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Eastwood, N.Y.: United Crafts, February 1902

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The  
**Craftsman**

"The lyf so short  
the craft so  
long to  
lerne"

**ROBERT OWEN**  
and  
**Factory Reform**

Published on the first day  
of each month by THE  
**UNITED CRAFTS** at  
**EASTWOOD NEW YORK**

Price 20 cents the copy

# THE CRAFTSMAN

FEBRUARY MDCCCII

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A Word Concerning Some Great Religious Orders.

*By Irene Sargent.*

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*By Eltweed Pomeroy, A. M.*

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ERRATUM: The name of the writer upon "The Haslemere Industries" in the January issue of "The Craftsman," should read MARY SCHENCK WOOLMAN, and not as before given.

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## PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENTS

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The United Crafts, Publishers, Eastwood,  
New York.

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## FOREWORD

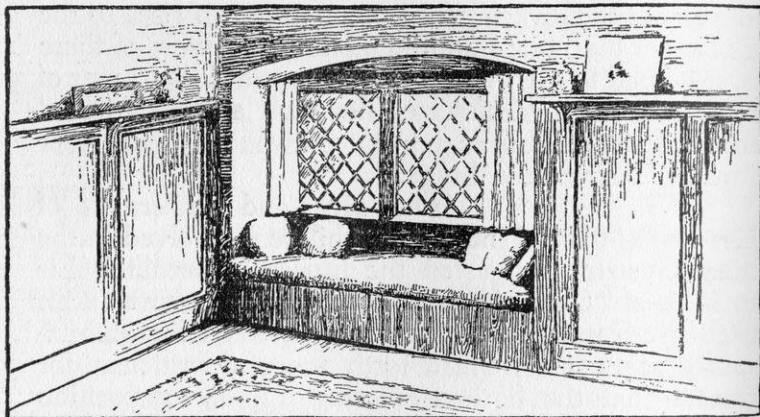
“**T**HE CRAFTSMAN” offers in its current and February issue a sketch of Robert Owen, whose claims to the world’s gratitude are too often ignored in the spirit of Bentham’s criticism upon him that “he began in vapor and ended in smoke.” He is here considered only in his relations to factory reform and legislation, and as to his efforts in attempting to better the condition of the laboring poor of England, to whom he wished to afford work rather than charity; predicting the rapid advance of poverty in the British Isles which has actually taken place; as the poor rates have increased from six hundred and ninety thousand pounds sterling in 1758 to over eight millions at the present time, when the actual annual expenditure of the Government upon pauperism rises to the sum of more than one hundred millions. In view of these facts, it is well to turn backward to consider the career of one whose wise governance of his own and his friends’ financial affairs, causes regret that he was not made ruler and master over many things.

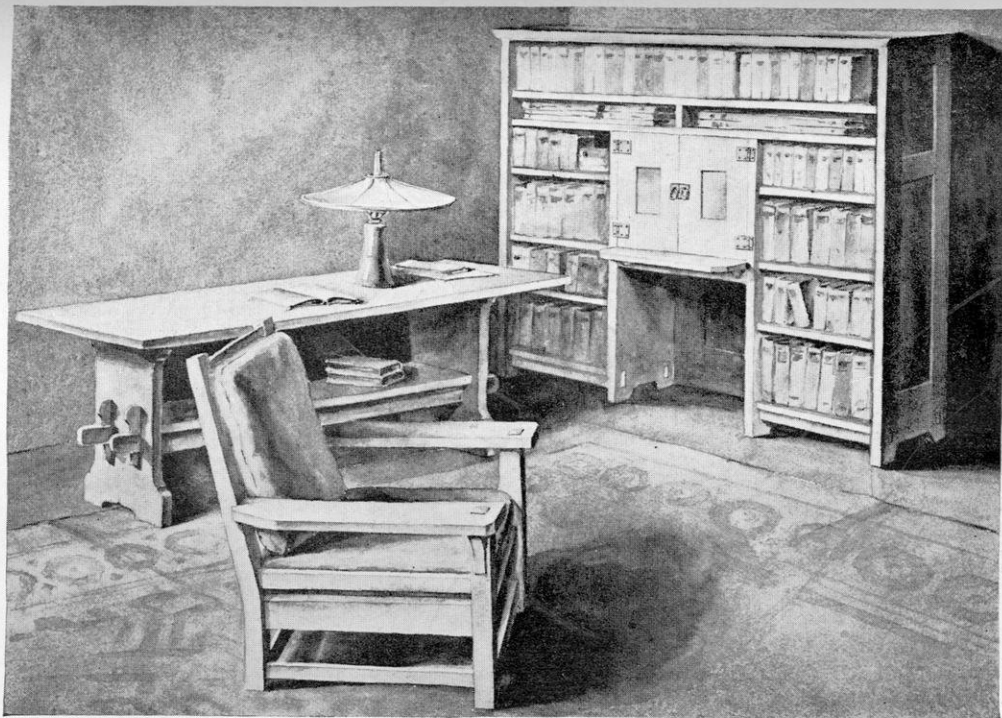
The pity and tenderness of Robert Owen toward the young children involved in the Factory System, suggested the fitness of recalling Sir John Millais’ “Christ in the House of His Parents”: an English Pre-Raphaelite picture which, at its first exhibition, fifty years since, called forth scornful criticism, for the reason that the figures entering into its composition were evidently drawn from the London poor. The child-laborer, weary and wounded, was a spectacle from which the Academy visitors turned with positive aversion, as Belgravia, at that time, ignored the existence of the East End.

An article by a well-known writer, in the current issue, follows the traces of the Fran-

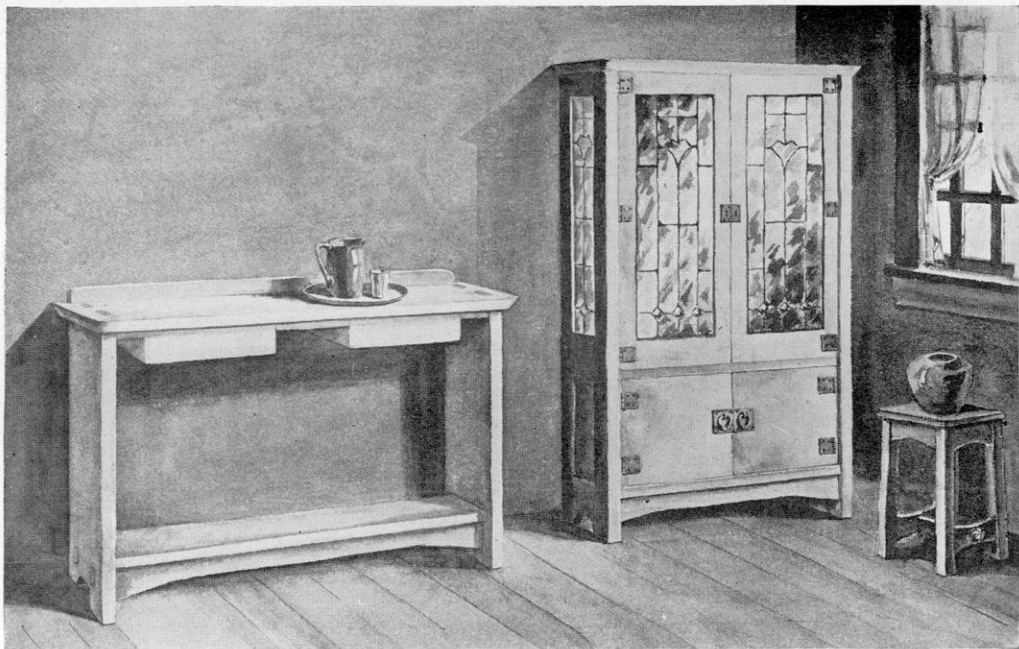
ciscan Friars in California. Its introduction among subjects exposing the graver aspects of the labor question will doubtless be welcomed as offering a pleasing contrast.

The March number of "The Craftsman" will present as its chief article a paper upon "The Gothic Revival"; a subject which is treated by request, and which is one that conceals beneath an artistic form a vital and present social interest.



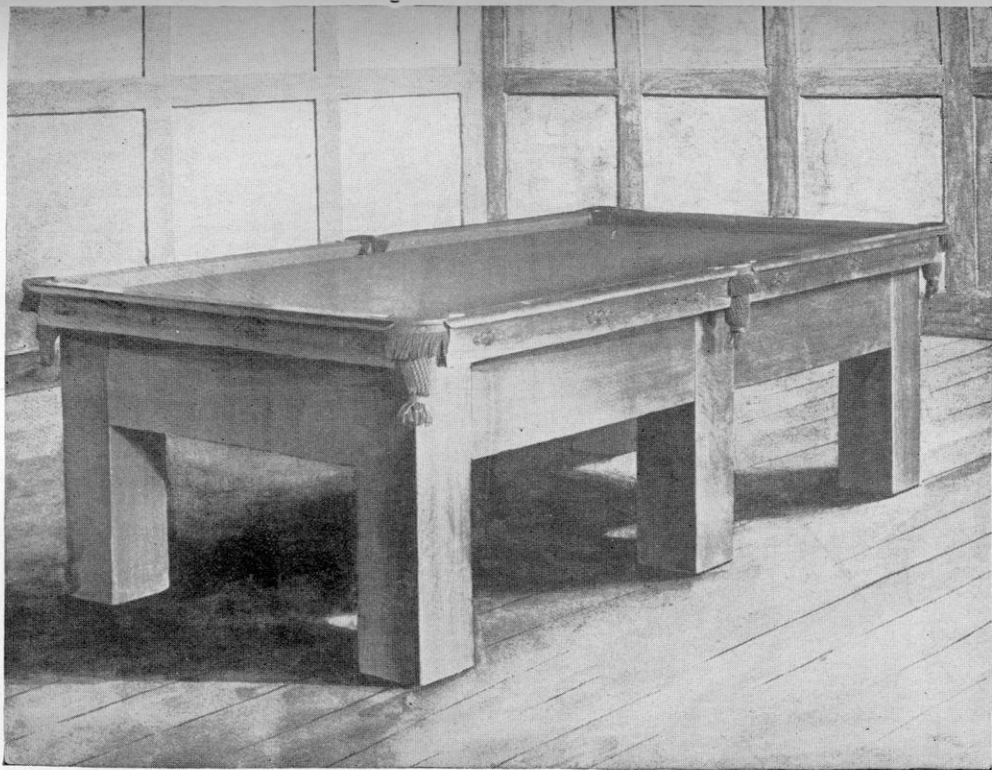


*Simple Furniture by The United Crafts*



*Simple Furniture by The United Crafts*





*Pool Table by The United Crafts*



*Christ in the house of His parents—Sir John Everett Millais*

## ROBERT OWEN AND FACTORY REFORM

THE life of Robert Owen derives its chief interest from his continuous efforts permanently to improve the condition of the masses. It therefore merits a distinct place in economic and social history; even though the reforms to which it was so freely, so spontaneously given have so long been in force as to cause forgetfulness of former conditions. As is universally true, only a part of the efforts of this life were effectively exerted and brought reward in the form of progress; but it is not safe to regard the remainder as wasted energy and as unsubstantial visions. For failure in generous schemes falls and is absorbed into larger and wiser plans, and enthusiasm is a beneficent, fertile force whose action is so subtle that it refuses to be gauged. The path-breakers of any great movement, religious, governmental, or artistic, walk more or less in darkness; following the light which they see glimmering in the distance. They are constantly turned aside by obstacles, with the result that those outside the movement believe them to be in pursuit of some deceptive, wandering will-o'-the-wisp. But their very errors come to serve as warnings, and, at the end of their career, the path stands made, open, and calling for the better-informed to traverse it; while they who have toiled and struggled drop from sight and are forgotten. They who perfect, rather than they who conceive, discover or invent, obtain the world's rewards. Criticism, censure and injustice are the portion of those who first struggle against an accepted and long-existing oppression. And in the case of such as these, the bitter portion of manhood is most often followed by a neglected old age and an unregretted death. At last, a tardy justice clears away the clouds of misapprehension,

and the reputed fanatics and disturbers of the world's peace are seen by the light of subsequent events to have been the saviors of a class, a nation, or a race.

The present interest in the study of all phases of degeneration should alone call forth gratitude for the life-work of Robert Owen; since it is acknowledged that his personal experiments in factory reform and the legislation of which he was the originator and promoter rescued the youth of the English laboring classes from the suffering and slavery which encompassed them in the late eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and, in so doing, assured the following generations from the decay which then seemed to be the only legacy which could descend to them.

To follow step by step the life of this apostle and martyr of social reform is an instructive lesson, whether one seeks historical light upon a critical period of human affairs, or whether the wish be to gain a supreme example of perseverance and devotion, and of success through apparent failure. For personally Robert Owen may be compared to the Swiss hero, Winkelried, who, in the midst of battle, took to his breast a sheaf of hostile spears and broke a path for the oppressed.

As a man he must be considered in his three-fold capacity of laborer, capitalist and economist-statesman; which somewhat extended consideration demands a knowledge of the class in which he was born, of the world-events which occurred during the period of his activity, and of the ideals which rose before the advanced minds of his time.

The son of an artisan, and a member of a large family, he entered upon life among the people, and early came to know through association what sufferings arise from poverty and ignorance. He was thus practically trained for the pursuits of an object which, having begun in youth, he maintained, without once turning aside, until the close of a long career.

If we examine the condition of the English working classes co-existent with his youth and maturity, we shall discover the sad incentive to his long and terrible struggle. For between the date of his birth and that of his death there occurred the most rapid and extensive displacement of human labor by mechanical means that has ever been effected in the world's history. The increase of the productive capacity of England brought to the laborer no increase but that of suffering, and for many years no prospect of improvement opened before the sight of either people or reformer. The new productive power was an untamed force, appalling in its action, but yet to a thoughtful observer promising most desirable results for the nation in growth of wealth and expansion of influence, if once it could be regulated and set in the right direction.

To gain control of the productive power, to educate the people for a higher life in connection with daily labor, to promote intelligence, love of truth, a kindlier intercourse, and a toleration of all forms of differences of thought—these considerations came to absorb the energies and at last the very being of him who may be called the creator of the present working-man's England.

Up to the beginning of Robert Owen's life as a laborer—that is, up to the last two decades of the eighteenth century—the industrial system of England (which country may, in this connection, be taken as a type of the world) had been limited in its operations. Following the year 1780, a radical change occurred. The artisans were drawn from the cottages in which nearly all manufactures had been previously pursued, and these laborers were supplemented by large numbers of the rural population who sought employment in the factories erected on the river banks, where water could be applied as the motive power to the great mechanical devices which were then coming into use. The relations of the employer and

the employed, as also the habits of both, completely changed as a result of the new conditions. The importance of the employer's enterprises, the great increase in the number of those employed, the suddenly acquired wealth of the factory owners sharply divided the classes into payers and receivers of wages, with the consequent separation of life, interests and sympathy. Hitherto labor at the spinning-wheel and the loom had been co-incident with the tillage of the land and the primitive domestic duties. But now the household was virtually disbanded. Each member of the group became an isolated individual condemned to the mortal struggle for bare physical existence. And the number of these necessary and unfortunate victims of a new era was insufficient to the demands of the times.

To-day, the great industrial struggle which was then begun, has neither ceased nor slackened. But the combatants have changed places. The working-men have gained the advantage over their adversaries; whereas, in the time of Robert Owen's youth, they were too weak to aid themselves, and, until he arose, they stood without a champion. In a restricted sense, other good and true men labored in the same cause, and at the very beginning, but none save Owen understood the dangers of the new system—physical, moral and economic. None save him were wise, tactful and constructive, or proceeded by forethought, business methods and executive force, rather than by exposure and violent denunciation.

The qualities characterizing him would be regarded as native to his personality by the great majority of persons who might judge him. And such they were to a certain degree. But as it is a pedagogical principle that the best teachers are those who have experienced and conquered the difficulties which they seek to make clear to others; so it is a fact that the success of Robert Owen, as a man of affairs, a legislator and a

philanthropist, resulted from his practical knowledge of the needs of the working-man acquired during the years of his apprenticeship. Another fact relative to his career and one not infrequently met with in the lives of eminent men, is that he was not intended or trained for the craft in which he so excelled. That is: he acquired rapidly and by self-instruction his mastery as a cotton-spinner. The instantaneous seizure of principles was ever his strong point and therein lay the secret of whatever success he attained. He understood the wide difference separating theory and practice. He detected, at a glance, the flaws in any system, mechanical or administrative, that fell beneath his notice and with no waste of time or energy, prepared the palliative or the remedy.

As he is known principally through the events of his middle or late career, a few notes upon his more obscure childhood and early youth will not be here misplaced.

He was born in Montgomeryshire in 1771, and was intended for the occupation of his father and his elder brother, who were saddlers. Having been sent, at the age of ten years, to London, there to serve his apprenticeship, he was removed, within six weeks of his arrival, to Lincolnshire, where he entered the service of a draper who was the proprietor of an extensive and well ordered business.

This first master stood as a guide and an inspiration for the child-apprentice, since he had risen from the grade of a pack pedlar to that of a respected man of comparative wealth; one moreover who had read and studied considerably and was filled with the love of nature. During the three or four years which Owen passed in his service, the boy had unrestricted access to his library, and was given the early morning and evening hours in which to gratify his already pronounced love of literature. This was undoubtedly the principal formative period of his life, and in such a light he so re-

garded it—not only as a time of moderate and well employed leisure, but also as one rich in experience which served him, when, in after years, he became a manufacturer and commercial man upon a large scale. From Lincolnshire, he returned to London, to take service with a draper owning a large shop upon old London Bridge, which was patronized chiefly by working-people. This removal to the metropolis was actuated by a desire, always strong in Owen's character, to gain wider knowledge of men and things. But under the pressure of work which lasted through eighteen hours of the twenty-four, the physical strength of the growing boy failed, and he referred to his service in the not too strong term: slavery. The experience gained in these days of trial was again useful to him, in that it brought him near the class which later he was so signally to benefit. Beside, he was here, as in the place of his former labor, highly prized as a worker, and when, for the second time, he left London, his departure occasioned deep regret to his employers. His third and last service as apprentice-tradesman was fulfilled in Manchester, where he was brought into close contact with large numbers of the prosperous middle class: merchants and manufacturers who were the architects of their own fortunes. This engagement lasted until he had completed his eighteenth year, when an event occurred which caused him to enter upon the real work of his life. He, at this time, formed a partnership with a practical mechanic who wished to engage in cotton-spinning; the latter being certain that a fortune lay in this industry, if carried on by the then new machine methods. The two young men therefore built a shop in which to make the machines and to manufacture the yarn.

The venture was to a degree successful through Owen's financial ability and his wise supervision of the employes. But as his partner proved to be both ignorant and unpractical, the arrangement terminated within the first year of its existence; Owen with-



drawing with a capital of three "mules" (as the spinning machines were called), a reel, and a mechanical device for packing the yarn when finished in skeins, into bundles for the market. With these appliances and the labor of three men, Owen began an industry which gave the first year a profit of three hundred pounds sterling: a most satisfactory result, if the times and the amount of the investment be considered. But the young proprietor was reaching out for larger things, and with a true sense of his own ability which might have passed for audacity, he applied for the position of manager in one of the most important of the Manchester factories. He at once obtained the post, and at his own price, which equaled the sum demanded by all the remaining applicants united. So, at the age of nineteen he assumed the command of five hundred workmen; the other duties assigned to him being to purchase all raw material used, to provide the mill with new machinery, to superintend the manufacture of the cotton into yarn, to sell the finished product, to keep the accounts to pay the wages: indeed to take the entire control and responsibility of "the first establishment for spinning fine cotton that had ever been erected." And this as successor to one of the most scientific managers of the day.

Owen's description of the work and study which he pursued in order to master his situation is interesting as offering one of the many proofs of George Eliot's saying that genius is only "infinite pains." "I inspected," he says, "everything very minutely, closely examining the drawings of the machinery, as left by my predecessor; and these were of great use to me. I was at the mill with the first in the morning, and I locked up the premises at night, taking the key with me. I continued this silent inspection and superintendence day by day for six weeks, saying merely yes or no to the questions as to what was to be done or otherwise, and, during that period, I did not give one direct order about anything."

From this exercise of fidelity, energy and intelligence, there resulted within six months an offer of ultimate partnership in the industry. Meanwhile, the boy reared in the shop, and with but a single year's experience in the factory, so increased the accuracy of the spinning machinery and became so expert a judge of the qualities of cotton, that he placed the enterprise with which he was connected at the head of the English industries of its class.

If now we pass from these facts relative to the personality of Robert Owen to a review of the industrial crisis in which he began his career as a manufacturer, we shall clearly see that he was one of those men who are created by opportunity at every critical period of history to save their contemporaries and to assure the future well-being of society. The English working-man who gave the supreme efforts of his alert and penetrating mind to guide his country through the labor crisis of the last years of the eighteenth century is not unworthy to be ranked with those heroes and martyrs of the cause of political unity who are called Lincoln, Gambetta and Cavour.

Rightly to judge of his claims to the world's memory and gratitude, we must appreciate the position in which he stood.

Previously to the time of Robert Owen all crafts were practically carried on by hand labor: men, women and children, assisted by certain crude mechanical contrivances, performing the work necessary to feed, clothe and shelter the entire population. Human labor was, therefore, the prime factor of production, and the most important element of wealth and progress.

The first twenty years of Owen's life correspond to the transitional stage of industry. Within this period, the inventions of Watt, Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton revolutionized the crafts by causing the displacement of man in favor of the

machine. In the old days, human labor and the condition of the laborer were the first economic considerations. But with the new era new necessities appeared; becoming ever more and more imperative, until now the great question involving labor, wealth and progress is a question of the means of applying machinery where work is to do, and of regulating the operations of the machine in such way as to produce the most profitable results.

A second radical change in the industrial situation—and one consequent upon the displacement of the man by the machine—is found in the relations between supply and demand. Under the handicraft system, throughout England (cited as a typical country), the people depended for employment upon the home market, since the foreign trade was too light to enter into economic calculations. Therefore, employment extended only as population increased; and, allowance being made for occasional epidemics and failures of crops, the volume of business did not greatly vary, year by year. Production and consumption practically balanced each other, and speculation in trade was unknown. There were no new commodities with possibilities to excite those who dealt in them. There were no new markets in which to compete, and no fortunes suddenly to be acquired. The manufactures were, for the most part, domestic, and the workers combined the tillage of small farms with their spinning and weaving. Each manufacturer employed a certain number of journeymen and apprentices, the amount of whose work he regulated according to the means at his command, and whom he seldom actually dismissed in times of depression. Trade was normal in growth, because it developed only through the increase of its own requirements. Production as dependent upon hand labor, could not be too rapidly multiplied; as this action would have entailed a sudden increase of skilled laborers, who, in fact, could be formed but slowly, and who, even if it had been possible to obtain them from out-

side sources, as from immigration, would have become consumers, and could not, therefore, have glutted the market like machinery, whose property is to produce without consuming.

In a reliable English work entitled "Artisans and Machinery," the effect upon the working people of the change from the cottage industries to the factory system is shown with great simplicity and clearness. Here the writer (Gaskell) states that since the work of six or eight individuals was required to prepare and spin yarn in cotton, woolen, or linen, sufficient for one weaver, it followed that every one between the ages of seven and eighty years found means to escape the almshouse and to refuse the parish funds, by earning at the least from one to three shillings the week.

Another economic writer describes the period included between 1778 and 1803, which he calls the golden age of spinning: when the new machinery had superseded the spinning wheels and thus provided a sufficient quantity of yarn to supply the weavers without interruption. These craftsmen wrought at their hand-loom as yet in the cottages, and all were busy and prosperous, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the great factory filled with steam looms arose to open a new industrial era.

The effect of the displacement of the man by the machine is shown in its most regrettable aspect by the government records of the money expended on the English poor: six hundred, ninety pounds sterling being the sum disbursed in 1750, while yet the old habits of trade and of life prevailed; in 1783, the sum so applied rose to more than two millions; while in 1880 it exceeded eight millions—or more than an eight-fold increase in the poverty of the working people of England.

But in order not to give a false impression, it must be insisted that these quotations of figures are not here made to indicate a preference for the

old times, for primitive appliances and the restoration of former conditions which could never again have reason for existence. It is one thing to vivify and another to galvanize. And periods, like living beings, have their growth and decay. The change of the nineteenth century was inevitable, and the present system of labor is but a single stage in economic evolution of which the series thus far completed stands: slave-shop, work-shop, cottage and factory.

The slave-shop of antiquity was a means of production inseparable from the times when one dominant, intellectual race subdued the less gifted, weaker peoples, and generated in them all the vices of servility. In the next organic period, the Middle Ages, a new labor system arose, responsive to the needs of society. The slave-shop was replaced by the work-shop, and the guilds instituted a fraternity of labor co-extensive with European civilization, inexorable as to honesty, but close and tyrannous as to rules. This system likewise having fallen into decay, was replaced in England (our typical industrial country) by a new labor scheme, according to which each district manufactured for itself the most necessary articles of consumption; a plan which naturally failed at the appearance of the great mechanical appliances which were the fruit of late eighteenth century genius.

Much of what was changed by the factory-system has been improved. Much of the censure cast upon the owners and overseers of the early mills must be regarded as ill-advised, since the injustice and inhumanity attributed to them were, in many instances, relics of old times and conditions. Many of these evils have been already corrected, and many more are but preparatory to a better and higher condition of things. The machinery having been invented, the household system of manufactures could not be continued. But a more generous thoughtfulness, an economic sagacity like that of

Robert Owen might have led to a system free from the abuses which make us indignant as we examine the early factory system of the United Kingdom. The claims of this man to the world's gratitude gained by the fact that he was born too late to have a share in the establishment of the new industrial system; that he was rather a reformer who realized with both brain and heart the sufferings of the working classes; while he at no time undervalued or misapprehended the great mechanical and productive forces which had just sprung into being. It was not his policy or desire to restore the old system, but simply to purify the new order of things, which had changed the occupation, and modes of life of the masses; condemning multitudes to hopeless poverty and creating for others immense fortunes. He advocated a just use of the new wealth which was just beginning to flow into the manufacturing districts of England. He gave his best thought to devise a plan of education which should produce in the people a moral and intellectual growth commensurate with the advance of the nation in material strength.

To appreciate the work of the reformer we must understand the specific wrongs against which he struggled.

On the establishment of the factory system, many of the older craftsmen who were past the age to meet the new requirements, continued to work at the hand looms set up in their cottages. But the youth and life of the poor passed into the mills to give impetus to the textile industries which so enormously increased the wealth of England. In certain branches of factory detail, the work of young people was a necessity. But as the population was, in many cases, thinly scattered in places affording waterpower, the difficulty of obtaining child-labor was not easily overcome. To provide this prime essential the English work-houses were put under requisition. The pauper children so obtained were bound

under indenture to the foreman or manager under whose superintendence they worked. They were engaged and sent to their destination in herds; the work-house authorities insisting that the contractors should receive a fair proportion of the ailing and the feeble-minded. The children, once in the power of their employers, were housed in sheds; their food was of the poorest kind and, in many cases, barely sufficient to sustain life; while the beds in which they slept were no sooner vacated by one relay than they were occupied by another force: an uncleanly arrangement destructive of all comfort, and which propagated disease to an alarming extent. Long hours of labor were exacted and frequently brutal floggings were given to prevent the young laborers from falling asleep over their work. The evils culminated in the ravages of epidemics, which in the last decade of the eighteenth century so threatened the life of whole communities that public inquiry arose as to the source of the scourge and drew attention to the condition of the working population.

The factory legislation so famous in the parliamentary history of the nineteenth century, may be said to have originated in a document prepared by the president of the Manchester Philosophical and Literary Society, a friend of Robert Owen, who submitted his investigations upon the prevailing labor system to a then recently formed committee, known as "The Manchester Board of Health."

The counter movement thus begun, had its opponents in the so-called *laissez-faire* doctrine, by which it was insisted that as the employer's capital was his very own, he was justified in using it as best pleased him, without being subjected to the interference of sentimentalists. It was urged that if the profits were large, the risks were great, and that any change or reform in the system, by increasing the cost of production, would give the trade over into the hands of foreign competitors; also, that as machinery was costly, it ought not

to stand idle; furthermore, testimony apparently reliable and expert was obtained from physicians who declared that the factory labor was light, and increased rather than diminished the health and happiness of the children thus employed. Finally, there was a prejudice existing in the minds of the working-men that an attempt to regulate labor was a practical infringement of the liberty of the laborer, and one that might lead to oppression from the pretended philanthropists.

The labor question was consequently a most difficult one, as the approaches to it were hindered alike by the selfishness of the mill-owners and the gross ignorance of the laborer. But in spite of bitter opposition, the first Factory Act was passed in 1802, through the aid of the first Sir Robert Peel, himself a rich manufacturer. This measure limited the hours of work to twelve per diem; it authorized instruction for all apprentices in reading, writing and arithmetic, and provided also for the cleansing and ventilating of factories. The act, valuable as an expression of governmental and public opinion, was almost useless in a practical sense, owing to the decline in the apprentice system.

In the first years of the factory, when water was the motive power, such a measure would have served to lessen abuses, but when Watt had adjusted his engine to the mechanism of the "mules" and looms, then the plants were located in the towns whose dense population allowed the capitalists to employ child-labor without apprenticing the children. And in this way ignorant parents came to fix conditions which should have been regulated by wise provisions of law and authority.

Thus a few decades sufficed to separate society in the manufacturing districts of England into two sharply marked divisions. A class monopoly arose, tremendous and oppressive; while the laboring masses being subjected to depressing, unsanitary and immoral influences, degenerated with appalling rapidity.



They succumbed beneath the evils of over-crowded cellar-dwellings, of germ-diseases resulting from breathing cotton-dust, of fever, scrofula, consumption and premature old age.

We have already seen that the agitation regarding factory reform began within the narrow circle of a Manchester Club. Of this society Robert Owen was elected a member, and through its deliberations he added considerably to his knowledge and culture; while he himself gave out in return a spirit of humanity which animated and made practical what else had been abstract ideas and vague theories.

When arrived at the age of twenty-seven, Owen had passed from the service of others, himself to become a partner in an industry known as the Charlton Twist Company of Manchester, and already a brilliant financial future was opening before him. The new firm rapidly attained a wide reputation which, in its turn, assured high prices and large profits. But, at this point, another important change occurred in his circumstances. This, like all previous removals, was not due to fickleness, but solely to the turn and pressure of external affairs.

As he had abandoned the post of a factory superintendent, by reason of an unforeseen domestic arrangement quickly made by his employer, so now he was suddenly removed to the vicinity of Glasgow, retaining his interest in his partnership and incorporating that of his associates in the newly undertaken enterprise. This was the purchase of very extensive factories situated at New Lanark, which were the property of a remarkable man, at once a manufacturer, a cotton-spinner, a merchant, banker and preacher, whose daughter Owen afterward married, and whose friendship, once gained, never failed the younger man at moments when censure and suspicion as to his motives threatened to condemn him to silence and idleness.

In the last year of the eighteenth century, Owen began his work as the owner and manager of the mills once the property of his father-in-law, Mr. Dale. He regarded this moment as the turning point of his life, and, in his journal, he referred to his new duties as "government," rather than as management; his intention being to improve the condition of the operatives, in order to effect a corresponding change in the character of the people themselves. To-day, we can form no adequate conception of the wretchedness encompassing the English laborer a century ago: when the ruling idea of the manufacturers was to enrich themselves to the detriment of the poor, the weak and the ignorant. As a consequence, we fail to appreciate the heroism and spiritual strength involved in the struggle waged by Robert Owen for factory reform and the relief of the masses. His first measures instituted at Lanark related to cleanliness and sanitation. Following these, came an attack upon the credit system which prevailed among the village shopkeepers, who furnished the operatives with the poorest articles of consumption at ruinously high prices. As a corrective, new shops were stocked with all commodities of first necessity, which were purchased with ready money of the producers or manufacturers, and brought to the doors of the consumers, at a saving of twenty-five per cent in the expenditure of their wages. This practical remedial measure, which soon showed results in the improved health and comfort of the people, accomplished much for Owen's popularity, as did also, to a far greater degree, his payment of full wages during the industrial crisis of several months' duration which occurred in 1806, consequent upon the embargo placed by the United States on the export of cotton to Great Britain. Having thus, as he records in his journal, "completely won the confidence and hearts of the entire population," he proceeded to more specific and detailed reforms, certain of which were originally and brilliantly conceived. As an instance,

may be cited the system of checks which he devised for controlling the conduct of the workmen. It is thus described by his biographer :

“ He caused to be placed behind each operative a four-sided piece of wood two inches long and one broad, each side painted with a different color,—black (bad), blue (average), yellow (good), and white (excellent). The wood tapered at the top, and was made to hang upon a wire, with any one desired side to the front: the color indicating the conduct of the workman on the previous day. Books of character were provided for each department, these containing the same colors with the same meaning; by which system a record was daily entered to the credit or the discredit of each individual; the record being numbered one, two, three, four, and the numbers being averaged six times yearly, so that the manager could learn, at a glance, the standing of the workman for an entire year. At the installment of the plan, many black and many blue marks were given, but gradually these two colors gave place to the lighter hues, and faults in attention, care and punctuality became more and more rare and unpardonable.”

For eight years he worked quietly and within the limits of his own factory: desiring to effect practical local changes for the better, before undertaking the more important schemes which he had so long meditated for the relief of the poor and the oppressed throughout the Kingdom. He slowly and solidly formed the basis of his appeal to public opinion and Parliament.

In the ninth year of its existence, the New Lanark partnership was dissolved; Owen paying a large advance upon the original purchase price of the factory, and the remaining members of the firm wholly withdrawing. The dissolution was due to the demand made by Owen that his associates should permit the erection of expensive school buildings, and authorize a very considerable annual outlay necessary to maintain them.

Both the demand and the refusal were to be expected, since they represented the opposing desires, aims and policy of the two parties to the contract. The London and Manchester associates were commercial men, pure and simple, who engaged in business for profit, and were cotton-spinners before being philanthropists. They found their highest satisfaction in the statements of the annual balance-sheet of the mills as conducted by Owen, rather than in the character, and condition of the operatives which had so improved under the same wise administration. On the other hand, Owen saw with dismay a system of intensified selfishness spreading and developing in the country as a result of the rapid profits gained by the new industrial methods. The first named were men of the hour, tempered to the materialism of the age; while the pure-minded reformer sought to build for time and eternity. His schemes at this period of his life had nothing abnormal or visionary. His own practical experience convinced him that the improvement in the people as workers, as well as men and women, which he purposed to effect through the medium of his contemplated schools, would, within no extended period, more than cover the expenditure which he demanded. And in view of his financial success during the time of his first experiments, it is but just and fair to believe that he mistook not his own ability to do away with abuses and set up in their stead a system permanently beneficial to both employer and employed. From this time forth, his struggle was with principles rather than with men, his attachment to his own ideas rapidly increased, and with the passage of years, he became more and more isolated in his thought and life.

A second partnership involving large capital was quickly formed, as Robert Owen's reputation for business sagacity and integrity made association with him eagerly and widely sought. Without delay he proceeded to erect the schools which he had planned;

again to meet with opposition which extended to every other form of improvement for the benefit of the workers, to the salaries given for superintendence, and to the large sums paid for wages. A second dissolution was the result of these differences of opinion, and a third partnership followed. Owen had now conducted the enterprise at New Lanark for fourteen years, during which time he had won the unreserved affection of the workmen. And throughout the second association—a period of four years—he had suffered constantly from the systematic and oppressive thwarting of his purposes: an opposition which was not justified by the financial outcome, since the accounts of the firm showed the net profits to have reached one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. Among the partners of the third association was numbered Jeremy Bentham, the utilitarian philosopher, with whose sanction Owen now felt free to act. The schools were therefore completed within the space of two years (1814), and they attracted the attention of educators the world over.

The children were received between the ages of one and twelve years, after which time, if their parents wished, they might enter the factories and contribute to the support of their families. To assure self-respect on the part of the parents, and to separate the institution from charitable enterprises, a fee of three shillings was demanded annually for each child attending the schools; although the actual expense incurred by the establishment rose to two pounds the year for each scholar. Wise provision was also made for the employment of the young people when they entered the working period of their life. They were given a wide choice of employments; since if they did not accept work in the various branches of the cotton industry, they could elect to be mechanics, iron or brass founders, forgers, turners in wood or iron, builders, masons or carpenters. By this means, a self-sufficing community was created, and labor in repairs upon the mills and village was afforded to the

people, to the value of eight thousand pounds. The enterprise when completed, was most gratifying to its projector and very attractive to the outside world. Two comments made upon it deserve to be noted. Robert Owen himself observed that "all the houses in the village formed a part of an establishment, which united, proceeded day by day with the regularity of clock-work." And the same impression of order and precision was differently conveyed by a cashier of the Bank of England, when he said, in astonishment at the newness of the enterprise, that "it looked like the work of generations."

Thus the first great work of Owen the reformer was accomplished in the interest of popular education. But he was far from being a man of one idea. His thought reached out to the workers in all the conditions of their lives. He believed in the responsibility of the mature toward the young to whom it was his custom to say: "Your character should be formed for you and not by you." He sought to promote associative and national effort in the cause of education, which he esteemed not so much as a means of development for the individual, but as the strongest bulwark of corporate life. The plan of his schools at New Lanark, as well as the "rational system of society" which he formulated, was based upon ideas which he had gained by practical experiments among the working classes, and always before advocating or enforcing a principle, he gained the right to his action by thoroughly understanding both its nature and its workings. So effectual were the methods of instruction devised by the amateur pedagogue—whose highest qualification for his work was his love of humanity—that the Owen schools were visited by representative men of all classes and nationalities to the number of thousands annually: among them being many foreign princes and ambassadors acting in behalf of their sovereigns.

An examination of these schools

in retrospect, from the distance of nearly a century, reveals the modern spirit by which they were animated. Physical culture by means of dancing and military drill, was an essential feature of the system. Kindness and confidence were the incentives used to stimulate the love of study and the sense of honor among the children.

From 1816 to 1822 the schools at New Lanark continued to develop, and Robert Owen's plan of dealing with the population of his village came to be regarded as suited to the general condition of society, especially as applied to the poor, who were, at that time, rapidly increasing in numbers, and assuming a threatening attitude toward their oppressors.

At the latter named date, the British and Foreign Philanthropic Association, was organized under the auspices of English royalty and nobility, largely for the purpose of experimenting with Owen's plans upon a much larger scale than the author of them had attempted. But when final success seemed about to crown the strenuous efforts of years, when outside cooperation was beginning to be active and most helpful, narrow fanaticism attacked the beneficent work from within the circle of its origin, slowly sapped its strength, and at last brought it to an end, by undermining it with insidious doubts.

A persecuting spirit arose in the person of one of Owen's latest partners, William Allen, who was a wealthy, influential and well-intentioned, although extremely bigoted man.

The reformer of Lanark, as the facts recorded in this paper abundantly prove, acted upon sound economic principles in executing his educational schemes. He believed that enlightenment added to the value of the workman; that ignorance, always a serious obstacle to the happiness of the community, was furthermore a prolific generator of vice and crime. He sought to remove injurious example and to prevent evil associa-

tion. And if his religious ideas were unorthodox, his moral teachings, as well as his own life, were beyond cavil or reproach. His position, through the constant criticism and suspicion which questioned his every action, grew untenable, and he decided to leave New Lanark.

To this decision he was not driven by a lack of conviction in either the rectitude or the practicality of his own plans. Nor was his enthusiasm cooled by advancing age. But he realized the necessity of creating in the public mind such favor toward popular education as should neutralize throughout England the bigotry which had thwarted his own efforts. He can not be taxed with cowardice, for the difficulties with which he coped are to-day difficult to imagine. The newspaper, as we now know it, did not exist. The workingman's club was not as yet even conceived. The closing of the great wars of Napoleon had thrown an immense force of discharged soldiery into artisan occupations, thus creating an industrial crisis comparable with the agrarian disturbance which unsettled Roman affairs at the accession of the Emperor Augustus. Worst of all, the unreasoning hatred of machinery, as the destroyer of hand labor, was generating revolutionary ideas in the manufacturing districts; so that riots and machine breaking were of common occurrence, while, on the other hand, the Government pursued the unwise and tyrannous policy of silencing popular speech and suppressing the associative spirit. Owen was forced to retire from his industrial work, since he could no longer insist on the education of all the young in his employ, and on such management of the factories at Lanark as should be consistent with the welfare of all connected with them. In order to sustain his principles, he determined entirely to devote himself to the public career on which he had entered as early as 1803. He was fully justified in his decision, for the times cried out for a reformer. Among the factory population, the idea of the family was rapidly disappearing.



Parents trafficked in the lives of their neglected children, and, the children, grown adult, avenged their wrongs upon the aged and feeble. Selfishness, vice and the degeneracy caused by premature and excessive labor threatened to annihilate the producing classes of England.

The Glasgow paper of 1803, before noted as the first of Owen's public utterances, is regarded by students of economics as a remarkable document. It was addressed to the Board of Trade of the Scotch city, and was primarily an appeal for the entrance of raw cotton into English ports free from customs duties. It was furthermore a general argument so far in advance of the narrow trade doctrines of the times that it has now the character of a prophecy.

Legislation favoring a broader industrial policy was slow, and twelve years elapsed before Owen became again publicly active. In 1815, he assembled a public meeting at Glasgow "to consider the policy of asking the Government to remit the heavy duties upon raw cotton, and to consider measures for improving the condition of children and others employed in connection with the various textile manufactures." The first of these measures was accepted by the meeting with enthusiasm. The other was not even seconded, and Owen discouraged by the selfishness and greed of the manufacturers, declined to proceed farther with the meeting. He resolved to gain attention and sympathy by means of the address which he had delivered, and with this view he sent copies of it to the members of the Government and of both Houses of Parliament. He also procured its publication in the principal newspapers, metropolitan and provincial. In this document, he made the emphatic statement that "an apparent national greatness, founded on the miseries of the people is not permanent and substantial power." And he ended with an appeal for mercy to his brother manufacturers, crying out passionately:

"For deeply as I am interested

in the cotton manufacture, highly as I value the extended political power of my country, yet knowing as I do, from long experience both in Scotland and in England, the miseries which the trade, as now conducted, inflicts upon those to whom it gives employment, I do not hesitate to say: Perish the cotton trade! Perish even the political superiority of our country!—if it depends on the cotton trade—rather than they shall be upheld by the sacrifice of everything valuable in life.”

And these words were not the rhetoric of an orator calculating his effect upon his audience. Nor were they those of a demagogue seeking to deceive his constituents in order to advance his personal ambitions. They were the utterances of a man enriched through manufactures, and gifted with a commercial sense which turned to profit everything that he touched. But he had been born among the people, and the sorrows which he described were real to him, since he had been surrounded by them, if he had not shared them. His sincerity and devotion were absolute, and they for whom he lifted his voice were pauper children, flogged like slaves to their tasks, often at the age of six, and forced each day of their lives to fourteen hours of toil. His appeal demanded that their daily labor be shortened, and that they be left free to grow strong, to be taught, and to play, until they reached the age of twelve.

The address of Robert Owen was afterward condensed and formulated into a Bill, which, however, contained concessions to public opinion, in lengthening the hours of labor, and lowering the age at which children could be employed in the mills. The Bill remained four years under discussion in Parliament, and on becoming a law, it was so mutilated as to have scarcely any political value. But although poor as a remedial measure, the Act of 1819 was the assertion on the part of the State to protect its citizens from the injurious consequences of their own acts. It was the death-blow of the

principle of *laissez faire*, according to the teaching of which each industrial employer was absolute ruler in his factory, mine, or workshop.

The character of the Bill was clearly understood by its opponents, who urged that "legislative interference between the free laborer and his employer is a violent, highly dangerous and unconstitutional innovation, and can be justified only upon the strong ground of a well-established necessity." The opposition also found an outlet in prophesies of losses connected with the industry of the nation: loss of profit to the manufacturers; of wages to the workers; and loss of the country's trade, as a consequence of the more enlarged freedom of action enjoyed by the foreign producers. At this late day it is useless to indicate that not one of these evils was ever realized. And it is but just to add that England would willingly blot from its economic records those pages which cover the period between the rise of the factory system and the moment when, as a result of the work of Robert Owen, the child-laborer was set free from the lash and given something of God's gifts of free air and sunlight and rest.

After the passage of the Act of 1819, Owen turned his attention to the evils resulting from the rapid transference of the agricultural population to the manufacturing districts, and in this connection, he forestalled much of the thought which has been lately expressed by French economists and publicists, who but too clearly see their fatherland threatened with the same misfortunes and not cheered by the same hopes as those which overspread England in the early nineteenth century.

At this time also, Owen was engaged in schemes for the relief of the manufacturing and laboring poor, which were at variance with the then prevailing methods. And here again he possessed knowledge which seems prophetic. His words might have been uttered only yesterday:

“The immense sums,” he says, “annually raised for the poor are lavished in utter disregard of every principle of public justice and economy. They offer greater rewards for idleness and vice than for industry and virtue, and thus directly operate to increase the degradation and misery of the classes whom they are designed to serve. No sum, however enormous, administered after this manner, could be productive of any other result—rather will pauperism and wretchedness increase along with the increase of an expenditure thus applied.”

And as remedial measures, Owen proposed to do away with the annual expenditure of poor-rates by making the alms-houses self-supporting; also, to raise the pauper class by a new system of education and industrial training to the level of self-respecting and intelligent toilers.

It is deeply to be regretted that these schemes are to-day as far from realization as at the moment when they were considered. Pauperism is still an inheritance, and still upon the increase in the United Kingdom; now calling for an annual expenditure of more than one million pounds sterling. Still, one factor in this great social problem has become less difficult to treat, since the days of Robert Owen. The poor are less hostile to those who would aid them, less suspicious of the friendliness of those born outside their ranks. But when the struggle for the factory children was the fiercest, their champion stood alone, deprived of all encouragement but that of his sense of right. Of the operatives and working classes he wrote:

“I had no public intercourse with them in any part of the two islands, not even in London. They were strangers to me and to all my views and future intentions. I was at all periods of my progress, their true friend; while their democratic and much-mistaken leaders taught them that I was their enemy, a friend to all in authority, and that I desired to make

slaves of them in these villages of unity and co-operation."

In this struggle, Owen was supported by no party, the men of influence by whom he was surrounded were not invariably loyal to him when trial came, and his chief reliance lay in the public press. The opposing forces which he had most to fear were the secret defamation of his character, and the suspicion of the English Liberals, which was awakened by the fact that several members of the Government favored Factory Reform.

Thus ever more isolated and reproached, Owen continued to work for the oppressed, the ignorant and the weak of England. Although never for a moment neglecting his cherished legislative scheme for the relief of the factory children, he completed plans for co-operative stores and for a "Labor Exchange," which should meet the necessities of the unemployed: labor being accepted as the source of wealth and the standard of value. He proposed to establish a center of exchange in which every worker who produced anything of interchangeable worth, might dispose of it and receive its value in time notes. The material necessarily purchased was to be paid for in these notes at market value, and the time spent in its manufacture was reckoned at sixpence the hour. With the notes received in payment for his labor, the maker of any given article might purchase, in the exchange, material for continuing his work and food for his family. The plan was put into execution in London, and, for a time, gave the fairest promises of success. But it ultimately failed, through the attacks of enemies, imitation by dishonest competitors, and the lack of the immense capital requisite to maintain it. Had the plan not suffered from these elements of disintegration in the early stages of its growth, it is the belief of competent authorities that, through its workings, every working-man in London, and eventually every laborer in England might have been exempt from want of employ-

ment, except as this want should arise from illness, intemperance or indolence.

The Labor Exchange experiment failed definitely in 1834, but in the following year Robert Owen again became active in the cause of the working people. He was already past sixty years of age, but his hopes and enthusiasms were still those of a young man.

To describe the experiments in Socialism made by Robert Owen would be to exceed the limits and the scope of the present paper. Such a course would also pass in review the least practical and valuable results of his life. But enough facts have been adduced to show that he did not deserve the scathing condemnation of one of his critics who said of him :

“He begins in vapor and ends in smoke.”

Owen was indeed a visionary, as are all men who, gifted with the spirit of prophecy, are able to look beyond the narrow horizon of the present. He has been compared with St. Simon and Fourier; but unlike them, he had a most beneficent effect upon the social progress of his century. His economic doctrines were crude, for he lacked the early training and education which ensure logical thought and close reasoning. But he proved himself to be one of the few saviors of modern society. He demonstrated that a factory could be made to benefit both master and workman. He initiated the reform in the condition of the laborers throughout the world. He laid the firm foundation on which the co-operative movement of our times is erecting its successful edifice.

## TRACES OF THE FRANCISCANS IN CALIFORNIA

**W**HAT would have been the result if the Franciscans of Spanish California and the Puritans of Plymouth Rock had exchanged continent-sides on coming to America? For one thing we should have missed the most superb and harmonious type of architecture known to the new continent—the architecture of the Old Missions—an architecture that even in its ruin claims for itself a kingly lineage.

Only the Spaniard had the feeling for beauty traceable in those massive structures raised out of the bare earth in noble stretch and curve, below their mother-mountains. And this beauty-loving Spaniard (had his caravals found anchor at Plymouth Rock) could never have uplifted these mission pillars and domes on our Atlantic Seaboard, owing to the lack of tamed Indian allies, whose patient unrecorded work made possible his architectural achievements in California.

The Puritans would not have carried to California the tradition of court and corridor, of tower and parapet. Their dealing with the Indian would have called for no large structures. Their conscience, dulled to beauty as was Milton's after he turned from *L'Allegro* and all her lovely train, would have approved only such bare, bleak buildings as the old Marblehead Town House where "much treason was hatched up against King George;" or, at best, a simple stiff little temple like the Bruton Parish Church of Virginia, where the Indian maiden Pocahontas was baptized.

The Franciscans came to California in 1769, led by Father Junipero Serra, once a doctor of philosophy in the College of Majorca, Spain. They were not flying from persecution, but were proceeding under the commission of Spain to colonize and Christianize

the long-waiting Spanish province of Alta California. They proceeded from Mexico—two parties by land and two by sea—under a tremendous contagion of enthusiasm, caught on the worldly side from Galvaez, the inspector general sent out from Spain “to examine and reform all branches of government”—a contagion caught on the spiritual side from the saintly Serra, a friar as eager to shelter and save savages as a Pizarro to destroy them.

All Spain was in a blaze of exaltation. At last their northern lands were to be peopled with Christian souls! Cathedral bells rejoiced through the night; rockets soared to the stars; guns thundered to the hills. Ladies vied with one another in flinging their gold and silver ornaments into melting pots whence strong hands molded the bells for the mission towers. So with a great passion of joy in the hearts of the planners (if not always in the hearts of the humble workers) with the feeling of a great work to be done and the sense of being followed by the eyes of a watching nation, the Franciscans set to work at their beautiful home-making in the Upper California.

During all the last half of the eighteenth century, through all the troublous times of the American and the French Revolutions, there on that halcyon western shore, the Franciscans were building and dwelling in pastoral peace and simplicity. Four missions were founded in 1776, the year that old Saint Paul's of New York began its eventful life. From the mother mission erected under the San Diego palms in 1769, on to the last straggling structure built among Sonoma's vines in 1824, a sweep of seven hundred miles, twenty-one missions were built, separated, one from another, by the leagues of a day's journey.

The mission architecture everywhere followed the Spanish-Moorish type — one-story buildings ranged about a rectangular open court, the rooms being surrounded by a corridor rising from massive arches.



Occupying one corner of the court, stood the cathedral or chapel, which was built of stone quarried out of the neighboring hills. The walls of the cathedral were frequently five feet thick, and the structure was dimly lighted by small square windows high up the sides, placed high perhaps as a safeguard against the attacks of unfriendly savages.

The mission San Juan Capistrano (named in honor of a warrior-saint of the Crusades) was perhaps the most magnificent of the missions—the one most nearly approaching the Franciscan ideal. The span of this stone church was one hundred fifty by one hundred feet. It was in the form of a Latin cross, and carried five superb domes, eighty feet from ceiling to floor, the foremost dome being surmounted by a massive tower. The five-foot walls were built of irregular stones held in place by cement. The inner arches and cornices were made of soft sandstone. Inside the cathedral were the five deep arches of the roof, the hollowed niches for the statuary, the receding panels of the walls. Four of the ancient bells still hang in place. One bears the quaint inscription,

*Ruy Elas made me.  
Hail, Mother most pure!  
San Juan, 1796.*

In the book of deaths which lies beside the book of marriages and the book of baptisms in the little library, you may read the tragedy of the Cathedral's ruin. Six years after its joyous consecration, an earthquake one Sunday morning hurled the Roman tower down upon the front dome, and both fell crashing into the church killing forty communicants, mostly Indians. And there on the floor still lies the heap of rock and clay undisturbed since before the battle of Waterloo. The old altar still stands. High above it on the ledges and cranies of the broken roof the swallows build in the delicate air. Tufts of wild tobacco flare insolently from the hundred crevices in the crumbling walls.

The old baptismal font, whose waters have fallen on ten thousand heads, is still in the baptistry where Indian hands first built it. In the present chapel, the old-time dining-room, the ancient confessional is still in use, and in the new sacristy, stored in cedarn chests, are gorgeous vestments, silver holy water bowls, croziers, candelabra, golden chalices and cruets, bells and book-rests, all made by hand and more beautiful than any work of these latter days.

In this sacristy, lurking in dark closets, are wooden statues of the saints, their faces enameled in brilliant cosmetic, their eyes still bright and sharp. The old-time pictures of Stations of the Cross are gone from Capistrans. But at the Mission San Fernando a set remains; and it is worth a long journey to gaze on their monstrous drawing and gruesome coloring, all so devoutly wrought in honor of the Saviour's passion. Crude as little Johnnie's sketches on his first slate, daubed in primary pigments, made of clays and crushed flowers, colors still painfully vivid after a hundred years of Time's erasing, still the pictures show a rudimentary art-sense, and a certain feeling for perspective and values. The old Indians of this mission still remember the Indian artist who all one summer was painting these pictures outside the chapel door.

Leaving the Cathedral, you come upon the court in and near which went on the work-a-day life in the mission. All about this pillared court runs a portico whose roof made a promenade, affording a survey of the country for miles around. At Capistrans, the front of the rectangle adjoining the Cathedral made the apartments of the padres. These rooms were mere cells with floors of colored clay, each cell containing a narrow bed, with a stretched hide for a mattress, and a mission blanket for a covering. Passing down the front of this rectangle of buildings, you come to the guest rooms and the library.

Missions, by the way, were in their time the only taverns in California, and friend or foe might bide and break bread in them at his own desire. It was esteemed a discourtesy to pass without dismounting; and, in the first pastoral days, a handful of unreckoned silver was always left in the guest's chamber to relieve his need if his purse was light. A fresh horse, too, always waited exchange for his jaded one.

Books were few in the library, each padre, under the order of Father Serra, had brought three volumes: a missal, a book of devotions and a book of history—little short thick volumes, bound in sheepskin, caught in hasps or tied with thongs, printed in Latin or Spanish, and with no date later than 1700. Many of these quaint old books are yet on the shelves, covered with dust but readable still.

Next to the library came the quarters of the unmarried overseers and soldiers. Rounding the corner and going down the sides, you come to the shops where smiths, cobblers, carpenters and coopers plied their crafts and taught the redskinned apprentices—all working together on clear days in the open square. On Saturdays, each man was given a dole of soap and required to take a bath. On Sunday afternoons the open square was the theatre for games, bull-fights, and rude miracle plays.

About the southeast corner were the women's quarters, where the wool was carded, spun and woven, where the clothing was made, and where, under charge of a trusty matron, the Indian maidens were kept secluded until their early marriage. The rooms along the rear were for the mission produce—beans, peas, tallow, soap, wine. The granary was around the next and last corner; and adjoining it was a small dark room used for a donjon. The dining-room joined the church buildings. A walled garden, into which no woman might ever step, was near the padres' apartments. Here under

these tall still palms, beside a murmuring fountain, the friars could retire into silence to meditate and to pray.

Moving among the grey quiet of the crumbling halls and courts, you find it hard to imagine the busy thronging life of other days. First into that old life came the day of the founding. Here stood a motley sheepskin-shirted crowd of guards; here crouched a gasping "multitude of pagans," Indians from the hills around; here passed to and fro a few sandaled padres in coarse grey gowns of serge girded with hempen rope. Many Indians that day were written in the book of baptism; and they and the padres began at once the long work of building San Juan Capistrans by the Sea.

They began but with the rudest tools, and with no skill save only that which springs from heart's desire. The women and children dug the clay and fetched it in their reed and willow baskets. Then came the making of the bricks, the tiles and the adobes, the kneading of the clay with the wild oat straw, and the slow baking in the rude kilns or in the hot beat of the coppery sun. There was the cutting and the carrying of the rushes for lath-work fastened by leathern thongs. There were long expeditions to the far mountains to fell trees for beam and rafter; there were swift home-comings with the unwieldy timbers. Ceremoniously blessed by a padre in the forest, the timbers, one by one, were lifted to the patient backs of a line of Indians and, transferred from relay to relay, the timbers were not allowed to touch the earth until deposited on the mission grounds.

It was years before the buildings were completed—cathedral, court and corridors; years before the mountain waters were led in aqueducts to fountain and field; years before the orchards and ranches were set apart by cacti hedges and adobe walls spiked with crooked cattle-horns.

At each mission the neophytes were numbered by hundreds. Punctuality, order and in-

dustry were virtues sorely needed by the Indians, hitherto as irresponsible as squirrels; so a system of signals and bells regulated the movements of the day. The morning angelus summoned high and low to rise and pass to prayers. After this came breakfast, each neophyte bringing his close-woven basket for his portion of *atole* or parched barley mush. Bells then summoned all to their work—the artisans to their shops, the herders and tillers to the fields, the women to their cloth and basket weaving; the *alcade* of each department giving his orders in semi-military style, the *mayor-domo* watching over the little industrial monarchy. At eleven, bells rang for a dinner of mutton, beef and succotash. At two, labor was resumed until the peal of the evening angelus. There was an early supper of maize; and later on there were vespers in the chapel.

Churchly decorum was enforced by beadles, and the women sat apart from the men after the fashion of the Plymouth meeting houses of that day. The Indians proved to be quite skillful in church music, and travelers speak with praise of the old Gregorian chants by the young barbarians who made their own instruments and copied their own score upon sheepskin pages, printed in heroic notation visible across the chapel.

It was in the main a beautiful pastoral life. Industry was made the law in place of idleness; responsibility pushed aside savage vagabondage; a concept of the living God (however crudely held) took the place of unclean fetichism. The Indians were converts in name at least, carrying on the duties assigned to them. They were not a keen-brained race, and though docile, were brutish and lazy and made little progress toward the state of *gentes de razon*, or reasonable beings fit to populate the pueblos. So when the politicians of Mexico, with an itching palm for "the Pious Fund," conspired to give the Indians political rights, the Indians were found all unready for citizenship. Knowing neither

savage nor civic art, more helpless in their last stage than in their first, they fell into dissipation or back into barbarism, and the little cycle of missionary effort seemed a mistake of love.

The mission *regime*, however futile it may have been, however formal and external its religious training, seems to have touched upon some of the best educational and sociological thought of our time. It made use of the wisdom Spain had learned from her Roman conquerors: the wisdom of taking the conquered into full partnership. The ideas of daily contact of superior with inferior; the ideas of community of property and co-operation in labor; the ideas of the union of manual labor and mental drill—all those were rudely exemplified in the mission life.

With the passing of the temporal power from the padres, began the decay of the mission architecture. Vandal men, wandering cattle, and the ravages of rain and wind and sun have all joined to break and beat the structures down to dust. But the mission architecture is not entirely lost, for it is springing up into fresh life in some of the newer artistic structures of the West. The California buildings at the Chicago-World's Fair revealed to many the charm of this Spanish-Moorish design. And Stanford University, after searching the world for a beautiful and fitting housing, chose the mission type for a model; and now the low home-like buildings around Stanford's pillared court, with their roofs of red tile above the green palms make perhaps the most unique and pleasing college structure in the world.

So perhaps the greatest legacy left by the Franciscans is their chain of stone and adobe buildings, noble even in their ruins. "One large and several smaller things, bound well together—a monarch with a lovely train—this makes a harmony in architecture," says Ruskin. And here, at every mission in the pastoral solitudes, the cathedral rises in austere dignity with an

attendant group of minor buildings carrying on the cathedral lines.

Beautiful and harmonious is this architecture, built of humble materials, shaped with rude tools or patient handicraft, all planned in loving sincerity by unskilled builders who had joy and faith in their work. It has the fine harmony that springs from the seizure of the simple means at hand, and from the echo of form to use. Ornamentation was not often attempted, but, huge and bluff, every building was in daily use and with proper care would have stood far into the centuries. These buildings have also the beauty that rises from adaptation to environment. Balanced, unified, symmetrical, crowning gentle mesa or valley slope, they are of the never failing proportions that seem to multiply and melt into the mystery of the changeable hills beyond—hills sometimes tawny and soft as deer-skin, sometimes rich in color as the burnt summer-hues of Persian praying rugs, sometimes irised like the rosy lilac of the wild dove's breast. Built of the earth, these old structures seem at times as if not made by man but by Nature. For they repeat in long stretches and long swells the contours of the girdling hills about them, and give back their color tones of buff and dun and tan and warm purple and rusty red. Indeed, under the wizarding of the night they seem as if they had dreamed over the dim fields since antiquity, even as the Sphinx has brooded for centuries over the grey sands of Libya.

## A WORD CONCERNING SOME GREAT RELIGIOUS ORDERS

**F**OR every mind alive to the significance of history, the traces of the great ecclesiastical orders in America are fraught with interest. They tell a story of obedience to an idea, of personal sacrifice, of the power of united effort which refreshes and consoles in an age of materialism. However far the world has advanced beyond the stage of science and philosophy which prevailed in the times of these pilgrim friars and priests, reverence is yet due to them as to a constructive social force of the first importance. Especially is this true of the Franciscans, whose founder, the rapt visionary of Assisi, still compels the homage of free-thinkers as well as of churchmen; still attracts both writers and readers to consider the lesson of his life.

The founding of the Franciscan and the Dominican orders—which events were nearly synchronous—was the last great rally of the Church to preserve the unity of Christendom. It was the age of Pope Innocent III., who almost attained world-sovereignty, and this by the force of a spirit that stood for political progress, freedom and justice, as was proven by his intervention in English affairs relating to the Magna Charta.

It was this great pope who gave the Franciscans their charter, and the Order was sworn to poverty, chastity and obedience. Hard and ascetic rules without doubt, but such as were necessary to propagate truth and to develop character. And in the first enthusiasm of the spiritual crusade against vice and worldliness, the walls of the Franciscan mother-church at Assisi flamed out, beneath the pencil of Giotto, with the joys of what in modern speech are called "plain living and high thinking." With imperfect technique, but with a power of story-telling scarcely surpassed in the history of the



plastic arts, Saint Francis is seen espousing Poverty. Around him stand the scoffers of the world; while he and his bride are goaded and pricked by the great thorn-plants which encompass them. And yet, as a reward of the trial endured and the blood spent, from space to space the plants bloom with roses. The picture with all its intense symbolism, is yet a transcript of an every-day assemblage of the time along a Tuscan or Umbrian highway. It warned the mediæval Italian, tempted by the luxury of the city republics which was derived from Oriental commerce. It appeals yet to-day to the disciple of Emerson; to all those who see clearly enough into the future to know that the permanence of society depends upon the maintenance of stern virtues.

Another picture of as intense symbolic meaning is one found on the walls of the basilica of St. John Lateran, Rome—"that mother and head of all the Christian churches"—which represents St. Francis and St. Dominic upholding the Car of the Church: a Saint on either side supporting his holy charge. To lovers of history as well as to the devout children of the faith of Rome the meaning of the allegory is clear. It may be explained and extended to those less penetrating, by a simple reference to the course of the two monks so distinguished, and to the work of the orders which they founded. The Franciscans were to exemplify the love of God toward the universe, to carry the message of the brotherhood of man throughout the world; to labor for the advent of an era of peace and good-will. Hence the legends of the tenderness of St. Francis for all created things; the stories of his sermons to birds and fishes, which to the sympathetic reader are not childish fairy tales, but which, instead, incorporate modern thought under the ingenuous semblance of mediævalism, just as the technically imperfect art of the period burns and flames with a spirituality superior to all restrictions of time and place.

It is indeed true that the purity

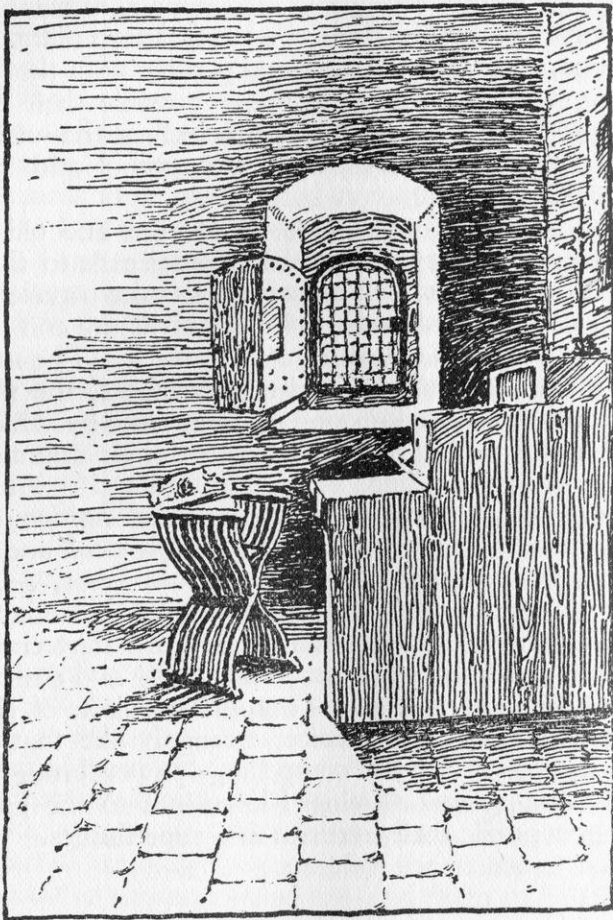
and religious fervor of the Franciscans degenerated all too quickly, so that less than a century after the foundation of the order, Dante, with a bitterness which only Tuscan vituperative can attain, scathed the grey friars who went about "hiding devils within their cowls." Still the example of Saint Francis was set for all time, and his work broadcast. The preaching methods of his followers gave to Wickliffe the idea of the Lollards whom he sent through the lanes and the by-paths of England to carry the Bible to the people. The vows which made up the rule of St. Francis came to be pronounced in continents of whose existence the founder never dreamed, and centuries after the hands and feet which received the Stigmata had turned to dust, savages were Christianized by the story of the self-denial, pity and tenderness of the monk of Assisi.

A great idea once projected into the world is never lost, and the Rule of St. Francis wrought its purifying work upon the men of all nations, classes and conditions who gave themselves up to follow it. The very acceptance of the three requisites of membership in the Order could not fail to benefit the individual and to favor the cause of civilization in times of violence, and in the new countries in which the successors of St. Francis established their missions.

Together with their essentials of self-restraint, these friars carried with them the rudiments of all the sciences and the principles of all the arts that make for the elevation and the beauty of life. Assimilative like all travelers, they gained from each people among whom they lived and labored, useful or aesthetic ideas. With the sure sense which comes from long-continued, well-directed training they adapted the sciences and the arts to new environments, as we find them to have done in the case of the Gothic-Moorish architecture which renders so picturesque the mission districts of California. These towers, colonnaded courts, and curiously arched doorways, aided by the enchantment of the surrounding

nature, must have created for the exiles a second Spain, reproducing their lost and distant home almost to the point of deception; while the names of St. Francis, St. Clara and St. Antonio, given to the new places in which they labored, constantly brought to their remembrance the lives and examples which they were set to emulate. The Franciscans of California are comparable with the Jesuits of Peru, who raising everywhere possible their domed churches, thus multiplied for themselves the vision of St. Peter's, which was for them the symbol and type of Rome.

It is the foreign and old-world character given by the Spanish Franciscans to the missions in California which to-day attracts the traveler, who is often seized with a desire to imitate structure and fittings in surroundings quite hostile to their effect. The mission architecture demands the clear atmosphere, the play of natural color, the background of mountains by which the friars profited when they reared their simple imitations of still more historic and admirable edifices. And the fittings of the missions were the proper belongings of men living under the imperious rule of a high ideal and apart from ease and luxury. An incentive to labor, a call to higher thought, to the principles of St. Francis adapted to a wider and wiser world than that of the thirteenth century, cries out from every bench and chair and desk of the Spanish missions, just as the inanimate objects of Savonarola's cell have each a voice, strangely like that of the Dominican friar whose compelling power brought the worldly and splendor-loving Florentines to the point of burning in public their luxuries and superfluities.



## A VISIT TO THE SHOP OF WILLIAM MORRIS

A STROLL along Oxford St., London, in the social season, convinces one that the English do not know how to display goods. Here is one of the best retail sections in the largest city in the world, and the windows are so crowded with wares that, to borrow a popular saying, one cannot see the forest because of the trees. As one nears Hyde Park, the grade of shops improves, yet within two blocks of Rotten Row, the parade ground of fashion and wealth, the modestly tasteful window at No. 449 Oxford street, attracts little attention. It is not crowded to repletion as the neighboring shop windows are, and one thinks all the stock is shown. Perhaps in its dressing, it lacks the alluring quality of the Parisian, or the striking effectiveness of the American show-windows. It is so quiet and modest that one is surprised, when almost unconsciously he stops for a second glance. Then the few artistically arranged but really fine pieces of metal work, pottery and draped stuffs, compel a glance at the sign above, which reads: William Morris & Co., like any other tradesman.

Ah! here in the busiest part of busy London, with its rush and roar of traffic, its fog and dirt, its hurrying crowds, its barter and sale, the dreamer of the Earthly Paradise, "the idle singer of an empty day" as he called himself, has left his mark. Dropping his birth-right of ease, the young man, William Morris, known only as the graceful literary artificer, became in his maturity, the master of many crafts, the strenuous Socialist orator, the active apostle of brotherhood, the au-

thor of that most perfect of Utopias, "News From Nowhere."

It is a long distance from News From Nowhere to No. 449 Oxford St. It would seem that the author of such a book, could not be practical; that the founder of so strong and practical a business, could not have written the Utopia. Morris did both.

Entering the store, one is impressed by its business-like air and yet it is entirely different in fitting from its neighbors. There are no long stretches of counters piled high with goods and with waiting clerks behind them. Here is a glass case containing some fine embroidery or tapestry; there a table, or cabinet, simply but strongly made, with dignified, pleasing lines, in the natural wood, and without the high gloss given by cheap varnish. These are specimens of the Morris furniture.

On them are pieces of brass, metal, pottery, tiles, etc., examples of other crafts, which Morris, the master craftsman taught the present workmen. These too have graceful shapes, soft, pleasing coloring and scanty ornamentation which seems but the natural flowering of the maker's love of beauty.

In a place where the light shines through, is a painted glass window, and, on a neighboring table, some small panes of the Morris glass. With light behind, these produce the effect of myriad jewels massed into meaning. The few pieces of painted glass in stock are for sale, but no more can be obtained at present, as the Morris Glass Works have enough orders for three years in advance.

Near the glass, were a few pieces of the Arras tapestry. This branch of the business has also orders for years to come. Only trained workmen and women can make these exquisite products. And not only training but natural aptitude and artistic instinct are needed, but these last are much more common than

is generally thought. A piece of tapestry or of stained glass is usually the work of one person and must be the flowering of that person's individuality under favorable conditions. Then it is a "thing of beauty" and a "joy forever."

The largest piece shown in the shop was some 4 x 2 1-2 feet in dimensions, and represented St. George and the Dragon. It was a wonderful blending of soft but brilliant color. The price was 70 pounds, or \$350. Most of this tapestry and glass goes into public buildings. The price puts it beyond the reach of any but the very rich, and the Company prefers that these exquisite works of art, be where the people can see them. There is not the same feeling about other products like wall-paper, stuffs, carpets, etc., as these are reproductions of artistic designs.

In a rack along the wall were rolls of chintzes and light silks, and, at the back, behind a pretty grill-work screen, were samples of silks, velvets, damasks and wall-papers. The patterns on many of these were designed by Morris, Burne-Jones, Rossetti and other famous artists. A number have been reproduced by American manufacturers, but never with quite the same effect. In the Morris fabrics, the stuffs at the base are the best of their kind. The blue and white cotton chintz is made of the best cotton fibre twisted into strong thread and well-woven into substantial cloth. The same is true of the finest brocade or damask.

No aniline dyes are used and nothing but fast colors. It is a peculiarity of the vegetable and animal dyes that they harmonize with one another, do not glitter, and rarely fade; when they do, they soften, but do not dull. The aniline or coal-tar dyes are much more brilliant and make more striking effects, but they rarely harmonize with the vegetable dyes, and often do not harmonize with one another. Most of them rapidly fade and when they do, it is not to a softer shade, but to a

different and much duller color. Contrast this with the peculiar, age-softening of the vegetable-dyed old tapestries! The effect there is very lovely. If the dyes had been aniline, several of the colors, in fading, would have changed their character entirely. The result would have been dull and inharmonious. Stuffs that are made only to sell, are usually bright with aniline dyes and in interior decorations, the result is often exasperating to the artist.

Ah! what a world of soft, rich, blended colorings and flowing designs was revealed in these stuffs and papers. Colorings and designs that do not force themselves on the eye, do not stridently clamor for recognition, do not stun, but produce an effect of quiet, dignified, restful beauty.

We stayed a short time with Joseph Cadbury, Esq., the wealthy cocoa manufacturer and Quaker philanthropist, of the Manor House near Birmingham. The dining room was decorated by Wm. Morris & Co. It is a large, lofty room with two great bow windows to the east and south, and full of sun. It is fitted in dark greens and blues, with wood-work and furniture of dark oak. A stately organ fills one end, and on one side are doors, a buffet, and a low book-case. Windows with a noble outlook occupy the other two sides. Stately curtains of some dark stuff, undraped, but hanging in simple, almost severe folds, give dignity to the windows. There are divans with cushions, books, a writing desk and evidences of living, but none of the bric-a-brac that clutters many American houses. The furniture is simple in form, honest in design and workmanship, and there is not too much of it. Unobtrusive but soft and pleasing rugs cover the floor. Other details I cannot recall, but only the general impression of dignified beauty, a stately spaciousness, warmth, light and rest. Meals in that room, though of bread and water, are banquets. Such a room is an aid to noble living.

This, I take it, is the aim of the



Morris decorations: that man's material environment should rest and inspire.

In a large book-case at the rear of the second floor of the Morris shop, was a complete set of the Morris books. The most sumptuous one is the Kelmscott Chaucer, printed on hand-made paper, with type specially designed for it by Morris, with ink of a blackness and fineness, and letter-press of a clearness seldom seen, and with illustrations by Morris, Burne-Jones, Rossetti and others. The edition was small, is out of print now and is worth \$500. This volume was not for sale. Since Morris' death, the Company has stopped printing, and the Kelmscott books are growing scarce and valuable. They certainly are exquisite specimens of the printer's art.

Near by, on this second floor, were rugs of the same characteristics as the stuffs and paper on the first floor, also embroideries, and an embroidery room; above were work-shops. Of course, only a small part of the work is done in London. Morris abhorred great cities, and thought that they were excrescences on social life. In his News From Nowhere, London is razed to the ground, save a few houses preserved as curiosities. The workshops at Merton Abbey are beautifully situated in a lovely country and have nothing of a factory air. Men and women go there for work, not for wages. The conditions are such and the treatment such that it is work they love and their work is honest and intelligent.

On their bill-head, Morris & Co. announce themselves as makers of painted glass, tiles, embroidery, Arras tapestry, chintzes, silks, velvets, etc., wall-papers, carpets and furniture decorations. Their work is not low in price. It is not meant for the masses. But it has a great effect directly on the mansions and palaces of England, and indirectly on the homes of all the people in England, in America and all over the world.

As far as his age and time

would allow, Morris embodied in a practical, successful, working business, the principle that he so clearly stated when he wrote: "Love of nature in all its forms must be the ruling spirit of works of art, and the brain that guides the hand must be healthy and hopeful, must be keenly alive to the surroundings of our own days."

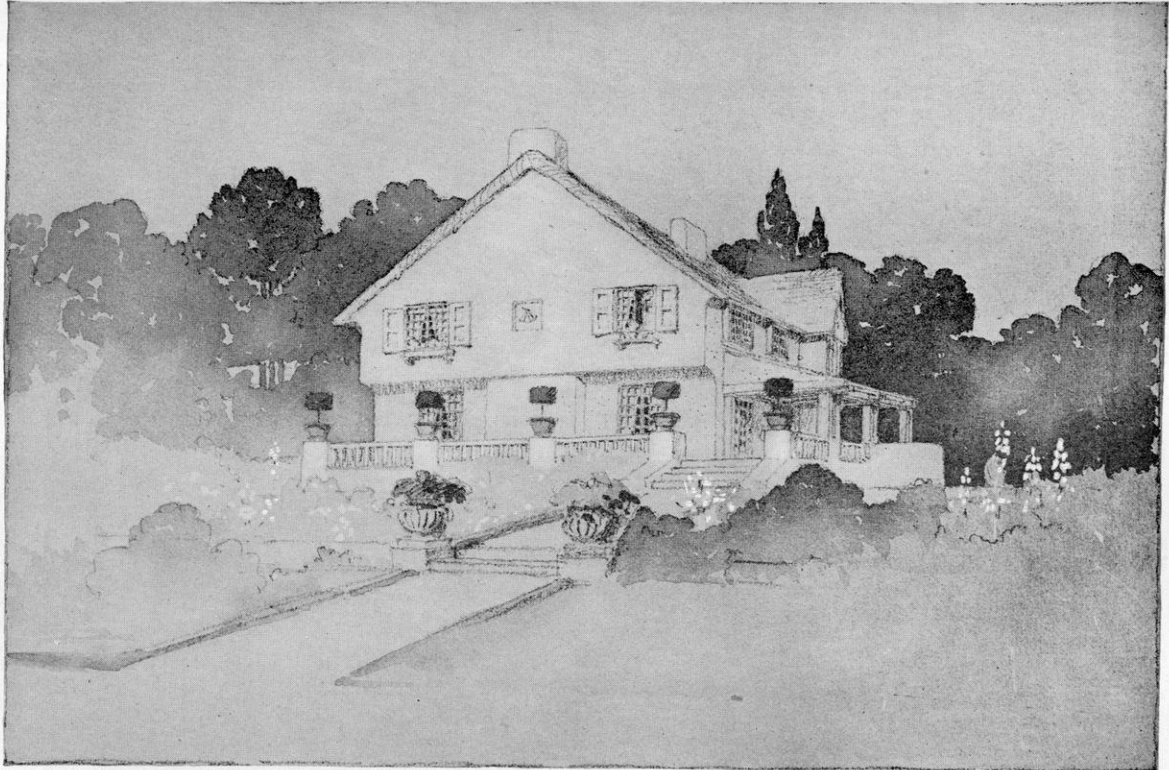


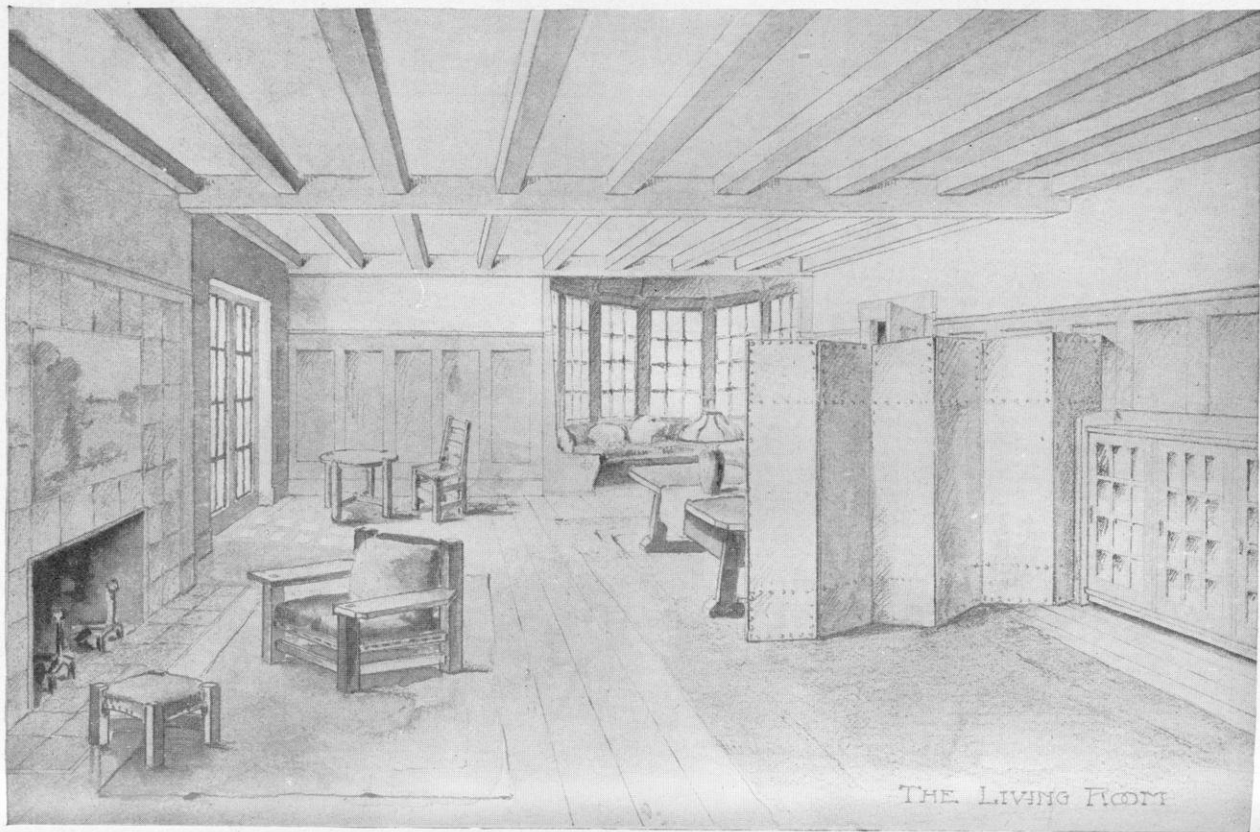
## THE PLANNING OF A HOME

ON a spring evening, three persons were seated in a small reception room of a middle-class city dwelling. Through the open window the sounds of the street came with annoying insistence. The electric car, the news-boy, the cab and the costermonger followed one another with no truce for tired ears and nerves. The persons gathered in the room suggested a comparison with plants confined in close flower-pots having no depth of earth. If they moved freely, they struck some projecting article of use or adornment. The piano and the book shelves frowned haughtily, as if exercising "the right of eminent domain." The legs of tables and chairs stretched selfishly over the floor-space, and the people, close about the lamp, gave themselves up to the tyranny of inanimate objects.

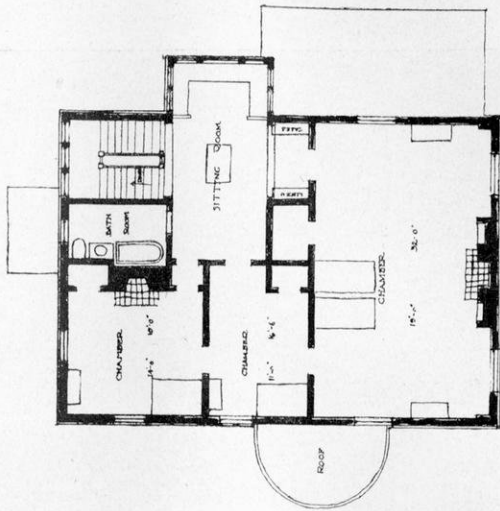
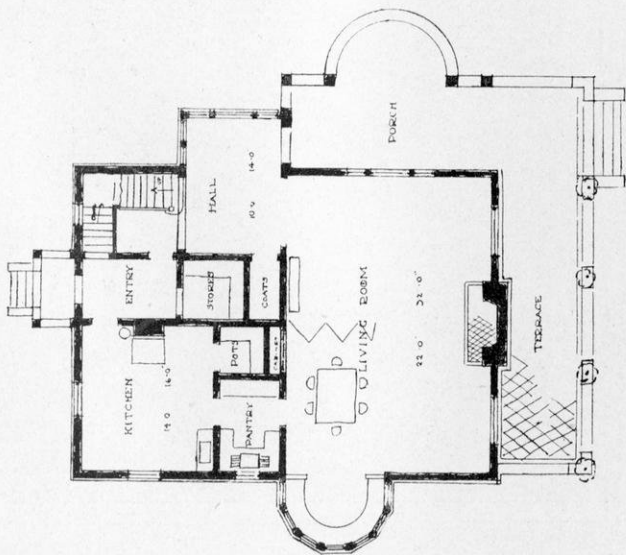
The group appeared to have gathered for consultation: a middle-aged and a young man, with a woman evidently the wife of the former. The first man was, from his appearance, prosperous and as the world counts, happy. But he had the anxious, alert air which comes from too close contact with many

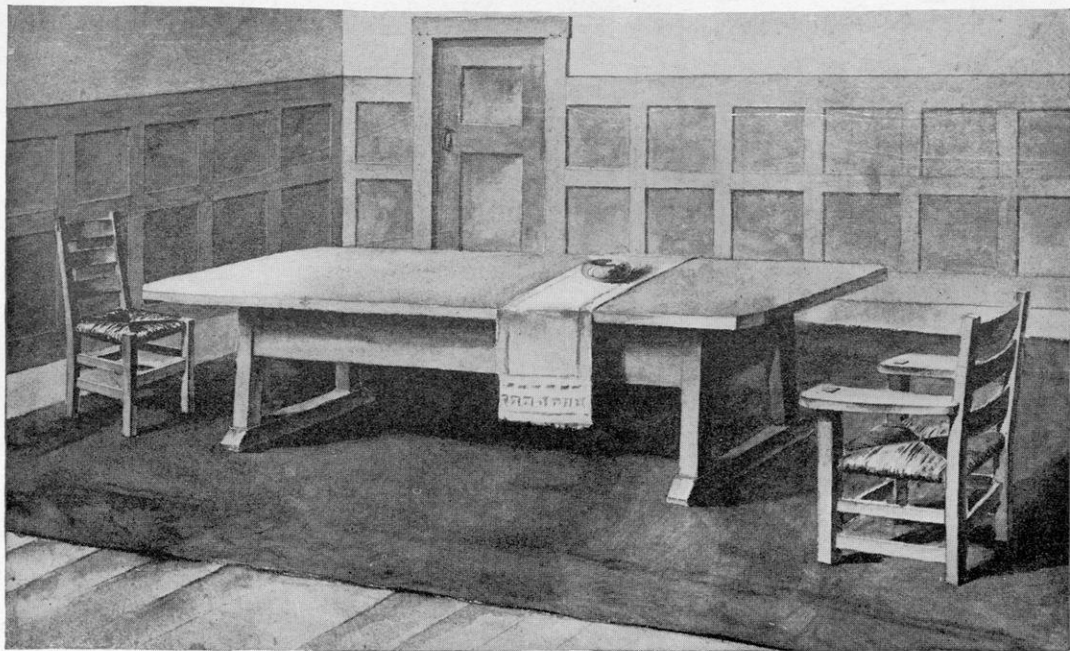
*Henry Wilhelm Wilkinson*  
*Architect*





THE LIVING ROOM





*Furniture for Dining Room, by The United Crafts*

persons—like a fencer trained to a constant system of thrust and parry. Suddenly, across his face—of which the muscles, contracted and knotted, suggested the broken clouds of a “mackerel” sky—there gleamed a faint smile. He exclaimed:

“I read to-day of some one who said of a house that it was ‘too small to inhabit, too large to hang one’s watch in.’ Really, not a bad conceit. I feel the same here. I am ‘cribbed, cabined and confined.’ As I grow older, I realize that the city is at best a workshop, a bazaar, a Vanity Fair, from which one must escape at times, if one wishes to preserve cheerfulness, courage and sanity. I am growing sentimental. (Here the wife shot upon him a quick, penetrating glance.) I often surprise myself reading my daughter’s second year German books that are so filled with spring songs and allusions to flowers and moonlight and solitude.”

The speaker paused, and then resumed in a sharper tone and more hurried utterance than he had yet used:

“I want you to build me a house in the country. Will you give me an idea of one here and now? You have the factors of the problem—a moderate expenditure; the situation to be not over fifteen miles from the city; a family of three.

The architect and the wife exchanged glances. Then the young man asked the older: “Have you preferences in style?”

The answer was not delayed: “If you construct thoroughly and insure comfort, I shall place no restrictions upon you. But I will confess that I have a faint, distant ideal. One that probably could never be realized by a practical builder. The exterior, in order to please me, should recall things that I saw in my long past journeys in Italy and England. The interior—at least the ground-floor—must be largely given up to the living-room.”

"All that is most simple," replied the architect. "The Italian features which you mention are, naturally, a terrace with a balustrade and vases, and a porch with pilasters, such as one sees in the villas along the Riviera. The English home-feeling can be inspired by the mullioned windows with quaint shutters, the chimney-pots, the inclination of the roof. The building material will, of course, be wood covered with plaster, or, as we know it, 'staff.'"

The wife, whose interest had been intensified through forced silence, now exclaimed:

"But the interior—that is my domain! And I have very precise ideas regarding it. I agree with my husband. I do not want a series of small, box-like rooms, each devoted to a special purpose; but rather one room sufficiently large and well-designed to contain all things needed to fill out a day of work, rest and pleasure." The woman's face grew radiant as she continued: "My first requisite is a fire-place without hood or shelf, and surrounded with Grueby tiles in a soft melon green. And I will ask Cousin Fred to paint within the tile-frame a landscape: trees and meadows and rivers—something like the landscape that we saw in his studio at Ville d'Avray. Then—and what beautiful color-effects I shall get—the open beams and the paneling must be in chestnut. That will give a grayish tone. Then again, above the paneling and between the beams, there will be the gray plaster left quite rough to show the marks of the trowel and to catch the light and shade. And again—the fittings must appear to be a part of the house, and not an intruding, invading element. I like people and things that keep their places. I was annoyed in my early home by the constant and useless displacement of furniture, just as I am now vexed by persons of unstable character and variable moods. I want space, simplicity and solidity in my belongings—things made to use and to keep—and above all, a severity in form and color that shall make my

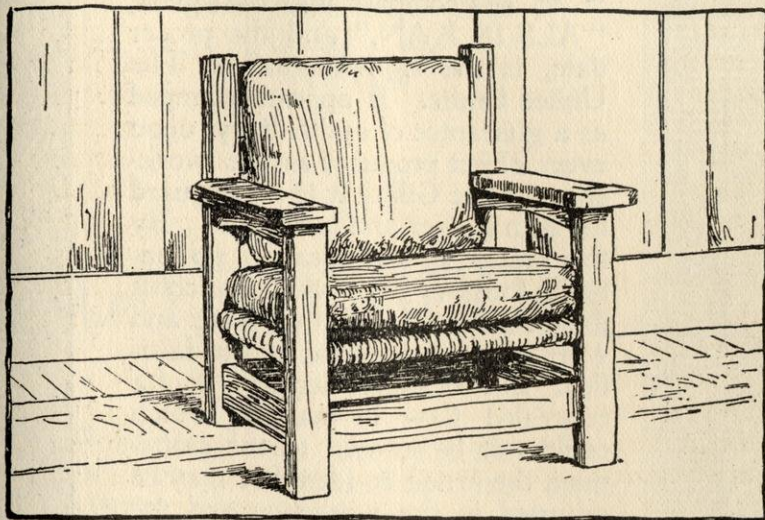


home refined and distinctive. That is my ultimatum!"

A few days after the recorded conversation, the joint ideal of the husband and wife was reduced to the plan shown in our plates. At the end of the short examination of the drawings, the man glanced up from them to say:

"I am to be congratulated. I shall one day be removed from Lord Chesterfield's criticism:

'Possessed of one great house of state,  
Without one room to sleep or eat.  
How *well* you *build*, let flatt'ry tell,  
And all mankind how *ill* you *dwell*.' "



*The examples of cabinet-making shown in this magazine are from the workshops of the United Crafts, Eastwood, N. Y.*



**A** DEVICE consisting of a joiner's compass, with the legend, "ALS IK KAN," and the proper date, is the sign manual of The United Crafts. It appears stamped as a guarantee of authenticity, upon every object produced in the workshops of the Gild. It is a safeguard for both maker and purchaser. By this system of identification, no material, form, or color which has come to be associated with the name and work of the enterprise can be falsified. In case also of accident, or of a concealed flaw in material which could not be known to the craftsman, the article so identified may be returned to the workshop and the injury or defect made good.