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*Child Labor Legislation
In Iowa*

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Child labor legislation in Iowa

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CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION
IN IOWA

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STATE OF IOWA BY

FRED E. HAYNES

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

NEVER before in the history of the world have people been so interested in the problems of child life — its protection and its conservation. To be sure parents have always shown great solicitude for the welfare of their own children; but in these days society takes a hand in the game by educating parents in the care of infants, while governments enact legislation for the proper regulation of the employment of children in order to prevent the needless waste and destruction of future citizens.

Iowa has already recognized the importance of the problem by the enactment of child labor legislation. But it is apparent from Dr. Haynes's study that in this State much remains to be done — especially in the limiting of hours of labor, the prohibition of night work, and the regulation of street trades, along with some adequate provision for compulsory school attendance and vocational education.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND EDITOR
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

It is the purpose of this paper on *Child Labor Legislation in Iowa* to treat the subject with special reference to local conditions; but in order to do that in a satisfactory manner it is obviously necessary to connect the development of legislation in Iowa with the progress of similar legislation in other parts of the United States.

Compulsory school attendance and vocational education and guidance are such important supplements to any effective child labor legislation that their inclusion needs no special explanation.

Since this paper is not intended to be an exhaustive study, no attempt has been made to indicate the exact character of the legislation now in force in other States. This information can be obtained from the National Child Labor Committee, which issues in *The Child Labor Bulletin* from time to time complete data of this nature.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Superintendent of The State Historical Society of Iowa, Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh, for suggestions and criticisms given at every stage of the preparation of the paper.

FRED E. HAYNES

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

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I

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF CHILD LABOR

THE widespread agitation against child labor has been one of the principal features of the recent awakening in the United States along social and economic lines. The opposition to such labor is not a general objection to all forms of child employment and does not aim to deprive children of the benefits to be derived from habits of industry and discipline obtained from wholesome work under suitable conditions. The social worker and the laboring man recognize that much work in which children are engaged is beneficial — especially that which is performed around the home and in the open air. They do not overlook the fact that a reasonable amount of work under favorable conditions is much to be preferred to idleness and misdirected play. They are aware also that many persons have gone to work at very tender years, have developed into able and influential men and women, and are now living at an advanced age without any evidence of physical or mental injury therefrom.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that great changes have come into our industrial system during the past fifty years. The wonderful advances in machinery have opened almost endless opportunities for the employment of women and children in mills and factories; and so child labor tends to become more and more mill and factory labor, while other kinds shrink proportionately.

In other words, the injurious and dangerous forms of labor tend to become more numerous and the beneficial forms less numerous. Thus child labor, which is the objective of the agitation, is performed under very different conditions. The problem is a by-product of the remarkable industrial development of the nineteenth century — of which we are justly proud, but from which we have inherited many of our serious industrial and social problems.

Child labor legislation is aimed at the proper regulation of the employment of children in mills, factories, and mines before a certain age and for excessive hours and under dangerous conditions. Street trades, such as the messenger service and the selling of newspapers, are included because of their obviously demoralizing influence upon young boys. The purpose of all such legislation is the protection of the community by preventing the needless waste of those who are to be its future citizens: it is part of that constructive social legislation which is being enacted for the protection of wealth stored up in human lives. It is simply putting human values over against property values and recognizing the superior claims of the former when a choice becomes necessary. It does not mean, however, any disregard of property rights greater than is implied in similar legislation already accepted as wise and necessary in all of the most advanced countries of the world.

II

THE EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR: SOME RECENT STATISTICS

[For recent statistics of child labor in Iowa, see below Chapter VIII]

ACCORDING to the occupation statistics of the 1910 census, which have become available for use in the past few months, the number of children between ten and fifteen years of age who are engaged in gainful occupations as compared with the number in 1900 and 1880 is as follows:

| | | |
|---------|-----------|--------------|
| In 1910 | 1,990,225 | 18.4 percent |
| In 1900 | 1,750,178 | 18.2 percent |
| In 1880 | 1,118,356 | 16.8 percent |

| | | |
|---------|----------------|----------------|
| In 1910 | male 1,353,139 | female 637,086 |
| In 1900 | male 1,264,411 | female 485,767 |
| In 1880 | male 825,187 | female 293,169 |

| | | |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------|
| In 1910 | male 24.8 percent | female 11.9 percent |
| In 1900 | male 26.1 percent | female 10.2 percent |
| In 1880 | male 24.4 percent | female 9.0 percent |

These figures show a *slight increase* for all children from 1900 to 1910, but this increase came entirely from the increase in the number of females, as there was a decrease in the proportion of males.¹

In the following summary the children who were engaged in gainful occupations in 1900 and in 1910 are divided into two groups — agricultural pursuits and non-agricultural:

In 1910 agricultural 1,431,254 non-agricultural 558,971
 In 1900 agricultural 1,061,971 non-agricultural 668,207

These figures show that the increase in the number of children engaged in gainful occupations between 1900 and 1910 was confined to children employed in agricultural pursuits.² There was a *marked decrease* in the number engaged in non-agricultural pursuits — 129,236 or 18.8 percent. Furthermore, the proportion of children engaged in non-agricultural pursuits was *considerably smaller* in 1910 than in 1900.³

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BETWEEN TEN AND FIFTEEN ENGAGED IN
 GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS IN 1910 AND 1900 BY
 GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS⁴

| GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISION | | IN THE YEAR 1910 | | IN THE YEAR 1900 | |
|--------------------------|---------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| | | NUMBER EMPLOYED | PER- CENT | NUMBER EMPLOYED | PER- CENT |
| New England | Males | 38,096 | 11.4 | 37,070 | 13.3 |
| | Females | 25,843 | 7.7 | 24,971 | 8.9 |
| Middle Atlantic | Males | 118,312 | 11.5 | 157,870 | 18.3 |
| | Females | 69,469 | 6.8 | 84,411 | 9.8 |
| East North Central | Males | 133,003 | 13.0 | 151,978 | 15.3 |
| | Females | 43,237 | 4.3 | 54,974 | 5.6 |
| West North Central | Males | 120,601 | 17.1 | 135,745 | 19.5 |
| | Females | 21,445 | 3.1 | 26,833 | 4.0 |
| South Atlantic | Males | 364,529 | 43.6 | 311,266 | 41.6 |
| | Females | 198,717 | 24.4 | 135,280 | 18.5 |
| East South Central | Males | 295,255 | 50.6 | 262,282 | 47.3 |
| | Females | 146,635 | 26.0 | 95,859 | 17.9 |
| West South Central | Males | 248,765 | 40.8 | 183,230 | 37.5 |
| | Females | 123,908 | 20.8 | 57,460 | 12.1 |
| Mountain | Males | 18,595 | 12.8 | 12,645 | 12.9 |
| | Females | 3,593 | 2.6 | 2,748 | 2.9 |
| Pacific | Males | 15,983 | 8.1 | 12,325 | 9.4 |
| | Females | 4,239 | 2.2 | 3,231 | 2.5 |

In each geographic division outside of the South there was a decrease from 1900 to 1910 in the proportion of persons between ten and fifteen years of age engaged in gainful occupations. The decrease was most marked in the Middle Atlantic division, consisting of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In each of the three Southern divisions, however, a considerably larger proportion of children was gainfully employed in 1910 than in 1900. "According to the census of manufactures in 1909, Rhode Island led the states in the proportion of the population engaged in manufacturing, and in the per capita value of manufactured products. The textile industry is quite important in the state, and in 1910 large numbers of children 10 to 15 years of age were employed in the textile mills. Probably no other New England state furnished more opportunities for children — especially for girls — to find employment. Also, the proportion of foreign born in the age period 10 to 15 was larger in Rhode Island in 1910 than in any other New England state, and, as a rule, a larger proportion of the foreign born than of the native children engage in gainful occupations." In each of the New England States there was a decrease during the period from 1900 to 1910 in the proportion of children between ten and fifteen years of age engaged in gainful occupations — the decrease in Rhode Island being especially marked — from 23.2 percent in 1900 to 15.9 percent in 1910 for the males, and from 17.4 percent in 1900 to 13.2 percent in 1910 for the females.

These census figures would seem to warrant the conclusion that child labor is on the increase in the South, while in the industrial sections of the North it has at least reached a maximum. Of course, some allowance

must be made for the larger proportion in the South employed in agriculture — which may be explained by the use of children in the raising of cotton. The existence of large numbers of negroes would also have an effect — more negro children than white being gainfully employed.

In another summary the number of both sexes, between ten and fifteen years of age engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, is compared with the number employed in all occupations in certain selected northern and southern States. The figures are as follows:

FOR SELECTED NORTHERN STATES

| STATE | SEX | ALL OCCUPATIONS | AGRICULTURE | PERCENT |
|---------------|---------|--------------------|-------------|---------|
| Maine | Males | 3,710 | 1,574 | 42.4 |
| | Females | 1,716 | 26 | 1.5 |
| New Hampshire | Males | 2,222 | 535 | 24.1 |
| | Females | 1,537 | 8 | 0.5 |
| Vermont | Males | 1,967 | 1,291 | 65.6 |
| | Females | 598 | 15 | 2.5 |
| Massachusetts | Males | 19,172 | 1,092 | 5.7 |
| | Females | 13,573 | 39 | 0.3 |
| New York | Males | 39,357 | 6,270 | 15.9 |
| | Females | 25,737 | 342 | 1.3 |
| Pennsylvania | Males | 64,007 | 18,888 | 29.5 |
| | Females | 32,888 | 1,411 | 4.3 |

FOR SELECTED SOUTHERN STATES

| STATE | SEX | ALL OCCUPATIONS | AGRICULTURE | PERCENT |
|----------------|---------|--------------------|-------------|---------|
| South Carolina | Males | 66,382 | 58,221 | 87.7 |
| | Females | 50,870 | 43,884 | 86.3 |
| Georgia | Males | 101,648 | 90,194 | 88.7 |
| | Females | 59,941 | 52,420 | 87.5 |

| STATE | SEX | ALL OCCUPATIONS | AGRICULTURE | PERCENT |
|-------------|---------|--------------------|-------------|---------|
| Alabama | Males | 94,126 | 84,584 | 89.9 |
| | Females | 60,586 | 55,726 | 92.0 |
| Mississippi | Males | 83,256 | 79,050 | 94.9 |
| | Females | 55,274 | 52,942 | 95.8 |
| Louisiana | Males | 38,830 | 32,454 | 83.6 |
| | Females | 20,902 | 16,981 | 81.2 |
| Texas | Males | 114,443 | 105,717 | 92.4 |
| | Females | 59,937 | 56,003 | 93.4 |

These figures show that in 1910 the proportion of children engaged in gainful occupations was far larger in the South than in any other section of the United States. At the same time a far larger proportion of those at work were employed in agricultural pursuits than in the manufacturing States of the North. The percentage remaining was engaged in non-agricultural or industrial pursuits — for instance, in Massachusetts nearly ninety-five percent, while in Mississippi only about five percent were thus employed.⁵

III

CHILD LABOR AND THE CHILD

(CHILD labor stunts the growth of the child. According to the measurements made of children applying for work certificates in Chicago, there is a very considerable difference in the height and weight of boys and girls of fifteen and those of fourteen years of age — a difference greater than is to be accounted for by the normal growth of a year.⁶ A farmer would not hitch a colt to a plow and compel it to work ten hours a day. Why should the child be treated differently? The answer is very simple. It requires money to replace the colt: a "want ad" will replace the child.⁷)

Child labor continued without restriction produces inevitably such results as those of which England became aware at the time of the Boer War. In 1845 the minimum height of recruits for the British army was 5 feet 6 inches. In 1885 it was 5 feet 2 inches, while in 1901 "Specials" were accepted at 5 feet. In Manchester, the great center of the modern industrial system, 8000 out of 12,000 recruits were rejected, and of the 4000 accepted only 1200 were really fit.⁸ This physical decline during fifty years is due partly to child labor. England has been the industrial pioneer; but that nation has paid heavily for the advantages if the price has been registered in the physical decline of its population. In view of events now taking place in Europe can any nation neglect to protect the physical fitness of its citizens?

Child labor seems also to be responsible for a surprisingly large proportion of juvenile delinquency. A superintendent of a boys' reformatory was asked what proportion of his boys were school boys and what working boys. His reply was that he could not answer, for the school boy was such a rare exception.⁹ A study of the first one hundred boys who were brought before the Chicago juvenile court in 1909 resulted in the discovery that only thirteen claimed to have never worked.¹⁰ In the *Report on Conditions of Woman and Child Wage-earners in the United States*, prepared under the direction of the United States Department of Labor, the same relation between employment and juvenile delinquency is pointed out. Among children from ten to fourteen years of age who were at work in Boston sixteen percent were delinquent, while among children of the same age at school the percentage was only one and one-half percent.¹¹

Of all the forms of child labor, none is so injurious as that of the "street trades", which include "newspaper selling, peddling, bootblackening, messenger service, delivery service, running errands and the tending of market stands."¹² Curiously enough, these especially objectionable kinds of child labor have been accepted by the general public, because it has labored under the delusion that these little "merchants" of the street were receiving valuable training in business methods, and would later develop into leaders in the affairs of men. Consequently, one finds many States with excellent provisions for the protection of children, where there are no regulations of these street trades. Only recently has the control of these forms of child labor been energetically taken up even by those engaged in the campaign against the exploitation of children. Street trades "are not specifically

covered by the provisions of child labor laws except in the District of Columbia and the states of Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, Oklahoma, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, New Hampshire and Wisconsin."¹³

The evil effects of street work upon children are threefold — physical, moral, and material. Little more need be said as to the physical effect, except to call attention to the irregularity of habits and the exposure to the weather at all times of the day and year. Much more serious are the moral dangers to which they are exposed. The superintendent of the John Worthy School of Chicago asserts that "one-third of all the newsboys" who come to the school "have venereal diseases and that 10 per cent of the remaining newsboys at present in the Bridewell are, according to the physician's diagnosis, suffering from similar diseases." Furthermore, the newsboys who come to the school are on an average of one-third below the ordinary standard of physical development.¹⁴

A recent report for New York City shows that 80 out of 230 inmates of the school for truants were newsboys, while 60 percent had been street traders. Another institution, "full of Italians" (noted as street traders) gives a record of 469 or 80 percent out of 590 who have followed the street profession, and 295 or 50 percent had been newsboys selling over three months. Still another institution (the New York Juvenile Asylum) gives 31 percent of its inmates as newsboys; and 63 percent of those committed to it had been street traders, of whom 32 percent were newsboys.¹⁵ Again, "street work leads to nothing else; the various occupations are so many industrial pitfalls, and the children who get into them must sooner or later struggle out and begin over again. . . . They lack skill and perseverance, shun the monotony of a

permanent job, and as they grow older either follow itinerant and questionable trades or become ill-paid and inefficient casual laborers".¹⁶

Of all the forms of street work the night messenger service is absolutely the worst and should be completely abolished as soon as possible. Night service is very different from the day work. The principal line of business is supplying relaxation or amusement to the general public of day workers. Two groups call for the services of night messengers: (1) business houses open at night, such as newspaper offices, hotels and hospitals; (2) public dance halls, houses of prostitution, gambling houses, Chinese restaurants, police stations, and disreputable hotels. So far as the first group is concerned the chief objection is to night labor for children and young persons. The objections to the second group are obvious. "These boys are thrown into associations of the lowest kind, night after night, and come to regard these evil conditions as normal phases of life. Usually the brightest boys on the night force become the favorites of the prostitutes; the women take a fancy to particular boys because of their personal attractiveness and show them many favors, so that the most promising boys in this work are the ones most liable to suffer complete moral degradation."¹⁷

The objection that it would not be possible to find a sufficient number of adult men who would be willing to serve as uniformed messengers is not confirmed by the facts of observation. Railroad conductors, motormen, hospital physicians, and others engaged in duties of a semi-public nature do not object to uniforms. Such objection would be based almost entirely upon the compensation. A monthly salary of twenty-five dollars,

supplemented by gratuities, would be insufficient: a service that can not pay its employees more should be reconstructed or abandoned. If it must be continued "cripples, elderly persons, industrial misfits and others beyond the probability of being tempted to wrong-doing, and to whom this meager wage would be a welcome alternative to their present occupation, can be substituted". That such a course is the only solution is by no means certain. The postman performs a similar service and receives a reasonable wage. Perhaps, if the mail business had remained a private business our letters would be delivered by boys.¹⁸

IV

THE SOCIAL COST OF CHILD LABOR

CHILD labor affects family life in a marked manner because of the premature independence from parental control of the child wage-earner. This effect is peculiarly important in the families of immigrants where the parents are dependent upon the children for interpretation and other needs arising from inability to use the new language. An illustration of this effect of child labor is the girl near Hull House who was known to be getting into bad company. Her mother was seen and was found to be aware of the situation, but dared not interfere. When the girl was talked with, she said: "My ma can't say anything to me — I pay the rent."¹⁹

Naturally, the number of accidents among children is greater than among adults. Hence the problem of dealing with the crippled and helpless is largely increased by child labor. No one can expect greater care upon the part of children than from adults, and it is a matter of common knowledge that in America we are reckless of human lives. Witness the high rate of accidents in our industries and upon our railroads. Legislation for compensation in cases of industrial accidents has made rapid progress in all of the States in recent years. Taking children under fourteen years of age out of industry would be the ounce of prevention that is worth the pound of cure.

Again, there is very little opportunity for training in much of the work performed by children. The Massa-

chusetts Committee on Technical Education of 1906 found eighty percent of the children from fourteen to sixteen years of age at work employed in unskilled industries. These years are "wasted years" so far as the actual producing value of the child is concerned and so far as increasing his industrial and producing efficiency.²⁰ Mrs. Florence Kelley describes very vividly a can factory near Chicago where little boys were once employed fourteen hours a day to pick out defects in the lids of tomato cans. She tells how she once started to show this same factory to a writer and student of social conditions (Henry D. Lloyd); but they never reached the place because on the way they met a man of the writer's own age who had spent twelve years of his life sitting on the same stool watching an interminable procession of cans.

The work of making cans is not uncommonly monotonous. "Our industry tends all the time to that standard of work, to such complete perfection of machinery that the work of the human observer of the machine is simply to sit passive and use the eye to discern occasional defects and pick out occasional defective products. The human being in that way becomes a truly monstrous by-product of industry." When this by-product is made out of the lives of boys and girls under sixteen ought it not to be prohibited by law? In 1911 it appears that 20,000 girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age entered industry in New York of which "the watching of the tops of tomato cans coming . . . down through a slot, is a fair type."²¹

Is it any wonder that tramps are often recruited from those tired to death with monotonous labor? The worker possessed of spirit and energy rebels from such conditions, while the one without driving power or individual-

ity becomes a mere automaton: either result is very likely to spell trouble socially. "Child labor means racial degeneracy, the perpetuation of poverty, the enlargement of illiteracy, the disintegration of the family, the increase of crime, the lowering of the wage scale, and the swelling of the army of the unemployed."²²

The British Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, in its report made in 1909, declared that "it is unfortunately only too clear that the mass of unemployment is continually being recruited by a stream of young men from industries which rely upon unskilled boy labour, and turn it adrift at manhood, without any specific industrial qualification, and that it will never be diminished till this stream is arrested."²³

Again, the same report stated that boy labor was the most serious phenomena encountered in their study of unemployment.²⁴ Mr. Sidney Webb, in his testimony before the Commission, also said that he regarded "the growing up of hundreds of thousands of boys without obtaining any sort of industrial training, specialised or unspecialised, as a perpetual creating of future pauperism, and a grave social menace".²⁵ Reference was made to the fact in this connection that the unskilled laborer was "too old at 40"; and it was added that he might as truthfully be described as "no use at five-and-twenty".

The significance of such statements does not need much explanation. If a young man learns nothing that will make him a better workman at twenty-five than at fifteen, he has attained his greatest industrial efficiency at that time and is more likely to degenerate afterwards than to advance. As soon as his physical strength begins to decline, he is likely to go down grade — that may happen any time from twenty-five to forty years of age. It

has cost the community something to rear such a worker and he possesses potential value. If, like unworked natural resources, he is undeveloped, the community has lost something; and if, like wasted natural resources, he is used up at labor that simply takes his vitality without other result, he is more definitely and quickly lost. What the United States and England have lost in these ways is beyond calculation: the utilization of the child in mill and mine is "like grinding the seed corn".²⁶

V

CAUSES OF CHILD LABOR

VARIOUS causes are responsible for the existence of child labor, such as the greed of the parent, the desire of the child to be a man and become independent, the competition of employers that makes it necessary to reduce cost in every possible way and leads to the use of cheap labor, and finally the thoughtlessness of the public which in its search for "bargains" forgets the producers. These causes are of a general character and need only be stated clearly to be understood. Only the last one mentioned can be very much modified by social action. The others are almost inevitably the results of the interaction of human nature and industrial and social development.

Probably the most frequently used reason for the existence of child labor is the "necessity" of a "*widowed mother*", or stated more broadly, the need for the wages of the child laborer in the support of the family. Undoubtedly there are a considerable number of such cases in the aggregate where the easiest solution of the problem would seem to involve the employment of children under fourteen years of age. More careful investigation will lead to the conclusion that such a settlement is merely a palliative, and leaves the real problem to be dealt with later in an aggravated form. Experience in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Pittsburg, Boston, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Baltimore has demonstrated that the number of families dependent

upon child labor is much smaller than opinion, unsupported by facts, had supposed. Of applications made in New York City for scholarships for children whose earnings were thought to be needed for family support, a little less than 30 percent were found to be really in that condition. In Philadelphia the labor of about one-fifth of the applicants was found to be really needed for the support of dependent families.²⁷

An investigation of the need of families for the earnings of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age in Massachusetts produced the following results: of 100 children who obtained working papers, 22 declared their earnings were needed. All the cases were carefully checked up by the study of incomes and expenditures, and in 67 instances there was no doubt of the ability of the family to get along without the support of the children. The remaining 33 were studied according to two standards of living. Fourteen families were found to be able to get along without the aid of their children according to a "fair" standard and ten more were found to be able to do the same according to a "minimum" standard, leaving only nine families who would be forced below the standard if deprived of the earnings of the children.²⁸

A study of classified wage statistics shows that half of the adult males working in the industrial sections of the United States are earning less than \$500 a year; that three-fourths are earning less than \$600 annually; that nine-tenths are receiving less than \$800 a year; while less than one-tenth receive more than \$800. A corresponding computation of the wages of women shows that one-fifth earn less than \$200 annually; three-fifths are receiving less than \$325; and nine-tenths less than \$500 a year; while only one-twentieth are paid more than \$600 a year.

Three-fourths of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn less than \$600 a year.²⁹

Many of the persons employed in the industries of the United States earning low wages are bound to be parents of children who will recruit the ranks of child laborers, if social legislation and social remedies are not invoked. The most fundamental and far-reaching method of dealing with child labor must somehow attack this problem and find a solution. The discussion of a minimum wage and of pensions for widows with children indicates that the country is waking up to the needs of the situation. At first it may seem a long jump from child labor to a minimum wage and widows' pensions, but closer consideration will lead to a recognition of the connection. Again, it is found that the ounce of prevention is worth the pound of cure.

Another cause of child labor results from the failure of the schools to reach the child. The situation from the point of view of the child is shown by the answers given by five hundred factory children in Chicago to the question whether they would rather be in school or in the factory, if there were plenty of money in the family for them to make a choice. Four hundred and twelve preferred the factory. Among the answers given was the following: "You never understand what they *tells* you in school, but you can learn right off to *do things* in a factory." Another declared that "when you works a whole month at school, the teacher she gives you a card to take home, that says how you ain't any good."³⁰

An investigation by the City Club of Chicago brought out the fact that forty-three percent of the children never reach the eighth grade and forty-nine percent never complete it. Only about twenty-five percent of the children

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of the country get into the high school. Of the remaining seventy-five percent a large fraction do not go beyond the fifth grade.³¹ Those who leave school between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are "idle half the time, and earn during those two years not more than an average of two dollars a week. . . . Their idleness during at least half of the time, their frequent passing from one job to another, their lack of any responsibility, necessarily tends to moral, mental, and frequently to physical degeneration."³²

Similar results were discovered by the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial and Technical Education. Both reports stated that the vast majority of children do not drop out of school from necessity: they lose interest in a school life that does not seem to be leading them anywhere. In Chicago this is the testimony of more than ninety percent; while at least three-fourths said they would have continued in school if they had been getting some sort of trade training. In Massachusetts seventy-six percent of the families were able financially to give their children further training. Fifty-five percent said they would have done so, if opportunity had been given.³³

There are many reasons for this failure of the school system to reach the children. The course of study needs modification to bring it into touch with modern life. The efficiency of the teachers is impaired by compelling them to try to handle too many pupils. Small salaries mean illy-prepared and inexperienced teachers. Our school boards too frequently build magnificent buildings and then economize by paying niggardly salaries. The personal element counts for as much in education as in business; and in neither calling can you get a first rate man for a third rate salary. The "feminization" of our teach-

ing forces is a phase of the problem. Fortunately, however, many of our educators are awake to the needs of the situation. One of them declared recently that "no question more appalling confronts the thoughtful school administrator to-day than the question of a proper readjustment of the school curriculum, school hours, and school equipment, so as to make our public educational system fit the need of the child to-day."³⁴

Again, recent experience in industrial education in Massachusetts and other States proves "that when a training is offered which promises equipment for a life work, more of the really serious minded pupils are attracted and can be held until they have received the training which the school offers."³⁵

Finally, the most fundamental cause of child labor, and the source of its most serious features, may be described as the "industrial situation" or modern industrial conditions: it is a result of the Industrial Revolution which began in England in the eighteenth century and which is still going on with the greatest rapidity. Improved machinery and minute subdivision of labor have made it possible for the young, unskilled and physically weak to take the place of the adult, skilled, and physically strong worker. Hence we have an increase in the number of child and women wage-earners and of immigrant laborers as an outstanding feature of our industrial life. Competition compels cheaper production. Labor cost is easiest to reduce for there is no cost of production of the worker to the employer and consequently no loss through depreciation as is the case in connection with machinery and plant. The "cash nexus" throws upon the community the cost of rearing and also the cost of maintenance of the workers after they have been thrown upon

the scrap heap. Child labor is therefore a natural result of industrial progress. The finer the machinery of industry becomes, the less important it is whether the laborer is skilled and intelligent. Human powers grow cheaper because there is less demand for them.

VI

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHILD LABOR

THE national campaign against child labor began about ten years ago. Rev. Edgar G. Murphy, a Protestant Episcopal clergyman in Alabama for twelve years, had seen the repeal in 1895 of an act passed in 1887 fixing a fourteen-year limit for factory workers and an eight-hour day for persons under sixteen. The repeal of this statute came as a result of the establishment of a northern cotton mill in the State. When Mr. Murphy organized the Alabama Child Labor Committee, children of ten years of age were at work in cotton mills and nearly one-third of the mill hands were under sixteen. It was Mr. Murphy's address at the National Conference of Charities in 1903 that first aroused the social workers of the country to the seriousness of the situation. Thus the national campaign was the direct outgrowth of the economic development of the New South.

But very little investigation was needed to make it clear that child labor was not confined to any single section of the country. Mrs. Florence Kelley showed, by a comparison of the census figures of 1890 and 1900, that the great industrial States — New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, Ohio, and New Jersey — had fallen in the scale when measured by the percentage of their children between the ages of ten and fourteen years who are able to read and write. Thus, New York from

1890 to 1900 had fallen from eighth to fourteenth place; Pennsylvania, from sixteenth to twentieth; Illinois, from sixth to fifteenth; Massachusetts, from second to ninth; Ohio, from third to fourth; and New Jersey, from fifteenth to twenty-first. The problems of child labor and child illiteracy are twin problems. The six great industrial States are wealthy and progressive in all other respects, but they are the chosen home of child labor on a large scale. "The four great manufacturing states of the South stand at the bottom of the scale of states, graded according to the ability of children between the ages of ten and fourteen years to read and write; and the six great industrial states of the North are falling in that scale simultaneously and conspicuously." Clearly there was need of organized effort, national in its extent, to deal with the problems involved.³⁶

The National Child Labor Committee was organized in New York on April 15, 1904, as the result of an effort to nationalize the child labor movement. The leaders, among whom Mr. Murphy and Mrs. Kelley were conspicuous, had all been active along State and local lines. They invited a number of representative persons from different parts of the country to unite in the establishment of a National Committee with headquarters in New York City. Some time was necessary to complete the organization, and work was not begun till September, 1904. It was planned to make the first annual meeting the occasion of a general survey of the field of work. Such a meeting was held on February 14-16, 1905.

The objects of the Committee were declared to be (1) to investigate and report the facts concerning child labor, (2) to assist in protecting children by suitable legislation against premature and other injurious employment, and

thus to aid in securing for them an opportunity for elementary education and physical development sufficient for the demands of citizenship and the requirements of industrial efficiency, (3) to aid in promoting the enforcement of laws relating to child labor, and (4) to coördinate, unify, and supplement the work of the State or local child labor committees, and encourage the formation of such committees where they do not exist.³⁷

The record of the accomplishments of this committee is noteworthy. Since its establishment twenty-two States, besides the District of Columbia and Porto Rico, have forbidden child labor under fourteen years, or have extended the list of industries in which children under fourteen are prohibited to labor. Twenty-four States, besides the District of Columbia and Porto Rico, have prohibited night work for children under sixteen. Eighteen States, besides the District of Columbia, have established the eight-hour day for persons under sixteen. Twelve States have established the eighteen-year age limit for night messenger service. Seven States have protected youths under twenty-one from night messenger service. Seven States have passed their first child labor law, and eleven States their first compulsory education law.

One of the stated objects of the National Child Labor Committee was "to assist in protecting children by suitable legislation against premature or otherwise injurious employment". In furtherance of this purpose a Uniform Child Labor Law was drawn up which has received the endorsement of the American Bar Association. It represents an effort to establish a standard towards which State legislatures may aim. Certain fundamental principles are laid down that may be applied to the varying conditions in the States.

The main features of this Uniform Child Labor Law are (1) to prohibit all child labor under fourteen, (2) to prohibit child labor under sixteen in all trades dangerous to health or to morals, (3) to prohibit the employment of children under sixteen unless they are able to read intelligently and write legibly simple sentences in the English language and have completed a course of study equivalent to five yearly grades in reading, spelling, writing, English language, and geography, and are familiar with the fundamental operations of arithmetic up to and including fractions, (4) to prohibit the employment of any boy under sixteen, and of any girl under eighteen for more than six days in one week, or for more than forty-eight hours in any week, and for more than eight hours in any one day, or before seven A. M. or after six P. M., (5) to prohibit the employment of any boy under eighteen and of any girl under twenty-one for more than six days in one week, or for more than fifty-four hours in any week, and for more than ten hours in any one day, or before six A. M. or after ten P. M., (6) to prohibit the employment of any person under twenty-one as a messenger before five A. M. or after ten P. M., (7) to prohibit the employment of any boy under twelve and of any girl under sixteen in selling newspapers, magazines, and periodicals in any street or public place, (8) to prohibit the employment of any boy under fourteen and of any girl under sixteen in street trades, except the selling of newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, (9) to prohibit the employment of any boy under sixteen in street trades unless he complies with the requirements as to school attendance, and unless he has the permission of the proper officers, and unless he wears the badge "conspicuously at all times while so working", and (10) to prohibit the

employment of any child under sixteen in street trades after eight P. M. or before six A. M. and during school hours, unless provided with an employment certificate.³⁸

A uniform law dependent upon the voluntary action of more than forty State legislatures is a slow and cumbersome method of reaching a satisfactory result for the country as a whole. One State with advanced legislation will find itself at a disadvantage in competition with a State with less progressive legislation. The usual inertia among so many separate State units must be overcome. Hence there is an almost inevitable tendency to turn to the Federal government and to try to discover some method by which a uniform law may be passed by Congress, covering in its scope the whole country. Two such efforts have been made to supplement the Uniform Child Labor Law.

In 1907 Senator Beveridge of Indiana introduced a bill providing that the carriers of interstate commerce, the railroads and steamboat lines, should not transport the products of any factory or mine that employed or permitted the labor of children under fourteen years of age. Violation of this law by any officer of a factory or a mine was to be punished by a money fine and a sentence in the penitentiary. This bill never advanced much beyond its formal introduction, largely because of the usual opposition to such a measure and also because of the lack of support due to its non-partisan character. Furthermore, many persons who favored the bill, so far as its purposes were concerned, were doubtful about its constitutional status.³⁹

Another effort along the same line began with the introduction of bills in both houses of Congress early in the present year. The so-called Palmer-Owen Bill was

introduced into the House by Congressman Palmer and into the Senate by Senator Owen. It provides that after January 1, 1915, "no person, partnership, association or corporation or any agent or employee thereof manufacturing, producing or dealing in the products of any mine or quarry in which children under 16 years of age are employed or permitted to work at any time; or of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment in which children under 14 years of age are employed or permitted to work at any time or in which children between 14 and 16 years of age are employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of 7 P. M., or before the hour of 7 A. M., of any day, shall ship or offer or deliver for shipment such products in interstate commerce." The Secretaries of Commerce and Labor and the Attorney General are authorized to make rules for carrying out the bill. The Secretary of Labor is given power to provide for the inspection of places "in which goods are produced for interstate commerce"; and district attorneys are required to prosecute violations of the law. Violations are misdemeanors and are to be punished by fines of not more than \$1000 nor less than \$100, or by imprisonment for not more than one year nor less than one month, or by both fine and imprisonment. Each shipment or delivery for shipment constitutes a separate offense.

This bill, drawn by the National Committee, is the result of careful and mature deliberation and of extensive correspondence with prominent lawyers, State and Federal officers, and other interested parties. Two questions were especially considered — constitutionality and effectiveness. As to the former, nothing conclusive can be

said until after the passage of the law and its submission to the Supreme Court. In reply to the charge that it is too "drastic", it may be pointed out that its provisions are already embodied in the laws of many of the States, and that it contains only the most essential provisions of the uniform law drawn up by the National Committee.⁴⁰

Another of the stated purposes of the National Committee at its formation was "to investigate and report the facts concerning child labor." In the words of Dr. Felix Adler at the preliminary meeting, there was to be "investigation, and then fresh investigation, and always fresh and further investigation."⁴¹ To accomplish this purpose the Committee itself undertook to investigate conditions in different parts of the country. With the limited means at its disposal the results necessarily proved inadequate and the Committee turned its attention to the development of a more comprehensive plan for the collection of information concerning the child life of the Nation.

A Children's Bureau in the Federal government was proposed and received the endorsement of President Roosevelt in a message to Congress dated February 15, 1909. The proposed Bureau was "the result of the belief, on the part of many individuals and associations interested in the protection and betterment of children, that the Federal Government should aid in that service, just as the various bureaus of the Department of Agriculture have for years assisted in the betterment of farm plants and animals." The establishment of such a Bureau was finally authorized by Congress in April, 1912, and Miss Julia Lathrop has been appointed as its head.⁴²

The battle, however, was not completely won by the mere establishment of the Children's Bureau, for "the

boll-weevil and the hog, cattle and alfalfa, are still dearer to Uncle Sam than his children. To the Bureaus of Plant and Animal Industry he opens his purse and spends \$7,699,191 every year for the welfare of his crops and his cattle. To the Children's Bureau, he gives a meagre \$31,000."⁴³ The appropriation has now been increased to \$165,000. This appears to be a very considerable increase absolutely, but when considered in connection with the extent of the field of activity of the Bureau — according to the Census of 1910 there are over 31,000,000 children under sixteen — it is not a very large amount for a Bureau whose field is defined as "all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life."

VII

HISTORY OF CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN IOWA

IOWA has been slower than many States to act in regard to child labor legislation, for here the need has been felt less keenly. It was essentially an agricultural State, the cities were small, and foreign immigration was never very large. Hence child labor and school attendance laws were little thought of before the beginning of the twentieth century. The only child labor legislation had reference to the employment of children in mines. The first act was passed in 1874 and provided that "no young person under ten years of age, or female of any age, shall be permitted to enter any mine to work therein".⁴⁴ The age limit was raised to twelve years in 1880 and remained unchanged to 1906, when it was raised to fourteen years. Through the efforts of the United Mine Workers very few boys under sixteen are now employed in the mines.

One of the pioneers in child labor legislation in this State was Senator William W. Dodge of Burlington. His first bill, prohibiting the employment of children under fifteen years of age in mines, factories, and workshops, was introduced at the session of 1886, but was killed in the Senate Sifting Committee. In 1888, however, Mr. Dodge secured the passage of a Senate resolution directing the Commissioner of Labor Statistics to investigate child labor, and report "such information with any recommendations relating thereto he may deem

proper in his next biennial report *without additional expense to the State.*" Notwithstanding the provision against expense, Commissioner Hutchins managed to collect considerable information by correspondence, but his report produced little effect upon the legislature. Senator Dodge again introduced his bill in 1890, with the age limit reduced to fourteen years, and it was again killed in committee. A resolution providing for a further investigation and a bill to punish the exhibition of children under fourteen for hire both failed to pass during the same session. Mr. Dodge retired in 1892, and child labor legislation slumbered for ten years.⁴⁵

During these ten years great industrial and social changes occurred. Iowa ceased to be an essentially agricultural community and began to take on "the complexity of an advanced society. These changes, particularly the growth of urban conditions, have brought with them many new problems, among which those of child labor and school attendance early became prominent."⁴⁶ Successive Commissioners of Labor from 1898 to 1903 called attention to the increase of child labor in the State. While the number was small absolutely, the increase from 1898 to 1902 was 323.16 percent. As the returns of the Bureau of Labor Statistics were very incomplete, "the Commissioner of Labor was convinced from personal observation that the number actually employed was more than double that reported."⁴⁷ To be sure, the conditions in Iowa were far from being as bad as in the South, or in such industrial States as Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, but they indicated a need for and the desirability of restrictive legislation.

The next forward step in Iowa legislation undertook to protect the lives and limbs of working children. The

factory act of 1902 provided that "no person under sixteen years of age, and no female under eighteen years of age shall be permitted or directed to clean machinery while in motion. Children under sixteen years of age shall not be permitted to operate or assist in operating dangerous machinery, of any kind."⁴⁸

The same year witnessed the passage of the first legislation requiring the attendance at school of all children between the age of seven and fourteen for at least twelve consecutive weeks in each school year. A fine of at least \$3 and not more than \$20 was prescribed for each violation. The law of 1902 did not work well, however, because it did not specify when the required attendance should begin, and thus evasion was made easy.

A law enacted in 1904 remedied some of the defects. It changed the requirement to sixteen consecutive weeks in each year, and directed that this period should begin "with the first week of school after the first day of September, unless the directors should determine upon a different date not later than the first Monday in December." The appointment of truant officers was made mandatory in communities with a population of 20,000 or more, whereas in the earlier act their appointment was optional. Probably compulsory attendance was fairly well enforced in the larger cities under this law; but in many towns of 5000 and upwards, truant officers were not appointed and non-attendance was of frequent occurrence and without adequate remedy. In rural communities, conditions were still worse. "Thousands of parents in all parts of the State are unwilling to send their children to school, and in many communities there is no public sentiment in favor of compelling them to do so."⁴⁹

The legislation of 1902 was a step in the right direc-

tion, but there remained much more to be accomplished. The Commissioner of Labor (Mr. Edward D. Brigham) continued to urge the need of a child labor law. In 1903 he said that "at the present rate of increase Iowa will have in 1910 at least four thousand children in factories; and those enumerated at the preceding census will probably by that time have become paupers and invalids, surely illiterates, to say nothing of the per cent that will be crippled and maimed."⁵⁰

In 1902 Senator George W. Lister introduced a bill which forbade the employment of children under fourteen in mines, factories, workshops, or places of public amusement, "except that a child over twelve years of age might work anywhere but in coal mines if the president of a school board should certify that the labor of such child was necessary for the support of an aged or infirm parent, or of a brother or sister." This bill received the support of the State Federation of Labor and passed the Senate after amendment, but never reached a vote in the House.⁵¹

The attempt to secure child labor legislation had again failed, but public interest had been aroused and from this time agitation was not allowed to cease until a law had been placed upon the statute books. The State Federation of Labor led in the propaganda for such legislation. The Federation of Women's Clubs took up the question in 1903. In the same year Commissioner Edward D. Brigham also presented a severe arraignment of conditions, in his first biennial report. The Governor's message in January, 1904, referred to the need of action; and a bill was drafted by Mr. W. H. Baily of Des Moines under the auspices of the Federation of Women's Clubs.⁵²

This bill was introduced in the Senate on January

30th by Mr. Cassius C. Dowell of Polk County, and after amendment, was finally passed on February 18th by a vote of thirty-nine to eight. In the House the opposition to its enactment was much more determined. A majority of the members were from country districts and small towns, and they were unacquainted with the conditions in the larger cities that made such a law necessary. Special interests, like those of the button factories and canneries, protested that "their business would be ruined" if they could not employ children under fourteen years of age. The sole-support-of-a-widowed-mother argument was used effectively. These arguments sufficed to defeat the measure in spite of the vigorous support of its advocates. The final vote in the House stood fifty-five to thirty-five.⁵³

The opponents of child labor were not discouraged by the failure of 1904, but immediately proceeded to secure a more effective organization. Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Secretary of the National Committee, twice visited Iowa in 1905, and as a result of his activity the Iowa Child Labor Committee was formed. Later an executive committee was chosen upon which devolved the active legislative management of the campaign. The chairman was Professor Isaac A. Loos of the State University of Iowa and the other members were Mrs. Albert B. Cummins, Commissioner of Labor Edward D. Brigham, Mr. Ambrose L. Urick, President of the State Federation of Labor, Mrs. T. J. Fletcher of Marshalltown, Mrs. Julia C. Hallam of Sioux City, and President Albert B. Storms of the Iowa State College. An educational campaign was carried on through the summer and fall of 1905.

In the legislature of 1906, Mr. Baily's bill, redrawn to meet some of the objections raised at the previous session, was again introduced in both houses on January 20,

1906. Mr. William S. Hart of Waukon presented a substitute measure in the House, which having been accepted by the advocates of the proposed legislation became the basis of the law finally adopted. After amendment, it passed the House by a vote of sixty-four to twenty-four on February 20th. The Senate substituted a bill of its own and adopted it by a vote of forty-six to four. A conference committee, composed of four members of the House and four members of the Senate — all friends of the proposed legislation — was appointed. The report of the committee was adopted by both houses on April 2nd and was approved by the Governor.⁵⁴

The Iowa Child Labor Law of 1906 was “a moderately good measure whose enactment must stand as a landmark in the history of labor legislation in Iowa.”⁵⁵ But certain interested parties opposed the enactment of the law and to conciliate such opposition modifications were made during its discussion in the legislature. The most important change was made in reference to the canning industry. This industry was of recent growth in Iowa and had had a remarkable development, which it was feared the prohibition of child labor would check. It was claimed that the children were chiefly employed in husking sheds and packing rooms where there was no machinery, that they were often accompanied by their mothers, and that most of the canneries were open only fifty or sixty days during August and September. The result was a compromise by which “husking sheds or other places where vegetables or grain are prepared for canning and in which no machinery is operated” were exempted from the provisions of the act. The practical effect was to permit the exaction of twelve hours labor from persons under sixteen years of age — “a

doubtful benefit to the canneries and an unquestionable injury to the children.”⁵⁶

The enforcement of the new law devolved upon the State Bureau of Labor. During the first year there were no prosecutions for violations, it being the policy of the Bureau to avoid litigation as much as possible. Since the first year, however, persistent violators have been prosecuted. The fines have been very light — usually \$1 for a parent and \$5 or \$10 for employers. Not more than an average of three or four prosecutions annually have been necessary in recent years. The law is probably fairly well enforced, “as well as any similar law on our statute books”. This is undoubtedly largely due to the fact that the industrial conditions of the State do not demand any large amount of child labor and to the concessions made to interested parties in the law itself. Until very recently the canneries have openly violated the law. Where union labor is strong, the law is carefully observed.⁵⁷

Only one important amendment has been made to the law of 1906 by succeeding legislatures. This amendment requires that employers shall furnish proof of the age of any child employed by them and prescribes the kind of proof that must be furnished. The absence of such a provision was one of the chief working defects of the legislation of 1906. The same legislature, that of 1909, also provided for the extension of the period of compulsory school attendance to twenty-four weeks and authorized the school directors in any city of the first or second class (15,000 and 2,000 inhabitants) to require attendance for the entire school year. In 1913 a further change in the school attendance law raised the age limit to sixteen years unless the child is “regularly employed or has educational qualifications equal to that of pupils who have

completed the eighth grade''.⁵⁸ These changes represent distinct forward steps in Iowa social legislation.

For some years the Iowa Child Labor Committee has been inactive. The National Committee urged a revival of organized effort, and in February, 1913, a new Committee was appointed, consisting of Professor Paul S. Peirce of the State University as Chairman, and Mrs. Albert B. Cummins, Professor Isaac A. Loos, Professor Garrett P. Wyckoff, Mr. Ambrose L. Urick, and Mr. Horace L. Houghton as members. This reorganization, however, came too late to accomplish much during the legislative session of 1913. As it seemed impracticable to attempt any comprehensive revision of the child labor law, amendments to secure the regulation of the shoe-shining business, the night messenger service, and street trades in general were undertaken. These efforts failed "for lack of effective coöperation, for lack of detailed knowledge of conditions in our own cities and towns, and for lack of a campaign of education. The Chairman of the House Committee on Labor for example not only was not convinced of the advisability or the necessity of further restriction, but expressed the wish that the main section of the existing child labor law were repealed."⁵⁹

VIII

RECENT STATISTICS OF CHILD LABOR IN IOWA⁶⁰

THE United States Census of 1910 presents certain facts in regard to child labor in the State of Iowa which are of significance when compared to the situation in 1900. The figures are as follows:

| | | | |
|---------|---------|--------|--------------|
| In 1910 | Males | 20,777 | 15.5 percent |
| | Females | 3,608 | 2.7 percent |
| In 1900 | Males | 24,564 | 16.9 percent |
| | Females | 4,846 | 3.4 percent |

These figures indicate a decrease both in the number and the proportion of children between the ages of ten and fifteen years engaged in gainful occupations in Iowa during the decade from 1900 to 1910. This decrease should be compared with the increase in the total number employed in each of the two years 1900 and 1910. Thus:

| | | |
|---------|---------|--------------|
| In 1910 | 826,313 | 37.1 percent |
| In 1900 | 789,404 | 35.4 percent |

These figures⁶¹ show a decrease of 5,025, while the total increased 36,909.

Iowa can not fairly be compared with the great industrial States of the East nor with the cotton-producing States of the South; but it can be set over against its neighbors — Illinois, Minnesota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Missouri — as follows:

APPLIED HISTORY

| STATE | SEX | IN THE YEAR 1910 | | IN THE YEAR 1900 | |
|--------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| | | NUMBER EMPLOYED | PERCENT | NUMBER EMPLOYED | PERCENT |
| Iowa | Males | 20,777 | 15.5 | 24,564 | 16.9 |
| | Females | 3,608 | 2.7 | 4,846 | 3.4 |
| Illinois | Males | 41,912 | 13.4 | 50,994 | 17.3 |
| | Females | 14,598 | 4.7 | 19,541 | 6.7 |
| Minnesota | Males | 14,707 | 11.4 | 16,973 | 14.7 |
| | Females | 3,657 | 2.9 | 6,041 | 5.4 |
| South Dakota | Males | 6,953 | 19.0 | 5,876 | 20.5 |
| | Females | 1,256 | 3.6 | 1,219 | 4.5 |
| Nebraska | Males | 10,865 | 14.8 | 12,282 | 16.8 |
| | Females | 1,439 | 2.0 | 2,495 | 3.5 |
| Missouri | Males | 44,373 | 22.7 | 52,621 | 25.2 |
| | Females | 8,329 | 4.3 | 9,028 | 4.4 |

Comparing the percent of males and females between 10 and 15 years of age gainfully employed in the six States above named, the figures are as follows:

| In 1910 | | | | In 1900 | | | |
|------------|---------|--------------|--|------------|---------|--------------|--|
| Minnesota | Males | 11.4 percent | | Minnesota | Males | 14.7 percent | |
| Illinois | Males | 13.4 percent | | Nebraska | Males | 16.8 percent | |
| Nebraska | Males | 14.8 percent | | Iowa | Males | 16.9 percent | |
| Iowa | Males | 15.5 percent | | Illinois | Males | 17.3 percent | |
| So. Dakota | Males | 19.0 percent | | So. Dakota | Males | 20.5 percent | |
| Missouri | Males | 22.7 percent | | Missouri | Males | 25.2 percent | |
| In 1910 | | | | In 1900 | | | |
| Nebraska | Females | 2.0 percent | | Iowa | Females | 3.4 percent | |
| Iowa | Females | 2.7 percent | | Nebraska | Females | 3.5 percent | |
| Minnesota | Females | 2.9 percent | | Missouri | Females | 4.4 percent | |
| So. Dakota | Females | 3.6 percent | | So. Dakota | Females | 4.5 percent | |
| Missouri | Females | 4.3 percent | | Minnesota | Females | 5.4 percent | |
| Illinois | Females | 4.7 percent | | Illinois | Females | 6.7 percent | |

These figures⁶² show that in the percentage of males employed between ten and fifteen years of age, Iowa

stands in the fourth place in 1910, while in 1900 it occupied the third place. In regard to females of the same ages it occupies the second place in 1910, while in 1900 it stood in the first place. There has, therefore, been a falling-off in rank as among neighboring States during the ten years although there has been an improvement in the actual situation in the State during the same period.

Illinois, an industrial State, has risen from fourth place to second place, in a comparison based upon the employment of males between ten and fifteen years of age. Minnesota has held first place in both years; while Nebraska has fallen from second to third place. Illinois remains at the bottom of the list in 1910, in a comparison based upon the employment of females between ten and fifteen years of age. Nebraska has risen from second place to first place. Minnesota has risen from fifth place in 1900 to third place in 1910.

These comparisons suggest that Iowa's position as regards child labor is neither very bad nor very good — a situation that invites careful consideration and the strengthening of safeguards wherever possible.

IX

NEW LEGISLATION NEEDED IN IOWA

THE principal defects of the child labor law in Iowa were pointed out by the Secretary of the National Committee in a letter urging action during the session of 1913. He emphasized especially the need of (1) the adoption of the eight-hour day for all children under sixteen instead of the present ten-hour law, (2) the prohibition of the night messenger service in the case of persons under twenty-one years after ten P. M., (3) the removal of the exemption of husking sheds and other processes connected with canning before excesses like those found in New York develop, and (4) the adoption of street trade regulations forbidding such employment to boys under twelve and to girls under sixteen. As has already been indicated, an unsuccessful effort was made to enact several of these provisions during the session of 1913.

A revision and extension of existing legislation along these lines is now due in this State to guard against the development of conditions that have been found to exist in other States. Not only ought the child labor law to be strengthened, but provisions for school attendance and for vocational education should be extended. Prohibitions are not sufficient: there should be positive action to develop opportunities for the advantageous use of the time forbidden to be devoted to labor.

Among the additional changes that should be made in the Iowa child labor legislation are the following:

1. School attendance should be required for the entire school year throughout the State, and not be left optional with school authorities in the larger communities as at present. The smaller communities need this requirement as much as the others. The shorter school year in those communities would still leave them with poorer educational opportunities. There is great difficulty in enforcing either the child labor law or the school attendance law when the requirement is far less than the school year. Children had better be at work than on the street or engaged in misdirected play.

2. School attendance should be required to the age of sixteen, unless the child has completed a certain grade and meets certain physical and mental requirements — at least the burden of proof should be placed upon the parent or guardian who urges employment under sixteen years.

3. Provision should be made in the public schools for vocational education so that parents and children may feel that the extended period is worth while. Cultural and vocational aims should both be recognized in place of the present excessive emphasis upon culture.

4. Scholarships should be provided for the children of needy families. These, like the provision of meals or lunches when necessary, are essential to make our system of popular education really free and effective. The school board should be authorized to grant such scholarships from their funds in cases of need as is provided in the States of Ohio, Oklahoma, and Michigan.⁶³ Why should there not be a system of scholarships for elementary and secondary schools as well as for colleges and universities? Furthermore, it is a false economy for the community to allow the burden of the support of a family to fall upon a boy or girl under sixteen.

The program here presented may seem unnecessarily extensive when first stated, but a consideration of what has been accomplished in other States and a survey of the situation in Iowa will change the attitude of the open-minded and sympathetic citizen. Moreover, so vital is the relation of vocational education and guidance to a constructive program of child labor legislation that special consideration will be given to this phase of the subject in chapters that follow.

X

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND GUIDANCE

THE relation between child labor and vocational education has already been suggested: indeed mention has been made of the failure of the schools to reach many children and the need of connecting school work with the after life of the pupil in order to give concrete evidence to parent and child that further school education is desirable or necessary. The recognition of these facts and the proper adjustment of the school to vocational needs is most important in the interest of social efficiency.

“The correlate of vocational education is vocational guidance”.⁶⁴ The haphazard way in which life careers are selected even by those who have the opportunities for higher education needs only to be hinted at. The common remark that many a good farmer or mechanic is spoiled to make an indifferent or poor lawyer or doctor is only too true. Young people drifting into the so-called industrial blind-alley jobs as naturally turn out “vocational hobos”⁶⁵ as a tree bears the fruit of the variety to which it has been grafted. Vocational education and vocational guidance are necessary adjuncts to any intelligent regulation of child labor.

Vocational education and vocational guidance are everywhere under discussion. Beginning with the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education of 1906 increasing attention has been given to the relation between education and industry. “Six States

have established State systems of industrial education and contribute State moneys to its furtherance. They are Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. . . . Other States have commissions investigating the subject with the view to granting State aid, have completed investigations, already contribute to trade schools, have legislation pending, or have introduced industrial education courses into the curricula of their existing schools. The States which are taking, or have taken, one or more of these steps are Maine, Connecticut, Maryland, Washington, New Mexico, Michigan, Illinois, and Rhode Island."⁶⁶ Altogether, therefore, fourteen States are already aroused to the need of closer coöperation between our schools and industry.

As a pioneer the experience of Massachusetts is both interesting and suggestive. That State has had, of course, a longer experience than any other State. It has established an elaborate scheme of industrial education adapted to the needs of the people. At first this phase of educational activity was under the direction of a separate State commission, which has since been consolidated with the old established State Board of Education. Both boards were made up of unpaid members, giving only a margin of time, while the actual executive work was done by paid agents devoting all their time to their duties.

The laws relating to State-aided vocational education were codified in 1911. These provide for a variety of kinds of training which are defined. Vocational education is "any education the controlling purpose of which is to fit for profitable employment". Industrial education is "that form of vocational education which fits for the trades, crafts and manufacturing pursuits, including the

occupations of girls and women, carried on in workshops." Agricultural education is "that form of vocational education which fits for the occupations connected with the tillage of the soil, the care of domestic animals, forestry and other wage-earning or productive work on the farm." Household arts education is "that form of vocational education which fits for occupations connected with the household".

In Massachusetts the State Board of Education is "authorized and directed to investigate and to aid in the introduction of industrial, agricultural and household arts education; to initiate and superintend the establishment and maintenance of schools for the aforesaid forms of education; and to supervise and approve such schools." These schools may offer instruction in day, part-time, and evening classes. A "part-time" or "continuation" class⁶⁷ is a class "for persons giving a part of their working time to profitable employment, and receiving in the part-time school, instruction complementary to the practical work carried on in such employment". Attendance upon day or part-time, industrial, agricultural, and household arts classes is restricted to those over fourteen and under twenty-five years and upon evening classes to those over seventeen years.

Any town or city may, through its school committee or through a board of trustees for vocational education, establish and maintain independent vocational schools. Districts, composed of several cities or towns, may jointly, through a district board for vocational education, establish and maintain such schools. Local and district boards are required, under the direction of the State Board of Education, to appoint an advisory committee composed of members representing local trades, indus-

tries, and occupations. The State contributes annually "an amount equal to one half the sum to be known as the net maintenance sum. Such net maintenance sum shall consist of the total sum raised by local taxation and expended for the maintenance of such a school".

Under these laws there were in operation May 1, 1914, twenty-five full-time day schools, three full-time coöperative day schools, two part-time schools, and twenty-five evening schools. The total number of pupils in these schools is 5903 girls and 4856 boys, making a total of 10,759. The number of trades taught are twenty in the first group, twelve in the second group, and nine in the third group.⁶⁸

The Beverly Independent Industrial School, one of the three full-time coöperative schools, is an example of a type of school new to the United States. Instruction is carried on in the school building and in the factory of the United Shoe Machinery Company. The hours in the school building are from eight to twelve and two to four except on Saturdays; the hours in the shop are from seven to twelve and one to five except on Saturday afternoon. Two divisions alternate weekly between the school and the factory. The school year is fifty weeks. In general, the length of the course averages thirty months. Instruction is offered in machine shop work with related instruction in drawing, mathematics, science, and English. The teaching force is five in number. Sixty boys are alternating as part-time pupils and seven are pupils on full time at the shop. There are thirty-five graduates of the school. The part-time boys, in their factory week do regular commercial work, receiving as wages half of the price paid to the regular employees. The school was opened on August 2, 1909. It is governed by an inde-

pendent board of trustees representing the city school committee, the company, and the city.⁶⁹

The University of Cincinnati and the city public school system have worked out a similar coöperative plan as a result of conferences between manufacturers and the board of education. The city provides the teachers and the equipment, while the manufacturers agree to send sufficient apprentices to justify the city in establishing and maintaining such a school. The school was opened in 1909 and the attendance averages two hundred a week. The boys come in groups of twenty and remain half a day or four hours a week. They are paid the usual wages for attendance. Efforts are made to coördinate the school work and regular work. Much interest has been aroused among the older workmen and they attend night schools where definite instruction is given in their trades and shop problems are discussed.⁷⁰

The type of school just described is found in only a few places in the United States. It has been adopted from Germany where the close relation between industry and education has been worked out during the last generation. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the wonderful advance made in that country since 1870 is largely the result of the use of the educational system as a means for the development of the resources of all kinds, human as well as material. The so-called part-time or continuation school is an efficient agent for industrial training and also serves a purpose that is usually supposed to be the peculiar function of our schools as now organized. Dr. George Kerschensteiner of Munich, who has developed a remarkable system of schools in that city, declares that these schools develop those civic virtues "which must be regarded as the foundation of all higher

moral training — conscientiousness, diligence, perseverance, and devotion to a strenuous life.”⁷¹

The older type of night school as it exists in our cities and towns has failed to add materially to the equipment of industrial workers. The apprentice system is virtually dead as an efficient and general method of training for industry and commerce. Something else must therefore be found to accomplish the necessary results — technical training for industrial work and the character training that is so vital a part of the equipment of the efficient workman and useful citizen. We can not do better than to examine carefully the German system⁷² as it has been worked out in different parts of the empire. As has been suggested by the examples given in Massachusetts and Cincinnati, a beginning has been made in the United States. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that there are already in existence many admirable trade schools and practical courses; but the number of such schools or courses is as yet entirely inadequate, and many of them do not reach the classes that most need them. “Actually, in certain ways, a negro boy or girl in the South, who enters an industrial school, or a delinquent youth sentenced to a reform school in the North, has a better opportunity for a sound, practical education . . . than has the child who comes up through our public schools.”⁷³

Again “our educational system is too exclusively adapted to the . . . more book-minded pupils, who are preparing for office work or the professions. It is the concrete-minded, motor-minded pupils who are dropping out before the end of the eighth grade.”⁷⁴ These pupils possess the very qualities that are most needed in our industries. As it is at present only one-

quarter of the boys who leave school before the end of the eighth grade find steady and improving work, while the other three-fourths are ruined by semi-idleness or non-educational occupations at the very time when they are most open to "life-career incentives" and most likely to become delinquent⁷⁵ or degenerate. Furthermore, "immature and untrained boys and girls are of little use in the industrial world. Their competition lowers still further the wages of unskilled men and women, whose ranks are already too completely filled. . . . On the other hand, the prolonged period of tutelage keeps them under control at precisely that stage of development when they are most susceptible to the best social and industrial training. Their absence from the one sphere is hardly less desirable than their presence in the other."⁷⁶ The Commercial High School for Boys and the Manual Arts School for Girls in Boston have more applicants for admission than they can receive, the great majority of whom would already be at work. By means of the new trade schools in Massachusetts "above five per cent of the boys between fourteen and seventeen years of age, who had dropped out of school, have been brought back again."⁷⁷

Finally, vocational training more than doubles earnings during the early years, while hope of advancement after twenty-five is confined almost exclusively to the trained man. James W. Dodge, president of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, has given an estimate of the earnings of persons employed in engineering work.⁷⁸ The average unskilled laborer gets his highest wages, \$10 a week, at the age of twenty-two. The average shop-trained mechanic earns \$13.22 at twenty-two and rises later to a maximum of \$15.80. The average trade-

school-trained mechanic earns \$16 at twenty-one, and rises later to a maximum of \$25.

The crying need for vocational guidance is clearly indicated by the fact, brought out by investigations in Chicago, that the average boy or girl who leaves school at fourteen is doomed to one year of idleness in the first two years out of school. Again, boys between fourteen and sixteen years of age earn on an average about \$4.25 a week. Since the average child works only half time during these years, their earnings are reduced to only \$2 a week.⁷⁹ In the skilled industries of Chicago the number of children under sixteen is 1.2 percent of the total number employed. In the same industries the number under eighteen is 3.7 percent. These industries train only a little over two-fifths of the number of persons between fourteen and eighteen. For high grade skill less than one-sixth under eighteen are being trained. At the same time three-fourths of the firms find difficulty in obtaining and training skilled workmen. Nearly 60 percent train few or none of their own skilled employees. Nearly 90 percent believe industrial schools for the years from fourteen to eighteen would be of value to their concerns.⁸⁰

In other words, the children from fourteen to eighteen years of age fail to find places in industry promptly, fail to receive the necessary training to make of them skilled workmen, and the industries themselves suffer a lack of trained workers. The need and the opportunity exist. Vocational guidance together with vocational training promises to bring employer and employed together. With any kind of reasonable guidance no community should allow, as Chicago does, approximately 19,000 pupils to pay \$1,425,000 in tuition annually "to private business colleges, concerning the character of which they

know little or nothing."⁸¹ In 491 themes, written by fourth year pupils in ten Chicago high schools, giving reasons for leaving high schools, 341 or 69.5 percent gave "to go to business college."⁸² If these statements represent correctly the conditions, vocational guidance is of fundamental importance.

XI

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN IOWA

IOWA has already committed itself to the provision of vocational education for its citizens. In 1909 the Seeley bill to provide for instruction in agriculture and domestic science in the State University, the College of Agriculture, the State Normal School, the accredited colleges, and ultimately in the common schools, was introduced in the legislature. The bill provided for the furnishing of an instructor in agriculture and an instructor in domestic science at the expense of the State for six years to any higher institution of learning in the State designated by the State Board of Educational Examiners. The expense to the State was not to exceed \$3000 annually for each accredited college and an appropriation of \$60,000 annually was to be made for the purpose. The bill was amended, omitting the subsidy to the independent colleges, and confining it to the State schools, but even in its amended form it failed to pass the House, although it was adopted by the Senate. One section of the bill declared that after July 4, 1912, the teaching of elementary agriculture shall be required in the public schools of the State, and after that date teachers must be prepared to submit to an examination in elementary agriculture and domestic science. This section of the bill was later put upon the statute book with the date for its enforcement altered.⁸³

The Thirty-fourth General Assembly provided for

normal courses of study in the eleventh and twelfth grades in such accredited four-year high schools, as the Superintendent of Public Instruction may designate, "for the purpose of increasing the facilities for training teachers for the rural schools . . . for instruction in elementary pedagogy and the art of teaching elementary agriculture and home economics". Each high school, so designated, was to receive \$500 per annum from the State treasury — not more than \$800 to be paid to schools in the same county. The law provided for an inspector of normal training to be appointed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction at a salary not to exceed \$2000 per annum.⁸⁴

The next General Assembly in 1913 increased the State aid to high schools to \$750 per annum.⁸⁵ It also provided that the teaching of elementary agriculture, domestic science, and manual training shall after the first day of July, 1915, be required in the public schools of the State, the Superintendent of Public Instruction to prescribe the extent and the subjects to be included among those required for teachers certificates.⁸⁶

The same legislature appropriated \$10,000 "for trade schools and trade school extension work"⁸⁷ in connection with the State College of Agriculture. Another act authorized the levy of a special tax for two years "for the purpose of creating a fund for the further equipment and support of extension work, experimentation, collegiate and non-collegiate courses of study" under the direction of the same institution. The income was to be distributed among a number of objects including \$25,000 "for trade school and engineering extension work".⁸⁸

As a result of this legislation, classes for factory and shop men have been conducted in a number of the in-

dustrial communities of the State. Among the subjects presented have been shop mathematics, shop arithmetic, mechanical drawing, carpenters' and builders' arithmetic. Classes have been held in Des Moines, Davenport, Cedar Rapids, Waterloo, Muscatine, Keokuk, Marshalltown, Mason City, and Sioux City.⁸⁹

By legislation already enacted Iowa has endorsed the principle of vocational education, and its extension depends upon further information as to needs and opportunities for its advantageous application. The interval since the last session of the legislature, and especially the current year, has witnessed considerable activity in the collection of the necessary information. The department of education and the extension division of the State University have coöperated in the collection of information in regard to over eight hundred boys who have left school without completing the regular courses. This valuable material is now being tabulated and will be published very soon in the form of a bulletin.

The State Teachers' Association at its session in 1913 authorized a committee to study the need of further provision for vocational education and vocational guidance in the State. This committee, consisting of Superintendent M. G. Clark of Sioux City as Chairman, with Professor Walter A. Jessup, Dean of the College of Education of the State University, Professor Chauncey P. Colegrove of the State Teachers' College, Professor Guy M. Wilson of the Iowa State College of Agriculture, and Miss Anna Burdick of Des Moines as members, has sent out an elaborate questionnaire to city and county superintendents and to truant and probation officers, asking for information on cases of truancy and delinquency, the causes and conditions contributing thereto, and asking

opinions as to remedies. From the returns received the committee will compile its report for presentation at the regular meeting of the Association in November, 1914.

The Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Mr. Ambrose L. Urick, has also sent out two questionnaires to employers of labor and to labor organizations for information and opinions in regard to vocational training. These returns will also be tabulated and published in the forthcoming biennial report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Two questions in the blank sent out to employers asked for the number of employees being trained for higher positions. Replies were received from 422 establishments, and these reported 951 as training for higher positions.⁹⁰ These figures are of a general character and their significance must not be over-emphasized. Using them with qualifications, it means that about one in forty of the employees in Iowa, about whom we have information, is in the way of getting such training as will make of him a better workman in the future. Surely there is plenty of opportunity for vocational education and guidance without danger of overdoing or duplication of effort.

The latest expressions of opinion in the State are contained in the party platforms of the present year. The Republican platform, adopted in July, 1914, declares that "we approve of the present law enacted for the protection of children from the burdens of labor, and urge the adoption of a national law, eliminating the employment of children in industrial and commercial pursuits".⁹¹ The Democrats reaffirm their "allegiance to the public school system of this state," but they "demand such an extension thereof as shall grant to them all, rich or poor, the same educational opportunities, both general and technical, so as to equip them all equally well for the

battle of life, and to furnish to farm, factory and mine, skilled and intelligent help so essential to a healthy future development of the state". The same party platform also pledged "support to any legislation that will relieve the children of the state from carrying on their tender shoulders any of the industrial burdens of the times and would penalize the employment of child labor in such a manner as to abolish the same".⁹²

Could the spirit of these platforms be enacted into legislation, child labor would cease to be a problem, and every citizen of Iowa and the Nation would have an equal opportunity to develop his abilities to their utmost limits. The State does not owe a man a living, but it does owe him an opportunity for training, if free education means anything real and vital. Abolition of child labor up to fourteen years and under certain conditions up to sixteen years, supplemented by vocational education and proper and sensible vocational guidance, would mean the recognition of this "right of man" so far as legislative enactments can accomplish it.

Iowa

XII

STANDARDS OF CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

CERTAIN standards have been worked out as the result of the discussion of the last ten years. There is fairly general agreement that labor on the part of children should be prohibited up to the age of fourteen years, and to sixteen years in all work where there is unusual risk to life, health, or morals. Beyond these two restrictions there is apparently no general popular agreement.

As has already been indicated, the National Child Labor Committee, in its Uniform Child Labor Law, has laid down certain principles which may be regarded as standards for State legislation.

1. The first of these fundamentals limits the hours of labor for children and young persons. There should be provision for not more than eight hours in any one day and not more than forty-eight hours in any one week for boys under sixteen and for girls under eighteen, and not more than ten hours in any one day and not more than fifty-four hours in any one week for boys under eighteen and girls under twenty-one.

2. Night work by children and young persons should be strictly prohibited. No boy under sixteen and no girl under eighteen should be employed before seven A. M. or after six P. M., and no boy under eighteen and no girl under twenty-one should be employed before six A. M. or after ten P. M.

3. The strict regulation of street trades, with abso-

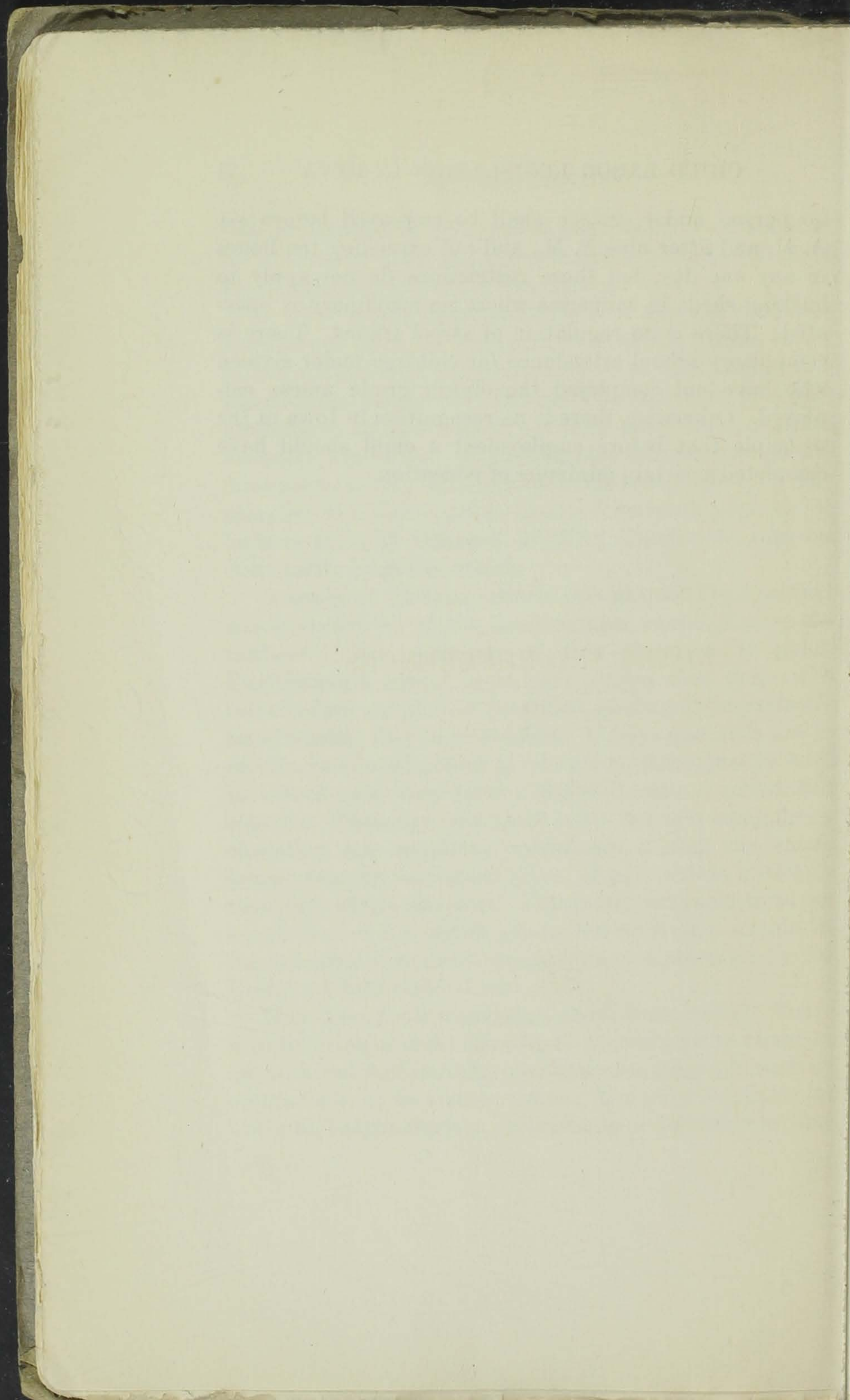
lute prohibition in all cases of boys under twelve and of girls under sixteen and in some cases, such as the night messenger service, under twenty-one.

4. The employment of children of any age should be conditioned upon the completion of certain grades in the public schools and the possession of certain mental and physical qualifications. The mere requirement of school attendance up to fourteen years of age does not insure adequate education. If the child is absolutely normal and does not have any interruption in his school work, he may complete the eighth grade by the fourteenth year, but if he is in any way retarded, he will fail unless he remains voluntarily longer in school.

A study of Chicago schools brought out the fact that nearly one-third of the total number enrolled were retarded.⁹³ The meaning of this situation is plain. Furthermore, actual tests have shown that those who leave before completing the eighth grade only imperfectly acquire what they have studied. If boys and girls are to receive even a minimum of education, they must be kept in school until they have completed certain prescribed courses. Thus, the best child labor law is a compulsory education law requiring attendance during the entire school year up to sixteen years of age, unless a certain requirement has been met. This minimum ought to be the completion of the eighth grade, but at least it should be the finishing of the fifth grade — the standard set by the Uniform Child Labor Law.

How does Iowa legislation stand these tests? There is prohibition of child labor up to fourteen years of age in the main fields of industry and business, and in dangerous occupations up to sixteen years. The only limitation of hours and night work is contained in the provisions that

no person under sixteen shall be employed before six A. M. and after nine P. M., and not exceeding ten hours in any one day, but these restrictions do not apply to husking sheds in canneries where no machinery is operated. There is no regulation of street trades. There is compulsory school attendance for children under sixteen who have not completed the eighth grade unless employed. Otherwise, there is no recognition in Iowa of the principle that before employment a child should have completed a certain minimum of education.



NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- ⁴ *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 75.
- ⁵ *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 77.
- ⁶ Nearing's *The Solution of the Child Labor Problem*, p. 26.
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- ⁸ Frey's *Social Cost of Child Labor* in *The Child Labor Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 116, 117; Ryan's *Burdens on Women and Children* in *The Child Labor Bulletin*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 174, 175.
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- ¹⁴ Clopper's *Child Labor in City Streets*, p. 136.
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