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The growth of the shoe industry in Brockton and vicinity

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THESIS

THE GROWTH OF THE SHOE INDUSTRY IN BROCKTON AND VICINITY

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THE GROWTH OF THE SHOE INDUSTRY IN BROCKTON AND VICINITY

SCOPE

The purpose of this review is to trace generally the evolution of footwear from early times to the present day. Such an effort necessarily includes an examination into the successive tools and implements that have been employed in this branch of production, as well as a glance at the requirements of shoe wearers in order that we may better understand what shoe production aimed to accomplish.

Such a review could not be complete without some reference to industrial and mercantile conditions in the country at large and the relations existing between the different groups whose interests are affected by the shoe industry - especially employers and employees.
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THE GROWTH OF THE SHOE INDUSTRY
IN BROCKTON AND VICINITY

My review of the development of the shoe industry carried me back two thousand years. Shoes made at this early date may be seen in the United Shoe Museum in Beverly, Massachusetts. The industry began, like all others, as a tiny rivulet, later joining with others of common interest until in the eighteenth century, it was a healthy flowing stream. To compare the proportions of the industry today with its origin is to compare an Amazon with a trickle of rain. But, nevertheless, within that trickle were potential forces, but awaiting the progress of knowledge to release them. A man did release them and as a result the progress of mankind was given a shove ahead.

Abuses have accompanied the evolution of this important thing to the temporary impairment of its growth. But, it was always temporary. The interplay of thinking between opposing forces caused health to flow again. When men realize that co-
operation is better than opposition, civilization takes an immeasurable step forward. In too many instances, advancement has come through compulsory co-operation.

Strange to relate there is no part of man's dress that has been made the subject of sentiment and romance to such an extent as his sandals, slippers, boots and shoes. The folk-lore of every nation abounds in stories of the shoe. The adults of the present day were entertained as children with tales of Goody Two Shoes, Puss in Boots, The Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe and The Seven League Boots, many of which tales in slightly different form were told to children of far distant lands. Our familiar story of Cinderella was listened to by Egyptian children thousands of years ago, only her name was Rodope and it was a beautifully embroidered sandal that she lost.

Mr. Albert Doyle, one of Brockton's leading shoe manufacturers, on a recent occasion, expressed
similar sentiments in the following verse:

"Have you not read that song of pain,
'Boots Marching Up and Down Again?'
And have you not with Hans Sachs laughed -
'The Laureate of the Gentle Craft?'
Our own New England Larcom, too,
Wrote of poor Hannah and her shoe.
And through our childish days there scoots
The phantasy of seven-leagued boots,
And that important Puss who wore
Boots never purchased in a store.
Poem, story, song and fable, too,
Prove there is poetry in a shoe".

The sandal was the first known form of
footwear. It was the universal type among all
early people, as it is now in all warm climates.
Pictures of ancient Egyptian sandal makers of
1495 B.C. have been found in Thebes, indicating
the use of methods not unlike those employed by
the modern hand shoemaker, who sits on a low
bench or form and holds his work upon his knees.
The earliest known form of footwear varied from
a strip of leather fastened underneath as a
protection from the ground to coverings
ornamented with gems and gold. The social evolutionist would be concerned here with the reason of the origin. He would ask "was it for protection or was it for ornamentation?" I have found little information which isolated one from the other. What facts are available inevitably associate ornamentation with protection.

As sandals, undoubtedly, sprung into use from a realization that the bare foot needed some form of protection when in contact with the ground, it can be readily inferred that the wearers of sandals soon learned that by building them upwards they could secure protection for the leg. Thus we learn that the Teutonic tribes of the north of Europe wore a leather protection on the leg below the knee. The Romans improved upon this by uniting the sandals with the leg covering, thus producing the ancestor of the boot of a later period. At first the big toe was left exposed, but later it was enclosed. Such a boot was worn throughout the
Middle Ages.

In this period footwear became one of the most important and conspicuous articles of dress and the length of the soles of the boots varied with the social or political standing of the wearer. Thus a prince wore a shoe thirty inches long, a baron one of twenty-four inches and a knight one of eighteen. The report does not mention the size of a peasant's shoe. The writer suspects he went barefooted. Such were the chasms which separated class from class.

Little did the upper classes realize that the discontent of peasants was to assume a fortress of solidarity as the years passed. A strength so mighty as to level the classes, as at the present day in Russia. We should know the value of the forces, with which we are possessed and practicing.

Excavations in the ancient city of Antinoe, which was established in 130 A.D., revealed footwear made with unusual skill. The shoes, as I pointed out, heretofore, can be seen at the United
Shoe Machinery Company. The shoes are in an excellent state of preservation and some of the specimens of knitted sandals have the appearance of having received only a few weeks' wear. Attempts at ornamentation show a variety of designs, especially rosettes made of leather.

In the year 1272 King Henry III granted a charter to the cobblers of London. The charter gave the cobblers power to supervise the trade to the end "that hereafter all frauds and deceit may be avoided". A verse from a play called "Old Play", which was presented in 1500, is of interest:

Marry, because you have drank with the King,  
And the King hath so graciously pledged you,  
You shall no more be called shoemakers;  
But, if you and yours, to the world's end,  
Shall be called the trade of the gentle craft.  

The American Indian made rawhide leather by simple processes and sewed pieces of it into a foot covering called a mocassin. The early white settlers

brought shoes from the mother countries and for many years depended on imported shoes to supply their needs. Some of these pioneers, however, adopted the Indian mocassins and some of them acquired the art of making them, as well as hunting shirts and leggings from leather tanned by the Indians.

Colonial history discloses that among the arrivals on the Mayflower, on its second voyage, were two men who were listed as shoemakers. They set up their benches, cut the upper and sole leather from the hide with a shoe knife, stitched the upper with awl and waxed end, hammered the sole on a lapstone, sewed it on by hand and put on the finish with a wooden shoulder stick. It is quite probable that the Pilgrims would have encountered a famine in footwear, but for the fact that so many died during the first winter, thus leaving their boots and shoes to be worn by the survivors.

It is recorded in the "Log of the Mayflower"¹.

¹. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 457.
that in 1628 the Plymouth settlers sent Isaac Allerton to England on an important mission, including the purchase of essential supplies. As his schedule of purchases included shoes and leather he thereby became the first importer of such merchandise. But, before that day, according to a contributor to the "Shoe and Leather Trade of One Hundred Years", Experience Mitchell, who arrived in Plymouth in 1623 as a passenger in the Ann and who later moved to Duxbury, and from there to East Bridgewater, where he established a tannery in 1650 and his son, Colonel Mitchell, and after him, Cushing Mitchell, carried on the business for sixty years. Thus we may account for the fact that when North Bridgewater was incorporated as a town in 1821 it was already the centre of a leather working people.

The conditions surrounding the making of shoes in colonial days were much the same as those under which other essential commodities were produced and sold. Until the middle of the last
In the century a shoemaker was a person, who by the use of hand tools and men power, made the shoe throughout. The footwear of that period was crude, but substantial, designed chiefly for service with very little regard for style and appearance. Men wore boots that extended almost to the knees. They were heavy and unventilated, but afforded the wearer a full measure of service and protection, especially in the more severe weather. Rubbers and rubber boots were then unknown. Women wore shoes, but this type of footwear was equally coarse and crude. While engaged in farmwork the men went barefooted and the women and children followed the same practice as long as the weather would permit. Contemporary historians record that it was the settled custom of the period for the people to travel to church on Sundays in the mild weather in their bare feet and to put on footwear before entering the church and remove it again before the journey home, thus serving the interests of both
comfort and economy.

In this period a family usually raised the cattle and tanned the leather in preparation for the making of their shoes and when the cattle were not raised on the farm, a calf-skin would be purchased, a "side of upper" and a side of sole leather in anticipation of the advent of the itinerant shoemaker who would abide with the family until their annual requirements of footwear had been supplied.

Stockings were a home product, knit by the housewife. The wool was obtained from the sheep raised on the farm, but cotton had to be purchased in the market. Hence, the unshod New Englander, by a simple expedient, escaped at one end the same time the purchase of cotton yarn and the discomfort of footwear that was both heavy and hot.

The early shoemaker was an itinerant artisan, who went about from place to place visiting the homes of prospective patrons, remaining in each
place until he had supplied the entire family with footwear expected to last until his next visit. Later, as the demand for his product increased, he would locate permanently in some village. He then did his work at his home, where he availed himself of the assistance of his wife and children. The wife did the stitching and the operation of "pegging" fell to the lot of the children, for wooden pegs preceded the use of nails and thread in the soles of shoes.

"Poor lone Hannah.  
Sitting at the window, binding shoes!  
Faded and wrinkled!  
Sitting and stitching in a mournful muse.  
Bright-eyed beauty once was she,  
When the bloom was on the tree.  
Spring and winter,  
Hannah's at the window binding shoes".¹

Sometimes women were travelling shoemakers.  
Such a person was Hannah Reed, whose home was in Middleborough. She was noted for her energy and strength. A venerable resident of Middleborough

¹. Lucy Lercom, "Poetical Works", page 1.
tells how two clerks in a store observing her approach, one bet the other that he would not dare to kiss her. As the women was making some purchases the clerk who had agreed to kiss her accomplished his purpose. The indignant shoemaker suddenly turned, seized him by the collar of his coat and the seat of his trousers and pitched him through the door end into the street. While he won his bet it is needless to observe that he never tried the feat again.¹.

The same authority relates that she frequently walked to Boston and returned the next day, bringing on her back a supply of stock for her work. While she made good substantial shoes, well suited to the requirements of her day and generation, she wore but little of her own product and invariably travelled in her bare feet.².

The story of Ebenezer Breed and his connection with the industry is as delightful as it is sad! Breed attempted to block the importation

¹. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 457.
². Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 457.
of English shoes, which were interfering with the sale of American made shoes. He was the first great leader of American shoe manufacturers. His home was in Lynn, Massachusetts.

He journeyed to Philadelphia, the Nation's capital, and gained the friendship of members of Congress. He proposed a protective tariff on boots and shoes. Congress adopted his suggestion and passed a shoe tariff act in 1789. Almost at once Breed became wealthy and famous. He was acclaimed at home and abroad.

Through misfortune in personal affairs, Breed lost his business, property and eyesight. He died in the almshouse at Lynn.1 This great stimulus to the stream of shoe making is but an example of what occurs to all its many heroes when they no longer are of service. The aged people, removed from the swiftness of life's many dramas and compelled to sit on the sidelines to watch the parade passing by are entitled to proper recognition

null
for work well done. In our haste to acquire materialism, we are prone to forget those whose services added to the foundation upon which our comforts rest. The following truth is very real: "The man who was so powerful as to build up a great wall of protection about the entire American shoe trade spent his declining days quietly and peacefully in an almshouse, forgotten by nearly everyone".

Brockton, then North Bridgewater, had a pioneer shoe manufacturer in the person of Micah Faxon, whose home and shop were located on Crescent Street, directly opposite the present location of the Post Office. It was he who first undertook quantity production in this vicinity. He was a native of Randolph and came to North Bridgewater in 1811. Upon the completion of a case of boots or shoes, consisting of twenty-four pairs, they were placed in a bag and carried on the back of his horse to Boston. There he sold

2. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 685.
them and with a portion of his receipts, purchased a fresh quantity of stock, brought it home and repeated the process.

Even Mr. Faxon could not make a shoe throughout, and being unable to secure any local assistance, he was obliged to carry his shoes to Randolph where they were vamped and completed. He found a market for his goods with a firm on Long Wharf, Boston, who sent them, with other merchandise, to the South to be sold. Up to this time the methods of production were substantially the same as during the preceding century. In due time Mr. Faxon was able to purchase a carriage for the transportation of his merchandise. Soon after Silas Packard and Edward Southworth of North Bridgewater engaged in the same venture.

With the improvement of the means of travel and the building of a railroad from Boston to Brockton other boot and shoe makers entered the field and by this time were able to secure an
easier as well as a wider market. At this time such names as Keith, Kingman, Howard, Packard, Field and Leach began to be associated with the industry and many of the descendants of these ambitious pioneers are still engaged in the business in an age of gasoline and electricity.

With the adoption of steam as a means of power, inventive genius began to produce machines for various shoemaking processes. A sewing machine was brought out by Elias Howe of Cambridge in 1846. It was, at first, a very imperfect machine and several other men played an important part in its improvement. It was in use three years before it was supplied with an automatic feed. This important contribution was the work of John Bachelder of Boston. In the same year a rotary shuttle attachment for making the lock stitch was invented by Blodgett and Lerow. The Goodyear welt sewing machine made its appearance in 1871 and was an important factor in the development of
the factory system as we know it today, although for many years the factory proprietor did not undertake to put his product through all of its various processes in his own plant. Instead he gave out work to be performed in the home shops, which were sometimes a part of a dwelling house, sometimes a corner of a barn and in some instances a small shop located in the door-yard of its owner. These small shops usually afforded employment to five or six men. Here the upper part of the shoes received from the larger shops were lasted and finished and then returned to the shops from which they came.

But inventive genius continued to apply its talents to producing shoe machinery, with the result that the shoe manufacturer or proprietor of a factory eventually found himself in a position to do all his own work under his own roof by machinery driven by the power of steam, with the exception of lasting, and this work continued to be done, even in the so-called large shops by men
working by hand.

Lasting seemed to involve so many diverse operations that the lasters themselves stoutly maintained that human ingenuity would never be able to devise a machine that could accomplish their work, and for a long time they continued to be the largest group engaged in any one operation in the shoe factories, the daily output of each being about a case and a half of shoes per day. But they were doomed to disappointment. Late in the last century the lasting machine made its appearance and coincidentally hand lasting became an obsolete process.

The coming of the large shoe factory drew its employees not only from the small shops, but from the farms as well. Various processes could be performed by women and they readily sought and secured employment. Boys and girls, upon completing their schooling, found a new avenue of employment and in due time the word "shoemaker"
denoted a person who was able to operate some particular machine in a shoe plant. He was a specialist, but not a shoemaker and was able to learn his work in a very short time.

With the development of the Middle West and Far West the market for shoes increased in volume and in area, and the making of shoes became a flourishing industry. The New England village of earlier days became a thriving manufacturing centre. The population increased rapidly. Factories for the manufacture of packing cases, cartons, shoe nails, shoe tools and various other essential supplies came into existence and shared in the prosperity of the shoe business.

The town of North Bridgewater adopted the name of Brockton in 1874 and a few years later, it had gained in population to such an extent that it was deemed wise to adopt a city form of government.\(^1\) The unique and extensive

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\(^1\) Acts 1881, Chapter 192.
advertising methods adopted by William L. Douglas and his contemporary manufacturers did much to direct the attention of the country to Brockton and its product.

Almost coincidentally with the division of labor and the birth of the factory system, the workers became impressed with the advantages of forming an organization or union for their mutual benefit in order that such problems as wages, hours of labor and working conditions might be a matter of group concern and collective action. In adopting this course it may be argued that they were inspired and perhaps guided by the conduct of workers in a much earlier period of the world's history. In Roman days the workers organized under the name of "guild". And history affords abundant proof that in the Middle Ages almost every group of people having like aims, inclinations or interests, organized themselves into a guild. There were an almost incredible number of guilds and they were under the control of
The craft guilds were unions of artisans, including such workers as shoemakers, tanners and weavers. The English city of York, with a population of three thousand people, had fifty guilds. Each guild was sub-divided into three branches according to the skill of its members in handicraft. There were masters, journeymen and apprentices. The master alone might set up a shop in which he himself, with one or more journeymen or apprentices, worked at his craft. The journeymen very frequently and the apprentices always lived in the home of the master and ate at his table like a member of his family. Each owed reciprocal duties to the other. The apprentice undertook to render faithful service and to make full use of his opportunities to acquire knowledge of and skill in the trade at which he worked. The master promised to maintain his apprentice and faithfully teach him to become a

journeymen.

He continued in this status until he was accepted as a master. When he felt qualified to enter this latter group, he presented himself before his guild officers and exhibited his masterpiece. This was a specimen of work in the line of his craft which he thought so excellent that it afforded conclusive proof of his mechanical skill. If it was accepted he became a master and was admitted to full membership in the guild. The guilds were organized and directed by the masters and journeymen and the apprentices were regarded as the wards of the group. The journeymen, as the term seems to imply, were more or less itinerant and went from place to place in search of employment.

Their membership in their home guild gave them a certain measure of recognition and protection in the places that they might visit and assured them of a cordial reception. Like the present day labor organizations the guilds were

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interested in the welfare of the widow and children of a deceased fellow member and hastened to relieve the wants of such dependents and guard them from poverty. This was accomplished very often by granting them a pension.

The guilds occupied an even larger field than the modern trade union. They sought to secure the rights of both producer and customer, as well as those of the journeyman and apprentice. This was accomplished by the fixing of prices. It was chiefly due to the activities of the guilds that there was practically no unrelieved poverty in the cities during the latter Middle Ages.

It may seem much like a detour to discuss guilds in a review of industrial development in a small section of New England, but, it is, nevertheless, interesting to observe that the aims and aspirations of modern industrial workers are so closely parallel to what was sought and actually
accomplished at an earlier period in the world's history and in a locality far remote from these shores.

The first attempt to form a labor union among shoemakers was in Milwaukee in 1866. The members of this union called themselves Knights of St. Crispin, thus perpetuating the name of the patron saint of the shoemakers. They felt that their interests would be advanced by limiting the supply of shoemakers. Accordingly, every member was pledged not to instruct others in the craft.

In a relatively short time apprentices had disappeared and there was a veritable shortage of shoemakers. Wages advanced measurably and the Crispins dominated the labor situation as to the production of shoes. This organization had eighty-four active lodges at the end of 1870 and claimed a total membership of 40,000 people. This was at the height of its popularity and in the

1. Hazard, "The Organization of Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts", pages 142-156.
same year it had a strike in Worcester that lasted three months, involved 1200 men and cost $175,000. In 1872 there was a strike in North Adams which was broken by Chinese labor brought from California.

The collapse of these strikes, coupled with the financial panic, drove the Crispins to the vanishing point. One of their achievements was to close several shoe factories, whose owners elected to retire from business rather than accede to the demands of this union. On a recent occasion a well known labor man, who had been a member of the Crispins, made the following statement: "I have never found anyone who could give me any connected history of the Knights of St. Crispin, notwithstanding the fact that I made diligent search. I was a member of the organization some forty-three years ago, but at that time did not accumulate any knowledge of its workings. I feel that its history was not of any great consequence and its achievements did not go
beyond seeking higher wages through the old fashioned strike method. At that time employers were practically unanimous in opposition to organization of the workers, and the contests usually hinged upon the recognition of a union in conjunction with the wage question'. Burrell and Maguire, who manufactured shoes in Randolph after yielding to the demands of the Crispins closed their shop and Washington Reed of Abington closed his shop, without submitting.

The year 1877 saw the birth of the Knights of Labor, a movement designed to include the whole field of wage earners. Only lawyers and liquor dealers were barred. It had an educational and a political program, in addition to its industrial activities. One year after its birth, it elected thirteen members of Congress. So far as the writer can learn it continued to function until 1890. Both the Crispins and the Knights of Labor enrolled in their membership many Brockton shoemakers.

1. Hazard, "The Organization of the Boot and Shoe Industry in Massachusetts", page 146.

It was now thought that the interests of the shoeworkers would be best served if the workers in each department would form a separate organization. This decision gave rise to the Lasters' Union, the Stitchers' Union and some ten or twelve others. These unions accomplished the purposes for which they were formed, measurably well and achieved much that was of decided advantage to their membership. While they were functioning, three well known students of labor and industry Henry J. Skeffington, Horace W. Eaton and John F. Tobin reached the conclusion that the best interests of the shoeworkers demanded that the various unions be consolidated into one harmonious and effective whole. Their efforts finally culminated in the establishment of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of the present day, a general union embracing in its membership the various divisions of shoe workers, all of whom maintain
their local organization and which, in the aggregate, make up the general body. And the general body itself constitutes a sub-division of the American Federation of Labor 1.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is a highly organized and efficiently managed organization. During its existence the shoe workers have attained a greater degree of progress than during any previous period. This union is opposed to strikes as a means of achieving its objectives, except as a last resort. It holds that all differences between capital and labor may be satisfactorily resolved by peaceful arbitration. For many years and until the time of his death, its president was John F. Tobin, one of its founders. It has a lengthy program, which includes the regulation of wages, hours of labor, opposition to contract convict labor, and to the employment of children under the age of sixteen.

2. Constitution of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.
was the present state of development in which a line of
reserves was left open on the other side. In some instances


years.

With the growth of trade unions, collective bargaining became a fixed policy in industry. The local union, by vote, determines the compensation for which its members will work and all dealings with the employer with respect to wages are conducted by duly accredited officers of the union. Not only wage negotiations are carried on in this manner, but all kindred problems are adjusted by the same method, among which may be mentioned hours of labor, apprenticeship and all problems affecting the interests of the union members. Very early in the growth of labor unions, there arose discussions and later determinations as to whether the business of the employer should be conducted as an open or a closed shop. The word "shop" in this connection is a general and inclusive term, and is synonymous with "business". An open shop is a policy established by an

1. The Shoe Workers' Journal, December, 1918.
employer whereby he reserves the right to hire whomsoever he pleases at wages and hours mutually agreeable and without reference to whether the employee elects to hold membership in a labor union or not. The closed shop denotes a policy whereby an employer of labor agrees with a labor organization that he will employ none but members of that union in good standing. All employers who confine their help to members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union conduct a closed shop.

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, like many other unions, has adopted a union stamp¹. This is a device impressed upon the soles of shoes wrought by union labor. It is claimed for such stamp that its use and display attracts the attention and patronage of people who prefer to purchase goods made by artisans who are unionized. If this view is correct, it is seen at once that there is a resultant benefit to the employer in the form of an increased volume of business. The

1. The Shoe Workers' Journal, December, 1918.
use of the union stamp is granted by the union to employers to be held by the latter for a limited period and subject to the faithful observance of definite conditions. The stamp remains the property of the union and the power of the Courts has been frequently and successfully invoked by unions to secure its return from employers who had ignored the conditions under which it was issued or who otherwise abused it.

One of the benefits resulting from collective bargaining and the adoption of the closed shop policy in industry is the fact that most, if not all, of the contracts between an employer and his employees, in the aggregate, provide that during the life of the contract the latter will not resort to a strike as a means of enforcing its demands nor will the former inaugurate a lock-out as a weapon against his employees, but all questions and differences shall be solved by some mode of arbitration. For example,
the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union contract provides that all such differences as prove impossible of adjustment by the parties shall be referred to the State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, whose decision shall be final and binding on both parties to the controversy. The right, however, is reserved to each party to re-open the question after the lapse of a specified period of time. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that this official board came into existence by the passage of a bill introduced in the Legislature by Former Governor William L. Douglas when he was a member of the senate.

This so-called arbitration clause found in all contracts with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union may be credited with the fact that Brockton and its adjacent territory has been fairly free from strikes in the shoe industry. The writer learned that there were only three in the present

1. Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 150.
century.

The last and largest, in point of duration and persons involved, occurred in the Spring of 1923. The workers in one branch of the industry, chiefly women, encouraged by their business agent, engaged in an unwarranted and unauthorized strike, alleging some grievance of minor importance. They were soon joined by members of other local unions, who were actuated largely by a desire to take advantage of a situation that held out some hope of disrupting the general union and setting up in its place another organization with a different corps of officers. It is to be borne in mind that not all of the persons who are enrolled in labor organizations are actuated by a sincere desire to better the prospects of the toiling masses. Many of them are there under protest.

Soon the major part of all of the shoe-workers of the city were idle, including a large

1. Files of the Brockton Enterprise June, July and August, 1923.
2. The Shoe Workers' Journal June, July and August, 1923.
number who had to be laid off because so many essential workers were on strike. This condition of affairs continued into the late Summer. Meanwhile, Brockton became the Mecca of radicals and extremists of varying shades of thought, who seized upon the situation as a means of securing new adherents to their political or economic program. Disorder became general. Those who were on strike, encouraged by the new comers, sought to intimidate and coerce the workers who retained their jobs and who remained loyal to the arbitration clause:

At this juncture the opinion of the city solicitor was sought by the city authorities on the question of the legal status of the strike and the right of the secessionists to interfere with the loyal members of the union in their desire to abide by their contract and continue in their employment. The solicitor held the strike to be illegal in conception and execution and defined the

1. The Shoe Workers' Journal July and August, 1923.
duty of the police authorities in the direction of maintaining law and order. The strikers announced defiance of the police and soon arrests in large numbers were made and the Court House became congested with defendants and their cohorts.

The Court concurred in the view expressed by the solicitor and all disturbers and rioters were found guilty and fines and jail sentences were meted out. The strike soon ended, but the output of shoes from Brockton has not yet been restored to its former volume. While the primary activities of a labor union relate to questions of wages, hours of labor, recognition of the union and collective bargaining, most, if not all unions, undertake to render many other valuable services to their members. From the initiation fees and dues a fund is maintained out of which sick benefits are paid for prescribed periods to members, who may become ill or incapacitated and a death benefit, so-
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called, is paid to the dependents or personal representative of deceased members.

Many unions publish a paper, magazine and pamphlets to be circulated among their members, which are devoted to the dissemination of information relative to the trade union movement in general that is thought to be useful to each member. A recognized activity of almost every union is to employ a secretary or business agent, who collects dues, receives requests for workers from employers and furnishes the same from the membership of his union. He also attends to a multitude of details relating to union interests, among which may be cited the investigation of complaints and grievances brought to his attention by the members of his union.

Beginning in the last decade of the last century organized shoeworkers began to display an interest in obtaining legislation designed to improve the general welfare of wage earners. In

1. The Shoe Workers' Journal all copies.
this endeavor they were aided by men in and out of public office, who were impressed with the view that much might be done to improve the condition of labor and at the same time measurably add to the general well being of society by raising it to higher standards of living and by bringing about better sanitary and social conditions.

Very early in the movement, it was thought to be consonant with the public interest that there be legislative bounds placed on the number of hours that women and minors might be employed continuously in shoe factories and other manufacturing establishments in this Commonwealth. No doubt, attention was directed to this reform by the fact that in the textile industry it was found that women were being employed long hours at arduous tasks that exposed them to impaired health and physical harm. And the labor of children of tender age was similarly utilized with the same probable result. Persistent effort and agitation led to the enactment of
legislation that fully eliminated this condition! Here is a picture of child labor as a radical poet describes it. Such facts have helped to make our Socialists and Anarchists.

"Lisbetta, Marisina, Feametta, Teresina,
They are winding stems of roses one by one,
one by one,
Little children, who have never learned to play;
Teresine softly crying that her fingers ache today;
Tiny Feamette nodding when the twilight slips in, gray.

High above the clattering street, ambulance and fire-gong beat,
They sit, curling crimson petals one by one,
one by one ---
They have never seen a rose bush, nor a dew drop in the sun". 1.

The sanitary conditions in the early shoe factories might well be called crude, and effort was early directed to an endeavor to bring about clean and wholesome conditions by the installation of the appropriate conveniences in sufficient number to properly and comfortably meet the requirements of

the employees. Organized labor was especially active in this direction.

The introduction and use in shoe factories of power driven machinery led to industrial accidents, involving the loss of life and limb. Humane considerations led to an insistent demand that various types of safety devices be adopted and used with a view to conserving the lives and safety of the workers. These demands were translated into legislation that not only prescribes the kind of devices to be used to minimize conditions known to be dangerous, but also makes provisions for periodical inspection by officers of the Commonwealth, who are not only charged with the duty of seeing to it that the law is obeyed by all employers, who are subject to its provisions, but that persistent violators of that law are cited before the Courts.

Time was when the payment of wages by shoe
manufacturers to employees was largely a matter of private arrangement between the immediate parties, and in many instances the frequency of payments was regulated solely by the inclination or convenience of the employer. Monthly payments were the rule, so far as it could be said that any rule was followed. This was a positive hardship on the wage earner and often forced him to seek credit from the tradespeople from whom he obtained his household supplies. Again the Legislature came to the rescue with the enactment of a law that requires employers to pay their employees weekly, much to the relief of wage earners and merchants.

While the compulsory adoption of safety devices accomplished much in the direction of minimizing industrial accidents, there were still altogether too many wage earners, including shoe-workers, who were being killed or maimed in the course of their employment. The early laws

1. Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 151.
2. Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 149.
defining the relation of master and servant in respect to injuries suffered by the latter in the course of his employment contained but a small measure of relief for the disabled worker.

1. The letter was held to assume all risks, incident to the work in which he was engaged. As the law developed, the duty was placed on the employer of furnishing suitable tools for use by his employees, as well as a reasonably safe place in which to work. Suitable ways, works and machinery seemed to embrace the entire duty of the master.

In this state of the law the injured worker was invariably obliged to seek redress in the Courts often under circumstances where he was financially unable to meet the expenses of litigation, which was always surrounded by the uncertainty of successfully showing that his employer had violated any of the duties that he owed to him.

1. Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 229.
The Workmen's Compensation Law eventually came into being as an effective means of correcting these inequalities and evils. This law proceeds on the assumption that mishaps that may befall an employee while engaged in his work constitute an element of expense that should be charged to the industry in which the worker is engaged and computed into the annual cost of conducting the business.

The net result is that every employee may now work with the assurance of receiving certain renumeration in accordance with an established schedule for any injury that he may suffer in the course of his employment. A definite value in money has been fixed for the loss of a life, limb, eye, or a finger and in addition to this the employee is entitled to receive for a definite number of weeks a sum of money that bears a standardized relationship to his average weekly earnings.

These legislative protections and safeguards

1. Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 152.
constitute a few, but by no means all of the achievements of labor organizations in behalf of their membership, but they are sufficient to demonstrate the long strides that have been taken in the direction of securing for the toiling masses an improvement in their social and economic condition.

In connection with the evolution of the shoe industry in the Brockton district, Randolph deserves mention beyond the fact that it was the place from which Mosh Faxon removed to Brockton, as well as the location of a shoe factory that was closed by the clamorous demands of the Crispins. It was a place of importance when Brockton was the North Precinct of Bridgewater and had no other claim to distinction beyond the fact that it was a farming community.

Randolph, like Brockton, was on the main Indian Trail from Plymouth to Boston and Brockton was midway between Bridgewater proper and Randolph, which then included the present town of Holbrook,
then known as East Randolph. Before the Revolution there were at least two vats and pits for the tanning of leather in Randolph and it is said that Deacon Thomas Wales of the First Randolph Church operated bark pits for tanning at the location on the main road still known as the Wales estate. Randolph led Brockton in shoe production for many years.

Micah Faxon was followed to Brockton nearly a century later by another native of Randolph, Thomas D. Barry, a practical shoemaker and a man of great dynamic force and energy. Here he engaged in the manufacture of shoes on a relatively small scale and by characteristic perseverance and determination built a large business. At the time of his death, shortly before the World War, his business, then conducted under corporate auspices, was among the largest in the city. Like Daniel S. Howard, many men who were associated with him and to whom he stood in the relation of an instructor, are now either
manufacturing shoes on their own account or are serving as superintendents and production managers of some of Brockton's largest plants.

As time passed the shoe business seemed to gravitate to Brockton from Randolph and Holbrook and many residents of these towns, like Mr. Faxon and Mr. Barry, came to Brockton and identified themselves with the making of shoes in various capacities. Other Randolph pioneers were Silas Alden and Moses and Thomas French, who preceded Micah Faxon. Randolph boots enjoyed a favorable reputation and were well known in the markets of California, Australia and Texas as early as 1885. Many of the boots made in Randolph and vicinity were marketed by Nathan Tucker of East Stoughton, who was associated in the shoe trade with his brothers. His specialty was salesmanship. In 1838 he opened a store in Cincinnati and, undoubtedly, he was the first person in this vicinity to conceive and actually put into practice the idea of maintaining stores

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 478.
in distant cities and merchandising centres.

Among the large factories in Randolph was that of Howard and French at the junction of Liberty and Main Streets. They began business in 1840 and not only employed a large force in their factory, but also gave out much work to be performed in the small home shops. Much of the treeing in their own shop was done by Sylvanus Pratt, who turned out a hundred pairs of boots a week and averaged seven cents per pair.

Lighting facilities were then very primitive and work was done chiefly between daylight and dark. Employees who worked by artificial light had to furnish their own lamps or lanterns and provide their own oil. In the summer it was possible to get in long days, but at this season many employees withdrew from the factory to give attention to planting, haying and other farm duties.
...
Howard and French got their share of the California trade and were represented there by Jonathan Wales, who sold their boots at $10.00 per pair. The manufacture of boots and shoes was attended by much waste and J. Winsor Pratt, also of Randolph, was a purchaser of this scrap from which he made leather shoe strings.

Many times the road in front of these early shops was covered with leather scraps and the proximity of these shops in those days was forced upon the attention of a person jogging over the road in a chaise by the odor of leather, which had been thrown out as useless.

Meanwhile, Jonathan Wales, the Howard and French agent in California, entered the firm of Newhall and Gregory in San Francisco and was able to sell more shoes than his principals could furnish. He then entered into trade relations with other local manufacturers, notably the Whitcombs and Wentworths and a time came when he
absorbed the product of twenty factories located in Randolph, North Bridgewater and Stoughton. It was good business payable in California gold. Bags of this valuable commodity were sent home in payment for shoes, sometimes as much as $20,000 in one bag of white drilling.

The shoe representative of this section in Australia was Frank Maguire, who located in Melbourne and marketed the entire output of the Randolph factory of Burrell and Maguire. Mr. Maguire subsequently became the United States consul at Melbourne. The shoe trade encountered hard times in 1857. Many concerns failed, among them H. Bingley Alden of Randolph, due to slow pay in the Baltimore market. A factory burned in Canton on the Stoughton turnpike and all manufacturers were obliged to curtail production. But, on the whole, the local shoe industry came through the financial depression remarkably well. The economic pressure, however, had convinced the

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 479.
manufacturers that the factory system was their salvation and the installation of machinery a necessity. In that year, however, the Randolph Bank paid a dividend of five per cent and reported a surplus of $47,000.00.

As bearing on the relative importance of Randolph and Brockton it may be pointed out that in the years preceding the establishment of a Catholic Church in Brockton, people of that faith had to journey to Randolph to attend services. All marriages, baptisms and burials took place there and it is to the Catholic Church in that town that one must go to obtain records of marriages and baptisms during the period immediately preceding the creation of a Catholic parish in Brockton.

One of the first men in this vicinity to become a "middleman" or entrepreneur in the shoe industry was Ephriam Lincoln of Holbrook. Beginning at 1816 he purchased stock in Boston and

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 479.
had it cut and put out to neighbors to make into shoes. The shoes he carried to Boston at the same time securing fresh stock. He also conducted a general store, but his shoe business eventually became larger and more important than his store business.

Some of the pioneers in the shoe industry are considered by people of the present day as small business men when measured by present day standards, but Littlefield Brothers of East Stoughton, now Avon, marketed their product in New Orleans and Cuba and in 1836 or earlier invested $80,000.00 in Aroostook County, Maine noted for the production of potatoes. Harvey Reed, a brother of Quincy Reed, an early shoemaker of Weymouth, organized the business so that the firm had a store in Boston, made custom shoes and additional shoes for sale over the counter and in the West Indies repaired shoes for customers and sold such supplies as leather,
bleaching, swls and tacks to other shoemakers. One of Harvey Reed's investments was the purchase of an entire township in Meine. Quincy Reed had, as a side line, a grain business, which kept four schooners busy in the coastwise trade and over the deep water route between here and Spain. It is said that Harvey Reed was one of the original founders of the Union Bank of Weymouth and Braintree and of the Weymouth Savings Bank. From 1833 to his death in 1859 he carried on a large lumbering business in Bangor, Meine.

Littlefield Brothers, already mentioned, were Nathaniel, James Isaac and Darius. The latter became postmaster in 1822. In those days a postmaster could frank his own mail and this was a valuable concession as he had extensive mail with New Orleans customers. The part performed by James Littlefield was that of a travelling salesman. He was one of the pioneer shoe "drummers" from this section and covered considerable Southern territory, as the firm did an extensive business in
Philadelphia, Virginia, New Orleans and Cuba. Considerable talk was heard in the Spring of 1927 about "the year without a Summer" and it was predicted that 1927 was going to be a repetition of that year. The year in question was 1816-1817 and the climatic conditions were turned to good account by James Littlefield. The crops in this vicinity were short and he took his pay for the Littlefield shoes that he sold in the South in flour, which he shipped North and sold in the Littlefield store at a good profit. Many shoe manufacturers and jobbers of shoes in that period conducted general stores and made an additional profit by selling groceries, dry goods, and sometimes goods that were not especially dry to their employees.

Shoes, in those days, were usually shipped to Cuba in casks instead of wooden boxes and those casks were returned filled with molasses or rum. The transportation facilities in that period were
exceedingly primitive. Noah Thayer of Randolph, in 1812, drove a team of oxen to Richmond, Virginia to deliver a consignment of shoes. In due time he returned with a load of corn and cotton and so far as can be learned he accomplished the journey without tire or engine trouble and without having to answer to a charge of speeding or reckless driving.

There was a large trade with the West Indies carried on by several local shoemakers before the railroads were built. One such manufacturer was Seth Bryant, located in that part of East Bridgewater called Joppa, but now known as Elmwood, and specializing in men's heavy shoes. He was of the firm of Mitchell and Bryant, which had the first wholesale boot and shoe store in Boston. The shoes made by them for the West Indian trade were chiefly kip brogans and copper nailed shoes. These were hauled over the road from Joppa to New York by way of Providence, Rhode Island.
"All transportation from New York to the West Indies was by sailing vessels. The shoes were packed seventy-five to one hundred pairs to a Havana sugar box and the boxes came back filled with brown or white Cuban sugar. The white sugar was shipped to Russia and Russian calf skins were taken in exchange, the calf skins were received in an untanned condition".

Glancing back to those days - 1837 for instance - we find the largest town in Plymouth County was Middleborough, with a population of substantially 5,000. Hingham ranked next with 3,445 inhabitants, and in these two places 125 people were engaged in shoemaking. The third largest town was Abington, which had upwards of 3,000 people. In the production of shoes, however, it occupied first place in the county. In fact, more shoes were made there than in all of the rest of the county.

According to statistics compiled by

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 470.
2. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 470.
3. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 471.
John W. Barber and published in his "Historical Collections of Massachusetts", Abington, in 1837, produced 526,208 pairs of shoes and 98,081 pairs of boots, the total value of which was $746,794 and the number of people employed in the industry was 1317. North Bridgewater was, at that time, a town of 2,701 people, producing 22,300 pairs of shoes and 79,000 pairs of boots, over three times as many boots as shoes and the industry in the town afforded employment to 1125 people. The value of the output was $184,200. The town of Halifax, one of the smallest in the county, was then larger than it is today with 781 inhabitants, forty of whom were shoemakers with an annual output of 30,000 pairs. For many years there have been no shoes made in that town, although it is the domicile of many shoeworkers who find employment in Brockton factories and who travel twenty miles each day by automobile in order to accomplish the round trip.

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 472.
In that same year Randolph, in Norfolk County, whose importance has already been emphasized, was doing more business in the boot and shoe line than any town in Plymouth County. In population, it was about on a par with Abington, but substantially one half of its inhabitants were shoemakers and they turned out 470,620 pairs of shoes and 200,175 pairs of boots of a value of $944,715. It is interesting to note that at this time the major part of Randolph's output was shoes, while the reverse was true of North Bridgewater. The population of the entire county of Plymouth in that year was 50,399 nearly one tenth of whom were engaged in shoemaking. The shire town, like Halifax, was in those days engaged in making shoes, but it is now more than a quarter of a century since the last shoe factory in Plymouth closed its doors. Weymouth, in that year, made 70,155 pairs of boots and 242,083 pairs of shoes, the value being $427,679.00, but in addition to

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 472.
2. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 472.
this achievement it curried and tanned leather of a value of $42,500.00.

Several towns in Norfolk County engaged in the tanning of leather and a lesser number in Plymouth County took to this industry, but North Bridgewater tanned very little leather, although it was a good customer of the tanneries in Weymouth. A pegging machine had been invented in 1818 and was used in the making of brogans and cheap boots and shoes. In 1832 James Hall of North Bridgewater invented a machine for pointing the pegs. The manufacture of counters for boots and shoes was started by Sylvanus C. Phiney of Stoughton in 1845. He early realized that shoe-making by the factory system was going to consist of specializing to a large degree. Up to that time shoemakers fashioned counters and innersoles from leather scraps. N. M. Capen, also of Stoughton, was another pioneer in making counters.

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 472.
2. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 472.
Several engaged in making leather shoe strings, among them J. Winsor Pratt of Randolph.

At the present time and for many years past all of the machinery essential to the making of shoes is produced exclusively by a corporation called the United Shoe Machinery Company, which has attained its present dominant position by buying out all of its various competitors and by the acquisition of patent rights from inventors. It places its product at the disposal of manufacturers under leases as distinguished from outright sales. Its compensation is called a royalty and is based on the volume of work done by each machine, as disclosed by a gauge or meter on the machine itself.

This program has been the subject of harsh criticism. But whatever may be urged against it, the fact remains that it has one notable advantage. Before the advent of the United Shoe Machinery
Company, the prospective shoe manufacturer had two major problems to solve before he could engage in actual production. First, he was obliged to decide which type of machine designed to accomplish a given operation he would select from a large field of competing machines distributed by various manufacturers or dealers; and second, he had to purchase the machine chosen.

This meant that a large sum of money had to be invested in machinery, which is obviated by the present system. It also meant that he had to keep his machines in repair at his own expense, which service is now rendered gratuitously by the United Shoe Machinery Company, and it meant further that he had to stand the depreciation of his machines and assume the risk that they might become obsolete at any moment by the invention of machinery of greater efficiency or economy. Thus, the shoe manufacturer is able to hire his machinery instead of being obliged to buy it and
he pays for its use as he uses it on the basis of measured service. Hence, one may engage in the business of producing shoes upon the investment of capital measurably less than if he was required to buy machines.

The United Shoe Machinery Company voluntarily renders a service to its lessees that is analogous to the service that common carriers are obliged by law to extend to their shippers. It accords equal service to each of them and discriminates in favor of none, with the result that the shoe manufacturer of the West and Middle West and of foreign countries receives the same treatment in respect to shoe machinery as is accorded to the Boston manufacturer, whose factory may be just around the corner from the distributing depot of the machinery company.

The progress of the United Shoe Machinery Company is, in reality, the story of Sidney W.
Winslow, a native of Brewster, on Cape Cod, who in his early life, obtained a knowledge of shoe-making from his father in one of the small shops already described. Reference has been made to the advent of the Goodyear stitching machine that now constitutes a part of the equipment of the United Shoe Machinery Company.

While identified with the shoe business in Salem, Mr. Winslow became impressed by the handicaps under which shoe manufacturers struggled, as well as the waste in time and labor that was imposed by the conditions of that period and he set about to find a remedy. His method was to purchase or otherwise secure control of every machine designed to aid in the manufacture of shoes. In due time he organized a corporation to carry on this work, called the United Shoe Machinery Company. Control invariably spells success and from the moment that this machinery company secured effective control of a line of
shoe machinery capable of performing all of the operations incident to the making of shoes, it became successful and grew almost by leaps and bounds. As new machines appeared they were bought or acquired in some manner. Mechanics in its own employ improved many of the machines that it controlled and additional patents covering these improvements were obtained.

It was not long before the company realized that its control of the situation could be utilized in other directions. Early in its career it announced that the best results could not be obtained from its equipment unless its customers refrained from the use of any machine not furnished by it. And in order that no manufacturer could by any possibility suffer by making an unwise decision in this regard, it wrote a provision into its leases whereby the lessee covenanted that he would not patronize its competitor. He also agreed that such patronage might be treated as a violation of his contract,
which empowered the shoe machinery company to remove forthwith all of its equipment from his plant, thus effectually putting him out of business.

Along this same line the machinery company discovered that satisfactory results could not be expected unless its customers purchased their tacks, shanks, nails, thread and certain other supplies from it and immediately the manufacturers realized that it was discreet to adopt this view without modification. The shoe machinery company has become a hundred million dollar corporation, maintains factories all over the world and has a controlling interest in many other industries closely related to the shoe business, among which may be mentioned factories manufacturing tacks and shanks. Meanwhile, Mr. Winslow, until his death, served as president of the corporation that he founded.

It should be pointed out in this connection,
however, that the United Shoe Machinery Company
is not entitled to the credit of originating the
leasing method of letting out machines to shoe
manufacturers. When Lyman R. Blake of Abington
invented the McKay stitching machine while
employed at the factory of Gurney and Mears in
South Abington, now Whitman in 1857, he was
admitted into the firm as a partner. He built
the first machine with the stipulation that it
should remain his private property, although the
firm was to have the use of it. In 1861 he joined
with Gordon McKay in improving and introducing the
machine and subsequently Mr. McKay became the sole
owner. Mr. Blake claimed that prior to the advent
of his machine no machine had been devised for
1.
sewing soles to boots and shoes. Mr. McKay made
the decision that his machines were not to be sold,
but were to be rented to manufacturers on a
royalty basis, one reason being that he believed
important improvements would be made, thus
rendering it difficult to sell the perfected machines

1. Hazard, "The Organization of the Boot and Shoe
   Industry in Massachusetts", page 121.
to the same customers, who had already invested in the earlier models. So he attached a numbering device, rented the machines and sold royalty stamps to aid him in financing the undertaking. It is claimed that the receipts of the McKay Machine Company rose to $750,000 per year and continued to yield such an income until the fundamental patents on the machine expired.

On a recent occasion, the writer, while engaged in conversation with a venerable resident of Randolph, learned that he was an employee of Mr. McKay and is probably the only survivor of the McKay staff. He had charge of the leasing of the machines. They were made in Lawrence and the concern's capital consisted of 50,000 shares of stock of a par value of $100.00 each. As already pointed out, the venture was highly profitable and it was not unusual for a stockholder to receive dividends of $12.00 per share annually. Notwithstanding the earning power of the stock, it never sold for much more than one half of its par value,
the reason for which will presently appear. This gentleman stated that the fundamental patent had a life of fourteen years and under the patent law, as it then existed, the owner of the patent was entitled to an extension of seven years. Hence, the McKay machine enjoyed protection for twenty-one years. Before the expiration of this last period, an effort was made by Colonel McKay to secure a further extension by Congressional action, but although he put forth earnest and strenuous efforts in this direction he was unsuccessful and the protection of his machine expired in 1881. The business was then liquidated and the assets of the corporation were divided ratably among the stockholders.

Mr. McKay was a native of Pittsfield and acquired the title of "Colonel" by reason of service on the staff of Governor Briggs. His will disposed of an estate regarded as immense in those days. After establishing a large number of
annuities he left the balance of his estate to Harvard College.

In the latter part of the last century New England was producing substantially sixty percent of all the shoes made in the country and Brockton was making a large part of that fraction. Now, with the development of shoe manufacturing in other parts of the country and in other parts of the World, Brockton and New England have receded to a much lower percentage of total production and there is good reason to believe that low water mark has not yet been reached.

The writer has personal knowledge of an incident that is but one of many that tend to develop and have actually increased shoe manufacturing in distant places at the expense of Brockton and New England. For a year two men, one an American and the other a German, worked side by side in a Brockton shoe factory. This was several years before the war. Towards the end of the year the
The comparison shows a significant decrease in the occurrence of certain events between the two periods. This pattern is consistent across various categories and suggests a marked shift in the underlying factors. Further analysis reveals that this change is not isolated but rather part of a broader trend observed in similar studies. The implications of these findings are profound, offering insights into the evolving dynamics that govern these phenomena. It is evident that additional research is needed to fully understand the causes behind this transformation. The data compilation and subsequent analysis provide a solid foundation for further exploration in this area.
German announced to his American shopmate that he was about to return to Germany, adding that when he reached home the American would hear from him. In due time the native workman received a letter bearing a German post mark. Upon reading it he found that it was from his erstwhile shopmate, written on the stationery of a shoe manufacturing concern in the well known German industrial city of Erfurt and to his surprise the name of his shopmate appeared in the upper corner as one of the proprietors. The letter was, in effect, an offer of employment and it resulted in the American going to Germany where he worked a year for his former shopmate, who had come to America for the express purpose of observing and absorbing American methods of shoe-making.

At the present moment shoeworkers are disturbed by the display in the windows of the retail shoe stores in Brockton and elsewhere, of shoes of foreign production that are priced so low that the

1. Personal interview with Charles A. Brown.
domestic product cannot successfully compete. They come from Czecho-Slovakia and behind them is an interesting story.

From the little Moravian town of Zlin, where he had made over-shoes, Thomas Bata, a peasant, fared forth determined to learn the business of making and selling footwear. First, he visited Germany, where he soon acquired a knowledge of the methods employed there and then hastened to the United States. There is reason to believe that he worked for a time in Brockton factories. At all events, he made good use of his opportunities and returned to his native village well stocked with the knowledge that he had sought to secure.

We next hear of him as a manufacturer of shoes in a small way at Zlin at the beginning of the World War. Austria came into the market for shoes for soldiers. Bata submitted a bid and secured a large order. At once, he became a large

1. Brockton Enterprise, November 17, 1928.
shoe manufacturer. Other orders followed. Bate's business increased in volume. Likewise, his financial condition improved by leaps and bounds. When the Armistice was signed the Moravian peasant was a man of wealth, a shoe suzerain, well entrenched in business, and the head of an efficient industrial organization, but the demand for his product vanished in a day. He must have business, customers for his shoes, and employment for his help. He reduced the price of his product forty per cent and surveyed the horizon for a response. His European competitors were startled and Bate's crusade for business was on in earnest.

United Shoe Machinery equipment and facilities of the most efficient type, labor saving devices, short cuts, high pressure production, and stop watch time allowance for each operation were among the factors on which Bate relied to vanguish his competitors. In 1927 this man placed upon the markets of the world 22,500,000 pairs of
footwear as against 3,000,000 pairs in 1923. He may be called the Henry Ford of Czecho-Slovakia. Twelve thousand employees look to him for a pay envelope. This is about the number of persons employed in all the shoe factories of Brockton, which include three of the largest in America.

This gentleman is the object of interest, very hostile interest, on the part of all labor organizations in Europe and the United States. They charge him with many wrongs to his employees - that his wages are low, his hours long, and that his burdens are hard to carry. He denies these allegations, although he admits that he runs an open shop and that his employees assume all the risks of their employment and that he is free from the burdens of workmen's compensation.

In the past year a million and a half pairs of his product have entered the United States at a cost that will permit of their sale to the wearer at a price that cannot be met by domestic producers.
Manufacturers and workers are equally alarmed. Buyers, invariably seek the lowest market. The remedy most frequently suggested is a tariff on shoes. And, doubtless, this will prove effective in keeping out Beta shoes. But, it may also put the manufacturers in a position to collect tribute from the domestic customer as most of the producers of tariff protected goods are wont to do.

At the present moment representatives of manufacturers and Massachusetts congressmen, especially those from the shoe district, are busily engaged in advocating that Congress place a tariff on the importation of shoes. At a hearing now in progress, it is being pointed out that the Beta shoes are a serious menace to the industrial well-being of Massachusetts shoeworkers and manufacturers. It is said that the much-feared Mr. Beta is a member of the Lynn Chamber of Commerce. Attention is also being directed to Swiss and German shoes, which are appearing in
the local market in such volume as to create genuine alarm for the future of the local shoe industry.

Our review, thus far, has been very largely the story of the progress of the worker and the purveyor of shoe machinery, but we must not overlook the progress of the manufacturer or of the shoe itself. The early shoe factory was the property of an individual owner. Later the business was conducted by a corporation of which the former individual manufacturer was an officer and perhaps the owner of the major part of the capital stock. And still later the officers and stockholders were the descendants of the men who founded the business.

The pioneer founder was tireless in his pursuit of business. He was, at the same time, uncompromising in his opposition to mounting production costs. He gave his personal attention to his business and remained on the job. Europe and Florida attracted him but little and he had
slight cause for uneasiness because of European or Western competition. Each year he was producing a more stylish and attractive shoe.

Unlike the early days when the wearer purchased a pair of shoes to protect himself against the severities of the weather, his latter day successors were interested in style and appearance. Leather began to yield to cloth and elastic to a marked extent in the making of shoes.

The demand for the long legged boot made of cowhide and equipped with brass toe caps has long since become extinct. No longer is the boot jack that was once so essential in separating these boots from the feet of their wearers at night, a part of the equipment of every household. In like manner we have moved away from the need of tallow and other lubricants so important at one time to render these boots tolerable and wearable.

As the market for the cowhide boot diminished the demand for shoes increased. The days of the
laced shoe were preceded by a period during which the so-called Congress shoe attained a high degree of popularity. This type of shoe had a section of elastic on each side, which yielded or stretched as the shoe was being drawn on the foot or removed from it. This feature was also introduced into the shoes worn by women. While this shoe may be justly credited with saving time for a busy wearer it was unventilated and, therefore, uncomfortably hot in the warm weather.

The making of these elastic sides or goring was a flourishing industry incident to shoe manufacturing. In the early seventies William Rapp was manufacturing goring for Congress shoes in Leicester, England. His attention became directed towards Brockton from the fact, no doubt, that large quantities of shoes were being made here and the business was progressing. At all events, in 1876, Mr. Rapp removed his entire business and his family to Brockton and erected a plant for the manufacture

1. Personal interview with Mr. Walter Rapp.
of his product, which he called hub gore. Along with the business came a large number of his employees, who established new homes here and became very welcome and popular members of the community. Mr. Rapp himself lived to a ripe old age, was highly respected by his fellow citizens and on several occasions was honored by election to public office. The business continued for many years after his death with a progressively diminished demand for hub gore due to the fact that the Congress shoe was being displaced in popular favor by other types of footwear.

The congress shoe, like its ancestor the cowhide boot, fully met the demands of its time. But we are now well under way on our journey through the twentieth century. We are guided by new aims and ideals. Style and appearance have much to do with shaping our conduct and influencing our purchases. The most recently coined slogan applicable to the shoe industry is "shoes
for every occasion". Translated into figures this is held to mean that every person in order to meet the requirements of the times must be provided with about twenty-one pairs of shoes. He must have shoes of the various colors in vogue, shoes to wear while playing golf, shoes in which to dance, in short, shoes for business, home, dress, semi-dress, sports, riding and travel.

All this changes the outlook of the shoe manufacturer. He must hold himself in readiness to meet these requirements and thus far it must be acknowledged that he has succeeded in a marked degree. Brockton is famous for the high quality of its shoes, due in a large degree, to the skill of its shoeworkers. In 1926 Massachusetts produced nearly one-fourth of all the shoes made in the United States. It made twenty-four per cent of the men's shoes and twenty-seven per cent of the women's shoes.

There are seven towns in Plymouth County in

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 453.
2. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 453.
which there are shoe factories and the total number of such factories in the county is fifty-six. Half of this number is in Brockton, in which place is conducted the Brockton Fair, an annual event in the nature of a great show. Included in its varied schedule of activities is the Shoe Style Show. A model shoe factory is operated in the Educational Building with the co-operation of the United Shoe Machinery Company, which equipped the factory with the last expression in shoemaking machinery. All the processes are shown in operation and to much better advantage than they could be seen in any other factory, as every machine is placed in position with a view to having the process observed by the many thousands of people who pass through the aisles of the building daily.

The entire main floor of the Educational Building is each year devoted to exhibiting the footwear and findings and the faultless apparel
which consistently deserves to be worn with such creditable creations; and to an exhibit of men's and women's shoes in action, worn by models who show them in the process of walking, if they are walking shoes, and in dancing, if they are dancing shoes. The Brockton Fair furnishes the best graphic expression of the shoe industry in America.

Brockton, due to the growth of the shoe industry, showed a corresponding growth in population as well as a remarkable growth along cosmopolitan lines. In the early part of the last half century the population of Brockton and vicinity consisted of the original American element, except so far as it had received additions by the advent of the Irish, who readily sought and secured employment in the shoe industry. They were followed by the Swedes and French Canadians whose inherent skill easily made them desirable employees.
Next came the Jews, bringing with them their traditional ambition and enterprise. Many of them have already risen from the ranks of wage earners to the level of factory proprietors and are busily engaged either in the manufacture and sale of shoes or in producing supplies and findings, essential to shoe production. Other racial groups also came with the net result that Brockton became the abiding place of the representatives of many nations. And shoes were the magnets that drew them and the making of shoes absorbed their energies from the time of their arrival.

They are all welcome and constitute a valuable addition to the older stock. They came to escape various forms of oppression in the Old World and to avail themselves of the opportunities to work out their destinies in the New World. In this effort they are succeeding well. They live in peace and amity with the older
residents and these different groups are on terms of peace and harmony with each other. One of the activities of the Young Men's Christian Association is to aid these more recent arrivals to become American citizens and to point out to their womenfolk ways to secure the best results in their household duties. They are all industrious and thrifty. Many of them make use of the night schools and their children are not only receiving the advantages of the public schools, but are attaining high standards in scholarship.

It is not an infrequent occurrence to read in the news of the day of the high rank taken by pupils, who, upon their arrival in the United States three or four years ago, were unable to speak a word of English. Employees of the shoe factories own ninety per cent of the houses in Brockton and these houses, with very few exceptions, are equipped with all of the conveniences and appliances necessary to enable their occupants to
enjoy all the modern standards of comfort. By the adoption of the piece price system of compensation, it is possible for each worker to receive wages commensurate with his ability and dexterity. And by the same token women are able, in many of the factory processes, to obtain the same compensation as men.

We have already referred to Micah Faxon, the pioneer shoe manufacturer and his immediate competitors, Silas Packard and Edward Southworth. These men soon had for contemporaries and successors, William French, who entered the field in 1820 to be followed by Zopher Field, Charles Southworth, Charles May, Sydney Howard, Zenas Brett, Benjamin Kingman, Nathan Jones and Charles and Aiza Keith. Seth Bryant, an early historian and a person actively identified with the shoe business himself, declared that the Packards, Keiths and Leaches built up the City of Brockton. He also asserted that more shoes were made in the Second
Congressional District of Massachusetts then in any other in the United States.

In 1855 the boot and shoe interests of Massachusetts were the largest of any in the State, and the backbone of the industry in this vicinity. There were 176 boot, shoe and leather dealers and 51 leather dealers. In this same year the number of boots manufactured was 66,956 pairs. The number of shoes was 694,740 pairs. The value of this product was $724,847. There were 692 males employed in their manufacture and 484 females.

By 1865 there had been a great increase in the number of manufacturers and much new machinery for the making of shoes had been introduced. The number of boots manufactured in that year was 103,066 pairs. The number of shoes was 1,009,700 pairs. The number of males employed was 1059 and the number of females 208. The total value of the goods was $1,466,900. From these figures it is seen that there was an increase
in that decade in the manufacture of shoes to the value of $742,153. or more than double the value of the goods produced in 1855.

It is said that the firm of A. and A. B. Keith was the first in the country to adopt machinery for nearly every process in the making of shoes. The concern had a relatively large factory in the south part of Brockton and another in Raynham. It made large quantities of footwear for the southern trade and maintained a store on Pearl Street in Boston.

Steam power became introduced in several of the factories at this time and from its advent there was a great increase in production. Previously, shoes had been "given out" to the proprietors of small or home shops, where the upper was fitted to the last with lapstone and hammer to be followed by pounding the wet sole, fastening with nails and pegging sole and inner sole together. In 1837 North Bridgewater produced

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 459.
79,000 pairs of boots and 22,300 pairs of shoes and employed 1125 workers. Then began the enlargement, which culminated in the present day situation, in which 30,000 people are employed in 60 Brockton factories.

George W. Bryant and Daniel S. Howard, who operated in the period from 1848 to 1888 deserve to be called pioneer manufacturers. The latter is credited with the declaration that a manufacturer needed to have $500.00 of capital for every twenty-four pair case of shoes that he proposed to manufacture. It is needless to add that such an amount of capital ceased to be adequate soon after Mr. Howard's time, if indeed, its insufficiency was not demonstrated before his retirement.

Messrs. Bryant and Howard soon had for contemporaries Charles R. Ford, Martin L. Keith, Enos H. Reynolds and several others. In the sixties Peleg S. Leach entered the field and

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 460.
2. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 460.
3. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 460.
manufactured shoes in a factory that occupied the present site of the Police Station on East Elm Street. In 1865, 103,066 pairs of boots and over 1,000,000 pairs of shoes were made in North Bridgewater. The increase over 1837 was undoubtedly, due in a large measure to the sewing machine.

In 1870 William L. Douglas came here from Plymouth, where he was born, and secured employment in a shoe factory. Later he became a foreman for Porter and Southworth. There are several men still living, who were shopmates of his when he worked at the bench. With a capital of $875 he engaged in the business of making shoes in 1876. Preston B. Keith, who died only a few months ago, had started in business five years earlier and Moses A. Packard began manufacturing in 1877. The late George E. Keith began his notable career in 1868 in company with William S. Southworth and in 1870 opened a shop

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 460.
on his own account. Daniel W. Field entered the employ of Daniel S. Howard in 1876. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the Howard factory may be regarded as a training school for shoe manufacturers since so many of its employees, especially its foremen, later embarked as manufacturers and built up large and permanent enterprises, which leads the writer to observe that almost from the birth of the town a very considerable group of manufacturers has either come up from the bench or has had close associations with the mechanical branch of the business. Undoubtedly, this fact has been largely responsible for the generally amicable relations that have existed between employers and employees in so large an industrial centre as Brockton during the past half century.

The writer is impressed by two outstanding characteristics of Mr. Douglas. He was an uncompromising champion of good shoes, especially good workmanship and he was a liberal advertiser in
the leading publications of the country. The first characteristic led to the development in the Douglas factory of a highly skillful shop's crew, whose output immediately met with popular favor. And Mr. Douglas' advertising policy in conjunction with the establishment of retail stores in the principal cities of the country brought his shoes before the eyes of the country's male population and onto the feet of a large portion of it. As the demand for his goods increased, his factory kept growing larger and the number of employees kept constantly increasing. Very early in his career Mr. Douglas so systematized his business and so wisely delegated the tasks that would otherwise devolve upon him that he had time available for other achievements.

In 1919 the value of Brockton's shoe product became, by war needs and advancing prices, $146,378,150. When William Cullen Bryant re-visited the

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 460.
community where he had pursued his law studies, he wrote: "The whole place resounds, rather rattles, with the machinery of shoe shops, which turn out millions of shoes, not one of which, I am told, is sold in the place." The last statement would be hardly true today, although the output is even more widely distributed than fifty years ago. The city has developed into a great trading centre and its well appointed and well stocked department stores find customers in a territory extending fifteen miles from Brockton in all directions.

The writer has already noted the entrance of Mr. George E. Keith into the ranks of the shoe manufacturers. His progress was remarkable. The story of his career briefly stated includes substantial annual increases in production, ever widening markets and the frequent enlargement of his plant. Mr. Keith developed a large and lucrative foreign trade and established stores in

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 460.
the principal cities of the world. Several years before his death he stated at a dinner that he attended: "There isn't a night that we go to bed that there isn't $15,000 worth of our product on the high seas". His death brought gloom and sorrow to all groups and subdivisions of his fellow citizens in Brockton. A local clergymen, who did not share his religious views, referred to him as a respected citizen, a captain of industry and a Christian gentleman.

Upon the passing of Mr. Keith his mammoth business interests vested in his son Harold C. Keith, a relatively young man, who is rapidly attaining to the high place occupied by his respected father in the world of business and in the esteem of his fellow citizens.

The early stitching machines were heavy and cumbersome and were operated by footpower or horsepower and they could be managed only by men. This fact, for a time, drove women out of an industry in which, for more than a century, they
they had relied upon to stitch the uppers. Among
women long accustomed to depend upon this work as
a means of supplementing personal or family income,
the distress was acute, and was emphasized on the
platform and in the pulpit of the time as among
the social disasters consequent to the introduction
of machinery into manufacture. "Hannah at the
window binding shoes" was as shamefully underpaid
as was her sister stitching shirts, but Hannah
without shoes to bind was not paid at all. With
the gradual perfection of the single process system
in the factories through the successive inventions
dividing and simplifying each step in the building
of a shoe, women gradually regained a place in the
trade. By the year 1860 the stitching machines
were universally attached to power belts driven by
water or steam, and as they no longer required
great strength in manipulation, could be worked by
girls or women, who could accept lower wages than
men.
In the forty years succeeding the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, the gain in the number of women workers was rapid. In 1870 twenty per cent of the shoe workers in Massachusetts were women and girls. In 1890 this had grown to nearly thirty per cent. In 1905 married women, including in that group widows, divorced and deserted wives, formed twenty-six per cent of the total female shoe-workers in Massachusetts. The writer has made a diligent but unsuccessful effort to learn the percentage of women employed in the industry in the following years.

It seems appropriate at this time to devote some time and space in a brief outline of the business of making shoe tools and accessories and to men who engaged in these lines. From earliest times shoe tools have been made in Plymouth and Norfolk Counties and shoe findings and accessories have constituted an
important branch of the shoe industry. Prior to 1830 the tools and processes of shoemaking were so crude or simple that only eight tools were considered necessary for currying, fitting, lasting, bottoming and joining the upper to the sole. These eight tools included knife, awl, needle, pinchers, last, hammer, stirrup and lapstone.

They were arranged around the shoemaker's bench or seat within easy reach. Given suitable material and ample time he could be relied upon to make a good pair of boots or shoes. When the number of tools increased it was merely to add a few extra knives to suit the several needs. With eight or ten tools shoes were made in this vicinity for two hundred years. As already pointed out there was no machinery in 1830.

In 1835 North Bridgewater was turning out 1.
shoe tools in great numbers, supplying the shoemakers in neighboring towns, as well as local requirements. Lasts and boot trees were made by

1. Thompson, "History of Plymouth County", page 471.
Chandler Sprague at Factory Village, now Salisbury Square, where his shop was operated by water power. The old iron industry, so important from the beginning of history in this district, led naturally towards tool making.

Reference has already been made to the prodigality with which stock, especially leather, was used in the shoe industry in the last century and we have seen that scraps of leather were frequently used for filling in the streets in the vicinity of shoe factories. Much of it was used for fuel. This mode of production gave way to conservation as opposed to devastation.

It was early found that shoe strings could be produced as a profitable by-product of shoe manufacturing. Soon after heels were made from the small pieces of leather that had formerly been discarded. The leather parts of suspenders were salvaged from shoe factory scraps.
Meny people engaged in the business of purchasing the entire volume of leather that remained after the making of shoes and by sorting it with reference to size and quality were able to utilize it themselves or sell it to persons who were to convert it into some marketable article of merchandise.

This line of endeavor has been so highly developed that the smallest particles of leather and even the skivings and dust can be sold to manufacturers of leather board, who subject it to various mechanical and chemical processes and finally obtain a product called leather board, which can be put to a variety of practical and profitable uses. A large plant for this work is conducted by Jenkins Brothers in that part of Bridgewater called Pratt Town.

Shoe blacking and stains became increasingly important and the making of these essentials began to afford employment to workers.
This demand for colors is directly reflected in the activities of allied industries. A case in point is the Brockton firm of Mullen Brothers, who specialize in blacking stains and enamels for shoes. This concern is prepared to supply its customers with stains in about five hundred different shades. It has an extensive trade, both in the domestic and foreign market and some of its product is sold in Australia and Japan. One of the most useful basic colors used in mixing is Thenard blue (ultramarine) discovered by the French chemist Thenard in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Rends, stays, patterns, cut leather and leatherboard appeared on the market and shoe manufacturers early perceived the advantage of purchasing from those who specialized in the production of those accessories.

A time came when wooden boxes replaced barrels and casks as containers for shoes in
These boxes were of a pine that was, at one time, plentiful in this locality. The cutting of pine lumber, hauling it to the mills, sewing it into boards to be subsequently made into shoe boxes became a flourishing industry and afforded employment to choppers, teamsters, sawyers and box makers. Before the shoes were placed in these boxes each pair was enclosed in a cardboard box or carton, hence the making of cartons constituted an industry kindred to the shoe business. The work involved many separate and successive operations, but within the past decade a resident of Randolph invented a machine into which is fed a strip of cardboard at one end and from the other end is delivered completed cartons ready for use, including the labelling. Such a machine produces the entire output of the box factory and supplies the requirements of several large shoe factories. Its advent has dispensed with large numbers of workers
and measurably reduced production costs.

It has now been found that lumber, like many other basic commodities, has become so scarce and costly that wooden packing cases for shoes are almost prohibitive. And for some time past containers of cardboard, fibre and fiberoid have been extensively used in place of the pine packing cases of other days and with very satisfactory results.

The growth of the shoe industry has been a potent factor in the development of transportation facilities in this vicinity. When the Brockton factories became so large that they afforded employment to people residing in the surrounding towns, transportation became a problem to be solved. The horse and two seated carriage was relied on by some of the workers, one of whom would own the conveyance and transport three other workers for a stipulated weekly fare.
Soon this method was found inadequate to meet the demands of the situation and coach lines were established between Brockton and each of the surrounding towns. Each coach was drawn by a team of four horses and schedules were arranged so that the workers would arrive here in time to begin their work at seven o'clock in the morning. The coaches made the return trip after the day's work was completed, which was usually between five and six o'clock at night. The eight hour day had not yet arrived.

In the course of time horse cars travelled on the coach routes and subsequently electricity was adopted as a propelling power. Now, the motor bus and the privately owned automobile are traversing these same routes to afford transportation to shoe workers.

A review of the growth of the shoe industry in Brockton would hardly be complete without adverting to the fact that this city, in
marked contrast with other industrial centres, has in the thirty years immediately preceding the passage of national legislation making the sale of intoxicating liquor unlawful, declared for a local policy of no license.

The early shoes were custom made in the sense that they were fashioned with the purpose in view of fitting the feet of the known person who was to wear them. Under these conditions quantity production could never be attained. Until now, sizes had not been thought of, or if they had, it meant nothing either to the shoemaker or his customer until sizes were standardized.

Now, came William Newman of Stamford, Connecticut with a "measuring stick" that he brought from England. He submitted it to the General Court and it was adopted in 1658 as a standard, fair to buyer and seller alike. The adoption of a standard measure marked the beginning of a new era in shoe making. Standard sizes made it possible for the
shoemaker to make up a stock of shoes in readiness for customers instead of waiting for orders.

At a time when shoe business was at the peak of its prosperity in this vicinity the suggestion was advanced by certain students of industry that it would be wise to impart knowledge at public expense to students who might desire to learn the mechanical or production branch of the business. It was proposed to do this under the head of vocational training and it was to be included in the curriculum of the public schools. Public hearings were held with a view to crystallizing the suggestion into a definite movement for results. It was found, however, that the proposition met with earnest opposition on the part of organized labor to such an extent that it was deemed inadvisable to proceed with the effort.

We are living in an age of speed and progress. Everything seems to be in a state of change. The essentials of yesterday are replaced
today by something that is thought more suitable or they are discarded altogether. Along many lines our wants are diminishing in substantial ratio. We eat less and we wear less. This is true of quantity, but not of cost. We are breaking away from everything that savors of being non-essential. We walk less and ride more, hence the life of our shoes has been lengthened by many months. Much laborious work that was once done by men is now accomplished by machinery. Men no longer follow the plow or the harrow on foot and wear out shoes, but sit on a tractor. Trench digging and excavating is now done almost exclusively by gasoline diggers and steam shovels.

Men have ceased to walk to their business or employment or to railroad stations, but ride every inch of the way in motor cars. Walking is no longer popular as a means of exercise or recreation. All this is to the economic disadvantage of the shoeworker and already he is unable to secure twelve
month's employment in any one year.

The making of shoes may now be regarded as an exact science, but finding a market for them is still but a partially-solved problem.

The evolution of shoe making in Brockton has been in the direction of a shoe more and more attractive to the eye and increasingly expensive, as workers demanded higher wages and material became more expensive. And the writer hastens to add that as shoemaking became more profitable manufacturers continued to increase their "overhead" and take on many high priced employees, who were designated on the books as experts of one type or another - efficiency men, statisticians, cost computers, credit managers and sales managers. And in the palmy days of shoemaking the manufacturers lived and moved on a plane that would seem to afford conclusive evidence to the observer that making shoes was a highly profitable venture. Now, the outlook is radically different.
Shoe salesmen returning from their territory report that the average man is unwilling to pay more than $5.00 for a pair of shoes and Brockton makes but few shoes that can be delivered to the wearer in a distant part of the country, after selling costs are included in the retail price, for as small a sum as $5.00. Hence, the candidate for $5.00 shoes is buying the product of factories that will cater to his wants and provide him with a pair of shoes at a price that will meet with his approval.

Gradually, but altogether too slowly, manufacturers and workers are beginning to realize that if they are to remain identified with the shoe business they must devote their energies to producing the kind of shoe for which there is a demand and at a price that the buyer is willing to pay. If they fail to do this their competitors will secure the business. It is much more of an uphill task for a manufacturer to con-
vert the buyer to what he should buy than to concentrate his efforts in producing what he knows the buyer is eager to procure. It would be as logical for a man to spend his time shovelling steam with a pitch fork as to make tall hats and bosom shirts in an age when such articles are obsolete. And so it is with shoes. Only those shoes for which there is a recognized demand can be made and sold profitably.

As illustrating the rapidity with which changes are occurring in the shoe industry, the writer was shown, as this review was in progress, a pair of smart ladies' oxford shoes in which but two tacks were used and no thread. All joinings and unions of parts were effected by means of cement. It is needless to comment on the extent to which labor and material were thus eliminated. In fact, the writer has heerd the prediction made by several persons actively engaged in the shoe industry that the day is not
fer distent when the vamps of shoes will be turned out in one piece, either on a knitting machine or a loom.

While it is true that nothing succeeds like success it may also be successfully maintained that nothing is so depressing as depression. The habits of the women in wearing less clothing on the streets than their grandmothers wore in bed has put the textile business of New England as low an ebb as the shoe business, with the result that the purchasing power of textile workers in the shoe market is measureably diminished. They cannot buy shoes as frequently as in the past. They must wear old shoes — make them last as long as possible and have them repaired as long as it is prudent or possible to do so.

It is said that shoe repairers are finding more business than ever before. This situation has its parallel in the clothing industry. Custom made clothing is now so costly
that it is beyond the reach of many people who formerly bought and wore it, and ready-made clothing is also on a high level of prices, with the result that most tailors find that the major portion of their work now consists in the repair and renovation of garments.

All this gives rise to a very serious problem that thus far defies solution. The increased productivity of machinery, including that used in the production of shoes, the decreased per capita demand for footwear, the development of shoe production in other parts of the country, the almost complete loss of a foreign market coupled with the increased sale in the domestic market of foreign made shoes have slowed up production in Brockton and vicinity to a point that has long since created alarm and unrest.

The outlook is, indeed, pessimistic and it all merges into the word "unemployment", a problem

that now seems to be national in its scope and so serious as to evoke a recommendation from the newly elected president, who has already expressed the view that the situation might be relieved by the appropriation, out of the public treasury, of a huge sum of money to be expended for public improvements, the construction of public buildings, highways and bridges. But the fallacy of this program is at once apparent when one considers that work of this nature is accomplished chiefly by machinery supplemented by the labor of a relatively few highly skilled mechanics, who already enjoy a high level of compensation.

Organized labor says the remedy is to be found in the adoption of a five day week, but not since the war have Brockton factories, with few exceptions, operated on Saturday. The manufacturers say the cure should be sought in lower wages for the operatives, thus making
it possible for the former to successfully meet the competition of the Middle West end of the State of New York.

Both groups are united in the claim that a tariff on European and Canadian shoes would enlarge their production and give more continuous employment to the workers. They also coincide in the view that men should maintain a more extensive wardrobe of shoes, that they should keep on hand shoes for various occasions.

Building mechanics, through the power of their trade unions, have already won such short hours and high wages that it is no longer possible for a shoeworker or a textile worker to acquire the ownership of a one-family house out of his own earnings. The wages of these high priced mechanics is computed into the cost of the buildings that they erect, with the result that it is now several years since a building designed to house more than one family has been erected in
Brockton. It is no longer possible to build them and receive a fair return on the investment.

The situation may be graphically illustrated by the following episode. A mason was being escorted over a school house in process of construction by a representative of the general contractor with a view to accepting employment on the job. When the inspection was completed the mechanic announced that he did not think he would care to work on that job because he did not see any suitable place where he might park his automobile. His escort, who was possessed of an active mind, immediately replied: "If that is the kind of a mason you are we don't care to have you on the job. Thus far, we have been able to keep going with men who have their own chauffeurs". This illustrates the arrogance and independence of a highly-paid building mechanic, who is fortified by the collective power of the union in which he holds membership. While workers of this type have
secured the adoption of high wages per hour, short hours of labor and Saturdays off with pay, we must not lose sight of the fact that these conditions have reduced many of them to a condition where they are utterly unable to secure employment.

The fixed and recurring charges of maintaining a business are frequently referred to as "overhead". Are we not all carrying too much overhead, not only in our business, but in our households, and in our government local, state and national? The cost of government reflected in taxes is going forward by leaps and bounds. Public employees are constantly agitating for higher wages and succeeding. Short hours are becoming shorter. Holidays, with pay and vacations with pay, are being extended to all classes of public servants. Almost all of them are paid while absent on account of illness and after enjoying these comfortable conditions for a
specified number of years, they are retired on a pension of half pay at the expense of their less fortunate fellow citizens.

Brockton is already disbursing $35,000 annually in pensions. This is practically a gratuity paid to a favored few, who had the good fortune during their more active years of being employed by the public instead of by a private employer. These disbursements are increasing annually as more employees retire and take advantage of the pension law. And this situation exists notwithstanding the fact that Brockton has the third highest tax rate in the state, and, for many years prior to 1928 stood second in respect to tax rates. High building costs, high taxes, high rents bears down heavily on shoe workers whose employment is already irregular and uncertain.

The writer contends that when one class of workers secure a raise in wages or a reduction in hours, it is in effect a reduction in wages for all
null
other workers who have a relationship to the business that employs the men who secured the increase in compensation. The matter of public transportation furnishes an excellent illustration. Most of the shoeworkers in this vicinity in years gone by depended on trolley cars as a means of transportation to and from their places of employment. In fact the transportation of shoe workers constituted the largest item of business of the street railway system. The employees of this company have annually sought and secured an increase in wages. Finally increased operating costs and the popularity of the automobile drove the railway company into a receivership, followed by a sale of its assets at public auction to a new company, organized to acquire them and to be managed by public trustees on the basis of service at cost. The agitation for higher wages continued and continued to succeed.

As a means of securing a partial escape
from these annual exactions, the trustees replaced the cars then in use by others designed to be operated by one man, and immediately one half of the employees of the road found themselves out of work. The survivors of this innovation continued their demands for higher wages and each time they secured an advance, the trustees either abandoned service on certain non-profitable routes or run cars on them less frequently. More men were laid off.

The survivors persisted in their agitation and each time they secured an advance in wages, the increase was passed along to the car riders either in the form of higher fares, shorter rides for the existing fare or less frequent service, all resulting in diminished receipts and fewer employees. The street railway men are fast becoming a very select group. Each time their wages were advanced, the shoeworker's transportation
dollars would purchase less service. The result was that the shoeworkers placed increasing reliance on the automobile as a means of transportation. The street railway men have done more to popularize the automobile than all the money expended by automobile dealers for advertising purposes.

Thus we see, that as work becomes more expensive, there is less work to do and more idle men, a smaller volume of business by merchants and manufacturers, and general unrest, which is a near relative of hard times.

Following the heaviest snow storm thus far during the present winter (February, 1929), the Boston newspapers reported that more than 20,000 unemployed men sought work from the city of Boston, public service corporations and contractors in the removal of snow. This constitutes a new high record of unemployment and affords very graphic evidence of industrial
conditions in this vicinity.

Our present state of society and mode of living is so complex, involved and sensitive that as soon as one line of industrial endeavor or one group is adversely affected the result is immediately transmitted like a wave or a ripple to other lines and other groups.

Local wages, however, and the changed habits of living that have already been discussed do not constitute the sole reasons for the present depression and lack of employment which, aside from national prohibition, seem to be the chief manifestations of unrest. The cost of raw material and transportation charges are factors that cannot be overlooked. Basic commodities, including coal, lumber and various ores, are becoming increasingly scarce and consequently more expensive.

The writer heard this subject discussed at length by a lecturer on the Chautauqua circuit on
e recent occasion. The speaker pointed out that we are now living in the greatest era in the world's history in the sense that we are emancipated from almost all of the hardships of other days. We are provided with more comforts and the means of securing comfort. We no longer have to put forth the strenuous physical efforts that were common in earlier generations. We are surrounded by skill on every hand, doctors, dentists, surgeons, specialists, hospitals, rapid and comfortable conveyances, telephones, telegraph, radios and wireless.

But, said the speaker, with our population increasing at an alarming rate which means additional food requirements, and with fewer people engaged in productive efforts and more devoting themselves to non-productive pursuits or to absolute idleness, and with the basic natural products becoming more difficult to procure, how long can we hope to continue to supply the wants
of our increasing population? Already out of the price paid by a Brockton shoeworker for a ton of coal $5.60 is paid for its transportation from Pennsylvania and $1.00 is paid to meet an export tax levied by that state on each ton of coal that is shipped beyond its borders.

This may be an appropriate place to raise the query, how much longer can we expect our present kinds of fuel to last - coal, oil and wood. Although recently published statistics disclose during the past year Massachusetts produced substantially 24% of all the shoes made in the country, with the state of New York occupying second place, the fact remains that large numbers, if indeed, not all of the shoeworkers in this vicinity had to accept part time employment and in altogether too many instances the time lost exceeded the time devoted to work. It is significant that the factories devoted to the production of the so-called cheaper or second grade shoes enjoyed the
greatest degree of prosperity and were consequently able to afford more continuous employment to their workers.

It seems to the writer that shelter is the most expensive factor in the life of the average wage-earner and an effort has already been made in earlier pages to analyze the underlying causes for this condition. The means of escape that are being adopted by shoeworkers are readily observable in more limited quarters, light housekeeping projects and a general abandonment of home life as it was viewed in the last century.

There are fewer homes in latter sense, smaller families and more married women seeking employment in industry. Up to almost the present time school attendance was on the increase, but there is abundant evidence at hand that the peak has been reached and from now on the school population will be on the descending scale. The secondary schools have already felt the effects of this new condition. With restricted immigration, coupled with the difficulty of
securing employment in industry that will yield an income sufficient to enable the worker to live in accordance with present day standards, at present day costs, smaller families, fewer marriages and more divorces are inevitable. Already the increase in dissolved marriages as disclosed by statistics taken from the records of courts having jurisdiction in divorce cases, has furnished a theme for many sermons and many magazine discussions. The short but true answer is: economic conditions springing from excessive "overhead" all along the line. Costs are in too many instances artificial, arbitrary and synthetic. Too many factors enter into these costs that are passed along to the consumer.

Prudence, economy and thrift seem to have no champion with the exception of a prominent office holder now about to retire. Time was when the buyer bought only with the cash that he had saved to make the purchase. That was before the advent of the
installment house, the easy payment plan or the deferred payment plan. Much has been spoken and written in defence of this method of merchandising. It has been said by its protagonists that it stimulates production, gives employment to workers and makes business good, and affords to wage earners an opportunity to pay for many things as they use and enjoy them.

These claims are, undoubtedly, susceptible to proof, but the larger question still remains debatable. Is society, as a whole, benefitted by the opportunity that is afforded or the temptation that is extended by the merchant, who is ready to sell non-essentials to people who are guided by their impulses rather than their judgment? It is to be noted that the sale of food on credit is almost a thing of the past, but the sale of radios, automobiles and jewelry on leases is an ever increasing activity.

The late war has been held accountable for many of the new conditions of life and while it may

1. The Shoe Workers' Journal, November, 1918.
If
be successfully charged with a measurable increase in taxes, which constitute a factor in the increased cost of living, it is hard for the writer to find justification for the claim that it is responsible for changes in habits of living or for indiscreet buying. It seems more reasonable to observe that the opportunities and temptations to spend have increased to the point where people assume obligations needlessly and unwisely.

The shoeworker has been an actor in all the phases of life that have been alluded to in the preceding paragraphs and the conditions described have operated to his disadvantage. He has a much smaller margin in protection between himself and actual want than his predecessor of the last century.

But savings bank deposits in this vicinity have increased during the past year. Hence the shoeworkers must be prosperous, says an editorial writer. Yes, answers a member of the city council, there may be more money on deposit than a year ago,
but that fact is accounted for by the interest earned by old and undisturbed deposits, which is added to the principal quarterly; but new deposits are sagging, and of such deposits the major portion of them are made by liquor dealers, for whose wares there seems to be a constant market, even among those who can ill afford to buy and drink the fiery fluids of the present day.

The writer is not unaware of the fact that the advocate of economy and caution in the expenditure of public or private funds is destined to attract but slight attention and meagre applause. Strange to relate, it is a fact that even the victims of official extravagance and waste are but slightly disturbed by the prevalence of these conditions.

In conclusion the writer ventures to express the opinion that from this time on the economic position of the shoemaker will be much
null
more insecure and unstable than in the years that have gone by. He will, of course, share in the comforts and conveniences afforded by the present era, but he will find it increasingly difficult to secure an annual income that will enable him to meet his annual financial requirements. He will no longer be able to save money and acquire a home of his own. At present he must work at least two and one half days to earn enough to employ a building mechanic one day. He and his brethren in the textile industry share the same outlook. Their condition is bad as compared with the building mechanic, the civil service employee, including policemen, firemen and mail carriers, and those in the employ of municipalities or public service corporations that afford employment steadily throughout the year.

While Brockton's shoe output in the years to come will, undoubtedly, be on the descending
scale, its geographical position, in relation to a large number of surrounding towns, will enable it to maintain its prestige as a trading and shopping centre, and its proximity to Boston and the Metropolitan District will render it a desirable place of residence for those whose business or employment is in that area.

As its future growth seems destined to be by slower stages, its need for new public buildings, chiefly school houses, will be less imperative than in the past. And as the bonds that are now outstanding for many of its recent public improvements are retired, it seems reasonable to predict that by a discreet management of its prudential affairs, the burdens of taxation should progressively diminish and the general cost of living should be reduced to a more tolerable level.

Summary

In the preceding pages we have traced the
evolution of shoemaking in Brockton and vicinity from its early stages and crude methods through the machine age with its accompanying changes in styles and market requirements. Coincident with these changes we have noted the successive accomplishments of the workers in the direction of increasing their compensation and diminishing their physical exertions through the agency of guilds and different types of trade unions.

We have followed the growth of small production units into gigantic manufactories and we have acquainted the reader with the names of the men who were prominent actors in the movement and who have actually made the history that we have been attempting to record. Included in this group we have the men who invented useful machines for the making of shoes. We have endeavored to present a word picture of industrial growth and economic progress. It is our hope that the reader will find our research to
be both interesting and informative.

And now as we view the situation at the close of the third decade of the twentieth century and venture to turn our vision towards the future we are filled with wonder and uncertainty. Has the limit of achievement been yet accomplished?
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Basset, William R.  
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In addition to the references hereinbefore noted the writer has relied to a great extent, on her personal knowledge and observations based on many years residence in a shoe district, as well as on many interviews with manufacturers, workers and other persons whose connection with the shoe industry, present or past, qualified them to speak with authority.