encourage industrial enterprises, government subsidies were and are still made to favored companies, and thus the capital necessary for the formation of commercial and industrial enterprises has been supplied by government aid and promotion. Under these subsidies, therefore, great industries have sprung up, controlled by families and small groups who owe their great wealth and power to governmental sanction and protection.

The lack of raw material—iron, coal, cotton—and the presence of the handicraft silk manufacture influenced the nature of the industries developed. We therefore find the chief industries to be textiles—both cotton and silk—brush, match, tobacco, glass and mining. Of the 25,000,000 women in Japan over half are gainfully employed at either whole or part-time work. Of these 13,000,000 women workers, 8,000,000 are employed in agricultural pursuits or in home industries followed during the off-seasons, and 1,250,000 are employed in factories. In greatly increasing numbers, young girls and women are entering the factories, and today sixty per cent of all the factory workers are women. In certain industries the percentage is even higher. In the cotton spinning factories, eighty per cent of the workers are women; in the raw silk, seventy per cent; in the tobacco industry (a government monopoly), seventy per cent; and of all the children under fifteen years of age employed in factories in Japan, eighty per cent are little girls. Japan is the only industrial nation having the majority of her factory workers women. The factory problem in Japan is therefore essentially a woman problem, and, being such, bears a vital relation to the future well-being of the Japanese race.

Because of the fact that in the early days Japan was a country of sparsely populated villages, connected by poor roads or by none at all, and having inadequate transportation facilities, the problem of bringing together workers in sufficient numbers to operate the newly formed factories was solved by the inauguration of the so-called "dormitory system," a system but seldom used in western industry. The labor agent employed by the company goes into the country districts, describes in glowing words the advantages and opportunities of the factory, makes an agreement with the parents of a girl as to wages and the periodic remittance of part of the same, and advances money for necessary outfit and transportation, with the result that the innocent girl begins her connection with the company as its debtor and but slowly accumulates the money desired for the marriage dowry.

The fact that most of the factory workers are young women who are working in order to earn money for their marriage dowry and who marry when they are about twenty years of age causes an unusually high labor turnover in Japanese factories, maintains an inexperienced labor group among the women, and makes it impossible for the workers themselves to be conscious of their needs and to seek to remedy them. Added to this, the age-old

traditional repression of Japanese women and compulsory subservience to parents and to the male members of the family make them unusually patient, docile, long-suffering—an easy prey for unscrupulous and selfish employers, who are, in addition, protected by labor laws favoring them, under a government that actively discourages any association of labor to protect its own interests.

Rapid Growth of Industry

Forty years ago there were but 200 factories in all Japan, employing 15,000 people. In 1921, according to the report of the Home Office, there were 44,000 factories, while 3,351,407 people were employed in the industrial life of the nation. Of this number, 1,250,000 were women employed in factories, and 300,000 of these were under twenty years of age. These figures tell graphically the story of the industrial revolution that has taken place in Japan during the last half century. The old Japan was a quiet agricultural country, made up of thousands of little villages independent of each other, the needs of each being supplied by the tilling of the surrounding fields and by the home industries. Slowly hand-manufacture in these home industries gave way to machine production. Industrial centers began to grow. Workers left the country villages and gathered around the growing factories. Thus the great industrial cities of Osaka, Nagoya and Kobe have developed, while Tokyo, formerly noted as the seat of government and the great student center, has so spread out and enclosed outlying industrial districts that it now leads as an industrial city, having fifty per cent more industrial companies, with twice as much invested capital, as its great rival, Osaka.

There have been three outstanding effects of this abnormal growth of industry in Japan: overcrowding in the fast-growing cities and the appearance of slum districts, inhabited by a population living below the margin of subsistence, the breeding places of poverty, disease and crime; lack of standards of factory construction, conditions of work, safety and sanitation; and neglect of the human element, especially affecting women and children.

Women in Factories

With the great inrush of industry, factories have sprung up overnight. Little or no provision for the safety against accidents and fire has been made. Overcrowding of heavy machinery in poorly built factories is prevalent. Unguarded, fast-revolving belts of closely crowded looms and spinning frames are but an invitation to accidents. The management is aware of this danger, for in passing through the factory one is generally warned by the guide to take care in passing unprotected moving belts. It is openly admitted that unguarded machinery is dangerous, but nothing is done to avert the danger. The employment manager of a large copper company said that the directors of his company objected in the beginning to the guarding of machinery, giving as their reason the fear that if the machines were guarded the operatives would think the work dangerous and would refuse to do it.

In addition to the overcrowding of machinery and the glaring neglect in guarding it, one also finds in the average factory a total disregard for the health of the worker. In the cotton spinning factories, where the temperature is kept at a high degree in order to prevent the breaking of the thread, the girls work long hours, by day and night, in noisy, crowded rooms, where the air is laden with cotton fluff.

Equally trying conditions prevail in the silk filatures, where girls sit twelve hours a day over steaming kettles of putrid-smelling cocoons, their hands parboiled by constant immersion in the boiling water. And when the season is at its height these hours are lengthened to fourteen and even sixteen daily, and often the two monthly rest days are omitted.

A visit to a match factory leaves one with the impression of dark, poorly ventilated rooms, where the floor rocks with the vibration of the machines that jiggle matches into grooves in iron plates, preparatory to the dipping into phosphorus. This constant vibration wears on the nerves and bodies, and faces of the operatives quickly show the strain. In the packing department one sees young girls and wrinkle-faced old women sitting side by side on the floor of the long room. A mother with a baby on her back is carrying trays of matches to those seated on the floor. Dirty-faced, neglected looking little children hover around the dark rooms, waiting for the closing time when the busy mother may take them home and care for them.

Working Conditions

Hours: Although the normal working hours are fixed by law to be twelve, the exceptions to the law in favor of certain industries are so many and so wide in their application that it is difficult to speak in terms of averages. The average working day in all Japan during 1920 was eleven hours during 301 days of the year. Generally the working day is divided into two shifts by a half-hour rest period at noon. In some of the larger factories further rest periods of from ten to fifteen minutes each are allowed in the forenoon and in the afternoon. However, in the silk filatures of Nagano Ken, the leading silk center of Japan, employing 300,000 workers, mostly young women, the working day is generally from fourteen to sixteen hours, few of the factories operating thirteen hours. The grant of holidays is often made nominal, as are the rest and meal hours at the height of the season. At weaving factories working hours seldom fall below twelve, but generally range between thirteen and sixteen hours. In cotton mills where machines are run both day and night it is not uncommon, when business is brisk, to put operatives to eighteen hours' work, and in some cases holidays are only given fortnightly or are entirely withheld.

Wages: The average wage in 1920 for a man ranged from eighty-five sen to yen 2.62, and for women from fifty-five sen to yen 1.86. The average wage for a woman silk spinner was seventy-three sen; for a woman silk weaver, ninety-five sen; for a cotton spinner, yen 1.24. These wages often included board and dormitory accommodation and thus do not represent

the actual amount of money earned. Most companies charge operatives about fifteen sen a day for board and dormitory accommodation and so do not deduct this amount in stating the wage earned. This charge does not cover, however, the cost of daily maintenance of the operative, and the difference is made up to the company in the lower wage-rate. The food served in the factory dining rooms is often so coarse and the diet so unvaried that girls are forced to spend part of their little earnings in the foodshop in the factory compound, thus decreasing their little savings and lowering their net wage.

Night Work: Night work for women is general in cotton spinning mills, where the operatives work by night on alternate weeks and by law are supposed to have four rest days per month. By examination it has been found that during the week of night work there is an average loss of weight of from three to five pounds, and that only part of this loss is regained in the following week of day work. The application of the law prohibiting night work for women does not become effective for three years. Factory managers all agree that night work is harmful and less productive, but they deplore greatly the thirty per cent increase in factory space, equipment and dormitory accommodation that its abolition will require in order to maintain equal production.

Health: The health of the factory worker is so related to working conditions that this subject has been treated under previous headings. One phase—the alarming prevalence of eye diseases—has not been mentioned. In visiting the spinning and weaving factories one is immediately struck with the number of little girls suffering from some form of infectious eye trouble, and upon inquiry one learns that unless the disease is in an advanced stage the girls are allowed to continue at their work. In a factory in Tokyo employing 5,000 girls so great is the number of these girls afflicted with trachoma that special sinks are provided where, without supervision, they are supposed to wash themselves. These girls mingle freely with the other operatives, work the usual number of hours, and receive but little medical attention. In a spinning factory in Osaka, employing 300 girls, thirty-two per cent were found by the government factory inspector to be suffering from trachoma.

The lack of support for the backs of girls, who sit long hours on boxes and stools and who bend over pans of cocoons in the silk filatures, or who roll cigarettes all day in the government factories, or who set up the frames in the weaving factories, bespeaks a need that has not as yet been answered by law.

*Dormitory Accommodations:** The prevailing dormitory system for housing the workers is convenient for the employer, who can thus keep a more stable labor supply within the very walls of the factory compound, but it is a system that is often deadly for the girls. While the dormitories of the larger companies are scrupulously cleaned and well aired, the great

*See pages 167 and 178.

majority of the workers are not so housed. In the country districts the girls often sleep in the building in which they work, and some even in the corner of the workroom. Generally, men who have seen former service as policemen and soldiers are in charge of these dormitories, and, too, they commonly control the girls in their charge in a harsh, militaristic manner.

Child Labor

According to statistics published in 1922, independent researches of the Home Office put the number of child operatives, apprentices, servants, and so on, roughly at 1,397,000 (boys, 715,000; girls, 682,000), of whom 187,000 were reported entirely illiterate. Of this number, thirty-one per cent were employed in factories. According to the Department of Commerce and Agriculture reports, eighty per cent of these child factory workers are little girls. The textile industry leads in the number of child workers employed, having seven times as many as all the other main industries combined. The match and glass factories occupy second and third places, respectively. In the tobacco factories, sixty-three in number, owned and operated by the government, over eight per cent of the total workers are under fourteen years of age.

Women in Mines

By far the most heavily burdened of all the women industrial workers in Japan are those employed in the mines—mainly in the coal mines. In 1921, according to a government report, there were 248,803 men and 80,005 women working in the mines. In the coal mines the family system prevails, the men digging the coal in pairs, and the women carrying it in shallow baskets suspended from a wooden crosspiece from the coal pockets to the waiting cars.

Hours underground vary from eight for diggers and their partners to twelve for day laborers. Under such intense heat, bent by the lowness of the pocket roof, these carriers can actually work only from three to five hours daily. However, as the coal pockets are often at a distance of over a mile from the shaft, the time consumed in walking through the dark and often dangerous alley-ways to and from the shaft is time lost as far as wages are concerned. The diggers work in three shifts of eight hours each, being paid by the actual amount of coal mined. In a large mine visited, the miners worked on an average of from eighteen to twenty days a month, this being apparently the choice of the miners, and a result of the strain of the work. Here wages for the women averaged about yen 1.70 daily. Those working outside as coalers earned about fifty sen daily.

Accidents are most frequent in coal mines, and are due to falling pockets and to collisions with cars in the dimly lighted alleys.

The statistics of the number of still-born children and the appalling number of deaths of newly born children in mining communities are an indication of the waste of life going on because of the employment of women

at this dangerous work, a work long since forbidden by law in all the progressive countries of the West.

Factory Laws and Their Enforcement

The factory law promulgated in 1911 and amended in 1916 is a step in the right direction, but unfortunately it applies only to factories employing fifteen or more workers and using motive power. In addition, in almost every case, articles in the law are absolutely nullified by the exceptions to them, loopholes by which the employer can avoid the provisions of the law. All these exceptions favor the employer and not the worker. However, in the last session of the Diet (1923), amendments, not yet carried into effect, were passed, making the following improvements:

Application of the factory law to all factories employing ten or more workers.

Increase in minimum age of employment of juvenile workers from twelve to fourteen years, in conformity with the action taken at the recent International Labor Conference.

The establishment of a Health Insurance Department for workers.

The factory laws are enforced by a corps of thirty divisional superintendents, under whom 300 inspectors work. Some of these men have had medical training but are without special training for factory inspection. Their main interest is often a concern for compliance with building and fire-prevention regulations and they fail to see the importance of the health of the workers. To meet the need of training, a three months' course for factory inspectors is being given in Tokyo under the auspices of the Kyocho Kai, a heavily endowed, governmental-protected organization that aims to coordinate the interests of employer and workers, but which is looked at with suspicion by the latter. This course is very inadequate for the present needs of industry, for the number of factories has increased so fast that the present inspectors are unable to do more than nominally inspect the factories in their districts.

Hopeful Signs

There are hopeful signs even on this dark horizon. One is the growth of large companies who have standard conditions in their factories, and who, in general, are ahead of the law in many of the provisions for the health and safety of their employees. They have seen that good conditions make for a stronger, more contented working force.

Another hopeful sign is the establishment of national, provincial and local social bureaus, where the study of industrial conditions is being made and where careful statistics are being kept. When these statistics are carefully studied and translated into corrective legislation, these bureaus will begin to be a force for good in the industrial world.

The greatest advance has come in the growing strength of the labor movement. Hampered and frowned upon by government antipathy and

suspicion, and unsuccessful in many of its recent strikes, labor in Japan is awake to the need for self-education along economic lines as a means of bettering conditions. A workers' college has been successfully maintained these past two years at night in Tokyo, with Mr. Bunji Suzuki as its head. A training school for a selected group of trade union members, chosen by their unions, has been conducted in Osaka under the direction of Mr. Kagawa. Because of the youth of the women workers and their short time of service in industry, and due also to the natural slowness of women to form associations, women in general have not yet awakened to a realization of their needs. However, a group of women calling themselves the Awakened Women, coming from different trades and professions and from the home, have organized themselves into an association to study the conditions of working women and have already had a year of successful growth.

Japan's entrance into the family of nations as a world power has brought her into the limelight, and the searchlight of publicity has been turned on conditions in her industries supplying the materials for her world trade. Pressed by a growing public opinion from within and tested by the standards of more advanced industrial countries from without, it is certain that Japan must soon make radical improvements in the conditions under which a million and a quarter of her women work.

—Mrs. Margaret Wells Wood: in "The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa" (1923).

CONDITIONS OF LABOR IN THE JAPANESE SPINNING INDUSTRY

The *Kyocho Kai* (*Association for Harmonious Cooperation*) has been making special investigations into the conditions of labor in various kinds of industries and has published the results in successive numbers of its magazine *Shakai Seisaju Jihō* (*Social Reform*).

As the spinning industry is one of the most important in Japan, labor conditions in it are especially worthy of attention. Many women are employed in the industry, the hours of work are long, and night work is still common. Unsatisfactory sanitary conditions both in the factories and in the dormitories have been accompanied by a high rate of disease of the respiratory organs. In spite of the fact that the industry is now carried on as a factory and machine industry, its management still retains traces of the traditional spirit of the home and handiwork industry.

The spinning industry in Japan is now attracting considerable public attention in view of the decisions taken by the first International Labor Conference. It may be useful, therefore, to give a summary of the article prepared by the *Kyocho Kai*.

Numbers of Factories and Distribution of Workers

The spinning mills in Japan, including silk, cotton, jute and wool, numbered 211 at the end of 1921 and employed 229,038 wage earners. The largest number of factories is in the prefecture of Osaka, where there are twenty-six, employing 40,882 workers. The total number of workers employed in the spinning factories coming under the Factory Act constituted fifteen per cent of all workers coming under that act.

The same report further classifies the workers into the following age groups:

<i>Age</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
10 and under 12.....	—	79	79
12 and under 15.....	2,879	32,722	35,601
15 and under 20.....	16,976	79,656	96,632
20 and over	35,475	65,019	100,494
Total	55,330	177,476	232,806

Contracts of Employment

For more than ten years factory owners have experienced difficulty in recruiting women workers. This is partly due to the increased demand for women workers consequent on the rapid progress made in the industry, and partly to the short period of time which most of the women work. The recruiting of workers is done either through agents especially sent out for this purpose or through the personal connections of the workers already engaged. Roughly, sixty-two per cent of the workers are recruited by the former method, the expenditure incurred for recruitment through such agents being about thirty yen per head, including agents' fees, expenses in preparing for the new employment, and the traveling expenses of the worker. In addition, it is usually the custom that a sum of money, at least about fifteen yen, be advanced each worker recruited. As an example might be taken certain factories employing 14,709 workers (3,680 men and 11,029 women). During the second half of 1921 the number of workers recruited by these factories was 4,060; of women, forty-nine were not fit for work. The cost of recruitment (including the expense of sending back those unfit for work) amounted to 117,427.41 yen, that is 29.29 yen per head. In addition, a total sum of 10,231.75 yen was advanced to the workers, or about 24.99 yen per head.

Thus the recruiting of workers through agents is very expensive, especially when experience shows that those engaged in this way do not stay long in their employment. Moreover, the system of advancing money to the workers at the time of their engagement, which was originally introduced with the object of keeping them at the factories, often leads them to wander from factory to factory without being able to pay off their debts.

All workers recruited, after having passed a medical examination and a general knowledge test, are asked to sign a formal contract with the em-

ployer, which in many cases is a unilateral one exempting the employer from any obligation and giving him the sole right of deciding the hours of work, wages and so on, and which in its formality is often like the oath of allegiance of the vassal to the lord. Frequently the workers are asked to give previous consent, inclusively, to the renewal of the contract on the same conditions.

Labor Turnover and Length of Service

The labor turnover of the workers is very high and the term of employment generally very short, despite the fact that over two-fifths of the women employees and nearly one-fourth of the male workers live in dormitories attached to the factories.

* * *

In proportion to the total number of 229,038 workers employed at the end of that year in cotton-spinning factories, each employing more than fifty workers, discharges amounted to 74.11 per cent and engagements to 90.87 per cent. The number of workers in factories employing less than fifty persons being very small, namely, less than one per cent of the total factories, their omission does not materially affect the general situation. Labor turnover is especially high in the Osaka district, which is the center of the cotton-spinning industry.

Although there exist no statistics as regards the cause of this high labor turnover, an investigation covering eight important factories employing 10,113 persons during the period nine months from October, 1921, to June, 1922, showed that the reasons for leaving employment might be classified as follows:

	Per cent
Personal reasons	45.7
Discharge	30.2
Termination of period of contract.....	13.4
Sickness	9.4
Death	0.9
Running away from the factory	0.4

100.0

Almost all factories make provision for medical treatment, which in many cases is not restricted to the workers but is available for their families. Diseases of the respiratory organs are common among dormitory workers, while diseases of the digestive organs occur frequently among the workers living outside the factory. The situation as regards tuberculosis among dormitory workers is improving, owing to better food conditions and shorter working hours, but it cannot be denied that this formidable disease is still causing great suffering among the women workers. In an important factory the percentage of workers daily reporting to the doctor for medical examination in 1920 was for women workers living in, nine and one-tenth per cent; for women workers living out, four and seven-tenths per cent; and for men workers, eight and nine-tenths per cent of all the workers employed in the factory.

Organization among the Workers

Owing to the low standard of education and the slow progress of any feeling of self-reliance among the women workers, very little headway has been made in the organization of workers in the industry. The only union of spinning workers at present in existence in the country is the Boseki Rodo-Ko Kumiai (Union of Spinning Workers) affiliated with the General Federation of Japanese Labor, having a membership of only 200. Labor disputes in the spinning industry are not unknown, but are very few in number as compared with those in the engineering industry, especially those on a larger scale. The dispute in the Juji Spinning Company in the autumn of 1920 and that in the Osaka Godo Spinning Company in June 1922, were isolated disputes in the eastern and western parts of Japan respectively; both ended in the entire collapse of the workers' hopes. The factory committee system is rare, and the few committees established are really only bodies for communicating the decisions of the employer to the workers.

Some progress may be traced in the welfare provisions generally adopted throughout the industry, but with this exception conditions in the spinning mills in Japan are in every way primitive. Attention may be drawn to the influence which the adoption at the International Labor Conference of the convention on the abolition of night work for women is beginning to exercise; some far-sighted employers are advocating the reform.

—*International Labor Review*, May 1923.

CONDITIONS OF MINERS

Fluctuation in Number of Miners

At the end of June 1924, there were in all 305,252 miners in Japan, of whom 230,082 were men and 75,170 women. This total is 27,081 less than of the preceding year. Of this number 42,361, or 13.9 per cent of the total, were employed in metal mines; 251,069 (82.3 per cent) in coal mines; 6,940 (2.3 per cent) in petroleum mines; and 4,882 (1.6 per cent) elsewhere.

The age distribution of these miners shows that the number of young workers is quite small. Miners under fourteen years of age, admitted to work by having completed their course of elementary school education, numbered 569, and those between fourteen and fifteen years of age 3,247 or one and one-tenth per cent of the total, while those between fifteen and twenty years numbered 45,026 (14.2 per cent). The great majority were over twenty years of age (256,979, or 84.8 per cent of the total).

Fluctuations, as compared with 1923, were roughly as follows: in 1924, there was a decrease of 18,697 men and 8,037 women. In the metal mines there were 251 new engagements and in the non-metallic mines 888; but 26,989 left the coal mines and 1,231 the oil mines.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, January 1926.

TUBERCULOSIS IN JAPAN

The spread of tuberculosis in Japan has been aggravated by the conditions in the factories and mines, so that the ratio of tubercular patients is one of the highest among civilized nations, being one to every fifty-two persons. In 1916 there were 86,633 deaths from tuberculosis, which is at the rate of 157 in 10,000. The government authorities were surprisingly slow in adopting preventive measures, but now both government and volunteer agencies are actively educating the people as to the prevention and cure of the disease. During the past few years five municipal sanatoria have been established. There are also five private sanatoria for tuberculosis, three of which are under Christian auspices.

—Galen M. Fisher: "Creative Forces in Japan."

LABOR RECRUITING IN JAPAN AND ITS CONTROL

By Shunzo Yoshisaka, director of factory inspection, Bureau of Social Affairs, Department of the Interior

Labor for mines, factories, etc., in Japan is to a large extent engaged by a system of recruiting, due partly to the inadequate development of the employment exchanges, partly to the sudden expansion of industry and the great demand for female labor.* From the point of view of the workers the system is open to many abuses, and employers and recruiters also suffer from the wide diversity of local regulations and restrictions. To improve these conditions an ordinance for the control of the recruiting of workers has recently been enacted, and came into force on March 1, last. The principal effects of the new ordinance will be to standardize prefectural regulations on a national basis, to secure strict control of recruiters and recruiting, to protect the workers and safeguard their freedom of movement, and to establish a police authority to maintain adequate control.

* * *

In Japan, however, the employment exchanges, which are important agents in coordinating supply and demand on the industrial labor market of today, have not as yet become the main channel for engaging workers because of the prevalence of recruiting agencies.

Naturally, workers are recruited on a large scale when factories are newly started or enlarged, but even under ordinary circumstances recruiting is almost a regular and permanent process in Japan, being required to overcome the inadequacy of the supply of labor. The total number of men and women who move about in consequence of organized recruiting for factories, mines, and public works is probably as many as 300,000 each year. At present there are more than 610,000 workers in the dormitories belonging to factories, and more than half of them may be considered as "recruited"

*See also "Women Workers in Japanese Factories and Mines," paragraph 3.

workers. According to an investigation made in 1922, there were 52,417 persons engaged in recruiting work, and 300,000 recruited apprentices, miners and laborers, whereas at the end of 1923, according to the enquiry made by the local employment exchange of Tokyo, there were as many as 24,000 persons engaged in recruiting work within the jurisdiction of that one exchange. If the four adjoining prefectures are added, the number rises to 35,000; Hagano has 9,400, Niligata 3,600, and Yamanashi 3,600. These include a large number of women.

The reason for the necessity of recruiting in Japanese industry is not far to seek. In a way it is due to the inadequate development of employment exchanges; at present recruiting supplies the deficiencies of the employment exchange system. But it may be expected to continue long after the employment exchange system has been effective. Its advantages are that the employer has a free choice of workers, that the workers are kept in closer touch with their families after engagement, and that they are more certain to remain in their employment. The principal causes of the development of recruiting, however, are undoubtedly the sudden and uncontrolled expansion of industry and the fact that Japanese industry is very largely dependent upon female labor.

* * *

The industrial revolution of Japan started first in the textile industry. Half of the factories of Japan are dyeing and weaving works and sixty-two per cent of the operatives of the country are in these works. Since eighty-two per cent of the operatives in the dyeing and weaving works are women, it is needless to remark that Japanese labor legislation must lay the utmost emphasis on the protection of women workers. The facts that sixty per cent of the dyeing and weaving works have dormitories attached to them, and that at the end of 1922 as many as 502,822 women were boarded and lodged in these dormitories, show clearly that these women mostly come from some distance, and they were probably recruited in the agricultural districts.

These women workers are mostly unmarried girls who look forward to becoming "good housewives and wise mothers." They take wage-earning employment partly to help their families and partly to save for their marriage. Thus they expect to return to their homes and seldom intend to spend their lives in industrial employment. Moreover, many of these women are not so strong that they can be expected to stand the strain of work permanently under present factory conditions.

* * *

Recruiting and the dormitory system have thus come to be characteristic features of Japanese industry, so much so that any discussion of the protection of the workers must include, besides working conditions in factories, mines, etc., the workers' dormitories and the housing conditions of laborers. Nor must one overlook the fact that the protection of workers prior to the signature of their contract of employment—i.e., during the period from

the canvassing by recruiting agents up to their arrival at the place of work conducted by the agents—is as important as protection in respect of working and living conditions after the signature of the contract.

A considerable incentive is required to induce people to take up work in a distant place under conditions which sometimes differ widely from their own. This is particularly true of men and women in families originally engaged in agriculture, as they do not actually need to seek outside work for a living. Some positive inducement is necessary to persuade them to leave their native village and take up the new and unaccustomed factory work.

* * *

Recruiting is perhaps a little less difficult now than it was several years ago, when industry was booming, but even at present there is great difficulty in recruiting women workers.

* * *

The principal causes of the difficulty in recruiting women workers can be laid at the door both of the recruiting agent and of the factory owner. Excessive hours of work, low wages, night work, congestion, restricted freedom—these conditions of the past no doubt have a hampering effect on efforts to recruit women. In addition to these (if one may cite the exaggerated reports which are sometimes received), the irresponsible promises of the recruiting agents given simply to entice the women to work, the disagreeable manner of their persistent attempts to persuade them, their violent and insulting acts, and other injustices have had a decidedly negative influence.

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It is said that in extreme cases thirty per cent of the newly recruited women workers drop out within a month after they are engaged and that a district is “worked out” for recruiting purposes in seven years.

Probably this is somewhat exaggerated. Nevertheless, it is true that the recruiting areas are moving further and further from the industrial areas.

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There is no perennial source from which a new supply of workers can constantly be drawn. Year after year the recruiting territory shifts to a remoter distance.

* * *

It is said that if a man has a daughter, no matter if he lives in the remotest inland village, he will have five or six recruiting men visiting him every day. They call on him not only at home but in the fields if he is working there. Some people have been driven to put notices at their doors with the statement: “No daughter for factory work in this house!” to keep off the importunate recruiters.

Since the expense involved in recruiting is an important factor in costs of production, the use of recruiting as the principal means of obtaining labor affects the very foundation of Japanese industry. Needless to say, the cost has risen.

The cost naturally varies from place to place and the itemizing of the recruiting costs is not altogether uniform, but it is said that the cost runs from twenty to thirty yen up to seventy yen per head. For large factories these expenses may not be of much consequence, but for small factories and those running for a short time only they are a very hard burden. Some method must be devised to recover the great expense and, as may be imagined, the temptation is to shift the burden to the worker. The result may be awful treatment of the ignorant and powerless women and young workers, and wretched living accommodations. It is also a notable fact that where the system of drawing wages in advance obtains, the wages are actually lower than in other places.

* * *

There is keen competition in securing workers; various methods—sometimes questionable—are adopted to bind the workers, until ethical rules are forgotten.

From the standpoint of the management also there is an urgent need for improvement in conditions of work and of dormitory life and also in quality of the recruiting methods, in order to reduce the difficulties of obtaining labor. Some improvement can be effected by amending the legislation such as the Factory Act and the laws and regulations on labor in mines. The new ordinance for the control of recruiting will have the effect on the one hand of ensuring the protection of workers who apply for employment through recruiting, and on the other hand of placing industry on a sounder basis and facilitating the work of the management.

There was, it is true, some control of recruiting before the issue of the ordinance . . . but uniform national legislation was lacking. The regulations, their scope and procedure varied from one prefecture to another, and there was no connection or coherence.

* * *

The main significance of the new ordinance for the control of recruiting lies in the following facts:

It has standardized prefectural regulations on a national basis, adapting them to the needs of the present time and simplifying the formalities for the benefit of employers and of the controlling authorities.

It secures strict control of persons engaged in recruiting and of recruiting itself in order to achieve practical results.

It safeguards the workers' freedom of movement while at the same time giving them adequate protection when applying for employment through recruiting.

It has definitely established a police authority which is to operate quite apart from the obligations which should be observed either for moral reasons or for the maintenance of industry.

Nevertheless, it cannot be considered that the new ordinance has completely solved all the problems arising from the recruiting system. For

example, the living-in conditions of workers must be improved by means of further intervention. Labor legislation must be extended to apply more widely to other spheres than factories and mines. As regards laborers accommodated in and around timber and wood yards, workshops, building yards, etc., more protection must be given to maintain order and security for their families. Needless to say, disorderly acts on the part of the workers must also be strictly controlled. No doubt the spread and activities of free public employment exchanges and union supply of workers will do away with many of the evils of recruiting, but as long as Japanese industrial organization is in its present state, which requires the continuance of the recruiting system, control must be enforced.

—*International Labor Review*, October 1925.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN JAPAN

The phenomenal expansion of industry between 1914 and 1919 led to a huge mobilization of labor in the larger cities, and when the sudden slump struck all industry in 1920 there was a corresponding concentration of the unemployed. One of the chief relief measures adopted was the rapid extension of employment exchanges by the cooperation of the national and local governments. An impetus in this direction was given by the resolutions of the International Labor Conference held at Washington in 1919. The result has been the increase in the number of employment exchanges from twenty-three in 1916 to 396 in 1921. The great part of this increase is due to the establishment of municipal and village exchanges.

—Galen M. Fisher: "Creative Forces in Japan."

The need for the collection of accurate statistics of unemployment has long been felt in Japan. There is a great divergence between the various estimates, official and unofficial, of the number of persons unemployed at any given time.

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The Diet has approved the appropriation . . . for the purpose of a national unemployment census. The census will be taken next October.

The census will be taken under the supervision of the prefectural governors, chiefs of counties, and mayors of cities, towns, and villages, who in turn will act under the orders of the Prime Minister.

YOUNG WORKERS

Though unemployment among adult workers in Japan has assumed serious proportions, there is reported to be a considerable unsatisfied demand for young workers.

Press reports state that in spite of great efforts made by public employment offices for young workers in Tokyo and Osaka the demand in the course of a year is several times larger than the supply.

Employers, it is explained, generally ask for workers between the ages of fourteen and sixteen who have just completed their course in the primary school. The number of children due to leave the primary school this spring is about 1,600,000, of whom 700,000 are girls. Of this total, it is estimated by the Bureau of Social Affairs, about 1,440,000, or ninety per cent, will not continue their education in the secondary schools but will seek employment.

* * *

City authorities are contemplating various measures for dealing with the situation, including the dissemination by lectures and pamphlets of vocational guidance information, concerning openings for employment, and advice on the choice of occupations.

The Japanese Government, also taking up the question of the young worker on a national scale, has instructed the employment exchange offices of the country to establish close relations with the principals of the schools.

—*International and Labor Information, May 1925.*

FACTORY INSPECTION

The present moment is not a favorable one for describing the Japanese system of factory inspection. Owing to the passing of the act amending the Factory Act by the session of Parliament which closed on March 27, 1923, the Imperial Decree and the Departmental Regulations for the enforcement of the Factory Act are to be revised. The drafting of these amendments is in progress and it is expected that the amended act, decree, and regulations will be put into force at the beginning of September at the latest. The regulation on the employment and protection of miners, which determines their conditions of work, is also to be amended in order to bring the conditions of work in mines as far as possible into line with those in factories. In view of the passing of the act fixing the minimum age of admission to industrial employment, which applies not only to factories and mines but to all industrial undertakings, and the act on the minimum age and health certificate of seamen, it has become necessary to extend the factory inspection system, which previously only covered factories and mines, to other branches of employment. The Bureau of Social Affairs, which is responsible for labor administration in general, is at present considering means of extending and improving the inspection system. Thus factory inspection is at present passing through a period of transition.

Until the Factory Act was promulgated on March 29, 1911, there was no special legislation in Japan for the protection of factory workers, which had been left to the local and district police authorities. The Factory Act, which was the outcome of careful study for more than thirty years, was not put into force until five years after its promulgation, that is, in 1916. In October 1915, a Factory Section was set up in the Bureau of Industry and Commerce of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce to deal with

questions relating to the enforcement of the Factory Act. There were appointed seven full-time factory inspectors, four of whom held higher rank, as principal inspectors; some ten part-time inspectors, of whom five held higher rank; and 199 inspectors, of whom twenty-one held higher rank, were allocated to the various prefectures. The Factory Act came into force on September 1, 1916. The number of inspectors was subsequently increased to a certain extent, but there was no change in the general inspection system either in the central or district administrations until November 1922, when the Bureau of Social Affairs was set up.

The Factory Act was amended on March 29, 1923. In addition to improving conditions of employment in various respects, the new act extended the application of the Factory Act to cover all factories employing not less than ten workers, as laid down in the special article for Japan in the Hours of Work Convention adopted by the first session of the International Labor Conference.

Legislation for the protection of the life and health of workers in mines was introduced as early as 1890 by the Mines Act, which came into force in June 1892. From then onwards, successive amendments and improvements were effected in mining legislation and inspection until the institution of the Bureau of Social Affairs, which was made responsible for the enforcement of the Factory Act and questions relating to mines. Although most of the work connected with industrial inspection has been transferred to the new department, the Department of Agriculture and commerce is still the central authority for matters relating to the mine police, which are under the Bureau of Mines in that Department.

* * *

According to enquiries carried out by the government, the number of factories at the end of 1921 was 24,080 and the number of workers employed in such factories 1,372,706. It should, however, be pointed out that these figures only include factories employing not less than fifteen workers. It is estimated that the number of factories coming under the new legislation is 33,540 and the number of workers 1,471,847.

Powers and Procedure

Section 14 of the Factory Act, as amended on March 29, 1923, defines the inspectors' right of entry to undertakings subject to their supervision. The competent official may inspect factories and the institutions connected therewith. He may order a medical examination of any worker or apprentice whom he has reason to believe to be suffering from a disease on account of which he should be forbidden to work or which may be a source of infection. The earlier act made no provision for medical examination.

The inspector is entitled to question all persons in the undertaking inspected. Neither the Factory Act nor the Mines Act empowers the inspector to give the occupier instructions concerning the detailed application of the general terms of the law. In practice, however, the inspector gives

the necessary instructions when he makes his visit of inspection, but only within certain limits. All important orders are issued by the governor of the Prefecture, who is empowered to issue orders with the force of law and such administrative regulations as are necessary.

—International Labor Office, Geneva, 1923.

JAPANESE SURVEY OF LABOR CONDITIONS

According to the *Trans-Pacific*, Tokyo, October 25, 1924, a survey of labor conditions throughout Japan was begun in the early part of October. The study is under the direction of the Social Work Bureau of the Department of Home Affairs and will be carried on by the prefectural governors, who will report on conditions in their provinces. Data will be secured relating to the kinds of factories, number of employees, working hours, rest hours, holidays in each month, wages, efficiency of the workers, and ages and social conditions. All factories employing more than thirty workers will be visited and questionnaires distributed to the employees for them to fill in and return to the authorities.

—*Monthly Labor Review*, January 1925.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS

There has recently been formed in Japan, on the initiative of certain officials in the factory inspection service of the Bureau of Social Affairs, an Association for the Prevention of Industrial Accidents, the objects of which are to conduct organized propaganda and promote measures for accident prevention.

The association has as its advisers Mr. Yoshisaka, director of factory inspection, Dr. Ishiwara, a well known authority on factory hygiene, and other recognized experts.

By way of inaugurating the association, a "Fire Prevention Week" was proclaimed for the week following that of March second. Posters and badges were sent in large numbers to all the factories of the country. Conferences were to be convened in many centers, and many public lectures to be given.

The association intends next to organize an "Injury Prevention Week."

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, May 1925.

FACTORY REGULATIONS

The Monopoly Bureau under the Department of Finance announces a revision of its factory regulations, in the adoption of which, it is stated, account has been taken of the decisions of the International Labor Conference, as well as of the desires of the employees.

The most important changes are as follows:

1. Absence from work on account of attention to matters concerning public welfare, such as the annual inspection of reservists, vaccination and inoculation against epidemics, treatment of trachoma, etc., will not be considered in the determination of bonus.
2. The period of maternity rest is extended to four weeks preceding and six weeks following childbirth. The rules formerly provided for one week before and three weeks after childbirth.
3. In case of discharge of employees, notice must be given two weeks in advance, or payment must be made equivalent to two weeks' wages.
4. Working hours are to be reduced, according to local conditions, at the discretion of the heads of divisions.
5. Protection is to be given to working women during confinement and the nursing of their new-born children.
6. A general increase of the quarterly bonus.
7. A progressive increase of bonus according to length of service, after one year's employment.
8. An increase of the special bonus for those presenting inventive ideas or better working methods, for those who have done the most efficient work, for the most expert workmanship, etc.
9. Three days' rest in the following six months for those who have worked six months without absence. One day's rest for those who are ordered to do special work.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, June 1925.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE AMENDED FACTORY ACT

Inspired chiefly by the Washington Hours Convention, Japan took steps at an early stage to amend the Factory Act, and the Amendment Act was passed in 1923. Owing, however, to various material difficulties, the actual enforcement of the Act has hitherto been delayed. Recent news from Tokyo states that the draft Order for the enforcement of the amended Factory Act was approved by the Gyosei Chosa Iinkai (Administration Investigation Board), an important interdepartmental government commission, at its plenary meeting of October 27, last.

At a meeting on the thirteenth of November last, the Cabinet approved the draft Order and forwarded it to the Privy Council. Now that these bodies have approved the draft Order, the formalities to be gone through before its actual promulgation will be for the Privy Council to decide.

It may be recalled that the main points on which existing factory legislation will be revised by the enforcement of the amended Factory Act are as follows:

The scope of application of the Factory Act will be extended to factories employing not less than ten persons, instead of fifteen as heretofore.

The minimum age of workers admitted to industrial employment used to be twelve and, furthermore, children above ten could be employed on "light and easy work" by special permission of the authorities. This low standard will now be abolished and the higher standard which is set up by the *Minimum Age of Industrial Workers' Act* will replace it, in accordance with the *Minimum Age Convention of Washington*.

The maximum working hours for women and persons under fifteen years of age, which used to be twelve hours, will be reduced to eleven hours and will apply to women and to young persons under sixteen years of age.

The period during which the night work of women and persons under fifteen is prohibited will be extended to include the hours between ten p.m. and five a.m., instead of the hours between ten p.m. and four a.m., and the age below which young workers are prohibited to work will be raised from fifteen to sixteen. Besides this, the Amendment Act abolishes all the important exceptions to the prohibition of night work.

The protection of maternity will be further extended.

Maximum fines inflicted for infringements of the Act will be raised from 500 yen to 1000 yen.

The Order in question, the draft of which has just been approved by the board, is for the enforcement of the above-mentioned revisions and lays down the detailed amendments. We give below the gist of the Order, as reported in *Asahi* of October 28, 1925.

Enlarged Scope of Application of the Act

Bakeries, confectioneries and, in all, about a dozen like trades which are exempted from the application of the Act will be brought within the scope of its application. The manufacture of thermos-bottles with mercury pump, and forty-two other processes of work, will be added to the list of dangerous or harmful processes under official control.

Widened Scope of Compensation

(a) Henceforth, abolishing the old principle, compensation will be granted as a matter of principle, even if injury results from a serious fault on the part of the victim himself;

(b) A higher standard is adopted for the calculation of the basic wage in determining the amount of accident compensation. The basic wages will be the total amount of wages received during ninety days prior to the accident divided by ninety, and the minimum basic wage will be sixty per cent of the average wage for the day's work during the same period;

(c) Allowances for all sorts of injuries, for funeral expenses and for the bereaved family of a deceased worker will be raised;

(d) Even in the case of unregistered marriage, the husband or wife, as the case may be, of the victim of a fatal accident may receive compensation.

Stricter Control of Discharges

The restriction of discharges is extended, viz:

(a) In discharging a worker, at least fourteen days' notice or payment equivalent to fourteen days' wages must be given;

(b) It is prohibited to discharge a worker during a certain period before and after childbirth, or during a fixed period of illness or injury resulting from work.

Maternity Protection

Conforming as far as possible to the Maternity Convention of Washington, the following provisions are laid down:

(a) The period of prohibition of work after childbirth is extended from five to six weeks. Only when a doctor pronounces it to be harmless may the woman resume work four weeks after confinement.

(b) The compulsory rest period prior to childbirth is extended to four weeks.

(c) Permission must be given to the woman worker who is nursing a baby of less than a year old, to feed the baby at least twice a day for at least thirty minutes each time.

Workers Affected

According to figures of the Social Affairs Bureau for the end of 1924, which are reported in *Nichi Nichi* of October 28, the enforcement of the amended Act will affect the workers and factories of Japan in the following manner:

	Added by the Amended Act	Those coming under the old Factory Act
Number of factories	27,073	19,294
Total number of workers.....	1,493,811	142,723
Women workers	857,930	38,009
Young workers	12,754	2,800

It is further stated that, upon the enforcement of the Minimum Age of Industrial Workers Act, which is expected to take place simultaneously, and in conjunction with the enforcement of the amended Factory Act, the number of workers under the age of twelve whose employment becomes illegal is, according to the 1924 figures, only 1,146 (of whom 208 are boys and 938 girls). The number of young workers under the age of fourteen whose employment becomes illegal as a result of non-completion of the course in elementary schools is, according to the same source, 12,365. Obviously this small number will have been even more reduced when the Act comes into force.

The amount of money which the employers will have to spend in connection with accident compensation under the new provisions, will be approximately 230,000 yen per year.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, January 1926.

TOKYO MUNICIPAL LABOR SCHOOL

The Social Education Department of the City of Tokyo has started a labor school "in order to give a social discipline by means of citizenship education" to workers who have been deprived of the opportunity for such an education.

The school is conducted, with the mayor of the city as its principal and the chief of the Social Education Department as dean, by a number of experts. It was due to begin its courses of instruction in April last.

The school is divided into preparatory, regular and seminar courses. Any person above the age of eighteen years may be admitted. On the completion of the terms, a diploma is granted. The curriculum consists of the following subjects:

Preparatory Course:

Outline of economics and law; cultural history of Japan; western history; geography; biology; Japanese literature, music; English.

Regular Course:

Social ethics; law; political science; economics; psychology; sociology; philosophy; foreign literature; astronomy and geology; social politics; English.

Seminar Courses:

Law; politics; labor problem; economic and social problems.

The hours of instruction are from 6:30 to 8:40 p.m. on Monday, Wednesday and Friday in each week. A large hall in Uyeno Park has been hired for the school.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, June 1925.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN JAPAN

The Bureau of Vocational Education in the Japanese Education Department has recently conducted an enquiry into the extent and success of the continuation schools, where vocational training is given. The Japanese Government devoted its attention to this matter early in the development of its educational system and regulations for vocational training were in force in Japan even before the question was generally discussed in many western countries. Regulations on technical continuation schools were issued as early as 1890 in the order relating to primary schools.

* * *

The existing system is based on the regulations promulgated in December 1920. The two outstanding aims of the technical continuation schools are

1. To give vocational training; and
2. To provide the education essential to good citizenship for young people who are unable to enter the secondary schools and are obliged to take up some trade. It is intended that vocational continuation schools should be established in all cities, towns and villages throughout the entire country. They may be set up by prefectures, by corporations such as chambers of commerce and agricultural societies (Nokai), and also by private persons.

* * *

The compulsory subjects in both primary and secondary courses are ethics, Japanese, mathematics, and trades and occupations; in the primary

course natural science also is compulsory. In addition, girls are required to take domestic science and sewing in both courses. The selection of optional subjects and the general arrangement of the curriculum are left to the school authorities to be fixed according to conditions in each locality. Arrangements are made for occasional lectures by people who are actually engaged in industries, thus providing a connection with practical life and stimulating interest in the local industries.

The total number of the continuation schools in Japan is 14,953; this means that ninety per cent of the cities, towns and villages have already provided some facilities for vocational training. The most numerous are the agricultural schools, which number 13,000. The next in order of numbers are the commercial schools, followed by combined agricultural and commercial schools, then the fishery and industrial schools.

* * *

The total number of students is about 1,400,000, with 500,000 new students entering the schools every year.

—*International Labor Review*, June 1925.

PROGRESS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

The movement for the organization of labor in Japan dates from 1883, when an agitation was started against the introduction of horse trams in the city of Tokio. It was organized by young politicians who, with the support of the rickshawmen of the city, formed a union called the Rickshawmen's Party (Shakaito). This movement failed, but a series of incidents, such as the exposure of the ill-treatment of the Takashima miners in 1888 and a lock-out of the workers at a tea factory under foreign management at Yokohama in 1889, intensified the general desire for organization, while the Liberal Party (Jiyuto) kept up a continual agitation on behalf of labor. In November 1882, a new party known as the Oriental Liberal Party (Toyo Jiyuto) was formed, which consisted of the Japan Labor Association (Nippon Rodo Kyokai) and the Suffrage League (Futsu Senkyo Kiseidomei Kai), but when the Toyo Jiyuto, which had never been strong, fell to pieces, the Japan Labor Association also collapsed.

These movements were largely political, either organized by politicians or working by means of political parties. The first attempt to form a trade union for purely industrial purposes dates back to 1864, but this endeavor as well as those in 1887 failed.

On August 1, 1912, the Friendly Society (Yuai Kai) was founded in Tokyo. The society had its origin in social welfare work started on a small scale in 1911 by Bunji Suzuki in a Unitarian Church in the city of Tokyo, where he held monthly meetings to educate the workers of the neighborhood and opened a consulting office to give instruction and assistance to those who required it. The Yuai Kai arose out of work organized on the principle of mutual assistance simply and solely for the promotion of the moral,

economic, and social well-being of the workers. Mr. Suzuki, with fifteen workers who were his associates, announced the foundation of the Yuai Kai, he himself being elected president. A large number of scholars and experts on social problems held positions as advisers to the society, and on November third its journal, the *Yuai Shimpō* (Friendly News), appeared. In September 1914, the society revised its constitution and changed the title of its organ to *Rodo Oyobi Sangio* (Labor and Industry). This was again changed later to *Rodo* (Labor).

This organization, succeeding where so many others had failed, met with much criticism. Many considered it the catspaw of capitalism because it received the patronage and support of eminent business men, especially Viscount Shibusawa, and because, at least during the first period of its development, it did not come out clearly as a labor union. However, the moderate attitude of the Yuai Kai in its early days favored its development; branches were established in various parts of the country, and the membership increased from 1,326 in August 1913, to 3,073 in July 1914. At the end of 1919, when the trade boom was at its height, it was reported to have some 35,000 members. With the support of its increasing membership, the Yuai Kai successfully intervened in various strikes in which its members were concerned, until at last it became a general federation of Japanese labor, universally recognized as the most powerful and most inclusive union in Japan.

There are several reasons why the development of the Japanese labor movement has been very slow. First of all, it is only quite recently that the industrial revolution began, and only within the last twenty-five years that its influence has been felt to any considerable extent. Hence there has not been sufficient time for the development among the workers of a definite class-consciousness. Further, industrial workers were too few in number to constitute a power in the social movement. Workers were chiefly recruited from farms and villages to meet the sudden demand in industrial towns when trade was flourishing, and when trade depression forced factory workers to be idle they easily found work on farms or in the country from which they originally came. Consequently they had no training in organization, nor had they felt the necessity of providing measures against unemployment by means of collective effort.

Secondly, until recently the textile industry dominated the industrial world. At the end of 1916, fifty-five per cent of the total number of factories were textile, and fifty-nine per cent of the total number of workers were employed in textile factories. Owing to the nature of the work the great majority of those engaged in textile factories were female workers, who were not only less educated than the men and less fitted to take part in the social movement, but on account of the fact that they took up employment for a year or so only, with the object of earning money for their dowry, were not interested in the systematic improvement of their working conditions by means of collective action.

Thirdly, the ingrained influence of *bushido* (chivalry) and the doctrines of Confucius have trained the Japanese people to remain indifferent to material conditions, and their Buddhist religion has taught them to submit to the inevitable instead of rousing them to fight against circumstances.

Changes Brought by the Great War

These fundamental conditions still exercise a great influence, but the Great War brought about such a change in the economic life of Japan that it has afforded an unprecedented opportunity for the formation of labor unions. Not only were numerous organizations established in all parts of the Empire, but these organizations showed tendencies different from those existing before the war. The circumstances which led to such changes were manifold.

First, there was the strong impetus given to Japanese industry through the war. Throughout the whole of the Far East, supplies from Europe were cut off and Japanese industry was called upon to meet the deficiency. New industries sprang up and old ones doubled and trebled their output without being able to satisfy the demand. The result was naturally an enormous demand for labor. Wages rose and the labor market began to lose its equilibrium. As the textile industry flourished after the Chino-Japanese war, as gas and electricity companies sprang up after the Russo-Japanese war, so during and immediately after this war rapid progress was made in the engineering and chemical industries. The development in engineering and chemical works, calling for male labor, meant not only an increase in the percentage of male workers in the industrial population but also an increase in the number of skilled workers, the class most fitted for effective organization. The number of factory workers increased from 990,000 in 1914 to 1,440,000 in 1917, and the number of male workers from 420,000 to 690,000. It is estimated that the industrial population now numbers about three million (factory and allied workers, 1,700,000; miners, 450; land transport workers, 2,000,000; and seaman, 500,000).

Secondly, the trade boom, which lasted more than five years, has enabled entrepreneurs to make enormous profits, in which it was but natural that the workers should desire to share. The luxurious life of the war profiteers (*narikin*) especially, together with the enormous rise in the price of commodities out of all proportion to the increase in wages, gave rise to a strong feeling of discontent among the workers, who decided to unite and fight for higher wages and better working conditions.

A third important factor has been the altered trend of national thought. Social problems have never been so openly studied and discussed in Japan as during the last few years. Translations, books and papers on socialism of various schools (Marxism, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, and so on) were published to a considerable extent. Changed views on matters of national and international importance have affected all classes alike, awakening in the workers a consciousness of their social position.

A fourth important circumstance was the emergence of international labor problems. Information with regard to the work of the Commission on International Labor Legislation appointed in connection with the negotiation of the Peace Treaty acted as a strong incentive to the labor movement, and the question of selecting a workers' delegate to the First International Labor Conference aroused keen interest among the workers. Labor leaders considered this an unprecedented opportunity for voicing their claims, and the organization of unions and the formation of confederations became a matter of vital importance in order that the labor delegates should be nominated from among the workers themselves. An enormous amount of propaganda was carried on in this connection by those who, although not workers themselves, assumed the leadership of the workers. The result was a general awakening of labor on the subject of workers' organizations and collective bargaining.

In addition, it cannot be overlooked that during these years public opinion was generally in favor of the workers, and after the rice riots in 1918 the workers were convinced of the success of mass action. Strike statistics during the years from 1917 to 1919 show that in sixteen per cent of the strikes the workers' demands were granted, in forty-eight per cent there was compromise, in twenty per cent the workers' claims were withdrawn, and in sixteen per cent the demands were rejected. The majority of the cases of compromise were in favor of the workers, and in numbers of instances where the claims were withdrawn the demands were actually granted, so that more than sixty per cent of the total number of strikes turned in favor of the workers. The situation encouraged them to go forward as a united body.

Labor Organizations

Before the war there were already many labor organizations in existence in Japan, but, with the exception of the Yuai Kai, Shinyu Kai, and a few others, they were generally very small and their membership was restricted to workers in one factory, one mine, or at most one locality. Their aims, too, generally consisted solely in establishing mutual aid systems. During and after the war, especially in the years 1919 and 1920, great progress was made in organizing labor. According to an investigation made by the Department of Home Affairs through the police authorities it is estimated that in January, 1921, there were 671 unions with a membership of 246,658.

Although these figures no doubt include not only the real labor unions but also simple mutual aid societies, owing to the difficulty in distinguishing one from the other in their early stages, the fact remains that the number of organizations has increased four times and the membership three times since the war. The movement is, however, still in its infancy; the majority of the unions have from fifty to three hundred members, and very few have more than 10,000.

The Police Bureau in the Department of Home Affairs published in the middle of August, 1921, the result of a more recent investigation into the numbers and membership of labor unions throughout the country. The report shows that there are 273 labor unions including 11,680 members.

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These figures differ greatly from those previously quoted. This seems to be due to the fact that one investigation included not only labor unions but also some workers' mutual aid societies, whereas the other takes into consideration only labor unions as such. Labor organizations were established primarily with a view to rendering mutual aid to their members; consequently they were composed of members of individual factories, mines, and workshops. The tendency of recent years, however, has been to develop those organizations with the object of working for the betterment of working conditions; this has led to the formation of organizations composed of workers in several factories, mines, or workshops, while individual organizations which formerly had no connection with each other are now gradually amalgamating or forming federations.

* * *

Since 1919, when labor problems came prominently before the public, opinion among government authorities and employers was in favor of admitting the legality of trade unions organized "vertically"—i.e., on the basis of limitation of membership to workers in one factory or one workshop. The Minister of Home Affairs, who is in charge of the control of public safety in the matter of strikes, was an advocate of this view. Therefore it was considered by the workers that the most important problem in the trade union movement in Japan was that of gaining the employers' recognition of trade unions organized "horizontally"—i.e., including workers in various factories and workshops in the same industry. In the various disputes and strikes of recent years this claim has been emphasized. It constituted the chief demand in the strikes in the Ashio copper mine, the Hitachi metal mine, and the Fuji spinning mills. But in no case did the action of the workers achieve the desired result.

Since the beginning of 1921, new light has been thrown upon this question. It may be explained that in Japan the "recognition of labor unions" is understood in two senses—in a negative sense, which consists in recognizing their actual existence, and making no attempt to destroy them or to hinder their development; and in a positive sense, which consists in recognizing the right of labor unions to bargain for the betterment of labor conditions, and showing willingness to negotiate with the representatives of the trade unions to which the workers belong. Recognition in the first sense was gained after the struggle of the Pan-Japanese Miners' Federation in connection with a dispute in the Ashio copper mine in April 1921, when the Furukawa Mining Company, the proprietors of the mine, agreed to recognize the Pan-Japanese Miners' Federation, and promised not only not to prevent the development of the federation in so far as it was consistent with the carrying on

of the business of the company but also to adopt a favorable attitude towards this development. The dispute in the Ashio mine was followed by strikes in the city of Osaka, first between the Osaka Electric Lighting Company and the Union of Electrical Workers, which is affiliated to the Federation of Labor Unions of Western Japan (Kansai Rodo Domei Kai). After a struggle lasting twenty days the union gained the recognition of its right of collective bargaining. Again, in a dispute between the Fujinagata Shipbuilding Company and its employees, led by members of Osaka Union of Shipbuilding Workers (Nohon Zosenko Kumiai) and supported by the Yuai Kai, although the workers' demand for the recognition of the labor union (comprising workers not only in that work but also in other works) was not granted, an agreement was reached by which the company consented to negotiate with the labor unions organized by the workers in Fujinagata shipyard only, while on the other hand freedom for workers in these years to enter other labor unions was acknowledged. Following on this, numerous strikes occurred in the cities of Osaka and Kobe, which ended in a serious agitation in the Kawasaki shipyards. In these strikes the foremost and unanimous claim of the workers was the recognition of the union by the employers. So far, the right of bargaining has not been granted to any "horizontally" organized unions, but the establishment of factory committees has since become more general, and attempts on the part of labor unions are being made to link up the various factory committees with the object of working towards a common end.

General Features of the Yuai Kai

As will have been seen, the Yuai Kai has played a very conspicuous part in the labor movement of recent years. Indeed, it is the only general federation of labor in Japan which is on a firm footing. Therefore it may be useful to give some idea of its organization and principles. The details of its early struggles and the changes through which it passed from a philanthropic society, as it was in the beginning, to a militant federation of labor, as it is today, will be omitted. In the year 1919 the Yuai Kai assumed an entirely new aspect. About this time new leaders such as Aso, Tanahashi, Hisatome, Takayama, and Kagawa entered the Yuai Kai one after another, replacing the former leaders. Simultaneously, instead of Drs. Kuwata, Soyeda, Ogawa—prominent members of the Society for the Study of Social Politics (Shakeiseisaku Gakkai)—new advisers such as Yoshino, Takano, Kitasawa, Horie, Ichigasaki, Morito, and Kushida, men who were considered to have more or less socialist leanings, took their place. At the annual congress in September 1919, the constitution was fundamentally altered; instead of merely Yuai Kai, the name of the federation became the General Federation of Labor of Great Japan (Dainippon Rodo So Domei Yuai Kai). This was afterwards again changed to that of General Federation of Japanese Labor (Nihon Rodo So Domei Yuai Kai). Although Mr. Bunji Suzuki was elected president at the congress, he became

only one of the leading officers of the general federation. At the same congress the principles and the declaration of the federation were announced, differing widely from those of the Yuai Kai at its outset. The original program limited itself to a statement of general principles, namely:

1. The moral, intellectual, and technical training of members in accordance with common ideals.
2. The improvement of the position of the members by sure and steady methods and by combined effort.
3. The achievement of the ideals of solidarity by cooperation and mutual aid.

The new demands of the organization are very definite and concrete, and include:

1. Labor not to be regarded as a commodity or an article of commerce.
2. Freedom of association of all workers.
3. Abolition of child labor.
4. Establishment of a minimum wage.
5. Equal pay for work of equal value.
6. Establishment of a weekly rest.
7. Introduction of the eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week.
8. Abolition of night work.
9. Appointment of women inspectors.
10. Establishment of a system of social insurance.
11. Enactment of conciliation and arbitration legislation.
12. Provision against unemployment.
13. Equal treatment for native and foreign workers.
14. Supply of dwelling houses through public funds.
15. Establishment of a system of workmen's compensation.
16. Improvement of working conditions in home industries.
17. Abolition of peonage and indenture labor.
18. Establishment of manhood suffrage.
19. Amendment of the Public Safety and Order Police Law.
20. Democratization of the educational system.

Accompanying its program is the following declaration of general principles:

Man is by nature free; we as workers therefore declare that we are human beings and ought not to be bought for wages at market rates. We should also have freedom of association. At a time when the concentrated power of capital is exploiting labor and endeavoring to materialize its own personality, the workers must teach the capitalists by the power of their organization that the social order is not controlled by wealth but is maintained by the personality of those participating in production. Since the development of material civilization has begun to mislead us, the entire world has become tainted with the poison of capitalism. Overproduction

and trade depression attack the world alternately, and the workers, according to the economic situation, are either treated as accessories to the machinery or driven away from the factory. We declare, however, that we are not machines. We demand the organization of society on the basis of human personality, permitting the full individual development of the workers through education, a settled life, and the right to control their own conditions.

Turning to the industrial condition of Japan, women workers are suffering in spinning mills, child workers are worn out by long hours, and the cry of the miners is heard from underground. The percentage of deaths among workers is increasing year by year, and the rate of infant mortality and the number of still births are growing greater, owing to the unsettled life of the workers. Strikes occur one after another but freedom of association has not yet been recognized. Workers, in fact, are deprived of their rights as free citizens. It is a day of sorrow for Japanese workers. The time has come for the emancipation of Japanese producers. The world changes unceasingly, but goes forward, leaving Japan alone behind all. Therefore we Japanese workers declare to the world that we adhere to the spirit of the Peace Treaty, especially that of the labor clauses, and we will not hesitate to sacrifice ourselves in the endeavor to bring about the rule of peace, liberty and equality.

Trade Union Legislation

In Japan there exists no law explicitly recognizing trade unions, nor is there any law or regulation which forbids the existence of labor organizations. However, section 17 of the Public Safety and Order Police Law (Chian-keisatsu Ho), promulgated on March 10, 1900, has recently been criticised as an obstacle to the progress of the labor movement. This section reads as follows:

It is forbidden to use violence and intimidation against another, or publicity to insult another, for any of the purposes stated in the following paragraph, or to incite or instigate another for the purpose stated in the second of the following paragraphs:

1. To compel another to enter or prevent him from entering any such association or organization formed with a view to collective action regarding the conditions of remuneration of labor.
2. To compel an employer to discharge a worker or to refuse an application for employment, or to compel a worker to cease work or to refuse the offer of employment in order to carry out a collective strike or lock-out.
3. To apply compulsion to the other party to a contract concerning the conditions of remuneration of labor.

* * *

The effect of this section of the Police Law is variously interpreted. When the procedure adopted by the Japanese Government in appointing the workers' delegate to the Third International Labor Conference was questioned, the government and workers' delegates expressed very different views on the subject. The workers' delegate maintained that the organization of trade unions was almost impossible under this law, while the government delegates stated that the section in question was only intended to facilitate the maintenance of order in times of industrial dispute. Most of the important trade unions include the amendment or abolition of section 17 as a prominent item on their program, and several bills have been introduced into Parliament for its amendment, but have failed to secure enactment.*

*See "Labor Legislation in Japan," page 199.

In February 1920, the government appointed a Temporary Commission on the Investigation of Industrial Problems (Rinji Sangyo Chosa Kai) to prepare laws on trade unions and industrial disputes. The proceedings of this commission were private, but as more than a year has now elapsed since the last meeting of the commission it appears that it failed to arrive at a final text for these measures.

At a time when serious labor disputes were in progress in the industrial centers of western Japan, the Osaka Industrial Society (Osaka Kyogo Kai), which includes the largest employers in that city, submitted a proposal to the government recommending the enactment of a trade union law and the establishment of a court for dealing with industrial disputes. In addition, the society drew up a set of model rules for a system of factory committees, with a view to encouraging its introduction. The Association for Cooperation between Capital and Labor (Kyocho Kai) has also drafted a bill on the workers' committee system and submitted it to the government, asking that the necessary measures be taken for its enactment.

—*International Labor Review*, March 1922.

LABOR UNIONS IN JAPAN

There has been a marked increase recently in the membership of trade unions in Japan. The membership at the end of 1923 was reported by the Bureau of Social Affairs to be 125,000 combined in 430 trade unions, while by the end of 1924 there were 500 unions with a membership of approximately 230,000. The principal factors contributing to this rapid growth were the adoption by the government early in 1924 of a new policy by which the workers' delegates and advisers were elected by the trade union organizations from their own membership and the evident disposition of the government to look more favorably upon workers' organizations than formerly. The number of trade union members, however, represents only about one-twentieth of the workers, as it is estimated that outside the rural districts there are more than 4,160,000 workers in Japan.

Women's labor unions are still very weak, the number of organized working women being approximately 7,500 out of a total of 850,000 employed women. Of this total number of woman workers, 70,000 who are entirely unorganized are employed in the mines. The reasons given for the slow growth of unionism among women are the large number (about twelve per cent) employed in small factories to which the factory law does not apply; the location of many textile factories, which employ a great number of working women, in localities remote from cities; the housing of employees in boarding houses by a majority of the large textile factories; lack of education among women; long working hours, sixty per cent working twelve hours or more per day; low wages, the daily wages of seventy per cent amounting to not more than one yen; and the customs of the country by which the women have been inured to harsh treatment.

The labor movement of the country has been divided, the General Federation of Japanese Labor (Rodo Sodomei) standing for centralization of power, while a group of more radical unions favor the formation of a decentralized federation. The trade unions of Eastern Japan have already effected such an organization.

—*Monthly Labor Review*, June 1925.

Note: For the first time in the history of trade unionism in Japan a private concern has consented to apply the principle of collective bargaining, according to a bulletin from the International Federation of Trade Unions. This concern, the Kawakita Electrical Works, has also promised that in important decisions affecting the workers, joint committees of management and workers shall be formed to discuss the points at issue. The leaders of the union are also given permission to visit workshops with a view to a better understanding between management and workers.

—*The World Tomorrow*, February 1925.

After its reorganization, the General Federation of Labor pushed the organization of women even more vigorously. Its women's section has a publication of its own; it recruits members, arranges periodical lectures for the benefit of women, provides recreation, and offers to woman workers free service on labor matters. Since 1917 the movement to establish an independent women's union has been in progress. During the rice riots women really took the initiative and later became important elements in the general social situation. In 1924 several local unions were organized by women leaders on the organization of their union along industrial lines, on issuing more and better publications for general education purposes, and on using more effective propaganda for recruiting women to join the unions.

—Ta Chen: "Labor Conditions in Japan," in *Monthly Labor Review*.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

As early as 1912, education for the laborers was conducted through social education lectures delivered at Shiba Park in Tokyo on the fifteenth of each month. These were free and open to all who cared to attend. Two years later, more regular lectures were arranged by the Yuai Kai for the benefit of its members. In 1920 the General Federation of Labor organized the Tokyo labor school, which offered six-month evening courses. Some of the instructors were university teachers of history, political science, economics, and sociology. This school is claimed as the first successful labor school in Japan. Labor schools now in operation include those of various types—those established by the various unions, with academic standing ranging from that of the primary to that of the intermediate school; university extension work, such as the work of the social science club of the Higher Commercial College of Tokyo, and the Settlement Labor School of the Imperial University of Tokyo; and schools established by the municipality, such as the Bureau of Social Affairs in Tokyo. In addition, there are a few agricultural schools maintained by the Japan Farmers' Union. There seems to be no substantial agreement in the curricula of these schools, the object being in each case to offer the most useful instruction to the students. In a general way the

courses are more practical than theoretical. As there is no age limit, the students range in age all the way from minors to middle-aged workmen.

—Ta Chen: "Labor Conditions in Japan," in *Monthly Labor Review*, November 1925.

LABOR SCHOOLS IN JAPAN

A meeting of persons interested in labor schools, in connection with the General Federation of Japanese Labor, in the cities of Osaka, Kobe, Okayama, Amagasaki and Sakai, and in the Kyushu district, was held in Kyoto on October 5, last, to consider the question of the unification of labor schools.

It was decided to establish a League of Labor Schools in the western part of Japan, with headquarters at Kyoto, and with Professor Yamamoto, of the Doshisha University, as secretary.

Agreement was also reached on the following points:

Arrangement of educational lecture courses for workers.

Uniformity in reports of labor schools.

Uniformity in lecture subjects in the schools.

Promotion of international cooperation among labor schools.

Maintenance of close relations between the schools and the trade unions.

Systematic education concerning the political movement among the workers.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, January 1925.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN JAPAN

According to a statement made on June 19, by Mr. Nagaoka, director of the Bureau of Social Affairs, to a committee of the Kensei Kai (the party constituting the majority of the present cabinet), he still intends to promote by all possible means the repeal of Article 17 of the Police Act and the passing of the Industrial Arbitration Bill, and, if practicable, to present also the Trade Union Bill (relating to the recognition, legal personality and rights of trade unions) during the next session of the Diet. (See page 196.)

* * *

The Bureau of Social Affairs is engaged in preparing proposals for the improvement of factory inspection, the betterment of housing conditions, maternity protection, the encouragement of emigration, old-age pensions, vocational guidance, and the promotion of banking systems for the working class.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, August 1925.

RECENT TENDENCIES OF TRADE UNIONISM

We publish below extracts from the statement made by Mr. Nagaoka, director-general of the Social Affairs Bureau, to the members of the Chinese Engineers' Society, who visited Japan in 1925, to study the industrial system of the country.

Since the outbreak of the World War (said Mr. Nagaoka) the number of labor disputes in Japan has increased surprisingly. Statistics show that during the ten year period, 1897-1906, there were only 174 cases of labor disputes, or an average of only seventeen disputes per annum, with an average annual number of 2,048 persons affected. A slight increase took place during the seven year period, 1907-1913, 207 disputes in all being registered, an average of thirty disputes per year and 3,857 persons affected. During the years of the war, 1914-1918, the number suddenly increased to 1,037 disputes, or 207 disputes per year and 29,587 persons affected.

The highest record was in 1919, when there were 497 cases of strikes, with 63,137 persons affected; but in 1920, a year of financial crisis, the number of strikes decreased 282, and 36,371 persons were affected. In 1921 the number decreased further to 246 cases, but 58,225 persons were affected. In 1922 there were 250 disputes and 41,503 persons affected; in 1923, the year of the earthquake, 270 disputes and 36,259 persons affected; in 1924, 333 disputes and 54,526 persons affected; and during the first six months of 1925, 107 disputes and 16,001 affected.

In most of these numerous disputes the workers' demands related to questions concerning wages and hours of work; but in recent years not a few were concerned with discharge allowances, reinstatement of discharged workers, etc. This change in the nature of the demands may be considered as reflecting the economic depressions of Japan.

The earthquake of the autumn of 1923 marked the turning point of Japanese trade unionism. Since this disaster the workers have begun to realize how powerless they are when they are confronted with the problems of the recovery of Japanese industry. They have felt keenly that, with the former theoretical and unpractical program of the labor leaders, they could not undertake to relieve even a single unemployed worker. They have hence begun to advocate the adaptation of the labor movement to the practical requirements of the working masses.

This tendency was further strengthened in 1924 by the accession in Great Britain of a Labor Government, and came to be particularly accentuated in the spring of 1925, when universal suffrage was adopted by the Diet. As a result of this, an active preparation for the formation of a labor party is going on in Tokyo as well as in all the important industrial centers of the country.

JAPANESE ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR LEGISLATION

The International Labor Conventions Committee of the Japanese Association for International Labor Legislation held its third meeting on October 2, 1925, in Osaka.

The committee considered simultaneously a report by Mr. Muto on "Hastening the Enforcement of the Legislation Already Enacted in Connection with the Draft Conventions and Recommendations," and a report by Mrs. Ishiwara on "The Draft Conventions and Recommendations for the Protection of Women and Young Persons."

After an interchange of opinion on these two reports, the committee unanimously adopted the following resolution, and decided to report it to the Executive Council of the Association.

It is our opinion that, among the many draft conventions and recommendations which have been adopted in the seven conferences, the most important and those most in need of our prompt attention in the interest of the amelioration of the working conditions prevailing in our country are those adopted at the First Labor Conference at Washington concerning working hours, the prohibition of night work of women and young persons, protection of women before and after childbirth, and the minimum working age.

Almost all of these draft conventions were jointly supported by the delegates of our government, employers and workers who attended the conference at Washington. Our government delegate, when these conventions were adopted, insisted that Japan, as a special country, should be exempt, and gave a pledge at the same time, that, should this demand be accepted, his government would guarantee upon its own responsibility the enforcement of the provisions of the draft conventions.

Our government, however, in violation of this pledge, has not yet ratified or enforced these draft conventions, and has thus lost the confidence of foreign countries. At the seventh session of the Labor Conference, the government, employers', and workers' delegates of India criticized severely the unfaithfulness of our government, particularly in respect of the enforcement of the draft conventions concerning working hours and the prohibition of night work of women. The honor of our country has thus suffered in no small measure.

We seriously regret that even the revised Factory Act, which falls far short of the Washington Conventions in respect of such important points as working hours and night work of women and of young persons, etc., remains unenforced today, when three years have already elapsed since its enactment.

The government's first step should be to enforce the Factory Act (amendment) and the Minimum Wage (Industrial Workers) Act, and thereby show to the public the sincerity of its intentions; it should then proceed to take definite steps for the enforcement of all the aforesaid draft conventions.

This association resolves to make representations to the government in accordance with the views expressed above and to stimulate interpellations and the adoption of resolutions in the Imperial Diet; also to arouse public interest by suitable methods.

—*Industrial and Labor Information*, November 30, 1925.

A COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF PLANS FOR A NON- PROPERTY OWNING PARTY IN JAPAN

(As proposed by four societies of political science)

Note: An attempt to form a proletariat party in November, 1925, resulted in a division in labor groups, the Farmers' Union joining with the General Federation of Labor to make the majority, and the more radical elements forming the minority.

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This tendency was further strengthened in 1924 by the accession in Great Britain of a Labor Government, and came to be particularly accentuated in the spring of 1925, when universal suffrage was adopted by the Diet. As a result of this, an active preparation for the formation of a labor party is going on in Tokyo as well as in all the important industrial centers of the country.

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Almost all of these draft conventions were jointly supported by the delegates of our government, employers and workers who attended the conference at Washington. Our government delegate, when these conventions were adopted, insisted that Japan, as a special country, should be exempt, and gave a pledge at the same time, that, should this demand be accepted, his government would guarantee upon its own responsibility the enforcement of the provisions of the draft conventions.

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(As proposed by four societies of political science)

Note: An attempt to form a proletariat party in November, 1925, resulted in a division in labor groups, the Farmers' Union joining with the General Federation of Labor to make the majority, and the more radical elements forming the minority.

These developments are of such recent happening that no labor program has yet been announced, but the following summary of provisions suggested by various groups for their "platforms" may be taken as an indication of the general attitude of the workers and used as a background for study of a changing system of public affairs. The societies designated as A, B, C, D, show an interesting accord in their opinions on most points.—*Ed.*

POLITICAL DEMANDS

I. Concerning the Political System.

- A. Abolition of the Elder Statesmen, the Privy Council, the House of Peers, the General Staff Office and the Naval General Staff.
- B. Same.
- C. Same.
- D. The abolition of the Privy Council and the House of Peers.

II. The Abolition of the Feudalistic Social System.

- A. Abolition of Peers and Samurai.
- B. Abolition of the peerage system.

The challenge of the remaining feudal system of our day is one of the chief concerns of the Non-Property Owning Party. So, in this sense we must consider the complete abolition of the slave-like position of woman. Also there is the demand for the abolition of the slave-like position of the colonies. As to these problems, the society designated "B" tries to include them under the title "The Elevation of the Position of Woman." This subject, however, should be classified exactly as in the proposal of the Woman's Department, Political Science Society.

- 1. Abolition of the system that gives the full rights to the head of the house.
- 2. Abolition of inferior position of women in law irrespective of whether married or unmarried. Equal rights for women in marriage and divorce.
- 3. Giving of full rights in all vocations and also in educational institutions to women and the people in the colonies, as are given to men in Japan proper.
- 4. Abolition of prostitution—i.e., the abolition of the prostitution licensed by the government.

III. Demand for Participation in the Government.

- A. Acquisition of general suffrage and eligibility for office for men and women above twenty years of age.
- B. Establishment of system of large election districts.
- C. Absolute general suffrage and right of candidacy for men and women over eighteen years of age.
- D. Extension of the right to vote to men and women over twenty years of age.

IV. Rights of Speech, Meetings and Forming Associations.

- A. Abolition of restrictions on speech, meetings and forming associations.
- B. Complete freedom of speech, meetings and forming associations.
(Revision of the peace regulations, newspaper regulations, publishing regulations, and restrictive regulations).
- C. Same as "A."
- D. Absolute freedom of speech, of meetings and of forming associations.

V. Abolition of Oppressing Regulations.*

- A. Abolition of peace regulations.
- B. No provision.
- C. Abolition of peace regulations, police peace regulations and similar oppressive restrictions.
- D. Abolition of peace regulations and police peace regulations.

Under this section is included the abolition of ordinances issued by prefectural governments against the interests of the peasants' movements.

VI. Jurisdiction, Police Authority.

- C. Immediate payment from national treasury of indemnity for the infringements of jurisdiction and police authority.
- D. Improvement of system of jurisdiction and of the police system.

VII. Establishment of the Rights of Association and the Right to Form Unions.

- A. Freedom of activity and organization for labor unions and peasant unions. (Freedom to strike and carry on campaigns.)
- B. Establishment of right to strike and to form organizations for laborers and peasants.
- C. Freedom of organizing unions of tenant-farmers and laborers. (Freedom to strike and carry on campaigns.)
- D. Establishment of right of association and strike.

Besides these, in the proposals of "A" and "C" there are included clauses on international relations, and as these have connection with the right of association they may be taken up in this section.

- A. To fight against all efforts to check the unity of non-property owners in the Far East.
- B. To object to all the efforts to check the unity of laborers in the Far East.
- C. To challenge all the influences that will check international movement of non-property owners.

The international unity of the non-property owners' movement is practically prohibited in Japan.

*Refers to the right to strike.

VIII. Demands in Respect to the Army.

- A. Shortening the length of compulsory military service.
Payment of living wage for the military service of soldiers.
- C. Establishment of one-year military service.
The payment of a living wage for the period of the military service of the soldiers.
Guarantee by state treasury against financial loss to the family because of compulsory military service, or death in battle, or disability of soldiers.
Abolition of slave-like treatment of soldiers in the military camps.
Acquisition by the soldiers of participation in the establishment of detailed rules of service in the army.
Abolition of the general court-martial and the *gendarmarie*.

IX. Fight against Militarization.

- A. Abolition of all policies to militarize the public.
- B. Abolition of all measures concerning militarism.

X. Taxation. [Provision for]

- A. Very high taxation on a sliding scale on inheritance, income and property.
- B. Very high taxation on a sliding scale on land income, inheritance, registration, and business.
Establishment of a property tax and luxury tax.
- C. Very high taxation on a sliding scale on inheritance, income, business and property.
- D. Same.

XI. Colonies.

- A. The emancipation of the colonies.
- B. Self-government in the colonies.
- C. Same as "A."
- D. Same as "B."

XII. Weaker Races.

- A. Abolition of unequal treaties with weaker people.
- C. Abolition of all militaristic and oppressive measures.
- D. Opposition to imperialistic war.

DEMANDS IN THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD

I. Acquisition of Industrial Control [by workers].

- A. Realization of supervision in public and private enterprises by a board or committee elected by the workers.
- B. Acquisition of industrial control.

C. Acquisition of industrial control.

Immediate realization of supervision in public and private industry by the workers.

D. Acquisition of industrial democracy.

II. Establishment of the Eight-Hour Day.

A. The establishment of the eight-hour day (44-hour week).

B. The establishment of the eight-hour day.

C. Same as "A."

D. Same as "B."

III. Securing of Minimum Wage Scale.

A. Securing of a living-wage system.

B. Guarantee of a minimum living wage to the non-property owning class.

Establishment of the minimum wage.

C. Securing of the minimum wage system.

D. Establishment of a minimum wage.

IV. Establishment of Collective Bargaining.

A. Establishment of collective bargaining.

B. Same as "A."

V. Labor System.

A. Abolition of the contract-labor system, the apprentice-system and other feudalistic, slave-like systems, and of non-hygienic and dangerous equipment.

B. Revision of factory laws, mining laws, and the seamen's law.

C. Total abolition of the selling and purchasing of the human body, the boss system, and other barbarous labor systems, and of dangerous and non-hygienic equipment.

D. Completion of systems for protection of workmen and for workmen's compensation.

VI. Guarantee against Woman and Child Labor.

B. Prohibition of child labor.

C. Prohibition of hiring children under fourteen years of age.

A. Establishment of six-hour day for child under eighteen years of age.
Establishment of six-hour day for young people under eighteen years of age. (30 hours a week).

B. Prohibition of night and mine work for women laborers.

C. Prohibition of overtime, night work and dangerous work for young men and women under the age of eighteen.

D. Protection for child and women laborers.

VII. Protection of Mothers.

- A. Rest and payment of full wages for eight weeks before and after childbirth.
- C. Rest and payment of full wages for eight weeks during the period of childbirth for women laborers.

In connection with these, the following are to be demanded:

1. Equipment for and the establishment of a law for nursing for a half-hour in every three hours for mothers who have nursing babies.
2. Allowance of a living expense from the state treasury for a mother who has a baby.

VIII. Guarantee against Unemployment and Injury.

- A. Imposition of unemployment insurance on capitalists.
Compensation for disease or injury caused by vocation should be guaranteed by the state treasury.
- B. Establishment of insurance for unemployment, injury, old age and disease.
- C. Payment by capitalists of a living wage for the duration of unemployment.
Guarantee by state of compensation in case of vocational disease and injury.
- D. Establishments of unemployment relief and unemployment insurance.
Establishment of compensation for vocational disease.

IX. Control of the Labor Market.

- B. Control of employment agencies by labor unions.
- C. Control of employment agencies by labor unions.

DEMANDS OF PEASANTS

I. For Land.

- A. Establishment of right of cultivation.
- B. Same.
- C. Same.
- D. Same.

II. For Improvement of Land.

- A. Improvement of land at the expense of the state treasury.
- C. Acquisition of coordinating control by the cultivator for the improvement of the land, and expenses thereof paid from the state treasury.

III. For Fertilizer and Farming Tools.

- A. Public supply of fertilizer and farming tools.

- B. No provision.
 - C. Acquisition of right by cultivators to control purchase and sale of fertilizer and farming implements.
 - D. State supply of fertilizer and farming tools.
- IV. Other Demands.
- D. Monopolization of chief agricultural products by workers.
 - D. Agricultural insurance by state.

DEMANDS FOR SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

- I. For Health Service.
- A. Expenses for health, hygiene and physical examinations should be paid by state treasury.
 - B. No provision.
 - C. Guarantee by state treasury of health and hygiene for non-property owners.
 - D. State institutions for insurance and hygiene.
- II. Payment of Pensions by State Treasury to Non-Property Owners and Infants, and because of Old Age and Disease.
- B. Establishment of insurance systems for unemployment, injury, old-age pensions, and disease.
 - C. Help for the aged, infants, and diseased people of the non-property owning class by the state treasury.
 - D. Help for the aged, infants, and diseased people by state treasury.
- III. In Connection with Education.
- A. Payment by state of all expenses for the duration of compulsory education of non-property owners.
 - B. Absolute reorganization of the educational system.
The extension of the duration of compulsory education and payment of the expenses for this from the state treasury.
 - C. Same as "A."
 - D. Completion of compulsory education system, the expenses to be paid by state treasury.
Education of non-property owners and completion of vocational education.
- IV. Housing Problems.
- C. Houses for laborers and tenant-farmers to be provided by land owners and capitalists—acquisition of their control.
Coordinating control of houses.

Besides the above clauses which were mostly common to all four proposals, there are some which are not common and yet very important. These are as follows:

B. To put industrial guilds under the influence of non-property owners.

D. State ownership of land. Administration of electricity by the state.

Establishment of industrial trade guilds. Administration of central bank by the state. The spread of proletarian banks. Limitation of armament. Establishment of an immigration policy.

—K. Yamakawa (trans. by Robert M. Kamide) in *Kaizo* (a leading liberal magazine of Japan), October 1925.



THE Y.W.C.A. AND WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

THE WORLD'S YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION AND INDUSTRY

Statements and recommendations of the World's Young Women's Christian Association showing its progressive appreciation of responsibility for women workers in industry throughout the world.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE, 1910

II. In consideration of the fact that present social and industrial conditions militate against the highest development of Christian womanhood, and in view of the service which the Young Women's Christian Association should render, it is recommended:

That the Association urge upon its leaders and members as a definite duty the study of the social and industrial problems of the day:

- (a) By investigation of the physical and economic requirements of working women.
- (b) By study of the means of amelioration which legislation and private endeavor offer for conditions under which women live and work.
- (c) By a careful examination of organizations among working women.

III. That the Association seek to bestow, as far as possible, its benefits not only on its members but also on all young women in the community, seeking to adapt itself to the peculiar needs of particular groups, such as factory workers, waitresses, saleswomen, clerks, laundresses, domestic servants, telephone operators, actresses and other professional women, students, girls

in rural districts, and so forth. We would also recommend to the National Committee of those countries where the immigration problem is an important one, that they seek to develop a spirit of responsibility on the part of the native women of the land for their foreign sisters, and plan definite activities to meet their special needs. Finally, we would urge the importance of placing a greater emphasis upon work among girls in the adolescent period.

IV. That the Association consider more seriously the social and intellectual development of its members:

.

- (c) By arranging courses, where necessary, which shall increase the greater efficiency of commercial and industrial workers, and give them wise teaching in the social measures and protective legislation enacted on their behalf.

.

VI. Since the great need of working women today constitutes a call from God to women of leisure and education to specialized service in the Young Women's Christian Association, the fourth conference recommends that the Association seek to develop among women of leisure such a sense of individual responsibility for the community life that they will be led to study the conditions of working women, and to embrace this opportunity to serve them, for the sake of Him who came not to be ministered unto but to minister.

FINDINGS OF THE INDUSTRIAL SECTION, WORLD'S Y. W. C. A.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

Champéry, Switzerland, June 1920

The Industrial Section desires to affirm its conviction that the world social order can only be made Christian through individuals whose life is devoted to the single purpose of doing God's will, who constantly renew that purpose in his presence, and who at all costs strive to carry their allegiance to Christ into every part of life.

Recommendation I

Whereas, we recognize that in the present social order there are many elements contrary to the principles of Christ, in that it ignores the sacredness of human personality, and by the acceptance of coercion and competition as ruling principles of human progress sets man against man and nation against nation; and

Whereas, we are persuaded that it is possible to change the present system and to introduce into national and international life the Christian principles of love and cooperation, and that to deny this possibility is to deny some of the most important teachings of Christ;

We recommend: That the Young Women's Christian Association, as a body of Christian women exercising an ever widening influence in many lands, recognize their share of responsibility for the maladjustments in the social order of today and make it their concern to inform themselves fully as to existing social conditions, and to apply the principles of justice, mercy and the equal value of every human life to national and international as well as to personal relations.

Recommendation 2

Whereas, we believe that the great hope for the civilization of the future lies in the permeation of the democratic movements and political bodies in every country with Christian ideals, and that this can only be achieved through an increase of mutual understanding and fellowship between groups who have in common the desire for social righteousness, although their methods may be diverse;

We recommend: That the Young Women's Christian Association seek every occasion to understand the ideals of and so far as possible to cooperate with other bodies who are striving to improve the conditions of the world in which we live.

Recommendation 3

Whereas, there are in every country great groups of industrial women with whom the Association has not yet established contact;

We recommend: That the Young Women's Christian Association make every effort to get into touch with those workers in far larger numbers through such means as foyers, clubs, camps, canteens and hostels; that in all such centers self-government shall be developed to the fullest possible extent, and that social and economic education and training for citizenship shall form part of the program, so that members may recognize their responsibilities and take their part in developing Christian ideals in their trade organizations and the life of the community.

Recommendation 4

Whereas, in the present imperfect social order it is necessary in the interests of justice that groups of industrial workers should have the opportunity of combining to improve their status and voice their needs;

We recommend: That the Young Women's Christian Association encourage organization among women workers, and give opportunity to its members, through lectures, discussion circles and other methods, to become acquainted with the principles underlying such organization.

Recommendation 5

Whereas, the International Labor Conference, established in connection with the League of Nations under Part 13 of the Peace Treaty, adopted at

its meeting in Washington, in November 1919, certain Draft Conventions and Recommendations as follows:

A. Draft Conventions:

1. Establishing an eight-hour day or forty-eight-hour week in industry.
2. Prohibiting night work by women of all ages.
3. Prohibiting night work by male young persons under eighteen. (Except in a very few continuous processes, in which only boys of sixteen years and upwards may be employed.)
4. Fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment at fourteen.
5. Prohibiting employment of women during six weeks after childbirth and granting them permission to leave work under medical certificate that their confinement will probably take place within six weeks (benefit sufficient for full and healthy maintenance of mother and child being provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of insurance; free attendance of doctor or midwife being an additional benefit).
6. Setting up free public employment agencies.

B. Recommendations:

1. For the prevention of unemployment.
2. Concerning reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers.
3. Of international action for the prevention of anthrax.
4. Of international agreement for the protection of women and children from lead-poisoning.
5. Concerning the creation of government health services.
6. Concerning the application of the Bern Convention, 1906, prohibiting the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

We recommend: That the Young Women's Christian Association urge the national Associations to express their approval of the above, and to support bills concerning these proposals when introduced into their various legislatures.

Note: In certain countries legislation on some of the above points is already in force.

Recommendation 6

In view of the above recommendations, and in order that they may be efficiently carried out,

We recommend:

1. That the World's Committee appoint an Industrial Committee and secretary with expert knowledge, who will make available, through the World's Young Women's Christian Association office, information regarding industrial and social conditions in the different countries.
2. That each national Association
 - (a) Appoint an industrial secretary.
 - (b) Provide definite teaching on industrial laws and conditions in their training centers for secretaries.
 - (c) Give opportunities for study and research to all Association leaders, workers and members.

Recommendation 7

We recommend: That each national Association in its capacity as an employer be urged to make operative the principles enunciated in the foregoing resolutions.

ACTION OF THE WORLD'S YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION FOLLOWING CHAMPÉRY

Appointment of Industrial Secretary

In accordance with Recommendation 6, the World's Executive Committee in 1921 appointed as industrial secretary Miss Mary A. Dingman, at that time executive secretary of the American Y. W. C. A. unit in France. Miss Dingman had been industrial secretary in the northeastern section of the Y. W. C. A. in the United States, and had had a varied experience of social and industrial work both in America and in France.

Shortly afterwards the committee mentioned in Recommendation 6 was brought together under the chairmanship of Miss Constance Smith, H.M. deputy chief inspector of factories under the British Government, well known for her wide and deep knowledge of international industrial legislation.

THE ASSOCIATION AND ITS INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST AT THE PRESENT DAY

From the findings of the International Commission, June 10-17, as approved by the World's Committee, June 19-21, St. Wolfgang, Austria, 1922.

I. In face of the world's desperate need, the chaos in industrial and economic conditions and world relationships, and the danger of lowered moral standards resulting from the disintegration of society following the war, and

In face of the serious problems confronting womanhood in all the countries of the world, arising out of the world's negation of the principles which Christ proclaimed, we believe that

The message of the Y. W. C. A. in presenting the claims of Christ is already implicit in the World's Y. W. C. A. basis, and is the same which the whole Christian Church should insistently proclaim—namely, the message of the love of God, giving through Jesus Christ deliverance both from individual and corporate sin, in social, national and international relationships, and leading into newness of life through the power of the Holy Spirit.

II. We realize that, while we have this message in common with the whole Church of Christ, we have distinctive opportunities and means for interpreting it.

1. Our world-wide scope which includes an appeal to all groups in the community and to women of all nations and of all faiths; our wide range and trained leadership, which give us in this new age for

women a special fitness for enabling them to meet the demands and responsibilities with which they are faced.

2. Our four-fold program, which enables us to give a tangible living presentation of Jesus Christ, who can transform human life in all its phases.
3. The youth of our membership, which makes it possible for us to mobilize young women for a large program of service.
4. Our wide outreach, e.g., through Industrial and Migration Departments, and the flexibility of our organization, which gives us the opportunity to experiment and pioneer.
5. Our special possibilities for promoting fellowship between women of different classes, religions, and nationalities.

III. Acknowledging the responsibility of these distinctive opportunities, we challenge all the Associations

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7. To recognize fearlessly corporate sin and to proclaim the necessity for corporate righteousness; showing that the present social, industrial and international conditions are far from being in accordance with the teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ; and calling upon Christians in these three relationships to live a life consistent with their faith.

THE AIM OF THE WORLD'S Y. W. C. A.

From the minutes of the Biennial Meeting of the World's Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association, Washington, May 14-16, 1924.

The growing feeling of responsibility of the Association to help in the solution of the industrial problem was expressed in the addition to the Aim of the World's Association: "to promote Christian principles of social and international conduct by encouraging the development of a right public conscience, such as shall strengthen all those forces which are working for the promotion of peace and better understanding between classes."

Since the whole membership of the Association has begun to realize that the industrial problem is inextricably bound up with all the confusing problems of today, and affects us all, we suggest as a practical program that we strengthen our work along three lines:

1. That we seek to place upon our whole membership in its local, national and world groupings an increased feeling of responsibility for the carrying out of this Aim.
2. That each member of the Association in those relationships of her own life which touch the industrial problem in even a small way try to find for herself Jesus' way of life.
3. That in our study of the problem and our search for solutions we work with other groups of men and women who are deeply concerned with the problem.

In order to carry out our Aim—to create a true spirit of internationalism—we pledge ourselves as members of the World's Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association:

1. To work steadily for the removal of barriers between nations, races and creeds by studying carefully, on the ground of reliable information only, the conditions of social, economic, racial and national life.
2. To use all the resources we have, alike as citizens and as members of the Association, for influencing public opinion.
3. To promote these endeavors among the members of our national Associations.

We suggest that each national committee consider the practicability of assigning responsibility for this to some special committee or group.

ACTIONS IN REGARD TO INDUSTRY

TAKEN AT THE OXFORD MEETING OF THE WORLD'S COMMITTEE, JULY 1926

That the national Associations throughout the world promote a special study of social, industrial and economic conditions in their respective countries with a view to the more complete carrying out of our aim, which calls for the creation of a right public opinion, and in preparation for a commission meeting to be held not later than the time of the next meeting of the World's Committee.

Further, that the recommendation embodied in Resolution 3 of the Champéry Industrial Findings be re-affirmed:* that social and economic education and training for citizenship shall form part of the program of all Association centers.

That one of the main subjects of the World's Conference in 1928 shall be the discussion of social, economic and industrial conditions as these affect the relation of nation to nation and the future peace of the world.

That the Young Women's Christian Association in all countries use its influence to have made effective throughout the world the labor standards recommended by the International Labor Bureau.

NATIONAL YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND INDUSTRY

The following extracts from recent reports give an idea of the attitude toward social and industrial questions taken by the Young Women's Christian Associations in different countries, both in the East and in the West.

CHINA

The Association in China provided the chairman for the commission studying social and industrial questions in China in preparation for the great

*See page 210.

church conference held in China in 1922. An outstanding result of this conference has been the acceptance of resolutions committing the church to definite responsibility in social and industrial conditions (see page 78). These resolutions cannot be quoted here, but the following recommendation of the National Committee defines the special sphere of action of the Y. W. C. A. (1921).

The Young Women's Christian Association can choose to begin the industrial program at one of two points: a program of recreational and other activities among employed women, or a program directed primarily toward the making of opinion. Inasmuch as the latter method is more characteristic of the Young Women's Christian Association's previous record in other countries, and is undoubtedly more fundamental, it is recommended that the National Committee begin at once to make a direct and accurate study of industrial conditions in typical centers, to equip it with the knowledge which will enable it to serve both employers and employees in the most constructive ways and help to create the public opinion that must precede legislation.

The National Christian Conference of China, 1922

The preparation for this conference was largely by commissions. In the spring of 1921 an industrial commission was appointed to bring in a report the following year as to the church's responsibility in the face of the growing industrial and economic problems. The Y. W. C. A. threw all its energies into helping this commission make its report. Information was collected from all over the country as to how industry was developing. Mr. Lucius Porter in his book, *China's Challenge to Christianity*, says of this report:

So significant and timely a report quickly assumed the form of a challenge. Here was a matter on which the united Church of China should and could speak—a definite task in which all could unite at once. To fail now in answering so obvious a challenge was to forego the opportunity of a decade, to be unpatriotic—and un-Christian. The following words tell the answer:

"Believing that the church cannot but accept this challenge, your committee offers the following recommendations: (1) That the church hasten to equip itself with all possible knowledge on the development of modern industry in China and on the experience of the West upon which we should draw for meeting the situation here. (2) That the church, recognizing the need for a labor standard for China, endorse the setting, as a goal, of the standard adopted at the First International Labor Conference of the League of Nations, dealing with hours of work, unemployment, employment of women before and after childbirth, night work for women and children, safeguarding the health of workers, child labor, etc. (3) That in view of the difficulty of immediate application of the League of Nations standard to the industrial situation in China the following standard be adopted and promoted by the church for application now: (a) No employment of children under twelve years of age; (b) one day's rest in seven; (c) the safeguarding of the health of workers; e.g., limitation of working hours, improvement of sanitary conditions, and installation of safety devices."

The threefold labor standard embedded in the above recommendations was passed by the 1,189 delegates with but one dissenting vote. It was further unanimously recommended that the newly organized National Christian Council give these standards the widest publicity.

The following year, a permanent Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council was appointed, and in various centers local industrial committees were formed. The industrial work of the Y. W. C. A. in China is done largely through these national and local groups. The appointment of the Child Labor Committee of Shanghai (page 78) was one of the practical results of this unified working.

Review of the Industrial Work of the Y. W. C. A. in China,
1923-1924

Social and Political Influences

In the early months of 1923 the Joint Committee of the Women's Social Service Clubs, of which the Y. W. C. A. is a part and called the meeting, having for more than a year been engaged on creating public opinion against the employment of child labor, drew up a protest to the Municipal Council. This and subsequent letters were published in the *Municipal Gazette*, and finally, in April, the council agreed to appoint a commission to inquire into the condition of child labor in the settlement. Miss Harrison was appointed a member of the commission.

In the last week of March the Chinese Government, partly as a result of long continued pressure from a small group, partly as the result of pressure from the workers, especially in connection with the Peking-Hankow railway strike, issued regulations concerning factories.

First National Convention

During the summer and early autumn the strictly Association work along industrial, as along all other lines, centered in preparation for the first national convention, to be held in October 1923.

A week or two previous to convention the National Christian Council Industrial Commission very opportunely had decided to send an appeal to the conventions of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and to other Christian bodies touching the industrial situation, urging cooperation among all groups tackling this question and a unification of policy and program under the direction of the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council, that being their officially constituted central body.

As regards the Y. W. C. A., it was then found that an affirmative reply to this appeal, if followed to its logical conclusion, would affect not only the industrial program, strictly so-called, but all forms of social service, education, and so on, since the effects of industry cannot be separated from the effects of other social conditions.

The position was presented to the convention by Miss Harrison, Miss Zung and Miss Haass, and a discussion of a very practical nature followed, after which the convention unanimously endorsed this reply to the National Christian Council:

The First National Convention of the Y. W. C. A., realizing that the workers in China have no opportunity to attain fulness of life, welcomes the appeal from the N. C. C. and is willing to cooperate with the council in its effort to solve the social and industrial problems of China.

The end of the year, then, saw the work of the Y. W. C. A. national Industrial Department merged almost entirely in the work of other bodies, and in 1925 Miss Lily Haass, a member of the Chinese Y. W. C. A. national staff, was released for three years to act as secretary of the industrial Committee of the National Christian Council, her salary being borne jointly by the National Committee of the Y. W. C. A. and the N. C. C.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Young Women's Christian Association has an Industrial Law Bureau, the work of which is carried out by a national committee of the Y. W. C. A. consisting of experts and others especially interested in industrial matters. The objects of this bureau are:

1. To promote among social and industrial workers and those directly or indirectly concerned with the employment of women and girls a knowledge of the existing industrial laws.
2. To collect information with regard to conditions of employment which need alteration and to help to promote further legislation, when necessary, in the following ways:
 - a. By putting before the government department concerned any evidence which may have been obtained of conditions calling for amended or new legislation.
 - b. By cooperating with other organizations which have for their object social and industrial reform.
 - c. By seeking to rouse public opinion with regard to any special need for industrial legislation.
3. To constitute a central body to which may be reported breaches of the law and other matters relating to women in industrial, commercial and domestic employment, in order that they may be inquired into and referred to the proper authorities and otherwise treated as may be deemed advisable.

The Work of the Bureau

Through the bureau much practical help is given by means of lectures, etc. It also provides leaders for small study groups and debates. It publishes literature from time to time and initiates inquiries into working conditions which need investigation. Should any action be thought necessary as a result of inquiry, the bureau advises the Executive Committee of the Y. W. C. A. accordingly. The department receives both inquiries and

complaints connected with the various acts that regulate the employment and working conditions of women and girls. In connection with the bureau there is also a Health Section which is a bureau of the National Federation of Women Workers' Approved Society.

The Association in Great Britain through its Industrial Law Bureau has been closely connected with the industrial work of the Association in China. Here are some examples:

1. When the Chinese government prohibited the use of white phosphorus, (see pages 85-86) there was little if any information on the subject in China. Miss Dingman wrote to the Industrial Law Bureau asking for help. One of its members, Miss Carbutt, prepared a memorandum that summed up the experience of the countries on this difficult question and this was sent to China without delay.
2. Largely as a result of the information that was sent back from China to the various national industrial committees of the Y. W. C. A., a question was asked in the House of Commons about the condition of British-owned factories in China. This led to an inquiry and the result appeared later in an official pamphlet published by the British government.
3. At the C.O.P.E.C. conference* held in England in April 1924, the industrial situation of China—and the western responsibility towards it—was brought to the floor of that gathering as a result of the efforts of some of the Industrial Law Bureau members who were present. This was done in connection with Resolution V of the International Commission's report, which read:

In international as well as in national relationships, the method and result of industry and commerce must be judged by their contribution to the service of mankind.

Miss Shin Tak Hing, Miss Agatha Harrison, and Miss Rhoda McCulloch spoke to this resolution and the following addition was made:

And in this connection:

The conference expresses its concern at the grave situation which has resulted from the introduction of western industrial methods in the East, and instructs any committee appointed to carry on the work of the conference to cooperate with groups in other countries which are dealing with this problem.

4. Finally, in connection with the effort to regulate child labor in the International Settlement in Shanghai—the Association people working on the problem in China sent to the various national industrial committees for help in arousing a public opinion in their own coun-

*See page 39.

tries. In *Threads*, recently [1925] published by the Chinese Y. W. C. A., the results of this request are clearly shown. Here can be seen how the industrial work of the Y. W. C. A. is a practical international force.

INDIA

The following resolution was taken at the 1920 quadrennial meeting of the whole Association, representing India, Burma and Ceylon.

Resolved: That local Associations be urged to investigate conditions under which women work and to cooperate with employers in securing a living wage where that is not given, on the ground that every employed woman is entitled to such; and shorter hours, not exceeding eight per day. That the Young Women's Christian Association seek to understand the ideals of and as far as possible cooperate with other organizations seeking to improve conditions either through legislation or public opinion.

Report of Revision Commission of the India National Committee, 1924

The commission considered what responsibility the Association should take for lines of Indian work that it has not yet done. It considered the recommendation made at the quadrennial conference at Ranchi in 1920, namely, "that welfare work in factories and shops comes within the scope of the Y. W. C. A. and that it should be undertaken in the future as opportunity offers." The commission is of the opinion that the Association should not disclaim responsibility for industrial welfare work, but it believes that the Association can not itself usefully do direct welfare work on any considerable scale; and it considers that the Association can give its best help in this matter by cooperating with the Indian Church and other Christian bodies in examining conditions and in trying to discover the Christian solution of industrial problems and the way in which conditions may be improved.

The commission therefore recommends:

1. That instead of undertaking direct responsibility for industrial work among Indians, the Association confer with other bodies, in particular with the National Christian Council, and seek in cooperation with them to arouse and educate the Christian conscience in India with regard to industrial conditions.
2. That Miss Wingate (one of the secretaries) be asked to consult with such bodies and bring definite proposals to the India National Committee.

Action of 1925 Quadrennial Conference:

IX. Industrial Work.

1. That as the subject of industrial work among Indians is one that directly affects women and children, the Association regard it as its special responsibility, and in view of that, employ every possible means

within its scope, such as lectures, study and discussion groups and pamphlets, both locally and nationally, to arouse intelligent interest among the members with regard to industrial conditions.

2. That, since, owing to lack of adequate resources, [the Association is unable] at present to undertake full direct responsibility for such work, the Association cooperate with other bodies, in particular with the National Christian Council.

The weaving school at Serampore, inspired by Miss Maya Das in 1921 and fostered by the Y. W. C. A. under Miss Elizabeth Wilson (U. S. A.), was taken over by the Bengal Government in January 1925.

JAPAN

At the first convention of the Japan Y. W. C. A., held in October 1925, for national organization of the Associations of that country, the convention instructed the National Committee to appoint a committee to begin a study of industrial conditions as they affect women, and to be ready to make definite recommendations to the next convention.

THE UNITED STATES

The charter for the development of the work of the Young Women's Christian Association in its industrial life was based upon the memorable Berlin recommendations (see page 208). In its national convention in Indianapolis, in 1911, the Association endorsed and made definite application to the questions of hours and wages for women in industry. From that time also the development of self-governing clubs of industrial women became a definite part of the program. A natural next step was industrial conferences, in which delegates from various communities became aware of problems common to them as industrial women.

In 1919 the first national industrial conference of the Young Women's Christian Association met in Washington, with the consent of the Executive Committee of the National Board. Here the industrial girls stated the aims which they believed the Association should support them in trying to attain, if it is sincere in its purpose of making possible an abundant life for all women. The result of this statement from the industrial membership was the adoption at the Cleveland Convention in 1920 of the "Social Ideals of the Churches."

At the next two conventions, Hot Springs, 1922, and New York, 1924, resolutions were adopted making a direct application of the Association's social responsibility to the field of international relations. During these years the industrial membership also had been developing an interest and a sense of responsibility for industrial women in other countries. This was expressed in the following resolution passed at the Industrial Assembly held in connection with the New York Convention.

That this assembly recommend to the Executive Committee that it recommend to summer conferences that all industrial girls all over the country study the question of industrial women in the world and promote this study throughout the Association.

At the third industrial assembly, meeting at Milwaukee in 1926, a still further step was taken, evidenced by the following resumé of discussions centering around the subject, "Legislation at Home and Abroad."

Because "the kinship of labor is as wide as life" there is felt in the world today a need for international group consciousness which if aroused will in time bring about international legislation. There are ways by which we can help to secure this. One way is through cooperation with the Womens' Trade Union League, the Board of Foreign Missions (see pages 40 and 45), and other organizations which are becoming aware of the working conditions of women in other countries. If we get a high standard of working conditions in our own country, in time this will help workers in other countries to make their standards higher. When sending money abroad we should see that it promotes Christian tendencies. A study and understanding of the International Labor Office, whose purpose is promoting social action in all countries, is one of the big steps toward understanding this great problem.