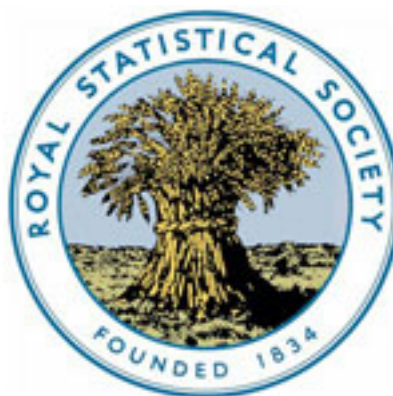


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Law and Order in Industry; Five Years' Experience by Julius Henry Cohen

Review by: H. W. M.

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France and Russia, but we do not read of any intention to modify the French Customs in favour of the United Kingdom.

The book is evidence of the widespread interest being taken in questions of trade, and will provide the French politician with plenty of matter for discussion.

A.D.W.

12.—*Law and Order in Industry; Five Years' Experience.* By Julius Henry Cohen. xviii + 292 pp., 8vo. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916. Price 6s. 6d. net.

In 1910 there were 1,696 collective agreements in Great Britain involving 2,400,000 persons; in the same year there was established the principle of collective bargaining in the cloak and suit industry of New York, and the story of its working is the theme of this book. One's first reflection is that America's claim to be the leading industrial country and the home of liberty and comfort and all the rest of it seems to consist mainly in stumbling along at an immodest distance behind Great Britain. The second is that Dr. Dana Durand's protest (in his recent book on *The Trust Problem*) that the United States have not yet made a full trial of competition is singularly ill-timed. In the garment industry of New York anarchy ruled among the employers, anarchy and violence among the employees. The year 1907 saw a bitter strike because a factory owner altered the dinner-hour of his "hands" in order to prevent the women from thronging Fifth Avenue and interfering with the comfort of the lady customers of the department stores. In 1910 there was a bitter strike in the cloak and suit industry for the "closed" or "union" shop, involving nearly 60,000 people. The union ultimately withdrew their claim, and the best of the employers being sick of anarchy and warfare, a "Protocol Agreement" of peace was signed on September 2. "By this document there was created a Board of Arbitration, "consisting of the appointee of both sides and a third person chosen "by both, a Board of Sanitary Control made up of representatives "of the employers, workers, and the public, and a Board of Grievances "made up of representatives of both sides."

The Board of Sanitary Control was most successful, although State and local inspection had broken down. "Under the "jurisdiction created by the few lines in the Protocol, this institution "had raised the sanitary standing of the entire city, affecting the "health and lives of not less than eighty thousand workers, had "established a system of regular fire-drills, a system of careful medical "examination for the workers who applied for it, had created a "Sick Benefit Fund, had worked out measures for fire protection, "first aid to the injured, had studied a plan for insurance against "tuberculosis and other infectious diseases, and had given instruction "in hygiene to the workers themselves." Voluntary effort, in fact, came to the rescue of a broken-down government. The Board of Grievances dealt with shop questions, and followed the Lancashire plan of enquiring by "clerks" or official representatives of both sides,

who had power to adjust disputes with an ultimate appeal to the Board. In two years 97·7 per cent. of the disputes were settled by the clerks and 179 or 2·3 per cent. went to the Board of Grievances, only 20 of these being referred to the Board of Arbitration. In four and a half years about 16,000 cases were decided by the two Boards.

Troubles arose in 1913 owing to the competition of the large manufacturer and the small shop and the failure to bring about equality of standards between the two. This created an anti-Protocol party among the manufacturers. Worse trouble came in 1915. The basis of the Protocol was that it established standard minimum weekly scales of wages and that the employers cordially recognized the union and undertook to give preference to unionists. Now after overpraise came disappointment, extremists in the union proclaimed the class-war, and a violent quarrel broke out over the alleged discharge of unionists. There were shop strikes contrary to the Protocol, and ultimately the agreement was denounced by the employers. A reversion to anarchy was unthinkable, arbitration was agreed on, and the Mayor's Council of Conciliation was set up. It decided that the employer must under present conditions be "free and unhampered in the performance of the administrative functions which belong to him," including the selection of his employees, the dismissal of the incompetent, insubordinate, or unfit, the *bonā fide* reorganization of his shop, and the assignment of superior work to more skilled workers; the distribution of work in slack seasons was commendable but did not constitute the right to a job, and the fluctuations of employment were to be removed as far as possible "by means of earnest efforts to regularize employment and by such increase of wages as will secure an average adequate for the maintenance of a decent standard of living throughout the year." Sundry improvements in organization were made and the Protocol was renewed for two years.

Mr. Cohen says that employers accept collective bargaining "in theory and in principle. What they want to know is how to run business by it." Well, we have largely learned that in Great Britain. What has to be learned in America is, says Mr. Cohen, that anarchy must cease—anarchy "indicative of an insidious and dangerous moral disorder running through the whole of American life. It is, indeed, the hypocritical homage to a law which the American democracy does not intend to obey except when convenient." The practical trouble is the impossibility of competing against unscrupulous employers who maintain lower standards outside the employers' association. Mr. Cohen believes that ultimately there will have to be a Federal law imposing the conditions of voluntary agreements "upon the unscrupulous and illegitimate minority employer"—a development which has found much support in this country also.

This is a most useful and instructive book, written with detailed knowledge, for Mr. Cohen was counsel to the employers' association and one of the chief builders of a treaty of peace which has been

copied in several other American industries. He has appended transcripts of the Protocol and other chief documents illustrative of the working of the scheme. With his own account they make a wonderful story of the progress out of anarchy to regulation and freedom.

H.W.M.

13.—*The Authentic History of the United States Steel Corporation.* By Arundel Cotter. x + 231 pp., 8vo. New York: The Moody Magazine and Book Co., 1916.

Government investigations, magazine articles, professional exegetics, stump orator denunciations have now swelled the literature of the Steel Trust to a vast bulk. From the uttermost ore quarry on the Mesaba to the export agencies from Korea to Roumania, everything has been investigated, probed, depicted and described. A collection of the photographs that have been published would furnish a large gallery, and if one set out to "grangerize" the Bureau of Corporations' Reports in the manner of by-gone book-collectors their modest volumes would soon swell to gargantuan proportions. One aspect of the Billion-Dollar Trust has, however, up to now escaped full attention, and Mr. Cotter, thrilled by listening to the testimony given in the suit brought by the United States Government for the dissolution of the Corporation, was inspired to remedy this defect. We all have heard of the "uplift movement" in the United States, which shamed us dull Europeans with our unobtrusive ways of doing things, our simple regard for treaties and principles, our inability to make a new heaven out of a crèche or a new earth out of some psychologically efficient system of nigger-driving. Few of us nevertheless have guessed that the United States Steel Corporation was an integral part of this movement, a concrete example of its blessings, a veritable Herald of the Golden Age. Yet so it is.

In the old bad days before 1901 when Andrew Carnegie was Steel King and steel was "either Prince or pauper," competition was ruthless and Andrew was pitiless. "Steel makers resorted to "every means that offered to divert orders from competitors to "themselves. It was a case of dog eat dog." Pool followed pool to limit competition, but "it is doubtful if a single pool agreement, "and their number was infinite, was ever honestly kept. Old steel-makers chuckle to-day as they relate how each representative "of a company taking part in a pool sought to gain an advantage "over his competitors while the pool was yet a-borning" (Mr. Cotter has plenty of words like this; "worriment" is another). Indeed, one would not be surprised if Mr. Cotter had read with approval that somewhat malicious volume on *The Carnegie Millions* by Mr. James H. Bridge. Then arose Mr. Elbert H. Gary of the Federal and Illinois Steel Companies with a new idea. "Where "Carnegie sought to unify the control of the steel trade and bring "it into his own hands, Gary sought to make it an industry owned by "the people, and particularly by the workers." But J. P. Morgan would not find the money for a development of the Federal on these