

Mr. Fitch now evidently believes were primarily designed to head off unionism, and in the establishment of profit-sharing and pension plans. The methods on the other hand may be direct. Workmen interested in the union may be discharged and blacklisted, union meetings broken up, spies and under-cover men planted in the shop and in the union itself to report developments, and the workmen forced, to sign the individual contract by which they are prevented from joining the union while continuing a member of the working force. One of the most graphic chapters is that dealing with company towns, where Mr. Fitch shows from an abundance of personal experience and documentary sources, that the employers possess almost feudal power. The reviewer believes that the struggle for unionism in the coal fields and certain sections of the iron and steel industry has been caused not merely by the desire to secure higher wages and better working conditions, but also by the natural desire of men for freedom.

Mr. Fitch's discussion of the technique of strikes is extraordinarily realistic. While the strike may indeed be a method of nonviolent coercion, in practice violence tends to be used, or at least tacitly threatened by one side or the other. The success of the strikers depends on their preventing the employers from filling their places, and they regard those who have stayed at work and those who have taken their positions as traitors. Their picketing is consequently likely to be threatening or violent in nature. The employers on the other hand frequently use force to break the morale of the strikers and have their guards or groups of "citizens" assault the strike leaders. It is small wonder therefore that many of our strikes have been miniature civil wars.

The government in such emergencies is supposed to preserve order. But since the preservation of order implies maintaining the free access of the employer to his labor supply, the workers generally feel that the police, by protecting the strike-breakers, are directly supporting the employer. The strikers therefore, tend to feel that the forces of the law are hostile to them even when the public officials are trying to be impartial. Unfortunately, however, there are all too many instances where as in Colorado, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania, the full weight of public power has been used to break the strike. While there are instances when the workers have used the state to bolster up their acts, as was notably the case in Herrin, Illinois, in the main, of course, the influence of the employers upon public officials is the stronger and hence the state has been more frequently their partisan.

This greater political power of the employers shows itself also in the predominant attitudes of our legislatures and courts. Mr. Fitch shows that the unions now do not want protective legislation in the matter of wages and hours save for women and children. They are only slowly, moreover, coming to demand legal protection against the industrial risks. What they primarily want from the law is to be let alone, and to be allowed a free hand in the conduct of their strikes. Court decisions, however, have virtually vitiated the Clayton Act while the Adair, Coppage and Hitchman cases have steadily strengthened the use of the "yellow-dog contract" at the same time that an

extraordinary extension of the injunction has made the conduct of their strikes more difficult. When to all this are added the various decisions of the United States Supreme Court which have held the Child Labor and Minimum Wage Laws to be unconstitutional, it is not to be wondered at that the mass of the unionists have become convinced that the courts are prejudiced in favor of the employers' interests.

Mr. Fitch concludes by pointing out that there is a wide area over which the interests of workers and employers are identical and in which they may cooperate. There is a real clash of interests, however, over the division of the product. A permanent settlement of all issues cannot be made both because of this fact and because labor's goal is an ever-advancing one. In the words of Woodrow Wilson, however, "permanent processes" can be set up along the lines in which Hart, Schaffner and Marx have so well pointed the way.

Both workmen and employers have much to learn from this work. Each group will secure from it a more vivid and sympathetic appreciation of the problems and grievances of the other. Its wide circulation among the leaders of both camps would be one of the most effective contributions to a peaceful adjustment of industrial issues that could be made.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

University of Chicago and Amherst College.

#### Index to Volume IX

The index to Volume IX is so located in this issue that it may easily be removed for binding with this volume of the BULLETIN. Open the issue at the middle; lift the points of the staples with a knife blade or envelope opener; remove the title page, index and half-title page; then press down the points of the staples.

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BULLETIN OF THE

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and others

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