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THE FACTORY SYSTEM

With special reference to Factory Legislation in England and Manitoba.

by

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THE FACTORY SYSTEM.

England in the first quarter of the eighteenth century and developed during the period known as the "Industrial Revolution", brought in its train not only Industrial Progress and Prosperity from a national point of view, a largely increased national dividend and a commercial development unequaled in any period of the world's history, but grave industrial problems involving the very existence of the English worker, the back bone of English industry. This System, its growth and development out of existing organizations of labor, these problems arising out of unprecedented conditions of labor and the legislation, tentative and empirical aimed at the solution of these problems form the subject matter of the following discussion.

Ashley has distinguished four stages in the history of industry during the mediaeval and modern times. First, the Family or Household System: "where there is no separate body of professional craftsmen at all; where all that can be called "industry" as distinguished from agriculture is carried on within the household group for



the satisfaction of its own needs by persons whose main business is the cultivation of the land or the care of flocks. Second, the Gild or handicraft system, in which there appears for the first time professional craftsmen, where for the first time the necessity for a market arises and where primitive division of labor is for the first time introduced". Production in this stage is still on a small scale: It takes place either at the customer's home or in a small workshop or room or shed within or adjoining the craftsman's own dwelling; and there is no intermediary between producer and customer. The laborer either works on the customer's own materials, or if he buys his own material and has not only labor but a commodity to sell he deals directly with a small neighboring circle of patrons. Third, the domestic system where owing to wider markets, commercial middlemen appear and capital begins to play an important part. Fourth, the factory system, where the owners or controllers of capital not only find the market, but organize and regulate the actual processes of manufacture.

For our purposes the first stage needs no further comment. The second was a system of regulation of individual enterprise by appointed officers, gild wardens and town authorities, originally intended to further the

interests of both producer and consumer. The craft company was made up of all the members of a trade, master craftsmen, journey men and apprentices. The master was not only the manufacturer but the shop-keeper, not only employer but skilled workman, working beside his app prentices and journeymen rather as the head of a family than as a director of industry. Ashley concludes that in so far as the Gild approximated to its ideal, "In so far as it did for varying periods in varying trades and varying towns succeed in controlling industrial activity to the general satisfaction of the general public and of the "workers" it may be said to have solved the "labor question" incident always upon the employment of one person by another. The advent of capital in the sixteenth century, the widening of markets, the growing tendency of the officials toward monopoly combined to undermine this organization and the last blow to complete its ruin was the introduction of machinery in the eighteenth century.

The third or Domestic System, has according to Cooke Taylor left no exact counterpart behind, although it was during the eighteenth century the most prevalent type of all. Its development is perhaps best seen in the cotton industry, where at first the farmer manufacturer produced his own raw material and worked with

his family producing yarn or cloth which he sold in the local market or to master clothiers or merchants. Later, the merchants began to give out warps and raw cotton to the weavers receiving them back in choth and paying for the carding, roving, spinning and weaving. Later still, middlemen known as fustian masters appeared who gave out a warp and raw cotton to the weaver and received them back in cloth paying the weaver for his work. These middlemen then repaired to the local market and sold their gray cloth to the merchant who dyed and finished it. capitalist organization gradually invaded the domestic system also and prepared the way for the advent of the factory system. The progress of industry had rendered inadequate the handicraft system, lacking in organization; where there was neither market, capital nor differentiation of occupation. The gild system with its rigid regulations and its exclusive monopolistic tendencies proved too narrow to cope with distant markets, and too inelastic to allow even for the expansion of home trade.

Finally, side by side with the domestic system there had existed from comparatively early times, the germs of an organization which was to displace in turn the domestic system. The Factory System; not in mediaeval times our modern system, but the descendent of the factories established by the Romans which had been shut down upon

their departure and which from that time until the acceptance by John Kempe of Edward 111's invitation to establish the woolen industry at Norwich, were unknown in England. The industry introduced by John Kempe, however, rapidly assumed such proportions that other manufacturers (e.g. Thos. Blanket 1340) introduced machines for weaving and making woolen cloth in order to increase production, and as Cooke Taylor states "hired workmen employed at various machines within the house of one employer implies an unmistakable factory of however primitive a kind. of fines imposed upon those introducing machinery into the woolen manufacture, this primitive factory system continued to exist and machines to multiply, so that by the time of Henry V11 a class of capitalist manufacturers had grown up, chief among whom was Jack of Newbury, whom we are told employed as many as one thousand persons. During the reign of Blizabeth and the early Stuarts the factory system throve, to the great discontent of the weavers who complained that "the rich and wealthy clothiers do in many ways oppress them" by engwossing of looms, by paying small wages, by setting up divers looms and by employing unskilled labor. Following this period they were for a time somewhat in disfavor, and owing to many circumstances the domestic system throve while the factory system declined. The break-up of the gilds and the feudal system,

which had by this time taken place meant a relaxation of the stringent regulations imposed on industries by these organizations and consequently many who formerly had settled in the old regulated towns for the sake of their protection, moved away and settled on small plots of waste land where they carried on both agriculture and manufacture as the season favored. Every house was a manufactory and the worker had two sources of income, his land and his weaving. Gradually, however, as has been noted, capitalist merchants began to take over the organization of the cloth industry until where the worker had originally sold the product of his labor, finally he sold only his labor. The transitional steps in such a process are shown not only in the textile industries but in the stocking industry.

Handknitting is an extremely ancient industry; probably as old as weaving, and was generally carried on like weaving as a cottage industry. The stocking frame, however, was invented in Elizabeth's time and though but little used at that period, subsequent improvements brought it into general use and gave a considerable impetus to the industry. As the machines were somewhat expensive for the mass of the people to purchase the capitalist custom grew up of handing out material, and hiring out the machines. The workers are still isolated individuals, supplying the motive power but hired by an employer who supplies both machinery and material. Such a system was neither economical

nor devoid of risk, for the honesty of the laborer was unfortunately not always above question, and the capitalist organizer turned again to the factory system which proved capable of re-organization to suit the exigencies of a growing market and which by the beginning of the nineteenth century, owing as Cooke Taylor says, to an "unprecedented and fortuitous concurrence of events" was firmly established and rapidly developing.

The silk mill built by Lombe Brothers in 1732, supplied material, machines, motive power, (a water wheel), and employed operatives exclusively for wages, under one roof. This is the first modern factory. ing this came a series of inventions which revolutionized English industry. In 1741 Wyatt and Paul set up a cotton mill worked by animal power, and later Cave one by water power, while Kay introduced improved methods of spinning and carding worsted. Arkwright followed with the 'water frame', John Hargreaves with the 'Jenny' and Samuel Crompton with the 'mule', while the final triumph of mechanical invention was the adaptation of the steam engine to textile factories as the source of the motive power. This completed the evolution of the typical textile factory of the modern era. The new type of industry was established whereby human hands assisted machinery, rather than machinery assisting human hands.

Cooke Taylor distinguishes the factory system from earlier forms of labor organization as follows: Under the latter, the product of labor is that essentially of one workman and consequently his sole property, while under the former such a condition is impossible. A factory presupposes joint production, minute division of labor and consequently a conjointly finished commodity and the essence of the system from an economic point of view consists not in the employment of machinery but in the part allotted to labor under it. Under the earlier systems the laborer is the active centre of the productive act. In the factory system he becomes simply a unit in a vast organization he is no longer an active originating artisan but a passive hand: he has no initiative. "The factory operative is thus only an adjunct in the general result, an obedient member of an organization over which he has not full control. Moveever he must go altogether with the method or withdraw from it: he cannot choose his time or mode of work, or choose or venture anuthing. If it stops he stops but if it stop not he must go on or be left behind. Now the peculiarity of the Domestic System of manufacturing differing from the Factory System lay primarily in another direction. Production was a household industry under the same laws and government as any other kind of household work, dependent

on the same initiative and affected by the same causes not seldom carried on in connection with or even subsidiary to other processes of industry directed to quite other objects and differing from anterior systems by being in the modern sense free, and being an empirical as opposed to an organized method of production carried on in establishments and under conditions necessarily irregular and imperfect instead of in places and under conditions especially selected for industry.

The alteration in industrial methods was accompanied by a figree protest on the part of the laborers who hated the factory system which took them from their homes and detested machinery as the cause of the changes. Any transitional period necessarily involves hardships and the Industrial Revolution was no exception. first and most obvious effect of machinery in the industrial arena is to lessen human labor, and perhaps the next most obvious is to cheapen production". Superficially both appear most desirable, but from the laborer's point of view the reverse was true. Labor conditions had gradually changed till the worker had only his labor upon which to depend for his daily bread. That gone how could he live? Thus the poor artisan was the first to suffer from the first effect of machinery and the last to benefit from the second, since he had no means with which to purin the work done by the same human agency is apparent in these statistics and "the employment of abbreviated and improved methods in production (principally machine industry and the factory system) have been the chief factors in the immense strides which the country has taken".

Wonderful and far-reaching as was the impulse given to production by this system, it is by no means certain however that counteracting influences may not in future be introduced which will impose limits upon it, if not supersede it.

Among such agencies may be noted the following:
Machines cannot be made to think as well as act nor human
functions be split up indefinitely - a breal will occur
somewhere however long deferred. A revulsion of feeling
has been noted already against factory made goods, indicating a possibly aesthetic limit to the triumphs of
the system. It is conceivable that machine made goods
may become so inferior to the hand made article that the
demand for them will decrease and thus an effective limit
be imposed on factory production.

Again, the position of laborers is becoming more and more powerful, so that they are in a position to dictate more or less as to what course industrial progress shall take. If machinery is the enemy of labor,

It is admirably suited to the exigencies of international commerce and the increased facilities of communication have tended toward its further development.

Brief as has been the historical survey of the origin and growth of the Factory System, it is necessary to turn to the consideration of the problems incident upon its imposition and the legislation aimed at their solution. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century public attention was being drawn to conditions of labor in the textile factories. ately the introduction of machinery rendered possible the employment of children to tend it - thus making unnecessary the more expensive adult labor. Existing legislation in the form of the apprenticeship clauses dating from Elizabeth's time gave a color of legality to the extensive employment of workhouse children as apprentices and in these cases the worst abuses are found. Mr. Felden in his "Curse of the Factory System" has described the methods used by the masters. custom was for the master to clothe his apprentices and feed and lodge them in an apprentice house near the factory; overseers were appointed to see to the works whose interest it was to work the children to the utmost because their pay was in proportion to the work that they could exact. Cruelty was of course the consequence they were harassed to the brink of death by excess of labor, they were flogged, fettered and tortured in the most exquisite refinement of cruelty; they were in many cases starved to the bone while flogged to their work... even in some instances they were driven to commit suicide to evade the cruelties of a world in which though born to it so recently their happiest moments had been passed in the garb and coercion of a workhouse. Mrs. Browning too has written of them as follows:

"The young lambs are bounding in the meadows; The young flowers are blooming toward the west;

The young fawns are playing with the shadows;
The young birds are singing in the nest;

But the young children - 0! My brothers!

They are weeping bitterly;

They are weeping in the playtime of the others.

In the country of the free."

There can be no doubt that infant labor was generally employed under other systems of production even as early as the seventeenth century. Hutchins & Harrison quote from reports in the eighteenth century. "The children in the Shrewsbury House of Industry were set to work in the spinning room soon after five years

old and they attended an evening school after working hours were over" and also "the children are at school from three to five years old; from that age during their stay in the house they are at the allotted hours in the workroom". Cooke Taylor cites the example of an old man who told of the severities he had endured and the heavy labors he had to perform as a child in 1770, both in his father's house and afterwards as an apprentice - contrasting these with the light toil and positive comfort of the factory children. However that may be the introduction of machinery greatly aggravated an evil which if allowed to continue would eventually have detracted seriously from the efficiency of the English worker.

the credit for taking the first steps toward improving the conditions under which the children worked as well as toward shortening the hours of labor. In 1784 and later in 1795 investigations which resulted in very important resolutions were made by the Board with Dr. Percival at its head. It was found that children working in large and crowded factories were specially susceptible to disease; that extended hours of labor at a very early age not only impaired the strength and vital stamina of the rising generation, but encouraged laziness on the

upon the earnings of their children; and that children employed in factories lacked opportunities for education and religious and moral instruction. William Sabatier's belief that legislation alone could adequately cope with the situation was undoubtedly correct, and in 1802 the first factory act was passed, due partially to the disclosures made during the trial of Jouvaux in 1801 for ill treating and overworking his apprentices. Nutchins and Marrison point out this trial as an important one since there was voiced for the first time the opinion that an industry carried on in such a way as to degrade the laborer, to lead to deformity, to disease and to his ultimate destruction was dangerous to society and must be abandoned.

The "Health and Morals of Apprentices Act of 1802" provided for a twelve hour day; the prohibition of night work after June 1804; certain elementary instruction in the three R's; a yearly suit of clothing for each apprentice; attendance at church once a month; proper ventilation of factories, which were to be whitewashed twice a year, and the registration of all mills and factories. The weak point about this Act was its administration: two inspectors were to be appointed by the justices from their own number and the failure of the Act is gener-

ally traced to the laxity and negligence of these inspectors. The clauses relating to hours and education referred only to apprentices, and were as such merely an extension of the "Poor Law". It was a beginning, however, and between 1802 and 1819, the date of the next Factory Act, changes in the factory system by reason of the more general use of the steam engine altered the position of the apprentice in the factories which were being established in populous towns and were being managed by less illiterate and more prosperous masters who were no longer, generally speaking, of the type to perpetrate such cruelties on the poor apprentice as those described by Robert Blincoe.

A particularly bright spot in the period is the work of Robert Owen who offered the results of his experiments in his own factory to parliament as a basis for further legislation. He employed no child under ten years of age; had reduced the hours of labor gradually from fourteen to twelve, including one and a quarter for meals, and stated that instead of non-employment of children up to ten encouraging idleness, it rather improved their habits in proportion to the instruction which could be given them during that period. He found that the character of their work improved to such an extent that no loss resulted to the employer but rather a gain, since there was a marked improvement in the ability of the workers.

pointment since it fixed the age of employment of children at nine instead of ten years; the maximum hours of labor at sixteen instead of ten and a half; inspection was left as before and the Act applied only to cotton mills. The one important gain was the prohibition of the employment of children under nine years of age. It set a standard, however low, and it is noteworthy, according to Hutchins and Harrison, that the standard was noticeably low even among doctors speaking in favor of shorter hours. The view commonly held, which may be attributed largely to a pernicious Poor Law that leisure was the root of all evil and that the people were unable to employ one hour of idleness profitably was probably the cause.

In 1825 Hobhouse's Bill reduced the average working day by one half hour and allowed only nine hours work on Saturday. In 1831 the twelve hours working day was extended to include all persons under eighteen and prohibited night work by all persons under twenty-one.

In 1830 R. Oastler began his agitation for a ten hour working day and a bill was introduced in 1831 by Michael Sadler. There was strong opposition on the part of the manufacturers and the matter was placed in the hands of a Select Committee. The result of the Committee's

investigations not being entirely satisfactory to the manufacturing interests, a Commission was appointed to enquire further into conditions. The result was a report strongly favoring legislation and laying particular stress on the necessity for adequate administrative provisions. The result was the incorporation into the Act of 1833 of clauses providing for the appointment of four itinerant government inspectors who were to see that no child under nine was employed in a factory and that none between nine and thirteen worked more than eight hours a day, and who were also to enforce the educational clauses which were drafted into this Act. Many difficulties were encountered by the inspectors in the enforcement of these clauses. For the real age of the children they had either to rely upon the word of the parent, the appearance of the child or a certificate by a surgeon. None of these were entirely trustworthy, and finally one of the inspectors tried the expedient of appointing certain doctors who were authorized to give certificates as to age. This somewhat improved matters, but fraud was still prevalent, as is evident from the story of the Glasgow boy who drove a thriving trade in certificates by appearing before one doctor after another and selling his certificate for a shilling or two.

Again, the varying hours during which children might be employed and the relay system made it extremely

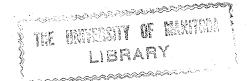
The absence of schools and competent teachers made it impossible to enforce the law regarding education. One inspector reported, for example, that he found the school in the coal hole, the stoker alternately hearing the lesson and feeding the fire. Hutchins and Harrison are of the opinion that factory legislation was kept back for generations for want of an effective Education Act, and it is noteworthy that the inspectors' experiencess convinced them of the soundness of the theory of state control of education. On the whole, however, the introduction of external disinterested authorities meant a considerable advance in administrative efficiency and many abuses which might under the old system have gone unnoticed were mentioned in the quarterly reports of the inspectors.

Thus the conditions of labor among women in the factories were brought before the authorities, not only by the inspectors, but through the report of the Childrens' Employment Commission of 1842 on Mines and Collieries, and led to women being included with young persons in the Act of 1844. This Act meant a considerable advance and provided for the safeguarding of machinery, half time regulations for children in order that the educational clauses might be enforced, but children of eight years might be employed; regulations as to meal times and hours of babor

to be regulated by a public clerk; the powers of the inspectors were increased; a register of employees kept and an abstract of the Act hung up in the factory. Following this Act there came quietly into effect in 1847 the "Ten Hours Bill", over which such bitter controversy had been waged since 1829. The industrial depression succeeding it almost meant its repeal but fortunately the operatives, in the majority, stood firm for the ten hour day even though it meant a decrease in wages. Macaulay's brilliant speech in 1846 in favor of the Bill forcefully demonstrated the State's right to interfere with 'free labor' in the interests of the laborer and the state. "Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger and healthier and wiser and better can ultimately make it poorer.

From this period until 1860, it is only necessary to comment briefly upon the Acts of 1850, by which a normal working day was expressly established and the Act of 1853 by which time limits were fixed for the completion of the shorter day of children.

By 1867 the regulations governing labor in textile industries had been extended to include most of the allied industries, and it was felt that workshops also should be included. The reversion of public opinion was complete; it was no longer a matter of surprise that the output of a ten hour day would in time exceed that of a twelve hour day,



and further legislation was taken as a mere matter of common sense and economic prudence. The "Factory Acts Extension Bill" and the "Hours of Labor Extension Bill" became law without opposition. A number of new industries were included, such as blast furnaces, iron foundries, copper and brass foundries, paper, glass and tobacco manufacturies and others which employed fifty or more persons. The "Workshops Regulation Act" regulated all establishments in which fewer than fifty persons were employed, except such as were included under the Factory Acts. It included all home industry but not outworkers. This Act was to be administered by the local authorities, but the experiment proved a failure and in 1871 a centralized management through the factory inspectors substituted.

Finally, in 1878 the "Factory and Workshops Consolidation Act" repealed all special laws and created an elaborate factory code which is still in force in England.

The distinction between factories and workshops according to the number of employees was discarded and the workplaces to which the Act applied were classified as follows:

(1) Textile Factories: A factory being defined for purposes of the Act as a phace where articles are made, altered, repaired, ornamented, finished or adapted for sale by means of manual labor exercised for gain, if mechanical power is used on the premises.

- (2) Non-Textile Factories.
- (3) Workshops in which children, young persons and women are employed.
- (4) Womens' Workshops where no children or young persons are employed.
- (5) Domestic Workshops where only the members of a family are employed.

In the early factory acts only cotton and woolen mills were included -- in 1867 old categories and new were included to the number of nearly forty, and a new class was created comprising "any premises where fifty or more persons are employed in any manufacturing process". Now by 1878 places where less than fifty persons were employed were included and thereby every material industry came under the protection of the Act. Cooke Taylor considers that in the Act of 1867 Factory Legislation reached its zenith, and that the Act of 1878 restricted the obvious intention of that Act by allowing exemptions in its operation. He does not agree with the opinion that industrial workers are rendered more free by withdrawing them from under the cognisance of the law, but states that they are handed over to the dominion of an irresponsible force which must fulfil its destiny at whatever cost to the instruments and however poignant and widespreadthe misery created. It is justly claimed for these laws then that they are the exponents - not opponents of freedom, of freedom from the compulsion of abject necessity, and the gross greed of gain, 1901 in order that the inspectors may be kept informed as to the existence of premises which come properly within their sphere. Where the local authorities have entered into their work with any degree of interest, where they have realized the importance of their duties in connection with the administration of the law, the results have been most satisfactory.

England has led the world in the matter of disinterested legislation in connection with factories. As
Jevons has said "no one class or trade is to be promoted
as in almost all the older industrial laws. Previous industrial legislation had prescribed the hours of labor not
as in our factory acts by way of limitation but by imposition
and the fact that the factory system has not produced the
evil effects on the British worker which was confidently
expected a century ago can be largely traced to the effectiveness of the legislation,

It is only natural that colonial begislation should develop along similar lines, as Cunningham states the accentuation of the element of care for labor which is a characteristic feature of modern English life is reproduced in the daughter communities which have grown up during the last half century. Our factory laws in Manitoba are merely reflections of the later English laws adapted to

our local needs. Legislation is contained in:

First. "The Factories Act", in which a factory is defined as

- (1) Any building in which three or more persons are employed, including any such as may be added from time to time by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council specially noting any laundry operated or owned by Chinese.
- (2) Any premises in which mechanical power is used.
- (3) Any premises wherein the employer of the persons working there has the right of access and control or within which any manual labor is exercised by way of trade or for the purposes of gain, except in the cases of children, young girls or women employed at home and where no outside help is employed.

For purposes of the Act premises in the open air may be considered a factory.

Child is defined as a male person under fourteen and a female person under fifteen years.

A young girl means a girl from fifteen to eighteen years and a woman is a female person from eighteen years upward.

No child shall be employed in a factory and if the work is deemed dangerous, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may forbid the employment of girls under eighteen and boys under sixteen; a birth certificate or statement by the parents as to age must be kept on file by the employer and produced on the request of the inspector.

In the case of any person found on the premises unless the machinery is stopped or at mealtimes the onus

is upon any employer to show that such person is not employed; a register of employees must be kept and any employer must notify the factory inspector as to any change in the system of employment.

A penalty of imprisonment for six months is imposed upon any employer employing women and girls where permanent injury to health is likely.

The hours are limited to nine hours in one day and fifty-four hours in one week except in case of different apportionment in order to have a shorter day on Saturday, and one hour at least must be allowed for the noon meal. At the discretion of the inspector eating on the premises may be prohibited and the employer must furnish a suitable eating room.

Provisions are made for the prevention of overcrowding; for sanitary arrangements for cleanliness; for ventilation and drainage and a considerable penalty is imposed upon any employer who fails to keep his premises in a sanitary condition.

Dangerous places must be properly protected, and measures taken for the prevention of fire and means of escape in case of fire.

In case of accident or death the inspector must be notified within twenty-four hours and in case of summary proceeding being taken, information must be laid within two months, or if the offence is punishable by imprisonment, within three months.

Second; The "Workmens Compensation Act", which provides for a Workmen's Compensation Board and Commissioner to adjudicate in cases where an employee has suffered in the course of his employment; the expenses of the Board to be defrayed by provincial contribution out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

An employer must forward a verified statement of the wages paid by him to each person employed and a satisfactory policy of insurance filed with the Board, together with a sum of money deposited to cover compensation.

Provision is made for returns of accidents to the Board by registered post and for purposes of compensation, industrial diseases are to be deemed accidents.

Employers are liable for defective ways or works and for the negligence of servants, while persons supplying defective materials are also liable, though an injured workman cannot claim double compensation.

A list of fifty-two industries in which the employers are liable to provide compensation is appended to the Act, which is so recent in its operation that it is impossible to judge as to its efficiency.

Third. At the last sitting of the Legislature of Manitoba there was passed an Act entitled "The Minimum Wage Act". the purpose of which was to create and provide for a minimum wage board to investigate and fix in accordance with conditions in Manitoba standard minimum wages, standard hours of employment and standard conditions of

labor for female workers employed in shops, factories and mail order houses in cities in Manitoba. Whether this Act will prove effective or not; whether it will adequately meet the needs of the workers remains to be seen, but it is at least evident that the principles so early applied in England are being progressively followed, and even improved upon in so far as local conditions permit, and that an effort is being made to safeguard in every possible way the interests of the laborer.

defines the hours during which shops shall be open and the class of persons as to age to be employed therein. No duter 14 years of age to be employed therein. No child the person shall be employed in a shop so as to interfere with educational regulations, and no woman or young person shall be employed for more than sixty hours in one week, or fourteen hours in one day, except in cases of emergency, when the limit shall be seventy hours a week with one hour deducted for a noon meal and if the employment continues after seven o'clock in the evening forty-five minutes must be allowed prior to that time for an evening meal.

Provision must be made for extinguishing fire and for escape in case of fire; sanitary precautions are insisted upon and the premises must be kept clean and well ventilated.

Administration of the first and last Acts is carried out by inspectors of the Bureau of Labor appointed

here that although there is unquestionably room for improvements in our laws, which as time passes will probably be made, at least our government has adopted a progressive policy and in addition to that many of the large shops go beyond the strict letter of the law and do not insist even upon the maximum allowed by law. This promises well for the future of labor in Manitoba.

During the last fifty years in England the balance of power has been with labor. How that power will in future be manifested is yet problematical. Under normal conditions there might have been predicted a gradual adjustment between labor and capital; the power of labor being steadily strengthened and its efficiency increased through labor organizations such as the Trade Unions, Co-operative and Friendly Societies; while capital with its monopolistic tendencies curbed by wise state regulation would no longer be the threatening force which labor during past generations had found it. Cunningham found good reason to believe in the ability of the workers to "attain to such a measure of political wisdon and such a sense of political responsibility that they will refrain from pushing the interest of their class beyond the point where it ceases to be consonant with the well being of the community as a whole".

But conditions are not normal and whether the workd war now being waged in Europe will bring us an after-

math of revolution in the industrial arena, or whether it will mean the solution of problems already existent no one can tell. But as the masses of the people become more and more alive to the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, as is enevitable with the progress of education; as the world realizes the real meaning of the term 'the brotherhood of man', and the State accepts as its ideal 'the greatest good', and who can doubt that mutual sympathy following mutual loss will lead to such a result, then will the State be prepared to legislate wisely in the interests of all and be prepared to successfully, yes, triumphantly, stand the supreme test which must come at the conclusion of the War.

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