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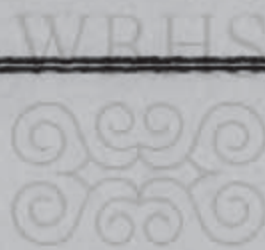
American Industry, 1924.

"AMERICAN INDUSTRY."

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING.

DECEMBER 14, 1924, CLEVELAND.



The greatest single social force in human life is the economic. It is not the only one, of course, but it is the greatest. What a man does in order to earn a livelihood, the manner in which he works, the circumstances surrounding his employment, and the opportunities confronting him will exercise the most determined, the most decisive influence upon his life and upon his thought. What holds true of man holds true of men collectively. Mankind and those segments of mankind which we call races and nations and peoples are moulded by the economics of their corporate existence. The history of almost every people is the record of its struggles for the economic goods of life--necessities, comforts, luxuries. And these economic facts of life will inevitably reflect themselves in the government of that people in its art, in its science, in its literature, in its religion.

American industry is, of course, no exception to the rule. American life is largely what American economic conditions make it. As these economic conditions change, the whole complex of American life changes. So that it is of the utmost importance for us to know the conditions of our industrial life, to know and understand the forces operating within our industrial organization, so as to determine their harmful or their helpful influence upon life, and to determine, if possible, too, the amount of control we can exercise over these economic forces, looking towards the

higher development of man.

It is, of course, well to remember at the very outset that American economic conditions have undergone a tremendous change within the last few decades. Up to within fifty years ago the American continent was one vast, unexploited treasure house. Its natural resources were scarcely tapped. Land was free, and where it was not free, it was exceedingly cheap. The population was sparse; labor was in high demand. America was largely an agricultural country. Business was decentralized and individualistic, and the business man carried on his enterprise in a market of unrestricted competition. It was a land of unlimited opportunity--the El Dorado of the whole world. But in our day conditions have materially changed. Our great natural resources are now largely owned and controlled by a comparatively few number of people. Two-thirds of our national wealth is in the hands of corporations, whose stockholders are numerous but whose control is in the hands of a few. Land is no longer free and no longer cheap. Our population has gone beyond the one hundred million mark, and great industrial centers have risen which have far outstripped in their urban development the rural development of America; and these great industrial centers have brought with them congestion, slums, and a multitudinous number of problems. We have today the constantly recurring problem of unemployment. There are too many hands for the work on hand. Business has become to an astounding degree centralized, and labor has become to a marked

degree centralized and organized. So that the individual, the small business man, and the workingman must now depend upon vast industrial organizations for his well-being. Our age today is the machine age, and it is therefore the age of collectivistic activity rather than of individualistic activity.

Now these elaborate economic conditions have brought with them a great deal that is good and a great deal that is evil. The machine has not been an unmixed blessing or an unmixed curse to mankind. The machine has made possible quantity production, and in a land whose natural resources are as abundant as in our land, quantity production means a larger distribution of these commodities, a higher general standard of prosperity. There are more people in this land today enjoying the necessities of life than at any time anywhere in the history of the world. A hundred years ago the norm, the normal condition throughout the world was poverty. Nine-tenths, if not more, of mankind were living in poverty. That was regarded as the natural condition of human existence. Today in this land we have gone many degrees beyond that low level of living, and today there are ten thousand-fold as many people enjoying not only the necessities of life but the comforts of living, than at any time in the history of the world anywhere.

The machine is largely responsible for that condition, as well as the abundance and the wealth of our land. In the second place, the industrial age in which we live and

its despot, the machine, have dictated that as a matter of efficiency production and distribution be highly centralized and controlled. This has meant the rise of the monopoly, of the trust, of "big business." But this has not meant the elimination of the small business man. The small business man has become less independent than he was fifty years ago, but he is not less numerous or less prosperous in our day, as a result of the rise of great trusts and monopolies. The condition of the workingman under our present industrial organization has improved considerably over what it was. The standard of living is much higher. It is not, of course, as high as it should be and can be, but it is markedly above the low level of penury and poverty in which the primitive tool age kept it.

In other words, our industrial age has brought some good, but it has also brought some evil. In the first place, it has made the average man much less independent. The average workingman is much less a self-sufficient, self-subsistent individual than his confreres a hundred years ago. A workingman in most instances today does not produce that which he directly and immediately needs--his food and his raiment. He may, for example, be working in a shop producing steel rails. These rails are not of direct and immediate need to him. They must be exchanged for other commodities before he can get that which he needs. In other words, he becomes dependent upon the demand for his commodity on the part of other people, which demand in turn is determined by great national economic conditions. Should these economic

conditions, over which he himself has little or no control, change over night, as they frequently do change, he is left absolutely helpless and defenseless. In other words, the prosperity of the individual workingman today does not depend entirely upon his skill or his thrift or his industry, but upon national and international economic conditions which he himself directly does not control.

That, of course, is true of the small business man. Today the prosperity of the small business man is not due entirely to his industry and skill and business acumen but very often upon those swift-moving, subtle economic causes which, in our highly sensitized business organism, can make him or break him over night. Life has become much less independent in our day. Furthermore, the individual workingman no longer has a chance to sell his labor in the open market, with a fair chance of receiving a fair deal, because today he must bargain not with another individual but with a vast corporation. He is compelled to contract not with an equal but with one who is infinitely more powerful than he is. As a result, the workingman is compelled to seek support and protection in a trade union, in order that he may have a fair chance through collective bargaining to sell his labor, his only commodity, justly, fairly.

But there again, in joining a trade union, the individual sinks his individuality in a collective group. He submerges his own self and his own interests to those of a group, of a mass, for weal or for woe; but his independence,

to a large degree, is gone. This organization of industry on a large scale, which is perfectly logical, inevitably has made it necessary for labor to organize on a large scale, with the result that frequently, as their respective interests conflict, there arise industrial disputes, strikes and lock-outs and tie-ups and disaster and disorganization of life, with the attendant circumstances of discomfort to the public. Living as we are under the economic ethics of fifty years ago, we have not yet evolved methods or means for the proper adjudication of these differences, so that our industrial life, as far as these two great factors of organized labor and organized capital are concerned, is still in the stage of the jungle, in the stage of brutality and vulgarity.

Corporations have developed in our land as the natural consequence of economic conditions, and it is futile to rail against them or to denounce them. But this is true: that corporations have developed as great instruments for production or distribution without any moral sense of responsibility to the people whom they are supposed to serve. A corporation is naturally a soulless thing. Its sphere is entirely one of material production. Its primary interest is to produce its commodity as cheaply as possible and show a profit to its stockholders at the end of the year. The ethics and morality and well-being of peoples are only of a very indirect concern and interest to it. On the other hand, the stockholders, too, are not concerned in the ethics and in the morality of the respective corporations. They are

interested in the dividends which should come to them every so often during the year. With the result that in our land and elsewhere there have grown up gigantic, enormous enterprises, touching the very life of the people, influencing the lives of hundreds of thousands of men and women, but not possessing either an internal or external moral compunction. This is, of course, a very serious and menacing situation.

And lastly, one of the evils which our great industrial progress and prosperity have brought to us is the evil of hereditary wealth. Today wealth is no longer exclusively the reward for effort or enterprise or great ability. In many instances today wealth is inherited, obtained without effort and without sacrifice, with the result that it brings to the possessor all of the possible evils of wealth and none of the possible disciplinary pedagogic good. There is growing up in our land an increasingly large number of idlers and loafers, an aristocracy based not upon achievements or mentality or culture but upon the possession of fabulous wealth; an aristocracy which is bound to exercise a baneful influence upon American life, setting false standards, creating unrest and dissatisfaction, and making for moral degeneracy and decay.

I read a few days ago of a gathering of these plutocrats in New York City, a set of five hundred of them, who regard themselves as the most fastidious aristocrats of their kind in this land, who were assembled to do honor to a duchess, the wife of an ex-patriated Romanoff, heir of a

decadent and decrepid czarism. And these five hundred descendents of stalwart American pioneers and democrats, assembled to bow, to curtsy, to kiss the hand of a representative of that system of corrupt aristocracy which Europe has booted into the discard. And these aristocrats not alone made themselves the laughing-stock of the Old World, but by their display of wealth and luxury, and by their desire for exclusiveness and ascendancy, are setting up dangerously false standards for the whole of the American people.

I say, this is one of the great evils which an industrial age, producing wealth at a marvelous rate, inevitably results in.

As I see it, therefore, our great problem in America today, and for generations to come, is the preservation of the individual economically and culturally. The individual is being submerged economically; he is becoming increasingly more dependent upon impersonal institutions and uncontrollable forces. But intellectually and culturally and spiritually, likewise the American is becoming less and less of an individualist. We are losing our individuality. Sameness in identity and similarity are the things we prize most. Real individuality we are suspicious of; we regard it as eccentricity; we want our thinking to be as uniform as our quantity products that are turned out by the machine. The personal touch, the individual gift are forgotten. Just as the production of the individual craftsman, of the individual artisan of a hundred years ago, who read his personality, his

talent, his love, into the object which he was producing, so that it became part of him, a symbol and a representation of his uniqueness, of his self. I say, just as he has been supplanted by the machine with a common pattern, with a uniform design, so culturally, intellectually, is individuality being submerged in quantity, in mass, in uniformity. Standardization has become the rule of our lives. But art, my friends, and truth, are reflexes of strong, highly individualized human beings. Romance and all the artistic things of life can thrive only where men have the chance to live their lives and express their own native selves--the uniqueness which is there, their own peculiar gifts and capacities, and that, unfortunately, industrial life is rendering more and more difficult every day.

The great French student of art, Elie Faure, makes this significant observation in his "History of Art." He says: "The scientist evicted the artist a little more each day from the place which, since the renaissance, he had occupied in the respect of men of his time. And men are much more attentive to the humanitarian or practical results. They erect altars to the latest inventor of a vaccine, or of a stove. They are ignorant of him who comes to change the equilibrium of souls for a century or for a thousand years."

It has been said that man is the measure of all things, but in our day really man is not the measure of all things; it is production which is the measure of all things. Our whole educational system is so devised as to produce

efficient industrial agents to make successful industrial units, but not to develop man as he ought to be--the full-rounded, many-sided, many-interests human being made in the image of God.

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The individual must be saved economically and culturally; he must be saved economically by means of changing our economic standards and our economic ethics. Our old notions must be revised; our old slogans are no longer applicable. The law of supply and demand, for example, may be a good law when it is permitted to operate without restraint and without tampering, but it becomes the refuge of the knave and the scoundrel, at a time such as ours, when the law of supply and demand is arbitrarily being controlled and manipulated by industrial organizations so powerful that they can control the supply and they can stimulate the demand at will.

The right of free contract must also undergo certain modifications in an economic world where the individual is no longer free to contract for his labor with another individual, but where he is compelled to face a tremendously powerful organization that can outwit him and outplay him. Free determination of prices in the open market is a notion likewise which must be somewhat modified in a condition of society where prices may be and are being arbitrarily fixed frequently; and even the notion of property rights must undergo certain modifications and changes in a condition of society where most men are propertyless, and

where an increasingly larger number of men do not even possess the tools with which they can earn it.

The individual must be protected, and being unable to protect himself, the individual is fast turning to the state. The individual is beginning to demand that the state should protect him in his rights. If industry itself will not correct its abuses, (if industry will exploit its victims, the public) if industry will live off of child-labor, if industry will not introduce the ordinary sanitary precautions, if industry will not provide old age pensions, unemployment pensions, sickness pensions, if industry will not make possible a normal eight hour day of labor, and a six day week of labor, then the individual is compelled to turn to the state and demand that the state do these things which he cannot compel industry to grant him.

Now, whether that means that ultimately industry will be completely socialized, whether it means that ultimately the government will own our great natural resources and our public utilities, it is difficult to say. The Old World is today experimenting with the socialization of industry, and it is too early in the day to say whether that experiment is successful or not. (But this is true: that as far as America is concerned, this process will be the last to take place here. America will be the last refuge and stronghold of private enterprise and of individualism. First of all, we have a marvelous tradition of individualism in the very blood of the American people; secondly, we have a land of vast

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abundance, where there is a social surplus to make every human being comfortable.

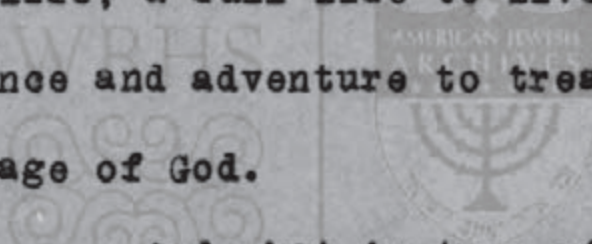
These two conditions are so real that even labor in America is conservative. The great leader of organized American labor, whose death the whole world mourns today, a great man, a good man, a noble citizen--Samuel Gompers--was among the most conservative, stabilizing forces in American life during the last decade; for he knew that as long as there is an abundance of social wealth sufficient to go around, that as long as avenues of opportunity are open, as long as a man could rise from the lower floor to the higher floor just by taking the trouble to climb the stairway, so long will all men retain their love of individual enterprise and resent government interference in their economic life. And in America, too, we have federal law and state law which protects property rights, and above all, we have a judiciary which can nullify the will of legislator and people, even should these desire to infringe upon property rights.

So that in America the socialization of industry will progress very, very slowly, if at all. I am not so sure that the socialization of industry will solve our problem, being concerned, as I am, with man, with his spiritual and moral development, with his constant ascendancy to higher realms of life and thought and finer standards of existence.-- I am not so sure but what socialization will bring with it other evils, of bureaucracy and social tyranny, and the suppression of the individual, which will more than compensate

for a possible gain on the score of exploitation which private enterprise brings with it. It is fantastic to assume that any economic organization achieved by can bring in the millennium, and the American people would do well to explore every avenue of industrial reconstruction and re-organization, meeting every problem as it presents itself, intelligently and constructively, solving the individual evils as they present themselves, and calling in government only as a corrective and a control in cases of emergency, before they surrender the welfare of their economic life to economic exploitation. *beg.*

But be that as it may, the fact does remain that unrestricted individualism in our economic life will have to go for the sake of saving the individual. Now whether that restriction on the part of industry will be effected through the socialization of industry or through the control by government, control without ownership, or through an inner revolution within each industrial unit, whereby workingman and manager and owner will share alike in the control and the administration and the profits of that particular enterprise, it remains to be seen. But our program for the future is clear: we must protect the individual against the increasing centralization and organization of industry, with its concomitant power to control and regulate his life; and lastly, we must save the individual culturally. Man must again become the measure of all things, and man's soul must be nourished and protected.

In the first place, as far as the working-man is concerned, he must be protected in his childhood from exploitation. During his period of production he must be granted security--security of employment, and in his old age he must be granted security through pensions or other means of protection. The workman must be permitted hours of leisure, ^{and} ~~but~~ he must be taught the proper use and employment of these hours of leisure for the development of his mind and soul. The individual workman must be taught that he is more than an agent of production, more than a cog in a great impersonal machine; that he has been sent into the world to do more than sew a garment or make a shoe or plow the soil; that he has a life, a full life to live, a soul to express, worlds of romance and adventure to tread; that he is a man made in the image of God.

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And what is true of the workman is true of the business man, is true of the professional man, is true of all of us who have been caught up in the psychology of this industrial age, where everything is intent upon production and prosperity and success. Things, things, things, all the time! A psychology which has dominated us completely so that when we think of a career we think in terms of monetary success, and when we think of ourselves we think of us in relation to a business or a profession or a job. We do not think of ourselves in relation to our own inner life, to our soul, which is our real self.

Bertram Russell made this very keen

observation, which is very pertinent to our subject. He says man's true life does not consist in the business of filling his belly, of clothing his body, but in art and thought and love; in the creation and the contemplation of beauty, and in the scientific understanding of the world. This is life! This is the life which men are meant to live--a life of beauty and romance and love, a life wherein he can contemplate all the glories of creation. Man wants freedom; man wants adventure; man wants to explore the unexplored lands of felicity, and our machine age has not given man that opportunity, and therefore men are so restless and so many of us are unhappy in spite of the gain in wealth and the prosperity which have come to us. For things cannot feed the soul; wealth cannot satisfy these yearnings for the higher levels of life, the purer air of life, that somehow a good God placed in the soul of all of us.

Our program for the future, then, is a two-fold one. First, the protection of the individual economically; secondly, the development of individuality culturally, intellectually, spiritually. For when all is said and done the full dinner pail is not yet the measure, the test and testimony of the ideal condition of life. A man may work a few hours a day and receive the maximum of wage, and have his necessities satisfied, and even comforts, and he will yet be a very unhappy man and a very ordinary and commonplace man.

Beyond economic subsistence is spiritual growth and development, and the two constitute our task and our challenge to the people.

1. The greatest single social force in human life is the economic. It is not the only one, but it is the strongest. The manner in which a man earns his living, the conditions under which he works, the opportunities which surround his econ. effort, will exercise ^{the most direct and} ~~the most~~ influence upon his life and thought. This is self-evident. It is also self-evident, that what holds true of ^{men under} ~~one man~~ single, will hold true of all men collectively. Mankind, and those segments of mankind, which we call races and people nations, are molded by the economies of their corporate existence. Human ~~and~~ the history of nations is largely the not exclusively the story of their struggle for the economic goals of life, necessities, comfort and luxuries. And the econ. facts will reflect themselves in ^{government in} ~~fact~~, science, literature and religion.
2. Amer. Industry is no exception. In the largest measure it determines the life of the nation, and, the individual. As its conditions change, the whole complex, the nation changes, and with it the life of the individual. It is of utmost importance to know and understand the econ. forces at work in our life, so as to be able to determine their helpful or harmful influences ~~which they may exert upon us~~ ^{and} ~~then~~ if possible, to determine the control which men can exercise over these econ. forces for the sake of the higher devel. of man.
3. It is of course apparent that our econ. life has undergone a tremendous change in the last few decades. Up to within 50 years or so, Amer. was a vast unexploited continent.

whose natural resources were scarcely tapped. Land was free, and where it was not free it was cheap. The country was sparsely populated. Labor was in demand. The Am. was still largely an agrar. country and business wherever it existed, was decentralized, individualistic, and thriving under conditions of free unrestricted competition — It was a land of limitless opportunity, the El Dorado of the World.

In our day — things have materially changed. Land our natural resources are pretty well owned and controlled by a company. ^{the vast majority of our nat. wealth is owned by corporations} Land is no longer either free or cheap. Our population has passed the 100 m. mark. Fast indust. cities have arisen where deprev. is rapidly leaving rural dist. far behind; congested, overcrowded and slums are the result in many parts of the country. There is now a cons. recurring problem of unemployment, more hands > than is work for. Business is now centralized and to an extraordinary degree. Our age is an age of gigantic corporations, trusts, monopolies, great things, labor unions, in which the great man, and the ind. working man, and the public is largely dependent. It is the age of triumphant machinery — and of collectivism vs the individual enterprise.

4. This change has not to our doors much good and evil. ① Machinery has made possible quantity pro-duction and cheaper commodities and in a land whose nat. resources are as abundant as in ours, it means greater general prosperity — and the distrib.

there can be no doubt. among an increasing layer work. of the
men. There are more men in U.S. today ^{in possession of} enjoying the
recruits of life than at any time anywhere in the
history of the world. — And there are 10,000 fold more
enjoying the comforts of life. ② The norm 100 yrs
ago everywhere in the world was poverty. To-day the
norm in Am. is considerably above that. ②
The ^{Old} Industrial Age, and its ruling despot the Machine
have elected as a motto Efficiency the central
feature of production & distribution. This ^{is} as unwisely
as it is logical. — But even as Big Business developed,
the small bus. man was not wiped out. — He became
less independent, but not less numerous, nor less
prosperous. ③ The condition, the working man has ^{by and large} progressed
by improved. His standard of living ^{is} higher. He is far
with the exception of a few shelled, and well org. trades,
^{unhappy men are as yet} far from the ideal conditions, Econ. living,
but certainly they industrial progress has now taken
them far beyond the low level of penury where the
primitive toll-age kept them —

5. But our indust. progress has a merit. but with it
certain growth real evils.

1. — Man is much ~~less~~ more dependent now and his
Econ. life is much ~~less~~ ^{less} more interconnected. ^{This is unavoidable in industrialization} A man who works
in a shop, ^{say at making steel rails} does not produce what he himself needs
directly. He does not produce his food and his raiment.
His ^{help} ^{in obtaining} these is dependent upon the demand
for the part. thing which he makes, which in turn
depends upon gen. Econ. conditions in the country.
His livelihood does not so much depend upon

6. As a result, this ^{effect the} ~~But an even more serious effect of ind. devl.~~ ^{has been}
the subjugation of ^{the} individ. in that ~~and action~~ has been
the subjugation of ^{the} individ. in that ~~and action~~. We
are being standardized. The Machine which turns
out all commodities alike, is turning us all out
alike - Sameness and uniformity are in fashion.
Individ. is suspected, for we regard it as
eccentricity. - We think in quantities and act
in masses. Just as in the Econ. world the ~~great~~
personal work of the craftsman and artisan who
puts his person ^{his talent} into his creation, gave way
to the impersonal, common-places of the machine
in the cultural & intell. world. But
Art & Truth can thrive only in world of free
unique personalities. Our nation has been
artificially & spiritually commonplace.
- Tragedy of all ind. (Eliot Tamm)

7. ~~In~~ In an ideal ^{all} state, man is the measure of all things.
In our age - production is the measure of all things.
Prod. becomes an end in itself. Wealth & power.
the test and business of ideal conditions.
Our energies are used up in our ind. ventures.
Our spirit. resources are depleted. Education is largely
technical and deb. utilitarian. Man is trained to be
an efficient Econ. agent and to succeed
Econ - ~~the~~ Man himself - the full Man - is
forgotten. —

8. Clearly the Econ. forces must be controlled. The old laissez faire code must be revised. The old Hojans are no longer valid. The law of supply and demand ^{may be} a good law ^{where} supply and demand are not artificially controlled ^{as they are today} or stimulated. Our notions ~~in the face~~ concerning property rights, the right of contract, and the self-determination of prices must be adapted to the hard facts of changed Econ. conditions, wherein most men own neither land from which to gain a livelihood, nor their tools, wherein the individ. has no chance to make a fair contract ~~on the face~~ with an capitalist employer, and wherein monopolies fix prices and big bus. has price agreements. ~~property rights are being destroyed~~ ^{alone cannot control} ~~the Econ. system~~ ^{human rights}

9. The Ind. is turning to the State. where industry of its own accord will not restrain itself, where it will exploit, ^{violate public law} child labor, women, and the day-laborer - ^{unemployment} - hardship, safety, least compensation. The power of State will grow. Whether this means the ultimate socialization of industry ^{not necessarily} or at least of the monopolies, national resources, and ^{public utilities} ~~carriers~~ is hard to say. In the old world they are exper. with it. Am. will ^{of course} be last place. They hold of monopolies & private enterprise - It is here protected by tradition, ^{the abundance of} by great nat. wealth, ^{which makes even later consequences simpler} and by ~~expensive~~ Federal and State law. And by a Judiciary which can override will of legis. & people. - ~~Am. labor - strikes~~

- whatever happens
10. But this is clear unhampered ^{absolutism &} ~~unhindered~~ ^{in Econ. must} find way - whether this will be a boon or ban, only doctrinaires will say - It is a curious fantasy to assume that the million will get in with the social, industry, and that, never ends of beamocracy, and social tyranny may not spread our present ends of exploitation. ~~and~~ ^{people} will do well to explore every avenue of industrial reform. Unleash the present system correcting ends as they find them, ^{meeting} ^{problems} ^{high} - they may put only as a corrective and a crutch in emergency, before they hand over their Econ. future to politicians - (Quote)

Culturally - the intel. must be saved.
10. In all our efforts we must make man, this means, all things -

1. Greater certainty of employment - security.
2. Ind. peace - labor vs. Capital - ~~stop~~ ^{big} ~~big~~
3. Reign for every devel. (Russell - note)
3. Phys. cond.
4. Man wants reign & freedom.

3. Protection of Childhood, Womanhood, Old Age.

The worker
1. He must be given first all protection and reign.
- for childhood - and adult. In the age - pers. in
Security & employment - a wholesome union - Old Age
Provision.

2. The worker, & the bus. man, & the profess. man - must be given another pt of view, by education -
(Russell)

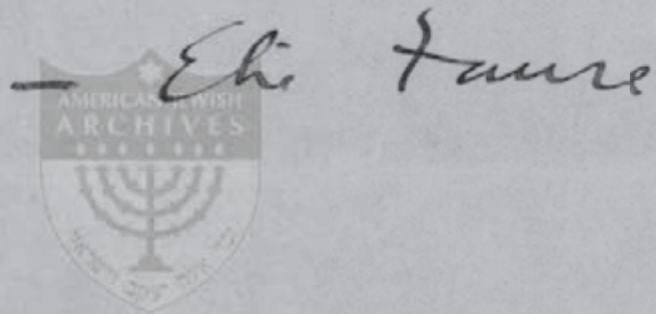
But only the future ~~can~~ tell whether the
Econ. protection, the ind. will be best achieved
by State ownership, State control, or ~~self control~~ reconstruction
within the indus. org. Econ. then involunt. demand
by ~~forming~~ giving ^{advisers} ^{in each ind. plant} ~~managers~~ joint interest
in the control and management ^{and people's} of the particular
plant -

But it must come -

~~Rosenfeld~~



The scientist evicted the artist, a little more
each day, from the place which, since the Renaissance
he had occupied in the respect of the men of his time.
And men are much more attentive to the humani-
tarian or practical results.... They wait altars
to the latest invention of a vaccine or of a stroke.
They are glib about him who comes to change
the equilibrium of souls for a century or for
a 1000 years.



The changed aspect of our Econ. org. has made
~~one~~ ^{many} ~~things~~ ^{things} ~~imperative.~~ therefore brought to
our door - one tremendous task - The presenta-
tion of the material, Econ. and culturally



"Man's true life does not consist in the business of filling his belly and clothing his body, but in art & thought & love, in the creation & contemplation of beauty, & in the scientific understanding of the world." - B Russell.

The all machine which was to relieve him of his exhausting toil is now starving his soul

1. Standardization of life -
2. Subtleness in material things
3. Mechanic effort
a - Guaranteed Motivation

It is a unit. Every where there is centralization.
The indiv. is absorbed in the corporate. The unit-
man - grows less and less important.



his labor as upon gen. Econ. condition. He who
he has little or no control. His Econ. inde-
pendence is gone: any act. or inter. disturbance
may throw him out of work - and he has no
recourse -

2. This is also true of the ^{q. can} private bus. man
whose prop. no longer ^{entirely} depends upon his activity,
and skill and thrift, but upon vast Econ. forces,
working swiftly in a highly sensitive social org.
in which, which, he ~~controls~~ ^{is} ~~lost~~ ^{helpless}.

3. The indiv. worker, again, is no longer competent
to sell his labor in the open market at an
advantage. For in most instances, he must sell it
not to another indiv. with whom he can successfully
bargain, but with a vast and powerful unit.
Of - it is the one against the many. There is no equality
& conflict. He must seek protection in org.
- in a labor union, & bargain collect. But
then, too, is under. is betrayed and the collec.
will surrender his for interest or not.

4. This Org. of interest. has made merit. Org. 9
Labor - Their interests conflict, at times. Working
under the code of Econ. & their of 50 yrs. ago - we have
not yet evolved methods of adjust. these difficulties.
Here, strikes, lock-outs, tie-ups, disorders, paralys-
& trade, public suffers - Our Ind. life is still
very much a brutal and jungle affair.

5. Corporations have no sense, personal moral
responsibility - men

They regard themselves as mere instrument for carrying on business, and making money & profit for their stock holders — Their sphere, they regard, as purely economic. The stock holders, on the other hand, are not at all concerned with the moral issues involved in any given transaction, but with their dividends — And so, we have the spectacle of gigantic ind. org. controlling the Econ. life of Amer. without ^{any} moral compulsion or restraint.

6. Wealth is no longer exclusively the reward of
 effort or service. In many instances it is hereditary.
 It is obtained without personal effort. It ~~is~~ ^{brings} ~~brings~~
 brings with it all the evils & ^{moral} ~~benefits~~ ^{benefits}.
 A generation of loafers and spenders is growing
 up - elite and effete - who are forming a
 worthless & harmful ~~to~~ pseudo-aristocracy in Am.
 a source of moral ~~leprosy~~ ^{leprosy} decadence and national
 resentment and curst. Witness the ghastly ~~hereditary~~
 of the ^{exclusiveness} ~~Monday~~ by the Open Club of N. Y. - ^{elitists} ~~so-called~~
 styled aristocracy of fastidious taste assembling ~~at~~ ^{at}
~~glorious~~ ^{glorious} banquet ~~travels~~ to ~~change~~ ^{change} ~~favor~~ ^{favor} upon ~~the~~
 wife of a Romanoff who has been ~~unmerciful~~. One
 ported out of his own country, who is ~~very~~
 drinks himself ~~company~~ ^{company} of all Russia. There
 descend of such Am. ~~men~~ ^{men} & ~~women~~ ^{women}. Low
 + enervated + then the hand of a ~~rep.~~ ^{rep.} & decrepit ~~gambler~~
 + made for the long run ~~stake~~ ^{stake} the ~~old~~ ^{old} world.