Sources of Information.

- 1. My own observations during ten years experience as special auditor at Grandin, Missouri and Clarks, Louisiana.
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To one whose knowledge of saw mill camps is confined to conditions which existed twenty-five or thirty years ago, the idea of sociological problems being satisfactorily worked out in these communities will seem little less than grotesque. The sawmill plants at that time were generally small and their life was brief, so that only temporary provision for living could well be made. As a result, the employes, especially those of the skilled and intelligent class, rarely if ever brought their families to the mills; and the few women who were in the camp were generally a detriment. The moral condition can easily be imagined. The growth of the lumber manufacturing industry, and the establishment of larger plants having a longer life necessitated an improvement in conditions. As a result there has developed in many places, particularly in the south, a sawmill community system.

I shall take as an example of this system, the sawmill town of Clarks in northern Louisiana, established about 12 years ago. This town is not a pioneer in working out this system of organization, but is a direct lineal descendant of Grandin, Missouri, which was established over 25 years ago; but which, as a sawmill town, has passed away with the pine forests which gave it existence. The organization of Clarks is the same as that of Grandin, with such improvements as experience suggested. Both towns were founded under the supervision of the same presiding officer. Many of the employes now at Clarks were formerly at Grandin, so that it is

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possible for an observer to study not only the development of the system, but also its influence on the individual members of the community.

The fundamental idea in the organization of both these towns was the establishment of a community into which it would be desirable for workmen to bring their families. Although the founders did not so state it in their councils, here is where they were confronted by sociological problems—the problems of housing, of sanitation, of education and of moral welfare. In both of these towns, as a first step toward bringing about desired conditions, the manager of the mills, himself a large stockholder in the company, moved his family into the mill town. It was this step, more perhaps than any other, which assured the success of the undertaking from a moral and sociological standpoint.

As these communities are somewhat isolated, their direct government is the discipline of the company. In order to insure freedom from lawlessness, the exclusion of liquor sellers and other undesirable elements, the company bought all the land in the immediate vicinity of the mill site, and proceeded to build not only mills, shops, offices, boarding houses, a commissary, and hotel, but dwelling houses as well.

At present the town of Clarks has a white population of about 1200 persons, all of whom are employes of the mill company and their families, with the exception of the station agent, the pastors of the churches, the public school teachers and the barber. A varying number of Negroes are employed at Clarks, who with their families bring the population up to about 1600, but they present an entirely different sociological problem and one which I shall not

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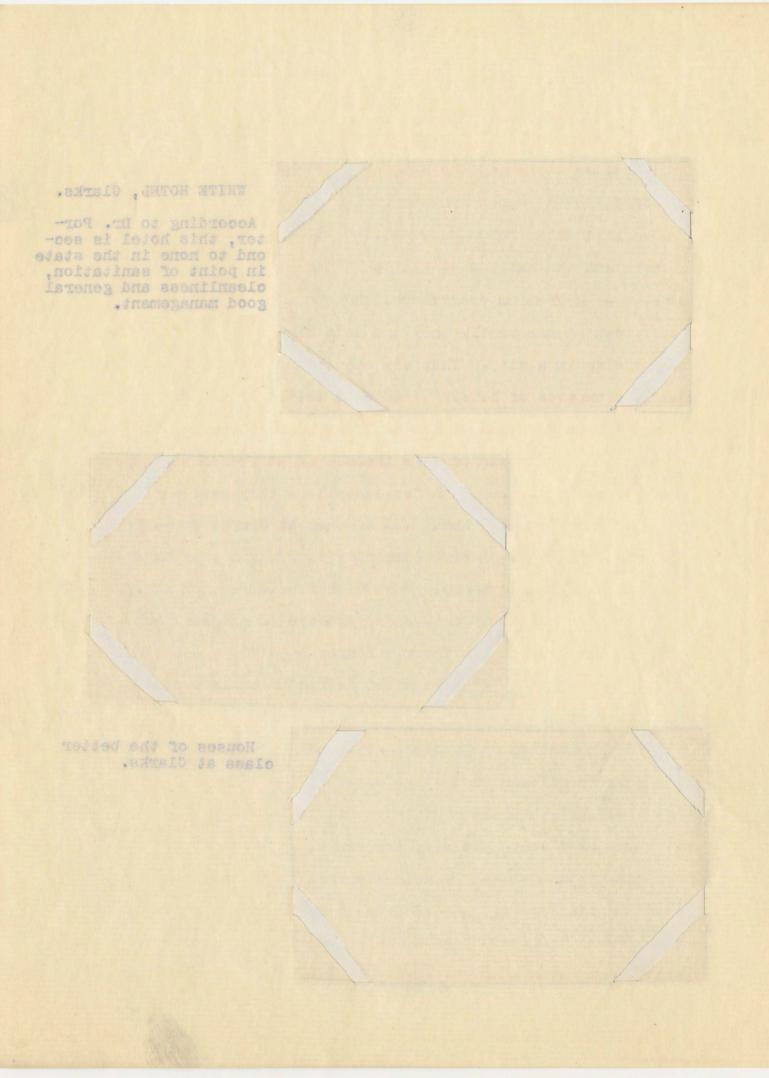
WHITE HOTEL, Clarks.

According to Dr. Porter, this hotel is second to none in the state in point of sanitation, cleanliness and general good management.





Houses of the better class at Clarks.



attempt to discuss in this paper.

For an entirely different reason, it will not be necessary for me to consider at length the housing and other conditions in a mill town affecting the upper class of white employes. This class includes the office force, the skilled machinists, the foremen, the engineers and the skilled operatives. Wage earners of this sort are generally at a premium everywhere, and are particularly so in the sawmill town; consequently they are paid higher wages than they would receive in a city. They are accustomed to comfortable and pleasant standards of housing, and as a matter of course such provision was made for them at the mills. Their houses are similar to those occupied by people of like incomes in an ordinary prosperous village or small city. With few exceptions they save a fair proportion of their wages. About 40% of them at Clarks own stock in lumber or other manufacturing companies with which they have come in contact through their employment with the lumber company. Practically all of them carry insurance, and are thus making ample provision for the future. Their children attend the schools at the mill town and many of them afterward go to college or to vocational schools.

It is the unskilled laborer, admittedly the problem class everywhere, whose condition is most affected by the community system of the mill town. This class of labor at Clarks belongs for the most part to the poor white class of the south, though a considerable number come from cities. Their standards of housing are low, those of sanitation 'nil'. If left to themselves they build their houses flat on the ground, and usually close to some stream, and take no lessons from the inevitable visitations of ague and rheumatism.

The houses provided for these people at the mill town are board

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cottages stripped on the outside and ceiled within, and set well up off of the ground. They contain from two to five rooms according to the needs of the family; also one and sometimes two porchesan important feature in southern houses. The keeping of boarders. is private houses in the mill town is practically forbidden from a moral as well as a sanitary standpoint. The dwellings are thus insured against over-crowding, for the average family semily, whatever may be the reason, is not large. There are few families without children; but reports from Clarks as well as from two other sawmill towns confirm my own observations that the average number of children is four. Families with more than five children are rare. There is usually a space of 100 feet between the cottages, and in all cases there is ample space for a garden and poultry yard. The latter however, must be kept in such condition that it will not be a nuisance. The water supply of the town is from deep wells, and these cottages are supplied from hydrants in the door yard. The mill company management provides for the removal of garbage and the cleaning of closet vaults, and this work is done at regular intervals. The rental paid for these cottages is \$1.50 per month for each room. As a rule the house rent takes from 10% to 12% of the husband's wages -- a much lower percentage than is reckoned in household budgets generally.

Fuel, a difficult and uncompromising feature in the lives of the poor in other localities, is naturally an insignificant one in a southern mill town.

Medical attendance is provided by a dispensary and medical staff supported by an assessment system, the maximum assessment being seventy-five cents per month for unmarried employes, and \$1.25 per month for a married employe and his family. The fund thus

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General Manager of the company; the other two are employes. These assessments entitle the beneficiary to all medicine and medical attendance, including minor surgery for himself and family (in case of a married man) excepting that a nominal charge (\$2.50) is made for obstetrical services rendered outside of office hours. The medical staff also acts as a board of health, and requires the elimination of any condition that may be a menace to health.

So thoroughly is the sanitary condition of Clarks supervised that when that veteran health officer, Dr. Oscar Dowling began his campaign of sanitation in Louisiana, his representative, Dr. Porter, who inspected Clarks reported that it was one of the two cleanest and most healthful towns in the state; that its hotel was the second best in the state. The low mortality rate at Clarks is still greater evidence of its good sanitation. The average annual death rate, including infants, for the past three years has been 2/3 of 1% or 6 2/3 persons to each thousand. The births for the same period have averaged a little less than 25 children each year.

The commissary system is a much discussed feature of all industrial communities. The old community system required the employes to buy all their supplies at the company's store, and it has been alleged that under the old system, only a small amount of the wages of the common laborers were ever paid in cash. Like all industrial communities, Clarks has its commissary or large department store, but no pressure is brought to bear to force the employes to patronize it:

As a matter of fact nearly all of them do so, as do nearly all the country people outside the mill town, for the

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reason that the commissary carries a much larger and better stock of goods at as low, or lower prices than any other accessible store.

Except in cases of especial need, no employe of any rank is permitted to draw cash on his current month's wages, but he may draw coupons which are good for merchandise at the store. Then on the regular monthly pay day, or at any time thereafter, he may draw whatever balance there is due him in cash. There are two reasons for this provision; one is to prevent the improvident employe from spending his money as fast as he earns it. and then borrowing from his fellow workmen -- an obviously detrimental habit. Another reason is that if wages were drawn every weekay it would necessitate the keeping of a larger sum of money constantly in the company's office than is advisable in an isolated community in the The coupon system has been the subject of considerable woods. discussion on the part of persons outside the mill town; but in it may be said that its defense, the employes generally, particularly the common laborers, are much attached to it. As a rule, they are averse to carrying money on their persons, and a large percentage of the cash balances each month are left to accumulate to the employes' credit for future emergencies. About 20% of the common laborers carry either fraternal or old line insurance.

The number of cases of fatal or serious casualties occurring in sawmill and logging operations is, under the present system of management, exceedingly small. Four fatal accidents and two cases of serious injury occurred during the 25 years that the sawmill town of Grandin was in operation, and two fatal accidents have thus far occurred at Clarks. Owing to the small number of these cases, they are handled individually as they occur. In none of the cases

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was the company legally responsible, yet in each case provision was made whereby the family could be supported and kept together. An example of the way in which these cases are treated is that of a young man 19 years of age who lost his leg while working at the mills. The company allowed him his wages while he attended public school long enough to attain the standing required by a vocational school. He was then asked to choose the trade he wished to learn. A wooden leg was purchased for him and he was sent at the company's expense to learn the trade of his choosing. When he completed his course he was furnished sufficient means to establish himself in his chosen line of work.

When Grandin was organized, that section of Missouri had little provision for public schooling. One member of the mill company, however, remarked to the Manager, "We'll have to have a school; you hire a teacher and put her on the pay roll and if any member of the company objects, send the bill for her salary to me." The teacher was hired and no one objected to her name remaining on the payroll until such time as a school district was organized. Then the sawmill company's taxes paid not only for its own school, but a large part of the expenses of all the schools in the county.

The sentiment expressed by that member of the sawmill company more than 25 years ago has been reflected in the management
at Clarks where, during 8 months of the year, a graded school of
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Since the sawmill town offers no employment to children and practically none to youths under 16 years of age, the children are generally kept in school. Louisiana has no compulsory school law,
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by talking to the parents, by holding occasional parents' meetings in the public hall, and by enforcing good discipline and preventing lawlessness among idle children, the management of the company exerts an influence in keeping the children in school. The last enumeration showed 174 white children in Clarks between the ages of 6 and 15 years. The average daily attendance in the schools for the past year has been 125. These figures are the more significant when one recalls the illiteracy and infifference to education among a large number of the families represented in the schools; and also that a number of the children of the upper class who were included in the enumeration were attending academies and preparatory schools.

As a result of the educational advantages afforded in the mill town, there are many cases of children of unskilled laborers who, because of their better advantages, are occupying positions far in advance of their fathers. One instance of such progress is that of laborer receiving \$1.75 per day whose son, because of his better training is doing more highly skilled work at \$2.50 per day. Another son of a common laborer is a machinist -not the most highly skilled, but receiving \$2.75 per day. Another young man-a cripple and a son of a common laborer -- was graduated from the mill town high school, studied law and was admitted to the bar, and is one of the best attorneys in his county. Still another case is that of a young man, the son of a Sweedish section foreman on the logging tram roads. Excepting for an absence of of two years at school. his whole life since he was 8 years old has been spent in either Grandin or Clarks. He is now chief clerk and general sales and purchasing agent at the latter place, is a small stockholder in the company, and is regarded as one of its most efficient employes. A daughter of another unskilled laborer whose earnings were about

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Scarcely second to the school in educational influence in the mill town is the free circulating library. This institution both at Clarks and at Grandin, came into existence through the efforts of the upper class of employes encouraged and assisted by the individual members of the company. A library of about 2500 volumes was collected at Grandin and a similar one now exists at Clarks. After the library became established, it was supported by voluntary subscriptions. As everyone is busy during the day, the library is kept open in the evenings from 7.00 until 9.00 and Sunday afternoons from 2.30 until 5.30. It was soon found that the great demand was for juvenile books; and whole sets of them are simply devourednot abused but literally worn out by use. The parents among the lower class who can read are often as interested in the juvenile books as are the children.

The religious element of life at Clarks is visibly pepresented by two churches, supported by voluntary subscriptions. The company is also a contributor, and with businesslike precision bases its contribution on the number of Sunday services held in each church. In the building of these churches, as well as all other public buildings, the employes completed their own organization, and when ready to build the mill company assigned a building site and furnished the lumber. The church or club organization paid for the other material and for the labor.

The share of responsibility placed upon the employes in maintaining the library, public hall and churches is a significant

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The share of responsibility placed upon the employes in maintaining the library, public hall and churches is a significant reature in the management of of both Grandin and Clarks. The employes are not exempt from the duties imposed by citizenship in any free, progressive community. They contribute their share, as citizens, to the public improvements. The corporation is simply a member of the community with the employes, and assumes its proportion of the expenses and responsibility. A large institutional, undenominational place of worship, such as has been built by some corporations and given to their employes would, from a purely business standpoint, be more efficient than the two denominational churches at Clarks. Such a building was advised by the management at Clarks, but it did not meet the approval of the employes; and the company, adhering to its policy of interfering as little as possible with the wishes of the community, yielded the point and contributed its proportion to the denominational churches.

The recreations of the mill town are those of the ordinary village. In order to have a suitable place for entertainments, the employes at Clarks (with the usual aid of the company) have erected a large building, one part of which is a large hall with a stage, and provision for cooking and serving public dinners. The rest of the building is occupied by the library and reading room. Clarks does not present the barren, stumpy appearance characteristic of many sawmill towns, as practically no logging has been done in its immediate vicinity, nor will any be done until the company is ready to abandon the site. On a knoll near the town, the citizens have cleared away the undergrowth and have made a beautiful picnic ground which is used for holiday celebrations.

The sale of liquor in the town or anythere on the company's holdings is strictly prohibited, as are also all forms of gambling

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and all immoral resorts. Individual cases of immorality are disciplined. But more effective than these regulations is the care exercised by the company in selecting the higher class of employes, particularly the foremen and the office force. These employes are impressed with the idea that they are the guardians of the community, and to some extent are responsible for the less efficient class; that here, as perhaps never before, their personality and example have a definite value. Moreover, in selecting and retaining this class of employes, their personal character, their influence and example count fully as much as does their industrial capability. More than one otherwise capable foreman has been dismissed because of licentious conduct and consequent bad influence among his men.

The advantages secured to the unskilled labor class in the sawmill town, may be summed up as follows:

First: Regular employment.

Second: Comfortable, sanitary, and morally decent housing at a rental which leaves a safe margin for food clothing and insurance.

Third: Provision for medical attendance at a nominal cost.

Fourth: Good sanitary conditions in the community. The builty.

Fifth: Public school and library privileges.

Sixth: Opportunity for the advancement of the children.

Seventh: Simple but wholesome recreation.

Eighth: An exemption from the demoralizing influence of liquor, and so far as possible from other forms of im-morality.

⁽¹⁾ While I was in Clarks a year and a half ago, there was in the office a young woman who was a fine character, but who was unfitted for the work she was trying to do. At length she realized her inability and resigned. In discussing her resignation the General Manager remarked, "I hate to see her go; I know she cannot do the work, but her influence in the town is so good."

and all immoral resorts. Individual cases of immorality are disciplined. But more effective than these regulations is the care exercised by the company in selecting the higher class of employes, particularly the foremen and the office force. These employes are impressed with the idea that they are the guardians of the community, and to some extent are responsible for the less efficient class; that here, as perhaps never before, their personality and example have a definite value. Moreover, in selecting and retaining this class of employes, their personal character, their influence and example count fully as much as does their industrial capability. On the character and consequent bad influence among his men.

The advantages secured to the unskilled labor class in the sawmill town, may be summed up as follows:

First: Regular employment.

Second: Comfortable, sanitary, and morally decent housing at a rental which leaves a safe margin for food clothing and insurance.

Third: Provision for medical attendance at a nominal cost.

Fourth: Good sanitary conditions in the community.

Fifth: Public school and library privileges.

Sixth: Opportunity for the advancement of the children.

Seventh: Simple out wholesome recreation.

Highth: An exemption from the demoralizing influence of liquor, and so far as possible from Other forms of im morality.

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This saw mill community has, therefore, in the course of a few years brought about for its quota of the problem class of society, conditions which are the goal far in the distance to hundreds of social betterment workers among the same class in the city. Moreover, these conditions were brought about by the voluntary co-operation of the employer and employe with no intermediary—no one to act as adversary to the one or protector to the other. Nor are the men who organized these communities of especially unique types. They are like the great majority of men who are conducting large enterprises. They are big, broad, manly men, gifted with creative energy, executive ability, a talent for commercial enterprise, and with it all, a saving element of philanthropy.

Their success in dealing with the sociological problems in their particular communities has been due in part to their ability to exclude undesirable members from the community; at the same time, both of these towns have reformed a good number of "down and outers."

But far more than the direct authority exerted has been the business and community contact of employer and all classes of employes. Regarding this phase of industrial community life, N. O. Nelson, writing of his town, Le Claire, Ill., says: "I am the factory boss, but in the village I am one of the people, no more and no less than my next neighbors all of whom are mechanics in the factories. X X X X X There were no elaborate plans for Le Claire; just the simple, rational, common sense of making work and houses and decent living under favorable conditions; these were our aims and nothing could be simpler."

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As a result of this community association, there is developed in the employer that patriarchial element common to strong men, which carries with it a sense of responsibility, not only for the success of the business, but for the welfare of the men with whom he works. Moreover, this close association gives him a realizing sense of the economic value of philanthropy. It pays to have sanitation, education and good morals. A healthy, intelligent community is more efficient than a sickly ignorant one. Good morals in the community mean a well organized, well disciplined force of employes.

I am aware that in coupling philanthropy with success I have given the challenge to the zealots to whom philanthropy must mean sacrifice (for some one else) or they will have none of it. But I defend my thesis. For nearly two thousand years the air of heaven has been laden with the prayer, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done." The industrial institution exists for the provision of the first necessity of human existence—the means of sustaining life. To meet this requirement, material success is necessary; and to whatever extent an industrial institution is so organized that its success depends upon justice and sympathy between man and man, and upon the healthful development, Physically, mentally and spiritually of its employes, to just that extent has "His kingdom come."

The social betterment work which has been accomplished, not only in sawmill towns, but to a still greater extent because of their greater permanency by such industrial towns as Gary, Ind., Le Claire, Ill., Pelzer, S.C., Ludlow, Mass., and Ambridge and Vandergrift, Penn., warrant the conclusion that such communities are to be an increasing factor in the solution of sociological problems.

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