

and dirty. The landlord threatened to raise it soon. Groceries for the family cost from \$25 to \$30 in two weeks. This purchases a very small and inadequate supply. They do not know how much meat costs. Horlich's milk for the small baby costs about 25 cents a day. The mother thinks it necessary to pay this, as she lost another baby because of improper feeding. She says that she can spend very little on clothes. She has had only one suit in six years. Friends have given her clothes for the children to help out. She says she wishes the strike had never happened, and is rather discouraged about it. Nevertheless, she thinks the men ought to have better conditions and wants the men to win out. She is indignant that so many of the higher paid men are still at work, and thinks they ought to come out to help the others.

Place—Homestead, Pa.

Nationality—Slav from Austria-Hungary

D. did repair work on machines and furnaces, working 12 and 13 hours a day, and sometimes 36 hours at a stretch. Once he objected to doing overtime work when he was very tired and was laid off for a week as a penalty. His work was dangerous, yet he earned only 45 cents an hour. He has three children.

Rent for three rooms, a parlor, kitchen and bedroom, is \$16. There is water in the kitchen, but the room is so dark that the gas must be kept burning all the time. The woman cooks with it, and also heats other rooms with it in winter. Groceries cost \$40 a month, meat from \$25 to \$30, milk \$4.50. Shoes for the children last only one or two months and cost from \$5 to \$6 a pair. The man and his wife both belong to two lodges, and pay from \$14 to \$15 a month to them. The children are also insured, and 20 cents a month is paid for them. The lodge pays \$5 a week in case of sickness, \$1,000 in case of death of the man, \$250 in case of death of a child.

They had bought bonds worth \$450, \$350 of this they had spent before the strike for necessary food and the expenses of the baby's christening. The remaining \$100 they had spent during the strike. They have no savings.

I asked the woman if she thought she was better off in Amer-

ica than if she had stayed in Austria-Hungary and she said she didn't know. She had lived in Homestead for fifteen years and could not afford to move anywhere else in order to get better conditions. She knew nothing about other parts of America. Her husband said he has his first citizenship papers, but had not yet gotten his second. He told me indignantly that some strikers had applied for their second papers in Pittsburgh, but had been refused because they were on strike.

The wife told me she wanted her husband to stay on strike till he got shorter hours and better conditions. She did not "want a bad name on her children."

Place—Homestead, Pa.

Nationality—Slavish

V. was a millwright in the open hearth department, working 12 hours a day, and sometimes 7 days a week. He earned 45 cents an hour, or from \$100 to \$105 in two weeks. There are seven children in the family.

They pay \$10 a month rent for two rooms in a rear house. There is running water in the kitchen, but the only toilet is in the yard, which also has open drains. They have tried to get a better apartment with three rooms, but cannot find one, for landlords object to such a large family of children and will not rent to them. Groceries cost them about \$60 a month, meat about \$29 or \$30, milk \$5. One of the daughters works in the grocery store, earning \$10 a week, and the family are obliged to trade there, so she will not lose her position. Coal costs them \$20 a year—perhaps more. Monthly dues to the "society" which pays sick benefits and death benefits are \$5 for the man and his wife, \$1.20 for the children. The children go to Slavish school, and something must be paid for their tuition also.

They have been unable to save anything with the exception of \$800 in Liberty Bonds, which they had at the beginning of the strike. These have all been sold since then, with a loss of \$4 or \$5 on each one. The company deducted \$50 a month from the man's pay while he was buying his bonds. The wife

fight this battle through to the end. I am going to help my fellow workmen show Judge Gary that he can't act as if he was a king or kaiser and tell them how long they have got to work!"

All the foregoing analysis, finally, applies to only about one-third of the employees, and that third the better paid, shorter-houred, better treated, the skilled, the "Americans." If the Corporation's "welfare," which applies principally to this third, leaves so many with such a viewpoint, it becomes practically negligible, as an emollient in consideration of the two-thirds, the "hunkies," particularly *if the Corporation's system of production and control creates even more grievances among the immigrants* than among the Americans.

How does the basic organization of the steel industry affect the "hunky job"? Below the skilled, who form the apex of the pyramid, comes the indefinable mass of the semi-skilled; beneath these, the mass of the unskilled, mainly classed as common labor. The loyalizing forces of the militarized organization are loose among the semi-skilled and scarcely exist at all among the unskilled. The bulk of both sections, of course, is recruited from the fifty nationalities, more or less, making up the foreigners, mostly Slavs.¹ At the top of the semi-skilled there is no sharp dividing line from the skilled. Heaters' helpers, melters' helpers, the helpers closest to rollers, blowers, etc., hold jobs requiring a training which takes years; in these jobs the influence of possible promotion, the pull of seniority, is almost as strong as among the highly skilled jobs. In the jobs below these, where pay and skill are less, the influence of possible promotion is also less, and so on, down through the whole range of jobs beneath the

¹ Some idea of the number of races in the steel industry is given by the following table, submitted to the Senate investigating committee by the superintendent of the Homestead plant. It is not typical of the industry in two respects: (a) the small proportion of Slavs, Greeks and Italians; (b) the large proportion of Americans, due to the un-

hierarchy of the skilled and the upper half of the semi-skilled, the prospect of promotion becomes more and more remote, the militarizing influence rapidly lessens, until at the bottom the whole mass of common labor, the broad base of the pyramid of steel, is fluid. The jobs are not clearly defined, the capabilities for the jobs are largely brawn, and the holders of the jobs can be and are switched about. Not but that even the heavy common labor jobs in steel require a certain degree of training, rather knack, but the "know-how" can be learned in a few days or weeks at most, and if not learned the job can still somehow be done, though badly and with

usual number of negroes. Fifty-four races are given, or 52 non-American. (Senate testimony, Vol. II, p. 480.)

Nationality report, Homestead Steel Works, Howard Azle Works, Carrie Furnaces, Oct. 8, 1919.

Nationality	Number	Per cent.	Nationality	Number	Per cent.
American	5,799	39.45	Kreiner (Slovanian)	6	0.04
Armenian	15	.10	Lithuanian	238	1.62
Austrian	42	.29	Macedonian	4	.03
Arabian	5	.30	Mexican	130	.89
Albanian	25	.17	Negro:		
Austro-Servian	1	.01	American	1,734	11.80
Belgian	3	.02	British	1	.01
Bohemian	2	.01	East India	1	.01
Brazilian	1	.01	West India	1	.01
Bulgarian	67	.46	Norwegian	4	.03
Canadian	20	.14	Polish	432	2.94
Croatian (Horvat)	299	2.04	Portuguese	1	.01
Cuban	2	.01	Porto Rican	18	.12
Dalmatian	9	.06	Roumanian	49	.33
Danish	6	.04	Russian	628	4.28
English	424	2.89	Ruthenian	1	.01
Filipino	1	.01	Saxon	4	.03
Finnish	7	.05	Scotch	226	1.54
French	7	.05	Slovak	2,373	16.15
German	219	1.49	Servian	26	.18
Greek	267	1.82	Spanish	48	.33
Hebrew	11	.07	Swede	74	.50
Hindu	1	.01	Swiss	11	.07
Hollander	6	.04	Syrian	9	.06
Hungarian (Magyar)	574	3.91	Turk	53	.36
Indian	3	.02	Welsh	91	.62
Irish	443	3.02			
Italian	264	1.80	Total	14,687	100.6
Japanese	1	.01			

bad effects on the clumsy worker. Every sort of long, hard, hot, heavy work, from shoveling weighty substances into the maws of white-hot furnaces or sledging to pieces still-hot masses of metal or slag, to picking up or putting down or heaving or carrying pipes, hot bricks, planks, great iron hooks, sheets of metal, largely with an accompaniment of grease, noise, sweat or danger—these make up the steel jobs and the dirt, grease, heat and long hours generally increase the lower the job is in the pyramid. Finally, the pay-rate of the common labor at the bottom, the lowest of all, of course, is the base from which all other wage rates are ranked.

The semi-skilled is the growing group in the whole industry. The mechanizing of processes in the past two decades has revolutionized the industry, each new machine displacing skilled men at the top and unskilled at the bottom. More and more the steel job tends to become the job of a machine, each new machine tending to abolish either the occupations of a dozen common laborers in favor of one semi-skilled man or of a few skilled men in favor of one not so skilled. More and more the making of steel requires a type different from either the brawny Fafnir who used to wield the "peel" or the versatile brainy man who could do many things with many complicated machines. The new type is the slighter, weaker man with intelligence a little above the common laborer, who can handle with accuracy a few levers on some crane, charging machine, or "skip." He must not have too much brain or he will revolt at the deadly monotony of moving his few levers on his one machine ten to fourteen hours a day and from three hundred to three hundred and forty days in the year.

In these jobs, of the lower half of the semi-skilled and all of the unskilled, two things are all-important: the disagreeableness of the job and the length of time the worker is kept at it. The lure of immediate promotion is small, one or two

cents more an hour, no change in the length of the day and mainly the added satisfaction of slightly greater security, inasmuch as it is always forty-two-cent common labor that gets laid off or fired first when work is slack. Hours and wages, then, are the great grievance of common labor, with denial of promotion entering in according to the job's height in the scale of the semi-skilled. In the upper half of the semi-skilled the lure of promotion takes hold of the worker out of all proportion almost even in comparison with the skilled American worker higher up; for it is this almost-skilled worker, of five to fifteen years' experience in the business, who remembers most keenly the dirt, heat and drudgery from which he ascended and who feels most poignantly the failure to win promotion still higher if the discrimination against him is based solely on the one thing he cannot get away from,—his race.

For common labor, then, grievances primarily concern too low wages, too long hours and the arbitrariness of the foreman; he feels little their connection with the company's labor policy; for the semi-skilled, grievances are less concerned with wages, more with hours and most sharply with discrimination based on race and preventing promotion, and through this, a great deal with the company's labor policy.

Here is the sum of grievances and the life and progress of the immigrant steel worker as determined from hundreds of interviews: The Slav, Pole, Serb, Croat, Russian, Greek, Magyar, Jew, Roumanian or Turk is nine times out of ten, a peasant, taking an industrial job for the first time. At the start, only as the wages fail to keep him and his family as he wants them to be kept, or the hours break down his health, does he care much about "controlling" either wages or hours. What matters most to him is that if the mill is shut down he is the first to be laid off; if the job is unusually hot, greasy or heavy, he is the first to be set to

it. He is the most arbitrarily, often brutally, shifted and ordered about; if he takes a lay-off, he is the most likely to pay for it with his job; if he is late a few minutes he is the most likely to be heavily docked and he is the most likely to be kept beyond his hour with no additional pay. If there is sickness in his home or he is otherwise kept away, his excuses get the shortest shrift. If he is the butt of unusual prejudice in either his foreman or some fellow-worker, evinced in profanity or the penalties of always the nastier task, he knows least where to go for redress or how to speak it.

As the years go on and he works on up, the right to his job, the fear of losing it or of being shifted become more important and he is the one to value most his security in promotion. He finds he is the one whose personal preference counts least and the bar that stands out strongest in his mind is not being an "American." "That job is not a hunky's job; you can't have it," is the answer that destroys his confidence in himself. He can't change his race; he can't change his foreman and he cannot get above the foreman. By this stage in the progress he has become sufficiently Americanized to want higher wages and shorter hours, he wants better living and more recognition as a human being and less as a hunky, but he finds himself in the grip of a system which regulates his hours by whistle, his wages by bulletin-board, his grievances by rebuff. In this stage the union organizer found tens of thousands in the steel industry to whom the strike was very considerably a revolt against arbitrary control, as it was principally for the Americans and hardly at all for the common laborer. Of the "foreigners," this class is the one left by the strike in the most rebellious frame of mind and most likely to answer another strike call.

It is entirely possible that this state of things is almost unknown to the corporation officials who assured the public and the Senate investigating committee that the steel workers

were "satisfied" and "contented," and that "there was no cause for the strike." It has been pointed out elsewhere that Mr. Gary has admittedly no functioning open and above-board system of learning what his workmen think. If the Corporation even had an efficient system of redressing daily grievances, leaving totally out of consideration hours and wages, Mr. Gary would inevitably learn these things. Most of the companies now have employment systems which are efficient in turning out statistics concerning the labor force gleaned from two points of contact; hiring and firing. In between, the most important time of all, these systems admittedly have no contact. The employment managers rely on the foremen, "cooperate" with the welfare workers and fundamentally are powerless to do anything. Consideration of wages and hours is clean out of their province, and as more than half the remaining grievances deal with the foreman, who is their co-worker, they are a futility as far as any redress is concerned and not only do they know it, but the mass of steel workers know it too. The general test of an employment manager's success, in the estimation of his superintendent, is whether or not he is successful in keeping complaints from bothering the superintendent. What with his powerlessness and with the prevalence of the system, the employment manager, whatever his human desires, quickly falls into the way of steel—to refuse, rebuff, browbeat, or, finally, to "get-to-hell-out," that is, fire.

Here are typical statements of grievances of the lesser skilled taken from Inquiry investigators' notebooks or from Senate Committee testimony, just as the workers disjointedly spill them out. They could be duplicated to the point of boredom.

J— W—, a Czech, (Homestead) was a miner during his first two years in this country. Learned to speak English in the mines. Is married, with two children, owns his