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The Success Ethic: A Study of 19th Century American Attitudes in Fiction and Reality

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T H E S U C C E S S E T H I C :

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A Study of 19th Century American Attitudes
In Fiction and Reality--

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Workingmen in America have never totally accepted their position in society as fixed or permanent. Generally speaking, American workingmen in the 19th century looked upon their position in society as temporary until such a time came when they were able to ascend into the middle class.¹ The idea of America as a land of boundless opportunity was, in the 19th century, one of the most persistent and widely believed concepts in our nation's self-image. Scholars label this American ideology: the success ethic, upward mobility, the self-made man ethic, the ideology of mobility, or, colloquially speaking, "pulling one's self up by his bootstraps." Abraham Lincoln, a self-made man in his own right, expressed the laboring man's desires when he said that,

. . . there is not, of necessity, any such thing as a free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world, labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just, and generous, and prosperous system which opens the way to all--gives hope to all, and consequent energy, and progress, and improvement of condition to all.²

The American worker has been inclined to believe that this concept

¹Gerald Grob, Workers and Utopia: A Study of Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement 1865-1900 (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961), 189.

²Roy P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (9 vols: New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953-1955), V, 56, as quoted by Grob, Workers and Utopia, 189.

was almost exclusively indigenous to American culture. America was not like Europe in the sense that there^e were no fixed classes. The existence of the American success^s ethic was based on freedom of opportunity and fluid class structure, which meant for the energetic and the diligent assured success.¹

It has been the boast of American business that opportunity to reach the top is open to ability, and that, unlike hereditary caste systems, there are no legal or traditional limitations upon the rise of the individual up through our economic organization. In so far as this is true the governing class of a capitalist society is fertilized by the² introduction into it of men who have risen by their own efforts.

Daniel Webster implied this American attitude in an address he presented at the celebration of the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument June 17, 1843:

America has proved that it is practicable to elevate the mass of mankind; that portion which, in Europe, is called the laboring or lower class; to raise them to self respect, to make them competent to act a part in the great right and great duty of self-government; and this, she has proved, may be done by the diffusion of knowledge. She holds out an example a thousand times more enchanting, than ever was presented before, to those nine-tenths of the human race,³ who are born without hereditary fortune or hereditary rank.

According to Webster not only had America proved the practicality of

¹Irwin Yellowitz, ed., The Position of the Worker in American Society 1865-1896 (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1969), 1.

²Norman Ware, Labor in Modern Industrial Society (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 7.

³McGuffey's New Eclectic Fifth Reader (Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co., 1857), 271.

elevating the laboring class to a position of self respect, but she (America) held out an example to the rest of the human race born without hereditary status.

Labor was considered to be the route toward self-employment.¹ The skills one learned at labor could be applied to his own enterprise, but as long as a man remained a workingman his opportunities were limited.² It can be said that,

. . . the goal was escape from a wage-earning position--in which a man's earnings, and the very opportunity to work, were set by an employer--to self-employed position where accomplishment would be determined by the talent and vision of each man.³

The success ethic will serve as the backbone of this paper. The focal point of this project will be an attempt, on my part, to compare the success ethic in theory, as disseminated in the literature of the mid-nineteenth century, with the reality (historical data) of the position of the American worker at the end of the century. I will strive to point out that in the late 19th century because of the breakdown of the traditional correlation between skilled work and success as an entrepreneur in that trade, the increased number of unskilled laborers (immigrants included) at low pay levels, and the rise of big business which was characterized by large capital

¹Of course the distinction must be made that those of the self-employed middle class were in a subculture of the middle class which differed somewhat from white collar employees and those in the professions.

²Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker, 4.

³Ibid., 4.

investments, nationalization of markets, and control of a particular market from production of raw materials to distribution--all these factors considered collectively reduced the chances of an aspiring self-made man to fulfill the terms of the success ethic. The success ethic was taken up by many of the contemporary writers of this period, and portrayed by them in their novels. I have chosen five authors, namely, William Dean Howells, Robert Herrick, Mary Alice French, Booth Tarkington, and Upton Sinclair and will attempt to elaborate ^{on} their respective incorporations of the myth in the ethical universes of their novels.

Up to this point we have a general concept of the success ethic. Now the task at hand is to define what success meant. In other words, what did it mean to be successful in late 19th century America? Great riches cannot be considered to be the primary objective for all workers,¹ yet, traditionally success meant a move, on the laborer's part, from manual labor to a position in which he no longer had to work manually. Occupational mobility, in itself, as a criterion for determining whether a late 19th century laborer was successful presents some problems. Gathering evidence pertaining to individual cases^e of upward mobility is an exhaustive process that would require more time than is available at the present.. Therefore, we need some other criterion, supportable by data, which will enable us to decide whether a 19th century laborer can be deemed successful.

Thorstein Veblen, in The Theory of the Leisure Class, gives us substantial insight toward solving this problem. Veblen argues that there are

¹Ibid., 26.

two different employments. Those employments that are categorized as exploit are, "worthy, honorable, and noble;" other employments that imply "subservience or submission are unworthy, debasing, ignoble."¹ Veblen also argues that man is an agent that pursues accomplishment in most acts he encounters. He (man) seeks some "concrete, objective, and impersonal" goal or end. Because he is such, man is pleased by effective work, and is dissatisfied by a futile effort. This inclination, Veblen suggests, maybe called "the instinct of workmanship." When "circumstances or traditions of life" lead to periodic comparisons of one person with another in relation to useful work "the instinct of workmanship" becomes an emulative or "invidious comparison"² of people. In any community where an "invidious comparison" of persons is periodically and/or habitually made "visible success becomes an end for its own utility as a basis of esteem." "Esteem is gained and dispraise is avoided by putting one's efficiency in evidence."³

Generally speaking, "the possession of wealth confers honour; it is an invidious distinction,"⁴ and when industrial activity becomes a means of

¹Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1919), 15.

²"An invidious comparison is a process of valuations of persons in respect to worth." Ibid., 34.

³Ibid., 15-16. Veblen deemed the "instinct of workmanship" to be very strong in men, but in late 19th century industry we can see that manual labor lost status while the quality of work, good or bad, was not a prime basis for comparisons.

⁴Ibid., 26.

sustenance, ownership of property becomes an exponent of success.¹ In an industrial society the ownership of property is the "most readily discernable evidence" of a degree of success.²

We can say then, that a 19th century laborer is successful if he owns property. If a laborer owned a home he could be deemed moderately successful. Put in another way, if one owns a home it is clear that his wealth is in evidence. If one owns a business or a factory he is held in higher esteem, by his peers, than is the former, which is an "invidious distinction."

"Invidious comparisons" prompt men to outdo those of the same class:

Substantially the same proposition is expressed in the commonplace remark that each class envies and emulates the class next above it in the social scale, while it rarely compares itself with those below or with those who are considerably in advance.³

Veblen expounded upon his theories during the early 20th century and was most concerned with wealth and leisure in an industrial society. Prior to Veblen there were proponents of a tradition that can be called the Business

¹ Predatory activity preceeds industrial activity and trophies (such as, captured women or slaves) were the conventional exponents of success during the predatory phase.

² Ibid., 28-29.

³ Ibid., 103-4. Veblen's term, here, is "pecuniary emulation," the contemporary colloquialism is, "keeping up with the Joneses." Andrew Carnegie, in The Gospel of Wealth, argues contrary to Veblen at this point; that the home of honest poverty is free from perplexing care, from social envies and emulations. Needless to say we must stretch our imagination to understand his perspective. As we shall see, Carnegie admits that rigid castes are formed in the factories in relation to status, while our success heritage called for the denial of castes and desired a fluid class structure.

Ethic. This tradition accompanied industrialization and was a much more casual concept than Veblen's. In relation to the Business Ethic, success was economic in nature. Secular qualities whereby one attained success were initiative, aggressiveness, competitiveness, and forcefulness.¹ Little or no advice of this nature appeared in the self-help literature of the 19th century.² The success ethic had traditionally bestowed dignity upon the honest and the diligent--but in a secular society success was measured by wealth in evidence, while virtue was not a criterion for esteem. "In effect, no questions were asked about how this wealth had been gained."³ The first American industrial ruling class after attaining their power understood the necessity of a philosophy of fixed principles to justify business activities that appeared costly or corrupt. The philosophy had to be in conjunction with democratic principles and the American way of life.⁴ Darwin and Spencer provided that rationale. Competition was the law of nature. Nature granted her rewards to the fittest. In a country where civil liberty prevails, men get from nature their just reward in proportion to their works.⁵ Of course this was just not true in

¹John G. Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man (Chicago: The University Chicago Press, 1965), 5. Exploitation should be included as a fifth quality.

²Irvin Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954), 34.

³Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker, 5.

⁴Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise: A Social History of Industrial America (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1943), 123.

⁵William Sumner, ed. William E. Leuchtenburg and Bernard Wisby, Social Darwinism (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1963), 76-77.

late 19th century American industry, as we shall see.

The most fluent of the early concepts of success was the traditional belief in the Protestant ethic whereby value was placed on piety, industry, frugality, and diligence. Attainment of respectability was the goal, not only in this world but in the world to come.¹ Proponents of this tradition assumed that there was a relatively static social order, and they were not extremely concerned with mobility in a competitive society. The Protestant ethic is probably our oldest tradition in relation to success. As we shall see, it was the basis of most of the self-help literature of the late eighteenth century up to the middle of the nineteenth century. No doubt the Protestant success ethic lost some of its appeal due to the impact of industrialization, and the secular frame of mind.² Nevertheless, the virtues of the Protestant ethic were adapted to the secular society, for the proponents believed that it was God's will, particularly in a Christian society.³

The Protestant ethic came into conflict with business practices since one's pursuit of success sometimes interfered with social and moral ideals. People were reluctant to reveal materialistic motives in a democratic society where religious piety was held in high esteem.⁴ Nevertheless, we know that

¹ Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man, 4.

² Ibid., 4-5.

³ See Irvin Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America, chapters, III-V.

⁴ Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man, 45.

both ideals have endured to the present day with the Protestant ethic holding second position.

It is interesting to note that the Protestant ethic offered nothing by of business advice, since success grew out of a man's moral character rather than his practical actions.¹ If one was poor he should not look or point to his environment for the cause, but instead, he should seek to discover his weakness in moral character that caused him to fail. Of course this type of rationale comforted the successful employer, and accordingly, poverty was a justifiable situation.²

The poor were not poor because they earned too little, but because they squandered what they did earn; a rich man was simply a poor man who had learned to control his impulse to spend foolishly.³

The diligent and the industrious, then according to the Protestant success ethic, were to find their just reward. This cultural theme recurred in various forms: editorials, news stories, political speeches, commencement addresses, sermons, and popular fiction. This concept of beliefs about the social order in America, the potential for individual success, was consistently disseminated.⁴

¹Ibid., 49-50.

²Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker, 4.

³Stephan Therstrom, Poverty and Progress (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 66.

⁴Ibid., 57.

The Status of Workingmen During the Late 19th Century

During the late 19th century the rise of big business and the invention of power machines [industrialization] seemed to reduce the status of the worker [the aspiring self-made man].¹ In an industrialized economy with its nationalized market, specialization, and mechanization the laborer discovered that all he had to bargain with was his labor. In the colonial period an artisan was not only a worker, but a salesman, manager, and an entrepreneur. A shoemaker produced a completed product by himself while having a personal interest in the work he was engaged in, but during the late 19th century a shoemaker^{was} only responsible for completing a small part of the total production of a shoe, so, in this particular sense mechanization made a worker less than a complete tradesman.²

As wage-earners only and as factors in great industrial systems they no longer owned the tools of production they lost even qualified ownership of land or property, they became part of the machinery of production and distribution, without permanence of employment or assurance of securing the necessities for livelihood.³

For example, in 1860 the petroleum-refining business was characterized by a large number small firms. In 1869 Rockefeller organized the Standard Oil Company of Ohio and through the acquisition of refineries in Pittsburgh,

¹ Norman J. Ware, Labor in Modern Industrial Society (New York: Russell, 1968), 10.

² Grob, Workers and Utopia, 187.

³ David J. Saposs, Readings in Trade Unionism: Labor Organization Principles and Problems as Discussed by Trade Unionists in Their Official Publications and Writings (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926), 29.

Philadelphia, New York, and Ohio he had reduced independent competition so that, by 1878 Standard owned or leased 90 percent of the refining capacity of the United States.¹ Meat packers such as Armour and Morris built similar organizations, and by the 1890's the meatpacking industry was controlled by a few firms. In 1890 James B. Duke merged his company with five competitors to form the American Tobacco Company and in fifteen years succeeded in achieving a monopoly of the cigarette industry.² It seems that due to the rise of big business the small entrepreneur's status was compromised. Even if the small entrepreneur was kept on after his business was absorbed his status was still somewhat reduced.³ Small entrepreneurs increasingly turned toward opportunities as middlemen and retailers due to the expansive economy.⁴ The large capitalist firms discovered that co-operation was much more lucrative than competition. The trust movement was full blown by 1890. Philip S. Foner, in History of Labor Movement in the United States, tends to regard an article that appeared in Public Opinion on February 22, 1890 as representative of some people's attitudes in relation to the full blown extent of the trust move-

¹Ross M. Robertson, History of the American Economy (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc., 1964), 353-4.

²Ibid., 354.

³In keeping with Veblen, it seems that a small businessman's new role as a tentacle of a large corporation would imply subservience to someone of superior status, therefore, we could not categorize the former's employment as exploit.

⁴Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker, 9.

ment:

If a man desires to build a house he must obtain lumber from a lumber trust, nails from a nail trust, earthenware from an earthenware trust; the painter whom he employs gets linseed oil from a linseed oil trust and white lead from a white lead trust; if he puts a fence around his place he has his choice between patronizing the lumber trust or the barbed wire trust. The oil cloth for his floors is controlled by a trust; the stove for his kitchen comes from a trust. The slates and slate's pencils, the rubber shoes and castor oil for his children are under control of trusts. Trusts control the sugar and salt for his table, the paper bags for his business, if he be a retailer.

Andrew Carnegie [United States Steel] , in his book The Gospel of Wealth, admitted that due to the size of these corporations, "we assemble thousands of operatives in the factory, and in the mine, of whom the employer can know little or nothing, and to whom he is little better than a myth. Rigid castes are formed. . . Each caste is without sympathy with the other. . ." ² It seems that because of sterile interaction in the factory environment the promise of the success ethic was somewhat slighted, for according to the myth there were no caste systems or class distinction^s in America. The fluid class structure, apparently, was compromised for material well being. In order to preserve a free society with ample opportunity there had to be a fluid class structure without rigid class barriers. A laborer necessarily must have had

¹ Public Opinion, vol. VIII, February 22, 1890, 478, as quoted by Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States (New York: International Pub. , 1955), II, 13.

² Andrew Carnegie, ed. Edward Kirkland, The Gospel of Wealth (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), 16.

alternatives of how he sold his labor, either joining a firm or starting one's own business. Joseph Finnerty, a member of the brass worker's union, was interviewed in 1885 by the United States Senate, Education and Labor Committee and the results were published in the Report Upon the Relations Between Labor and Capital. Finnerty suggests that at one time the opportunity for one to start one's own brass manufacturing business was more readily accessible than in 1885. The difficulty that arose was due in major part to the increased cost in starting a business. Finnerty's demeanor in relation to the position of his fellow brass workers is one of seeming hopelessness. Finnerty also emphasizes the point that workers are not able to save ample capital to start their own enterprise until they attain a particular status (foreman or superintendent):

Q. Do the bronze workers who are married men lay up anything as a general rule?--A. No, sir; they do not. If they happen to be able to make both ends meet at the end of the year they are doing wonders. Of course in every^{place} of people there may be one or two in a hundred that would get rich, no matter what wages they received, but the bronze worker generally saves no money, and if he can keep his family in food and clothes and pay his rent he feels that he is doing wonders.

Q. Before the introduction of this machinery, by which the man has been reduced to being one-tenth or one-fourth of a complete tradesman, how much capital did it take to become a brass worker on one's own account? A. At that time a man that had \$300 or \$400 could start a brass shop himself and make a living out of it, but to-day no man who understands the condition of the trade would start with less than \$5000. He would need that much to supply machinery and start his shop, and then he would have a hard road to travel.

Q. At that time, if a man had a room large enough to work in, and had his tools and a little money to buy the raw material, he could become an independent workman, you say, making his brass work himself and selling it to the public?--A. Yes, sir.

Q. Fourteen years ago, as I understand you, a brass worker might hope, by prudence and economy, to become an independent

worker for himself?--A. Yes, sir; but now the trade is controlled by the larger companies. They have their drummers or agents in different parts of the country, and it takes capital to carry on the business in that way; and in order to establish an independent brass shop you have to have your connections made all through the country, something which a poor man cannot do.

Q. So you consider that it is about hopeless for a brass worker now to aspire to the condition of brass manufacturer?--A.. Yes, sir; it is hopeless, and I think they will not try it any more.

. . .

Q. . . . Has the stimulus, the inducement to save by close living, and all that sort of thing been lessened in any degree by the fact that there is now no hope of a workman ever becoming a boss or having an independent establishment of his own?--A. All the brass worker cares about now is to hold his job, and he will put up with any kind of abuse as long as he is not discharged.

Q. But fourteen years ago you say it was different.--A. Yes, sir. He would not stand any abuse at all then, and no abuse would be offered to him then; he was treated as a skilled workman.

Q. Did many of the workers in brass fourteen years ago actually get into the position of independent brass manufacturers? --A. Oh, yes, sir. There are some of our leading firms today that started under the different condition that existed fourteen or fifteen years ago.

Q. Were these men more provident or economical or stingy at that time, as a rule, than the workman are now, when they have no hope of becoming independent workers?--A. The men who are bosses now, and who were workmen at that time, were not saving or stingy, and while they were merely getting journeymen's wages they did not save anything; but when they got to be foremen, then they commenced to save, and when they became superintendents they made enough money to start for themselves.

During the 1860's and the 1870's an investment of \$50,000 to \$100,000 would have been sufficient for the most mechanized and complex plants, but by 1890 investments of \$1,000,000 were not large.² By 1900 most large firms,

¹United States Senate, Education and Labor Committee, Report Upon the Relations between Labor and Capital, Vol. I (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1885), 744-45, as quoted by Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker, 84-6.

²Yellowitz, op. cit. , 9.

in contrast to the small firms of the 1870's that had served a limited market, were controlled by corporations which, in turn, controlled most of the phases of business from the production of raw materials to the sale of the finished product.¹ The small businessman did not disappear, but his role in manufacturing decreased. The traditional link between skilled work and success as an entrepreneur in the trade broke down since business were extremely large, markets were nation-wide, and large investments were required for one to get an adequate start in business. These factors taken together reduced the likelihood of a man working his way up the ladder of success. Consequently the success^{ethic} became a defensive rationale for the status quo. Possibly, the finance capitalists realized that as long as workers sought success through traditional means the possibility of an attack upon wealth would be reduced.²

Immigrants, Unskilled Labor, and Success

Between 1870 and 1880--3,000,000 immigrants entered the United States; 5,000,000 between 1880~~and~~ 1890; and 4,000,000 between 1890-1900.³ The success ethic was the tool that^{was} utilized to entice foreigners to America. companies, who transported them, and commissioned agents working for industrialists, who sought cheap labor, disseminated the myth throughout Europe. Circulars

¹Ibid., 9.

²Ibid., 9-10.

³Report of the United States Industrial Commission, Washington, 1902, vol. XIX, 957, 961, as cited by Foner, Hist. of Labor Movement, 16.

told European peasants that they could earn from \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day in the coal mines of Pennsylvania or in the textile factories in New England.¹ What was not being said was that prices were much higher in America than in Europe. The newcomer took the lowest paying jobs and the most onerous kinds of work, therefore, manual occupations began to lose their traditional dignity as a starting point where one utilized his practical ability in his own enterprise. Many times the newly arrived immigrant was used as a strike-breaker by the industrialists. Since he [the immigrant] could not speak English and was isolated by the management from union strikers he was probably not always aware that a strike was in progress. A strong prejudice against immigrants was apparent at this time which undoubtedly increased the resentment toward manual labor. Men were looked down upon because of the work they performed and the work appeared disgusting because of the men who performed it.² Immigrants were thought to be ignorant, heathenistic, brutal, and uncultured. The popular notion was that the European immigrants were invariably the residue of the Old World (paupers, felons, and convicts). Ethnic ghettos were born during this era and probably quite a few immigrants thought their situation hopeless just as did Jurgis Rudkus the young Lithuanian immigrant hero in The Jungle. Since many immigrants took the lowest paying jobs other members of their families had to work also to make ends meet. The Illinois Bureau of

¹ Joane Erickson, "The Recruitment of European Immigrant Labor for American Industry from 1860-1885." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, February, 1952, 434-9, as cited by Foner, Hist. of Labor Movement, 16.

² Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker, 14-5.

Labor Statistics investigated the conditions of immigrant labor in the clothing business.¹ This information was gathered by state investigators who made personal visits to various homes. Most of those who were polled worked as tailors. This information ~~to~~ indicate^s that wives and children had to work at some low paying job in order to help support the family since it was probable that the income of the heads of the various house holds would not suffice. Prejudice was obviously a handicap for immigrants as was his poor command of the English language and the lack of understanding American customs and manners. It is no wonder that the first generation immigrant took the lowest paying jobs. When we take into consideration his handicaps it becomes more evident that the newcomer found his chances for upward mobility minimal. Second generation immigrants probably discovered that they could advance significantly more so than his precursor.

The Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics no. 3, for the year 1884 reveals the size and conditions, the income, and the expenditures of some immigrant families. The findings are based upon personal visits by state investigators. The results contain partial misinformation since workers usually kept poor records and were sometimes uncooperative,² but still the results are helpful in giving us a general picture of the living conditions of some typical immigrant families. What is most revealing concerning these case studies is that it was

¹ See Table 1 of the Appendix.

² Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Biennial Report, No. 3 (1884), 370, as quoted by Yellowitz, op. cit., 74.

probably unlikely that the fathers of these families were expectant capitalists since most of their incomes were spent on everyday necessities.

No. 36 is a Bohemian family of 6 persons; parents and four boys; 23, 17, 14, and 12--the two oldest sons work to help make ends meet. Their father owns a moderately comfortable home of 4 rooms. Their expenditures (\$1,114) equal their income (\$1,114). No. 38 is a Scandinavian family of 8; of which 6 are children; girls--twins 3 months, one two year old, and one 3, --boys; 5 and 7. They live in a 4 room house and pay \$11 per month rent. Barely adequate living conditions. The husband and wife earn \$420 per year and spend all of it on necessities. No. 39 is also a Scandinavian family with 3 children; boys, 9 and 11--one girl 7. They live in a rented house, 4 room, for \$8 per month. The house is in poor condition. Their expenditures (\$632) outrun their income (\$605).¹

The Status of Workers in Illinois 1882, 1892

The findings of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics² for the year 1882 suggest that the people who filed reports with the state were barely making enough money to offset expenditures. The majority of these laborers were affiliated with labor unions, therefore, the findings do not reflect the conditions of unskilled workers. The questionnaires were printed in English, so there are few responses from recent immigrants. Out of the number of persons re-

¹ Ibid., 370-1, as cited by Yellowitz, op. cit., 74-6.

² See Table 2 of the Appendix.

ported in this table 49 own their own homes. The total average earnings of heads of the families was \$590 per year, and the average number of persons per family was 4. Half of the workers were not able to earn enough for their family's needs, and they relied upon their wives and children to make up the difference. These results of earnings for the year 1882 are higher than most states.¹ These statistics support Richard Ely's, a 19th century economist who challenged accepted principles in areas of social and economic thought, argument that a great portion of wage earners must remain as such for many years to come. The often heard remark of the period was that a majority of rich manufactures began as poor people; at one time they were employees. Even so, this remark in itself had no bearing for those who had to remain working men the rest of their lives no matter how diligent or industrious they were. And it ought to be pointed out, that for every laborer who rose to a position of wealth a number of small producers lost their independent positions and regressed to the position of wage-earners.²

The Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics finding's for the year 1892 are also incomplete in some respects. The laborers who were polled, were almost entirely skilled workers. Again I think we can presume that the unskilled workers not mentioned in these statistics were suffering a worse plight. The sample for 1892 was much larger than that of 1882 since 1,785 people responded, of whom five-sixths were not able to save any money, while some of

¹Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Biennial Report for 1882, (Springfield: H. W. Rokker, State Printer and Binder), 233, 294.

²Richard Ely, The Labor Movement in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1886), 92-5, as cited by Yellowitz, op. cit, 58-60.

these had a deficit for that year. The majority spent most of their income on everyday necessities. The people in the sample, on the whole, did not keep good records, yet, those who were financially ahead for 1892 were able to state how much they had saved. Those who broke even (or worse) probably responded with a fairly close estimate of their financial matters. For example, in the Bakery industry 151 persons responded. Their average earnings were \$295 per year while their average expenditures were \$286. Five and one half percent of those polled were able to save an average of \$51. In the meat-packing industry 195 people responded. Their average earnings were \$389, while their expenses were \$377. Nine and seven-tenths of those who responded were able to save, on the average, \$127.¹ It can be inferred that little mention, if any at all, is made concerning the poor immigrants (vest finishers, trouser finishers, etc.) who were struggling to make a living. Even the operatives referred to in Table 3 are not financially secure. The data does not lend itself to the interpretation that these people were expectant capitalists.

¹See Table 3 of the Appendix.

Self-Help Literature

This section is intended to give the reader an idea of the type of didactic literature that late 19th century workingmen had studied in schools. during the 1850's - 1870's. Self-help writers were concerned with instilling self-discipline in the youngsters, and they also dealt in great length on the dangers and temptations that faced young men. The moral virtues expressed therein were indicative of traditional middle-class Protestant American attitudes that can be found in the same form since the founding of our country.

In some of the self-help handbooks it was fairly evident that "the individual who works diligently and honestly is as honorable, if not more, so, than one who is rich and well-born."¹ The success story of Moses Brown, a cherished part of Newburyport, Massachusetts' folklore, as follows, is a sample of the nature of these types of stories: A distinguished Federalist lawyer Mr. Tristram Dalton desired to have his carriage repaired. A young carriage maker, Moses Brown, did not wait for Dalton's servant to deliver the carriage, instead, he retrieved it himself and began to work. He was one who was not afraid to get his hands dirty. He made the necessary repairs speedily and efficiently. Not long after this, Dalton died and left his fortune to his son who squandered it, while Moses Brown scrimped and saved adding to his capital, and eventually he became one of the wealthiest men in the entire state of Massachusetts.²

¹Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man, 57.

²A. Forbes and J. W. Greene, The Rich Men of Massachusetts (Boston: 1851), 56, as cited by Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress, 70.

The most widely used self-help literature was The McGuffey Readers.

"Between 1870 and 1890, approximately 60,000,000 copies of the readers were sold.¹ These didactic texts first appeared in the 1830's. Each edition was geared toward a specific level of competence. The primary texts taught a youngster how to read, and as one progressed in his school lessons, the lessons became increasingly moral in nature.

Harvery Minnich, in William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers, wrote:

That the impact of these books was wide and deep in the lives of the people who read them as children and youths and in those who lived in the milieu of the social processes which these books set into operation, is fully attested by the organization of many magazine articles, historical references, and by the establishment of McGuffey museums.²

It is no doubt that is Minnich is speculating as to the impact of the McGuffey Readers on its reading audience, but nevertheless I am inclined to agree after considering the extent and the nature of the literature.³

Explicit directions for reading were included in the preface of many of the McGuffey books. In the preface of McGuffey's New Eclectic Fifth Reader (1857) the student was directed to, "make himself fully acquainted with the subject in that lesson, and endeavor to make the feelings and sentiments of

¹Yellowitz, op. cit., 7.

²Harvey C. Minnich, ed., William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers (New York: American Book Co., 1936), from the forward, vii.

³For a list of WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA: who can be considered alumni of the moral and social teachings of the McGuffey Readers, see Minnich, William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers, 88.

of the writer his own."¹

The following story of George Jones and Charles Bullard entitled, "Advantages of Industry," in McGuffey's Newly Revised Eclectic Third Reader (1853), informs the reader that there are severe consequences for being slothful.

Idle George Jones, stammering and blundering in his class at school because he did not study, the last to be chosen in games on the playground, derided in the academy, and avoided in the college from which he was later suspended became 'a wanderer without money and without friends.'

Industrious Charles Bullard, classmate to idle George Jones and honor man in his literary society, first in the classroom, first on the playground, and first in the hearts of his teachers and companions, grew to manhood, prosperous,² with a cheerful and happy home, esteemed by all who knew him.

Of course, the lesson to be learned from this story is that it is strange that anyone would choose to live an idle life when it will invariably make him unhappy. The idle boy is most certainly poor and miserable while the industrious boy is happy and prosperous.³

¹McGuffey's New Eclectic Fifth Reader (Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co., 1857), 9.

²McGuffey's Newly Revised Eclectic Third Reader (Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co., 1853), 60, as cited by Minnich, William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers, 107. For an example of a complete McGuffey tale see "Hugh Idle and Mr. Toil," Table 4 in the Appendix.

³Richard Mosier, Making the American Mind: Social and Moral Ideas in the McGuffey Readers (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1965), 107. In some Puritan communities in New England diligent work was considered to be the duty of a man while in 1675 in Massachusetts the court ordered constables to inspect families and present lists of idle persons. Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1970), 71, 73.

The prevailing moral within the content of the McGuffey stories should be evident: "There is no excellence without great labor;"¹ in McGuffey's New Fifth Eclectic Reader (1857), and "God blesses the Industrious"² in McGuffey's Newly Revised Rhetorical Guide. (1853).

The same moral can be delineated from the McGuffey story, "The Choice of Hercules," in McGuffey's Newly Revised Rhetorical Guide, Fifth Reader of the Eclectic Series (1853), wherein Hercules went to the desert to contemplate what course of life he ought to pursue. He was very much perplexed. Once in the desert he was approached by two women who were larger than ordinary. The first goddess, named Pleasure, told Hercules that if he followed her she would lead him to a life of pleasure void of pain. His only employment would be to make his life easy with beds of roses, clouds of perfume, concerts of music, and crowds of beauty. The second goddess told Hercules:

I will be open and sincere with you; and you must lay this down as an established truth, that there is nothing truly valuable which can be purchased without pains and labor. . . These are the only terms and conditions upon which I can promise happiness.³

Needless to say, Hercules chose the latter path.

¹ McGuffey's New Fifth Eclectic Reader (Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co., 1857), 148-149.

² McGuffey's Newly Revised Rhetorical Guide (Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co., 1853), 478, as cited by Mosier, Making the American Mind, 100.

³ McGuffey's Newly Revised Rhetorical Guide, Fifth Reader of the Eclectic Series (Cincinnati: W. B. Smith & Co., 1853), 353-4.

The poem entitled "Lazy Ned," in McGuffey's Fourth Eclectic Reader Revised (1879), is representative of the same motif.

"Tis royal fun," cried lazy Ned,
"To coast upon my fine new sled,
and beat the other boys;
"But then, I can not bear to climb
The tiresome hill, for every time
it more and more annoys."

So, while his school-mates glided by,
And gladly tugged up hill, to try
Another merry race
Too indolent to share their plays,
Ned was compelled to stand and gaze,
While shivering in his place.

Thus, he would never take the pains
to seek the prize that labor gains,
Until the time had passed;
For all his life, he dreaded still
The silly bugbear of up hill.
And died a dunce at last.

When we think of self-help literature Horatio Alger's name come to mind. Very few children or adults read his books today. He is more often read by cultural historians.² Alger died a relatively poor man, since he sold his books outright to publishers, who in their turn, made the profit. He spent a good portion of his money charitably; helping practically anyone who asked him. Alger wrote over one-hundred self-^{help} novels such as; Abraham Lincoln, The Backwoods Boy; or How a Young Railsplitter Became President, Bound to Rise, or, Up the Ladder, and Slow and Sure; or From the Street to the Shop, to name

¹ McGuffey's Fourth Eclectic Reader Revised (Cincinnati: Van Antwerp Bragg & Co., 1879), 38.

² Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man, 101.

a few.¹

His message was consistent throughout most of his novels; be industrious, honest, frugal, and diligent and one would surely receive his just reward. Generally speaking, the novels were highly sentimentalized. Consider this passage out of, From Canal Boy to President, the success story of James A. Garfield:

His father had died two years before, leaving a young widow, and four children, the eldest but nine, in sore traits. A long and severe winter lay before the little family, and they had but little corn garnered to carry them through till the next harvest. But the young widow was a brave woman and a devoted mother.²

Young Jimmy, who at the age of four, loved to work:

Sometimes his brother gave the little fellow a trifle to do, and Jimmy was always pleased to help, for he was fond of work, and when he grew older and stronger he was himself a sturdy and indefatigable worker in ways not dreamed of then.³

It did not suffice for Alger to mention James A. Garfield's industrious nature merely once. This ideal is one of the underlying motifs of the novel:

There was more work for him to do. A Mr. Treat wanted help during the haying and harvesting season, and offered employment to the boy, who was already strong enough to do almost as much as a man (he was 14 years old); for James already had a good reputation as a faithful worker. 'What ever his hands found to do, he did it with his might,' and he was by no means fastidious as to the kind of work, provided it was honest and honorable.⁴

¹Ibid., 102-3.

²Horatio Alger Jr. From Canal Boy to President (New York: John R. Anderson & Co., 1881), 10.

³Ibid., 14.

⁴Ibid., 24.

Alger believed that he was illustrating a good example for young boys to follow. At one point in the didactic novel about Garfield, Alger interjects to his readers:

My chief object in writing this volume being to commend its subject as an example for boys, I think it right to call attention to this trait which he (Garfield) possessed in a conspicuous degree. Brought face to face with difficulty--with what might be called the impossible, he did not say, 'Oh, I can't do it. It is impossible.' He went home to devise a plan.

The collective impact of The McGuffey Readers and the Horatio Alger success novels is immeasurable. The scope of social teaching within the literature was centered around the concept of self-improvement and hard moral discipline. "The virtues and habits of industry, economy, temperance, and piety were understood to be not only the road to personal achievement, but primary ends in themselves."² These lessons served as moral guides which emphasized perseverance, faith, piety, punctuality, justice, poise, temperance, reverence, courage, magnanimity, and gratitude.³ Whether the reading populace believed in the virtues expressed in this self-help, didactic prone, literature is conjectural, yet, believable. The success ethic was the underlying message of the McGuffey Readers and the Alger novels, and the child learned that the morals therein were the will of God.

¹Ibid., 193.

²Gawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man, 208.

³Minnich, William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers, 112.

THE SELF-MADE MAN IN THE NOVEL

The Novel as Historical Evidence

The novel as historical evidence is particularly valuable because it sets characters in action in a created world and places them in the context of political and philosophical beliefs.¹ We cannot assume that a given author is, necessarily, presenting the political and philosophical attitudes of his readers. An author is merely expressing his beliefs on a given subject. For example: Mark Twain, in The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, undoubtedly expressed the belief that slavery was not a justifiable social system even though it existed in 19th century America, but, we cannot assume that Twain's readers believed as he did, or for that matter, that his readers even understood that Twain believed as he did. Furthermore, one good method for determining an author's attitude is by making inferences from what characters say and do² within their ethical universe.

Notes on the Novels in Question

Three protagonists out of the novels I have chosen, Howard Sommers --in The Web of Life, Joe Loudon--in The Conquest of Cannan, and Jurgis Rudkis--in The Jungle all believed in doing good work. All are interested in preserving

¹Cawelti, Apostles of the Self-Made Man, from the introduction, viii.

²Ibid., x.

what Veblen called "the instinct of workmanship." Sommer's prime commitment involved his humanistic concern for healing the sick, not pecuniary ends. Joe Louden is most concerned with fighting for the rights of the exploited (the low lived) citizens of Cannan. Jurgis Kudkus was most concerned with working for social reforms via the Chicago Socialist Party in an attempt to rectify the social and economic determinants that dehumanized the workingmen of Packingtown.

Howells: The Hazard of New Fortunes

The Hazard of New Fortunes (1889) by William Dean Howells concerns one Basil March who leaves a secure position as a Boston insuranceman, at the insistence of Mr. Fulkerson, to become editor of a projected New York literary periodical, "Every Other Week." March and his family after some discussion pull up their roots and move to New York. Because of this move from a secure environment to unfamiliar surroundings March and his wife discover that they have much to learn about city life in New York. Prices are higher than in Boston, apartments are difficult to acquire, and the behavior of a French beggar particularly disturbs Mrs. March.

In this novel the characters are bound to their class. If one does succeed it is due to brute force and luck. Howells portrays Jacob Dryfoos (self-made millionaire) as the epitome of an exploitative, aggressive, and shrewd businessman. Dryfoos was an old Pennsylvania Dutch farmer. He chastised his neighbors for selling their land to Standard Oil, but when he was offered \$100,000 by Standard Oil for his land and the deposits of natural gas therein, he sold. He did the very thing that he had previously

ridiculed his neighbors for doing.

March finds it curious that Dryfoos would put money into "Every Other Week," and yet have no interest in the affairs of the periodical.¹ But it becomes clear that Old Dryfoos has started this enterprise to discourage his son, Conrad, from becoming a "preacher." Dryfoos's social attitudes are evident when he tells March that he wants Conrad to be a man before becoming a "preacher."

When we first come to New York, I told him, 'Now here's your chance to see the world on a big scale. You know already what work and saving and steady habits and sense will bring a man to; you don't want to go among the rich; you want to go among the poor and see what laziness, and drink, and dishonesty will bring men to.'²

We also learn that Dryfoos honors money, especially if it is earned without effort and in large sums. He has only contempt for small sums earned slowly and painfully.³ He felt no sense of social inferiority toward other men with twenty or thirty million dollars to his one or two million; instead, he felt financially inferior. "He respected their money not them."⁴

March, who is always aware of the "limits of 'self' as a guide to truth and reality,"⁵ comments to his wife, concerning his encounter with Dryfoos,

¹William Dean Howells, A Hazard of New Fortunes (New York: The New American Library Inc., 1956), 184.

²Ibid., 188-189.

³Ibid., 226.

⁴Ibid., 227.

⁵Ibid., The Afterward, 435.

that, "I am not very proud when I realize that such a man and his experience are the ideal and ambition of most Americans."¹

At a dinner celebrating the success of "Every Other Week" Dryfoos becomes peeved at Lindau, a socialist and a translator of foreign magazine articles for "Every Other Week," because of his opinions concerning the right of workingmen to combine in unions to redress their grievances. The ideological clash between the archetype of a socialist and the archetype of a finance-capitalist is the result. Dryfoos decides to fire the "red faced labor agitator."² And Dryfoos leaves this responsibility in March's hands and March, in his turn, refuses to become an agent to punish Lindau for his opinions.

The final events of the novel revolve around the transit strike in New York. Most of the public transportation is at a standstill. Dryfoos reacts emotionally toward the strikers who are trying to raise their wages. He thinks they are nothing more than lazy bums who want to get laid-off and get drunk. Fulkerson looks upon the strike as being good material for "Every Other Week." Conrad's Christian motives eventually get him killed in the midst of a confrontation between police and strikers. Conrad thought that he could prevent violence from happening, but he dies an innocent bystander while attempting to stand up for Lindau's rights. March has not been a participant until he witnesses Conrad's death, and hence forth, he tries to make sense of it. Lindau eventually dies while Conrad's death virtually shatters his family's

¹Ibid., 194.

²Ibid., 301.

integrity. As regards the ethical universe of the novel, Lindau and Old Dryfoos suffer because of their extreme ideological beliefs: Lindau dies and Old Dryfoos recognizes his failure after Conrad's death, which seems to be a commentary on Howell's part. March, the protagonist, is the character with the most redeeming social value. He knows that he must participate in society and has an individual conscience. Although his social commitment is somewhat vague, we know that Basil March will be fair in the future.

Herrick: The Web of Life

In The Web of Life (1900) Robert Herrick stresses "the need for individual ethical initiative, personal freedom, direct opposition to the dehumanizing tendencies of industrialization!"¹ in much the same way as Howells stressed individual awareness as a means of identifying truth in reality. Howard Sommers, the protagonist, is appalled by the struggle for wealth in Chicago's higher circles. Sommers is a promising young physician who never quite fits into the social circles of the wealthy Hitchcocks, Porters, and the Lindsays. Approximately half-way through the novel Sommers casts off his class; he says good-bye to Louise Hitchcock whom he should be courting, then, a bit later, quits his position under the auspices of Dr. Lindsay to find Alves Preston who will love him regardless of his economic status.² Sommers casting off of his class comes with his realization that:

¹ Robert Bray, "In Pursuit of A Distinctive Utterance: Realistic Novels in the Midwest, 1871-1914" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1971), 273.

² Ibid., 275.

He was taking himself away from those who governed the machine, who ran it and oiled it, and turned it to their own pleasures. He had chosen to be of the multitude whom the machine ground. The brutal axioms of the economists urged men to climb, to dominate, and held out as the noblest ideal of the great triumph over his brother. If this world could not be run on any less brutal plan than this¹ creed of success, success, then let there be anarchy--anything.

At this point Sommers leaves the privileged class and comes⁵ to radicalism, where he experiences the frustrations of the down trodden:

He wa⁵s not sorry for the change, so far as he had thought of it. At least he should escape the feeling of irritation, of criticism, which Lindsay so much deplored, that had been growing ever since he had left hospital work. The body social was diseased, and he could not make any satisfactory diagnosis of the evil; but at least he should feel better to have done with the privileged assertive classes, to have taken up his part with the les⁵s Philistine, more pitia²bly blind mob.

He eventually comes to live with Alves Preston in a ticket booth, a remnant of the Chicago Fair, while the labor battle intensifies. Alves commits suicide, while Sommers realizes that he, as a reactionary, had misconceived his own place in society, but he still believes in the corruptive nature of success in material terms. Sommers realized that the extremes are ruled out for him, due to painful experiences, and that the middle ground is all that is left.³ Sommers once again goes to work. This time for a factory treating

¹Robert Herrick, The Web of Life (New York: The MacMillian Co., 1900, republished 1970), 203.

²Ibid., 194.

³Bray, "In Pursuit of A Distinctive Utterance," 279-280.

typhoid patients, and he receives a moderate salary for his services.

The point as regards the ethical universe of the novel, is that Howard Sommers is working not stewing. He is now doing his part to solve those problems by healing the sick. It is a quiet endeavor and Sommers is no longer paralyzed by the sheer magnitude of America's social dilemmas.

Sommers eventually renews his relationship with Louise Hitchcock during the Spanish-American War: Sommers as the doctor and Louise as the nurse. They marry, since ~~both~~ have changed greatly, and decline Colonel Hitchcock's dowry. "One lesson each had separately learned was that unearned wealth was an onus to be scrupulously avoided."²

Herrick: The Memoirs of An American Citizen

Robert Herrick's The Memoirs of An American Citizen (1905) concerns one Edward Van Harrington, an Indiana country boy who comes to Chicago and "scores one business triumph after another, until by the end of the novel he is the country's most powerful meat-packer and has bought himself a seat in the United States Senate."³ The novel is written in the first person, Harrington's point of view, and is void of any direct social criticism. The majority of the social criticism is implied. Herrick chose to emphasize the irony of Harrington's arrogance⁴ and innocence toward industrialization and

¹Ibid., 280.

²Ibid., 281.

³Ibid., 293

⁴Ibid., 296.

its predatory effects.

During the early days of Harrington's self-making he and his friends stood on street corners gossiping about their rich neighbors (they gossiped about "those whose wealth was in evidence"):

Thus we followed them down the street, speculating on the great packer's success, on the success of all the fortunate ones in the great game of the market, wondering what magic power these men possessed to lift themselves out of the mass of people like ourselves.

Harrington walked the streets of Chicago fully aware of "invidious distinctions." And of course, "Whatever was there in Chicago in 1877 to live for but Success?"²

Harrington serves as a juror for the trial of the Anarchist after the Haymarket bomb affair, a jury to which "No laboring man need apply: his class was suspect."³ Harrington in rendering his verdict reduced the whole situation: "I was convinced that we sensible folks who had the upper hand could not tolerate any bomb foolishness."⁴ Harrington could not "rightly appreciate the complaint of these rebels against society."⁵ Harrington resolves that the anarchists must suffer for their opinions (just as Jacob Dryfoos) which were against the majority.⁶ In this situation (the trial)

¹Robert Herrick, The Memoirs of An American Citizen (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963, first published 1905), 43-4.

²Ibid., 45.

³Ibid., 71.

⁴Ibid., 74.

⁵Ibid., 74.

⁶Ibid., 74.

Harrington does not exercise any critical judgment whatsoever.

By the end of the novel the press is attacking him and he is not respected by his wife, his brother, and his sister-in-law because of his unscrupulous business practices. His sister-in-law truly assesses Harrington's character, to his face, near the end of the novel, but Harrington thinks that she just does not understand him.

The very sight of men like you is the worst evil in our country. You are successful, prosperous, and you have ridden over the laws that hindered you. You have hired your lawyers to find a way for you to do what you please. You think you are above the law--just the common laws for ordinary people. You buy men as you buy wheat.

Harrington's final act of misunderstanding occurs when he is headed for Washington to assume his seat in the Senate. Mrs. Jenks, who was with the party, owns a pearl ^Kne_λlace of twenty-seven pearls in all. Of course her necklace was a topic for articles in various newspapers.

One paper even had it that pretty little Mrs. Jenks "flaunted around her neck the blood-bought price of a million lives."

So it had come to be a sort of joke among us, that string of pearls. Whenever I saw it, I would pretend to count the stones and ask Mrs. Jenks how many more million lives she was wearing around her neck tonight.² She would laugh back in her pretty little Southern drawl;--

¹Ibid., 264.

²Ibid., 268.

French: The Man of the Hour

Mary Alice French, who wrote under the pen name of Octave Thanet, wrote The Man of the Hour in 1905. The novel is a commentary on the social problems between labor and capital during the late 19th century. Johnny-Ivan Winslow is the protagonist, son of Olga (a Russian Princess) and Josiah (an American capitalist). Johnny takes his Harvard education to Chicago and works for the cause of labor--"there to experience first radicalism, then moderate unionism, and finally choosing to return to "his own" as manager of his father's plow-works."¹ French's resolution to Johnny's instability in choosing the right course for social action is not satisfying. We are lead to believe that Johnny is successful when, and only when, he has nothing more to do with radicalism and returns to the privileged class. French fails to resolve the instability of action between the principle characters, which is required because of the formal elements of the novel. The morally serious world of the labor struggle, social relations, and reform are themes which French is concerned with for more than 300 pages, but these pressing issues are abandoned by the close of the novel. The culminating resolution to the struggle between labor and capital is reduced to an encounter like an Ivy League football game.²

The novel is written in three parts. The first book concerns Johnny's

¹Bray, "In Pursuit of A Distinctive Utterance," 214.

²Ibid., 218-219.

reconciliation of the polar ideals that his mother (Marxism) and father (Capitalism) instill in him. The second book dwells on Johnny-Ivan's recollections of his mother, Princess Olga. The third book, and the last half of the novel, "lets the spirit of hard-nosed old Josiah Winslow have the last word with Johnny."¹

We are supposed to believe that Johnny's behavior in the last half of the novel is influenced almost completely by one Peggy Rutherford-- Johnny's prize for choosing the right path. The workers at the plow-works go on strike just when the company has "a sickening lot of rush orders" and if they cannot fill the orders they will lose them.² Johnny-Ivan Winslow who previously had understood and worked for the cause of labor now, sneakily brings in Negro strike-breakers into Fairport late one night in order to ensure that the "rush orders" will be delivered on time. The absurd thing is that because of this act Johnny is now a hero and a success in the eyes of his peers. He is working "tooth and nail"³ against all that he applauded three years before. This fact in itself does seem strange to Johnny also and his only explanation is curiously ambiguous: "The Anglo-Saxon in me has conquered."⁴

¹Ibid., 215.

²Mary Alice French, The Man of the Hour (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1905), 408.

³Ibid., 438.

⁴Ibid., 438.

We are forced to believe, during an exchange between Johnny and Tyler (a union organizer) that Johnny's admiration and love for his mother is a thing of the past, and that the resentment that he had always felt for his father has subsided. Johnny speaks:

"When a man belongs to a union he has to obey orders; but you can do your best to get them back--" He stopped, perceiving Tyler in front of him, a man on either side.

"You--damn--renegade." He drawled with a kind of ferocious simper. "I'll be even with you this deal, Ivan Gleetzin!"

"I'm no renegade, and you know it,"--William Hopkins, in the doorway, heard the voice with its neat, clipped Eastern modulations strike every word clearly, although its pitch was not raised--"and don't call me Ivan; my name is John Winslow."¹

Mary Alice French fails to resolve her structural problems in this novel. The final clash between labor and management is more like a football ^{game} than a class struggle.² The transitions in Johnny Winslow's character are not clearly defined, while the structural difficulties are irreconcilable with the ethical universe. The formal resolution of the labor struggle is curious indeed.

Tarkington: The Conquest of Canaan^a

Booth Tarkington's The Conquest of Canaan^a (1905) is a much better book than The Man of the Hour by Mary Alice French, but it has structural problems also, as we shall see. Joe Loudon, the protagonist, is the "orneriest boy. . .

¹ Ibid., 390.

² Bray, "In Pursuit of A Distinctive Utterance," 218-9.

in an orney world-full,"¹ who is "no more 'n a town outcast."² "None of the nice young folks invite him to their doin's any more"³ since he was caught behind Judge Pike's stable gambling with the "niggers and riff-raff."⁴

There happened to be a party that very night at Judge Pike's and naturally Joe was not invited. But he went anyway and was caught hiding in the bushes while he was waiting for Ariel Tabor, another outcast of Canaan, and received a blow on the head from the Judge with a poker. After this incident Joe was forced to leave Canaan. He leaves to see the country and works his way through law school in the process, and Ariel inherits a modest sum of money and travels to Paris with her father where she is intent upon learning how to dress and talk.

The townspeople do not forget Joe Loudon. He is held up as a bad example to younger boys. Joe eventually returns to Canaan to practice law, but discovers that he is ridiculed as before. He cannot rent a room at the town hotel because it is owned by Judge Pike, and he is forced to pay double the rent for his law office. The "low lived" is Beaver Beach (a slum that is secretly owned by Judge Pike) take Joe in and he returns the favor by fighting for the rights of the Beaver Beach inhabitants. Joe wins court decisions in favor of his "riff-raff" clientel, and the daily press, The Tocsin (owned

¹Booth Tarkington, The Conquest of Canaan (New York: Harper & Brothers Pub., 1905), 22.

²Ibid., 24.

³Ibid., 23.

⁴Ibid., 23.

by Judge Pike), viciously attacks Joe in their editorials. "Joe's incessant labors go far toward establishing a measure of justice for the forgotten people of Canaan, but they gain him not~~x~~ respite from the scorn of the respectables."¹

Ariel returns from Paris just at the point when Joe's morale is extremely low because of the abuse he suffers at the hands of the respectables. She supports him in his labors and fights for the same cause. Her genteelism, however, does not impair vision of truth.

Joe is forced to leave Canaan to gather evidence in Colorado for the pending murder trial of "Happy Fear" and while he is gone the people of Canaan violently attack Joe's dog RESPECTABILITY. Eskew Arp prevents the fatal blow that would have killed¹ RESPECTABILITY, but the excitement is too much for Eskew and he suffers a stroke. In Eskew's dying last words he expresses his stubbornness over the years, and he is now convinced² of Joe's benevolent nature. "But, by God! When they go so low down they tried to kill your dog--"² Eskew's last wish is that the Colonel, Peter, and Buckalew (the oldest members of the town) rally to Joe's side:

Hark to me. . . If you'd (Joe) ever whimpered, or give back talk, or broke out the wrong way, it would of been different. But you never did. I've watched you and I know; and you've just gone your own way alone, with the town against you because you got a bad name as a boy, and once we'd given you that, everything you did or didn't do, we had to give you a blacker one. Now it's time some one stood by you .³

¹Bray, "In Pursuit of A Distinctive Utterance," 209.

²Tarkington, The Conquest of Canaan, 307.

³Ibid., 306

Thus, Eskew Arp rendered justice on his death bed. From this point forth we know that Joe will triumph over the Judge Pike machine. Judge Pike is exposed as a crook for exchanging Ariel's stocks and bonds with his own which are worthless. Joe wins the case for "Happy Pear" and the sentiments of the townspeople; he is elected Mayor of Canaan. He marries Ariel and we know that in the future Canaan will "do right" by Joe and Ariel Loudon.

Tarkington does not refrain from making Joe Loudon into a Canaan folkhero, and the triumph of Joe Loudon is in itself a little unbelievable, or in other words is, "a too sanguine formula for ameliorative social change,"¹ but still Tarkington's resolution is consistent and in keeping with the formal elements of the novel.

Sinclair: The Jungle

The Jungle (1906) by Upton Sinclair is the story of Jurgis Rudkus, his Lithuanian relatives, and his fellow immigrants who came to America seeking success and eventually discovering disparity. In chapter two we learn of the Lithuanians' motives in venturing to America:

It was Jonas who suggested that they all go to America, where a friend of his had gotten rich. He would work, for his part, and the women would work, and some of the children, doubtless-- they would live some how. Jurgis, too, had heard of America. That was a country where, they said, a man might earn three rubbles a day, and Jurgis figured what three rubbles a day would mean, with prices as they were where he lived, and decided forthwith that he would go to America and marry, and be a rich man in the bargain.

¹Bray, "In Pursuit of A Distinctive Utterance," 212.

In that country, rich or poor, a man was free, it was said; he did not have to pay out his money to rascally officials--he might do as he pleased, and count himself as good as any other man. So America was a place of which lovers and young people dreamed.

We cannot be sure how many other immigrants were enticed into coming to America at the call of the success myth; we can only imagine.

By the end of the novel Jurgis Rudkus and his relatives and friends are dispersed; some are dead and others (Marija in particular) must depend on their own merits in order to scrape out a living. A third of the way through the novel we know that their plight is desperate, if not hopeless. They lose their home because they cannot make the house payments when Jurgis is out of work and in jail. In the Veblenian sense this is a devastating blow to Jurgis since all their dreams were manifest in the house itself:

. . . how much he had suffered for this house, how much they had all of them suffered! It was their one hope of respite, as long as they lived; they had put all their money into it--and they were working people, poor people, whose money was their strength, the very substance of them, body and soul the thing by which they lived and for lack of they died.²

The promise of the success ethic stressed fluid class³ structure and no inherent class distinctions, but obviously "invidious distinctions" were made in Packingtown:

¹Upton Sinclair, The Jungle (New York: The New American Library, Inc., first published, 1906), 27.

²Ibid., 156.

The managers and superintendents and clerks of Packingtown were all recruited from another class, and never from the workers; they scorned the workers, the very meanest of them. A poor devil of a bookkeeper who had been working in Durham's for twenty years at a salary of six dollars a week, . . . would yet consider himself a gentleman, as far removed as the poles from the most skilled worker on the killing beds; he would dress differently, and live in another part of the town, and come to work at a different hour of the day, and in every way make sure that he never rubbed elbows with a laboring man.

Sinclair's solution to the class conflict in America was Socialism. The last forty pages of the novel center around Jurgis' activities in the Socialist party in Chicago. America's answer to Sinclair's book was The Pure Food and Drug Act; instead of action that would prevent the worker from being exploited, legislators passed a law that would mean that if your meat was spoiled at least it was government inspected. This instance is just another in a long line of pseudo-panaceas that the privileged class would tolerate, since rectifying the social and economic evils of society would have required a transfer of power out of the grasp of the employer-management class and into the hands of those who deserve.

¹ibid., 105.

Summary

The success ethic was, in the 19th century, one of the most profoundly influential ideologies in our nation's self-image. This belief in freedom of opportunity, the ability to be one's own boss via the qualities of diligence and frugality, consistently appeared in newspaper editorials, school primers, speeches, sermons, and popular fiction. For a period of time, prior to the rise of industrialization and the flux of urbanization, success was obtainable via the self-employment route (Finnerty suggested this in his interview).

The American workingman was somewhat apprehensive of the development of urbanization and industrialization by 1880. The great fear was that our economic evolution would compare with what existed in Europe [permanent classes with little opportunity for economic mobility, crime, and exploitation]. The success ethic played a crucial role in changing American hostile attitudes toward the city and factory. The myth seemed to subdue the fears of many of those who saw urbanization and industrialization as a threat to democracy. Differences in social status were discernable in America but seemingly, not inherited.¹ Divisions between the rich and the poor would not produce a social conflict since social-economic status was not fixed or permanent. But it seems that the promise of the myth was not fulfilled in reality for a major portion of the late 19th century laboring population, because of the breakdown of the traditional correlation between skilled work and success as an entrepreneur in that trade, the increased number of unskilled laborers

¹Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress, 59, 62.

(immigrants included), and the rise of big business; all these factors taken in total reduced the likelihood that a laborer could have fulfilled the terms of the success ethic.

The American worker was discontented at the close of the century which was evidenced by the formation of various labor and farm organizations. There were just as many social grievances as there were solutions⁵ proposed to rectify the problems. Irwin Yellowitz argues that because of the industrial worker's position in society in 1896 most laborers and reformers gave up any hope of attaining wealth via the success model. This argument seems to be in conjunction with what John Mitchell, in Organized Labor (1903), wrote,

The average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage earner. He has given up hope of a kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist, and he asks that the reward¹ for his work be given to him as a workingman.

Terence Powderly, the President of the Knights of Labor, in his book, Thirty Years of Labor 159-1889, argued that the laboring ranks were poorer than ever before, and he expected to see some type of social revolution in his lifetime. Samuel Gompers [A. F. of L.] expressed the private opinion that he felt that there would always be a permanent class of wage earners. If labor felt this way; why didn't they develop a mature sense of class consciousness? Gerald Grob, in Workers and Utopia, and Norman J. Ware, in Labor in Modern Industrial Society, argue that the working class did not develop a mature sense of class consciousness because most workers still thought themselves to be

¹ John Mitchell, Organized Labor (Philadelphia: American Book Co., 1903), preface, ix-x, as quoted by Saposs, Readings in Trade Unionism, 34.

expectant capitalists and constructed unions in such a way as to bring them into harmony with the over-all societal environment.¹

Faced by the erosion of its traditional position, labor attempted to develop a modus vivendi that would once again restore its status in the community. Initially it endeavored to revive the ideal of an older society, where the distinction between employer and employee did not seem to exist, and where the functions of both were united in the same person.²

The names of big capitalists such as, Vanderbilt, Gould, Morgan, Carnegie, and Ford were used by labor reformers to create class consciousness in the ranks of labor. These reformers were probably shortsighted in the respect that large fortunes in the world do not necessarily create anathema. Large fortunes in themselves could have perpetrated the opposite attitude than what the reformers desired.³

¹Grob, Workers and Utopia, 188-9.

²Ibid., 187.

³Ware, Labor in Modern Industrial Society, 475.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1

VEST FINISHER--Swedish woman of 50, finishes vests at 10 and 12 cents per dozen; in 6 months earned \$57.08; 5 years in America, but speaks no English; complains that the employer does not pay until 30 days after delivery of goods, and then not in full.

TROUSERS FINISHER--Polish woman, 6 years in this country, speaks no English, 26 years old, husband a laborer, gets 6 cents a pair for finishing trousers, and finishes 6 pairs a day.

HAND FINISHER--German Polish woman, 35 years old, finishes trousers at 7 and 8 cents a pair. Earns 42 cents a day regularly; has been 11 years in America, but speaks no English. Never attended school; began regular work at the age of 30, and lives at home with her father, who is a stonemason, and owns his house of 5 rooms.

MACHINE HANDS--Two Russian girls 16 and 17 years old; have worked regularly for three years, stitching knee-pants at from 6 to 10 cents per dozen pairs. They work 10 hours and stitch three dozen pairs a day. They rent ~~two~~ machines, for which they pay \$1.50 a week. The family of four occupy 4 dark rooms on the ground floor of a wretched tenement. The girls support their mother. The brother, who is a teacher of Hebrew, pays their rent. They have attended school in Russia and have learned to read, write and speak English.

HAND FINISHERS--Italian woman and three daughters who finish knee-pants at 8 cents a dozen pairs. By working steadily they can altogether finish 8 dozen in a day. They do not know the name or address of their employer. They live in filth in the basement of a rear tenement; they speak no English; none of them have ever attended school; the father is a sewer digger; the mother is 36 and the daughters 14, 15 and 16 years of age.

HAND FINISHERS--Two Italian families live together in three small rooms; each family pays half the rent, the total amount being \$7 per month. The two husbands are fruit pedlers. The wives work together finishing knee-pants at 7 cents per dozen pairs; they finish 5 dozen pairs a day. They are each aged 26 years; have never attended school, speak no English. In this house a man has just recovered from an attack of malignant diphtheria, without having interfered with the ⁴work of finishing knee-pants in this room nor the one above.

⁴ Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Biennial Report, No. 7 (1892), 404-5, as cited by Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker in Amer. Soc., 71-3.

TABLE 1 (continued)

HAND FINISHER--Russian Polish woman aged 25, has been in America one year, speaks no English, and has never attended school. Finishes trousers at 5 cents a pair; carries her work one mile and finishes 6 pairs a day. Has worked regularly 6 months. Husband is a wood-turner; they have two small children and occupy three rooms, for which they pay a monthly rental of \$5.

HAND FINISHER--Prussian woman of 27; finishes trousers at 5 1/2 cents a pair; can finish from 6 to 8 pairs a day; earned \$5.28 in 16 days; in America 18 months but speaks no English. Never attended school; husband is a brick layer. They have one child, and pay \$5 a month rent for 3 rooms.

HAND FINISHER--German Polish woman 35 years old who has never attended school. Finishes trousers at 7 cents a pair; earns 42 cents a day regularly; has worked 5 years. Husband is a stonemason, family consists of 7 persons, four of whom contribute to the general support. They occupy 5 rooms in a bad neighborhood, for which they pay \$7 per month.

TROUSERS MAKERS--This Russian family of father, mother and 6 children live in three rooms on the second floor of a rear tenement. The father, mother, two daughters and a cousin work together making trousers at 65 cents a dozen pairs. They do not know the name or address of their employer. A man brings a wagon load of trousers, and when they are finished calls for them. They work 7 days a week; the number of hours per day depends upon the supply of trousers; they often work 16 and 18 hours and make 7 and 7 1/2 dozen pairs in a day. There are three machines, the mother finishes, and the cousin is a presser and button-hole maker. The contractor absconded owing them \$40, which they in turn owe for rent and food. They are now working for another contractor, at 35 cents per dozen pairs. Their destitution is very great; the mother's health is delicate, as is also that of the daughters; neither have ever attended school; the younger children attend the school of the United Hebrew Charities.

HAND FINISHER--Italian woman 33 years old. Just commenced to work on knee-pants, at 6 cents a dozen pairs. In America 3 years but speaks no English; has never attended school; husband is a street sweeper; they occupy 4 rooms jointly with 3 other families, each paying \$2.50 of the \$10 per month charge for rent. The entire number occupying these 4 rooms are 9 grown persons and 9 children. The men work in the country and come home twice a month, on alternate Saturdays.

¹Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, Biennial Report, No. 7 (1892), 404-5, as cited by Yellowitz, The Pos. of the Worker, 71-3.

TABLE 2

TABLE OF WAGES AND COST OF LIVING.

OCCUPATIONS.	Number of returns.....	Average number of hours worked per day.....	Maximum daily wages...	Minimum daily wages...	Average daily wages.....	Average annual earnings of individual.....	Number assisted by their families.....	Average earnings of families.....	Total earnings for the year.....	Cost of living for the year.....	AVERAGE AMOUNTS EXPENDED FOR—			Percentage of increase in cost of living.....
											Food.....	Fuel.....	Clothing.....	
Bakers.....	2	13	\$3.66	\$1.50	\$2.16	\$665	1	\$200	\$732	\$611	\$300	\$27	\$100	33
Bar-keepers.....	5	11	3.00	1.50	1.50	613			613	543	252	19	111	26
Blacksmiths.....	5	10	4.50	1.50	1.00	521	2	250	621	585	285	29	101	26
Bricklayers.....	11	10	4.50	1.50	1.00	658	2	300	742	721	323	34	123	24
Brick-makers.....	17	10	3.50	1.50	1.00	470	7	203	577	536	262	25	89	27
Butchers.....	2	10	3.50	1.50	1.00	749			749	631	268	20	90	27
Car-drivers.....	4		2.50	1.50	1.00	544	1	200	594	563	252	30	94	27
Carpenters.....	15	10	3.00	2.00	2.00	597	2	200	625	573	266	28	104	26
Cigar-makers.....	27	8½	3.00	1.75	1.00	550	4	270	579	580	269	30	91	33
Cigar-packers.....	4		1.00	1.00	1.00	720	1	80	774	861	339	38	130	25
Collar-makers.....	24	9½	4.00	1.00	1.00	527	10	270	645	621	291	31	104	23
Cornice-makers.....	2	10	2.50	2.50	2.50	675			675	627	335	30	85	30
Coppersmiths.....	9	10	2.50	1.50	2.05	669	2	94	610	583	270	26	81	31
Engineers (stationary).....	1	11	4.00	1.50	3.08	916			1,021	902	510	45	125	30
Expressmen.....	2	10	3.00	1.00	1.50	400	1	420	408	359	200	13	40	25
Furniture-workers.....	7	10	3.00	1.50	1.82	530	3	85	567	534	264	23	93	31
Harness-makers.....	7	10	2.75	1.00	1.69	502			522	505	240	30	68	23
Hod-carriers.....	10	10	2.00	1.00	1.62	542	9	215	547	515	250	22	84	31
House-movers.....	4		3.00	1.50	2.00	534			559	527	259	24	101	16
Iron-moulders.....	15	9½	3.50	1.60	2.00	728			728	645	272	27	100	34
Laborers (day).....	35	10	5.00	1.00	1.50	396	15	267	500	480	244	24	73	34
Lumber-handlers.....	10	10	2.00	1.35	1.62	493			493	406	267	25	66	40
Mechanists.....	4	10	3.00	2.00	2.45	613	1	240	661	560	308	42	96	20
Miners (coal).....	4	11				436	2	480	556	457	271	34	75	17
Printers.....	29	11	4.00	1.50	2.70	754			760	720	275	35	130	18
Paper-hangers.....	2					759			750	606	275	31	175	25
Plumbers.....	8	10	4.00	1.60	2.00	581			881	685	325	30	118	34
Plasterers.....	13	10	4.00	1.00	1.00	585			885	752	338	30	135	30
Painters.....	32	10	4.00	1.00	1.00	586	5	400	612	581	304	20	92	31
Rollingmill men.....	2	10½	2.00	1.00	1.75	451	10	100	561	515	276	24	87	14
Salesmen.....	8	10	3.00	1.25	1.95	632			632	556	241	25	107	14
Small-sawyers.....	5	10	2.50	1.50	2.70	594	1	100	614	604	216	22	140	22
Shoe-makers.....	9	13	6.00	1.00	2.00	411	5	250	530	560	266	26	90	37
Silver-solders.....	12	9	2.50	1.75	2.15	600			600	525	280	20	90	37
Stone-cutters.....	12	8	4.00	2.00	3.00	625			625	577	275	30	87	30
Tanners and curriers.....	6	10	2.00	1.50	1.70	527	4	217	672	677	341	34	137	30
Tailors.....	9	11	3.00	1.00	1.77	505	2	200	613	593	269	28	94	29
Cutters.....	4	9	3.33	1.75	2.00	503	1	200	613	597	272	33	97	29
Pressors.....	4	11	2.50	1.00	1.61	400	2	210	492	436	222	18	75	30
Teamsters.....	27	11	3.00	1.00	1.89	566	6	216	621	602	280	30	158	36
Trunk-makers.....	18	10	3.00	1.50	2.15	612	6	275	734	704	302	30	107	30
Wagon-makers.....	2	10	2.00	1.50	1.75	411	1	200	511	502	275	23	70	59
Weavers.....	6	10	2.75	2.00	2.38	632	1	450	767	762	325	40	171	35
Miscellaneous.....	21	10	5.00	1.00	1.83	530	5	150	546	529	258	26	91	30
Females.....	21	10				250			250	212				
General average.....	470	10½	\$3.30	\$1.47	\$2.10	\$500	112	\$236	\$617	\$555	\$222	\$20	\$103	29

*Omitting females.

SUMMARY (a) OF TABLE V.—Income and Expenses.

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS.		Total number and average total yearly earnings.	EXPENSES FOR PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT.							Total number and average total yearly expenses.	RESULT FOR YEAR.	
			Average paid for board or meals.	Average paid for clothing.	Assistance to others.	Sickness.	Car fare.	Dress making.	Other.		Savings.	Deficit.
Bakeries	{ Number.	151	41	161	167	60	79	107	140	151	27	3
	{ Amount.	\$295	\$152	\$60	\$201	\$14	\$23	\$12	\$13	\$286	\$61	\$22
Office employes	{ Number.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Amount.	\$181	\$200	\$151	\$279	\$2	\$12	\$30	\$22	\$481	.....	.....
Operatives	{ Number.	147	40	117	104	59	67	103	137	147	27	3
	{ Amount.	\$290	\$147	\$58	\$199	\$15	\$33	\$12	\$19	\$281	\$61	\$22
Baking powder	{ Number.	17	5	17	12	1	14	17	17	17	3	.....
	{ Amount.	\$317	\$108	\$62	\$196	\$4	\$26	\$11	\$29	\$313	\$34	.....
Office employes	{ Number.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	{ Amount.	\$416	\$260	\$75	.....	.....	.....	\$50	\$58	\$403	\$13	.....
Operatives	{ Number.	16	4	16	12	1	14	16	16	16	1	.....
	{ Amount.	\$310	\$145	\$61	\$196	\$4	\$26	\$11	\$28	\$307	\$60	.....
Book binderies	{ Number.	287	83	287	201	157	270	212	231	287	48	1
	{ Amount.	\$323	\$189	\$77	\$175	\$11	\$25	\$15	\$16	\$314	\$56	\$40
Office employes	{ Number.	35	11	35	22	17	33	27	33	35	8	.....
	{ Amount.	\$401	\$207	\$90	\$219	\$20	\$30	\$18	\$25	\$391	\$15	.....
Operatives	{ Number.	252	69	252	182	140	237	185	201	252	40	1
	{ Amount.	\$308	\$175	\$75	\$179	\$10	\$25	\$15	\$15	\$293	\$59	\$10
Braid and embroidery	{ Number.	26	5	26	21	.....	23	26	26	26	4	.....
	{ Amount.	\$328	\$146	\$46	\$213	.....	\$21	\$9	\$37	\$311	\$94	.....
Office employes	{ Number.	2	.....	2	2	.....	2	2	2	2	.....	.....
	{ Amount.	\$505	.....	\$60	\$313	.....	\$30	\$12	\$63	\$508	.....	.....
Operatives	{ Number.	21	5	21	19	.....	21	21	21	21	.....	.....
	{ Amount.	\$313	\$140	\$15	\$200	.....	\$23	\$9	\$35	\$298	\$91	.....
Brooms—												
Operatives	{ Number.	9	2	9	7	1	1	7	9	9	.....	.....
	{ Amount.	\$217	\$169	\$52	\$173	\$2	\$27	\$9	\$12	\$217

TABLE 3 (continued)

WORKING WOMEN IN CHICAGO.

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SUMMARY (a) OF TABLE V.—Continued. Income and Expenses.

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS.		Total number and average total yearly earnings.	EXPENSES FOR PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT.							Total number and average total yearly expenses.	RESULT FOR YEAR.	
			Average paid for board or meals.	Average paid for clothing.	Assistance to others.	Sickness.	Car fare.	Dress making.	Other.		Savings.	Deficit.
Candles.....	Number.	89	8	89	81	23	62	72	87	89	.....	.....
	Amount.	\$226	\$150	\$54	\$124	\$11	\$23	\$10	\$15	\$226	.....	.....
Office employes.....	Number.	1	.....	1	1	.....	1	1	1	1	.....	.....
	Amount.	\$364	.....	\$65	\$228	.....	\$31	\$10	\$30	\$364	.....	.....
Operatives.....	Number.	88	8	88	80	23	61	71	86	88	.....	.....
	Amount.	\$225	\$130	\$54	\$126	\$11	\$23	\$10	\$15	\$225	.....	.....
Cigar boxes— Operatives.....	Number.	59	9	59	50	13	50	.....	17	59	10	.....
	Amount.	\$266	\$164	\$86	\$149	\$15	\$15	.....	\$19	\$260	\$37	.....
Cigar factory— Operatives.....	Number.	54	17	54	38	10	41	.....	20	54	9	2
	Amount.	\$313	\$189	\$81	\$189	\$18	\$16	.....	\$14	\$305	\$53	\$14
Cloaks.....	Number.	62	23	62	31	16	58	.....	23	62	20	3
	Amount.	\$313	\$169	\$68	\$202	\$712	\$26	.....	\$12	\$293	\$98	\$29
Office employes.....	Number.	61	1	61	5	1	6	.....	3	61	1	.....
	Amount.	\$412	\$189	\$30	\$207	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Operatives.....	Number.	56	22	56	29	15	62	.....	26	56	19	2
	Amount.	\$303	\$161	\$66	\$202	\$13	\$25	.....	\$10	\$273	\$30	\$29
Clothing.....	Number.	42	26	42	16	2	6	40	42	42	22	.....
	Amount.	\$295	\$160	\$39	\$195	\$5	\$27	\$8	\$39	\$263	\$61	.....
Office employes.....	Number.	1	.....	1	1	.....	1	1	1	1	.....	.....
	Amount.	\$621	.....	\$75	\$100	.....	\$31	\$18	\$100	\$621	.....	.....
Operatives.....	Number.	41	26	41	15	2	5	39	41	41	22	.....
	Amount.	\$287	\$160	\$37	\$181	\$5	\$27	\$7	\$38	\$254	\$61	.....
Department stores.....	Number.	142	40	141	99	52	136	127	140	142	21	3
	Amount.	\$329	\$187	\$71	\$164	\$15	\$28	\$16	\$20	\$313	\$101	\$10
Office employes.....	Number.	16	1	16	14	2	16	9	16	16	.....	.....
	Amount.	\$273	\$156	\$67	\$154	\$23	\$23	\$12	\$15	\$273	.....	.....
Operatives.....	Number.	126	39	125	85	50	120	118	121	126	21	3
	Amount.	\$337	\$187	\$72	\$166	\$15	\$23	\$16	\$21	\$318	\$101	\$10
Dress making.....	Number.	38	14	38	25	16	36	22	38	38	20	.....
	Amount.	\$435	\$207	\$42	\$302	\$15	\$26	\$19	\$29	\$418	\$72	.....
Office employes.....	Number.	3	1	3	2	1	3	2	3	3	2	.....
	Amount.	\$508	\$302	\$78	\$257	\$5	\$21	\$16	\$18	\$425	\$125	.....
Operatives.....	Number.	35	13	35	23	15	33	20	35	35	18
	Amount.	\$193	\$200	\$93	\$306	\$19	\$26	\$19	\$29	\$150	\$66

TABLE 3 (continued)

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STATISTICS OF LABOR.

SUMMARY (a) OF TABLE V.—Continued. *Income and Expenses.*

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS.		Total number and average total yearly earnings.	EXPENSES FOR PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT.							Total number and average total yearly expenses.	RESULT FOR YEAR.	
			Average paid for board or meals.	Average paid for clothing.	Assistance to others.	Sickness.	Car fare.	Dress making.	Other.		Savings.	Deficit.
Dry goods.....	Number.	6	1	6	5	4	2	5	6	6		
	Amount.	\$405	\$156	\$80	\$283	\$7	\$23	\$17	\$34	\$405		
Office employes.....	Number.	1		1	1			1	1	1		
	Amount.	\$936		\$100	\$761			\$25	\$50	\$936		
Operatives.....	Number.	5	1	5	4	4	2	5	5	5		
	Amount.	\$300	\$156	\$76	\$164	\$7	\$23	\$15	\$31	\$300		
Electric supplies.....	Number.	107	41	107	107	73	191	171	107	107	21	
	Amount.	\$383	\$155	\$63	\$193	\$13	\$25	\$11	\$15	\$377	\$45	
Office employes.....	Number.	3	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	
	Amount.	\$555	\$194	\$96	\$141	\$36	\$31	\$14	\$24	\$124	\$131	
Operatives.....	Number.	181	42	181	142	68	129	171	181	181	18	
	Amount.	\$278	\$153	\$62	\$194	\$12	\$25	\$11	\$15	\$276	\$11	
Fringes.....	Number.	37	6	37	31	19	30		25	37	3	
	Amount.	\$286	\$215	\$63	\$160	\$17	\$27		\$10	\$275	\$79	
Office employes.....	Number.	4	3	4	1	3	4		3	4	1	
	Amount.	\$146	\$243	\$99	\$116	\$13	\$35		\$28	\$100	\$187	
Operatives.....	Number.	33	9	33	30	10	32		23	33	2	
	Amount.	\$262	\$188	\$61	\$161	\$9	\$26		\$8	\$260	\$25	
Fur garments— Operatives.....	Number.	16	4	16	12		11	15	16	16	1	
	Amount.	\$323	\$149	\$48	\$194		\$25	\$10	\$11	\$303	\$78	
Gloves— Operatives.....	Number.	35	8	35	26	17	13	27	35	35	8	1
	Amount.	\$314	\$178	\$57	\$215	\$19	\$8	\$13	\$15	\$296	\$79	\$30
Lace goods— Operatives.....	Number.	9	1	9	8	1	9	9	9	9	1	
	Amount.	\$230	\$156	\$37	\$132	\$10	\$19	\$7	\$29	\$229	\$9	
Laundries.....	Number.	102	31	102	72	37	60	87	102	102	33	1
	Amount.	\$327	\$166	\$51	\$213	\$13	\$25	\$11	\$22	\$303	\$59	\$10
Office employes.....	Number.	4		4	4		2	4	4	4	3	
	Amount.	\$490		\$35	\$319		\$31	\$9	\$21	\$148	\$57	
Operatives.....	Number.	98	31	98	68	37	58	83	96	98	20	1
	Amount.	\$320	\$166	\$51	\$205	\$13	\$25	\$11	\$22	\$302	\$60	\$10

TABLE 3 (continued)
WORKING WOMEN IN CHICAGO. 295

SUMMARY (a) OF TABLE V.—Continued. Income and Expenses.

INDUSTRIES AND OCCUPATIONS.		Total number and average total yearly earnings.	EXPENSES FOR PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT.								Total number and average total yearly expenses.	RESULT FOR YEAR.	
			Average paid for board or meals.	Average paid for clothing.	Assistance to others.	Sickness.	Car fare.	Dress making.	Other.	Savings.		Deficit.	
Lithographing.....	{ Number. Amount.	10 \$210	3 \$177	10 \$67	6 \$129	1 \$15	9 \$20	6 \$12	6 \$8	10 \$210	.....	.....
Office employes.....	{ Number. Amount.	1 \$350	1 \$244	1 \$65	.....	.....	1 \$31	.....	1 \$10	1 \$350	.....	.....
Operatives.....	{ Number. Amount.	9 \$228	2 \$143	9 \$67	6 \$129	1 \$45	8 \$19	6 \$12	5 \$8	9 \$228	.....	.....
Map publishing— Operatives.....	{ Number. Amount.	2 \$315	2 \$163	2 \$111	.....	.....	2 \$31	2 \$17	2 \$10	2 \$332	1 \$26	.....
Mattresses and pillows— Operatives.....	{ Number. Amount.	16 \$345	5 \$166	16 \$13	12 \$201	.....	14 \$21	15 \$9	16 \$49	16 \$326	4 \$78	.....
Meat packing.....	{ Number. Amount.	195 \$359	38 \$236	195 \$111	159 \$216	58 \$11	155 \$12	1 \$10	83 \$23	195 \$377	20 \$127	3 \$53	
Office employes.....	{ Number. Amount.	44 \$616	21 \$267	44 \$182	22 \$113	18 \$26	43 \$35	.....	64 \$36	44 \$669	10 \$136	1 \$125
Operatives.....	{ Number. Amount.	151 \$323	14 \$165	151 \$91	137 \$201	40 \$52	113 \$13	1 \$10	50 \$14	151 \$321	4 \$91	2 \$18	
Nail Factory— Operatives.....	{ Number. Amount.	97 \$254	16 \$130	97 \$63	78 \$163	28 \$13	50 \$6	72 \$16	80 \$9	97 \$251	7 \$38	1 \$20	
Neckwear.....	{ Number. Amount.	136 \$332	27 \$190	136 \$52	111 \$290	12 \$20	118 \$25	113 \$11	136 \$33	136 \$321	10 \$154	.....
Office employes.....	{ Number. Amount.	23 \$357	3 \$205	23 \$58	26 \$218	2 \$13	25 \$6	21 \$13	28 \$31	23 \$348	1 \$240	.....
Operatives.....	{ Number. Amount.	108 \$325	24 \$189	108 \$51	81 \$195	10 \$22	93 \$25	92 \$11	108 \$34	108 \$313	9 \$144	.....
Paper boxes.....	{ Number. Amount.	131 \$253	23 \$174	131 \$50	109 \$151	88 \$13	121 \$25	99 \$11	127 \$9	131 \$258	4 \$41	4 \$23	
Office employes.....	{ Number. Amount.	5 \$412	3 \$178	5 \$66	3 \$244	5 \$31	5 \$32	5 \$16	4 \$11	5 \$424	.....	1
Operatives.....	{ Number. Amount.	126 \$252	20 \$174	126 \$50	106 \$148	83 \$12	119 \$25	94 \$11	123 \$9	126 \$251	4 \$41	3 \$10	

A P P E N D I X

[table 4]

HUGH IDLE AND MR. TOIL

1. Hugh Idle loved to do only what was agreeable, and took no delight in labor of any kind. But while Hugh was yet a little boy, he was sent away from home, and put under the care of a very strict school master, who went by the name of Mr. Toil.

2. Those who knew him best, affirmed that Mr. Toil was a very worthy character, and that he had done more good, both to children and grown people, than any hody else in the world. He had, however, a severe and ugly countenance; his voice was harsh; and all his ways and customs were disagreeable to our young friend, Hugh Idle.

3. The whole day long this terrible old school-master stalked about among his scholars, with a big cane in his hand; and unless a lad chose to attend constantly and quietly to his book, he had no chance of enjoying a single quiet moment. "This will never do for me," thought Hugh; "I'll run off, and try to find my way home."

4. So the very next morning off he started, with only some bread and cheese for his breakfast, and very little pocket-money to pay his expenses. He had gone but a short distance, when he overtook a man of grave and sedate appearance trudging at a moderate pace along the road.

5. "Good morning, my fine lad!" said the stranger; and his voice seemed hard and severe, yet had a sort of kindness in it; "whence do you

come so early, and whither are you going?"

6. Now Hugh was a boy of very frank disposition, and had never been known to tell a lie in all his life. Nor did he tell one now, but confessed that he had run away from school on account of his great dislike to Mr. Toil. "Oh, very well, my little friend!" answered the stranger; "then we will go together; for I likewise have had a good deal to do with Mr. Toil, and should be glad to find some place where he was never heard of" So they walked on sociably side by side.

7. By and by their road led them past a field, where some hay-makers were at work. Hugh could not help thinking how much pleasanter it must be to make hay in the sunshine, under the blue sky, than to learn lessons all day long, shut up in a dismal school-room, continually watched by Mr. Toil.

8. But in the midst of these thoughts, while he was stopping to peep over the stone wall, he started back and caught hold of his companion's hand. "Quick, quick!" cried he; "let us run away, or he will catch us!"

9. Who will catch us?" asked the stranger.

10. "Mr. Toil, the old school-master," answered Hugh; "don't you see him among the hay-makers?" and Hugh pointed to an elderly man, who seemed to be the owner of the field.

11. He was busily at work in his shirt sleeves. The drops of sweat stood upon his brow; and he kept constantly crying out to his work-people to make hay while the sun shone. Strange to say, the features of the old farmer were precisely the same as those of Mr. Toil, who at that

very moment must have been just entering the school-room.

12. "Don't be afraid," said the stranger; "this is not Mr. Toil, the school-master, but a brother of his, who was bred a farmer. He won't trouble you, unless you become a laborer on his farm."

13. Hugh believed what his companion said, but was glad when they were out of sight of the old farmer who bore such a singular resemblance to Mr. Toil. The two travelers came to a spot where some carpenters were building a house. Hugh begged his companion to stop awhile, for it was a pretty sight to see how neatly the carpenters did their work with their saws, planes, and hammers; and he was beginning to think he too should like to use the saw, and the plane, and the hammer, and be a carpenter himself. But suddenly he caught sight of something that made him seize his friend's hand, in a great fright.

14. "Make haste! quick, quick!" cried he; "there's old Mr. Toil again." The stranger cast his eyes where Hugh pointed his finger, and saw an elderly man, who seemed to be overseeing the carpenters, as he went to and fro about the unfinished house, marking out the work to be done, and urging the men to be diligent; and wherever he turned his hard and wrinkled visage, they sawed and hammered as if for dear life.

15. "Oh, no!" This is not Mr. Toil, the school-master," said the stranger; "it is another brother of his who follows the trade of carpenter."

16. "I am very glad to hear it, " quoth Hugh; but if you please, sir, I should like to get out of his way as ^osoon as possible."

CONCLUSION

1. Now Hugh and the stranger had not gone much further, when they met a company of soldiers, gayly dressed, with feathers in their caps, and glittering muskets on their shoulders. In front marched the drummers and fifers, making such merry music that Hugh would gladly have followed them to the end of the world. If he were only a soldier, he said to himself, old Mr. Toil would never venture to look him in the face.

2. "Quick step! forward! march!" shouted a gruff voice.

3. Little Hugh started in great dismay; for this voice sounded precisely like that which he had heard every day in Mr. Toil's school-room. And turning his eyes to the captain of the company, what should he see but the very image of old Mr. Toil himself, in an officer's dress. to be sure, but looking as ugly and disagreeable as ever.

4. "This is certainly old Mr. Toil," said Hugh, in a trembling voice. "Let us away, for fear he should make us enlist in his company."

5. "You are mistaken again, my little friend," replied the stranger very composedly. "This is only a brother of Mr. Toil's, who has served in the army all his life. You and I need not be afraid of him."

6. "Well, well," said Hugh, if you please, sir, I don't want to see the soldiers any more." So the child and the stranger resumed their journey; and, after awhile, they came to a house by the road-side, where a number of young men and rosy-cheeked girls, with smiles on their faces, were dancing to the sound of a fiddle.

7. "Oh, let us stop here," cried Hugh; "Mr. Toil will never dare

to show his face where there is a fiddler, and where people are dancing and making merry."

8. But the words had scarcely died away on the little boy's tongue, when, happening to cast his eyes on the fiddler, whom should he behold again but the likeness of Mr. Toil, armed with a fiddle-bow this time, and flourishing it with as much ease and dexterity as if he had been a fiddler all his life.

9. "Oh, dear me!" whispered he, turning pale; "it seems as if there were nobody but Mr. Toil in the world."

10. "This is not your old school-master," observed the stranger, "but another brother of his, who has learned to be a fiddler. He is ashamed of his family, and generally calls himself Master Pleasure; but his real name is Toil, and those who know him best think him still more disagreeable than his brothers."

11. "Pray, let us go on," said Hugh.

12. Well, thus the two went wandering along the highway and in shady lanes and through pleasant villages, and wherever they went, behold! there was the image of old Mr. Toil. If they entered a house, he sat in the parlor; if they peeped into the kitchen, he was there! He made himself at home in every cottage, and stole, under one disguise or another, into the most splendid mansions. Every-where they stumbled on some of the old school-master's innumerable brothers.

13. At length, little Hugh found himself completely worn out with running away from Mr. Toil, "Take me back! take me back!" cried the poor fellow, bursting into tears, "If there is nothing but Toil all the world

over, I may just as well go back to the school-house."

14. "Yonder it is; there is the school-house!" said the stranger; for though he and little Hugh had taken a great many steps, they had traveled in a circle instead of a straight line. "Come, we will go back to the school together."

15. There was something in his companion's voice that little Hugh now remembered; and it is strange that he had not remembered it sooner. Looking up into his face, behold! there again was the likeness of old Mr. Toil, so that the poor child had been the company with Toil all day, even while he had been doing his best to run away from him.

16. Little Hugh Idle, however, had learned a good lesson, and from that time forward was diligent at his task, because he now knew that diligence is not a whit more toilsome than sport or idleness. And when he became better acquainted with Mr. Toil, he began to think his ways were not so disagreeable, and that the old school-master's smile of approbation made his face sometimes appear almost as pleasant as even that of Hugh's mother.*

*McGuffey's Fourth Eclectic Reader Revised (Cincinnati: Van Antwerp Bragg & Co., 1879), 221-226.