IMMIGRATION AND LABOR

EXTRACTS FROM HEARINGS

BEFORE

THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FOURTH SESSION

ON

H. R. 7826 and H. R. 11730

JANUARY 3 AND 4, 1923

STATEMENTS OF

C. L. PATTERSON
WILLIAM BANFIELD
S. L. LAWTON
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JAMES A. EMERY
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COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

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X

IMMIGRATION AND LABOR.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Wednesday, January 3, 1923.

The committee this day met, Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. Among the bills before this committee are the following: A bill introduced by Mr. Steenerson, H. R. 11730, which proposes to amend the act of May 19, 1921, by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Aliens experienced in agriculture upon filing with the American consul at the port of embarkation a statement of such experience and a sworn declaration of intention to either settle upon the public land of the United States and occupy and farm the same, or to purchase, cultivate, and improve other lands available for such purpose: *Provided*, That such alien shall deposit the sum of $200 for himself and each adult member of his family and $50 for each minor child admitted hereunder, said sum or sums to be repaid to such alien or his successors in interest upon satisfactory proof that said declaration has been complied with; otherwise said sum or sums to be applied to the cost of deporting such alien and his family for failure to comply with said declaration."

Another bill is H. R. 7826, introduced by Mr. Perlman, to repeal the act entitled "An act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States, approved May 19, 1921."

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the act entitled 'An act to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States,' approved May 19, 1921, be repealed."

Those two bills may just as well form the basis of hearings which will be held for three days at the request of many persons who think there is a shortage of labor of various kinds in the United States and of societies whose officers have requested that they be heard. Among those associations are the following: National Association of Merchant Tailors of America, American Manufacturers' Association, and in connection with the request of the American Manufacturers' Association are the following: American Railway Association, American Farm Bureau, American Association of Manufacturers, which is the same as the first one; the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and the National Conference of State Manufacturers' Associations; also the National Industrial Conference Board, which is comprised of representatives of the various associations just named.

STATEMENT OF MR. C. L. PATTERSON, SECRETARY, BUREAU OF LABOR, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SHEET AND TIN PLATE MANUFACTURERS.

The CHAIRMAN. Just give your name to the reporter.

Mr. PATTERSON. C. L. Patterson, secretary, bureau of labor, National Association of Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers.

The CHAIRMAN. Your residence?

Mr. PATTERSON. My residence; Beaver, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. That is your entire business, secretary, National Association of Sheet and Tin Plate Manufacturers?

Mr. PATTERSON. Secretary, bureau of labor, of the national association.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that association connected with the manufacturers' association?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen this statement put out by the manufacturers in regard to the national program of legislation?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to discuss the various phases of that?

Mr. PATTERSON. To a certain extent; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is your association united in making those particular recommendations?

Mr. PATTERSON. Not so far as our association is concerned. They have never taken any official action in the matter whatever.

My reason for coming here, of course, is largely to report the labor conditions which exist in the sheet steel industry at the present time, as regards the shortage of labor.

The sheet steel industry, as represented by our association, comprises about 70 per cent of the output of the sheet steel in the United States. Practically all of the independent plants exclusive of the United States Steel Corporation——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What do you mean by independent of the Steel Corporation?

Mr. PATTERSON. Independent of the United States Steel Corporation.

On November 1 of this year—well, first, I will state that at the present time it requires about 40 per cent more men to man the mills in the sheet steel industry than it did at the close of the war.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the reason for that?

Mr. PATTERSON. Due to the increase in the number of mills which have been built, some of which were building and not completed when the war closed, and some of which have been built since the war closed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any difference in the hours per day of labor?

Mr. PATTERSON. The sheet steel industry is practically on an 8-hour day in the skilled trades, and 10-hour day for common labor.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by "practically"; do you mean that it is run entirely on an 8-hour basis?

Mr. PATTERSON. All of the skilled men—that is, the hot-mill men—are on an eight-hour day.

The CHAIRMAN. Since when?

Mr. PATTERSON. They have always been, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, when we hear of the steel industry working 10 and 12 hours, what is meant by that?

Mr. PATTERSON. That refers particularly to the blast furnaces, open hearths, and bar mills.

The CHAIRMAN. What is represented—what labor?

Mr. PATTERSON. About 14 per cent of the men engaged in the steel industry as a whole are on the 12-hour day.

The CHAIRMAN. And always have been?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Even when there was an excess of labor in the country?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you may proceed.

Mr. PATTERSON. On the 1st of November, 1922, we made a survey of the labor shortage in the plants of our association and received replies to our inquiries from 26 plants, employing at that time 53,202 men. These 26 plants required 2,475 additional men to man their plants at that time. To operate these same plants at full capacity, they required 10,751 additional men and are unable to secure these men at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. What kind—common labor, or skilled?

Mr. PATTERSON. About equally divided between skilled, semiskilled, and common labor.

The CHAIRMAN. What do those plants pay common labor?

Mr. PATTERSON. The average pay for common labor is at the rate of 36 cents.

The CHAIRMAN. How much is that per day?

Mr. PATTERSON. $3.60 a day.

The CHAIRMAN. For a 10-hour day?

Mr. PATTERSON. For a 10-hour day.

To operate the plants at maximum capacity, or force, they would require 10,751 additional men. At that time, due to the approaching cold weather, a great many men who had been engaged on outside work had come into the mills for the winter, which they frequently do, so that in the spring when the outside labor opens, a great many men who are now employed on the inside, in the mills, will again go on the outside, as the work in the mills is hot, and they do not like to work in that heat during the summer months. But to operate the plants at full capacity will require 10,751 additional men in those 26 plants, which they have been unable to secure.

The CHAIRMAN. In what States are those plants located?

Mr. PATTERSON. Largely in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia.

The CHAIRMAN. What class of labor do they have; what nationality?

Mr. PATTERSON. The common labor is largely made up of Austrians, Hungarians, Slavs, and Italians.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you increase the wages recently of common labor?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When?
Mr. PATTERSON. Their increase was made on September 1.
The CHAIRMAN. How much?
Mr. PATTERSON. From 30 to 36 cents.
While we hope that our industry may not be burdened with additional operating costs, it is probable that the scarcity of labor will again provoke manufacturers to bid against each other for labor in order to keep their plants in operation. This will force wages up, increase the cost of living, take labor away from the farms, and re-create the same unsettled and destructive industrial conditions that existed during and subsequent to the war.
The CHAIRMAN. What did you pay that common labor two or three years ago?
Mr. PATTERSON. Seventeen and one-half cents an hour for a 10-hour day in 1913; 19 cents an hour in 1914; numerous increases throughout the war period up to 46 cents in 1920; decreases down to 30 cents in 1921; and a 20 per cent increase to 36 cents on September 1, 1922.
The CHAIRMAN. And did you have an overplus of labor for a while?
Mr. PATTERSON. For a while.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you still pay 46 cents?
Mr. PATTERSON. Sir?
The CHAIRMAN. You dropped down to what?
Mr. PATTERSON. Dropped down to 30 cents.
The CHAIRMAN. And you are now up to 36?
Mr. PATTERSON. Thirty-six.
The CHAIRMAN. And you are contemplating an increase?
Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir; if labor becomes scarcer.
The CHAIRMAN. Have the prices of clothing, shoes, and meats and other foods dropped over there?
Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. They are down now?
Mr. PATTERSON. They are down considerably less than they were during the war and subsequent to the war.
The CHAIRMAN. What does the worker, the common laborer in that industry of yours, pay for a pair of shoes?
Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I presume for the kind of shoes that they wear in the plants, they probably pay $2 or $2.50 a pair. I am not qualified to answer that question.
The CHAIRMAN. You do not know whether those shoes last any better than the shoes that the soldiers wore in the Army or not?
Mr. PATTERSON. I do not imagine they do.
The CHAIRMAN. Well, are any of these common laborers married men?
Mr. PATTERSON. A great many of them; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Are the majority of them married?
Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I would presume that they are about equally divided between married and unmarried.
The CHAIRMAN. What do you prefer, married men or unmarried?
Mr. PATTERSON. Married.
The CHAIRMAN. You want the alien labor that comes in to help you to be married men?
Mr. PATTERSON. Preferably; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you pay overtime?
Mr. PATTERSON. Some of the plants pay overtime and some do not.
The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed with your statement.
Mr. PATTERSON. We also experience the same difficulty that some of the gentlemen mentioned this morning, in that at the present time there are practically no American-born boys who are coming into the mills to learn the sheet-mill business.
Previous to the war, when our demands were some 40 per cent less than they are at the present time, we had an annual immigration of about 22,000 men per year. During the last fiscal year, our emigration of common labor exceeded our immigration by 68,000 men.
The CHAIRMAN. You mean in this particular industry?
Mr. PATTERSON. Sir?
The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean in this particular industry, or is that the total?
Mr. PATTERSON. No; that is the total common labor coming into this country.
Now, as I say, the sheet-steel industry alone requires 40 per cent more men than it did at the close of the war. The emigration of common labor from this country during the fiscal year exceeded the immigration by about 68,000 men.
The CHAIRMAN. The men are going back to the old country?
Mr. PATTERSON. A great many of them.
The CHAIRMAN. Why? Do you know?

Mr. PATTERSON. Some of them had saved up their money and wanted to go back to the old country with the idea of living in ease; some desired to take advantage o. the difference in the exchange rates, and some went back with the idea of finding out what had become of their relatives in the old country during the war period.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give the percentage of those leaving your industry that have returned?

Mr. PATTERSON. A very small percentage.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the reason, in your opinion, that emigration from the various countries in Europe is exceedingly light except for dependent people?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think that that is perhaps due to the fact that skilled mechanics, the substantial men of the old country do not care to sell their homes, burn their brdiges behind them and come to this country without knowing where they are going to be employed or whether they are going to be employed.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you are speaking of the skilled labor, in the countries?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir. In other words, it would appear to me that the better class of mechanics in countries like England and Germany, would be more loath to take the chance of coming to this country not knowing where they were going to locate, or what kind of a job they were going to get, that they would be more reluctant to come than those floaters in the old country, that felt that they did not have anything to lose if they come over here and did not get a job.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that these skilled laborers in the various old countries realize that a large part of the world is on the move, and that they would be better off, if they did not take their chances and join the movement?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. That must be so.

Mr. PATTERSON. As I look at it, from my standpoint, even in this country, it seems to me I would hate to pull up and sell my own home and go to some other locality without knowing what I was going to do, after I got there, or whether I was going to get a job or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Well, now, if that is so, do you think that there could be any plan devised by which the Secretary of Labor or some agent of the Secretary, a board maybe, could decide that this country needed a certain number now of common and skilled laborers in the steel rolling mills? That is your business?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the rolling-mill business and get them there?

Mr. PATTERSON. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that the very first thing which should be done is to ascertain in order to intelligently handle the immigration situation, is to have some means of actually and accurately determining what the industrial needs of the country are at a stated period. I do not know whether that is practical or not to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is in these recommendations which seem to be pretty well indorsed here by various persons that have spoken, too. Do you think that we could devise a plan to go and get them? Now, how many do you think that you need?

Mr. PATTERSON. According to the survey which I made, we needed on the 1st of November, 1,043; about equally divided between unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, assuming that you need 400 skilled men——

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And we had such a law, how would you start getting them?

Mr. PATTERSON. Perhaps the most highly skilled sheet mill and tin mill men in the world are in Wales, where there are at the present time something like a million and a half or two million out of employment.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you want to be able to pay their transportation?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not think so; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you want to be able to make contracts with them?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you want to offer them employment for any specified term?

Mr. PATTERSON. We could not do so.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean if the law would permit you to do that?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, it would be pretty difficult to guarantee them employment for any specific time.

The CHAIRMAN. That is exactly the point.

Mr. PATTERSON. It would be; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So as a practical matter, would it be advisable to authorize the Secretary of Labor, or any other agency, to encourage them to come here, knowing that this industry wanted 400 skilled laborers when there is no possible means by which you could guarantee them work for any particular period?

Mr. PATTERSON. We could not guarantee them employment any more than we could guarantee employment to our own native employees.

The CHAIRMAN. Exactly. Now, then, in the event that you failed to do that, and filled the shortage now, a failure to make guaranties during the shortage now would, in case of an oversupply and laying off after you had brought in 400 alien skilled laborers, make a great deal of confusion, would it not?

Mr. PATTERSON. Except for the fact that there is a natural and normal expansion and growth of the industry which consequently requires additional men.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, when you say that there are no American boys learning that trade, what do you mean by "American boys"?

Mr. PATTERSON. I mean sons of American-born parents.

The CHAIRMAN. How about sons of naturalized parents?

Mr. PATTERSON. Practically none of them are learning the trade.

The CHAIRMAN. How about the unnaturalized parents?

Mr. PATTERSON. The same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do they not learn the trade?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not know why, unless it is due to the fact that our whole educational system, particularly our educational system in the grades and in the high schools, is educating the boys away from the skilled trades and preparing them for college and white-collar jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not educating all of our children that way. The laborers' children are not all being educated that way?

Mr. PATTERSON. Our educational system provides an education for them to enter college, whether they go there or not. In other words, you recognize the idea is this: That perhaps many of the boys in our high schools know that when they have finished high school the financial condition of their parents is such that they can not go to college and that they must go to work. Yet during the four years that they are in high school they are taught Latin, Greek, zoology, botany, etc., which prepares them to enter college when they get out of high school, but it does not prepare them for any practical trade by which they can earn a living.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what becomes of them?

Mr. PATTERSON. They become clerks, drive trucks, run automobiles. In other words, it is impossible for us to get men for the difficult jobs in our mills, but if we advertise for a truck driver or a clerk we can get hundreds of them.

The fact also remains that while there is a shortage of labor in our industry, it is about equally divided between unskilled, semiskilled, and highly skilled labor. That is largely due to the fact that we dare not promote men from common-labor jobs to semiskilled jobs, and from semiskilled jobs to highly skilled jobs, for the reason that we can not recruit our supply of labor, and in order to maintain the balance between the three classes of labor and keep our mills running at a certain capacity we have to keep all of the men that we have in their jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, then, you argue that if you could have a steady flow of labor, common labor, that you could make promotions among the semiskilled labor?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if we kept that up long enough, then you would have alien children, children of aliens, as common labor always, and you could fill the lowest positions within 20 years from now——

Mr. PATTERSON (interposing). I do not think so. Our experience is that those children of aliens are not following the footsteps of their fathers to any great extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, not when there is a shortage of labor, but if we kept an extremely heavy flow of common labor coming into the country from any and all other countries you would soon have a condition where the children would be glad enough to work in the mills, would you not?

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not think that we should have a heavy flow of labor coming from foreign countries, but I think that we should have only a sufficient flow to meet our needs. I think when there are periods of financial depression or industrial depression, so that American workingmen are out of jobs, I think that all immigration should cease, and I will say further that it seems to me that our immigration needs in this country are for producers and not for consumers, if it were possible for us to limit our immigrants to that class of people who are producers in agricultural and manufacturing industries.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you say that you want men to come here, with families, to work for you for 10 hours a day for 36 cents an hour. A man with a family constitutes a producer, does he?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not consider them as consumers?

Mr. PATTERSON. Not that way. I mean by that, those agents who engage in trade and commerce. I do not think that we need any increase of those immigrants.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not want immigrants that engage in trade or commerce?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You want them on the farms?
Mr. PATTERSON. On the farms; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Common labor?
Mr. PATTERSON. Common laborers and——
The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Have you made any study as to what the needs are, what immigrant labor we need for all industries in the United States and the farms?
Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir. That is the reason I made the suggestion that there should be some means of accurately ascertaining what those needs were as the very foundation of our immigration legislation of any kind.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, you would have no objection to labor from any source, would you—any other foreign country, any other country?
Mr. PATTERSON. Why, no; if they have the necessary political, moral, and physical qualifications; no.
The CHAIRMAN. But could you use labor from Porto Rico?
Mr. PATTERSON. I do not think that Porto Rican laborers would be satisfactory in our industry.
The CHAIRMAN. They would work a great deal cheaper than those you have?
Mr. PATTERSON. Well, we are not seeking increased immigration for the purpose of lowering wages but for the purpose of manning our industry, so that we can operate to the capacity to which the condition of trade demands, which we are unable to do at the present time.

I am not in favor of a great inflow of foreign labor with the idea of forcing wages down at all. I do not think that we should have a single laborer in this country who can not be employed properly, but we do think that we should have enough laborers in this country to meet the normal expansion of our business and enable us to operate at the greatest possible capacity

The CHAIRMAN. Could you get along with your common labor working eight hours?
Mr. PATTERSON. Could we get along?
The CHAIRMAN. Yes.
Mr. PATTERSON. No; not at the present time.
The CHAIRMAN. Well, they do about as much in 8 hours as they do in 10?
Mr. PATTERSON. I do not think so.
The CHAIRMAN. We found it otherwise on the Pacific coast.
Mr. PATTERSON. Well, different industries are different. Take, for instance, the blast furnaces or an open hearth. The labor in either one of those two places, by working harder or working slower can not increase or decrease the output of a blast furnace or open hearth. The output is largely dependent upon the heat of the furnace and not on the individual efforts of the man.
The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, in the statistics you read, you gave the total labor, the total needed by you to fill up the independent rolling mill industry.
Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And the number is what?
Mr. PATTERSON. The number was 2,475 November 1.
The CHAIRMAN. Are you advertising anywhere in the United States for labor?
Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. You are not adverting at the present time?
Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir. Of course, our individual plants are sending out inquiries to labor agencies in different localities in order to recruit labor. For instance, our plants at Middletown, Ohio, and Newport, Ky., and Ashland, Ky.—those plants down there go down into the hills of Kentucky and recruit some labor in Kentucky. A great many of the plants in the Youngstown district at the present time are trying to build up their labor force by the importation of negroes. That is largely unsatisfactory, because the negroes will not stay. They work a week or two, and go back again, and also because it raises the race question.
The CHAIRMAN. Youngstown is a sort of an alien city, is it not?
Mr. PATTERSON. There are a great many foreigners in Youngstown.
The CHAIRMAN. What percentage; have you any idea?
Mr. PATTERSON. No; I do not know.
The CHAIRMAN. What class of foreigners?
Mr. PATTERSON. All classes.
The CHAIRMAN. Is Youngstown your idea of a pretty good American city?
Mr. PATTERSON. Personally, I do not like Youngstown.
The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are a citizen just the same as we are, and personally you are interested the same as ourselves?
Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir; certainly.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, I do not like to pick Youngstown, but the condition that must grow out of Youngstown in 25 years' time—will that be good for the United States or bad?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I can not answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the problem that this committee must consider, and not concern itself with the flow of labor because there seems to be a little shortage this or any other year, when a year ago there was no shortage at all.

Now, the problem that we must consider is the future of the United States.

Mr. PATTERSON. Absolutely, and that above everything else. I wish that the immigrants that we are getting at the present time might be more largely from north and western Europe and less from eastern and southern Europe.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you favor setting the census day back to 1890 and then increasing the quota so as to make the number if immigrants larger from those countries?

Mr. PATTERSON. I have not considered that feature. The only feature I have considered along that line was a method which might relieve the condition which threatened us this spring, and that is covered in the resolutions of the Manufacturers' Association, in which they suggest that it be based upon 3 per cent net instead of gross.

The CHAIRMAN. Three per cent net instead of gross would not amount to much if anything. Have you studied that?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, take for instance, the Italians. We have a great many Italians in the mills, and I understand that Italy has used up their entire quota during the last fiscal year, yet the emigration of Italians from this country exceeded immigration, if I am correctly advised.

The CHAIRMAN. According to this pamphlet here, 40,000 Italians entered and 53,000 emigrated.

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir. I believe the figures also show that the gross immigration or, rather, immigration to this country during the last fiscal year actually lost something over 10,000 male population to the country.

The CHAIRMAN. We admit that that is one of the problems, as I said, since the war, the immigrants that we are getting are largely of a dependent nature. Before we enacted the quota law something over 800,000 came in immediately and soon as ships were available, and out of the 800,000 a very small proportion of them are what could be called laborers in the sense of hard-working day laborers.

Mr. PATTERSON. It seems to me in order to increase the emigration from the north and western countries, which are perhaps our most desirable classes of immigrants, that if the alien contract law was modified to the extent of permitting either the Government through the Secretary of Labor or independent manufacturers making known in those countries the opportunities for employment in this country. I do not think that we would want to permit the making of contracts or the paying of expenses or anything of that kind, but if we were permitted to make known those things. Now, there is hardly a week passes that I do not get a letter direct or from some of our manufacturers sending it to me from somebody in Wales or England, asking if they can get jobs over here or what the chances of getting a job are if they come over here. And, of course, I don't even dare answer them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is the pay of skilled labor in the rolling mill industry in Wales?

Mr. PATTERSON. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. What does skilled labor get in Wales in your industry as compared with pay here?

Mr. PATTERSON. Why, their pay is at least a third less than it is here—yes; it is 150 per cent more here than it is there.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for the fact that Wales and other countries can keep their supply of labor of that kind?

Mr. PATTERSON. Because of the lack of markets for their goods and the low percentage of operation; also due to the fact that a man who is a sheet-mill roller, or a tin-mill roller in Wales, his son learns the trade and his grandson, and so on down, generation after generation.

The CHAIRMAN. Because the pay is small to begin with there is no opportunity for any line of his family to progress?

Mr. PATTERSON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What then—because of a lack of initiative?

Mr. PATTERSON. Chiefly, a lack of initiative and partly a lack of opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Illiteracy?

Mr. PATTERSON. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Illiteracy?

Mr. PATTERSON. Illiteracy to a certain extent. I am in favor, by the way, of repealing the literacy test in the immigration law, and if possible, the substitution of the intelligence test for immigrants.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you consider an intelligence test to be?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, something similar to the tests which were applied during the war period.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. RAKER. Have you gone into the matter to note that Great Britain, which includes Wales and England and Scotland, 40,000 could come into this country between now and the 30th of June?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. So that we need no amendment to the law to permit those people to come if they want to?

Mr. PATTERSON. No; and that is the reason why I stated if you will consider my opinion, that we ought to increase the quota from these countries, and suggested some modification of the alien contract law, which will give us some means of inducing those people to come to this country.

Mr. RAKER. You are somewhat familiar with the situation, and you do not believe that the American people will submit to a modification or relaxation of the contract labor law, do you?

Mr. PATTERSON. I doubt it very much. That is the reason I made the statement that I was not in favor of permitting contracts with foreign labor or paying their fare over here, or anything of that kind, because I do not think it is possible, but I do think it would be possible and practicable to modify it to the extent of permitting us to let them know what the opportunities for employment are here.

Mr. RAKER. I find the same statement in a little different form made heretofore, and elsewhere in regard to our own people. You were present this morning when this gentleman from New York testified—the tailor?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. About our American boys and girls as to doing the work in hand. What do you say to that?

Mr. PATTERSON. I think I covered that possibly before you came in.

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. PATTERSON. I do not agree with that gentleman in that he seemed to place that condition largely upon our colleges. I think the condition starts long before it gets to the college. I think that it starts in the graded schools and high schools. If a man is able to go to college, all well and good, and take up a technical or professional career; but there are probably half of the boys in our graded schools and high schools who know when they are in the grades and high schools that they never will go to college, yet they spend four years in high school studying astronomy, botany, zoology, and other things that are not worth a continental to them when they get out of high school and have to go to work. I think that it would be far better for those boys to devote four years in high school to learning some practical trade and studies to go with that trade to enable them to perfect themselves in those trades.

Mr. RAKER. Now, you say that you need 2,475 laborers. Does that include all of the plants?

Mr. PATTERSON. That includes 26 plants who replied to the inquiries.

Mr. RAKER. And those are scattered over the country?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes; they were scattered from—they are mostly in Ohio and Pennsylvania, but some of them are in Illinois, some in West Virginia, and some in Kentucky.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you furnish the committee with the names and locations of each one of those plants?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes, sir. They are located at Apollo, Pa.; Brackenridge, Pa.; Canonsburg, Pa.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Sharon, Pa.; Canton, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Dover, Ohio; Mansfield, Ohia; Middletown, Ohio; Newton Falls, Ohio; Niles, Ohio; Warren, Ohio; Youngstown, Ohio; Follansbee, W. Va.; Wheeling, W. Va.; Ashland, Ky.; Newport, Ky.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Baltimore, Md.; Chicago, Ill.; Granite City, Ill.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Milwaukee, Wis.

Mr. RAKER. Is it possible, say, in the cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Newark, where there are so many people out of employment, that you can not get men to fill these places?

Mr. PATTERSON. It is. At least, we have not been able to do so.

Mr. RAKER. What do they say to you? Now, they are out of work. There are people in this town that are out of work. You can go down the street here to-day, possibly, before night, and if you walk along rather leisurely, and look a little bit prosperous, there will probably be two or three of them ask you to help them, to give them something.

Mr. PATTERSON. I have met them quite frequently. They do not want to work.

Mr. RAKER. What?

Mr. PATTERSON. They do not want work.

The CHAIRMAN. Our information is to the effect that a large number of the people that we are getting as immigrants are in the same frame of mind, and we have had very careful inquiries made; that is to say, they think that if they get to the United

States they will not have to work so hard, if they do work, and that they can do better, and that this is a generous, liberal country with fine institutions to take care of them if they fail to land anything or if they do not want to work.

Mr. PATTERSON. Of course, I do not know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what we have learned to be the condition. I am speaking of the new immigrants, those seeking admission. We do not undertake a solution, but if you find after they come here that they are not inclined to work what are you going to do about it? You can not cure it, in my opinion, by inviting the rest of the world to come here.

Mr. PATTERSON. Oh, no.

Mr. RAKER. What I have been advised—how correctly, I am not able to say—that so many of these people seeking to come to this country, and there are millions from foreign countries, that they are more or less dependent. Do you get that information?

Mr. PATTERSON. Well, I have no means of finding out what the class or the motive of those immigrants are.

Mr. RAKER. All right, then. I am also informed that the Government and authorities in many of these places are quite ready and willing to unload that class of people on our country, but the skilled, able-bodied, intelligent men and women, from young men up and young women up, are provided for in their own country, and they do not care to have them come to this country.

Now, what we want, and we are representing the country, and we want you to assist us in finding some solution to this problem: Do you not think that it would be better for us to keep out these undesirable immigrants and put your own house in order, even if it is to our own detriment, rather than to permit undesirables to come into this country that will not do you people any good?

Mr. PATTERSON. I speak for myself, and I think that I am speaking for practically every steel manufacturer when I say in so far as the political, moral, and physical qualification of the immigrants to this country are concerned, the laws should not be loosened one particle.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. We are very much obliged to you. Now, who is the next witness?

STATEMENT OF MR. WILLIAM BANFIELD, OF FOLLANSBEE, W. VA.

The CHAIRMAN. Give your full name and address to the reporter.

Mr. BANFIELD. William Banfield, Follansbee, W. Va.

The CHAIRMAN. And your business?

Mr. BANFIELD. I am general manager of the Follansbee Bros. Co., manufacturers of sheet steel and tin plate.

The CHAIRMAN. You heard this discussion this morning?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you add to it?

Mr. BANFIELD. I just want to add to it the statement that we are very, very short of unskilled labor, not merely common labor, but some few common laborers, semiskilled labor, more particularly.

I will give you an instance to show that. We have built a new mill within the last few years at Toronto, Ohio, where we expect to employ about a thousand men. We have been employing about 750, but we desire to increase this now to about a thousand, which will require 100 skilled, which we can provide ourselves, but the 200 semiskilled and unskilled we do not know where we are going to get them. Labor is very, very scarce in our section of the country.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you pay common labor?

Mr. BANFIELD. We pay common labor 35 cents per hour.

The CHAIRMAN. And how many hours per day do they work?

Mr. BANFIELD. They work 10 hours at the Follansbee plant, where we employ 1,300 men. We work 8 hours on all continuous work; that is, in the mills, they work 8 hours, where we are working continuously 24 hours a day, but the day hands, such as carpenters and blacksmiths and common labor, 10 hours. Common labor is a very small part of our work. We merely keep about 20 common laborers out of 1,300. We just keep them for cleaning up around the plant, so that when we need a man in the plant we can go out on the gang and find a man to take the place.

The CHAIRMAN. They get 35 cents an hour?

Mr. BANFIELD. It is just a waiting place, waiting to be called in.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the common-labor problem does not concern you?

Mr. BANFIELD. It concerns us in this matter, that our semiskilled labor all comes from the common labor. That is our source of supply.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that in your plant you have just a few common laborers?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many?

Mr. BANFIELD. About 20 out of 1,300.

The CHAIRMAN. How many semiskilled laborers do you have out of the 1,300? You develop them out of this 20?

Mr. BANFIELD. I want you to understand about this common labor, particularly in the mills, such as ours, the steel and the tin-plate business. For instance, we can take a man and put him on many jobs which he will learn in five minutes, but he will make 50 to 60 cents an hour, instead of getting 35 cents an hour, and yet it is the simpliest kind of common work that a man can do.

The CHAIRMAN. And he is considered a semiskilled laborer?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, it is hardly that.

The CHAIRMAN. But you pay them more than you pay common laborers?

Mr. BANFILED. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been doing that?

Mr. BANFIELD. Oh, for 18 years in that mill.

The CHAIRMAN. Eighteen years.

Mr. BANFIELD. More or less. The wages have been up and down, according to the conditions of trade, and on account of the conditions in the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been paying 50 cents an hour for semiskilled labor, all of that time?

Mr. BANFIELD. For 18 years; no.

The CHAIRMAN. For 10 years?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; we have not paid that except since the war started.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you do not have any hope that labor will go back to the place where it formerly was?

Mr. BANFIELD. No, sir; that is not the kick, as to the price. We are kicking because we are not getting enough of it. That is the trouble with us.

The CHAIRMAN. What would happen if you slowed up a little as a result of not being able to get labor?

Mr. BANFIELD. Why, it would cut down our production. The only reason that we have been able to run the plant full during the last couple of years has been due to the fact that most of our men only work eight hours. Our company wants eight-hour men. That is all they want. We do not want 12 hours. We have no 12-hour men in our plant except a few watchmen at the gates; they sit down there and just take it easy.

The CHAIRMAN. How long has it been since you have been on the 8-hour basis?

Mr. BANFIELD. The bulk of our men—practically all of them—are on the 8-hou basis; that is, at our hot heavy work, steelwork, rolls, heaters, and tin house, mill-work; they work eight hours, and have been doing that for many years.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got any company stores in your plants?

Mr. BANFIELD. No.

The CHAIRMAN. How much labor do you think you will need to man your plants?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, we need now 200 semiskilled laborers, which we could put on this month if we had them.

The CHAIRMAN. At what wages?

Mr. BANFIELD. At an average of about $5.

The CHAIRMAN. Per day?

Mr. BANFIELD. Per day; yes, sir; some 8 hours and some 10 hours.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you mean that you can get a man from Italy or Austria or any other country and teach him that work in five minutes—is that it?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Could you use Mexicans?

Mr. BANFIELD. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Could you use Mexicans?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes; we can use people that do not speak English, because there is nothing to learn about it except that they want to be a little bit strong in the back sometimes. There is some work about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you do not favor restriction of immigration?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; I am not in favor of restriction, but I think it would be well to change it a little bit, though. For instance, from Great Britain we are not getting our quota.

The CHAIRMAN. Why not?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, because they do not come. We can not compel them to come.

The CHAIRMAN. Either they can not afford the rates or the job is not alluring enough.

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, now, there is only a certain number of people that need the work. I know there is a certain number of people. I know it because I am English born. I am an Englishman. I came to this country when I was 18 years old, and

I am in touch with them and in touch with my own people over there, and I know that there is only a certain number leaving England. They are all here, practically, that will come. I have not seen a green Englishman, Welshman, or Scotchman, I do not think, for years. We used to see them, but not now.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the more of the other type that come, the less likelihood there is that the British or English type will resume its migration to the United States?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not think that it will resume its migration, or that it will resume to any great extent.

The CHAIRMAN. So you think that we have got to look to other countries?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, if I had the say myself, I would say Italy. We have quite a large number of Italian employees in our Follansbee shops down at Follansbee, and we get along fine with them. They are the most intelligent people except those from western Europe that we have had to deal with.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they become naturalized?

Mr. BANFIELD. They become naturalized, and they are home people. They own their homes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not had any trouble with your alien labor in West Virginia in the last few years, have you?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; but we are not a long ways from Cliftonville, where they have had trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it likely that you will have any trouble in your industry?

Mr. BANFIELD. Oh, no. We have quite a large Italian population in our town, and they are making mighty good citizens, buying homes, and they settle down, and they live there, as nearly as can be, like Americans.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how many people are there out of work in West Virginia now?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not believe that there are any that need to be out of work.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some.

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. There are some out of work.

Mr. BANFIELD. Not in our section; there is not. We are in West Virginia; we are located in the Panhandle, where the three States, West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania come in together.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that a plan could be devised by which laboring people could be brought from any part of Europe to West Virginia, instead of being brought to New York or Jersey City or some of the other communities where there are large alien populations?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do, because we have quite a number of Italians in our town, and they would come to our town; these Italians would get their folks over in the old country to come there and locate in our district, in our town.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any danger to your town as a result of that situation?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; our foreign population is possibly about one-half.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a good healthy condition?

Mr. BANFIELD. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that that is a good healthy condition?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes; we have about 3,500 people. We employ 1,300 ourselves. There are some other factories there. We have a very good foreign element, not only Italians, but other people. They are home builders.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if your industry continues, and you continue to bring in this foreign population, your town will become more and more alien, will it not?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, we have some increase in Americans, too. It is not a one-sided affair, but there is an increase on both sides. We have a very good class of young men growing up. We will, in a few years, possibly, have enough native-born people to man our mills.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, that is just it. You treat them as Americans, too?

Mr. BANFIELD. Absolutely. We pay them the same wages for the same work, under the same conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are going into the mills?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If you continue bringing in people of this type, and these children of these aliens continue to go into the mills, your need will be less in the course of 20 years?

Mr. BANFIELD. We can absorb them all. The country grows fast. We do not seem to be able to get enough, outside of a few times over short periods. During the past four and one-half years, we have been unable to secure enough laborers. We take the high-school boys into the mills. We are glad to get them to work. They will work during their vacations, but after they get through high school, we can not get them, but we are able to get them to come in and work during their vacations.

The CHAIRMAN. These people own their own homes in your town?
Mr. BANFIELD. Practically all of them; yes, sir; a very large percentage of them.
The CHAIRMAN. They are mostly taxpayers?
Mr. BANFIELD. Mostly taxpayers; yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?
Mr. RAKER. You can get the high-school students, but after they graduate from high school, you do not get them, you say. What becomes of them?
Mr. BANFIELD. Well, they get away from the job. They get other jobs, but they will not take off their coats and go down into the mill and do hard work.
Mr. RAKER. Approximately how many aliens have come to your city during the last five years?
Mr. BANFIELD. How many have come in?
Mr. RAKER. Yes; alien Italians, Austrians, and others?
Mr. BANFIELD. We took a census and found this: That the Italians balanced all the rest of the aliens.
Mr. RAKER. Well, that would be about how many in all?
Mr. BANFIELD. Well, I can not tell you off hand what our foreign population is. it is about half of our population.
Mr. RAKER. I know, but have they been coming to your city from Italy and Austria, and Hungary?
Mr. BANFIELD. Not during the last few years.
Mr. RAKER. That is what I mean—within the last few years.
Mr. BANFIELD. No; very, very few.
Mr. RAKER. Well, this immigration that has been coming over, has not been coming to your section of the country?
Mr. BANFIELD. We are not getting any more men. They are not coming at all. We have not had as many new foreigners come over as went back during the last few years.
Mr. RAKER. So that that further demonstrates the fact that before the restriction law became effective, about 800,000, was it not, Mr. Chairman?
The CHAIRMAN. Eight hundred thousand.
Mr. RAKER. Eight hundred thousand that came over, practically went to all parts of the country, and to-day they are staying mostly in the larger cities.
Mr. BANFIELD. We have had a few come over that come to their friends, but not as many as have gone back. We have had no big influx since we started to build our mill in 1904, when we had a large influx.
Mr. RAKER. Now, take the men that you have employed during the last six months, or the last year. You have 1,300 employees. What percentage of them are native born Americans?
Mr. BANFIELD. About half—well, I will not say half. I will say that about half of them are English-speaking people. We have quite a number of Welshmen, and Englishmen, and some Scotchmen, and some Irish, that are foreign born, but they have been in this country, possibly, some of them 30, or 40, or 50 years.
Mr. RAKER. But really more than 50 per cent of them are aliens?
Mr. BANFIELD. Fifty per cent of them are practically from the continent of Europe, not Great Britain.
Mr. RAKER. And about 15 per cent from England and Scotland and Wales?
Mr. BANFIELD. Possibly 18 or 20 per cent.
Mr. RAKER. Yes. Well, is not this work good respectable work that you are asking them to do?
Mr. BANFIELD. Why, I was raised in it. I have been in it all of my life.
Mr. RAKER. And you pay $5 a day?
Mr. BANFIELD. What?
Mr. RAKER. You pay from four and a half to——
Mr. BANFIELD (interposing). Our wages run from $15 a day down, according to the job they have.
Mr. RAKER. Well, how low down?
Mr. BANFIELD. To practically 35 cents per hour for about 20 men working in the mill. When they get inside, they get higher wages. There is practically no limit.
Mr. RAKER. Have you tried to get any help from Philadelphia?
Mr. BANFIELD. We have not gotten any from Philadelphia. We have imported some help from Buffalo, some from New York, some from Pittsburgh, and some from Cleveland. All of those men go to agencies and apply for jobs. We will bring in 15 or 20 of them. To-morrow morning, maybe we will have 7 or 8, and the next morning 3 or 4, and so on until we will not have any. That is a class of men that is out of work and do not want work. They are no good.
The CHAIRMAN. All right; we are much obliged to you.

Mr. WILSON. You have, as I understand, a shortage of between two and three hundred men in a plant employing about 1,300?

Mr. BANFIELD. I say that we want 200 men in our new plant, and we do not know where we are going to get them. We have two plants, an old plant, which we built about 18 years ago, in which we work 8-hour turns, and in that plant it is possible for us to get a man to work an extra turn, or an extra half a turn, and in that way we are able to carry the work through. That is the way we have carried it through during the last two years, but up in the new plant we want a whole new gang.

Mr. WILSON. Well, are you convinced that you can not supply that additional labor without enlarging the scope of the immigration law?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes; and what I would suggest, if I may offer a suggestion, is that the countries that do not send their quotas be reduced, and the countries that send their quotas be increased, so that we can have more men.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you there——

Mr. WILSON (interposing). Well, if we put in a provision which specifies as to their sending their quotas, that certain countries have a 3 per cent quota, and another country has a 4 per cent quota, then we would get into trouble on that. The suggestion has been here that the Secretary of Labor be permitted to relax the percentage law in order to admit people as they might be necessary for any industry. What would be your views on that?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, that might work out all right. For instance, take this summer, this coming year, promises to be one of wonderful business for the tin-plate industry, and there will possibly be a demand for more tin plate than we can manufacture. The consumption promises to be greater than the supply, and if we do not produce the tin plate, then they can not put up the vegetables, can not put up the fruits, and it goes on down the line. Now, we can not get along without skilled labor, and if we do not have the common labor we can not employ the skilled labor, and consequently that leads to a condition where the skilled labor can not be employed.

Mr. WILSON. I understand you to say that the demand for your product exceeds the supply.

Mr. BANFIELD. I think this year that the demand for tin plate will exceed the production, for canning purposes, although we do not make that grade of goods.

Mr. WILSON. Now, there is another suggestion that has been made that in applying the 3 per cent law that we take into consideration the immigration who, say, take Italy for instance, in applying the 3 per cent law, you take into consideration the number of Italians who have returned to Italy.

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. Say we have 50,000 admitted under the 3 per cent law and 30,000 return. The suggestion has been made that we give Italy credit for 30,000. That would bring it up to about 6 per cent.

Mr. BANFIELD. I think that we could do that with a clear conscience, as the men go back, give them credit for that number. I would be in favor of that. I would be in favor of raising the quota for Italy, if possible.

Mr. WILSON. Now, just one more question. There has been a suggestion that there be a general program to the effect that when these immigrants come, that they be distributed to the various industries in the country as they arrive here.

Now, have you thought anything about whether that would be a practical thing to do, a practical thing for this Government to do with them?

Mr. BANFIELD. That is a pretty hard question to answer.

Mr. WILSON. The manufacturers' associations and the people that you represent, in a way, have been discussing and recommending that particular thing.

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. It is easy enough to pass resolutions recommending things to lawmaking bodies, but sometimes there are some very difficult phases when you go to apply them, and that is one of them, and it seems to me that we have reached a point where we possibly can not control——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You will find that right here, It is in these recommendations that the United States exercise its rights to register, distribute, educate, and otherwise supervise the alien during the period of his alienage.

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that it would be advisable for the Government to go into that?

Mr. BANFIELD. If it were desirable, but I do not think that it is necessary to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. And it would interfere a little bit with the peonage laws, would it not?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not think that there is any need of us going to that extreme.

The CHAIRMAN. Nobody supervised you when you came to the United States?

Mr. BANFIELD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or distributed you?

Mr. BANFIELD. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, then, just one more question. You say that you are foreign born?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. From what country?

Mr. BANFIELD. From England.

The CHAIRMAN. And do not the conditions prevail in England somewhat as they do in Wales, to the effect that the son and his son and his son and his son, and so on, work in the same industry?

Mr. BANFIELD. No, sir. When I was a boy—I left Wales when I was 18. I was born in England, and I have been in the mills since I was 10 years old. When I started to work, and when a job was open there we boys used to have quite a fight to see who would get the job, and we used to have pitched fights, real knockdowns, and fight it out to see who would get the job. Conditions were not like they are here in America, where the boys do not want to work, do not fight to get a job, but run away from it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, which is the best system—the Wales system, where the son works in the same industry as his father, or the system in use here where the son does not follow his father.

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, I have five sons. Two of them are managing the Toronto plant, and three of them would not go into the mill. I am only sorry that I did not urge them to go in, because they would have been better off, a lot better off, if they had gone into the mills.

Mr. RAKER. Could you tell us what proportion of your men that are working as common laborers are Americans and what proportion are aliens?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, they are mixed up. Sometimes we get some Americans from back in the mountains in West Virginia.

For instance, now in the fall of the year, after the harvest, the farmers in Jackson County, will come up to the mill, and they will work in the mill until about Christmas time, when they will go home for about a month and do up their chores, and come back and work until spring, but they will not stay during the summer.

Mr. RAKER. But the majority of your common labor is alien?

Mr. BANFIELD. Possibly the majority, but not all.

Mr. RAKER. And those in the mills, those in the better places, clerks, timekeepers, and such like, they are mostly all Americans?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes, sir; for that class of work. Quite a number of foreigners work at our skilled work, though. We have quite a number of Italians there up in the higher skilled places, skilled men, and making eight or nine dollars a day, depending on the job that they are working at, but they were raised right up from their boyhood in the mills.

Mr. RAKER. Are you getting any colored men in your establishment?

Mr. BANFIELD. We have not been successful with the colored people for some reasons. We have tried them two or three times with small numbers of men, but we have not been successful with them.

Mr. WILSON. I would like to ask this question. You say that you were not successful in handling the colored labor. Was that due to the fact that they did not mix well with the Italians and Welshmen, and others?

Mr. BANFIELD. No. Of course, they will not mix at all, but possibly we did not have enough of them to form a colony and for them to have company enough there, although there are quite a number of colored people in the neighboring towns within two or three miles, but we have never been successful with them.

Mr. WILSON. You did not have enough for them to have their own schools and own churches?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; although the county officers offered to pay the street car fare of their children down to a colored school.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you required to send them to school?

Mr. BANFIELD. I think so. I think that is why they offered to pay their street car fare.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the State laws require children under a certain age to be sent to school in West Virginia?

Mr. BANFIELD. I am not sure; I think so, but I know they offered to pay their fare, their street car fare. I know that. We have a colored school three or four miles below.

Mr. RAKER. Is it not true that in your district, within five miles of your place there are people that are out of work, people that are out of work a great deal of the time, except at harvest time?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not think so. I think that practically all of our mills are working.

Mr. RAKER. How far is it from where you are to where these miners are out of work; how far is that from your place of business?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not think that there are any miners out of work. Well, if you are speaking of the present time, there are miners that are working only about three days out of the week, because of the car shortage, they can not get cars.

Mr. RAKER. The men are out of work then?

Mr. BANFIELD. These are men in the mines.

Mr. RAKER. Is that very close to your place of business?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. How close?

Mr. BANFIELD. Right in the town.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I say.

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What is happening to those miners?

Mr. BANFIELD. The miners—I do not know what happens to the miners, but you can not get a miner who gets seven and a half a day in a mine to leave the job when he is working three days a week and get him to work six days a week in a mill for the same money.

Mr. RAKER. As a matter of fact, there are those men out of employment, and men out of employment all over the country as you have just stated, working two or three days a week, and sometimes one day.

Mr. BANFIELD. The general complaint from the mines is to the effect that they are only working about 50 per cent of the time for want of cars.

Mr. RAKER. So that, as a matter of fact, that leaving out the conditions, irrespective of the conditions, they are not working?

Mr. BANFIELD. No.

Mr. RAKER. So that there would be about 50 per cent of the miners out of employment?

Mr. BANFIELD. In the mines?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And they run into a couple of hundred thousand even in West Virginia?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, I do not know how many. I have no knowledge as to that.

Mr. RAKER. Well, what is the matter——

Mr. BANFIELD (interposing). There are thirty or forty thousand men——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). What I am getting at is this: Why could you not cut the wages of the fellows at the top and raise the wages of the fellows at the bottom, so that there would be more inducement for these men to become laborers to seek employment?

Mr. BANFIELD. The miners, you are speaking of?

Mr. RAKER. Yourself; I mean in your own industry—your own business.

Mr. BANFIELD. Our business?

Mr. RAKER. Yes. Why do you not raise the wages of the fellows at the bottom, make their jobs more attractive, and reduce, if need be, the fellow at the top?

Mr. BANFIELD. We have been working at that from time to time, but we do not have all of the say as to that. These fellows at the top have a mind of their own.

Mr. RAKER. Well, take the man at the bottom. Why do you not raise his wages?

Mr. BANFIELD. We have raised the wages of a common laborer. Common labor has been increased from $1.70 up to $3.50, and it looks as if it would go to $5 very quickly.

The CHAIRMAN. When were they getting $1.70?

Mr. BANFIELD. I think they were getting $1.70 about 1904. It was only about $2.50 in 1914.

The CHAIRMAN. $2.50 in 1914?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes; about that.

Mr. RAKER. And then the things that they have to buy have increased in greater proportion than their wages have increased, have they not?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. So let us come right down to business, both of us. Why do you not raise the fellow at the bottom? I would like for you to explain that. I do not understand why that is not done.

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, we have got to start somewhere. Now, the basis of our wages all through the mill—and we employ not only mill men, but we employ blacksmiths, millwrights, machinists, carpenters, and the whole line, electricians—in running a large establishment, a large mill, they employ all kinds of skilled labor. Common labor is the basis where we start from. Now, just as soon as the man is ready to step

into the mill, he can possibly get shorter hours and higher pay, and we take him in. There is always room for him. They can always go ahead, and they can get $6, $8, $10, or $15 a day, depending upon the job.

Mr. RAKER. Is there a vacancy awaiting for him?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; but vacancies occur, and if he is ready, if he has the ability, he gets the job. We never send out to another mill, another town, for a skilled man, if we have one among our own boys, because we want to encourage our own men and get them lined up.

Mr. RAKER. What I want to get at is this—it may be just chimerical on my part—here is the complaint of the fellows at the bottom. They say that they can not get work. They say that they do not get enough. Why do you not pay more, offer an inducement for the fellow to start out at the bottom, make his wages such that he can be a gentleman of leisure once in a while?

Mr. BANFIELD. All right. Start at $5?

Mr. RAKER. Yes.

Mr. BANFIELD. Now, you will have to admit that there is a limit as to the wages that we can pay, which is governed by the prices of our goods—there is a limit to the amount of wages that we can pay. Say we start a laborer at $5. Now, there are 10 jobs in a mill at $5 a day. A laborer down there—he can dodge the boss, and he can put in his day, and maybe he will do 50 cents worth of work a day, and maybe he will do a dollar's worth.

Mr. RAKER. I do not get that.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. RAKER. What do you mean by that?

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, the common laborer is employed in the mill, and if he was working by the yard, he would not earn 50 cents, but we have to keep them there, we have to have a source to pull from, to fill in the continuous jobs. For instance, our men work in teams. It takes eight men to make a crew. Now, if we lack one man in that crew, it knocks eight men out of work, and we have to keep these laborers there. We do not have any special need for many laborers. It is just a force from which we can draw for our permanent set jobs, take them out of their places, and put them in another job.

Mr. RAKER. And raise their wages?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes; their wages are increased, go up. We pay as high as 70 cents an hour for the very commonest kind of work, but that man has got a set job to do, and he does as much for $7 as this other fellow, who is a laborer getting $3.50, would do in three days or a week.

Mr. RAKER. Now, what I want to get at is this: You say that this condition exists and that it is likely to continue. Now, is it not better that we break up this condition, take some steps to break up the system, by regulations or encouragement, bring our American people back to their senses, in order that they may do this necessary work, and should we not have the necessary legislation and encouragement and education, so that our own boys, American boys, will be willing to learn to do this work again instead of turning it all over to aliens?

Mr. BANFIELD. There is every good chance for an American boy if he wants to get into a trade; we are always ready to teach him the machinist trade, the bricklayers' trade, or any other trade, if he wants to learn it, but the American boy, or most of of our boys, do not want to learn trades, and we can not make them unless they want to.

Mr. RAKER. I am asking you now an important question, and I would like to know what your solution is.

Mr. BANFIELD. It is not a question of wages.

Mr. RAKER. You know if this condition continues to exist, and if we are going to drive our own boys out of all of these places, and we are going to get alien labor to do all of this kind and class of work of which you are speaking, we are going to, in a few years, have an alien population doing all of this work, and they will be in a majority, and that will not leave America in very good shape. Now, I would like to know what your solution of it is.

Mr. BANFIELD. Well, if you do not get this labor you are going to shut down quite a large number of our plants, if we can not get this alien labor. Now, then, we have a town there of 3,500 people. We have a large number of foreign born. There is a large number of young boys growing up, boys of anywhere from 12, 13, 14 years of age, on up to 20 and 25 years of age, and if you look at them on the street you can not tell them from Americans. They are good law-abiding people. They are working in the mills, of course, but they are good people and they make good citizens.

Mr. RAKER. But our own boys will not work in the mills?

Mr. BANFIELD. We do not have a very large number of American boys; that is, there are two or three in a family. Our families are very small. There will usually

be two or three children in a family, and possibly two girls out of the three, so we do not have very many boys, but the foreigners have quite a large number of boys.

Mr. RAKER. I do not understand that myself. I know that in the high schools there seems to be about as many boys as there are girls. I am wondering what you do with these boys.

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not know what becomes of them. I know that they do not get back into the mill, but we have got a little city. We are a town 18 years old, and you see that most of the people coming into a new town were either young married people or unmarried. Now, their children are beginning to grow up. The circumstances will be somewhat different in a few years from what they were a few years ago. I do not know what we are going to do with all of the boys then. There must be about 100 that are not old enough to work now, but will be in a few years, and we have got to have foreigners for the present. It has been that way since we started.

Some of our people are interested in Allegheny City. They put a notice in a Pittsburgh paper that they want 10 men, and they get 100 applications. If we put up a notice that we want 100 men, we would only get 1 application.

I advertised for 30 or 40 men and boys, and did not get a single one in our town, and down there we are living under the best conditions.

Mr. WILSON. How do you account for it that they get them at Allegheny?

Mr. BANFIELD. It is an older town. We are building a new town all the time, and have to build up our population just like the towns in Wales, where I was born. Families have grown up there, and there is a surplus.

Mr. BOX. You heard the testimony of the gentleman from New York with reference to the tailor business, and you heard them describe the conditions?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes; I heard that.

Mr. BOX. Their case is not due to the fact that the city is small and new.

Mr. BANFIELD. No; I would not think so. There are changes at different locations, and different reasons for it.

Mr. WILSON. If every able-bodied man in the country wanted a job, wanted to go to work, do you think there is a place for him?

Mr. BANFIELD. Could we find a place for them?

Mr. WILSON. Yes.

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not know. After the war was over we had 2,000,000 men come back, and it was said after the Government opened up an employment bureau to find work in our mills that there would not be enough work for them when they returned. Out of 1,300 men, we sent away 235, sent them to war, out of our town, and to the best of my knowledge every man came back to his work except two people, the two that were killed in the war.

We did absorb some people at that time. I believe to-day that in a few months we can absorb every idle man in the United States.

Mr. WILSON. There is no unnecessary unemployment?

Mr. BANFIELD. No. There are so many people that will not work.

Mr. WILSON. That is the point. Is there any remedy for that?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; you can not make him work if he does not want to.

Mr. RAKER. Have you thought about the idea that we could take a different method in educating our boys? Instead of giving them technical learning, we should start from the grammar and the high school and give them a real genuine business education, to learn how to do things, blacksmithing and civil engineering.

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not think so. My idea of education is when a boy gets through grammar school, when he has reached 14 years of age, he should be allowed to learn a trade, and if they want to further educate the children, they could do it at their own expense, and not at the expense of the State.

Mr. WILSON. The testimony was this morning that the American boy does not want to learn a trade. It is not quite as honorable or dignified, he thinks, as other lines of employment.

Mr. BANFIELD. They do like other jobs. There is no use of talking to the contrary. They like a white-collar job, even if it does not pay as much. They do not like to go to work in a flannel shirt.

Mr. RAKER. Your only remedy is bring these people from other countries?

Mr. BANFIELD. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. This white-collar job does not apply to the sons of these foreigners you have referred to?

Mr. BANFIELD. No. We have some foreign boys that come to work when they are 16, if they go to a high school or not. Some do not get to the high school at 16. The State law does not allow us to work a boy or a girl until they are 16 years of age.

Mr. WILSON. How does the situation about the American boy desiring a white-collared job stand in England? Is that true in England?

Mr. BANFIELD. I left there 50 years ago.

Mr. WILSON. You have not kept up with those things?

Mr. BANFIELD. No; I haven't kept up with those things. The conditions at that time when I was there going to work were that they went to work at 10 or 11 years of age, and I went to work at 10, and have been working ever since.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not work alongside of Secretary Davis?

Mr. BANFIELD. We worked at the same trade, but he was over the mountain from me. Mr. Davis's brother worked for me for 18 years.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Gompers came from there, did he not?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not know if he was in my vicinity or not.

Mr. WILSON. He is an Englishman?

Mr. BANFIELD. I do not know. I think he came from over there.

The CHAIRMAN. We are obliged to you for your statement.

This is the day for the tailors, and there are one or two statements to be made in opposition to one made this morning, but I understand Mr. S. L. Lawton, of Hancock, Mich., is here, and desires to say something about the shortage of labor in the copper-mining districts.

STATEMENT OF MR. S. L. LAWTON, HANCOCK, MICH.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Swaby L. Lawton?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your business?

Mr. LAWTON. Attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are you located?

Mr. LAWTON. Hancock, Mich.

We knew the hearing was coming on, and the chamber of commerce at Hancock and Houghton asked me to come down and tell the condition of our county, which is the copper district of northern Michigan.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the name of the county?

Mr. LAWTON. Houghton.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the population?

Mr. LAWTON. About 88,000, 1914. To-day it is about 72,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What proportion of that is alien?

Mr. LAWTON. I would have to guess on that, but I would say about 90 per cent is alien born.

The CHAIRMAN. It is pretty nearly all alien?

Mr. LAWTON. They are alien born; I would say that more particularly about the mines.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they pretty well nationalized?

Mr. LAWTON. Since the war; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember what the vote of the general election in that town is?

Mr. LAWTON. I could not give you the vote without looking it up. I would have to guess.

Mr. BOX. I was interested in your question, and I hoped you would follow it up.

How many of that 90 per cent are naturalized Americans, of your total population?

Mr. LAWTON. I would say that my estimate would be that probably 15 or 20 per cent are not naturalized. The rest are.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that more than half the population vote?

Mr. LAWTON. Seventy-five per cent are naturalized.

We had in 1914, in connection with the mining companies, about 15,400 men. To-day they are working less than 5,000, the Calumet and Quincy and other mines.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did your miners come from?

Mr. LAWTON. Ninety-eight per cent of all men working in the mines are of foreign birth.

The CHAIRMAN. What countries did they come from?

Mr. LAWTON. I could give you it exactly for the Quincy mine. I got that before I left. At one of the mines they claim 37 different nationalities.

The Quincy mine has this:

America, 4 per cent; Russia, 10 per cent; England, 11 per cent; Italians, 11 per cent; Finn, 45 per cent; German, 5 per cent; Austrian, 3 per cent; Croatian, 3 per cent; Polish, 4 per cent; Irish, 4 per cent; Canadian, Scotch, and Lithuanian, 4 per cent.

Mr. RAKER. An American and an Irishman does not have much chance?

Mr. LAWTON. These are the men that work for the mines.

Mr. RAKER. What is the 45 per cent?

Mr. LAWTON. Finns.

The CHAIRMAN. The Finns represent the largest percentage. Have you any figures from Finland in the last year?

Mr. LAWTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You know it is very small?

Mr. LAWTON. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Without regard to the quota law in the United States, the Finnish immigration is small.

Mr. LAWTON. Yes. Here are some facts I would like to give you: In 1912 the total production of the mines was 213,000,000 pounds; the amount paid in wages was $12,600,000. To-day we produce 85,000,000 pounds, and the wages, I would say offhand, guessing, are probably about $6,000,000.

In 1913 the total men employed was 15,540; to-day I have checked part of them. There are 7 mines operating out of a total of 27. The number of men employed now is 4,986, and I made some figures—I got some advice from people I called up, and the percentage of surface men employed by the mines as compared with the underground in 1914 was 16 per cent; surface to-day is 26 per cent. We figure 500 men will leave this spring. We figure that those who come back are nil, 2 per cent at most.

We figure the mines will get from outside this year 2,500 men. They could use 5,000. This fall they got in some men from Minnesota. Most of them have left, the majority of them.

There have gone out of this copper mining district in the last six years about 10,500 men. I have checked them over, and a man posted figured as follows: To Detroit, 3,000; Flint, 1,000, and other Michigan towns 300; Racine, 300; other Michigan towns 500; western States, 2,000; to Italy, 1,000; Austria, 500; and elsewhere in Europe, 500. In other words, we estimate that out of a total of 15,000 in 1913, 10,000 have gone away and 5,000 are left. The reason most of these people have left, the principal reason, is that they do not want their children to become mine workers. The next reason is it is easy to get jobs in the automobile factories, and then they are attracted by higher wages and higher cost of living.

Mr. BOX. What percentage of your employees were alien-born 10 years ago?

Mr. LAWTON. Practically 98 per cent.

Mr. BOX. Have always been?

Mr. LAWTON. They have always been for 40 years; that is a fact.

Mr. RAKER. Is it not a fact that in the last five years over half of these copper mines were shut down because of the low prices of copper?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. The men had no work and had to leave?

Mr. LAWTON. There is no question about that.

Mr. RAKER. The same condition occurred in the gold-mining district. The mines shut down because of the low price of gold, compared to the cost of production, and the men left.

Mr. LAWTON. That is true. We have a very nice country there, street cars and all of that. I estimate the number of vacant houses to be about 2,500.

Mr. RAKER. Houses that can be occupied?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; they are all in good shape and have water.

Mr. RAKER. What are these people doing? Here you have 3,000 good homes where a man can get from $5 to $15 a day.

Mr. VAILE. And there is a shortage of jobs?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; and that is a good place for his wife and children to go to school. What is the matter?

Mr. LAWTON. If you have got a wife and small children, the copper country is the best place. You could make money. But if you have four or five or even two grown-ups you can go to Detroit, and you may be better off there by having them all at work.

Mr. RAKER. Why? You have got a high school there?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes, we have fine schools.

Mr. RAKER. You can learn as much in the high schools there as you can in Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes. But here it is—95 per cent of the fathers and mothers do not want their children to go in the mines.

Mr. VAILE. Has that condition continued during the last to years?

Mr. LAWTON. We have depended upon 1,000 immigrants every year.

Mr. VAILE. You have to do that?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; there has been an average of 1,000 new ones and four to five thousand turnovers every year, people going and coming into different jobs.

Mr. VAILE. Now you have them to come in 90 per cent foreign-born?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you read the recommendations of the Manufacturing Association?

Mr. LAWTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the United States could place miners in Houghton County, Mich.; and keep them there awhile?

Mr. LAWTON. Oh, yes; we could place them.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked if the United States could place them there and see that they stay there?

Mr. LAWTON. You have not got such a law.

The CHAIRMAN. You advocate such a law?

Mr. LAWTON. This is what I would like to see put into the law: Extend the favored clause to common labor, so that people that want to work in mines, in woods, and on farms could come in, and let us help pick them and select them abroad.

The CHAIRMAN. Do what?

Mr. LAWTON. Make the selection and pick the good ones.

The CHAIRMAN. Pick them and make a contract with them?

Mr. LAWTON. If they want to come—I would not care about the contract—select the ones that would come, and give them assistance to come over.

Mr. WILSON. You are an attorney. The question always comes up when it is proposed that we select these immigrants abroad that we can not do that without some modification of treaties and agreements with those countries.

Mr. LAWTON. That is true.

Mr. WILSON. We are going to have to do that like we are going to have to do other things, regulate things from American shores. We can not do it over there. That is out of the question. If you eliminate that, what will you do?

Mr. LAWTON. We might do this. We want permanent settlers. Here has been our trouble. I have been there 25 years. A man who worked there at the copper mines of Michigan was supposed to have the finest job in the State. He had the finest library, the finest swimming pool and so on, and he got top wages and was a skilled man; to-day things have——

Mr. RAKER. What were the top wages?

Mr. LAWTON. Taken from the commercial report, the top wages were—in 1914 the minimum wage was $2.82 per miner for eight hours, and $2.48 for trainmen. I do not know what it is at the Calumet. They agreed to give it to me. At Quincy today all the shifts are eight hours, except the surface, which is nine. They have a bonus system. The minimum wage is $3.65, and 5 cents per foot over 36 feet. An experienced miner earns $1.50 or $2 on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The minimum wage now is what?

Mr. LAWTON. $3.65.

The CHAIRMAN. For how many hours?

Mr. LAWTON. Eight hours.

Mr. WHITE. Is he furnished any privileges in the way of any reduction in rent?

Mr. LAWTON. The rent is $1 a room.

Mr. WHITE. $1 a room a month?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; that is about $5 or $6 a month, and then he gets his water, no charge for water; he gets his lights and coal at the wholesale cost. The down-town rent used to be $2 a room, and they are now down to $1.

The CHAIRMAN. The company takes that out before they are paid?

Mr. LAWTON. They take out $1 for a married family for hospital and doctor, and 50 cents for an unmarried man, and the rent is deducted from the check.

Mr. MALONEY. This is the minimum wage paid?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; they have a bonus system and can earn more.

Mr. MALONEY. The minimum in these particular mines, and the ones which you represent, is a higher minimum than in those other mines?

Mr. LAWTON. No; it is lower. I think they are paying $1 more than that in the iron district.

Mr. VAILE. Is not that the reason that they do not get labor there?

Mr. LAWTON. That is partially the reason. I would say 50 per cent, from 50 to 75 per cent of the reason for those that are leaving. Their wives want to go to the cities, they want their children to get work in the city. They do not want the boys to go in the mines. The last reason is a big controlling factor.

Mr. VAILE. Are these miners good residents of the community?

Mr. LAWTON. The finest in the world.

Mr. VAILE. Are they law abiding?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; they are law abiding.

Mr. VAILE. Are they well disposed toward our Government?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any trouble a few years ago?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not ask the Federal Government to deport some people?
Mr. LAWTON. No; we did not.
The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of that man, Andrichein?
Mr. LAWTON. Moyer was there.
The CHAIRMAN. He was there, but he was an American citizen?
Mr. LAWTON. Yes.
The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any trouble with George Andrichein?
Mr. LAWTON. No. The Western Federation from Denver voted to come in and organize, and that is what brought on the strike.
The CHAIRMAN. That was before the war?
Mr. LAWTON. 1913.
The CHAIRMAN. You had a little radical trouble there during the war?
Mr. LAWTON. Oh, no. I was a Government volunteer protective agent during the war, and nobody was ever approached, or a letter written. Nobody ever knew there was such an organization.
Mr. VAILE. Have these people a high degree of intelligence?
Mr. LAWTON. Yes; they are a nice class of citizen.
Mr. VAILE. Would you rate them as high in intelligence and general civic qualities as the average of our American population?
Mr. LAWTON. Oh, no: the parents are not so high and skilled. But the children—take the Finns—my boy worked in one of the mines this summer. He was 16 years old. He worked with a Finn fellow that was a bright mechanic, and all those foreign boys have wireless apparatus, and those Austrians and Italian boys have wireless. They are very smart boys. They want the skilled jobs and not the rough jobs.
The CHAIRMAN. Did these Finnish people talk revolution?
Mr. LAWTON. After they get enough to buy a farm they are good citizens.
Mr. VAILE. How about when they are in the mines?
Mr. LAWTON. They talk socialism; but it is not deep.
The CHAIRMAN. You consider that county one of the best counties in the United States?
Mr. LAWTON. Yes; it is a good county.
The CHAIRMAN. It is a crackerjack?
Mr. LAWTON. Oh, yes; it is one of the best in the United States.
Mr. VAILE. You would not rate these people as high in general intelligence and civic qualities as the people of England?
Mr. LAWTON. Not in civic qualities at first, but they learn, and their children come through fine.
Mr. VAILE. But you have 90 per cent of the positions of the county foreign born, and now you want more?
Mr. LAWTON. If you want this copper you must give us more men. It depends on how much you want.
Mr. VAILE. The question is not the question of copper, but the question of people, that the committee is interested in, the people of the United States, not the copper of the United States. We are interested in copper. I, for instance, am interested in sugar in my State.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you want copper, population, profits, or what?
Mr. LAWTON. Personally, I have five houses, and there are three vacant, and I would like to have people in them, and I want a good class of people in them that will make a high-grade American citizen. I do not want him unless he is a good one.
Mr. VAILE. Chinese are extra good mine workmen, and work long hours and produce a lot. What about the Chinese in your county?
Mr. LAWTON. I do not want him.
Mr. VAILE. Why not?
Mr. LAWTON. I want a class of people that my children, if they want to, can marry into.
Mr. VAILE. You just told us these people up there now are, generally speaking, pretty good people, but are not of the same grade of general intelligence as the American people. Isn't it a fact that the only question is that of degree?
Mr. LAWTON. It is a question of time. Two generations and they will be there.
Mr. WHITE. Then, it is not a matter, as I gather it from you, of the natural capabilities, but it is a question very largely of opportunity, is it not?
Mr. LAWTON. Yes.
Mr. WHITE. Education?
Mr. LAWTON. Yes.
Mr. WHITE. Of course, we all know there was a time, not many centuries ago, when a number of the English-speaking people—Irish, Germans—or French, could read, that is, of the masses of people.

Mr. VAILE. And a thousand years before that all the Chinese could read.

Mr. WHITE. I am speaking of the people that furnished the highest types of civilization. I am a member of this committee, and I notice that you are giving a list of those employees in your industries, and I got from it that they are from northern Europe, very largely.

Mr. LAWTON. They are.

Mr. WHITE. It was my lot, in my boyhood, to be raised in the settlement of Swedish people. They could not speak or read our language. Many of them could not read their own language. They were very industrious. They were not the same class or as high a class of people, unless you qualify it, as Americans. They were not as well educated, but their children and grandchildren were loyal Americans—educated, cultured people of this country at this time. I take it it might be the case with those.

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

Mr. VAILE. That is after they ceased to be miners.

Mr. WHITE. I understood the gentleman to say they left those mines to better their conditions.

Mr. VAILE. The children did, and he has to depend on a new, constant stream of immigrants from Europe to keep up the mines.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have some unemployment in the last two years in your county?

Mr. LAWTON. When the war ended, lots of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you straighten that up all right?

Mr. LAWTON. To-day there is a good demand for labor. Many have left.

The CHAIRMAN. They left on account of unemployment?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They went into Grand Rapids and Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you find unemployment there a year ago?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; there were a lot laid off at different times.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there many aliens in Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. I think there are quite a few.

The CHAIRMAN. The city has had a very rapid growth?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. A very heavy European population?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There is much unrest there among the aliens, is there?

Mr. LAWTON. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not feel that?

Mr. LAWTON. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not know it?

Mr. LAWTON. Oh, yes; I would know it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Russian workers are there?

Mr. LAWTON. We have very few Russians, but we have some Poles and Lithuanians, but they are high-grade people.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you speaking of Detroit or your place?

Mr. LAWTON. Our place.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know what is going on in connection with the aliens revolutionary movement in Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. Only what I have read in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was this meeting of the liberal-minded in Michigan a short time ago?

Mr. LAWTON. They had that in the southern part, I think, in Detroit. We do not have it out our way.

Mr. RAKER. Let me ask this: You say 50 per cent of these people leave for other towns. You have named the locations?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You think it is because they want to give their children a better opportunity for education?

Mr. LAWTON. I think so—not education, but opportunities to work in more skilled classes.

Mr. RAKER. Let us get that. You have high schools in your city?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And the grades, it is as high as any other grades in the State, is it not?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. They have a recognized standing?

Mr. LAWTON. They can go from our high schools into any college in the United States.

Mr. RAKER. So far as the educational feature is concerned, he can advance in no other city in Michigan faster than in your city?

Mr. LAWTON. Not a bit.

Mr. RAKER. The wages run from $2.50 to how much a day?

Mr. LAWTON. You mean at the present time?

Mr. RAKER. Yes; for the last five years.

Mr. LAWTON. They have been $3.50 and up.

Mr. RAKER. From $3.50 up to what?

Mr. LAWTON. They have the bonus system, and that will be the minimum, and they can earn—some have earned $6 a day.

Mr. RAKER. Outside of the mines, you must have other men in the mills that run higher than that, do they not?

Mr. LAWTON. No; they do not. We do not pay anywhere near the wages they pay at Detroit. Take in the railroad shops—they do not get the wages they get in the railroad shops in Detroit.

Mr. RAKER. Take living conditions, and the nearness to the farms. Do they not get produce cheaper than in Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; potatoes at 30 cents a bushel.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an abnormal situation.

Mr. LAWTON. You can always get them for 50 cents.

Mr. RAKER. I have some friends in Michigan who paid $10 a bushel for potatoes.

Mr. WHITE. Potatoes are retailing at $1 a bushel at the grocery stores here right now, at the Sanitary stores.

Mr. RAKER. They must be 20 cents in your country.

Mr. LAWTON. You can not get over 20 cents if you want to sell a carload lot.

Mr. RAKER. Other living conditions are cheaper in your community than in Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. So a man's dollar will go in your community a third further than it will go in Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; I think it will go more than that, 50 per cent further.

Mr. RAKER. So that the $6 a day earned by the men in your community will go as far as $12 in Detroit?

Mr. LAWTON. Pretty close.

Mr. RAKER. Take a man with a family, give him a good home, hot and cold water, and the town conditions are good?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; they are very good.

Mr. RAKER. Are the moral conditions good there?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes; they are very good, and they also have paved streets, sewer connections all over.

Mr. RAKER. Do they have movies and places for the youngsters to go?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. Now, why and how will a man better his conditions or that of his family by leaving your community and going to some other place?

Mr. LAWTON. That is an individual equation, and I can not answer it except this way. They do not want to work in the mines if they can get out of it.

Mr. RAKER. The statement is made, and I want you to give the committee your judgment, that they would better their condition—I want from your judgment whether or not financially, as well as socially, a man in a small community, where he is known, and his family brought up well, and his boys can get good work, and his daughters can marry good young men—will they better their condition by going away?

Mr. LAWTON. I say they will not, for this reason: We have sent our bankers to Detroit to check up the boys, and they find the boys are spending every dollar, not putting it aside. I know many families at Detroit that want to come back, but do want to go in the mines.

Mr. WILSON. It is the nature of the employment?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes. Before that they could not go to the city because they could not get the jobs. Now the jobs can be got. We have known instances where 100 men have lined up at an automobile factory, and they pick out these men from our county. It is known among these manufacturers that men from the copper country can get a job quicker than anybody else. That is a fact. Go to Henry Ford's factory, or the Cadillac, and tell them that you are from the copper country, and you work as a machinist, and he will give you a job.

Speaking about schools and children of foreign-born parents, I was in Lansing the other day and found a Miss Stefanie as one of the first stenographers or clerks in the commissioner of insurance department. She came from the country. Her folks were born in Austria. Where we graduate a class in the country from the high schools the class is composed of 10 to 15 different nationalities, so to speak, all side by side.

My boy worked in the Quincy mine this past summer as an electrician. Twice a week he was down the mine, and then up on poles. Then wiring houses, fixing telephones, etc. He came home one day and said he liked his job better than a friend of his, who was tramming. I said, "What is wrong with tramming?" He said, "It is all right, but is nothing but bull work. You shovel rock all day and wait for the whistle. My job is a lot more interesting, something new every day." That typifies the ideas of a lot of these American boys.

Mr. RAKER. No bull work?

Mr. LAWTON. He will do it, but he will not stay on it. He wants something better.

Mr. RAKER. Are we going to have so many to do the bull work that they have no interest in the country?

Mr. LAWTON. It is quite a problem, but there is this proposition: I could show you fellows working in the mines that have retired. Take Pete Sawyer. He was worth a million dollars, and could not read or write, and he would take your grip from the station for 25 cents and carry it for you to the hotel. I know many people born in old country who could neither read nor write, but left estates of $100,000 or $200,000. Congressman James's father came from common people of England, but they were allowed to come over, high-grade people, and when the children came along, the mother and father think there is a big opportunity outside the mines, and they like that better, and you can not get away from it. That is our proposition. Don't want to work in mines.

Mr. WILSON. If you were to secure the needed labor, what countries, in your judgment, should they come from?

Mr. LAWTON. Some mines are different. In the north part of the country, for instance, they like Lithuanians, Austrians, English, and others.

Mr. WILSON. I am speaking about what country the people should come from, in your judgment.

Mr. LAWTON. Go to the Calument Mine, and they are 50 or 60 per cent of Austrians and Croations. They have a Croation Society, and a Croation newspaper. They had two big Italian cathedrals, one of which cost $250,000. It is not filled now when they have mass. That class congregated there. Then they have English and Finn. Go to the other end, and 50 per cent were Cornish miners, and you have the Finns, Italians, and all the others but not many Austrians. These people colonize, Poles colonize, all of them colonize.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that is a healthy condition for the United States?

Mr. LAWTON. I was in South Bend last year and I saw thousands of Polish people there.

The CHAIRMAN. Being at South Bend does not answer the question that was asked you. Do you think that colonization of these people is a healthy condition for the United States?

Mr. LAWTON. No; I do not. I think they should learn the English language and mix up.

Mr. VAILE. You would not prevent them from colonizing?

Mr. LAWTON. They do it, but their children come along. You will find half their children will probably not learn the mother tongue.

Mr. VAILE. Those children are not good for your purposes?

Mr. LAWTON. They are good Americans but they keep shy of the mines.

Mr. WHITE. The problem solves itself in the second generation. Is that right?

Mr. LAWTON. It does as far as the Americanism goes. But we lack miners.

The CHAIRMAN. These Croations, did they go back to their country?

Mr. LAWTON. No; they scattered mostly over the United States, and a lot of them went back.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they invited back by their government?

Mr. LAWTON. What is that?

The CHAIRMAN. Were they invited back by their government?

Mr. LAWTON. I do not think they were invited back.

Mr. WILSON. Your trouble, it seems to me, as I understand it, is that you can not compete with the prices offered by other industries near where your mines are located. You can not pay the wages they get by going there, and it has practically depleted the mines in your section, this condition.

Mr. LAWTON. I will answer that. In the past year the mines have been running at a loss to keep the organization going. Copper has been lower than it averaged for the past 15 years by 2 cents, while the cost of coal, which is one of the big factors, is much higher. Take the Quincy Co.—the coal bill used to be $200,000 and now it is $500,000. Steel is higher, powder is higher, and everything that goes into the column of expense runs right up. Wages are probably 50 per cent higher. Expenses run right up, probably 50 per cent higher than before the war. Now, if they could

get 20 cents for copper, we could pay bigger wages, but they are not paying as good as they would be able if copper were higher.

Mr. WILSON. The cause of this migration from the mines in Michigan to Detroit and South Bend and other places is because of the fact that better wages are paid there, is not that true?

Mr. LAWTON. I think that is 50 per cent of it. But there has also been a large element that wanted to get away from the mines.

Mr. WILSON. And the nature of the employment in the mines and higher wages paid in other industrial centers have depleted your mines of labor.

Mr. LAWTON. That is true.

Mr. WILSON. Your view is the only way you can supply that is to admit immigrants willing to go in and work in the mines at a cheaper wage?

Mr LAWTON. No: we do not want any cheaper wages.

Mr. WILSON. Than the wage you pay?

Mr. LAWTON. No. When mines are running normally, 16 per cent of the cost was on the surface; now it is 26. Your overhead is larger. If we could run mines full capacity the cost would be smaller.

Mr. WILSON. You are willing to pay a good wage?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. But the situation is that you can not pay it now.

Mr. LAWTON. We can not get the miners. If metal goes up, and we anticipate it, better wages will follow.

Mr. WILSON. Copper is looking much better right now. If you could pay it, the wage you would like to pay, you believe these people would come back?

Mr. LAWTON. No; that is the trouble. We can not get them back to enter the mines. They will come back and take jobs on the surface, but we have enough surface men.

Mr. WILSON. Suppose it would be practical and you could admit the number of immigrants you want to go to work in these mines to-day, and if the same condition repeats itself in a few years, they will be going out and leaving this less desirable employment, and will go to Detroit, South Bend, and other places, and you will find it necessary to bring in an additional supply?

Mr. LAWTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And create a revolving population that will be continually a stream from Europe, working in mines, and going out to other industrial centers of the United States.

Mr. LAWTON. That is the way it has run for 50 years.

Mr. WILSON. Suppose that takes place all over the United States. It is easy to conceive that you will have a continual inflow of immigrants there awhile and out practically until you have a foreign population like you have in your section now.

Mr. LAWTON. For the past 50 years we have had a turnover of four or five thousand men, and out of those, 1,000 will be new ones, and there is going to be 1,000 going away permanently, so those that come will probably stay at work. I do not know the per cent, but probably half of them will stay, maybe 30 per cent—would get out as the children would grow up.

Mr. WILSON. We have a situation in the South something like this, because of the higher wages paid at industrial centers in Illinois and Michigan; this condition is causing a gradual flow of the labor from the South into those sections in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois—there has been a great increase in the colored population there due to the fact that they are gradually going to those centers. Just at this time the flow is greater than ever before, and I do not know what the final result is going to be. It is a flow from the agricultural districts in my country to the industrial districts.

Mr. LAWTON. On the same subject; we have an awful lot of land we want to put farmers on.

Mr. WILSON. When we begin to talk about immigration for agricultural purposes, we run into the fact that each staple agricultural product, even with this migration to the industrial centers—we have produced a surplus that can not be disposed of; they do not seed potatoes any more in Minnesota, I understand, because of the freight rate, and you have to spend an extra check to pay the freight on the potatoes after you have sold the potatoes; but with 37 per cent overproduction in agricultural products, what we are asked to open up and have immigrants settle on farms to compete with American farmers—that is the situation that is hard to size up.

Mr. LAWTON. Here is one feature. Take the Mineral Range Railroad. They have 16 to 18 crews, and that is reduced to 4. They dropped 120 men from skilled labor. The Copper Range Railroad reduced from 12 to 8, making 160 men. I know two of those fellows; one was sweeping the streets at Hancock all summer. He was a fireman on the Mineral Range Railroad. He got $75 a month sweeping the streets, and he used to get $145 firing. He is waiting to go back, or he has waited two years. If the

mines were running his crew would be called. To support that skilled labor you have to have someone to do the common work. If the mines are running in full capacity, and we put on 10,000 more men, we would have 2,000 more positions for skilled labor, and if you will class the mines and timbermen as skilled labor, they will all be skilled men, all except the trammers and part of surface men.

Mr. RAKER. What effort have you made in Buffalo, New York, Chicago, particularly Chicago, for men?

Mr. LAWTON. We have not made any this fall, but we tried that, and it does not work successfully.

Mr. RAKER. Are there not lots of men in Chicago just barely subsisting from morning to night?

Mr. LAWTON. They will go down in the mine one day, and will not the next. They will quit the job. Take the workers that three of the mining companies got in from Minneapolis in the past 60 days, and out of that number more than half quit the second week.

Mr. RAKER. What about the men with a family that are just living from hand to mouth, huddled up in New York and other places; for instance, a man with a wife and children might do good work if you put them there.

Mr. LAWTON. I do not know if they would. They could do good work, they could save.

Mr. RAKER. You have not made any effort to find out?

Mr. LAWTON. We did a few years and those efforts were not successful. They did not like it. They wanted to be on top of the ground.

Mr. RAKER. From the immigrants that came over in the last three years, there is only an infinitesimal per cent that left these large cities. You did not get any of them. How are you going to arrange it?

Mr. LAWTON. Keep those fellows back. We do not want you to bring those men over.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you devise any plan by which the United States can prevent any other countries playing a considerable part in pushing out people more or less undesirable to those countries on the United States, and, at the same time, let us select some common labor?

Mr. LAWTON. We examine men that join the United States Army. We take the men that we want for the Army or the Navy, and we do in citizenship. They look a man up very carefully.

Mr. RAKER. You have not examined their method of naturalization in New York, have you, when they pick them out carefully for citizenship.

Mr. LAWTON. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Some of the committee saw the naturalization, and they put through 125 in 90 minutes.

Mr. WHITE. Does he understand it to be naturalization or admission of them?

Mr. WILSON. It was naturalization.

Mr. RAKER. I want to get the matter of selection before you.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is about all.

Mr. LAWTON. Here are some telegrams and papers that I would like to put in.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, they can go in. We thank you very much for your statement.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Thursday, January 4, 1923,

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Albert Johnson (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. According to agreement, to-day was set for hearing a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers and representatives of several other associations, whose names were printed in the hearings of yesterday, with regard to the claims that there was a shortage of skilled, semi-skilled, and common labor in the United States. Several of these associations have counsel and it has been stated to the committee that they are not ready to make a report. In the meantime the chairman, at the suggestion of the committee, sent telegrams to three or four members of the National Association of Manufacturers, who had written to the committee, stating that they might be heard if they desired to appear. Some of the telegrams sent by the committee were apparently referred to the headquarters of the National Association of Manufacturers and that has resulted in a great array of telegrams being sent in, yesterday and this morning, reading about as follows:

"As chairman permit us to advise the selection James A. Emery to speak in our behalf at hearings before Immigration Committee."

That is signed by the California Manufacturers' Association, Oakland, Calif. Then there is another telegram from the New Hampshire Manufacturers' Association; another from the New Jersey Manufacturers' Association; another from the Associated Industries of Kansas; another from the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association; another from John L. Lovett, general manager, Michigan Manufacturers' Association; another from J. C. H. Reynolds, representing organized industry in eastern Washington and northern Idaho; another from Thomas McCusker, representing the National Association of Manufacturers and other industrial organizations of Oregon; another from the Georgia Manufacturers' Association, Atlanta; another from E. C. Dawson, executive secretary of the Colorado Manufacturers' and Merchants' Association; another from L. A. Kelty, secretary of the Vermont Associated Industries; another from the Associated Industries of Montana; a similar one from the Virginia Manufacturers' Association; one from the West Virginia Manufacturers' Association, J. G. Prichard, secretary; another from L. C. Sutson, president Oklahoma Employers' Association; another from the Manufacturers' Association of Connecticut; another from the Manufacturers' Association of Wilmington, Del.; another from Mr. D. L. Stone, representing the Associated Industries of Massachusetts; another from the Alabama Manufacturers' Association; another from the Nebraska Manufacturers' Association; another from the Kentucky Manufacturers' Association; another from the Iowa Manufacturers' Association; another from the Utah State Farm Bureau and Utah Associated Industries; and another from Charles C. Gilbert, secretary Manufacturers' Association of Tennessee; another from the Employers' Association of Rhode Island, and another from the Ohio Manufacturers' Association. So without placing all of these telegrams in the record it will be understood that Mr. Emery represents all of the manufacturers' associations named.

Mr. E. B. Reid, assistant resident Washington representative of the American Farm Bureau Federation, desires to be heard early this morning as he must appear before another committee.

STATEMENT OF MR. E. B. REID, ASSISTANT WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your bureau located?

Mr. REID. Washington. At the annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, held at Chicago, December 11–14, 1922, the question of immigration was given a great deal of consideration and the result was the passage of a resolution which I am instructed to give to the committee. The resolution reads:

"We believe there exists a continuing shortage of farm and industrial labor which gravely imperils efficient and economical agricultural production; that, in the national interest, the Congress ought immediately to authorize the Secretary of Labor, upon demonstration of such conditions, to admit otherwise admissable aliens in excess of existing quotas to such extent as is necessary to meet the established needs of agriculture and industry. In estimating quotas fixed by law, due consideration should be given to ascertained immigration. It is, furthermore, essential that, so far as practical, provision should be made to determine the admissibility of aliens either where their passports are viséed are at the principal ports of embarkation."

The CHAIRMAN. Is the American Farm Bureau Federation allied with associations or organizations which seem to be getting together for the purpose of asking for a change in the law which now provides for restricted immigration?

Mr. REID. No, sir; this is independent action based upon their thought and study of the situation by the American Farm Bureau Federation.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the American Farm Bureau Federation a delegate in that conference?

Mr. REID. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the American Farm Bureau Federation believe there is an overproduction of farm products this year?

Mr. REID. I think it does, from the statements it has issued.

The CHAIRMAN. They need more laborers just the same?

Mr. REID. Yes, sir; they want to produce crops cheaper.

The CHAIRMAN. They want to produce crops cheaper whether they can dispose of them or not?

Mr. REID. Well, they are looking toward the disposal of them.

The CHAIRMAN. How is the American Farm Bureau Federation made up?

Mr. REID. The first unit is the local county farm bureau, located in about 2,000 counties in the United States; they are federated into State farm bureau federations.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the local farm bureau consist of?

Mr. REID. Farmers.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it take in the farm county agent?

Mr. REID. No, sir; although the farm county agent works with the local unit.

The CHAIRMAN. The county agent is paid by the Federal Government?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. What is your membership?
Mr. REID. I believe about 1,000,000.
The CHAIRMAN. Located where, principally?
Mr. REID. In 47 States.
The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is your next unit?
Mr. REID. The counties are federated into State federations and they in turn are federated into the American Farm Bureau Federation.
The CHAIRMAN. Do you work in conjunction with the National Association of Chambers of Commerce?
Mr. REID. No, sir.
Mr. WHITE. Your organization is purely agricultural; that is, it is composed of farmers, practical farmers?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
Mr. WHITE. Have you any connection with what I think is called the National Farm Council?
Mr. REID. Do you mean the Cooperative Marketing Council?
Mr. WHITE. No; it is an organization here in Washington.
Mr. REID. No, sir.
Mr. WHITE. Represented by Ben C. Marsh.
Mr. REID. No; we have no relationship whatever with that organization.
Mr. SIEGEL. Is it connected with your organization directly or indirectly?
Mr. REID. No, sir; in no way.
Mr. RAKER. Where is your home?
Mr. REID. My home when I am not here in Washington?
Mr. RAKER. Yes.
Mr. REID. In Michigan.
Mr. RAKER. Are you a farmer?
Mr. REID. No, sir.
Mr. RAKER. Did you attend this conference?
Mr. REID. At Chicago?
Mr. RAKER. Yes.
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
Mr. RAKER. How many were present?
Mr. REID. There were about 68 delegates from all over the United States.
Mr. RAKER. Have you a list of the delegates?
Mr. REID. I can get such a list for you.
Mr. RAKER. Will you get it and insert it as a part of your remarks?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
(The list furnished by Mr. Reid is as follows:)

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The new executive committee was elected as follows:
Northeast group: Frank Smith, of New York; Frank App, of New Jersey; George Putnam, of New Hampshire.
Central group: J. F. Reed, of Minnesota; W. H. Settle, of Indiana; Howard Leonard, of Illinois.
Southern group: J. T. Orr, of Texas; E. H. Woods, of Kentucky; E. A. O'Neal, of Alabama.
Western group: C. S. Brown, of Arizona; J. F. Burton, of Utah; J. M. Rodgers, of Colorado.

DIRECTORS PRESENT.

Alabama, Edward A. O'Neal; Arizona, Charles S. Brown; California, A. C. Hardison, W. H. Walker; Colorado, J. M. Rodgers; Connecticut, S. McLean Buckingham; Delaware, Robert J. Allen; Georgia, James W. Morton; Idaho, George A. Line; Illinois, S. H. Thompson, Henry McGough, W. A. McNeal, C. R. Finley, Howard Leonard; Indiana, John G. Brown, W. H. Settle, William Senour; Iowa, E. H. Cunningham, Ray Redfern, J. L. Bane, John King, C. W. Hunt; Kansas, Ralph Snyder; Kentucky, Gen. E. H. Woods; Maryland, D. G. Harry; Massachusetts, E. F. Richardson; Michigan, James Nicol, George Friday, Fred Smith, Mrs. Edith Wagar; Minnesota, J. T. Reed, F. L. French; Missouri, Chester H. Gray; Montana, A. H. Stafford; Nebraska, H. D. Lute; Nevada, E. C. Riddle; New Hampshire, George M. Putman; New Jersey, Frank App; New York, B. W. Miller, C. G. Porter, F. M. Smith; alternates, S. L. Strivings, H. C. McKenzie, Enos Lee; North Carolina, Dr. A. M. Redfern;

North Dakota, H. B. Fuller; Ohio, O. E. Bradfute, Depew Head, D. M. Odaffer, Mrs. H. W. Lawrence; Pennsylvania, J. C. Brubaker; South Dakota, W. S. Hill; Texas, John T. Orr, Walton Peteet; Utah, John F. Burton; Vermont, E. B. Cornwall; West Virginia, J. B. McLaughlin; Wisconsin, George McKerrow; Wyoming, Paul H. Dupertuis.

Hundreds of members of the house of delegates were present, together with visitors from all over the country and abroad.

Mr. RAKER. Have you read the request of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America and what they desire regarding immigration?

Mr. REID. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Would you be surprised to find that the requests of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Association of Manufacturers are about the same?

Mr. REID. Yes; I would. I have not given any attention to their program, so that I do not know how closely it parallels ours.

Mr. RAKER. You would be a little bit surprised to find that their program is about the same as your program, would you not?

Mr. REID. Yes, sir; I should.

Mr. RAKER. Have you given any thought to this subject personally?

Mr. REID. Not much; no, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Then I would be wasting your time and mine if I went into the question in detail.

Mr. REID. I think so; yes, sir; because I am merely here to transmit their resolution. We do not appear as experts on this subject or any of the subjects which we have submitted to Congress. It is merely the resolution and action of the farmers themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. You have stated that you want to produce crops cheaper?

Mr. REID. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. By using cheaper alien labor?

Mr. REID. That is the idea, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. How cheap do you want it?

Mr. REID. So that we can make a profit on the crops.

The CHAIRMAN. What class would you accept? Are you willing to accept Mexicans?

Mr. REID. In some places.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you take Porto Ricans?

Mr. REID. Well, I do not know about that; I am not prepared to go into details.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pay of a farm laborer?

Mr. REID. It varies all over the country; I can not tell you exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. You can not give us the average?

Mr. REID. No, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Naturally you would understand the sentiment as referring to such labor as would be intelligent and competent labor, and which would come here to stay and finally develop into good American citizens, would you not?

Mr. REID. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. Such labor as comes from northern Europe or western Europe, or any of the European countries, and which comes here and makes good, substantial, dependable people, industrious, honest, and finally develops into a high class of American citizens?

Mr. REID. I believe that was the thought back of the resolution.

Mr. RAKER. That is a good statement, but you have not gone into the question. Would you want Chinese to come here to perform this labor?

Mr. REID. We are leaving that up to Congress.

Mr. RAKER. What is your attitude on that?

Mr. REID. I am not here to testify in a personal capacity. I have come here to transmit the resolution to the committee and I beg to stand on that.

Mr. RAKER. These people could not have taken into consideration the fact that there are about 60,000 who, under the quota, could come from the northern countries of Europe, such as Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

Mr. REID. Well, I can not tell you exactly what they did take into consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for the fact that farmers or farm laborers had not been coming to the United States as such prior to the enactment of the quota law?

Mr. REID. I can not account for that and I have no information on that subject.

Mr. WHITE. You did not hear any positive expression from the delegates in attendance which would indicate that they wanted any Chinese or Japanese, did you?

Mr. REID. No; they are not for that.

Mr. RAKER. You did not read the statement in the Country Gentleman, which reflects the farmers' point of view, to the effect that there is a sufficient supply of farm

labor on hand now and represents that the farmers do not want any more for the present? That statement appeared in the last issue of the Country Gentleman.

Mr. REID. That is the view of the Country Gentleman and not necessarily that of the farmers.

Mr. SIEGEL. This witness only came here to transmit this resolution and he does not pretend to be an authority on this question, so that I think we are wasting time.

Mr. WHITE. So do I.

Mr. BOX. I think, Mr. Chairman, that when our friend from New York undertakes to dictate to another member how he should conduct his examination that he is trespassing on the rights of this committee.

Mr. SIEGEL. But I do not intend to permit one man to examine a witness when he says he does not appear as an expert.

Mr. BOX. And I do not intend to let one man run this committee, even if he is from New York.

Mr. SIEGEL. And even if he is from Texas he will not run it.

Mr. RAKER. What I am trying to get at particularly is to have the witness tell the committee whether or not the American Farm Bureau Federation, at the time of the meeting designated in the resolution, took into consideration the fact that the only place from which they could get these people would be the eastern part of Europe, that is, Italy, Russia, Poland, and those places. Of course, their quotas are exhausted, but in other countries, such as Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom there are at least 70,000 who could come during this year. Now, you do not think they took that into consideration?

Mr. REID. I think they appreciated the fact that there are a great many undesirable immigrants that could come under the quotas and under the law as it was written, and they are desirous of keeping that class of immigrants out of the country.

Mr. RAKER. The point is that the quotas of those countries are exhausted. They do not want the quotas raised, do they, so that more of these people could come in? And according to the statistics only an infinitesimal number have gone to the farms, but all have gone to the cities; it also further appears that the majority of those now coming are dependents and are not laboring men at all.

Mr. REID. I think they took that all into consideration.

Mr. BOX. What is your business?

Mr. REID. I am the assistant Washington representative of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Mr. BOX. Your home is in Michigan?

Mr. REID. Yes, sir.

Mr. BOX. Did you confer with the farmers in Michigan about this business before you came here?

Mr. REID. No, sir; I have been away for a few years.

Mr. BOX. Have you ever talked with a single dirt farmer about this proposition?

Mr. REID. I have talked with a number of them.

Mr. BOX. Will you give us the name of one dirt farmer with whom you talked about it?

Mr. REID. I can insert a list of them.

Mr. BOX. You can certainly recall some of them, can you not?

Mr. REID. Well, there is Mr. Reed, of Minnesota.

Mr. BOX. Give his initials.

Mr. REID. Mr. J. T. Reed, president of the Minnesota Farm Bureau Federation.

Mr. BOX. Give us the name of another dirt farmer with whom you talked about it.

Mr. REID. Mr. J. R. Howard, president of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Mr. BOX. He is now the president?

Mr. REID. Yes.

Mr. WHITE. Has not his term expired?

Mr. REID. Yes, sir; it expired January 1.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is now the president?

Mr. REID. Mr. O. E. Bradfute.

Mr. BOX. You say you talked with a man named Reed? Is he related to you?

Mr. REID. Not that I know of.

Mr. BOX. You have named Mr. Reed and Mr. Howard. What other farmers?

Mr. REID. James Nichol, president of the Michigan Farm Bureau Federation.

Mr. BOX. Is not that the second president of that State which you have named?

Mr. REID. No, sir; the other one was the president of the Farm Bureau Federation of Minnesota.

Mr. BOX. Who is the next one?

Mr. REID. Mr. John Brown, president of the Indiana Farm Bureau Federation.

Mr. BOX. Who else?
Mr. REID. I do not remember any more.
Mr. BOX. That makes four.
Mr. REID. I stated, for the record, however, that I did not represent these farmers in presenting the resolution; I came here to present the resolution of the American Farm Bureau Federation, and that is what I have done.
Mr. WHITE. The words "dirt farmer" are used very frequently and I imagine you understand the definition; it means a man who farms or is interested in farming. The delegates to this convention, whose resolution you have presented, were from all the States of the Union?
Mr. REID. Forty-seven of them; yes, sir.
Mr. WHITE. They were farmers, were they not?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
Mr. WHITE. That is your impression?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir; my knowledge.
Mr. WHITE. And they came to represent their fellow farmers?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
Mr. WHITE. You mingled with those men?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
Mr. WHITE. And you were associated with them?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
Mr. WHITE. And you have come here to present the resolution which contains their views as to this proposition?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir; that is all.
Mr. WHITE. And you are representing dirt farmers, practical farmers?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir. My instructions were to present this resolution to the committee.
Mr. WHITE. We so understand it.
Mr. BOX. As I understand it, you will insert in the record the full names of the four dirt farmers you have named?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
Mr. WHITE. I will ask you to insert the names of all the delegates to this convention. Can you do that?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
(The names referred to will be found on p. 28.)
The CHAIRMAN. You represent the American Farm Bureau Federation?
Mr. REID. Yes, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. And you say the American Farm Bureau Federation is not connected with the board of conference for the purpose of studying immigration and other matters?
Mr. REID. Not that I know of; I never heard of it.
The CHAIRMAN. You say that the federation is not a member of the National Industrial Conference Board?
Mr. REID. Not that I know of.
The CHAIRMAN. Which is represented in Washington by Mr. R. R. Lutz, 703 Southern Building?
Mr. REID. No, sir.
The CHAIRMAN. If it is given out that the American Farm Bureau Federation is allied with the American Railway Association, the American Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and the National Conference of State Manufacturers' Association, that is an error, is it?
Mr. REID. It might have some association with them or some agency might have given out our name along with others, because this resolution has been passed since December, therefore they would know the stand the federation has taken on that; but other than that there has been no alignment.
The CHAIRMAN. Was there any understanding with the other associations with regard to the preparation of this resolution?
Mr. REID. None that I know of.
The CHAIRMAN. If there was, you would not know it?
Mr. REID. I think so.
The CHAIRMAN. You would know it if there was?
Mr. REID. I think so; yes, sir.
Mr. MALONEY. How long have you held your present position?
Mr. REID. Two years.
Mr. WHITE. A question a moment ago brought out the answer that the American Manufacturers' Association and the American Farm Bureau Federation want the same

thing. Did I understand you to mean by that that the American Farm Bureau Federation wants workers for the farms and coincidentally the Manufacturers' Association wants laborers for the factories?

Mr. REID. Certainly.

Mr. WHITE. And that desire was expressed without any collusion or common understanding?

Mr. REID. Certainly. I do not understand that the farmers are against larger cities.

Mr. WHITE. Or that they are specially interested in it at all?

Mr. REID. Their resolution speaks for itself.

Mr. WHITE. They are simply looking after their own interests?

Mr. REID. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIEGEL. Where is the office of the Federation in Washington?

Mr. REID. No. 838 Munsey Building.

Mr. WILSON. Is it your judgment that the present restriction on immigration imperils efficient and economical production, as stated in this resolution?

Mr. REID. I am not here to testify personally. That is the statement of these farmers.

Mr. WILSON. And that the American farmer is not producing in as efficient and economical a manner as would be the case if we had a larger inflow of immigrants?

Mr. REID. That is the idea of the farmers; yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And representing the farmers, have you made any investigations as to what percentage of immigrants has gone to the farms and stayed on farms in the last few years?

Mr. REID. No; I have not made any investigation, but I happen to know the number is very small.

Mr. WILSON. Is there any information to indicate that the percentage which would become dirt farmers would be any greater if the bars were opened for an additional inflow of immigrants?

Mr. REID. I would not undertake to say.

Mr. WILSON. Could you say in what lines of agricultural production there is now a deficit?

Mr. REID. No; I could not tell you.

Mr. BOX. To what extent is the farm labor of the United States performed by the farmer and his family?

Mr. REID. I have no statistics on that.

Mr. BOX. You do not know?

Mr. REID. No, sir.

Mr. WHITE. But you do know, in a general way, that a farmer and his family work at their business, do you not?

Mr. REID. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Larkin, representing the Bethlehem Steel Co., is present this morning at the invitation of the committee. Mr. Larkin, will you kindly give your full name, address, and business to the committee?

Mr. LARKIN. J. M. Larkin, assistant to the president Bethlehem Steel Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is your residence?

Mr. LARKIN. Bethlehem, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a statement you desire to make to the committee?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; I have a statement, Mr. Chairman, which I desire to make to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

STATEMENT OF MR. J. M. LARKIN, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT BETHLEHEM STEEL CO.

Mr. LARKIN. From 40 to 45 per cent of the 50,000 employees of the subsidiary companies of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation are people of foreign birth. They comprise, in the main, the following nationalities:

Austro-Hungarians, Slavish, Russians, Italians, Swedish, Polish, Greeks, Portuguese, and Spaniards, coming in the main from the central and southern European countries. They are attracted to the steel plants because of the earning possibilities and the large number of starting positions not necessarily requiring previous experience and skill, and further because an opportunity is offered for unskilled people to rapidly advance from the unskilled labor jobs to semiskilled and skilled jobs. The character of the work being for the most part hot and heavy attracts these people as contrasted with the northern European races who in the main appear to prefer other kinds of work.

The plants of the corporation with 50,000 employees are operating at the present time on about a 70 per cent basis, and could use, if available, approximately 5,000 additional employees.

The present and prospective labor requirements of the plants are divided under three heads.

1. Those necessary to maintain the force at its present level to offset a normal labor turnover.

2. The additional employees needed to fill the present shortage.

3. The additional employees needed in the future to permit increasing operations to a full capacity basis.

Under the first heading with an approximate present force of 50,000, it would be necessary to employ approximately 50,000 people to maintain this force at its present level.

Under the second heading approximately 5,000 additional employees are needed to completely man the present rate of operations. In lieu of our inability to obtain these additional employees it has been necessary to suspend needed construction programs and has crippled and curtailed efficient production to some extent.

Under the third heading if, as present indications point, business demands upon our corporation should require full capacity operation by next spring, when the usual exodus of employees from the mills to outside construction occupations takes place, we would need, exclusive of the additional employees needed to efficiently man our present rate of operations, approximately 15,000 additional employees.

This would create a labor requirement, present and anticipated, for this year of 20,000 additional people (exclusive of the approximately 50,000 employees needed to maintain the present force).

To remedy this labor shortage and reduce to a minimum the turnover, every possible good management effort is being observed in maintaining a labor policy that will offer such relief as may be within the control of the corporation, such as:

1. The introduction wherever possible of mechanical and labor saving devices to perform functions heretofore performed by manual labor.

2. The maintenance of up-to-date, efficient and humanely administered employment departments at all plants for the hiring, transferring and terminating of employees.

In order to attract men the corporation observes the following practices:

(*a*) Recruiting of labor by personal outside surveys in communities where labor is available.

(*b*) Advertising in the press.

(*c*) By keeping in touch with State, Federal and other employment agencies.

(*d*) By making known to the public its labor policies.

(*e*) By pursuing a policy of nondistrimination toward prospective or present employees for membership in any lawful organization.

3. Measures for the development of teamwork and good will between the management and employees as evidenced by the operation of a complete conference system through elected representatives of the employees for the discussion and ajdustment with the management of all conditions under which the employees have to work.

4. Good housing and transportation conditions.

5. Measures of protection through mutually financed relief associations to protect employees and their families in case of sickness and death.

6. Thorough and conscientious measures to prevent accidents and sickness by the maintenance of safety committee organizations among the employees and well equipped, ventilated, and lighted work places with all necessary healthful conveniences for employees, together with recreational and health-building opportunities.

7. Educational opportunities such as the operation of a complete apprenticeship system affording systematic instruction to apprentices. Educational classes for people of foreign birth to assist them to become naturalized and qualified for advanced positions and other educational and training opportunities worked out in conjunction with public and other educational institutions.

8. Maintenance of schedules of wage payments, based upon and recognizing the employees efficiency, to permit of good living conditions.

The observance of the above labor policies has greatly reduced the labor turnover among the employees of the corporation which in well situated plants is running as low as 6 per cent per month. This indicates a reduction of turnover of over 50 per cent as compared with labor turnover rate before the adoption of these policies, and we feel that the present turnover rate is as low as can reasonably be expected allowing for the natural and normal interchange of employees from one line of activity to another.

We feel that the policy sometimes adopted of unreasonably increasing wages to attract employees from one industry to another is a policy that is self-defeating and

will in the long run only result in a disturbance of business stability causing abnoramal inflation and consequent increases in the prices of commodities and living costs to the detriment of the interests of the general public.

Another condition which makes the wage increasing theory ineffective as a relief for our labor shortage, is the fact that an increase in wage rates will not necessarily attract American labor to such occupations directly connected with the primary operations in the production of iron and steel, which experience shows appeals to only certain classes of workers.

Therefore the shortage of labor in our plants is not due to the existence of unsatisfactory relations or unattractive working conditions, but rather is directly due to an actual dearth of available common labor such as has been recruited from the ranks of immigrants and principally from the central and southern European countries.

The effect of this labor shortage on operations in our business is very far-reaching, resulting in delays in the shipment of material, thus preventing the taking of new business, as well as preventing more quickly getting on to a full capacity basis. Daily instances are experienced of a shortage in one branch of the chain of steel making operations, crippling and curtailing the output of the entire plant. Surely such a condition, if it can be remedied by a wise immigration policy, and I believe it can, can not be allowed to continue without seriously disturbing the business stability of the country.

Having taken such steps as are within our power, we now ask for such relief as can be gotten from other sources. The remedy, I believe, lies in the adoption of an immigration policy sufficiently flexible to supply industry with the necessary labor to efficiently man its operations. We do not advocate the wholesale admission of aliens, but believe it is entirely possible to regulate this supply in both numbers and quality if the regulations are based upon the country's needs rather than on fixed percentages.

The CHAIRMAN. Your company made some increase in the wages of common labor some time ago, did it not?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; we granted a 20 per cent increase on the 1st of September.

The CHAIRMAN. And announced at the time that it was due to the effect of the quota restriction law?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not make that announcement?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the increase was due to that?

Mr. LARKIN. The increase was due to the general conditions that existed and the demand for increased wages to meet the cost of living and adjustments that were taking place in other lines of business.

The CHAIRMAN. Where are the subsidiary plants of the Bethlehem Co.?

Mr. LARKIN. They are located in nine States and are composed of five steel plants, three of which are located in Pennsylvania, one at Steelton, one at Lebanon, and one at Bethlehem, one in Maryland, at Sparrows Point, and another at Buffalo; seven shipyards, one located at Quincy, Mass., one at Elizabeth, N. J., one in Wilmington, Del., and another at Sparrows Point, Md., as well as one in San Francisco, and two other repair plants. Five coal properties, three of which are located in the State of Pennsylvania and two in West Virginia. There are also several ore properties, located in the United States, Cuba, and Chile.

The CHAIRMAN. The pay of common labor differs in the various plants and various industries of this concern?

Mr. LARKIN. The pay for steel-plant common labor ranges from 34 to 30 cents an hour, depending upon the districts in which the plants are located. However, due to the opportunity to work on a piecework or tonnage basis, very few receive only this basic hourly rate.

The CHAIRMAN. And what are the hours per day?

Mr. LARKIN. The hours for common labor are mainly $10\frac{5}{12}$ hours.

The CHAIRMAN. In all of the plants?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the number of hours per day been reduced by the Bethlehem company recently?

Mr. LARKIN. The number of hours has been reduced in some instances.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. LARKIN. That is a matter that is in process of adjustment all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had any 12-hour shifts for common labor recently?

Mr. LARKIN. There are some 12-hour departments; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In spite of your statement as to the hours for common labor?

Mr. LARKIN. I was speaking of the plant service labor. The general common labor throughout the plants works 10½ hours, and that is a one-shift operation.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the 12-hour labor?

Mr. LARKIN. What there is, is employed in the continuously operating departments.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you always had 12 hours in those departments?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Even when you had an overplus of labor?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that?

Mr. LARKIN. It is a condition in the industry that has always existed and one with which it is hard to do otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is a good plan to be continually bringing a stream of aliens here to work 12-hour shifts in a hard industry?

Mr. LARKIN. I will answer that by saying that if the industry is to progress and to operate we must have this class of labor or a similar class.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have to have it for 12 hours per day.

Mr. LARKIN. I am not prepared to answer questions as to hours for the industry as a whole.

The CHAIRMAN. The reason I ask you that is this—and I will be very frank with you—that in conversations I have had with some steel executives they have said this is a continuous operation which requires one 12-hour shift and then another one; that they have acted on that plan and can not change it, and particularly they can not change it now when they seem to be short of labor, but they can never explain why they did not change when they had a great surplusage of labor, so that it must be that that is a fixed law in the minds of steel manufacturers, that they must have 12-hour shifts in the continuous part of the work, and that labor, from the very nature of things, will be alien labor, and as far as we are able to learn, that does not give that alien labor much opportunity to make any start toward Americanization.

Mr. LARKIN. Well, we are carrying on all the time, Mr. Chairman, a process of Americanization and naturalization within our own plants.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you take that time from the 12 hours?

Mr. LARKIN. The men are brought into classes in the plant and given instruction in subjects looking to their naturalization.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time does that take off of the 12 hours?

Mr. LARKIN. It takes about an hour a day, two days a week.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these classes conducted in all of the places?

Mr. LARKIN. In the places where we have an abundance of foreign labor.

Mr. BOX. I would like to know how many employees they have and how many of them get this instruction. I am very much interested in this work of Americanization.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you segregate your labor, for instance; segregate your alien labor from your other employees?

Mr. LARKIN. At Bethlehem we have at the present time about 12,000 employees, and something like 2,000 have either had or are having instruction leading toward naturalization. Last month we had graduation exercises in one of the local school buildings there, when 150 foreigners graduated, and were granted their papers by the courts without having to go through the regular formal requirements on account of having had this instruction.

The CHAIRMAN. Bethlehem is near Allentown, is it not?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it in the same county where they had those heavy naturalization frauds about a year and a half ago?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it in the same county that Allentown is in?

Mr. LARKIN. The city of Bethlehem is located in two counties, Lehigh and Northampton, and the plant is located in Northampton County, and Allentown is located in Lehigh County.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not remember one person being a witness for 150 men he had never seen?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Within the last two years?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the gross number of employees of the Bethlehem Corporation?

Mr. LARKIN. In the corporation to-day we have something like 50,000 employees.

Mr. WHITE. If you get all the employees you want in the manner you have indicated do you believe the employment would be permanent, consecutive, and constant?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir; as nearly as it is possible for industry to control that.

Mr. WHITE. Of course. Under present conditions where do you find the best market for your production; that is, in the main is it in the United States or in foreign countries?

Mr. LARKIN. In the United States.

Mr. WHITE. Could you state about what percentage of your products find a foreign market?

Mr. LARKIN. No; I could not.

Mr. WHITE. Even approximately?

Mr. LARKIN. I would not care to hazard a guess at that.

Mr. WHITE. Would you like to say that the larger part of your production is sold in the United States?

Mr. LARKIN. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHITE. You have stated in a very interesting and clear manner the efforts you are putting forth in the interest of your employees, which is very fine; I am pleased to know it, and I think all the members of the committee are, too. Now, do you think that if you could get this labor in sufficient quantity it would have the effect of reducing the price of steel to the consumer—the price of your products generally?

Mr. LARKIN. I could not say that it would.

Mr. WHITE. You could not say it would?

Mr. LARKIN. No.

Mr. WHITE. Are you able to meet the demands for your production reasonably well?

Mr. LARKIN. At the present time, as I stated, we need, in order to efficiently man our present operations, 5,000 additional employees.

Mr. WHITE. After the flush period, which followed the signing of the armistice and lasted variously from 18 to 24 months, was there a dull period in your business when you had more labor and more production than you could promptly and profitably market?

Mr. LARKIN. There was a period following the signing of the armistice when we did have a surplus of labor, but——

Mr. WHITE (interposing). That was not immediately following the armistice but it was some time after.

Mr. LARKIN. It was at the beginning of 1921.

Mr. WHITE. What proportion of your operatives did you lay off at that time?

Mr. LARKIN. A very small proportion because we adopted the policy, in consultation with the men, of keeping a maximum force on the roll working part time rather to lay off sufficient men to operate on a full-time basis.

The CHAIRMAN. What did that give the common labor?

Mr. LARKIN. That gave the common labor an average of three or four days work a week.

The CHAIRMAN. At how much per hour?

Mr. LARKIN. 32 cents per hour.

The CHAIRMAN. Three or four days of $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day at how much per hour?

Mr. LARKIN. 32 cents at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the bulk of these men married?

Mr. LARKIN. I should say the majority are.

The CHAIRMAN. With families?

Mr. LARKIN. With familes.

The CHAIRMAN. They pay their own house rent?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; they pay their own house rent.

They CHAIRMAN. Could they live pretty well on that compensation and with work for that many hours per week?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; they seem to manage to live pretty well. The house rents and living costs in most of the districts in which our plants are located are fairly low as compared with the larger cities. I am not attempting to speak as to how they manage their households or how they obtain their revenues, but in a great majority of the instances more than one member of the family is a wage earner, and pretty generally, where our steel plants are located there are other lines of industry, such as silk mills and cigar factories, which offer employment to other members of the family.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the whole family works?

Mr. LARKIN. I should say that is pretty generally the practice.

The CHAIRMAN. They work all the hours they can get in?

Mr. LARKIN. I would not say that applied to anybody under 16, where the State laws regulate that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe in the protective tariff for the steel industry?

Mr. LARKIN. I am not qualified to talk on that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RAKER. Well, they have that so that we can assume that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe in the protection by the United States of the men on the job in the steel industry if the industry is protected by the tariff?

Mr LARKIN I believe in any regulation, State or national, which will protect the employees' working conditions, and which will give them healthful and pleasing places in which to work.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your concern run any company stores at any of these places?

Mr. LARKIN. At one steel plant we do operate a company store.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that?

Mr. LARKIN. At Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. None in Pennsylvania?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Do you produce the same line of products generally that are produced by the United States Steel Corporation?

Mr. LARKIN. Generally, I think we do.

Mr. WHITE. Would you want to say whether you are in a combination to fix and maintain prices as well as to assign territories? You do not have to answer that question unless you want to.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you want to answer that question?

Mr. WHITE. I will not insist on an answer but I think it is pertinent.

Mr. SIEGEL. If the witness knows.

Mr. LARKIN. I did not think he was serious about it.

Mr. WHITE. I am serious about it, but I do not insist on an answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Is your concern in such a combination?

Mr. LARKIN. No.

Mr. WHITE. You have no mutual understanding to fix prices?

Mr. LARKIN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. But Federal inquiries have been made for the purpose of investigating that from time to time, have they not?

Mr. LARKIN. From time to time I believe they have.

The CHAIRMAN. You desire to have these laborers brought in along the lines outlined in the circular of the National Manufacturers' Association, or have you not seen this circular?

Mr. LARKIN. I think I have seen a copy of it, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you discussed it at all?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you thought about it?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you thought of any plan by which you could secure the labor you want?

Mr. LARKIN. The program I think we would favor would be one which would give to industry of this country, under proper supervision of the Government, the labor that is required for the various industries.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the Federal Government might handle the distribution of that labor?

Mr. LARKIN. I think the Federal Government would in some way have to have a hand in the distribution of the labor, the acquisition of it and the distribution of it.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you make that distribution?

Mr. LARKIN. I think as a practical matter, Mr. Chairman, that there might be a body, either a commission or a committee, to which industry could make known its needs, and this committee or commission could have the authority to select the labor in the foreign countries based upon those requests, and that if that were done it would cover the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Such a body would merely make a requisition for labor from foreign countries.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will assume that is done and the labor arrives; would you have it placed in a certain locality?

Mr. LARKIN. I think you would have to leave it to the applicants themselves to choose what type of industry and what localities they desire to locate in.

The CHAIRMAN. And move away if they felt like it?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not quite agree with the recommendation that the Federal Government should supervise the alien during the period of his alienage?

Mr. LARKIN. I think it ought to have reasonable supervision over him.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by reasonable supervision?

Mr. LARKIN. To the extent of seeing that he conforms to the regulations and laws of the United States and that he meets the requirements for citizenship, and so on.

Mr. SIEGEL. You do not mean that the Federal Government is to bring them over here and say, "You must remain in one particular place, and if you do not that you will be deported."

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. SIEGEL. What efforts have you made to obtain native-born labor for your work?

Mr. LARKIN. We are making efforts all the time through the employment departments of our corporation and through the people we have going about the country recruiting labor.

Mr. SIEGEL. And have you been successful or unsuccessful?

Mr. LARKIN. Very unsuccessful so far as fully meeting our requirements. We are also using the agencies which the Government has already established, the Federal and State employment agencies, but they have been unable to meet our requirements.

Mr. SIEGEL. Is the real cause of the trouble the length of hours?

Mr. LARKIN. I think not; I think the real cause of the trouble is that there is an actual dearth of labor and that it is impossible to fill our requirements.

Mr. SIEGEL. You will admit very frankly that a native-born person is not going to permit all the members of his family to work in a place in order to support that family?

Mr. LARKIN. I think that most of our native born are all occupied; I do not know of many of them that are not working to-day.

Mr. SIEGEL. Do you mean to say—I do not know whether you are married—that you have your wife working also?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. SIEGEL. A few moments ago you told us that was the condition prevailing in these places.

Mr. LARKIN. But I did not mention the wife; I said members of the family.

Mr. SIEGEL. Well, is not the wife a member of the family?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; but I did not mention her specifically.

Mr. SIEGEL. Well, to whom do you refer when you say all the members of the family work in order to maintain the family properly?

Mr. LARKIN. I mean the members of the family exclusive of the wife, although in some cases the wife will work.

The CHAIRMAN. All children over 16 years of age, in States where they have laws with reference to child labor.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; but so far as we are concerned we are not bound to that law, and I do not know that in all States the age limit is 16 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What age do you suggest, if it is not 16?

Mr. LARKIN. However, we are observing the 16-year-old law in the employment of children.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do not feel bound by that?

Mr. LARKIN. We are not, but it is the rule of the company.

The CHAIRMAN. But you sanction all the members of a family, 16 years of age and older, going out and working in other industries which are near the steel plants in order to help the alien husband and father to support the family?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not think I would recommend that; that is, I do not think I would say that is our feeling regarding the matter, but it happens to be a condition that does exist.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are willing to encourage that condition by inviting more aliens to come here and increase that condition?

Mr. LARKIN. No. I think those aliens have the same opportunities after they are 16 as the native born with regard to education and advancement.

Mr. SIEGEL. Are the school laws pretty strongly enforced as to requiring attendance at public schools, etc.?

Mr. LARKIN. They are absolutely adhered to.

Mr. SIEGEL. Are there sufficient schools for these children, whether native or foreign born?

Mr. LARKIN. We brag about having the best schools in the land in our districts.

Mr. SIEGEL. Do any of the foreign-born children enter your plants as common labor?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIEGEL. At what age do they enter?

Mr. LARKIN. After they are 16 years of age.

Mr. SIEGEL. And they work side by side with their fathers in the same line of work?

Mr. LARKIN. I would not say that a youth 16 years of age would be able to work side by side with his father on heavy work.

Mr. SIEGEL. What does he earn an hour and how many hours does he work?

Mr. LARKIN. To whom do you refer?

Mr. SIEGEL. A youth 16 years of age at the time he would begin to work.

Mr. LARKIN. The rates for youths in our industries run from 20 cents up, mainly as apprentices.

Mr. SIEGEL. How many hours do they work?

Mr. LARKIN. They will work for the most part 8 hours and some 10 hours, 10-5/12 hours.

Mr. SIEGEL. Six days a week?

Mr. LARKIN. Six days a week.

Mr. SIEGEL. Does your common labor work six days a week?

Mr. LARKIN. Six days a week in the majority of departments.

Mr. SIEGEL. Are they working seven days a week in any of the departments?

Mr. LARKIN. We have abolished that to a great extent and are attempting to abolish from the industry the seven day week and the long shift.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you commence to abolish the seven-day proposition?

Mr. LARKIN. Some time ago; I would say over a year ago.

Mr. SIEGEL. How many people are now working seven days a week?

Mr. LARKIN. I could not tell you that.

Mr. SIEGEL. Not even approximately?

Mr. LARKIN. I would say a very small proportion of the total force, not over 10 per cent of the 50,000 employees.

The CHAIRMAN. When you get home will you telegraph around and ascertain exactly the number in the various plants working seven days a week and supply that information?

Mr. LARKIN. I will attempt to get the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Or we can do it for you if you will give us the names of the persons at the various plants of whom to inquire.

Mr. SIEGEL. I think Mr. Larkin can obtain that information more quickly than we can.

Mr. WHITE. Do the youths you have referred to, and who average about 16 years of age, occupy the position of apprentices?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. And for how long?

Mr. LARKIN. Our apprenticeship course is based on a four, three, and two year program—four years for some trades, three for others, and two for others.

Mr. WHITE. Is there a graduated scale whereby their wages are increased from time to time?

Mr. LARKIN. There is a graduated scale of an increase of about 4 cents an hour per year, at the end of which time they get certificates certifying as to their trademanship and a cash bonus of $100, $150, and $200 to assist them in the purchase of tools, and so on.

Mr. WHITE. You understand, of course, that the term "American standard of living" is a misnomer, and meaning probably 100 different things, or 1,000?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. I do not know what the situation of the wife of the ordinary millionaire is, because I am not in that class, but I suppose——

Mr. LARKIN (interposing). I am with you.

Mr. WHITE. But I suppose it is proper to state that the wife of a laborer, whether a foreign or an American laborer, is performing as useful and valuable a function in keeping the house, caring for the children, and managing them as if she were working for wages. You recognize that, do you not?

Mr. LARKIN. Absolutely.

Mr. WHITE. And it is just as honorable and as creditable for a 16-year old boy or girl, during vacation, to find profitable employment outside as it would be to work in your factories; it is an honorable thing for them to do if they can find work outside; that is not only true in your city but it is true all over this country, and the American standard depends upon the earning ability and capacity of the laborer, whether he works for himself or whether he works for an employer.

The CHAIRMAN. If you desire to answer these questions, Mr. Larkin, you will have to say yes or no, because the stenographer can not note your nods.

Mr. WHITE. I would like to have those questions answered. Do you understand the questions?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. There is the prevalent idea, although not very prevalent, that a wife should not work; but the American idea, I think, is that work is honorable in any legitimate employment, and that the wife who works in the home is rendering one of the greatest services she could render, and that it is honorable, proper, and it is all right.

Mr. LARKIN. I think I can supplement that by saying that a person who works anywhere is doing an honorable service.

Mr. WHITE. I think so, too, whether it be in the home or in the shop.

Mr. MALONEY. How many women do you employ?

Mr. LARKIN. Practically none in the shops.

Mr. MALONEY. Do I understand you to say that you do not discriminate against men who belong to labor organizations?

Mr. LARKIN. I say we do not discriminate against membership in any lawful organizations.

Mr. MALONEY. Do you consider a labor organization a lawful organization?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MALONEY. Then you do not discriminate against men who belong to labor organizations?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. MALONEY. Is it not a fact that the policy of your organization is not to sell products to firms who do employ union labor?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. Grace is the treasurer of your concern, is he not?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. MALONEY. Is he not connected with your concern?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir; he is the president of our concern.

Mr. MALONEY. Did he not make that statement some time ago before the Lockwood Committee of New York?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not recall any such statement.

Mr. WILSON. I understand from your statement that you will need during the present year about 20,000 additional employees.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. To meet the estimated necessities of your business?

Mr. LARKIN. If business conditions go ahead as we anticipate they will.

Mr. WILSON. And that you are unable to secure those in the United States?

Mr. LARKIN. We are unable to secure them by using all of the known means we can find of recruiting labor in this country.

Mr. WILSON. I was very much interested in your statement that you have a system of a committee from your corporation meeting with a committee appointed by your employees and agreeing upon matters of policy.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. These committees meet together and discuss matters over some table?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Are the hours of employment agreed upon by the men themselves?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; by the employees.

Mr. WILSON. Together with the representatives of your company?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Are the wages agreed upon in the same manner?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir; all conditions under which the employees have to work, including wages, working conditions, hours, and plant conditions, ventilation, sanitation, and everything that has to do with any condition under which the men have to work.

Mr. WILSON. That is agreed upon by the representatives of the employees and your company?

Mr. LARKIN. All of those matters are matters for adjustment in conference with the employees.

Mr. WILSON. When you come to a matter on which you can not reach any agreement have you any reference board?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir; the system provides, if you would like to hear about it——

Mr. WILSON (interposing). Yes; I am very much interested in it.

Mr. LARKIN. An elected representative of the men—who is elected in the shop by his fellow workmen—may bring up a question for adjustment with the superintendent; failing of adjustment there the matter is referred to a joint committee; the personnel of that committee is made up of five representatives of the management and five representatives of the employees; if the matter fails of adjustment within that committee then it is referred to the president of the corporation for adjustment; failing of adjustment there the matter may be referred to arbitration, and the type of arbitration is left to both the employees and the company to agree upon.

Mr. WILSON. Under this system have you been able to agree upon all matters up to date?

Mr. LARKIN. In the four years we have had this system in effect there have been 2,000 questions adjusted with the workmen, comprising hours, wages, and all other conditions, and not one of which has been referred to arbitration.

Mr. WILSON. No one question has gotten to a board of arbitration?
Mr. LARKIN. Not one question has ever had to go to arbitration.
Mr. WILSON. Who selects the men who meet with the employers?
Mr. LARKIN. Do you mean the representatives of the employees?
Mr. WILSON. Yes.
Mr. LARKIN. They are elected by secret ballot in the shops by the employees themselves; the company has absolutely nothing to do with their selection.
Mr. WILSON. And who selects those who represent the company?
Mr. LARKIN. The company selects its representatives to deal with the men.
Mr. WILSON. So that it is a purely democratic system?
Mr. LARKIN. It is absolutely democratic from the start.
Mr. WILSON. Have you had a strike during the time this system has been in operation?
Mr. LARKIN. No, sir. We operated under this system during the steel strike.
The CHAIRMAN. When was the steel strike?
Mr. LARKIN. In 1919; September, 1919.
Mr. WILSON. Did that reach your company?
Mr. LARKIN. The strike call reached our company, but I am glad to say we continued operations almost at full capacity.
Mr. WILSON. Did many of your employees step out under this strike call?
Mr. LARKIN. Very few.
Mr. WILSON. Are they back now?
Mr. LARKIN. They are all back.
Mr. WILSON. You stated, I believe, that from 40 to 45 per cent of the employees of your company are people of foreign birth.
Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WILSON. Do they operate under this system along with the others?
Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WILSON. And satisfactorily?
Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.
Mr. WILSON. How are the people selected who conduct the naturalization schools?
Mr. LARKIN. They are selected by the company and are generally recruited from the ranks of the public-school teachers.
Mr. WILSON. Who regulates the subject matter which they study in reaching this naturalization?
Mr. LARKIN. We generally conform to the educational standards set up by the State and by the Federal Government.
Mr. WILSON. Do the Federal Government and the State public-school people supervise your work or cooperate with you?
Mr. LARKIN. They cooperate with us.
Mr. WILSON. Would you say your system is under the direction of the Bureau of Naturalization and the public-school system of Pennsylvania?
Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir; and the work is carried on in cooperation with the Federal Department of Labor.
Mr. WILSON. You spoke of the expected exodus of your employees in the spring. Is that a condition which recurs at that period of the year?
Mr. LARKIN. There are two periods in the year when that condition occurs. In the fall we get a certain amount of relief from the outside occupations—that is, outside construction jobs, road building, etc.; that work lets down and the men come into the mills for work, but in the spring those men return to their former work, when road work and other lines of activity outside are resumed.
Mr. WILSON. Has this method of settling disputes, of the company participating in the naturalization processes and the system you have adopted in the last few years as to operating your company, resulted in greater loyalty on the part of the employees to the company and their interest in its welfare and upbuilding?
Mr. LARKIN. I would say it has very materially increased the morale and the esprit de corps among the organization and has built up a better feeling on both sides.
Mr. WILSON. And with this condition prevailing you do not endeavor to keep them out of such organizations as the American Federation of Labor and organizations of that kind?
Mr. LARKIN. The plan under which we are operating has for its preface a paragraph which states to every employee that participation in the plan in no way abridges their right to belong to any labor union or other lawful organization, and we show the representatives of the men who are elected by secret ballot that there is no discrimination by the inclusion in the plan of a paragraph which states that they may appeal to the Secretary of Labor of the United States in cases of alleged discrimination and that we will abide by his decision.

Mr. WILSON. I understand that your expectations for increased business are largely due to American demands.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. And, of course, that is due to a revival of business in the United States and a greater demand for your products?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Do you know whether that condition prevails in the other steel companies?

Mr. LARKIN. I would hesitate to speak for the other steel companies, because I do not know anything about their operations. However, I think our labor situation is typical, although I would not want you to accept my statement for that.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that in your opinion the conditions which you describe obtain in other steel plants?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are the hours the same?

Mr. LARKIN. I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. And you do not mean to imply that the pay is the same?

Mr. LARKIN. I could not say.

The CHAIRMAN. You know of no arrangement among the various steel corporations and plants as to hours and pay?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. WILSON. The appeals being made to the committee—and they come from agriculture, from the tailoring industry, steel industry and tin-plate industry—are along the line of some system of relaxing the immigration laws so that whenever a demand is made by the steel industry or by other industries for labor there will be some authority in the Government to raise the bars and adjust the flow of immigrants in order to meet the condition, and you think that should be done?

Mr. LARKIN. Absolutely.

Mr. WILSON. And you say that for your company alone that would mean this year 20,000?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Has any estimate been made as to what that additional flow of immigration would mean at this time if adjustments were made to satisfy all of the industries in the country?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not know how we could arrive at that, except to say that if the same thing is true of every other industry as it is with us, it would mean our present force would be increased about 30 per cent.

Mr. WILSON. If that applied throughout the country that would be 20 per cent of 500,000, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean there is that shortage?

Mr. WILSON. He says his shortage is 20,000.

The CHAIRMAN. It has occurred to me that this committee, about two years ago, while sitting here for the purpose of hearing appeals for 5,000,000 laborers—saying nothing about the families—they wanted the immigration laws so arranged that they could receive 5,000,000 laborers.

Mr. RAKER. That would be about 25,000,000 people.

The CHAIRMAN. And just about a year ago we were sitting here listening to reports to the effect that there were probably 5,000,000 persons out of work in the United States, the pendulum having swung the other way, and within the space of two years we have this appeal for a large number which we have not begun to estimate. Before we get through we will probably have some sort of an estimate as to the number those who employ labor think they need, but with the possibility that before we get them there will be unemployment again.

Mr. LARKIN. I think that is an indication to us that we must have a pretty flexible immigration policy.

The CHAIRMAN. What are you going to do? Send them back every time there is unemployment?

Mr. LARKIN. No; but I do feel that if we had an immigration policy that would allow people to come into the country on the basis of demands for their services it would very largely overcome that situation.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you think it would also reduce wages?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Were not wages reduced when you had lack of employment in your plant a couple of years ago, and were not hours per week and days of labor cut down?

Mr. LARKIN. That, Mr. Chairman, was in line with the general tendency of every other commodity throughout the country, looking toward the reduction in the cost of living and a return to a normal basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Which do you think is the better plan, to have labor out of work or have industry slowed down a little bit?

Mr. LARKIN. I think the best plan is to have a sufficient flow of labor into the country to allow industry to operate on a stable basis. I think that both a surplus of labor and short-time work, and industries closed down, is an uneconomic condition which is detrimental to the general public.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, is not industry more secure and better stabilized with a shortage of labor than it is with an overplus?

Mr. LARKIN. Well, I do not think we are now facing a condition of an overplus of labor; I think what we are facing is a very definite shortage of labor and one, which if it continues, is going to seriously injure the business stability of this country.

Mr. WHITE. A bill passed the House, but did not become a law, in December, 1920, which did provide some flexibility; the present law is inflexible and that is one of the great obstacles in the way of its administration; that bill provided, in brief, for the admission of relatives of American citizens who had become naturalized, and have you ever thought about that proposition? You have a large foreign element in your employ, and a law which would permit the relatives of your employees to come into the country in time of need might automatically regulate the situation. Your employees could say to you, "We have brothers or cousins who would come here," and by furnishing proper assurances to the Commissioner General of Immigration those relatives who want to come could be admitted, and if that were done it would not automatically, in a very large measure, regulate the situation and would it not solve the problem of distribution that we are talking about, because they would only come when they are needed. Had you ever thought about that?

Mr. LARKIN. I think that is true, and that is the appeal on which we base our argument, that we ought to get sufficient labor to man our plants.

Mr. WHITE. The point I make is that your employees would have a better knowledge of those who would be available for this labor; they could furnish a guaranty, and that would be required by law if we had such a law, and we did pass such a law through the House of Representatives in 1920. Do you not think that might very successfully solve this great problem of distribution of so many persons all over this country?

Mr. LARKIN. It would go a long ways toward helping.

Mr. WHITE. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You realize, of course, that if we admitted relatives of the kind you have in mind for your industry we would also be required to admit the relatives of all other people in the country?

Mr. LARKIN. Well, I do not know that I understand your question.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say, if we admitted the relatives of those employed in the steel industry, who could give assurance that those coming would work in the steel industry, we would have to make similar provision for the relatives of those employed in the clothing industry and who wanted to come to work in that industry.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or in households or in any of the work that is offered in the cities, where there is already a great number of immigrants?

Mr. LARKIN. I think you would have to treat it as a general proposition, and I do not think you could afford to discriminate.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think it is all right for the United States to have 1,500,000 immigrants coming to it?

Mr. LARKIN. If the industries of this country can absorb them and can give them full-time employment, yes. I think it is based wholly on the availability of employment here.

Mr. WHITE. Do you not believe your employees would have the very best means of judging as to whether they would have employment, and that they would be in a position, being in your employ, to know conditions as well as you know them?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. Because you confer with each other and you understand each other?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. And it would automatcally regulate itself?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. M. Larkin, in your statement here you wind up by stating that this matter could all be settled by having a wise immigration policy. I take it from your full statement and your conclusion of your statement with that language that you have in your mind a wise immigration policy? Will you kindly proceed to develop that to the committee in your own way and in as short a time as you can?

Mr. LARKIN. Well, I think I have stated my position. It is simply this; that the immigration policy ought to be flexible enough to allow sufficient labor to come into this country to meet the needs of industry.

Mr. RAKER. How would you do it?

Mr. LARKIN. Well, I think that the suggestion of a commission that would give its whole thought to the labor requirements and to the immigration policy in question would very largely solve the matter.

Mr. RAKER. That is your theory now of a wise immigration policy? Is that right?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER Would you permit aliens not able to read and write to come into the country under this policy?

Mr. LARKIN. I would want to think about that at great length. I am not so sure that the leteracy test is of very great value.

Mr. RAKER. Do you believe that the Europeans are needed to do the work in this country now?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What do you say, is the American boy involuntary or unfit for the trades?

Mr. LARKIN. I think the American boy pretty largely has ambition above the trades.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what do you mean by the American boy?

Mr. LARKIN. American born.

Mr. RAKER. His ambition is above doing the business of the country that makes it prosperous?

Mr. LARKIN. I think the facilities that we offer in an educational way in all lines of advantages offer him larger opportunities.

Mr. RAKER. Do you mean that the ordinary business of the country and work of the country that makes it prosperous and has made it prosperous is above the American youth?

Mr. LARKIN. No; I would not say that. I was speaking as it applies only to the unskilled common labor occupations.

Mr. RAKER. Now, it requires some one to do the work of the country. It is not all clerical. That is only a very small part of it. Is it your view that that work is above the American youth to do?

Mr. LARKIN. Which work?

Mr. RAKER. Any work that makes the prosperity of this country, of manufacture and industry in all its branches—that makes this country prosperous to-day.

Mr. LARKIN. I do not think it is possible to make——

Mr. RAKER (interposing). I am getting your view representing this great corporation.

Mr. LARKIN. No. I think it is a condition where there are opportunities for the American youth above the grade of common labor which makes it attractive for him to not do the common labor class of work.

Mr. RAKER. In other words, your view is that we should make no effort to get the American-born boy to do this work? I mean, now, in all of its phases, in all its lines, steamships, manufacturing industries of every class, that the boy should look to a higher class of work than doing what you call the common labor.

Mr. LARKIN. No; I believe we do not encourage him to do that class of work.

Mr. RAKER. Do you not believe that he can do it?

Mr. LARKIN. I believe he can if he will.

Mr. RAKER. He has done it in the past, has he not?

Mr. LARKIN. I think you are right.

Mr. RAKER. Up to about 12 or 14 years ago the American people and those that came from the northern part of the European continent did this work and made America propsperous, did they not? Is that not right?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir; I think that is right.

Mr. RAKER. Would you change that policy and bring in a new class of people, from different environments, different surroundings, different thoughts of government, to do this work in America now?

Mr. LARKIN. No; if you can get the Americans to do it, but I think there is one other thing you have to recognize and that is the progress that industry has made and the additional opportunities that are offered.

Mr. RAKER. You can not get progress if you have driven the American youth out of the opportunity to do the work, when history demonstrates that in all lines of activity to-day, the boys at the head are the same that went in at the bottom—in every line of activity you can think of.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Even the President of the United States to-day.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Are you going to reverse this policy?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not see that we are reversing it.

Mr. RAKER. You are asking for foreign labor?

Mr. LARKIN. I think we were all foreign at one time or another. It is just a question of degree.

Mr. RAKER. Originally they came, but we came from certain stocks?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes.

Mr. RAKER. And those people had to go through hardships. They had an idea of government. They made this Government. Now, should we bring people here who do not have the same ideas of this Government that the majority of the people who are here now have?

Mr. LARKIN. No; I think that is one of the things we ought to be very careful of in selecting our people who come here.

Mr. RAKER. How are we going to select? We find they can come here in the neighborhood of seventy or eight thousand from Denmark, Finland, Iceland, the Netherlands, England, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden—is that not true? And the papers coming out to-day say that there are two and a half million idle men that are eating in the soup kitchens of England.

Mr. LARKIN. We are not advocating by any means the admission of people that will not conform to the standards you have enumerated.

Mr. RAKER. In all these towns there must be to-day, if I understand you correctly, at least 5,000 boys from 18 to 24 who will leave school in June—at least 40 per cent of those must be children of alien parents. Are those boys going to go into your business, working?

Mr. LARKIN. Some of them are.

Mr. RAKER. What is going to become of the others?

Mr. LARKIN. Going into other lines of activities.

Mr. RAKER. The alien immigrant that comes in and works for 38 cents per hour for 11¼ hours a day, or the boy that works 10 or 11 hours a day for 20 cents per hour—he is not going into the business his father is in, but he is going into something else, in the very community where you are trying to get these immigrants, is that right?

Mr. LARKIN. I can not say that that is true.

Mr. RAKER. If the proposition is like you say it is, these men are mostly married, they have families, and they are largely productive, and there are large percentages of children in these communities who have alien parents?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What percentage of these children are working in your establishment?

Mr. LARKIN. I would say of the male part of the family, a very large proportion.

Mr. RAKER. Give us an estimate of the percentage.

Mr. LARKIN. I would say three-fourths of the children of foreign birth are in our establishments.

Mr. RAKER. You answer a question very astounding to me. You said there are 100 different standards of American living. Did you say that?

Mr. WHITE. I said that.

Mr. RAKER. I grasp the situation. The gentleman asked the question and you said yes—that is your idea?

Mr. LARKIN. I did not understand the question that way.

Mr. RAKER. I would like for you to straighten yourself in that.

Mr. WHITE. I qualified my question that the standard of living depends upon the individual. I stand right on that.

Mr. RAKER. The American standard of living is used and discussed in every piece of literature and in every book there is, and I understood from the witness that there were 100 different standards. What do you mean by that?

Mr. LARKIN. I did not understand the question that way.

Mr. WHITE. I think the chirographer is mistaken. It should be American standards (plural) of living.

Mr. RAKER. Well, where a man gets enough wages and he is living and raising a family and doing what he can to build up a family and the community where he lives. You do not believe that there is more than one standard, do you?

Mr. LARKIN. We believe that that is the standard every man should conform to.

Mr. WHITE. But still every man makes his own standard of living.

Mr. RAKER. Do these men that are working in your establishment belong and have in the establishment their unions?

Mr. LARKIN. If they choose, they do belong to the unions.

Mr. RAKER. Are unions in existence and organized in your various plants?

Mr. LARKIN. There may be. We do not deal with them as such.

Mr. RAKER. Are they? It is not what you might, but are there union organizations in these various plants?

Mr. LARKIN. I have no way of knowing because we do not recognize the unions as such.

Mr. RAKER. That is what I was trying to get at. As a matter of fact, your company, with its 50,000 employees, does not recognize the unions?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. Why not?

Mr. LARKIN. Because we recognize the employees as employees of the company, and deal with them directly on all questions dealing with conditions under which they have to work.

The CHAIRMAN. Do employees have the right to initiate matters?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they initiate, from time to time, the question of wages?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they initiate this question that lead to the 20 per cent increase?

Mr. LARKIN. They had talked about it some time prior to putting it into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they discussing another increase of wages now?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. They can take it up any time they want to, can they not?

Mr. LARKIN. You understand there is quite a difference between the matter of a general wage increase and the increase of wages for individuals or groups. Those increases for groups or individuals are being made every week. That is a question that is continuous.

The CHAIRMAN. It is the question of the pay of a class that would be most concerned about alien labor that we are interested in.

Mr. RAKER. What per cent of your full capacity have you been running at for the last 12 months?

Mr. LARKIN. About 70 per cent.

Mr. RAKER. What was it in 1921?

Mr. LARKIN. We were down to about 50 per cent operation I believe.

Mr. RAKER. And during 1918 and 1919 what were you doing?

Mr. LARKIN. We were pretty generally running 100 per cent—full capacity.

Mr. RAKER. That would be how many in 1920? You have 50,000 now at 70 per cent. How many would you say in 1920 you had?

Mr. LARKIN. I would say the force then was about 75,000.

Mr. RAKER. You were just getting out of the war then and you slacked?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. What has been the rise in price, if any, as an average of your entire commodities during 1922 as compared to the price in 1914?

Mr. LARKIN. I could not say.

Mr. RAKER. Have you any idea?

Mr. LARKIN. No, I have not.

Mr. RAKER. Have you got any way that that can be found out?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not see that that has any bearing on this matter.

Mr. RAKER. Yes; it has. I heard one of your witnesses appear before the Ways and Means Committee. They were over there asking for a tariff on everything and they would not give them any information as to what any of their products cost, and now you have got a proposition for cheap foreign labor. I was just trying to get your attitude.

Mr. LARKIN. It is not our attitude, if those figures can be gotten and published.

Mr. RAKER. Have you any means of getting the figures of the price on commodities sold by your concern in 1914 and now?

Mr. LARKIN. I can not say. I will take it up with my associates and find out.

Mr. RAKER. Will you say whether you will do that or not?

Mr. SIEGEL. This committee has not got any jurisdiction over that matter.

Mr. RAKER. What is the average wage in your plant to-day as compared with 1914?

Mr. LARKIN. The wages are about 100 per cent higher than they were in 1914. Is that what you mean?

Mr. RAKER. Yes. Are they higher this year than they were in 1921?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir. They are 10 cents less than during the war.

Mr. RAKER. Then in 1914 you were paying these men about $1.15 a day?

Mr. LARKIN. About 15 cents an hour for common labor.

The CHAIRMAN. For how many hours then?

Mr. LARKIN. The same hours.

The CHAIRMAN. That would not give a man much chance to labor and raise a family, would it?

Mr. LARKIN. I have tried to indicate in my memorandum there that we have gone through a process of bettering the conditions of the steel workers to a great extent. We do not mean to paint a picture of being perfect, but we have tried to do everything we can.

Mr. RAKER. What is the nationality of the employees there? Can you give us any idea?

Mr. LARKIN. You have got it in the memorandum.

Mr. RAKER. No, not in the memorandum.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir; on the first page.

Mr. RAKER. Could you give the estimate of the different nationalities—Austro-Hungarian?

Mr. LARKIN. I think they would be the predominating race.

Mr. RAKER. The Slavs?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes. I think they are given there in the order of the importance of the nationality.

Mr. RAKER. But you have not the percentage of these. Can you give that?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you say Austro-Hungarian——

Mr. LARKIN (interposing). Before the rearrangement of the territory.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you account for the fact that the immigration to the other countries of the world from what was Austria-Hungary amounts to very little for the last year or so?

Mr. LARKIN. Perhaps because of the better conditions offered under their own Governments.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say, they are not migrating to North America or South America or any other part of the world. They either can not do it or find conditions such as they do not desire?

Mr. LARKIN. I think that if you will take the quota that is permitted of them to come to this country——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Do you think the regulations of those countries with reference to steamship travel, etc., would have anything to do with the nonmigration?

Mr. LARKIN. I could not answer that question, Mr. Chairman. I am not familiar with their——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I have a statement here from the International Labor Office people at Geneva, of their monthly immigration, showing that "very complete statistics have been received illustrating oversea emigration from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1921. The total number of emigrants was 12,965, of whom 5,102 were men and 7,863 women, and 9,646 literate and 3,369 illiterate," going to various countries of the world.

From those that went out, the number that had employment assured them in country of destination was 10,801, while 2,164 persons had no assurance of employment. There were 3,097 persons who left owning property in their home country, 167 who had sold property before leaving, and 5,105 who were without means. Passages had been prepaid by relatives or friends for 7,533 persons, 466 had been supplied with cash for their journey, and 4,966 had paid for their own tickets. There is an instance of one case of a lessening of immigration from which at one time there was a large emigration.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We found yesterday that the Finns were not coming to the copper mines; that the total immigration from Finland, which heretofore had carried on a tremendous emigration for its size, was but 3,557 to all parts of the world. There is some reason why the peoples of these countries are not emigrating. It is not based on the United States quota law. We find here that wherever the immigration is permitted to the United States in recent years the great bulk of it has been of a temporary class, and we find further that there seems to be a tendency on the part of the various European governments to crowd out their dependent class onto the United States.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We find, also, it applies in some countries to the diseased, feeble-minded, and the deficient. Do you have many of those in your towns?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir. We are in absolute accord with the committee's view on that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Are not the feeble-minded and near feeble-minded and weaklings left?

Mr. LARKIN. I imagine that they are migrating to the larger cities.

The CHAIRMAN. And becoming an expense to the States?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes; or relatives.

The CHAIRMAN. To the amount of about 7 per cent of all the taxes raised by all the States, which is a pretty heavy toll to pay in an effort to keep up an alien inflow of labor.

Mr. LARKIN. I think, Mr. Chairman, that could be regulated, as we discussed, with the wise selection of the people to come here.

Mr. WHITE. You are familiar with all the categorically stated reasons for the exclusion of aliens from this country, as contained in the general law? You have read the general law, have you not?

Mr. LARKIN. In a general way.

Mr. WHITE. You are not in favor of modifying any of those provisions are you?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You are familiar with this situation, I know, and are ready to give us all the assistance you can. That is my feeling from your testimony this morning.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. You have not received any of this large dependent immigration within the last year that have come in about your mill, have you?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes: we have to some extent received the dependents that were held up during the war that could not come here to joint their people.

Mr. WHITE. Relatives of your employees?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WHITE. They are taking pretty good care of them, are they not?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. They are not doing the work, are they, because they are mostly women and children?

Mr. LARKIN. They came here to make their homes with their families.

Mr. RAKER. But there are very few working men that are coming at the present time?

Mr. LARKIN. That is true.

Mr. RAKER. I suppose in all your plants there has not been over 2 per cent, has there?

Mr. LARKIN. A very small number.

Mr. RAKER. From the very best information we can get from all these countries there has been a great scramble to get passports from those countries that they come from and a very small per cent are men.

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. So that we would not get any men from them, would we?

Mr. LARKIN. They say they came here to relatives.

Mr. RAKER. We read here that men and women are pushing each other aside to get passports visèd first, and in these other countries where strong men are coming we would have to push the bars down entirely to let these men come in, would we not?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not think so; I think there is a way out. I think the present contract labor law might be suspended in the judgment of your committee or in the judgment of Congress to the extent that would let them get the labor needed into this country.

Mr. RAKER. To repeal the contract labor law would not only literally hang the American Congress by the American people, but it ought to. We can not go back to the old contract labor law, can we?

Mr. LARKIN. I do not know.

Mr. RAKER. Would it not be better to put our own house in order and put some of our own people to work rather than to bring in a large percentage of these people into this country at this time?

Mr. LARKIN. That might be an ideal condition, but I do not think it is going to bring relief. There is an acute dearth and shortage of labor in this country that must be augmented, and I think, as I say, with a wise immigration policy you can overcome the objectionable feature of the present law and pass a law and satisfy the situation.

Mr. WILSON. Do you feel that that dearth of labor necessarily exists or is it not due to the fact that the people will not accept the employment?

Mr. LARKIN. I think there is a natural dearth. I do not think it is a question of not wanting to accept the employment.

Mr. WILSON. It is your judgment that if all the idle people in America would go to work there would still be a shortage of labor?

Mr. LARKIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. I understand your statement is that it is not a question of the wages that causes this scarcity in your plant. That is not affected by the wage you are paying, is it?

Mr. LARKIN. No, sir.

Mr. WILSON. But that there are simply not enough laborers to——

Mr. LARKIN (interposing). To draw from.

Mr. WILSON. To carry on American industry at its present capacity or indicated capacity?

Mr. LARKIN. No.