

John D., Jr., Explains His Colorado Plan

"The Struggle Between Capital and Labor Is Steadily Growing More Acute," Says Mr. Rockefeller, Showing Where His Plan Would Dissipate Hatred and Friction, and Prevent the Industrial Crisis

By Edward Alden Jewell

ONLY recently returned from a hand-shaking, heart-to-heart intercourse with miners in many camps of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the man who handles millions of dollars for the Rockefeller Foundation, told me for The Tribune what his far-renowned "plan" was and why he had inaugurated it, a mutual capital-labor scheme, fraught with an intensely human purpose.

Speaking with a great eagerness and an earnest intensity which proved how thoroughly impressed he is in the problem to which he has been in so personal a way devoting himself during the past months, Mr. Rockefeller consistently emphasized the fact that his "plan," unanimously approved by representatives of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company miners and adopted by a large majority of the miners themselves, is not intended to incite any opposition against the unions. Indeed, he maintains rather warmly that the spirit of this plan if universally adopted would solve all conflict between capital and labor.

"It is said that the struggle between capital and labor is growing steadily more acute. Prophecy as to the ultimate outcome I do not care to make, but I will say that if all men could be animated with a spirit of brotherhood and fair dealing, which is the ideal we have striven to uphold as the basis of the new order out in Colorado, there would be a speedy end of hatred and friction.

"Capital," he declared, "is powerless to dig coal. It must depend upon labor. On the other hand, mere brawn cannot buy machinery, open up mines and pay salaries. Capital is utterly dependent upon labor and labor is utterly dependent upon capital. The one produces and the other makes it possible to produce. Thus it may be asserted that capital and labor are ranged upon a common plane, and it is only right and logical that amicable relations should exist between them. Such relations we are trying to bring about now."

"Do you think," I asked him, "that the ideal embodied in this plan which has been put in operation by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is in advance of anything which has been specifically presented by any labor union?"

But Mr. Rockefeller quietly refused to commit himself.

"I am not sufficiently familiar with the mechanism of labor unions," he replied, "to hazard such a statement. I can merely speak from the standpoint of what we have actually done. A corporation should be like a big family. Each member should live on friendly terms with all the other members. If there is discord, all alike must suffer. What we are striving most ardently to prevent is another situation such as that which developed in Colorado a couple of years ago."

"And is it your belief, Mr. Rockefeller, that such a plan as this has been in operation prior to the industrial disturbance of which

you speak the crisis would have been prevented?"

"I really think so," he answered. "Were all imbued with the spirit which permeates this plan from beginning to end there could hardly be friction. And not until this spirit is shared by all can we really feel that labor and capital have ceased their long and weary conflict. Capital can never hope to gain anything through an unfair treatment of labor, nor can labor hope to gain anything by foolishly and indiscriminately denouncing capital. One is entirely dependent upon the other, and, since this is the case, the highest good of each can only be conserved through an amicable adjustment."

"It is not law which counts in the lives of men, but that spirit of brotherhood, of co-operation, of justice which enters into men's hearts and prompts fairness. Without this no social or economic adjustments are possible."

Throughout the interview Mr. Rockefeller refrained from uttering one bitter word against those who have so roundly, and in many cases so sneeringly, belittled the work he is doing among the miners. All sorts of alluring opportunities were afforded, each of which was tossed aside in a kindly, even tempered manner which, perhaps, after all, spoke more eloquently than the most vehement verbal reproof.

"The spirit of perfect co-operation can hardly be assailed," he would reply. "Those who criticize what we are trying to work out I cannot but feel simply fail to recognize the spirit which animates it all."

"Paternal control," one critic had characterized the Rockefeller ideal. Another attack phrased itself like this: "The miners employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company have been whipped by means of atrocious brutality and hunger into submission, back to the mines. And these miners have been formed into a union by Mr. Rockefeller's benevolent altruism."

The wealthy man thus characterized sat opposite me in his office at 26 Broadway. He leaned forward with the animation of a school-boy telling a great and memorable adventure. His lips quivered with the very inadequacy of words. His eyes had that honest gleam in them which can hardly be simulated.

"I went among those men out there," he said. "I wanted to see for myself how they were living, what the conditions were, in what manner things could be bettered. I met hundreds of miners and talked with them. Men came to me with their grievances. I visited the men's homes. I talked with their wives and children. It was a very intimate contact. When the plan was drawn up it was submitted to the men for suggestions. I think the large majority of the vote which was finally taken proves how well satisfied the miners are with the opportunities and guarantees in the new plan."

Mr. Rockefeller went on, in a quaintly conscientious way, to point out that he himself



John D. Rockefeller, jr., who tells of his hopes for his industrial plan, and W. L. Mackenzie King, special investigator for Rockefeller Foundation.

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was not wholly responsible for the "Industrial Representation Plan," but that it had been carefully worked over and revised by officers, employes and directors of the company, and finally recast as a result of practical demonstration.

"Yes," he answered. "It is a plain, simple story. In the first place we established a system of representation, by which every employe of the company may obtain redress for any wrong or injustice done him. Representation is based upon numbers, but each camp possesses not less than two representatives. These representatives act on their behalf in all questions of employment, working and living conditions, differences. They are chosen by secret ballot."

"But is such democratic representation as this," I interrupted, "open to all miners, union and non-union alike?"

Mr. Rockefeller's eyes glistened. I had

Corporations Must Be on the Square—Capital and Labor Are Helpless Without Each Other, Yet the Struggle Between the Two Is Steadily Growing More Acute, Declares the Youthful Magnate.

touched, evidently, the very heart of the matter.

"We don't care," he said, "whether a man belongs to a union or whether he stands independent. All our employes are treated utterly without discrimination."

"Then you are not opposed to the unions?"

"Emphatically no," he replied. "I consider that there is abundant good in the organization of labor, so long as such organization remains legitimate and does not inflict unjust and arbitrary restrictions upon the men who subscribe to it."

"In this connection, and that there may be a perfectly clear understanding of just how I stand regarding labor, I cannot better commit myself than in the phraseology which I addressed to the United States Commission on Industrial Relations:

"I believe it to be just as proper and advantageous for labor to associate itself into organized groups for the advancement of its legitimate interests as for capital to combine for the same object. Such associations of labor manifest themselves in promoting collective bargaining, in an effort to secure better working and living conditions, in providing machinery whereby grievances may easily and without prejudice to the individual be taken up with the management. Sometimes they provide benefit features, sometimes they seek to increase wages, but whatever their specific purpose, so long as it is to promote the well-being of the employes, having always due regard for the just interests of the employer and the public, leaving every worker free to associate himself with such groups or to work independently, as he may choose, I favor them most heartily."

"In other words," I suggested, "you believe in the organization of labor so long as the open door or the open shop is maintained?"

"Precisely. I believe that every American workingman is entitled to act according to his own judgment. It is manifestly unjust to bind a man, or to force him to act in concert with movements which are not intrinsically related to him or which he does not believe will advance his own individual interests. With the principles of organization I am entirely in accord. I am not at all seeking, in this plan we have adopted for our company in Colorado, to wage war against unionism, or to supplant unionism; nothing could be further from my purpose. I am simply endeavoring to establish honest, co-operative, fair-minded relations between officers and miners."

"I know this plan is not perfect. No doubt many changes will be made in it as practice suggests them. However, I do believe that the spirit which underlies it is the spirit which will ultimately solve all our industrial problems. It is foolish to claim perfection, or even to claim that perfection ever will be attained. Combinations of capital are sometimes conducted in an unworthy manner, contrary to law and in disregard of the interest both of

labor and the republic. Such combinations cannot be too strongly condemned nor too vigorously dealt with. Although combinations of this kind are the exception, such publicity is generally given to their unsocial acts that all combinations of capital, however rightly managed or broadly beneficent, are thereby brought under suspicion.

"And likewise it sometimes happens that combinations of labor bring discredit and suspicion upon other organizations which are legitimate and useful, just as is the case with improper combinations of capital, and they should be similarly dealt with. I should be the last to allow the occasional failure in the working of the principle of the organization of labor to prejudice me against the principle itself. For in that principle I strongly believe."

"And is it simply this principle of which you speak upon which has been built the new plan of operation?"

"Yes. The principle itself is entirely a worthy one. It is simply a principle of brotherly interdependence. Whatever stimulates every man to do the best work of which he is capable must work toward the highest good of all. What we are trying to do among the miners of Colorado is to dispel distrust and hatred, to promote a feeling of good-will, one man toward another, and employes toward employers."

"What are other features of this plan, Mr. Rockefeller?"

"Well, the new basis of representation, as I have said, stands first. This places the whole concern upon a broadly democratic base. The plan has been worked out very carefully, in considerable detail, every point being so specifically stated in black and white that no man can go misinformed as to the rights and restrictions under which he is to live and work."

"The company's own rules and regulations supplement a strict observance, first, of the Federal and state laws respecting mining and labor. A new feature requires the conspicuous posting of the scale of wages and all rules in respect to working conditions at or near every mine. Employes are freely accorded the right to hold meetings at appropriate places on property belonging to the company or elsewhere, outside of working hours or on idle days. Employes shall under no consideration be required to trade at the company's stores. Their own checkweighmen may be employed as they see fit."

"And the expense connected with the operation of the new plan, in all its departments, Mr. Rockefeller?"

"The expense is shouldered entirely by the company."

Phases of living conditions at the mines were next approached.

"As rapidly as possible," declared Mr. Rockefeller, "we are building uniform miners' cottages. In some cases, strange as it may seem, we encounter almost unbelievable diffi-

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Why New Jersey Said "No" and New York Will Say "Yes"

The Liquor Element Was Directly Responsible for Suffrage Defeat in New Jersey, Thinks W. Y. Morgan, Lieutenant Governor of Kansas—No Citizen of His State Who Talked Against Women's Rights in Another State Would Ever Dare Go Home Again.

THAT the saloon element emphatically defeated the cause of woman suffrage in New Jersey is maintained by W. Y. Morgan, Lieutenant Governor of Kansas, who did some efficient campaigning in the interest of equal franchise during the week preceding the day.

"The saloons are responsible," said Mr. Morgan in an interview at the Vanderbilt, on Wednesday, "and this is a fact which ought to be recognized. Were it not for the inimical attitude of bartenders in New Jersey and the wide influence entailed by this attitude, the women would be rejoicing now. But liquor carried the day, as it has carried so many other days. And thus, so far as New Jersey is concerned, the suffrage battle will have to be waged all over again."

"I do not mean to condemn the saloon keepers as deliberately inhuman. On most issues they are good, square men, ready to vote for human rights. But when it becomes a direct matter of the pocketbook, then self-interest comes first. For some reason or other the bartenders are pleased to recognize in suffrage a dire menace, whereas a glance over the situation in those sections which have gone for suffrage proves that prohibition by no means necessarily follows a bestowal of voting privileges upon the women."

fate hangs in the balance and that if the pendulum should swing over in favor of suffrage all the saloons would be promptly closed up. Naturally, with such an outlook as this, the liquor people did all in their power to make impossible the placing of themselves in such a position. The influence which they exert is well known. I do not think it is any exaggeration to say that four-fifths of the New Jersey men interested personally in politics were intimidated by the liquor element, and that the vote of this percentage went against suffrage because of any real antipathy. On the second of November a great many men are going to stand in need of liquor votes. Thus the recent suffrage vote may be esteemed very largely a political expedient. It has been manipulated as a lever, and rewards will be richly reaped next month by many who allowed their judgment to be swayed in this instance."

"In stating a moment ago that prohibition has not followed equal franchise in those states which have gone suffrage, I did not mean to convey the impression that women, as a class, are not opposed to the sale of liquor. They are. Women are actuated by an instinct to protect their children. They are always keen for anything that will favor the boys and girls and give them the best chance in life. Recognized as a menace to youth, saloons are looked upon with disfavor by women generally. A woman has also to shoulder, in this connection, the health, working capacity,

even the happiness of her husband. She puts the interests of her children and of her husband above her own interests every time. And yet no downright menace to the liquor business has resulted from giving women the vote.

So far the women have exerted rather an influence than a right to dictate.

"So I believe the action taken by the saloon element of New Jersey in the recent election was a very unwise attitude. From the stand-



W. Y. Morgan, Lieutenant-Governor of Kansas, who is helping the Eastern campaign.



Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, the most strenuous of workers for the suffrage amendment.

Absolutely No Chance for the Antis on November 2, Declares Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Because New York Has the Labor Vote and Society Women: All Political Parties Are Either Actively Friendly or Neutral.

point not of politics but of sheer prejudice. I think the male element opposed to woman suffrage may be divided into two sections. The first section contains those men who have an honest feeling that the women themselves will suffer through the privilege for which they are contending. Doubtless a good many men feel that women would be coarsened through becoming involved in politics. The other section of opponents comprises those men who fear an unpleasant curtailment of their own personal liberty. There are certain prerogatives which have so long been esteemed inalienable that it is with great reluctance men look upon the chance that these precious prerogatives may be jeopardized. These are the two major divisions of the male opposition, exclusive of the purely political consideration.

"Now, the first class can generally be reached by argument. But the second class of men, being so largely actuated by selfish principles, is very much harder to get at. It is easier to argue the women out of the shadow of apprehension than to argue away the fear of personal loss to men themselves."

"As for the defeat in New Jersey, I do not look upon it as anything surprising. Most political experts expected such an outcome. And, all things considered, the defeat itself is not a very bad defeat. I understand that fourteen out of every thirty-two voted in favor of suffrage. It ought not to be an insuperable task to raise this ratio to an extent which will render the next voting a triumph. Two

years ago I don't think even the optimistic dreamed that so high a percentage even as this would be possible in 1915.

"The State of New York is much better organized for suffrage than New Jersey. I do not care to venture any prophecy about the vote in New York at this time, but that the foundation is firmer seems to me a certainty. I believe the people of New York are for the greater part really progressive people. There is, of course, a strong conservative element. But I do not think it would deter any action which seemed calculated to produce the highest good."

"Western states, or at least a number of them, have demonstrated a good deal of fearlessness in legislation which is looked upon with some doubt here in the East. There is still a tendency here, I think, to consider the West, to a degree at least, wild and woolly. But this attitude is wearing off. In the West much has been accomplished which the East will certainly come to sooner or later."

"So far as woman suffrage is concerned, you have merely to ask a citizen of Kansas how the new order works there to be assured that in practice equal franchise is perfectly sound. No Kansan who talked against suffrage outside his state would ever dare go back home again. He would simply be mobbed. And if any one should voice sentiments contrary to suffrage within the confines of Kansas his words would be esteemed mere

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