

## KNOW NORTH CAROLINA

### THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

[This concludes the article by C. R. Fay, eminent British economist, on North Carolina and the New Industrial Revolution, published in the Economic Journal of the Royal Economic Society, London, June, 1925.]

(5) Finally, North Carolina has a labor supply, plentiful, adequate, and cheap. In the cotton factories this labor is almost entirely white; in the spinning and weaving rooms exclusively so. Colored labor is used inside and outside all industrial establishments for cleaning and carting: on all elevators; in tobacco factories in the stripping departments; in cottonseed and oil plants under white foremen; in cotton factories in the opening and dyeing rooms. Inside a factory, in contrast with work on the face of a quarry, colored and white rarely work side by side. In short, in the industries of North Carolina colored persons do the work that newly-arrived immigrants would do in the North. The road construction gang is generally colored, though the state in constructing its highways used a certain amount of white labor; for the bootleggers are mainly Anglo-Saxons.

### Native-Born Population

The population of North Carolina, as noted in the opening sentence, is 3 to 1 white, and the proportion is not declining. This population is not maintained by immigration either from the North or from Europe. Italian stone-cutters are to be seen at Mount Airy; there are small settlements of Italians and Scandinavians in the truck lands by the coast. But almost the whole of the population, white and colored, was born inside the state. Between 1910 and 1920 the population of North Carolina increased 16 percent, "due almost entirely to the virility and fecundity of our country people, white and black. . . . We lead the entire U. S. A. in cradles and baby carriages, with a birth-rate of 31.6 per 1,000 inhabitants against 23.7 for the total registration area of the U. S. A." (North Carolina Industrial and Urban: N. C. Club Year Book, 1920-1921.) Between 1910 and 1920 the economic incentive to increase of population was doubly strong. The cash crops of the state, tobacco and cotton, were rising steadily in value; and the wages offered in the factories, though lower than those paid in the North, were very much higher than anything heretofore enjoyed by these country people. Between 1910 and 1920 the numbers employed in manufacture and commerce rose by 74,000, and so strong was the cityward drift that 19 out of 99 counties in the state showed a decline of population.

### Pure Anglo-Saxon Stock

Many of the country whites live in the mountains. They are of pure Anglo-Saxon stock, which has been there for more than a century untouched by the tide of industrialism. Till recently the crack of the rifle has been heard more frequently than the honk of the motor horn; but the undeveloped water sites of the state are on the further side of the great Blue Ridge, and state highways are building for the attraction of tourists. When these are completed, mountain-bred school-children will be conveyed to consolidated schools in auto trucks, and the mountain veil will be forever rent. In and around Winston-Salem are the intelligent and vigorous descendants of the Moravian Church, which founded Salem in 1763. All over the state Scotsmen (and, of course, many others) own garages, and one county is called Scotland. The writer met two families with familiar Midland names, Biggs and Dodd. The family of Biggs came from fifty miles east of Durham, English one side and Scotch on the other. They lived in a cottage rented at \$35.00 a month (taxes, as always on this continent, included). The old mother of the family was keeping house, while her girls were making \$20 a week in the adjacent mill, and her boys as much as forty dollars on silk-knitting machines, but she feared the spinning-rooms with their risk of T. B. Her husband had been a farmer, growing cotton and keeping "a big gang of sheep," while she, as a young wife, spun and wove. It was then reckoned a disgrace to be dependent on outside

resources for clothes. The family of Dodd had four boys and four girls. The boys worked on the home farm, and with the improved price of cotton were glad to "stay with it." (They were at the moment climbing Mount Pilot, on a Sunday afternoon, having parked their car at the foot.) But the girls looked hungrily towards factory life with its regular wage, its ornamentation of clothing and amusement, and its escape from the isolation and never-ending work of farm life. The supply of country labor is still plentiful: "two or three as many more ready at hand in the country regions of the state," it was estimated in 1921. (N. C. Club Year Book, 1920-1921.) This plentiful supply is exceptionally fitted for textile factory work.

### Home Industries

"Many of these mountain women have for generations been spinning and weaving cotton in the way of bedspreads and other things, and in some cases dyeing them with home-made dyes which apparently never fade. Some of the bedspreads show an unusual degree of skill in design and production, and many of the dyed spreads indicate remarkable ability in combining colors and in producing at home these fine dyes. Nearly all of these spreads bear some name and the same patterns have been made for generation after generation. The people who are today making them do not know the origin of the names, but it is known that they can be traced back to England." (The South's Development, p. 336.) The last stage of the spreads is the back of a Ford car, where they envelop the bulging volume of tobacco on its way to the auction-rooms.

Nearly all cotton factory work is individualistic and comparatively isolated. By contrast, the colored workers in the stemming-room of a tobacco plant enjoy, shoulder to shoulder, the group life of the old plantation. Laughter and jest roll along the work-tables, and now and then from the most religiously minded section of the American continent a hymn such as "Rock of Ages" rises cheerfully above the hum of machinery. In places where white and colored are together the white man enjoys a variety of supervision, with an eye now on his machinery, now on his help, and now on the pace of the room's output.

### Wage Scales

The labor is cheap, perhaps only half as costly as Northern labor, but it is not the kind of cheapness which is costly to the employer. For white and colored supply, the one, skill and pace, the other, muscle and contentment. Detailed wage statistics are lacking. The reports of the North Carolina Department of Labor give only the wage range between the highest and lowest paid, male and female. It is a subject on which the casual stranger cannot easily obtain full information, but the following series is compiled from individual examples, which are believed to be representative. All through the state the normal working day seems to be ten hours, with a half-day on Saturday. Daily wages are given.

#### (1) Building Trades.

Within this group occur the few occupations which have escaped the degredation of manual skill.

Greensboro bricklayers, \$8; plasterers, \$3.75.

Mount Airy Granite Quarry: cutters, \$8 (head cutter, who instructs the apprentices, \$10 to \$15).

Some of the latter were Scotchmen or Cornishmen who had made the familiar trek; first the Scotch village or small English town: then the winter-cold North, Maine, Vermont, Ontario, and now North Carolina, where in the first week of January outside work is comfortable and exhilarating. To this group may be added the process of upholstering in the furniture factory.

High Point, N. C.: upholsterers, \$10 to \$12.50.

Upholstering involves a number of difficult hand processes—fitting, the springs; stuffing; stretching and tacking down the upholstering material.

The writer watched an Old Country craftsman upholstering a "non-standard" suite with a tapestry imported from

### THE MAN IN BLACK

We owe an obligation to the man in black; we brought him here; he served us well; he is patient and teachable; we owe him gratitude, above all we owe him justice. We cannot forget his fidelity and we ought not to magnify his faults. The white man in the South can never attain to his fullest growth until he does absolute justice to the Negro race. If we fail to administer equal and exact justice, we shall in the fulness of time lose power ourselves; for we must know that the God who is love, trusts no people with authority for the purpose of enabling them to do injustice to the weak.—Charles B. Aycock.

England; for High Point sells also to millionaires.

(2) Cotton and Hosiery Mills, Greensboro and Durham.

Cotton: men, \$5.73 to \$2.32; women, \$4.88 to \$1.50.

Hosiery: men, \$5.00 to \$1.66; women, \$3.33 to \$1.33.

Workers on piece rates, especially in the hosiery mills, will sometimes exceed these maxima.

(3) Tobacco Factory, Winston-Salem.

Men, \$7.00 to \$2.00; women, \$4.00 to \$1.50.

Here, as in (2) and (4), the lower figure may be assumed to be for colored labor or beginners. In a tobacco stemming room of a plant belonging to the Imperial Tobacco Company the colored workers were making 18 cents an hour at the rate of 6 cents per pound of stem removed.

(4) Furniture Factory, Winston-Salem.

Men, \$5.00 to \$2.00.

The great mass of furniture is of standard suites; for the industry presents the acme of standardization both of process and of pattern. The suites pour forth by hundreds a week; and after a halt in the hands of the retailer, which adds at least 100 percent to their price, pass into standard homes. If the town is building a big hotel by community subscription, the 500 or more identical suites will pass at wholesale rates into 500 or more identical bedrooms, of which three-fourths will be "with" and one-fourth "without" (see in England a bath).

(5) Machinists and auto mechanics.

Men, \$5.00 to \$6.00.

The drivers of jitney services ("careful driving, easy riding") are said to command a wage of \$150 a month. They drive the whole day long, but how a high-powered car, in winter at any rate, three-fourths empty, and charging considerably less than the railway for a ride of equal distance, can afford such a scale of pay it is difficult to understand.

### Living Conditions

There are no big towns in North Carolina. Winston-Salem, the largest, had a population in 1920 of 48,000 (estimated in 1924 at 65,000). Most of the cotton mills are in small towns or factory villages; and in the latter the cottages are generally owned by the employer. The workers pay 50 cents per room per week, with lighting free and often a small garden where food-stuffs can be grown. When there is no work, no rent is charged. The big firms supervise the boarding of their female help, the charge being, say, \$5 per week per girl for board. Though the prospect of home ownership is as 3 to 1, and in some mill villages nil, the workers have great latitude in their abode. For, if they live at a distance, the few who lack a car come down to the factory in machines belonging to fellow-workers, who pay for them by operating thus an informal jitney service. In Winston-Salem some of the negro shacks and shops are very dirty and mean. This is disconcerting when it is remembered that the net profits of the largest tobacco company in Winston-Salem rose from \$3 millions in 1914 to \$23 millions in 1923. In North Carolina there is no law of compensation for industrial injuries. It is one of six states lacking such a law.

In North Carolina the maximum hours of work for children are eight. Thirty-three states have a shorter working day for children.

In North Carolina there are no labor unions.

The Manufacturers Record correctly appraises the value of all this from the employers' point of view, when it says: "Many of the greatest cotton mills of New England which long held a dominion in this industry are moving to the South and others will soon follow. These people are moving South to escape the conditions which prevail of high taxes and labor legislation in New England. They have no desire to carry their New England labor South, but, on the contrary, they are moving South to escape New England labor conditions." (The South's Development, p. 337.)

### Unions Vs. Education

In the interest of the welfare of women and children a counter-pressure is needed. The larger employers treat their workers very well; but they should remember that they have the unique privilege of setting to work a store of accumulated rural energy still new to the cash wage stimulus. One counter-pressure is the labor union, with its inevitable accompaniment of strikes, which damage the worker as well as the employer. Moreover, where white and colored work in the same community, class warfare places white workers in an ambiguous racial relationship and might create among colored workers a mass unrest, which would destroy the satisfactory balance which now exists between black and white. There remains as an alternative to the labor union the public schools and all that they will accomplish when teachers are properly paid. And in America, when the community is behind the schools, no power can resist them, and no big men would long desire. With the schools lies the conservation of the present generation of country-bred men and women; and on the schools will fall the cultivation of that next generation to whom country life would be but the memory of a home farm whither their parents for a time repaired when factory work was slack.—C. R. Fay.

### RACE COOPERATION

Constructive race cooperation between the whites and the blacks in the Southern states will be realized. It is now being realized, according to Mr. A. F. Raper, who recently presented a paper before the North Carolina Club on Race Cooperation for Town and Country Advancement.

The big house and the surrounding cabins represented the economic and cultural unit of the old South. Then came emancipation, which gave the Negroes neither land, capital, training, nor leadership. The old order was disrupted, but the Negroes retained the same relative position in Southern economic and cultural life; they were at the bottom as slaves, they were at the bottom as freemen. Emancipation did afford the Negro freedom of movement; his exercise of this freedom has been most far-reaching in results. The threat to move is the only effective defense weapon the Negro has had which he could use against his employer. Further than this the Negroes have become racially conscious of their status in moving from place to place. This mobility has resulted in certain characteristic fixations of residence according to income, and is expressed in terms of spatial segregation.

### Negro Segregation

The growth of Negro freedom may be seen as a cause and as a result of Negro segregation. First, the Negroes are compelled to live in the cheap rent area, for they occupy the lowest place in economic life, and consequently must necessarily live where others least desire to live. Second, the Negroes desire to live together. They can have no status outside their group. This condition helps the Negro in that it compels the aggressive members of the race to identify themselves with their own group in order to secure additional status. The Negroes are not being absorbed by the whites as are the immigrants, but the Negroes are developing a culture of their own.

The Negro neighborhood is primarily the result of competition; but it attracts others of like status, and through a process of growth it becomes a cultural world with institutions, leaders, and characteristics of its own. With the industrialization of the South this segregation is being accentuated. The old characteristic primary relation between

the whites and the blacks is being supplanted by an impersonal type of relationship. This gives the Negro a chance to develop things Negro, to develop his own institutions. Alongside this recently developed Negro community is the older and more dominant white community.

### Must Be Organized

Race cooperation in the highest possible degree for town and country advancement is possible only when each race is organized. It is desirable for the whites and blacks to have separate institutions; separate institutions mean separate cultural units.

The characteristic life in the larger Negro urban communities attracts the rural Negroes. The leaders in these communities cooperate readily with the leaders of the white communities in such matters as public-health programs, public nursing, school attendance, development of supervised playgrounds, street improvement, and so on.

### The County Unit

In the small urban communities the Negroes often find themselves between two conflicting tendencies: on the one hand their own weak institutions and half-emancipated leaders tend to center their interests on things of their own race, while on the other hand they tend to conform—outwardly at least—to the standards which the whites expect them to follow. The most practicable way of advancing race cooperation where the Negro settlements remain small is by the further development of the county as the administrative unit. This suggestion is in harmony with the present trend in North Carolina. This will tend to create a Negro cultural unit in each county where the numbers are sufficient to warrant it. This administrative organization unit will furnish ready means by which the race leaders can present programs for race advancement to their people. It appears that this county unit is the only way to reach the widely scattered rural Negro population, and even then, if they constitute but a small proportion of the population, as is often the case, there is but little chance to improve present conditions, for they are not numerically strong enough to support adequate separate institutions, and separate institutions are required.

The whites are fearful of social equality. This doubtless aids the Negro group most directly, since it forces the capable Negroes to identify themselves with their own race as the only means by which they can obtain higher status for themselves. The whites recognize the Negro who is capable of correctly leading his own people, and that Negro who can please his own group and at the same time command the respect and the recognition of the whites is correctly leading the Negro race. Advancement may be slow by this method, but it is the only way in which it can be effected constructively under our present conditions. This method is cumulative in that the results of each successful experiment in the field of race cooperation will automatically serve as evidence for further cooperation.

### COLLEGE GRADUATES

Less than one percent of American men have been college graduates, yet this one percent has furnished:

- 55 percent of our Presidents.
- 36 percent of our members of Congress.
- 47 percent of our Speakers of the House.
- 54 percent of our Vice-Presidents.
- 62 percent of our Secretaries of State.
- 50 percent of our Secretaries of the Treasury.
- 65 percent of our Attorney-Generals.
- 69 percent of our Supreme Court Justices.—Home, School and Community.

### DOES AN EDUCATION PAY?

Answering the above question we give you a few figures regarding the 262 members of the Princeton class of 1915. According to statistics recently made public they are earning an average annual income of \$7,503. Unearned incomes bring this total up to more than \$10,000 a year.

Twenty-six of the class, now manufacturers, report an average income of \$12,435; forty-three bankers, an average of \$12,312; education and the ministry rank last, yielding \$2,825 and \$3,133, respectively.