An Investigation of Certain Modern Economic Problems in the Light of the Teachings of Jesus

Albert T. Fitts

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AN INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN MODERN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
IN THE LIGHT OF THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE COMMITTEE OF BUTLER UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY.

BY
ALBERT THEODORE FITTS, KIMBERLIN HEIGHTS, TENNESSEE.
The writer is indebted to Professor Tolbert F. Reavis, head of the department of Sociology in Butler University, for his general theme and also for many valuable suggestions in this field, and to Dean Frederick D. Kershner of the College of Religion for suggesting the specific theme which we have adopted. The final decision was made at the close of the writer's work in both departments in the Summer Session of 1930. He is indebted to Dean Kershner, furthermore, for selecting the Elizabethton strike as the special economic problem for investigation in the light of the teachings of Jesus.

The purpose of this thesis is to attempt to show that the teachings of Jesus, when properly applied, will solve all industrial problems in general, and in particular, those such as were connected with the Elizabethton strike of 1929.

Following the suggestion of Dean Kershner, the writer spent about a month in Elizabethton and vicinity, gathering data, both historical and pertaining to the strike situation. He is under obligation to Mrs. Frank Seiler of Elizabethton, who is a great-great-granddaughter of John Carter, the first President of the Watauga Association, and the great-granddaughter of Landon Carter, for whom the County is named, for invaluable aid by both giving him
first-hand information and also information handed down from the organization of the Watauga Association to the present time. She was Sec. of the Tenn. D.A.R., 1924-26; Vice Pres. Tenn. U.S.D., 1912-25, and Director of Woman's Work in the Red Cross during the World War.

Mrs. Seiler gave us material aid by placing at our disposal several books containing very valuable information on the subject, notably, James Gettys Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee" and Samuel Cole Williams' "Lost State of Franklin".

Finally, the writer is under obligation to the Editor of the Elizabethton Star, a live daily paper of the City, for throwing open the files of the paper to him, enabling him to review the progress of the strike from its incipiency to its close; to J. J. Whitehouse, Pastor of the First Christian Church of Johnson City, and to J. J. Musick, Pastor of the First Christian Church of Elizabethton, each of whom greatly facilitated him in his investigations during his stay in the vicinity. To all of these and any others who, either directly or indirectly, contributed to the gathering together of the data utilized in this thesis, he extends his profound appreciation, and desires that they have their part of whatever credit may be received by this humble effort.

The Author.
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AN INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN MODERN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

IN THE LIGHT OF THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS

I. INTRODUCTION.

It is the purpose in this thesis to ascertain if the teachings of Jesus, when properly applied, will not solve the whole problem of capital and labor, thus eliminating all of the confusion resulting from strikes, lockouts, picketings, and other troubles incidental to our competitive system.

There have been many valuable treatises on kindred themes written pertaining to the teachings of Jesus as related to modern economic problems; such as Walter Rauschenbusch's "Christianity and the Social Crisis"; Shaler Mathew's "Spiritual Interpretation of History", and also his "The Social Teachings of Jesus"; Francis Greenwood Peabody's "Jesus Christ and the Social Question"; also his two lectures, "The Social Teachings of Jesus Christ"; Ellwood's "Sociology and Modern Social Problems"; Phillips Brooks' "The Influence of Jesus"; R. J. Campbell's "Christianity and the Social Order"; H. G. King's "Theology and the Social Consciousness"; Newell Dwight Hillis' "The Influence of Jesus in Modern Life"; Roger Babson's "Religion and Business", and others, too numerous to mention.

While all of these deal more or less with the application of the teachings of Jesus to modern economic problems, the character of their teachings has, for the most part, been general rather than spe-
cific. On the other hand, it is the purpose of this thesis to specify by giving a concrete example showing in a particular Industry where the ethics of Jesus would have solved the economic problem that has presented itself and worked great hardships to all concerned. The example selected for consideration is the Rayon and Artificial Silk Industry located at Elizabethton, Tennessee, where occurred a strike of deplorable consequences in March 1929.

That a clear conception of the plan of procedure may be manifest, it is necessary to define what are included in the principles of Jesus which are pertinent to the economic problem under consideration, in the four Gospels—Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The Golden Rule will be considered as the epitome of the teachings of Jesus, and the Sermon on the Mount as largely the elaboration of this norm, or standard, of measurement. However, any teachings of Jesus in the Gospels or elsewhere will be subject matter for investigation.

As the question of interpretation plays an important part in all subjects of this character, recourse will be had to what our ablest scholars and commentators have said as to what constitutes Jesus' teachings in passages susceptible of more than one interpretation.

Inasmuch as this dissertation does not involve the question of authorship of the Gospels, this will not have any real part in the investigation, but will be considered incidentally, when considered at all.
Neither is the critical question as to whether Jesus uttered the language attributed to him paramount in this thesis, but rather, Is the ethics attributed to him a solvent for the economic problems under investigation? for the validity of a remedy does not consist in our being able to identify the inventor, but rather in its CURATIVE POWER. If it cures the malady, it is valid or efficacious, regardless of who prepared it or gave it to suffering humanity.

The first objective in this thesis is to show that there is a real problem to be solved. No one who is familiar with the industrial conditions in our country, and more or less all over the world today, can fail to see that something is radically wrong with our industrial system. Beyond question there is a vast difference between the viewpoint of the capitalist and that of the laborer-employer and employee, on the subject. This difference in viewpoint is undoubtedly responsible for most of the antagonism between the two classes, resulting in unrest, strikes, riots, lockouts, destitution and loss of life, every year.

The thesis will consider the most important efforts that have been made in the past to solve the problem, including autocracy, materialism, socialism, communism, and even education, and it will undertake to show that all of these have proved inadequate.

The great industrial unrest throughout this land and other lands today, as especially manifested in the re-
cent labor troubles in the South, notably in Tennessee and North Carolina, showing the clash between labor and capital, together with the great army of unemployed, bringing about untold suffering,—all testify to the fact that the panacea for the world's ills has not as yet been found, or if found in isolated cases, has certainly never been applied in any general sense.

As proof that autocracy is futile to solve social problems, it is sufficient to cite the examples of Germany and Turkey, its most conspicuous illustrations before the World War, while Russia stands today as at least a doubtful answer to those who look to Syndicalism to be the remedy for the weary and the heavy laden.

The highest type of Socialism, that which makes material prosperity the summum bonum of life, is a poor substitute for the Sermon on the Mount, as will be more thoroughly shown in this thesis. The latter makes CHARACTER, rather than CHATTAL; PIETY, rather than POSSESSION; GIVING, rather than GETTING; GOD, rather than GOLD,—the paramount quest of life. Sovietism when considered as a substitute for Christianity fails to take account of, and provide for, the spiritual needs of man.

Another antithesis which this thesis hopes to show between the Golden Rule and these other systems is its MOTIVE. It breathes the spirit of LOVE, while these other systems breathe the spirit of LAW and LEGISLATION.
As evidence that Socialism has proven inadequate, the signal failures attempted by one of its great protagonists, Robert Owen* at Lanark and Obiston, Scotland, and at New Harmony, Indiana, should be conclusive, for in all of these ventures his idealistic theories proved but fantastic and iridescent dreams.

That education alone is inadequate to meet man's needs, the history of Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome and Germany should be a sufficient proof. These all had culture, but this could not stay their downfall. They were all "weighed in the balances and found wanting".

A Brief Outline of the Teachings of Jesus is submitted below, with Special Reference to the Golden Rule:

1. That happiness comes from within (the condition of the heart) rather than from without--material possessions (Matthew 5:1-12; Luke 12:13-31).


3. That man is to love his neighbor as himself (Matthew 22:39; cf. Matthew 7:12).

4. That one's neighbor is any one who needs anything which the possessor has (Luke 10:35-37).

5. That Jesus refused to act as Judge in the division of property, but in this, as in other matters of this character, he used PRINCIPLES as a standard of justice (Luke 12:13-21; cf. Matthew 18:21,22; Mark 9:38; Luke 10:38-42).

6. That every one of his disciples has a responsibility to all men (Matthew 5:47; Luke 10:25-37).
7. That greatness in his Kingdom is along the highway of SERVICE—that the greatest is the servant of all (Matthew 20:26-28).
9. Jesus recognized the distinction of employer and employee and defined their relationship to each other (Matthew 10:24; 20:1-16; Luke 17:7-10).
10. That the Gospel is not a "Declaration of Rights, but a Declaration of Duties" (Matthew 5:38-42; Luke 6:27-38).
11. Jesus recognized that men differed in talents and taught that one's responsibility was in proportion to his talents (Matthew 25:14-30; Luke 18:49; 19:13-17).
12. That the true test of an enterprise was not, Will it pay? but rather, What sort of men will it produce? (Mark 1:16, 17; Luke 18:9; Matthew 20:7; John 6:27).
13. That COOPERATION, therefore, and not COMPETITION, should dominate the relationship of employer and employee.
14. That a servant or employee is rewarded by what he WOULD do rather than by what he ACTUALLY DOES—that the MOTIVE plays an important part in the ethical value of actions (Matthew 20:8,14; Luke 12:48).

* Shaler Mathews, "Social Teachings of Jesus", p.173.
** Professor John Marshall at the Cooperative Congress of 1899 said: "The cardinal doctrines of its [cooperation's] faith are firstly, the production of fine human beings, and not the production of rich goods. Secondly, he who lives and works only for himself and his family, leads an incomplete life; to complete it he needs to work with...
15. That one who is over concerned about saving his life will lose it, while he who is willing to lose it for Christ and the good of others, will, in reality, save it in the highest and best sense (Matthew 10:39; 25:31-46).

16. Jesus had such optimistic vision that he could see possibilities for good where others saw only outcasts of society (John 4:35; Luke 15:1-32; 19:1-10).


20. That man is not a real possessor, but a steward of the mercies of God (Matthew 25:14-30; Luke 12:42; Mark 13:34; 17:10).

21. That it is more blessed to give than to receive (Acts 20:35).


...others for some broad and high aim."--A. Marshall, Inaugural Address at Ipswich, p.2.
AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ELIZABETHTON, TENNESSEE, STRIKE, IN 1929.

CHAPTER ONE--HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

"While there are many spots in America that furnish interesting historical lore, there is none", in the opinion of Mrs. Frank Seiler*, "so interesting as the spot just west of the present dividing line between the States of North Carolina and Tennessee, taking in an arc of about twenty miles in diameter, with Elizabethton, Tennessee, as center. This is the territory in the Alleghenies, or Blue Ridge, that was once known in the days of the Indian as Watauga Old Fields. Here was born and cradled and fostered into lusty life the infant Hercules who was to found in these western wilds a grander empire than the world has seen since the days of Pericles".

Continuing, Mrs. Seiler states that Tennesseans delight in the achievements of their early ancestors who settled in this section, drove back the Indian, wrought a time there and passed on to their rewards. She describes the settlers as "fearless men and women, courageous, strong, and in every sense pioneers" (Based on Gilmore's "Rearguard of the Revolution," p. 11).

It is very probable that Daniel Boone was the first white man who laid eyes on this now historic section. History

* The great-great-granddaughter of John Carter, the first President of the Watauga Association, in an address which she delivered on the Court House Square at the dedication of a Monument commemorating the Battle of King's Mountain.
reveals the fact that he made his first trip across the Alleghanies from the Yadkin Valley in 1760, and that on this journey he reached Boone's Creek, a branch of the Watauga, only a short distance from Jonesboro*. On this spot stood until recently the tree bearing the inscription:

D. Boone

Cilled
in
YEAR
A Bar
The
1760
On
Tree "

It is related that when he reached the summit of the mountains on this trip and looked down upon the vast herds of deer and buffalo which were grazing at his feet he remarked to his companion: "I am richer than the man in the Scriptures who owned the cattle on a thousand hills". Mrs. Geiler thus describes the picture: "When Boone reached the summit of the mountain and looked down upon the vast country before him a sight met his eyes never before excelled in beauty and grandeur. Spread out at his feet was a beautiful valley covered with a beautiful forest, in the midst of which was a large cleared opening. In this opening two small rivers--later to be known as the Watauga and the Doe--unite their rapid currents and flow together to the west through a gap in the encircling mountains. This was the Watauga Old Fields, which tradition says was an ancient Indian village, and this was the place that was to furnish the site for a progressive little city--Elizabethton."

A DESCRIPTION OF HAPPY VALLEY BY HONORABLE L. C. HAYNES
AT A BANQUET GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE BAR AND BREATH
AT JACKSON, TENNESSEE.

In response to an introduction from General M. B. Forest, who spoke of the country from which L. C. Haynes came as sometimes called 'God-forsaken', Haynes responded:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I plead guilty to the soft impeachment. I was born in East Tennessee, on the banks of the Watauga, which in the Indian vernacular means 'Beautiful River', and beautiful river it is. I have stood upon the banks in my childhood and looked down upon its glassy waters and there beheld a heaven above, reflecting like two vast mirrors, each in the other, its moon, its planets, and trembling stars! Away from its rocky borders of cedar, pine and hemlock stretches a vale back to the distant mountains more beautiful than the groves of Switzerland, more exquisite and grander than the placid vales of Italy. There stand the great Roan, the Black and the Smoky Mountains, upon whose summits I have seen the clouds gather of their own accord even in the brightest day. There I have seen the great Spirit of the storm go to take his evening nap in his pavilion of darkness and clouds! Then I have seen him aroused at midnight and come forth like a giant refreshed by slumber, and arouse the tempest and let loose the red lightning that ran along the mountain tops for a thousand miles, swifter than an eagle's flight in heaven. Then I have seen the
lightning stand up like angels of light and dance in the clouds to the music of that great organ of Nature whose keys seem to have been touched by the fingers of divinity, which responded in notes of thunder throughout the universe.

Then I have seen the darkness drift away, and Morn get up from her saffron bed and come forth like a queen robed in her garments of light, and stand tiptoe on the misty mountain tops, and Black Night fled away from her glorious face to his bedchamber at the pole; and she lighted the green vale and beautiful river where I was born and played in childhood, with a smile of sunshine! O, beautiful land of the mountains, with thy sun-painted cliffs, how can I ever forget thee!"

It seems to be a characteristic of human nature that where apparent conflicting interests are involved in an organization there will be a corresponding absence of harmony in the various viewpoints in regard to any disturbance that may threaten the tranquility of that body. This does not necessarily imply that either party to the controversy is dishonest, or even wanting in veracity; but rather that we are all more or less prejudiced and see things through colored glasses according as these objects may affect our several interests. For an illustration, it is difficult for a man owning a gold mine to believe in the free and unlimited coinage of silver, or for a New England manufacturer to believe in Free Trade. For this reason no one should be at all surprised that there is a lack of unanimity in the various accounts of the causes and factors that entered into the Elizabethton Strike. The fact is, that the accounts are so conflicting that an unbiased judge may not be able to decide who were most responsible for this very unfortunate occurrence. Could one but see with an unprejudiced eye all the factors that contributed to the final catastrophe, he would doubtless conclude that all the blame was not on one side, but that like most differences, all parties were more or less blameworthy.

Fortunately for the purpose of this thesis it is not necessary to fix the blame. The object of this treatise will be attained when by hearing all the evidence from all the
witnesses on the entire strike situation, and comparing the
tactics used by both parties with the ethics of Jesus, especi­
ally as epitomized in the Golden Rule, it will be made evident
that had the latter policy been accepted the strike with its
many evils would have been averted. To the end that this may
be accomplished, witnesses on both sides will be called to
testify, as in court, and those hearing the evidence will con­
stitute the jury and give the verdict as to whether the indict­
ment of this thesis has been sustained.

The first witness* is a representative business man
of Elizabethton who will give the factors which brought the
Factories to that City and the unhappy incidents of the strike
with its dire results, from the beginning to its close.

First Witness: "The location of the Elizabethton
Mills is largely due to the fact that this City, county seat
of Carter County, is the exact geographic center of the East­
er United States: halfway between the Great Lakes and the
Gulf of Mexico; the Mississippi and the Atlantic Ocean; Cin­
cinnati, Ohio and Charleston; Evansville, Indiana and Wilming­
ton, North Carolina; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and Columbus,
Georgia; Memphis, Tennessee and Norfolk-Portsmouth, Virginia;
approximately halfway between New York and New Orleans; and on
the direct bee line from Detroit to Miami. Elizabethton lies
between the Shenandoah National and the Great Smoky National
Park. By reason of its location, geographically, Elizabethton
might be termed the hub of an enormous wheel, the spokes of
which radiate from centers where finished products are sold.

* This testimony was dictated to the writer in an office in
Elizabethton.
Of the inhabitants of the City, ninety-eight and two tenths are white; one and seven tenths negroes and one tenth of one per cent is high class foreign born. The laborers are easily trained and the climate is favorable—equitable.

An agricultural background is being developed. A county Agent was appointed this last spring and he has already begun a system of rotation of crops. The Chamber of Commerce is responsible for all of this. The majority of the citizens of the City and County own their own homes. Elizabethton has shown greater percentage of growth than any other city in the State. According to this year’s Census the population is 8,044, as against 2,749 in 1920, nearly 200% increase.

"Elizabethton is scenically beautiful, agricultural, commercial: the sum of $750,000 has been spent in new store buildings in one block on Elk Avenue in the past eighteen months. Among these are Montgomery, Ward & Company, Carp and Company of St. Louis, while the Kress Company has here the second largest Kress building in the South. Most of the growth indicated above has been within the past five or six years. The City has completed this year (1930) a $75,000.00 concrete bridge over the Doe River."

In the spring of 1929 agents of the American Federation of Labor having sown the seeds of discontent in the minds of satisfied men and women, employees of the Silk Mills of Elizabethton induced a number of them to strike or walk out. These few strikers and their sympathizers led by such men as
Alfred Hoffman, a Red, tried to induce other employees to strike. They forced through the gates, did considerable damage to property, threatening and intimidating the machine operators. One of them threw a rock and hit the President of the Mills in the head. They dragged young women down stone steps, bruising them. They struck one man over the head with an iron pipe when he refused to strike. Strikers picketed the plant entrance and highways leading to the plant. Many of them were armed. Parades were lead from the streets of Elizabethton by Agents of the American Federation of Labor and the said Communist, Alfred Hoffman. These parades were participated in by old men and women and little children, as well as by strike sympathizers from the disturbed areas from North Carolina, Ohio and West Virginia. It is reported that more than 200 women of ill repute were brought to Elizabethton by the agitators and organizers, and together with money and liquor they were used to hold the young and older men to the organization. Hundreds of men and women congregated night after night until daylight in a large building with doors locked and lights out as a result of the inflow of these outside agitators. The main water line to Elizabethton was dynamited at night, leaving the City without water for several hours.

The Silk Mills closed and announcement was made by the management that they would remain closed indefinitely and plans for further construction would be abandoned. Hundreds of loyal workers petitioned for re-opening of the plants and
they were re-opened, and construction commenced at their requests.

Several citizens of Elizabethton, indignant at the effort being made by outside agitators, escorted a Mr. McGrady, a representative of the American Federation of Labor, and said Hoffman, to the State line, not harming them or touching their property. This is all there is to the famous kidnaping case. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, spoke in Elizabethton against this kidnaping. Later on workers in the American-Glanzstoff plant struck again and forced Bemberg hands to leave their jobs. The management then announced the indefinite suspension mentioned above. The loyal workers petitioned that the plants be reopened and on May sixth they resumed operations. On May the tenth the agitators started trouble again and on May twenty-fifth the Union leaders called off the strike, following acceptance of the Company terms by the strikers.

These Silk Mills are ultra modern, even temperature maintained, rest periods, hospitals, cafeteria service, good meals cost 23 cents, 25 cents and 28 cents. No employee works more than 8 hours in 24. The work is light and pleasant. The employees are treated kindly by the management. They are making more money, received weekly, than they ever dreamed of making. A 17 year old boy recently cashed his weekly check for $41.67; a young girl received $36.40 for her work that week. The average weekly wage is as high as, and in
most instances, higher, than that received in other Southern Mills, and in some Mills North of the Mason and Dixon Line.

As rapidly as these sturdy Anglo-Saxon Mountain people realized that they had been duped they turned in their Union Cards and again sought work in the Silk Mills. The Management advised them they would absorb, as rapidly as possible, these men and women provided they had not been among the few who had intimidated their fellows and who had done damage to property. The Management declared it would never recognize the American Federation of Labor, and to this good day it has not, and never will.

In the fall of 1929 the American Federation of Labor forces announced they had a Union membership in Elizabethton of 2600. They placed in each of six districts of the county an unprotected box and called for a vote "to strike, or not to strike". After two weeks they announced the results to be 1140 for another disturbance, and 80 against the strike. They were then asked by real citizens of the county why, after their announcement of 2600 members they had disfranchised 1400 of their claimed 2600:

At the time the Union called for the above mentioned vote which, as may be readily seen, was a farce, the loyal workers of Bemberg and Glanzstoff, having formed themselves into an organization, voluntarily took a secret ballot on the same question, the balloting having taken place under the direction of their own elected foreman or spokesman, without the presence of a single official of the Mills, the employers themselves announcing the result, which was 97% against an-
other disturbance. These loyal workers through their selected spokesmen from among their own numbers have an equal voice with the management on matters pertaining to working conditions, hours, and even wages. The majority of the workers not only in these giant Silk Mills in Elizabethton, but also throughout the County and City, are intelligent, thrifty, home-owning and home-loving, and are of the highest type.

In protection of life, limb and property during the strike last year the Governor placed State troops in Elizabethton and Carter County to maintain law and order. Not one life was lost. The American Federation of Labor had as its purpose the making of Elizabethton the pivotal point from which to extend its activities towards the unionization of the cotton and other mill operations throughout the South.

Notwithstanding the fact that the American Federation of Labor utilized its every resource in this effort, including the presence here of William Green, its President, one Kelley, its Vice President, and one McGrady, the residence here of Paul Argman, President of the Tennessee Federation of Labor, and others; its affiliation with afore mentioned Alfred Hoffman (subsequently jailed in North Carolina, charged with pernicious activities toward disrupting the peace and retarding progress, the same having been pursued by him here while in Elizabethton); much money and the weight of the entire American Federation of Labor organization,—it miserably failed to reach its objective in Elizabethton.
One significant fact—in connection with the Strike of 1929 is that prior to the coming of wage checks to the citizens of this and other counties, the American Federation of Labor agents prosecuted no plans toward the ameliorization of conditions of what they termed "the poor, ignorant, down-trodden Mountaineers".

In the spring of 1930 the Union leaders made another strike call, to which less than 200 of the thousands of employees responded, and so it seems assured that industrial disturbances in Elizabethton have been forever quelled."

The second witness is Margaret Bowen, an employee whom the newly organized Union elected Secretary of the Textile Workers, as she related the account to the Eleventh Convention of the National Woman's Trade Union League in Grace Lodge Hotel:

"I guess my report won't be a report—it will just be something new to you all. I haven't anything to report; nothing, only the strike and what preceded the strike.

When I went to Elizabethton on October 31, 1929, I hired in the final inspection section. I was supposed to get $16.00 a week. My first check was $10.00. I was under inspection for two weeks, then I was placed over the re-inspection department. I had fifty-two girls working under me. I was very well pleased with my money, for I thought that maybe after two or three weeks they would give me a raise. Well, I worked for $10.00 over in the re-inspection department until the first check in February and I got a raise,

I asked for a raise for my girls and I was refused. On Friday before we came out on strike on March 12 I asked my foreman for a raise and he still refused. My work was in the department where the best quality of silk is produced in the plant. We re-inspect this silk and fill our orders for Germany and America. I asked for a raise and was told, 'Well, what's the need of giving you a raise. You are making enough.' I said, 'Mr. Burnett, I have been sick, and have two doctor's bills to pay, $5.00 a week board, $1.00 for laundry, $1.00 for taxi fare; and then you see what I have left. I don't have anything for clothes'. They expect you to come fresh every morning with something nice and clean to wear. We can't afford that on such prices.

On Tuesday, March 12, the morning of the strike, Mr. Burnett and Miss Brown, while I was making my time up, walked over in the end of my section, pretty close to me, and I overheard them talking. He said, 'How about Miss Chambers?' There isn't a woman here in this house as large as this woman I am speaking about. And then he said, 'How about So-and-So?' 'That's all right'. And they named nearly every one of my girls. I couldn't imagine what was going to happen unless they were going to give them a raise. Miss Brown walked over into my section and said, 'Pick up your silk, pick up your silk'. I couldn't imagine, because I had asked that my section be moved to another part of the house. They moved my girls and their silk over into one end of the house and left
me standing there. I said, 'What does this mean, Miss Brown?'

She said, 'Oh, you have a section'. It wasn't five minutes after she moved my girls until one of them sent me word that the re-inspection girls were raised to $11.20 and their section girl to $12.32, and there I stood at $10.64. Of course that made me mad. The girls that she sent over to me said, 'Let's get up, Margaret, and walk out'. I said, 'No'. My re-inspection girls sent word to me, 'Walk out, Margaret, and we are behind you, and we will drag the inspection out with you'. Well, two sections against fourteen wouldn't amount to anything; but I said, 'If enough will walk out, I will walk out.'

The assistant general forelady insisted that we walk out a week before, and she did all she could to agitate us that we should walk out and said she would go out with us. So eight sections of the house sent me word that they were ready to walk out. 'Well,' I said, 'if eight will walk out with my section, that will make nine and leave five'. So they planned walking out on Tuesday, March 12. The girls--I couldn't get any work out of them. There was only ten pounds of silk weighed in my section that morning. I was mad, and cried, of course, woman-like. We have our lunch period at 11:30, and at 11:30 we were going to decide what we were going to demand, and ask for it.

The girl they gave my section to refused to walk out; she was getting $12.32 a week. So the girls said, 'All
right, Bessie Mae, you can stay in, but you will come out'.

During the lunch hour the general forelady got wind of it, as we say, of the strike. This girl told her what we were planning at one o'clock, besides, that the whole house was going out. Well, the general forelady ran and got the superintendent, Mr. Gill of Glanzstoff, and he gathered the girls in one little huddle and told us, 'I will give you section girls 20 cents an hour if you will stop the strike'. He did not say anything about the operators at all. I was mad and I did not say anything to my girls about it. It was 12:20 when he was talking to me, and I went over in my section and sat down and started crying, and one of the girls said, 'What the devil did he say to you?' I didn't say anything. I went to the wash room. They were watching me all morning, and they thought I was the ring leader. I went to the wash room and the reeling room department came out for lunch. I heard somebody scream, 'The inspection room's on a strike', and I just tore the door down to get out, and I met the entire bunch—550. Out of 550 only 17 stayed in. This assistant forelady stayed in. Going out I was among the last to go, because I had to wait until the crowd passed to get to my locker and get my coat and pocketbook.

Coming out to the gate, Mr. Gill, the superintendent, spied me and said, 'Margaret, you section girls didn't have to walk out.' I said, 'Do you know what they did to me this morning?' He said, 'Well, no'. I said, 'They took my
section away from me, and I'm going out. They raised the re-inspectors and they raised the girl they put over me; and I am going out and stay out with the rest of them'. 'All right, there's the gate'. And I said, 'Thank you', and went.

We got outside and I was on the committee to talk with the officials. We sent word back into the plant that we were ready now to talk; and the chief of police at the plant carried the message in that we were ready to talk, and he insisted that they better come out and do something with us. So they refused all afternoon, and we stayed there until 6:30 that night.

The report got out that they were going to turn the fire hose on us, but they didn't do it. We stayed there all afternoon until 6:30 that night. The 3 o'clock shift that went on that afternoon told us, 'Girls, if they don't make settlement, we are with you in the morning'. They went on to work. Next morning we got down to the plant before 6 o'clock. The scabs—what we call scabs—walked in, seventeen inspectors. Of course we did not go in and take them out bodily, but we got them after all.

The reelers and the lacers—they are the girls who work in a different department—left word on the outside that morning, 'If they don't do something by 9 o'clock, we are with you'. The men left word, 'If they don't do something by 12 o'clock, the whole thing shuts down'. We sent in word for them to talk to us and they refused. It was a rainy day,
so we stood around. The men up town who didn't work at the plant joined us. We had all the backbone we wanted.

At ten minutes to nine we decided they weren't coming out; so we opened the gates and went in. They had the doors barred. We had to work under lock and key and also under a guard. We had to go to the lower spinning room door before we could get in. We went through the spinning room and took everything as we went--I mean, all the men. We went into the reeling and lacing department and carried them with us. We went into the inspection room, and they had the inspectors in the elevators going back and forth to keep us from talking with them.

A policeman struck a girl over the head with his billy when we were coming out of the yard. Of course that started a fight. The men took that up, and then they decided they had better get rid of the girls as soon as possible. Somebody sent word to town that they had better send some transit down there to get all of us out of the plant as quickly as possible. We decided that we would go to Bemberg, but we did not go there. I left the plant about 11 o'clock and went to the Tabernacle and joined the Union...

There are children as young as ten years of age working in the mills. They get the same that older and efficient girls are making--$8.96 to $10.80 a week.

The Company tried the 'Yellow Dog' system. They did not get very far with that, because for every person they
got to sign the 'Yellow Dog', we got fifteen or twenty on our side.

They had Mr. Ray, the President of the Loyal Bemberg Workers, to send out slips to get them to join the Loyal Bemberg Workers. In this slip it says, 'I am anxious to return to work under the old conditions'. He didn't get very far with that, because they were sent to all the Union members. Then he took an armful of these envelopes and went to various little towns around Elizabethton on a bus and mailed them back to his own self and fooled his own self.
The third witness concerning the Elizabethton strike is Edward McGrady,* legislative Committeeman of the American Federation of Labor, as he describes it in an article under the caption, "Conciliation Proposals". Below is his testimony:

"On March 12 the textile workers at Elizabethton stopped work because of their miserably low wages and long hours. For nearly two weeks the mill management autocratically and bruskly refused all overtures looking toward settlement.

Public sentiment became so strong, however, that the management yielded, and Dr. Mothwurff met with Sheriff John Moreland, Federal Conciliator, Charles G. Wood, Paul J. Ayman, President of the Tennessee Federation of Labor, Alfred Hoffman, General organizer of the United Textile Workers and Captain Frank Broyles of the National Guard. In the presence of these witnesses Dr. Mothwurff said that all the strikers would be taken back without discrimination or prejudice, that committees representing the employees would be recognized, and that there would be wage increases of from two to three cents per hour.

Within twenty-four hours Dr. Mothwurff gave out a statement apparently repudiating the peace pact, and indignation flamed anew. Adjutant General W. C. Boyd of the State Militia interviewed Dr. Mothwurff and secured from him a letter that he would live up to the agreement, but the agreement

did not recognize the Union. Dr. Mothwurff further agreed to refrain from any further interviews or public statements.

During the next week, however, the mill management discharged more than three hundred workers. It looked like another walkout because of this discrimination. President Green assigned me to go to Elizabethton to try to bring about harmony and permanent peace.

I found that on March 30 the agreement had not been kept in any respect, but afterwards through interviews the wage increase was granted, and the mill management promised to take up the question of Union discrimination. I met with a representative committee of the Chamber of Commerce which included the employment management and the Physician of the Bemberg Mills. When the committee was told that the promised wage increase had not yet been paid it made an investigation and secured a promise that the increased pay would be in the envelopes at the end of the week. This committee also agreed to take up with the management of the mills the discrimination against the 300 workers discharged because of Union activity. I suggested that they take up the problem with a representative of the Union who would also be an employee of the plant.

I remained in this territory negotiating back and forth for two weeks, and, I think, helped to prevent a walkout, up to that time. However, shortly afterwards when the workers' committee in one department wanted to adjust a
grievance, the whole committee was discharged in that department, and a committee in a second department which tried to find out what the trouble was about, met the same fate. Within twenty-four hours there was a walkout and both plants were completely shut down. Sympathizers with the Mill management had the Union put out of its regular meeting place; young girls and young men were arrested for non-payment of their board bills while on strike. The home of one of the Union leaders was blown to pieces, and barns were burned.

I opened up negotiations with Dr. Mothwurff through a third party. These negotiations lasted for two days. I suggested that the workers in each department appoint a committee of three to be ready to confer with the foreman on whatever disagreement might occur in the department and that one of these be designated as representative on a central committee. I further agreed that when the central committee could not reach an agreement the matter be referred to Dr. Mothwurff for final decision.

We agreed on every point in dispute except that of returning to work 80 or 100 men that the mill management said were leaders in the second walk out, and who had committed violence. I offered to have the workers all return to work, and arbitrate the question of the return of these men to work. This was refused.

I offered again to have all the workers return to work and, inasmuch as the mills had warrants sworn out
for these workers, I said I would agree that any worker found guilty in the court of violence or disorder, should not return. This was also refused, with the statement; 'I reserve for myself the right to say who will, and who will not work in my mills'.

The Governor of Tennessee ordered in several companies of the militia, equipped them with machine guns and tear gas bombs. A line of steel was drawn around the mill property for more than half a mile—soldiers every twenty-five feet with drawn bayonets—machine guns on every corner of the mill roof. I again asked for arbitration and conciliation on the one point in dispute. This was refused. I said: 'It is quite evident that the mill management believes the way to settle a labor dispute is not around the council table, but by bayonets, bullets and machine guns. Force always begets force, and if bloodshed occurs, the blame for it can be placed on the shoulders of those who refuse the American method of settling labor disputes, namely, by conciliation and arbitration'.

Since that time there have been dynamite explosions; water-mains of the city have been blown up; large buses loaded with strike-breakers have deliberately ridden into groups of strikers and crushed them under the wheels; tear gas bombs have been used and everywhere oppression and crushing force of militarism have been resorted to, to destroy our Union, and to place the workers at the mercy of
the German-owned textile mills in Elizabethton.

But the Union firmly resisted efforts to deny the workers peace, honor, conciliation and civil law. Their courage was rewarded by an agreement witnessed by a committee representing the textile operatives, the new labor management and the United States Department of Labor, through its representative, Anne Weinstock. The following is the settlement: 'The management of the Bemberg Corporation and the American Corporation invites its employees to return to work on the following basis: All former employees shall register immediately; if an employee is not re-instated, definite reason will be given such an employee and if he feels he is discriminated against, he may refer his case to an impartial person. The management will not discriminate against any employee because of membership in any organization, nor because of legitimate and lawful activities in such organizations as long as they are carried on outside of the plants for the purpose of adjusting grievances which may exist. The management will meet a committee of its employers".
The fourth witness in this investigation of the facts connected with the Elizabethton strike is George Fort Milton, * whose testimony follows:

"East Tennessee’s Happy Valley has recently been disturbed by the tread of the state militiamen, settling an industrial disturbance. Varying stories have been told of these troubles at Elizabethton, and it is hard to discover the truth, but this much may be said: The industrialists of the South were frightened by the Elizabethton strike, feared it might be the beginning of a decade of labor difficulties in the industrialization of the South, and were determined that the menace be nipped in the bud. Hence the troops.

The two rayon plants at Elizabethton, a small town in upper East Tennessee, were built by German capital, and are operated under German experts. One is known as the Bemberg plant, and the other as the Glanzstoff; there is some mutuality of ownership and management. When these industries came to Elizabethton with millions of dollars to invest, there was rejoicing among the business men of the region, for the rayon plants mean increasing real estate values.

The business leaders of the town had supplied the rayon people, before the factories were built, with figures as to the prevailing rents and other costs of living, and the wages at which labor could be had. The figures were no doubt correct at the time they were made, but with the erection of the rayon plants conditions changed. The demands for

homes began to exceed the supply; rents went up. So did food costs. The promised wages had seemed magnificent to the girls in the coves of the mountains, but now they were making hardly enough to live on. The repetitive labor of the factories was quite different from the individual work on the mountain farm.

This was the situation early in 1929, when the workers in one of the plants realized that they were receiving a lower scale of wages than those in the other, although performing identical tasks. In March the demand of the workers in the low-scale factory for the same wages as those in the other provoked a strike. This first strike seems to have sprung from the workers themselves; no union organization was on hand. In a few days Dr. Mothwurff, the director of both plants, announced that he would put the factories on an identical wage basis, and the strikers returned to their work.

This proved to be not a peace, but an armistice. According to the workers' claims they had been back only a few days when the management began to discharge those whom it considered responsible for bringing on the strike. One of Dr. Mothwurff's promises had been that all workers would be received back without prejudice; and a second strike followed. It was then that the organization of the Union Textile Workers appeared in Elizabethton. The American Federation of Labor had taken note of the Tennessee troubles, and had sent a Vice-President to Elizabethton to offer help. The syndicates did not at any time take part.
The managers of the rayon plants next tried to run their factories with strike breakers; the strikers picketed. Fighting took place and a number of men were wounded. Business men appealed to Governor Horton for troops and after one or two efforts to settle the strike by mediation, the troops were sent. One might hesitate to condemn Governor Horton for sending them. The situation had been represented to him as critical, and it was one of his duties to maintain the peace of the State. But a more important question is whether the troops, after arriving at Elizabethton, actually tried to preserve the peace, or whether they merely helped the management of the mills in suppressing the strike. On this point the facts as reported to me by an observer in whose ability and fairness I have implicit confidence, indicate clearly that the troops served as a partisan arm of the management. The Superintendent of one of the mills was a German with the air of a Major in the War, and it was to him that the patrolling parties made their reports, rather than to their own officers. A Cafeteria at the plant fed the soldiers and gave them free cigars and cigarettes. An officers' club was maintained in the plant itself.

However, there were no riots, assassinations, murders, or bad altercations, and by the middle of May the strike was settled. Dr. Mothwurff offered to take the strikers back, not to discharge the leaders, and not to discriminate against the union membership. The union had not asked for union recog-
nition. Dr. Mothwurff's offer was accepted and the strikers returned to their jobs a second time.

So much for this particular strike. The chief responsibility rests upon the German manager's ignorance of the psychology of their mountain-bred Scotch-Irish personnel. Had they handled it with more understanding the second strike would not have occurred. It is also probably true that the wage scale in the rayon plant was too low. The management urged that, in comparison with mountain farming, the wages were high. But one should note that, in the first strike, the demand was merely that the workers in one mill should be on a parity with those of the other; and in the second strike, the question of wages did not appear at all.

In one respect the strikers' case was injured by their own friends: the unionists appealed to the people of Tennessee to support the strikers because the owners of the rayon plants were Germans. Major George Berry, the President of the International Pressmen's Union, whose headquarters is at Rogersville, not far from Elizabethton, took the lead in this effort to reanimate the hatred of the War. Berry otherwise conducted himself prudently and sagaciously; but it was certainly unfortunate that the nationality of the rayon managers should have been made an issue in an economic dispute.

The point to be noted about the strike is not the individual instance of the difficulties at Elizabethton. It is the anxiety that the industrialism of the State showed to
have the strike broken. It is hardly likely that Governor Horton and his advisers would have been sufficiently interest-
ed in the German mill owners to rush troops to their assistance alone. The truth seems to be that the Tennessee manufacturers were apprehensive of a labor success at Elizabethtown; they looked upon it as an entering wedge for the unionization of the South; and they believed sincerely—whether correctly or not—that even an initial success at union organization would end the manufacturing prosperity that has been spreading through the South in the past few years. There is every reason to be-
lieve that the troops went to Elizabethtown to quiet this appre-
hension.

The manufacturers are convinced that the strikes this section has been making in the last two decades in the building of new factories and the prosperity and expansion of old ones are due more to the South’s non-unionization than to any other cause. They maintain that the wage-scales of southern plants compare favorably with those in other industrial sections if one takes the difference of living costs into consideration. And they are convinced that prosperity will vanish from this part of the country if unionization gets a start south of the Mason and Dixon line.

One of the stories told and retold among the Tennes-
see manufacturers is that the northern mills are responsible for the Elizabethtown and North Carolina troubles; that the southern competition has been making such inroads on the New
England markets that they are sending union organizers into the South, their new rivals. Those who tell this story offer no evidence to back it up.

Personally, I do not altogether agree with the southern manufacturers. It is hard to see how the South can be benefited by a low wage-scale. No permanent or general prosperity can come to this region if most of its inhabitants do not have enough money, after paying for the necessities of life, to afford some of the comforts. Leaving any question of justice out of consideration, it cannot profit the South, as an economic entity, to attract new factories to employ southern workers without paying properly for their toil. Our present economic organization is kept going by stimulated consumption, which means that enough workers must have good wages to spend. Otherwise, the factories will have no orders to fill, and dividends will be slim. But such economic theories have gained little foothold in this region. The industrialists of the South dread the appearance of the unions, and show every intention of making a last-ditch fight against them".
Chapter THREE : TESTIMONY OF THE PRESS

The Elizabethton Star, a City daily paper, is the fifth witness in the strike situation, as revealed in its files, during the period of the strike:

"Strike Closes Plant.
Governor Asked to Send Troops to Keep Order.

Nashville, Tenn., March 13. Governor Henry Horton had received no requests for National Guards to guard the American-Glanzstoff Corporation, rayon manufacturers, where several hundred employees went on strike this morning. Dr. Arthur Mothwurff, president of the company, said the troops were asked as a precaution against possible violence.

The American-Glanzstoff plant was closed here this noon following a strike of workers. Doctor Mothwurff, president of the corporation, told a committee of strikers this afternoon that their wage demands were out of the question and that the rayon plant, employing 1700 persons, would be closed down indefinitely.

The strikers refused flatly to end the strike, but agreed unanimously to appoint a mediation committee which arranged to meet Dr. Mothwurff this afternoon. Representatives of the strikers went into session to draft their demands.

Employers of four departments went on strike this morning, notifying Dr. Mothwurff that they planned to remain out until readjustment of wage-scales.
Higher Scales Sought.

Although company officials estimated that 600 employees, mostly girls and women, had joined the walk-out, labor leaders placed the number at near 1000.

Employees of the inspection department struck yesterday. They returned to the plant this morning and prevailed upon employees of three other departments to walk out...

Dr. Mothwurff's Statement:

'On Tuesday morning some of the girls in the inspection rooms walked out, without giving any notice, and for reasons which we have been unable, so far, to ascertain. They were asked to select a committee for the purpose of discussing their grievances, if any, with the management, and in the meantime to return to work. This they refused to do.

Instead, they gathered this morning at the gate, drawing with them a number of elements who have never been employed or associated in any capacity with either one of the plants. They did not succeed in keeping the other departments from work which would have been resumed in the usual manner if the crowd had not forced its way through the gates, and entered the factory, doing considerable property damage, and threatening and intimidating those who were operating the machines. Riots resulted so that the factory had to be closed.

I am sorry to state that these disturbances would never have reached the proportions they did if the county authorities should have been as ready to give assistance as the authorities of the City of Elizabethton. Protection of those
who are willing to work, the safe-guarding of property and personal safety is the very least assistance we can reasonably expect, and unless this is assured by the county, we will be forced to appeal to the State.'

"Thursday, March 14 (Elizabethton Star).

Strikers at Plant Form Local Union.
Workers Restrained from Molesting Glanzstoff by Injunction.

Dr. Mothwurff said today that the company would under no circumstances recognize the union formed last night by the striking employees, regardless of whether the organization is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Dr. Mothwurff's statement is as follows: 'We have no faith in, and expect no good from, an organization which has initiated its activities with riots, disorders and considerable property damage. It has always been the aim of the management to have its employees satisfied, and to adjust liberally all grievances which are properly brought to its attention. We feel therefore competent to solve our own labor problems to the best advantage of all parties concerned and without interference from the outside sources which we can reasonably suspect of ulterior motives'.

The first strike soon ended during the last days of March but, as has already been noted by another witness, the union called another on May 10, which lasted until May 27th when it came to an end.
The Elizabethton Star thus describes its terminus:

"Saturday, May 25.--Dr. Mothwurff Extends Call To Employees. No Arrests Of Any Kind Have Been Made.

An invitation from Dr. A. Mothwurff to all former employees to return to work, the announcement that a meeting of striking employees of the Bemberg and the Glanzstoff Corporations would be held at which business of 'vital importance' to them would be discussed and announcement that E. T. Wilson, expert on labor problems and personal work, has been retained by the corporations as advisers in labor matters, were features of the news of the day, which seemed to indicate an early peace on the troubled waters of the City".

"Monday, May 27, Elizabethton Star.

Office Swamped When The Large Crowds Gather. Hundreds Register at the Offices This Morning. Reds Begin Work Here. Both Plants Hope to be Open at Capacity by June 10.

The work of restoring the entire community to normalcy began in earnest this morning with the start of registration of former employees of the American Bemberg and Glanzstoff Corporations who desired to go back to work. Up until noon several hundred had been registered in the temporary employment offices in the Garden Hotel.

The situation was not without its critical aspects, however. Early in the morning, rumors, apparently circulated with malicious intent, were spread abroad to the effect that partiality was being shown in the registration work and that
influence had been brought to bear to see that certain favored persons received employment first. These rumors were investigated thoroughly and found to be absolutely groundless.

The first hint of a Red invasion came this morning when it was reported that Frederick Beal, one of the most active workers in spreading Communist propaganda, had arrived on the scene with two carloads of his assistants from Gastonia, North Carolina, and had begun their work in Elizabethton. Numerous copies of Communist literature were distributed on the streets this morning. Edward F. McGrady, a representative of the American Federation of Labor, who has been actively in charge of the fight which the Federation has carried on against it in this country, offered his services to the community this morning to serve in any capacity they dictated if his help was needed to combat the Communist doctrine in this section."
The Knoxville News-Sentinel, Seventh Witness.

The following headlines appeared in the News-Sentinel the day following the strike:

"TROOPS MAY BE SENT TO GLANZSTOFF
RIOTING FOLLOWS WALKOUT OF NEARLY 2000 EMPLOYEES OF BIG RAY-ON PLANT IN ELIZABETHTON.
GUARDS OVERPOWERED.

PRESIDENT MOHWURFF HIT ON HEAD WITH ROCK, ANNOUNCES MILL WILL BE CLOSED INDEFINITELY".

Following these glaring headlines is this write-up of the situation:

"Elizabethton, Tenn., March 13.--State troops are expected to be sent to Elizabethton as a result of rioting today which followed a walk-out of nearly 2000 employees at the big rayon plant of the American Glanzstoff Corporation. This was the prospect late this afternoon after clashes during the day in which several were injured, and with the belief generally prevalent that more trouble is a possibility.

The mill was today forced to suspend operations after several hundred women who walked out yesterday had been joined by others who overpowered the guards and induced more employees to leave.

Report was received here today, that Governor Horton had received a telegram from Elizabethton asking for two troops of cavalrymen. President Mothwurff today had declared National Guard troops would be asked unless adequate protection could be given. Glanzstoff plant announced it would be closed indefinitely."
Dr. Mothwurff Injured.

Fist fights resulted today and several were hurt. Dr. Arthur Mothwurff, president of the corporation, was struck in the head with a stone.

Buck Little, one of the Glanzstoff regular guards, was hit. While being taken to a first aid station he was said to have been struck again on the head with a pipe.

A gatekeeper, known as 'Flowers', was badly beaten.

Policeman Morely said he had been attacked and beaten when he went to the plant yesterday afternoon. His injuries are not considered serious.

The entire police force, headed by Chief Carriger, and the Sheriff's force, headed by Sheriff Moreland, are on duty at the plant, helping special officers.

May Call Troops.

"Unless Carter County can furnish the American Glanzstoff Company with adequate protection against the violent element of the striking employees, an appeal will be made this evening to Governor Horton for a National Guard unit, said Dr. Arthur Mothwurff, president of the American Glanzstoff corporation.

The plant of the American Glanzstoff corporation was officially closed at 1:40 today, Eastern time, when Dr. Mothwurff stated that the demands of the strikers were 'exorbitant, and could not be met, and that therefore it was
necessary to close the plant’. A mediation meeting was held, following the meeting of those who walked out at 11 a.m.

Representing those who walked out was a committee which included J. E. Phenix, county organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and F. L. Stubbs, committeeman of the Central Union committee.

The wage scale demanded met with the refusal of the officials.

Gathered Outside Gate.

The women who walked out yesterday afternoon were mostly in the inspection department. Estimates as to the number who quit work ranged from 200 to 400. They congegated outside the main gate and it was necessary for persons entering the plant to use the rear gate.

Those who walked out contended their pay 'was not a living wage'. 'We want more pay!' some of them were heard to shout. 'We can't live and raise families on the pay we receive'.

Immediately after the walk-out yesterday, the guard around the big mill was increased'.


STRIKERS MARCH. SLAVERY PROTESTED ON PLACARDS;
BAN ON ENTERING THE PLANT PREMISES SERVED.
Leaders Say Writ Prevents Them From Holding Conference With Officials At Plant On Terms."
MEETING ELECTS OFFICERS.

Those Who Walked Out Threaten to Get Bemberg Workers to Join; Claim Wages Too Low to Live.

THE STRIKE SITUATION.

"Striking workers elect officers; then parade streets in protest. Injunction secured on strikers. Union organized striking Glanzstoff workers.

Committee had planned to call on Dr. Arthur Mothwurff, president of the corporation, and ask that strikers be taken back to work as a union, the wage scale and hours to be unchanged for the present. But chairman of last night's meeting today said it was decided to call off the conference, and that the 'next move is up to the corporation officials.'

Several thousand workers at Bemberg plant to be called out if the request is not granted, says committee.

Investigation of conditions is being made by Captain Knox Alexander of Adjutant's General's staff, and National Guard units will be sent to Elizabethton if reported needed."

By John T. Mouloux,

News-Sentinel Staff Correspondent.

"Elizabethton, Tenn.--Striking textile workers carried their cause to the people of Elizabethton this afternoon. Several hundred of them paraded down Elk avenue, the main business and residence street, carrying posters protesting the wage scale at the Glanzstoff plant. Some of the placards read:

'$2.50 a week—here's slavery.' '$15 a week or bust.'
'Fair wages or no wages.'

'Mr. Merchant, if we don't get it, you can't get it.'

The parade was orderly. It followed a mass meeting, at which officers of the newly formed union were elected. The following officers were elected:

Dan Taylor, 38, president; Guy Campbell, vice-president; Horace Browning, secretary; Christine Galleher, recording secretary; Margaret Bowen, financial secretary.

Injunction Writ Served.

The writ of injunction, obtained by the company last night, was served on the strikers at their mass meeting today by Sheriff Moreland. The strikers took it good naturedly, clapping their hands and laughing at the court order, barring them from the corporation's grounds.

The American Glanzstoff corporation will refuse to recognize the textile union which was organized here last night, Dr. Arthur Mothwurff, president, announced today. 'We have no faith in, and expect no good from, an organization which has initiated its activities with riot, disorder and considerable property damage', the statement by him said.

A bandage was on Dr. Mothwurff's head, covering a wound he received yesterday when hit by a stone during an assault on the plant.

Renew Operations.

In his statement the rayon company president said that operations at the Glanzstoff plant are being renewed rapidly in the various departments, 'with our loyal crew'.

...
We will give an opportunity to our former employees to be reinstated. They can make use of this offer by making application in writing at once, either through our employment department or to their respective foremen, who have taken steps to secure proper protection for all employees.'

Dr. Mothwurff was asked if the company is bringing in workers from the outside to take the place of the strikers. 'Some', he replied.

Present disturbances may delay the start of construction of the new $7,000,000 unit of the Glanzstoff plant, which was to have started next week. 'Many other cities would be glad to get the new unit', another official interposed.

The number who signed up was not given out, but one of the organizers said it included most of the Glanzstoff workers and about half of the Bemberg operatives.

Asks Reece to Investigate.

Glanzstoff officials today asked Congressman Carroll Reece to investigate if the organizers are in fact representatives of the American Federation of Labor, as they claim."

"Nashville, Tenn.--Ed M. Gillenwaters, state commissioner of labor, said that during a visit to the plant a year ago he heard rumors of a strike and saw men who were pointed out as agitators. Slight disorders have occurred at the plant before, he said, but nothing similar to the present strike."

"March 15.--ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY STRIKERS TRY TO GET OUT WORKERS, BUT LEAVE PEACEABLY WHEN REQUESTED BY SHERIFF."
SAY THEY WILL 'TALK' WITH WORKERS WHO LEAVE PLANT.

Captain Knox Alexander of the Tennessee National Guard, was still in town and reported he saw no need for state troops. Sheriff J. M. Morehead of Carter county was of the same opinion, and so informed officials of the company.

'The workers want more money', and I think they deserve it', Moreland told the company officials. 'You have said enough to impeach yourself', Nat Perry, Elizabethton business man, told Moreland. 'All right, go ahead', the sheriff replied."

"Saturday, March 16.
RAYON CHIEF SAYS MILL TO OPEN MONDAY:
U. S. MEDIATOR ARRIVED.

The Strike Situation.

President Mothwurff Announced Plant to Reopen Monday. United States Conciliation Service Arrives in Elizabethton this Afternoon. Oath of Textile Workers' Union Administered to Strikers this Afternoon at Elizabethton Court-House. Adjutant General Caswell Boyd Announces He Investigated Situation and Found No Need of State Troops, as Asked by Company Officials.

Dr. Mothwurff, Glanzstoff President, in Statement, Reiterates Refusal to Recognize the Union.

Sheriff Moreland Tells Strikers He Wants Them to Win, and Requests Orders Barring them from Glanzstoff Grounds to be Obeyed."
"Sunday Morning March 17.
MILL TO OPEN. UNION ASKING RECOGNITION.
GLANZSTOFF PLANT TO RESUME OPERATIONS MONDAY MORNING.
605 EMPLOYEES TAKE OATH. STRIKERS WILL RETURN IF NEW
ORGANIZATION IS SANCTIONED BY RAYON HEAD."

"Monday, March 18. WORKMAN BEATEN LEAVING PLANT.
BEMBERG EMPLOYEE DRAGGED FROM HIS AUTO BY CROWD. SLUGGED
AND CAR WRECKED.

Picketing Ban Is Sought. Officers Push Way Into
Crowd and Rescue Man Who Is Attacked as First Shift Leaves Mill.
Elizabethton, Tenn.—As the first shift of the American Bemberg rayon corporation came out of the big plant today at 3 p.m.,
one of the workmen was dragged from his automobile and severely beaten. The fender and top were torn from his Ford and other
damage was done to the car. A rock had been thrown through his
windshield soon after the car left the gates. It struck the
workman and his car wobbled for a short distance, and it was
stopped and he was dragged from it.

Several officers rushed to his rescue. The blows on
the man by the crowd could be heard for several feet. Several
thousand persons were in the crowd along the four roads to the
Bemberg and Glanzstoff plants this afternoon. Strikers were
making an effort to prevent any from the second shift of the
Bemberg plant going to work.

Crowds blocked the roads this afternoon and declared
they would not only prevent any from the second shift entering
the plant, but would also prevent any from the third shift at
11 tonight from going in."

"March 19.

RAYON MILLS GUARDED BY STATE TROOPS. 5000 EMPLOYEES
OUT OF WORK. MORE JOIN NEW UNION.

DR. MOITHURFF LEAVES FOR NEW YORK, BOTH MILLS
CLOSED AND 500 OUT OF WORK.

Elizabethton, Tenn.--State Adjutant Caswell Boyd and Captain
Alexander of the Tennessee National Guard arrived here at noon
to take charge of the strike situation.

After looking over conditions General Boyd said he
saw no cause for alarm. Instead of adding to the State Police
force now on duty he said they would probably withdraw. Com­
pany A, 117 Infantry, National Guard, is acting as State Police.
General Boyd and Captain Alexander conferred with Company offici­
als this afternoon. Charles G. Wood, United States Commissioner
of Conciliation service of the Department of Labor, today met
with a group of strikers and suggested they choose a represent­
ative group from both plants to confer with him tomorrow at 10
a.m. They agreed to do so...

Both Plants Closed.

"Both of the giant rayon plants were closed with 5000 people
out of work. One report said they would remain shut down for
a week, while another said it would be 60 or 90 days before
they would reopen.

It was announced at the Bemberg plant that Doctor
Moithwwuff, president of both companies, was leaving for New
York to be gone a week and that no attempt to resume operation would be made during his absence.

Several hundred of the strikers struggled up and down the public highway leading to the plants today. They were mostly in two and threes. When more than that number gathered they were dispersed by the guardsmen in accordance with a new injunction order obtained late yesterday by the company, which is more rigid than the one taken out last week.”

Roads Are Guarded.

"The public highway is several hundred yards from the Glanzstoff plant and several hundred feet from the Bemberg plant. No one was permitted to enter the highways leading to the plants without a permit. Newspapers were told not to say that the National Guard was on duty. It seems a state law forbids calling out the National Guard for individual disturbances, state police being intended for that purpose.

Calls Guard Police.

'When was the Guard called out?' I asked Captain R. B. Elliott, Captain of Company A, 117 Infantry, National Guard, at one of the Glanzstoff's entrances. 'It has not been called out,' the Captain replied. 'What are these men doing here?' he was asked. 'You can say they're state police or deputy sheriffs'. 'This is the first time I have ever seen state police or deputy sheriffs in khaki uniforms and Springfield rifles with bayonets over their shoulders', the reporter persisted. Captain had no comment to make'.
'Are you allowed to drive in?' Elliott was asked. 'Try and see for yourself,' he replied.

In spite of the statement that the National Guard had not been called out, the young men on duty at the entrance and on the grounds are, as a matter of fact, Company A of the National Guard. But they are serving not as guards, but as special deputy sheriffs. They were deputized by sheriff J. L. Moreland yesterday afternoon when he admitted that his own force of deputies was inadequate to protect the plant and workers. Sheriff Moreland's order read: 'I hereby deputize and invest Captain R. B. Elliott and the 61 men of his organization to serve as special deputy sheriffs of Carter county to serve for the next ten days'.

Keep Watch Fires

The young guardsmen went on duty yesterday afternoon and have served since. They built fires at the entrance last night and in that way kept watch. They ate and slept in the Bamberg plant, sleeping in shifts so some would always be on duty. No workers appeared for the 11 o'clock shift last night, the order having gone out earlier in the day that both plants had closed, the last of the workers left at intervals during the night, usually slipping out on the public highways when no strikers were around.

More Men Enroll in Union

Unionization of the strikers continued today. Most
of the Glanzstoff workers enrolled last week. This week the Bemberg workers will be taken in. Another labor leader here is Matilda Lindsay of Richmond, Virginia, representing the National Woman's Trade Union Label League...

The organizer, Alfred Hoffman of Durham, North Carolina, has just had considerable experience in textile work in the North and East. A fat man with a pleasant personality, he is a big hit with the crowd. The other organizations welcome him as they realize that the job so far has been easy compared with what it will be when the small savings of the workers run out.

Chamber of Commerce directors have already passed resolutions condemning the entrance of 'outside agitators' into the strike and pledging their support in the work of the plant. These directors, however, represent for the most part 'big business' men, and not the rank and file of the merchants who do business with the strikers and want them to win."

"Glanzstoff Offers New Wage Scale

Wednesday, March 20. Elizabethton, Tennessee—A new wage scale for girl employees of the American Glanzstoff Corporation was announced this afternoon by the company through William E. Boyd, State Adjutant General. The new scale starts at 2 cents higher than the present, making the minimum wage per hour 18 cents instead of 16 cents, and the minimum wage per week of 56 hours, $10.08, instead of $9.96.

General Boyd said the officials agreed to dissolve
the new injunction against the workers as soon as assurance is given that there would be no more trouble. The officials told Boyd the company would not discriminate against union members, but would insist on operating the plant on an open shop basis. The company will not recognize the union, but will permit the organization."
CHAPTER FOUR: MISCELLANEOUS TESTIMONY

THE EIGHTH WITNESS

The eighth witness testifying to the factors that entered into the strike situation is Mr. Lonnie Hass, who was an operative in the Mills until a very short time preceding the strike, and who is now a Junior in Johnson Bible College and a Minister of a few years' experience. Note his first-hand testimony:

"The Elizabethton Strike is representative of a number of strikes in this country. The cause is far deeper than one would guess at first thought. There are sociological conditions present in most such upheavels which seem to have no outlet except in strikes.

When the Bemberg-Glanzstoff Corporation of Elizabethton announced the opening of the plants the mountains for fifty miles around became electrified with the announcement. Many young men and women were encouraged to leave home by father and mother and go thither to make their fortunes. Thousands of them poured out of the mountain valleys into the factories, driven on by the hope of getting money. They were soon transplanted into a life strange and new to them. Work was soon begun and these people were put to work at a bare living wage. Some immediately began to progress and go higher, but the large majority was content with the weekly pay check. Things moved very smoothly until the novelty wore off; then dissatisfaction arose because of low wages. One thing added to another until
the dissatisfaction grew to hatred, and the hatred to a muffled terrorism which expressed itself in the events of the strike.

This, in brief, is the history of the strike, and now we can well search out the underlying causes.

In the first place, the workers are mountaineers—people who have always lived a care-free, unhampered life. They work only enough to make a living and do what they please the rest of the time. The standard of living is low, so it does not require much to be filled. They have plenty room in which to live; so this leads to an independent attitude towards everything and everyone. They are proud, most of them, even though they are poor. There is nothing in their lives even akin to routine or machinery. On top of all this, most all of them are Scotch-Irish descent, two of the proudest and most stubborn races of people that ever lived.

These people were called from their mountain homes into a life absolutely new and strange—a life crowded with people, bewildered with the noise and whirl of factory life. The factory life is at its best a steady grind, day after day. Each man becomes a mere piece of machinery, which fills in where the machine cannot do the work. This type of work is just the reverse of what rural mountain people have been used to. The longer they worked, the more gruesome this work became. The longing for the old farm and the simpler life presented itself very strongly. Consequently, only one thing
could hold them to such a life as this, and that was MONEY—the fortune they set out to gain. The wages that they received were more than any of them had ever made at home, so it held them to their jobs.

It was not long before a new and unforeseen obstacle made its appearance. These people soon found that their clothes were not like those of other people. They needed better clothes. Besides, their board bill raised in price and taxi fare to work cost extra. At home, simple clothing, simple food, and walking sufficed, but now they were face to face with a new standard of living. This they had been unable to see before. Their employers had figured everything so closely as to give them just sufficient to live on, provided skillful management was used in spending the pay check. Each week when debts were paid the check was gone; so it gradually dawned what had been done, and the dream of the future burst like a bubble in the wind. It was only a matter of time and agitation until this disappointment found expression in the strike.

One department walked out, then another, and finally the fever broke through both plants and the whole system was shut down. This was the first of the two strikes. This strike was because of low wages, as before stated, and it lasted from March 12th until August 19th. At this time the Union and the Plant agreed on a wage compromise and the men returned to work again. Since then wages have been considerably better in some parts of the mills.

The coming of the Labor Union to Elizabethton has
been a hindrance, as well as a help. In the beginning the Bamberg-Glanzstoff Corporation signed a contract to employ County people exclusively for the first ten years in order to get the lease of the property. The Corporation's reaction to the Labor Union was to exclude them all as far as possible. Consequently any person from another County or State was regularly given precedence over the Carter County labor, both in securing jobs and in advancement inside the plant. This soon raised dissent, and with the recent trouble still seething it did not take much to set things off again. So for about one year, beginning in May, 1929, unsuccessful strikes occurred because the Company showed preference for outside labor, in spite of its contract. Here occurred, however, a split in the labor forces, which eventually lead to its fall. After about one week of the Strike the "Yellow Dogs", so designated by the Union, began to return to work, for they were, for the most part, outside labor. "Picketing" began and continued until the State Militia stopped them. Enough employees returned to make it possible for the factories to resume operations without Union labor. It was not long before the Labor Union virtually surrendered, and the Company took on some of the Union labor, but the Union has not made any headway since.

At Present the factories are working about 5000 laborers and are apparently supplying all demands for its products.
Brief Testimony from Miscellaneous Witnesses.

This chapter concerning the elements precipitating the Strike, together with its results, will be concluded by giving a few brief statements of other witnesses by way of confirmation of the testimony of the eight witnesses already adduced.

1. This additional evidence will be opened by Mrs. Frank Seiler, a great-great granddaughter of John Carter, the first President of the Watauga Association, the former's description of "Happy Valley" having been inserted in the Introduction to this dissertation. This testimony was given first-hand, substantially as follows:

"While I do not propose to champion the cause of the Management, I freely confess that being one of the mountain girls, although having the advantages of an education, I know the condition of these mountain girls before the factories came to Elizabethton and I know their condition now, and their condition at present is incomparably better than it was before they received wages from the plants. Before, they had very little furniture in their homes and that of the cheapest quality; while now most of their homes are, if not tastefully furnished are supplied with far more expensive furniture. In fact, many of these girls have more expensive furniture than have I. I will also add that if they would only have saved their earnings, they would have been able to lay aside a considerable portion of their earnings. But here lies their chief handicap; never before having enjoyed any surplus money, they did not know how to save what their weekly stipend put into their
hands."

Along with this testimony, Mrs. Seiler was free to condemn the methods of the Union and more especially the Red element, who with a notorious female character of questionable repute, paraded the streets practically during all hours of the night and attempted to bring new recruits into the Union. Mrs. Seiler produced a few bits of the Red literature published in New York City and distributed in Elizabethton, until the Citizens made a bonfire of all except these small portions which her son salvaged from the flames. Here are some of the fragmentary contents of this literature:

"RENEW THE STRIKE! SMASH THE SELL-OUT! ORGANIZE AND PICKET! REJECT THE KELLY-HOFFMAN-MCGRADDY LEADERSHIP.

Bemberg and Glanzstoff are here to stay. So is the enormous rayon industry across the mountains in Hopewell, Virginia and in other Southern States.

Only the workers have the right to say what they will work for and how they will work.

Registration! No blacklist! All workers to be put back to work before new workers are hired.

All workers are to be hired thru the union committees. All charges to be dropped against the 52 workers arrested under the injunction:

Women and young workers to get the same pay as men for the same work!

The 8-hour day for all workers!

50 PER CENT INCREASE IN WAGES!"
20 per cent increase over day wages for night work!
No speeding up workers!
MAKE THE UNION THE STRONGEST POWER IN THE VALLEY!
SMASH THE SELLOUT!

These so-called labor leaders get money directly from the companies they are supposed to be fighting. If you do not believe this statement, make Hoffman, McGrady, Kelly show you the official of the A.F. of L. and the United Textile Workers, and explain to you how a union paper comes to carry big high-paid advertisements of the worst labor hating and union smashing companies in the textile industry.

"Now is the time to fight. Let us fight as the textile workers in New Bedford fought last summer, as the textile workers in Passaic, New Jersey fought, as the textile workers in Gastonia, North Carolina are fighting now. They are still on strike in Gastonia, and organizing in more than 60 other mills under the banner of the NATIONAL TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA. This is the kind of union we want."

2. The testimony of Professor Josephus Hopwood, founder of Milligan College, Lynchburg College, and a number of other schools of learning: "I had hoped when I heard that the factories were coming to Elizabethton, that the management would adopt the policy of that of Arthur A. Nash in Cincinnati and use the Golden Rule as their policy of operation."

3. Finally, here is the testimony of Mr. Wallace Edward, Secretary to Governor Horton, of Tennessee, who gave the following statement showing the Governor's inability to give the
causes leading to the Strike and explaining why he sent State troops to Elizabethton during its disturbance:

"My dear Mr. Fitts:

Replying to your letter of September 29th will advise that the Governor is unable to advise you concerning the conditions leading to the strike at Elizabethton. State troops were called into service to maintain order after it appeared that the local officers were unable to cope with the situation.

Yours very truly,

Wallace Edward

Secretary to the Governor."

This closes the testimony on the strike situation.

With all the discordant voices, quite a number of facts stand out in no uncertain manner, and which are admitted by all sides to the controversy. Some of these salient facts that need to be especially noted are: (1) That certain conditions precipitated a walk-out on March 12th. (2) That when those who walked out saw that others had taken their places they went into the Mills and forced as many as possible to leave. (3) That these strikers also picketted the building to keep others from accepting the jobs which they had surrendered. (4) That a policeman struck a girl over the head with his billy as they were leaving the grounds. (5) That both sides attempted to line up the workers on their respective sides. (6) That following the first strike the plants were closed down for days. (7) Agitators,
representing the Union came and formed an organization. (8) That damage to the Company property was so imminent that an injunction was resorted to as a method of protection. (9) That riots, disorders and property damage continued for some considerable time. (10) That Dr. Mothwurff, President of the Corporation, was struck in the head with a stone, and Buck Little was also so badly injured as to require first aid. (11) That Policeman Morely was attacked and beaten. (12) That State troops were stationed at the plants for protection of life and property. (13) That tear gas and other weapons of force were used to suppress the strike. (14) That 5000 persons were thrown out of work because of the strike. (15) That Company A, 117 Infantry of the National Guards guarded the highways leading to the plants. (16) That a second strike was called following the settlement of the first strike, and that this was settled about the last of May. (17) That while there has been no serious trouble since the settlement of the second strike, production has never recovered from the first disturbance. The conclusion would seem to be that both sides were injured, instead of benefited, by the strikes.

It has been the purpose in this investigation of the different factors of the strike situation to be as impartial as possible, and pursuant to this purpose, various witnesses of different shades of opinion have been permitted to speak their minds in their own unrestricted way. In this kaleidoscopic picture, showing, as it does, the many colors of various hues,
one distinct and clear-cut figure stands out, and that is the sad spectacle which followed in the wake of the strike. Not one testimony showed any real helpful advantage that the strike brought to Elizabethton. On the other hand, practically all corroborated the patent fact that immense harm has resulted. With this testimony, all pointing to this dismal picture and confirmed by every resident of the town of Elizabethton, bearing testimony to the fact that business since the strike has never approached what it was before, this chapter closes, and the last chapter of this thesis will undertake to draw a conclusion, with the fond hope that a better way can be found as a basis of settlement of all disputes of like character.
Chapter FIVE: Conclusion:

Application of the Teachings of Jesus to the Foregoing Economic Situation.

Having gathered together the salient principles in the ethics of Jesus, and also having reviewed the many unhappy episodes incidental to the Elizabethton strike both in March and in May, 1929, it now remains for this investigation to show whether this entire economic calamity might not have been averted had both parties to the disturbance adhered to these principles. That this investigation may be as systematic and as thorough as possible in keeping with brevity, the various disturbances resulting from the strike will be reviewed in the light of the principles of Jesus as announced in the Sermon on the Mount, as set forth in the Introduction to this thesis.

1. The simple fact that there was a walkout of many of the operatives on March 12th proves that the Golden Rule as indicated in Matthew 7:12 was not adhered to by at least one of the opposing factions, and there is a probability that both parties were moved more by selfish interests than by the spirit of co-operation and brotherly love. If the contention of the strikers were true, that they were not receiving a living wage, the management was at fault, but this granted, it does not justify the strikers in using methods altogether at variance with the Golden Rule.

2. The methods which the strikers used to keep others from taking their place by forcibly evicting them from the
plant and using pickets to keep others out are in striking contrast to the teachings of Him who taught the doctrine of non-resistance and the returning of good for evil. In fact, their refusal to let others take their place is in direct conflict with the principles of freedom of America, to say nothing of the Golden Rule. According to these principles, every person has the right to work or refrain from work, whichever he chooses, but he has not the Constitutional right to forcibly prevent others from accepting his job if he chooses to relinquish it:

3. The violence which both sides brought into requisition was in opposition to both the precept and example of Jesus who not only commanded that his followers should not resist evil, but rebuked Peter for defending him with a sword (Matt. 5:39; 26:51-54).

4. Certainly agitators from other states who were imported to assist in bringing the management to terms by forming a union pursued the opposite course from the role of the "peacemakers," one of the classes on whom the Master in the Sermon on the Mount pronounced a blessing (Matthew 5:9).

5. The action of both sides in attempting to line up the citizens each on its respective side, reveals the fact that competition rather than co-operation was the controlling motive that animated the entire situation, in contrast to the ideal which Jesus gave of the proper relation between employer and employee as indicated in the Parable of the Talents and that

* The preamble of the Declaration of Independence proves this.
of the Householder (Matthew 24:42-51; Mark 13:33-37). It is an undeniable fact that capital needs labor and labor needs capital, and hence co-operation should characterize their mutual relationship.

6. This, as well as all other strikes, ignored the teachings of Jesus with reference to the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In Matthew 5:45 Jesus teaches that all men are sons of the heavenly Father who makes the sun to rise and also the rain to fall upon the evil as well as the good, and in Luke 10:25-37 he shows that as we are all of one race, we should be neighborly to all those in need of what we have—that this bounty from the Giver of every good and perfect gift (James 1:17) should be shared with those in need, regardless of racial, national or social conditions. This principle of one’s relation to God and his fellow-man involves the question of stewardship which runs all through Jesus’ teachings, and which, in fact, is but the broadening of the principle as old as man—that each man is his brother’s keeper (Gen. 4:1-15). Jesus clearly taught stewardship and that man shows himself to be a good steward of the manifold mercies of God by ministering to man. The parable of the talents (Matthew 25:13-30); the unjust steward (Luke 16:1-14); the parable of the rich fool (Luke 12:13-21); the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31); his instructions to the rich young ruler (Luke 18:18-21); and the judgment scene where the wicked will be cast into hell for not ministering to man’s
needs, and the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37) --all testify with no uncertain sound that no man in the sight of God lives to himself, but that the whole world being akin, each has a responsibility to the balance of the human race. Nothing could better emphasize the fact that racial or national bounds can absolve one of this world-wide obligation than the last parable cited—that of the Good Samaritan, which was given especially to teach the self-justifying Lawyer that anyone who needs anything that we possess is our neighbor, regardless of how he may feel towards us. Jesus adroitly turns the question of the lawyer from "Who is my neighbor?" to "Who was the neighbor to the man who fell among thieves?". This puts the responsibility where it belongs—on each individual towards all others regardless of how they may act toward him.

7. The closing down of the plants for days following the strike which caused suffering and injury to all involved was contrary to the spirit of Jesus who taught that "it is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts 20:35), and that it was better for a millstone be tied around one's neck and he be drowned in the sea than he offend one of his little ones (Matthew 18:5-11).

8. The fact that it was deemed necessary for State troops to be stationed at the plants to protect life and property reveals the fact that a state of affairs obtained in the town inimical to the teachings of him of whom it was predicted by the prophet that he should be the Prince of Peace...and of whose
peace there should be no end (Isaiah 9:6,7); also that
"righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins" (Isaiah 11:4,5).

9. The appeal to race prejudice on the part of the opposition to the management was the antithesis from the teachings of him who called himself the Son of Man, and who knew no racial barriers, but taught the kinship of the race.

10. The general results of the strike, bringing unmitti­ gated injury instead of benefit to both sides; as well as to many others not directly connected with the disturbance, but who had to suffer with the guilty, is at least strong presumpt­ ive proof that the way of Jesus, the way of peace and good will, and the way of co-operation, rather than the way of force and violence, is the better way to settle all economic, as well as many other problems (John 14:5,6).

From the above ten reasons it seems evident that the ethics of Jesus were not adhered to in the incidents leading up to, and growing out of, the strike situation at Elizabethton.

However, there yet remain two more propositions to be proved before the contentions of this thesis are substanc­tiated, namely: (1) Would the results have been different had the ethics of Jesus been followed? (2) Are his teachings practicable—can they be practiced in this materialistic age? So far this investigation has been largely of a negative char­acter, showing the disastrous results of the course pursued. It remains to be seen if a different course would have brought
a happier result and if such a course is within the possibilities of man's action. This last is what Prof. James would call "the pragmatic test". While some of the items considered would rather give the presumptive proof that a policy more in keeping with the Golden Rule would have accomplished better results, more positive proof is necessary, and it is of the greatest importance to ascertain if the Golden Rule can be actually lived today. The remainder of this thesis will be devoted to a consideration of these two questions.

Having pursued the elimination process principally thus far, showing that the strike method, like nearly all other methods of human ingenuity—materialism, socialism, autocracy, and even education—has failed, it is now the purpose in the conclusion of this dissertation by appealing to two distinct lines of evidence as proof to show that Jesus' teachings as epitomized in the Sermon on the Mount and further condensed in the Golden Rule, will solve all economic problems of the character of the Elizabeth ton strike, and that furthermore this standard is practicable—that it can be put into practice. These lines of evidence are as follows: (1) A brief consideration of the opinions of men who have given a careful study to both the teachings of Jesus and also economic problems. (2) Lastly, to show that the ethics of Jesus are practical, a brief study will be given of two present day plants, each of which has inculcated at least many of the principles of the Golden Rule, and as they have succeeded the inference would

* Prof. William James, "Pragmatism", pp.45-81.
seem to be that others could do the same. The two plants which will be given as specimens showing the practicality of the Golden Rule standard are the Arthur A. Nash Manufacturing plant of Cincinnati and the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis.

Would the Golden Rule Method have produced better results than the Strike produced?

As the first method of ascertaining whether the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount could be put into operation in view of the complicated industrial system that obtains in this age, a symposium is herewith given of what some of the leaders of the present time, or quite recently, have said on the subject.

(a) Roger Babson, recognized as a leading statistician, as well as a man who has keen insight into matters pertaining to spiritual values:

"The present system of government and business is based on the personal profit plan. The system has failed. The great opportunity before the Church is to present and operate a system based upon religion. All absolute rights of persons and property are being swept away. Vested interests are to be reconceived in terms of service. The teachings are to become laws of finance, industry and commerce. Shall the Church lead or follow in this movement?"

(2) "Our present system is not created for the production of goods, but for the securing of profits. Jesus anticipated
this and warned against it. Now we see clearly that the 'production for profit' system has failed, and for it must be substituted the 'production for service' founded by Jesus, and of which the Church is trustee."

(3) "The need of the hour is not more factories or material, not more railroads or steamships, not more armies or navies, but rather more education based on the plain teachings of Jesus. With the forces of evil, backed by men and money, systematically organized to destroy, we must back with men and money all campaigns for religious education.

The call is insistent. Eternal destinies hang in the balance. The most vital needs in the lives of boys and girls, of men and women, can only be met through a spiritual interpretation of life in the midst of the material world which is crowding in on all sides. If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

(b) Woodrow Wilson: "The only hope for humanity is for men to lay aside their carnal ambitions and get back to the teachings of Jesus Christ."

(c) Lloyd George: "The hope of the peace of the world is in the ministers and the Churches. I believe this very profoundly."

(d) R. A. Long, lumber king of Kansas City:

"Few, if they would state their true feelings, would not agree with Mr. W. J. Bailey, governor of the Federal Re-

* Roger Babson in "Religion and Business", p.154. **Babson in recent communications for the daily Press. ***Woodrow Wilson, in the first public statement that he made after his breakdown,
serve Bank of Kansas City, who said in a letter to me: "As a layman and as one who has been reared under Christian influences I feel that the great responsibility of the Church is to maintain the old fundamental principles as taught by the Nazarene." Again, quoting from Mr. R. A. Booth, a business man of Eugene, Oregon, Mr. Long continues: "I am disposed to believe that if the principles of the Sermon on the Mount do not become the code of ethics to be worked out more religiously than ever before into human action, our entire social fabric is apt to be changed. Socialism and Communism are in the offing, and may be the future state. The obligation of the Church, therefore, is to impress upon the world the necessity of following the teachings of Jesus as enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount, if we are to avoid injustice, hatred and chaos". Mr. Long in commenting this quotation from Booth says: "There are many reasons set forth for these changing—shall we say the changing of man's nature? No, his nature is not changing. The church as one time moral instructor of the world, I fear, is changed...There was a time when its influence was recognized in the home, in the School, the store, the shop, the factory. Its opinions on questions involving principles had overwhelming weight in the halls of Congress, in the courts of the land. The pulpits of old were, 'The spring of American...while President of the United States. ***Lloyd George, from a message which he gave Dr. George A. Campbell, Pastor of Union Avenue Christian Church, St. Louis, when he was in the U. S. a few years ago, for the preachers of that city.
liberty'. History recognizes the hand of the church in all world movements.**

(e) Dean Inge,** the celebrated Dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral. After rightly contending that "the gospel is a message of spiritual redemption, not of social reform", he continues with these significant words: "On the other hand, His (Christ's) method of proceeding outward from the individual to society is the true method of all moral reform. By refusing to legislate for Palestine in the first century, He avoided making any laws which would be a hindrance to America in the twentieth. His religion has not, in fact, impeded secular civilization".

(f) Professor Emory S. Bogardus, Professor of Sociology, and Director of School of Social Welfare, University of California, says***: "Jesus extended the concept of brotherhood. Whosoever shall do the will of God is a brother to me. The world under God is one family... The ideal society is organic. It grows from good examples. Love so that other persons seeing the helpfulness of your life may live likewise. The kingdom grows like a grain of mustard seed, which finally becomes a tree in whose branches the birds find homes. Love grows, and like leaven, permeates and transforms the whole mass,—the result is a perfect Kingdom". Under the head, "The New Testament Authorities' Contribution to Sociology", Professor Bogardus arrives at this conclusion: "They offered no new system, but presented a dynamic program, beginning by changing

** Dean Wm. Ralph Inge, in the January Forum, 1930.
the attitude of the individual". *

(g) J. R. Seeley:** "It is one of the most obvious features of the Sermon on the Mount that it treats men as standing in relation of brothers to one another under a common Father in heaven. This mutual obligation of men was not like the tie of the Jews on the ground of a common descent from Abraham, but upon a common descent from God. Thus Christ made morality universal"... Mr. Seeley a little further on in his Ecce Homo continues thus: "The first law, then, of the Kingdom of God, is that all men, however divided from each other by blood or language, have certain mutual duties arising out of their common relation to God" (Page 143). Still later he pursues similar sentiments: "The words 'foreign' and 'barbarous' lost their meaning within the promuerium of the City of God; and on the baptized earth the Rhine and the Thames became as Jordan, and every sullen desert-girded settlement of German savages as sacred as Jerusalem" (p.150).

(h) Francis Greenwood Peabody***: "Jesus Christ is himself the world's true everlasting Ethius". Again he declares: "The New Testament is not a disconnected series of answers to moral problems, but a continuous revelation of spiritual principles. It is not a book of laws, but a book of LIFE" (p.30). Hear Peabody once more: "It was Jesus' vision of a perfected, a divinely ordered world to which he gave the title, so familiar to his hearers--'The Kingdom of Heaven', 'the Kingdom of God'. More than a hundred times

* Bogardus in "History of Social Thought", pp.140-143.
*** Francis Greenwood Peabody in "Social Teachings of Jesus"--Two Lectures--p.15.
these phrases occur in the first three Gospels. His ministry was first thus introduced: "He came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God" (Mark 1:14). He taught his disciples to pray, 'Thy Kingdom come' (Matthew 6:10). He predicted that some of his disciples would live to see this kingdom come with power (Mark 9:1). He declared that the kingdom should not come with observation, but that it would be within them (Luke 17:20, 21). Jesus was not a law-giver, but a life-giver" (p.55). Peabody sums up the consequences which would follow in the business world from the social teachings of Jesus into a single phrase—"The humanization of industry, or the conversion of business from an economic to a moral science" (pp. 66, 67).

(1) Shaler Mathews**: One cannot arrive at the teachings of Jesus by studying isolated passages, but like studying other teachings, we must study his teachings as a whole." Later Mr. Mathews continues: "There are 106 passages in the Gospels that contain references to the kingdom; 50 occur in Matthew, 15 in Mark, 36 in Luke, 3 in John." He explains that "Kingdom of God" means ideal social order in which men were sons of God and brothers to one another.

(1) Charles Ellwood***: "It is in the economic sphere that we expect selfishness to be most in evidence, and it was the observation of the economic life of the nineteenth century which built up the philosophy which proclaimed that self-interest rules all men in all things, and even that action on any

** Shaler Mathews in "The Social Teachings of Jesus", pp.10-17.
other basis than self-interest is inconceivable. It is in the economic sphere, in a word, that the baldest selfishness, greed and inconsiderateness of others is to be found. We have already seen how, even at the present time, in a part of our business and financial world, predatory pagan standards prevail almost as they did before the Christian movement began. Rich and poor, employer and employee alike too often hold that they are entitled to all they can get and can keep, regardless of the service rendered. Instead of seeking only just compensation for service rendered, both working and business men too often seek to get as much as they can and give as little in return as possible. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the passion to get 'something for nothing' dominates modern economic life in the sense that it gives color and tone to its most characteristic features.

In the following quotation this noted economist gives an even stronger testimony to the contention of this thesis; namely, that the acceptance of the program of Jesus would solve most of our economic problems: "Many social thinkers of the present see that the world needs the re-birth of a vital religion, but many of these fail to see that a foundation was laid in the religion and ethics of Jesus as stable as the foundation laid by Copernicus in astronomy or Darwin in biology. They look for a new religion. In the autumn of 1914 the writer heard in London a great religious social thinker say that he saw no way out of the present crisis in our civiliza-
tion unless there should perchance again arise a religious leader of the simplicity, dignity and exaltation of character of Jesus of Nazareth, who could lead the nations to peace, justice and brotherhood. But with much more insight into our social and moral problems, as well as into the nature of Christianity, Henry C. Emory, formerly a professor in Yale University, has said: 'We are told by some writers that the world is waiting in agony of expectation for some great social philosopher who shall bring to it the new message of salvation. If so, the world is wrong, for there is no message to bring it peace, from its manifold ills, save that heard nineteen centuries ago from the profoundest of all social philosophers, the Man of Nazareth'. With dispassionate impartiality, Professor Ross, too, has said: 'I suppose that all students of society would accept something like this as a formula for social progress: THE MAXIMIZING OF HARMONY AND COOPERATION AND THE MINIMIZING OF HOSTILITY AND CONFLICT. Now, when you stop to think of it, is it not wonderful that in the Gospels we find provided just the religion which is best suited to realize the sociologist's ideal? From the point of view of improvement in human relations, humanity has in this religion an asset of indescribable value' (Charles Ellwood in "The Reconstruction of Religion, pp. 90, 91).

With such strong testimony as to the sufficiency of the teachings of Jesus to cope with all of our economic situations comes from such authorities as Professors Ellwood and
Ross, it would seem to behoove both capital and labor to give them at least a fair trial.

Phillips Brooks*. An illustration from this great exponent of the spirit and power of Christianity will close this symposium: "A traveller in the old world is deeply interested in seeing what are the most complete embodiments of themselves which the different struggles of human nature in thought and devotion have left in art. I remember well the impulses of contrast which I received from two when I saw them for the first time, many years ago. In one of the most rich and beautiful of European galleries hangs Raphael's greatest Madonna, called the Madonna of Saint Sixtus. Among the dreary sands at the edge of the Egyptian desert, under the shadow of the Pyramids, stands the mighty Sphinx, the work of unknown hands, so calm and so eternal in its solitude that it is hard to think of it as the work of human hands at all; as true a part of the great earth, it seems, as any mountain that pierces from its bosom. These two suggest comparisons which are certainly not fancies. They are the two great expressions, in art, of two religions--the religion of the East and of the West. Fatalism and Providence they seem to mean. Both have tried to express a union of humanity with something which is its superior; but one has joined it only to the superior strength of the animal, while the other has filled it with the superiority of a divine nature. One unites wisdom and power, and claims man's homage for that conjunction. In oth-

* Phillips Brooks in "The Influence of Jesus", pp. 73-75.
er combines wisdom and love, and says, 'Worship this'. The Sphinx has life in its human face written into a riddle, a puzzle, a mocking bewilderment. The virgin's face is full of mystery that we cannot fathom, but it unfolds to us a thousand and mysteries of life. It does not mock, but blesses us...
The Egyptian monster is alone amidst its sands, to be worshipped, not loved. The Christian woman has her child clasped in her arms, enters into the societies and sympathies of men, and claims no worship except love. It is in this last difference—the difference between the solitude of the one, and the companionship of the other—that we feel, I think, most distinctly how different is the Christianity of the picture from the paganism of the statue. The picture is Christian because it is so truly human.

The only justification of this picture of these two contrasting symbols is the belief that the Madonna is a true picture of LOVE, the genius of the Founder of Christianity (John 13:35; 15:12,17; comp. Matt. 22:37,38; 1Cor.13:1-13), and also the conviction that along with this principle of love there comes from the Great Love-Giver the power to put this love into practice. The sad spectacle of the world today is that it is not living up to ideal symbolized by Raphael's masterpiece. Some one aptly replied to the charge that Christianity had failed, that "It has never yet been tried". This thesis makes a plea that it shall be tried.

When we add to these thirteen testimonials, all
more or less emphasizing the superlative importance of Jesus' ethics in every day life, this striking statement from Professor H. C. King*, it would seem that this principle is the need of the hour, after showing that a moral world requires a sphere of Universal Law, within which all actions take place, the ethical freedom of each individual, rendering each some power to shape its character, and that there must be power of accomplishment, he gives this conclusion based on Professor James' description of man's difference in the workings of his brain from the lower animals: "Man differs from the lower animals in that there are no fixed models in the working of his brain, to which he owes his preeminence as a reasoner. Theistic philosophy affirms that we can ascribe independent existence in the highest sense only to God. All else is absolutely dependent on Him. The fact that we all are related in, and dependent on, Him, makes us related to, and dependent on, each other".

With the conviction that these testimonials among the multitudinous others that might be given if space permitted or if they would add any weight to these adduced, speak with no uncertain sound as to the sufficiency of the Golden Rule to solve all economic problems involving the relationship of capital and labor, employer and employee, this portion of this dissertation comes to a close, and the remainder of the chapter will be devoted to a consideration of two institutions that have at least in a measure put these principles into practice with quite successful results.

Chapter SIX :

Are the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount Practical?

A.

The A. Nash Company of Cincinnati, Ohio.

Having seen in the foregoing pages of this investigation the evils that result from strikes, and having also considered the claims of more than a dozen writers that the Golden Rule is a solvent for the various economic problems of today, as well as of every other age, the great question which presents itself to those who are inclined to demand that theory be always confirmed by examples or practice, is, Is this Rule practicable, or is it simply a utopian dream which although it may look and sound well, cannot be reduced to practice in this materialistic age, where selfish competition is the usual motivating power that dominates man in nearly all of his undertakings? It is to give a fair and, it is hoped, a satisfactory answer to this question that the remainder of this last chapter shall be devoted. If examples can be found in the present industrial order in which enterprises have been successfully launched and developed beyond the experimental stage according to this altruistic standard, this will go a long way toward showing that it might be practicable in other enterprises in which it has never been tried, and that it may also furnish a basis, or guide, for trying it out on all other industries where competition has failed.

The consideration of two such experiments, with their successful results, will furnish an appropriate close to the contention of this thesis. The first of these two il-
lustrations which will be considered is the A. Nash Company of Cincinnati, Ohio. This is a Clothing Manufacturing Company, and is the result of an experiment of Arthur A. Nash, who believing that the Golden Rule could be worked out in every day life in the industrial world, gave the best and last years of his life towards demonstrating this ideal.* Having had his clothing factory in Columbus, Ohio, destroyed by a flood, he went to Cincinnati in 1913 and established himself in the same business, using the Golden Rule as the standard of his operation. In 1916 he incorporated the A. Nash Company with a capitalization of $50,000, and by 1918 the corporation had done $132,000 worth of business with a loss of $4,000.

About this time an Austrian who had business relations with the firm desired to return to his country to see his mother and sister, and hence he asked Mr. Nash to take over his shop. Mr. Nash accepted, and he declared that this newly acquired business was the best illustration of not living the Golden Rule that he had ever seen. Women were paid from $4.00 to $7.00 per week and men up to $17.00 and this just after the Armistice. Although he was running at a loss, and believing he would go bankrupt if he increased the payroll, he determined to close out the business but to pay living wages so long as he operated the shop. As a result, an old lady eighty years old sewing on buttons on the shirt for $4.00, found that she now received $12.00, or a raise of 300%. The same was true of a hunchback. Pressers and skilled workers were raised to $28.00, over 50%.

Still believing that bankruptcy awaited him, he went

away to look for a farm where he could take his family when his shop was sold out. On the contrary, he learned that during the months of 1919, under the new wage scale, the firm had done three times as much business as in a similar length of time during 1918. Mr. Nash, on learning these results, immediately called the workers together and told them they were all brothers and neighbors, entitled to the same justice as he, and 'God being my helper, I am going to give it to you'. He said an Italian was heard to say with an oath attached, 'I believe he meant that'. With this new spirit—that of the Golden Rule—pervading the shop, skilled workers were made from skilled loafers', and the business increased from $132,000 in 1918 to $2,700,000 in 1921.

The Company purchased an old distillery at a cost of $50,000, and the capital stock was increased to $1,000,000. The stock issued was $800,000.

While the author of the above article concludes that this work of Nash's is the story of religious emotionalism, it is evident from her own figures that, whatever be the cause, it succeeded marvellously, and one is tempted to say that if such results be the product of religious emotionalism, this should be the desideratum of all industrial corporations and they should pray fervently to the Lord to give them more religious emotionalism! For every effect there must be an adequate cause, and for one to admit as our author admits in this article that although the wages were raised from 50 to 500¢,
the business increased in three years from $132,000 to $2,700,000, and then give religious emotionalism as the cause, is to ascribe to it all the power that the most idealistic would ascribe to the Golden Rule. It requires more than the mere wave of the hand to explain away such facts. While it would be unkind and perhaps an exaggeration to place both in the same category, one is at least reminded of the Pharisees who when forced to admit that Jesus cast out the unclean spirit from the demoniac, explained the miracle on the ground that he did it by the power of the devil (Matt. 12:22-36), and also of the fact that although the Pharisees on another occasion were forced to see that the man who was born blind as recorded in the ninth chapter of John, had been healed, labored to convince the healed man that his alleged healer was a sinner and hence could not have been the cause of the miraculous sight bestowed upon him. The erstwhile blind man replied with much reason that the fact that God heard Jesus as demonstrated in the cure was proof positive that the miracle bore the stamp of both His sanction and His cooperation.

As proof that religious emotionalism does not explain Mr. Nash's success in the unique enterprise satisfactorily, but that he was animated by more substantial and enduring motives is the patent fact that on Dec. 8, 1926, he entered the shop and in a very dramatic address to his workers requested them to enter the Labor Union. While there was considerable opposition to this move among his operatives at first, they finally agreed to the experiment for a month, with the un-
derstanding that if at the end of this time they were dissatisfied, they might be free to revert to the former policy.

Here with are given two descriptions of this change of policy:

(1) An article under the caption, "How the Union Came to the Golden Rule Factory"*. (2) An Editorial Tribute (Obituary)**.

"How the Union Came to the Golden Rule Factory."

"A landmark in the history of unionism in America was set up, it is remarked, when Arthur Nash who had been conducting his famous 'Golden Rule' clothing factory in Cincinnati on 'open shop' lines personally brought about the unionization of employees. This is a hitherto unheard of thing in the history of American industry, says The Post in Mr. Nash's city. The Cincinnati Daily sees Mr. Nash representing a new attitude of capital toward organized labor, an attitude which it pictures in this way: "Labor and capital have been as two groups of men throwing stones at each other over the fence, though neither group can see the other. If the two groups tore down the fence and got together, they might become acquainted with each other, and from acquaintances there would flow respect and understanding. As friends they would be in a position to point each other's faults and to correct them for each other's good."

As the story of his (Nash's) recent career is told by Robert W. Bruire in the 'Nation': 'In 1919 the A. Nash Company was one of the smallest concerns in Cincinnati. Today it employs between three and four thousand workers, and has some

two thousand salesmen scattered over the country. There has never been a strike in that plant. Repeated effort to organize it both by the Amalgamated and the United Garment Workers failed. The present enterprise got its real start when during the war Mr. Nash bought out a man who wanted to return to his people in Europe. The shop he took over was a typical sweat shop; wages were low, working conditions wretched. In the name of the Golden Rule he immediately increased wages, in some cases 300%. By stabilizing employment, by making remarkably successful efforts to keep his workers employed the year round, by paying good wages, and by maintaining comfortable working conditions, Mr. Nash won the loyalty of the rank and file of his employees to an unusual degree. After showing that as workers increased and Mr. Nash's enforced absence from the plant appeared to render the informal arrangement with the employees inadequate, causing some dissatisfaction, the Editor of the Digest describes Mr. Nash's calling his employees together and in an impassioned address begged them to invite Mr. Hillman, President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to organize them into a union. Owing to opposition at this proposal, many of the workers preferring to continue as they had heretofore with their system of wages, a month was given as a trial of the union, with the understanding that if after that time they were dissatisfied they could revert to their former policy. The Editor of the Digest said The New Republic hailed the decision as a great social gain, while the
Brookland Eagle felt that unionism and Christian philanthropy are incompatible.

While this thesis holds no brief for the claims of unionism, neither does it propose to act as umpire between Mr. Nash and his decision to enter the union on the one hand and those who opposed this policy on the other, it does take the position that whatever success attended Mr. Nash's wonderful enterprise, was preeminently due to the approach of his ideals to the Golden Rule, which standard he adopted long before his connection with the union. He believed this was the norm by which all relations between man and man are to be measured.

That an unbiased appraisal of the spirit that animated Mr. Nash may be seen, herewith appears an Editorial tribute which the Survey* gave as an obituary on the occasion of his death: "Arthur Nash--Golden Rule Nash--manufacturer of men's clothing, died in Cincinnati on October 30. His eccentric and picturesque personality had made him and his industrial experiment subjects of wide interests and controversy. The leading facts in his business career were summed up in the Graphic for May. Possible the most significant commentary on his character is that at his death the members of the union which for years he had resisted and with which he finally joined forces should deplore his loss as irreparable.

The Advance, official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, of which Sidney Hillman is President, characterizes him as one of its most understanding friends and as one of the most constructive influences in the industry. From

the time that he invited the union into his factory until his death, he consistently directed his energies toward making their union an integral part of his business. He was not jealous of his prerogatives or of his authority, but counted union participation in management an asset. In the many developments of his business during the past two years--consolidation of his several factories, improvements in quality, changes in the process of manufacture, amalgamation with other men's clothing business in Cincinnati--he places a growing responsibility upon the union for planning and administering improvements in his shops. His dream of turning over his business to the workers of the union was not realized by him because of the union's reluctance to accept responsibilities for which it was not yet ready. Only a week after his recognition of the union, he proposed to its officers a plan of workers' ownership and management. Failing this achievement, he paved the way for growing union participation in his business. One of his last acts was to place upon his new board of management a representative of the union.

Here is revealed the most advanced experience in union management cooperation yet attempted in this country. It is a tribute to Arthur Nash that after two years he should have won the complete confidence and affection of men who had long held him in doubt in with many of his critics. His death at the moment when this bold step toward industrial democracy had been taken is a severe loss to the problem of enlightened in-
As a final tribute, a few excerpts will be given from K. Doris*. She holds his plant up as "one that has a record of no labor troubles"; as "successfully weathering the storm of 1919 with the loss of but one employee", being the only one of 31 concerns in Cincinnati to do this; as "increasing its production by nearly 88% in a year when other concerns in practically every line of business were struggling to prevent an actual loss". Furthermore she states that although union scales are disregarded yet he has this endorsement from the official publication of the Cincinnati Trade-Union: "The fair and business methods of the Nash Company have met with unusual approval and have resulted in building up a remarkable business. We can safely recommend the establishment".

She says that Nash was a firm believer in mixing religion and business, that he agreed with Roger Babson that the need of the hour is not for legislation, but for religion; that the 'labor problem' is largely a question of religion, and that communities and industries where right motives rule have no serious labor troubles. She attributes his election to the presidency of the Cincinnati Tailors' Association to the fact of his remarkable record in the city strike the year before. She says that these experiences put the Golden Rule to the test, but that it came through un tarnished. She concludes by stating that he always refused to put a time clock in his factory, notwithstanding the glib plea of an agent as to its advantage. Nash answered: "What kind of an employer would I be to these

workers of mine?”, and he added, "I would not do it for $10,000."

As a final picture of the results accomplished by the Nash company, here are a few figures direct from the office:

"THE NASH COMPANY,
THE NATION’S TAILORS,
Cincinnati, O.
March 13, 1931.

Dear Mr. Fitts:

We were pleased to receive your letter, and glad of the opportunity to send you further information relative to the Company.

The present value of our factory and offices is approximately $1,500,000.00. It is rather hard to give you an exact figure on this, due to constant change, attributed to depreciation, etc. The above, however, would be fairly close in round figures. At the present time there are close to 3500 employees in the Nash Organizations.

Your last question dealing with the Democratic nature of our operation, could be answered from several different angles. However, we assume that you intended this question in its broader sense. Every employee feels free to make suggestions at all times, and there is not that usual hesitancy to speak to the executives, that is found in a great many organizations. All the manufacturing departments operate like one
big family, with a true spirit of Democracy prevailing.

Yours most sincerely,

E.O. Pierce

NASR--THE NATIONS TAILORS."

As to the extent of their business, it is sufficient to state that on the margin of their letters 55 Cities of the United States are named as Branch Offices.

Having considered the successful workings of one industrial institution that, to say the least, has approached the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount, a consideration will now be given to another institution, which, although it is somewhat different from the one just reviewed in its policy and program, is even more democratic, if possible, and thus will tend to show the practicability of the Sermon on the Mount in this age.
Are the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount Practical?

B.

The Columbia Conserve Company, of Indianapolis, Indiana.

That a clear conception of the genius of the workings of this institution may be obtained, there are hereewith submitted the salient features of two publications descriptive of this unique enterprise as a demonstration that the ideals of the Sermon on the Mount are both practical and practicable.

The first one of these pamphlets to be considered is from the pen of the worthy founder of the institution, who is also its President—William P. Hapgood—whose article he calls, "An Experiment in Industrial Democracy", in which he gives the results of its first thirteen years of operation, or, as he terms it, "Thirteen Years of SELF-GOVERNMENT".

According to Mr. Hapgood's account, The Columbia Conserve Company, which is an establishment for making high-grade soups, had been in business since 1903, but it was unsuccessful until 1916. This year marks its turning point on the road to success. The following year promised even greater success, and it was during this year, 1917, that a change in policy from an autocratic to a democratic form of government was adopted. Heretofore Mr. Hapgood and his brothers owned the property and complete control was vested in him.

The writer explains his change in attitude in regard to the future policy of the business largely as the result of his reflection on his experiences in athletics during his Col-
lege days which reminded him that generally recognition of
the members of the team was due more to social position or
a pull with those in authority than because of the ability
of the players. This caused him to wonder if the same prin-
ciple might not be true in industry—might not leadership oft-
en be given to certain persons in the industrial ranks more be-
cause of their social position, caused either by the fact that
they had stock in the business, or else because they had a
pull with those who did? Believing that control of the work-
ers in a business for no other reason than ownership was para-
sitical and that this was bad for both parasites and those
prayed upon, he determined to take the step towards industrial
democracy. He claims as one result of this change in policy
that the lives of its employees have been changed, and be-
ides, it has revolutionized his own life.

Financial Results

While the enterprise was a loss from 1903 to 1916, from this latter date it has been increasingly successful every
year up to the present. During the last fiscal year (prior to
the issuance of this pamphlet) ending June 30, 1929, the net
profit from operation, before taxes and depreciation were
charged, was $180,934.34. The capitalization was $257,426.00,
common, and $55,482.00, preferred. During the first ten
months of the present fiscal year (1929-1930) the net results
before allowing for taxes and depreciation were $136,087.00,
with a capital stock of $257,426, common, and $99,583.00, pre-
ferred. Mr. Hapgood adds that he would be embarrassed to publish these figures were it not for the fact that all the surplus except limited dividends goes to the employees. He says he thinks this fact will justify their large net earnings until they have completed their contract with their stockholders and improved their standard of living and economic security. After that he proposes to consider consumers by lowering prices. Recently they loaned a considerable sum to an enterprise with a liberal policy of government, and $10,000 to another cooperative Society where property was endangered by a mortgage which was about to be foreclosed.

Independent Self-Government

Mr. Hapgood gives as his ideal of self-government that expressed by Lincoln in his Gettysburg address: Government of workers, by workers and for workers. He states that when he announced to the group of workers in 1917 of his contemplated change in policy in the government of the Company and that they could as rapidly as they chose become a self-governing institution, those who understood him did not believe him, and very few understood him. From the outside many cynics gave voice to the prediction that the workmen would rush in and destroy everything before they understood how to manage affairs, but that these proved to be false prophets, and he explains it by saying that these men who so prophesied knew very little of human nature, and that they were the victims of their own fears and fanaticism, for when people are
quickly brought into contact with difficult problems they usu-
all realise their own inexperience and are ready to follow the 
advice of those who have learned.

The second problem, Mr. Hapwood says, was to stimu-
late the workers' confidence in themselves, but with experience 
this confidence gradually increased.

In regard to the question whether his workers are not 
an exceptional group, which Mr. Hapgood says is often asked him, 
he answers that while they are now above the average, they were 
not in the beginning, but were just average American manual 
workers. For illustration, he says there was only one high 
school graduate and that he did not remain with them long. The 
average among them was not above the fourth grade, and not but 
one on the committee was above this grade, and this was a very 
capable woman in the office. However, he claims that now they 
have become more competent than 95% of American industrial en-
terprises. On all matters pertaining to the welfare of the 
workers each has a vote, which, he says, is a symbol of freedom.

When they changed their system from wages to salary, 
from no guarantee as to length of employment to an almost com-
plete guarantee, the question of rates of pay arose. The prac-
tice was to multiply the hourly rate by fifty-five, thus estab-
lishing the weekly wage basis. Minimum salaries have gradually 
increased from $15.00 per week in 1917 to $22.00 in 1929, except 
those under twenty years and married women whose husbands work, 
and for this group the salaries are $19.00. The minimum salar-
ies for married men are $33.00 per week, and for single, $22.00
per week. $2.00 per week is added for each child under sixteen until the total income exclusive of his share of the profits is $39.00 per week.

Salaries are paid with respect to need, and not efficiency, and by this need are included food, clothing, shelter, health, education, and recreation. There is no difference in work hours between those who work in the office and those who work in the factory. All begin and quit work at the same time.

Another feature of the plant is that pensions are given the superannuated workers on the basis of the needs of the individual; also sick and accident insurance are granted, and vacations begin with those who have worked with the Company four months and increase on a gradual ascending scale according to the length of service.

Mr. Hapgood concludes by stating that individually their incomes have steadily increased, their education has been broadened and that they are happier than they would be under a less democratic society; also that soon out of the profits of the business they will own all of its common stock, and that when that time comes they believe they will not be able to take care of themselves, but that they will also be able to assist other workers who may desire their aid, to build similar democratic societies.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that the Columbia Conserve Company is quite unique in its democratic
leanings, as well as in several other features, and these will now be further manifested in the other pamphlet to be considered from the pen of Mr. Boyd Gurley, Editor of the Indianapolis Times, under the caption, "A Business Without a Boss".

"A Business Without a Boss".

As the final illustration of the practicality of the Sermon on the Mount, including the Golden Rule, the contents of a pamphlet written by Editor Boyd Gurley of the Indianapolis Times which he calls "A Business Without a Boss", will be briefly considered. As before indicated, this has reference to the same industrial institution which has just been described, the facts of which were furnished by Mr. William P. Hapgood, President of the Company.

According to Editor Gurley, here is a brief resume of the unique features of this plant:

"Fourteen years ago the Hapgood brothers inherited a canning factory, and as an experiment they turned it over to the employees to run... Today it stands as the world's only socialized industry, where wages are determined by personal need and not by efficiency, and where the most menial laborers may criticize the way every superior handles his job."

Mr. Gurley admits that "business men will tell you it just can't be done; that it's crazy to think of fixing wages on the basis of needs and not on efficiency, and that this way leads to bankruptcy". He also admits that they will think it is still "crazier to think of a business that has no
owner, no responsible head who is looking for dividends; no boss who hires and fires, no genius to direct and guide".

However, he gives as his only answer that there is one business (the Columbia Conserve Company) which has operated on that basis for fourteen years, is still running, makes large profits and has prospects of even greater ones--with never a prospect for any individual to get for himself an added dollar beyond that standard of needs, real needs, not desires or dreams, which is set by the workers.

The cardinal points of the industry, as Mr. Gurley sees them, are as follows:

1. The stock of the Company ultimately (probably 1933) will be in the hands of trustees, named by the workers and held for the common benefit of all the workers.

2. The basis is the need of the workers, not his efficiency or earning power.

3. The rate of wages is fixed by the workers and differs with human conditions.

4. There are no increases for those who rise to what in other plants would be foremanships and superintendencies, and those who today enjoy larger salaries received them before the change to the present system was made.

5. Advancement now carries no increase in pay. In this plant they are leaders, not bosses. And these people have the queer idea that a leader eats no more food, wears no more clothes, gains no expensive tastes by the mere fact that his talent qualifies him for leadership.
6. Every policy, every important matter, every detail in the operation, is in the direct charge of all the employees, and can be changed or modified at any council meeting.

7. Every worker holds his place until discharged by this council of his fellow-workers. He does not fear unemployment as long as the business itself continues, for his wages are paid each week during the year.

"What happens in an employee's meeting? Sit down and listen. The first two hours are given over to business. No board of directors more closely scrutinizes the reports of their executive than these workers do the figures of business, the reports of salesmen, the prospect of the failure of the tomato crop, the new account from Los Angeles, Peoria or New Orleans. They know what each salesman is doing. They know how much profit was made. And no high-powered executive could be more exacting in demands for results. If there is something wrong, they want to find it out."

With this close-up picture of the working of the plant, it would seem to be clear to all fair-minded persons that democracy is practiced to a degree practically unknown in other industrial institutions, and this is certainly in keeping with the ethics of the Golden Rule.

The following figures furnished by Mr. J. Evans, of the Office force on March 16, 1931, will indicate some measure of the material success that has resulted from the policy of the Company: "In our financial statement of December 1930, the public accountant estimated that the value of our plant was
$300,000.00, and I think is the figure that should be given as official. The volume of business which we do ranges between $1,250,000.00 and $1,750,000.00. Last year it ran to $1,615,000.00".

This investigation would emphasize the fact that it is not incumbent on it to prove that either of the establishments considered to show the practicality of the Sermon on the Mount is perfect, nor even that they exhibit all the features of the Golden Rule, but rather that the measures of success which has attended their enterprises have been principally due to their approach to this Divine Standard of the Master of Men. Neither is it necessary to prove that the world will ever accept it; but the proposition which this thesis has maintained from the beginning of this investigation is, that if the ethics of Jesus were put into practice, in our industrial enterprises, strikes, riots, starvation wages, and other labor troubles incidental to our present system of competition, rather than cooperation, would be largely eliminated. Without presuming to dogmatically affirm that this contention has been sustained beyond a reasonable doubt, such is our conviction, and as a final summary let this be the conclusion of the whole matter pertaining to this investigation:

The whole burden of this thesis has been to establish this proposition: This is a moral universe, and the human race is so inseparably and indissolubly bound together that what affects one affects all— that as the Apostle declared on Mars
Hill, Athens, God has made of one blood all nations of the earth. Jesus brought to the world this idea of the Fatherhood of God, and its corollary, the brotherhood of man, and hence Jesus summed up all the Law and the Prophets in the two commands to love God and one's neighbor as himself (Matthew 22: 27-28). He came to reveal the Fatherhood of God (John 14:5-11). There can be no escape from the conclusion that if we are all children of a common heavenly Father, we are all brothers. This kinship of the race precludes the exploitation of a single one of its members, for, as is true of the members of the human body, it is also true of the social system, that if one member suffers, all suffer. This Golden Rule Way is the WAY of Jesus (John 14:4-7), and when all men are willing to walk therein, then all moral and economic problems will be settled, and here on earth there will be a parliament of men far beyond Plato's fondest dreams, and there will be realized Tennyson's "One far off Divine event,
To which the whole creation moves".

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