THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF WASHINGTON GLADDEN

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Major professor

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THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF WASHINGTON GLADDEN

By

Edward I. Cohen

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INTRODUCTION

The years following the Civil War brought forth a new age of industrialism to the United States. During the period of reconstruction, manufacturing, which had rapidly increased during the war, continued on the upswing. An industrial economy slowly replaced an agricultural economy in the United States. The industrial revolution had reached America, and by 1880, the foundation of modern America was being laid down by this industrial system.

The country formerly composed of farms now became a nation of cities and factories. The workingman who had been an artisan producing goods by his own hands and tools, now found himself working in the factory where he lost his individuality and became one of many who tended the machines.

The demand for workers by the factories caused multitudes to leave the farms and flock to the city. Not only did the farmers come to work in the industrial plants, but many came from far away shores to the new and crowded cities. As a result, the supply of labor reached an overflowing proportion. The employer was assured of an ever growing stream of immigrants to furnish him with a labor supply. In the 1880's, immigration had reached a new nigh of over five million immigrants.[1] The employers were quite

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[1]John Commons, History of Labor in the United States (New York, 1918), II, 359.

willing to hire these people from the old world because the latter would accept any job and were willing to work for almost any wage.

One of the results of this new industrialization was a division of the people into two distinct classes, employer and employee. The employers, unconscious of business morals, took advantage of those who worked for them. As a result, it was necessary for the workers to organize to protect themselves. "Committees of correspondence" were formed whose object was to inform workers of the same trade of "shop and sharp practices" throughout the country.[2] Although local trade unions had existed in this country for some time, the workers found that it was necessary to form a federation of labor through which labor in all parts of the country could act. As a result, a meeting of the National Labor Union took place in August, 1866. More than seventy seven delegates of trade assemblies, workingmen unions, eight hour day leagues and other labor organizations were represented at this meeting. The National Labor Union organization lasted for about five years and sponsored many successful labor congresses. It died, however, because local unions became interested more in their own local affairs and municipal politics than in general national improvement.[3]

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[2]Herbert Harris, American Labor (New Haven, 1938), p. 62.

[3]Charles Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York, 1927), p. 161.

Although the business depressions of 1873 and 1879 caused the disappearance of many unions from the local scene, an organization known as the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor survived, and became one the foremost labor organizations of the period. Under the guiding hand of Terence Powderly, it reached a membership of over five hundred thousand workers by 1886.[4] It was successful in carrying out strikes against the railroads in 1882 and 1884, but it began to decline in the later years because of the failure of some of the strikes it supported. By 1890, it was disappearing from the national scene.

The 1880's gave rise to increased prosperity and widespread industrial expansion. There were one tenth more wage workers in 1882 than there had been in 1880.[5] Arising in 1881 to give the Knights of Labor competition was the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Samuel Gompers. This new organization accepted capitalism as part of the country's economic system and strove to secure a partnership for labor in the increasing wealth of the nation. During this period, there were many other labor organizations which appeared on the national scene such as the Order of Knights of St. Crispin, the Sovereigns of Industry, the Molly Maguires, but all were short lived.

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[4]Lyman Abbott, Christianity and Social Problems (Boston, 1901), p. 276.

[5]Harris, American Labor, 80.

The employers, trusts and corporations which had been formed to combat competition, refused to recognize the labor unions or to deal with them. The result was industrial turmoil. The strength that the employers possessed as well as the influence that they wielded over government, both state and national, were demonstrated to the workers by results of the Haymaker Strike of 1886, the Homestead Strike of 1892, the Pullman Strike of 1894, and others.

The new industrial situation presented many problems to the workers. Foremost among them were wages and hours of labor. Other problems were the organization of labor bureaus, the right of collective bargaining, child labor laws, the restriction of immigration, the abolition of the sweat shop system, employer's liability laws and the abolition of the contract system.

During this period, a minority of Protestant leaders saw that in the struggle between capital and labor, many Christian beliefs were being repudiated. They realized that the church had been too busy with the slavery problem, missionary work, concern for the Sabbath, and vice and as a result was unaware of the new social conditions existing between classes. To help protect the workers and the threat to Christian ethics, a movement arose in Protestant circles known as Social Christianity. Some of the leaders in this movement were Lyman Abbott, Henry W. Beecher, Josiah Strong,

George Herron, Richard Ely, and Washington Gladden. The last named has been called by some the "father of the Social Gospel movement".

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the social and economic philosophy of this social leader and his relationship to some of the problems that arose in this industrial society. In order to do this, it is necessary to examine his attitudes and views towards the worker, the employer, the church and its relationship to the labor movement, and the problem of wealth and government in the United States.

Chapter I

The Early Life of Washington Gladden

Washington Gladden was born on February 11,1836, in a little hamlet in central Pennsylvania called Pottsgrove. His father, Samuel Gladden, was a school teacher who had migrated to Pennsylvania from Southhampton, Massachusetts. His grandfather, Thomas Gladden, was a shoemaker in Southhampton while his great-grandfather, Azariah, had been a soldier with George Washington at Valley Forge. Here in Pottsgrove, his father met Amanda Daniels of Owego, New York, whom he married. Washington was their first child. He was named Solomon Washington Gladden, but dropped the Solomon after graduating from college.

When Gladden was six years old, his father died. Although he died while Gladden was young, a love for his father remained with Gladden throughout his whole life. He was then sent to live with his father's people in Massachusetts. Here he remained for about one year and then went back to live with his mother's relatives in Owego, New York. He attended school at the Owego Academy and after his graduation went to Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts. To help earn his college expenses, he worked on the Springfield Republican, Springfield, Massachusetts as a reporter,

and taught school during winter vacations in Owego. In 1859, Gladden graduated from Williams College as a teacher. In his last year at school, he wrote "The Mountains, the Mountains!" which has become the official college song of Williams.

Gladden then returned to Owego and taught school. However, he became deeply interested in religion and realized that the Kingdom of Heaven was foremost in this world.[1] He was licensed to preach by the Susquehannah Association of Congregational Ministers. Deciding upon the ministry as his life's work, he was ordained a minister in November, 1860. This same year, he married Jennie O. Cohoon, and they settled in Brooklyn, New York, where Gladden received his first pastorate at the First Congregational Church. The next year, the Gladdens moved to Morrisania, New York, which was just outside the New York City limits. While he lived here, the draft riots of 1863 broke out in New York, and Gladden helped to organize a group of citizens to patrol the streets of Morrisania. Gladden walked his beat carrying a horse pistol which, it is said, was so large in size that just the appearance of it would scare away any invader.[2]

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[1] Washington Gladden, Recollections (New York, 1909), p. 63.

[2] Peter MacFarlane, "Washington Gladden, First Citizen of Columbus," Colliers (New York), v. 49, p. 20, June 19, 1912.

During the Civil War, Gladden became an attendant in a military hospital as an appointee of the Christian Commission. Here he helped minister to the sick and wounded returning from the battlefront. However, he contacted malaria, and as a result had to resign his appointment. He returned to Morrisania, and remained there until 1866.

At that time, Gladden accepted a call from the Congregational Church in North Adams, Massachusetts. North Adams was a peaceful little village where shoe manufacturing was the main occupation. In 1869, a strike occurred in the shoe factories over wage disputes. The strike continued for several months. Attempts by the employer to bring in laborers from other cities failed for the new workers were usually met at the train station by the strikers who persuaded them either by argument or by violence to return home. Finally, the employer imported Chinese laborers to replace the men on strike. The day they arrived the town was bustling with excitement. However, the police were out in force and no violence occurred. The reason for this, according to Gladden, was that, "These pigtailed, calico frocked, wooden shod invaders made a spectacle which nobody wanted to miss even long enough to pick up a brickbat."[3]

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[3]Gladden, Recollections, 172.

A loft in the factory was prepared for them to sleep, and they also cooked their food inside the factory, and therefore were seldom seen on the streets of North Adams. Although the Chinese knew nothing about snoe manufacturing and had to be taught the complete process, after a few months the employer reported the experiment had proved successful.

The workers of North Adams objected to this importation of Chinese labor not only because they lost their jobs, but also because they regarded it as a threat to the labor movement. The religious leaders at this time sided with the employer. They thought that the laborer's objections to the Chinese were based on racial issues. To them, the Chinese appeared as quiet, neat, and faithful individuals. Gladden himself took this attitude. In later years, however, he reversed his position. He stated in his Recollections that the conditions under which the Chinese were forced to work were not normal ones, and if industry had to depend on such, it would never prosper.[4] This North Adams event caused Gladden to become aware of the plight of the worker, but it was not until later years that he became an outspoken advocate for aid to the workers.

During his stay in North Adams, Washington Gladden gave some Sunday evening lectures on Christian ethics which

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[4]Ibid., 173.

were later edited and called, Plain Thoughts on the Art of Living. Because of these, he was offered the literary editorship of the New York Independent, a monthly magazine, but he declined it. However, he did accept an offer to become its religious editor, and moved to New York in 1871.

Here at the Independent, Gladden spent four happy years and came into contact with some of the great literary names of the period. During this time the Boss Tweed Ring scandal broke out in New York. Gladden was acting as editor at the time since the Independent's regular editor was on vacation. He thus attacked Tweed in an editorial:

> The gates of the tombs have never opened to receive criminals of deeper dye than the men who compose the New York Ring. For it is not only against property, but against life and public virtue as well that they have conspired. They pocket the money that ought to pay for cleansing the streets, and thus join hands with fever and pestilence to slaughter the innocent. They keep for their servitors, the assassins of murder and rapine. They make common cause with rumshops, brothels, and virtue. If there are any criminals in the land today, these men are criminals. If it is worth while to punish any evil doers whatsoever- it is worth while to punish them.[5]

In November, 1874, Gladden gave notice to the publishers that he was resigning from the Independent. He did this because he could not agree with the publisher's advertising methods. In the Independent there was a

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[5]Quoted in Gladden, Recollections, 205.

department of "Publisher's Notices" adjacent to the editorial page. The print and the appearance of items in the "Notices" were the same as that of the editorial page. Thus it appeared that these advertising messages were endorsed by the editor. Washington Gladden wrote in his note of resignation:

> I have never been satisfied that the Publisher's Notices are strictly honest. They appear to be what they are not. It may be said that very few persons consider them to be other than advertisements, but if this is so, why not put them under the heads of advertisements? I suppose you get extra rents for them and that these extra rates are paid because they appear to be the publisher's opinions, and because they may be quoted into other papers from the Independent. That as you know, is constantly done, and it gives the impression that the Independent is a monster puffing machine.[6]

Taking leave of his literary career, Gladden resumed the preaching of the Gospel. He accepted a call from the North Congregational Church of Springfield, Massachusetts, and here remained until 1882. In 1875, the country had not fully recovered from the depression of 1873. Very few industries in Springfield had re-opened, and the city had a serious unemployment problem. The unemployed would gather in the Police Court Room of the City Hall, and attempts to find ways in which the city might offer relief were discussed. Washington Gladden was invited to address one of these meetings.

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[6]Quoted in Gladden, Recollections, 234.

At this meeting, he told the unemployed workers that the city would be unable to furnish work for all of them, and that they should accept whatever work was available even if the wages were small. It was better to work and receive a nominal wage, than not to work and have idle time on one's hands. A man's personal pride makes him want to be self-sufficient rather than a recipient of charity.[7] He informed the non-workers that he was going to address the employers of Springfield, and invited them to the North Congregational Church to hear him.

At this gathering, he appealed to the employers to furnish work for the masses of unemployed men. He asked that any kind of work be given to them. They responded by repairing and building additions to homes and shops. The unemployed were hired and the results were beneficial to both parties.

The unemployment problem in Springfield revealed to Gladden that a new social problem was arising in which the church should play a part. The church should point out the Christian approach to proper relationships between management and labor. Too many people, he discovered, separated the rules of the church from the rules of business. Church laws were not carried over into factory management. The business

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[7] Gladden, Recollections, 248.

men felt that "business was business, and religion was religion."[8] Gladden incorporated these ideas into a book called The Workingmen and Their Employers which was published in 1876. In it, he spoke out for the right of the laborer to organize for his protection and to bargain concerning wages; he maintained that cooperation was a method of ending industrial turmoil. In later years, Gladden admitted that this book was not an important one. He felt that it had only scratched the surface of industrial relations and that the side of labor was not emphasized as much as it should have been.

During his stay in Springfield, Gladden was a member of the Connecticut Valley Theological Club. This club, composed of members of the clergy, met once a month in Springfield, and heard papers by fellow members, and discussed various current topics. Gladden also undertook the editorialship of a magazine called Sunday Afternoon, A Magazine for the Household. This was a monthly magazine designed for Sunday reading for the family. It sought to give training, develop character, and present information.

In 1882, Washington Gladden accepted a call from the First Congregational Church in Columbus, Ohio. Here he remained until his death in July, 1918. During this period

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[8] Ibid., 251.

from 1882 to 1918, he became a well known figure on the American scene. His interests were centered upon the economic and social conditions of the day, and his frank opinions and thoughts were preached from the pulpit and the speaker's rostrum, as well as written in books and in magazine articles.

Chapter II

Economic Philosophy

1. Labor

Washington Gladden arose as one of the leaders of the Social Gospel movement in America. This movement developed among the Protestant clergy because of the conflict between capital and labor and the materialistic civilization of the day. They took it upon themselves to help in the solution of problems that were being created by the new industrial America.

At its beginning, only a few forward looking ministers supported the movement. Many of the clergy seemed to be unaware of the status of labor or the problems that the workingman had to face in this period. They felt that if an employee was dissatisfied with his job, he could leave and find other employment. Others felt that poverty, like riches, was generally deserved. Those who worked hard and believed in God would be justly rewarded. There were also those of the clergy who felt that labor organizations were destructive to American traditions. As they saw it, the organization of men into labor unions would make them lazy and shiftless.[1]

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[1] Henry May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York, 1949), p. 51.

To Gladden, however, the industrial situation facing the country was one of the biggest unsolved problems of the day. He wrote, "It was made my duty as a Christian teacher and as the moral counselor and guide of men under my care, to grapple with it [the labor problem], and try and get at the rights of it."[2]

Gladden and his colleagues recognized the fact that the workingmen's share in the products of his work had been greatly reduced. They saw that the result was a creation of two distinct social classes with the employer group having the most advantages. It is interesting to note that the Social Gospelers were not the only ones concerned with this problem. Henry George, an economist, pointed out the same thing in his Progress and Poverty.

Gladden believed that the only way the workingman would be able to achieve anything in the new industrial America was by organization. He observed that unorganized labor was working twelve hours a day, seven days a week for a wage that barely kept it alive. Robert Ellis Thompson, another clergyman of the day, also believed that the laborers could increase their wages by organizing, although he thought that unions were unnecessary in a free country.[3]

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[2]Washington Gladden, Recollections (New York, 1909), p. 294.

[3]May, Protestant Churches, 42.

Gladden maintained that these laborers were American citizens, and as such should not be placed in a position of vassalage to the industrial system.[4] The workingmen should have something to say concerning conditions under which they were to work, their hours of labor, and rate of pay. The main purpose of trade unions, according to Gladden, was, "to provide a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment."[5] One of the labor union's functions was to bargain with employers concerning conditions of labor.

Shortly after Gladden arrived in Columbus, Ohio, the Hocking Valley coal strike of 1884 occurred. The conflict between the workingmen and the employers began with a demand for higher wages by the workers. However, it eventually included the right of the miner to organize for their own protection. The company had had trouble with the Miner's Union and considered it the cause of the present strike. They were determined that the union should be abolished. The strike continued for several months until the miners were forced to withdraw their demands. They signed an agreement with the owners saying that they would never join a union. However, three months after the end of

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[4]Washington Gladden, "The Reason for the Unions," Outlook (New York), v. 97, p. 497, March 4, 1911.

[5]Ibid., 499.

the strike, all the miners were unionized. They felt that the original agreement had been forced upon them when they had lost their capacity to resist.[6]

Many of the people involved in the conflict were in Gladden's congregation. One of the vice-presidents and the general manager were members of the church board of trustees, while another vice-president and a treasurer were also members of the congregation. Gladden had frequently expressed his conviction of the right of labor to organize, and he emphasized his views again to his congregation. However, his advice did not make much impression upon those engaged in the conflict.

A year after the strike, another demand for increased pay was made by the miners through the union. This time the operators recognized the union, and their demand was submitted to arbitration. Senator Thurman was the arbitrator, and his decision was in favor of the miners. The operators accepted the decision, and an agreement was formulated by which yearly conferences would be held to determine the wage standard. One of the general managers later declared, "It is far better to have an organized and disciplined force to deal with than to deal with a mob. We are having no troubles."[7]

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[6]Gladden, Recollections, 292.

[7]Ibid., 293.

One of these conferences settled the wage question in twenty minutes. The operators said, "We trust that you do not expect us to increase the wage; we cannot afford it; we will maintain the old rate, that is the best we can do."[8] The miner's representative replied, "We understand it; we have looked into the matter, we know that the rate cannot be increased, let it be as it is."[9] Thus, the owners found that labor unions could be dealt with fairly and intelligently. Gladden firmly believed that as long as corporations and trusts were permitted, the right of the workingmen to combine must be recognized. If the employer refused, he felt that they were doing the worker a great injustice.

In 1886 at a speech to workingmen in Cleveland, Ohio, Gladden stated:

> Who will deny to labor the right to combine for the assertion of its just claims? Combination means war, I admit...and war is a great evil, but it is not the greatest of evils. The permanent degradation of the men who do the world's work be a greater evil....While the conflict is in progress, labor has the same rights that capital has to prosecute the warfare in the most effective way. If war is the order of the day, we must grant to labor belligerent rights.[10]

By this speech, Gladden made himself one of the first ministers to come out strongly for the cause of labor.

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[8]Washington Gladden, "The Social and Industrial Situation," Bibliotheca Sacra (New York), v. 49, p. 392, 1893.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Quoted in MacFarlane, "Gladden, First Citizen," 20.

He was asked to repeat it on several occassions.

In 1886, the Haymarket Affair occurred in Chicago with the loss of eleven lives. It resulted from police efforts to break up a group of workers who were listening to anarchistic speeches. Just at this time when labor was beginning to get a favorable public opinion, the strike and ensuing violence reversed the general attitude. Prior to this, other clergymen and altruistic individuals had taken a somewhat sympathetic attitude toward labor. Newman Smyth, a Congregational minister of New Haven, Connecticut, maintained that the labor question was more than an economic question. He had produced a book expressing his views entitled Sermons to Workingmen.

Yet, in spite of these newly acquired friends of labor, many of the labor leaders condemned the clergy for their negligence. Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor maintained that the churches treated the laboring man with cold neglect. He accused them of insincerity in praying for the coming of the Kingdom of God, yet opposing the program of the Knights of Labor.[11] C. Osborn Worn, a writer in the field of labor history, chided the pulpit for "neglect of the millions whose toil supplies its luxuries."[12] Others

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[11] May, Protestant Churches, 220.

[12] Charles Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism (New Haven, 1940), p. 83.

attacked the ministry for their lack of sympathy with the poor, their commercial-mindedness, and for preaching a theology too complex for a working class audience. W.D.P. Bliss, one of the leaders of the Social Christianity movement, answered these charges by listing sixty-three ministers who were actively identified with the Knights of Labor, and sixty more ministers who were interested in labor as members of the American Economic Association.

The American Economic Association was founded by Richard Ely, Washington Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Newman Smyth, Leighton Williams, and other Social Gospelers. Its principles were to recognize the church, the state, and science as agencies whose cooperation was needed to help solve social problems, especially the one between capital and labor, to accomplish practical results in the social world, and to help to discover the principles that the industrial society was based upon.[13]

Gladden was firmly convinced that labor organization was needed under the wage system of industrial America. The worker should have a right to belong to a union if he wished, or to have the right to refuse to join one. He thought it was unjust for employers to refuse to hire workers because they belong to a union. These unions, he maintained, should have the right to strike for an increase in wages or against

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[13]Ibid, 116.

reduction in wages, but he believed that they should try to settle their disputes by peaceful means before resorting to strikes.[14]

As eager as Gladden was to champion the cause of labor and unions, he did not hesitate to criticize them publicly as well. Gladden thought that labor's opposition to prison labor was both narrow and anti-social. His research led him to the conclusion that the entire prison output was not more than one fifth of one per cent of the total production of the United States. He believed that if a man had to sit idle for months in a prison, he would, on release, very likely be an even less worthy member of society than before.

John P. Frey, editor of the International Molders' Journal took issue with Gladden on this. He wrote Gladden that the latter misunderstood the attitude of the trade unions toward prison labor. Frey told Gladden that the unions did not favor abolition of convict labor. They were opposed to the kind of labor which the convict performed, and the methods used, which created injurious competition for free labor. He wrote, "Our opposition is against the contract convict system through which the labor of the convict is made to result in a profit to the contractor, the convict's welfare and reformation being a secondary and frequently

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[14]Washington Gladden, Tools and the Man (Boston, 1893), p. 161.

negligible factor--- the prime motive being that of any practical business man--- the making of money. With this advantage, the convict can be driven to a physical limit which is impossible in free labor."[15] Convict labor, he said, had helped to ruin the cause of free workers in such industries as the shirt making industry, shoe making industry, and saddlery. It had resulted also in driving the hollow ware business almost clearly out of the foundaries. Of this Frey was quite certain because the hollow ware business was his business. He also declared, "I have never yet seen a statement emanating from the rank and file of the officers of the trade unions advocating idleness for convicts."[16] His letter to Gladden was a friendly one and praised Gladden for his interest in helping to improve the position of the workingman.

Gladden could not agree with labor's policy with regard to the limiting of apprenticeships. He also could not agree to any refusal to work with men who were not union members. An important criticism that he had of the unions was that their program was never broad enough to include the welfare of all the people in the same community. They felt that they

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[15] Quoted in Washington Gladden, The Labor Question (New York, 1911), p. 184.

[16] Ibid., 185.

had no obligations to their fellow citizens, and this resulted in a narrow and clannish spirit.[17]

In 1891, the State Congregational Association of Ohio adopted a resolution at its meeting which declared the belief of the association to be that the "law of the Church should be the law of society, and that social problems will never be settled right until settled according to the law of love as manifested in the life and teachings of Jesus."[18] It asserted that commercial greed was paralyzing the business world and that "monopolistic plutocracy" was assuming dangerous proportions.[19] To investigate the social and economic conditions in Ohio, a committee consisting of the Reverend Washington Gladden, the Reverend Sydney Strong of Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and General R. Brinkerhoff of Mansfield, Ohio, were appointed. The object of the committee was to bring together the employers and the employees so that they might get to know each other better and hear each others ideas. This was achieved in part. Views of employers and employees were expressed freely and opinions were formulated and discussed. Some of the workingmen interviewed were surprised and gratified to hear some of the employers' points

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[17]Washington Gladden, Social Facts and Forces (New York, 1897), p. 67.

[18]The Christian Union (New York, 1891), v. 44, p. 28, July 4, 1891.

[19]Ibid.

of view. The investigation centered around various questions concerning the relationship of employers and employees, how these relationships could be improved, how the government or public opinion could aid the laboring class, any changes in industry that they thought feasible, what their views were toward nationalization of industry, and the possible worker's complaints of the church.[20]

In this investigation, Gladden found that the wage earners almost unanimously favored the right of labor to combine. The workers said that they actually recieved specific benefits by belonging to unions. Not only did a union protect them against capital (which was itself organized), but it also provided them with social and intellectual advantages. They admitted that modern industry could not have progressed on such a large scale if capital had not become consoliaated, but if capital had the right to combine, labor too should have this same right.[21]

In this same investigation, the question of the eight hour day brought interesting comments from both employer and employee. One workingman pointed out that the ten hour

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[20]Gladden, "Social and Industrial Conditions," 385.

[21]Ibid.

day was much more than ten hours. He stated:

> Ten hours in the shop is the same as thirteen hours spent in making a living. You have got to prepare yourself before you go to work; your noon is consumed in getting your dinner; and you do not reach home before seven o'clock. That puts a great strain on a man and doesn't put him in a condition to enjoy the position of a wage earner. I believe the eight hour day would be a thing productive of much good.[22]

The employers, however, thought that ten hours was a normal working day. They thought that production would be cut and as a result prices would increase if the working day was decreased. One employer believed that the reduction of time to eight hours would simply result in an increase of the number of factories with no real gain for the workingman.[23] Another employer stated:

> Changes must necessarily be gradual. All efforts must be concentrated upon the gains of one point at a time. The first of these, and the one which would give the greatest immediate relief is the eight hour day. This accomplishment would give employment to about 15 per cent more laborers than are now employed. I say 15 per cent, as some few work now but eight hours and many but nine hours. This would mean more work than workers during the busy months, and an enormous decrease of the army of the unemployed during the dull months of that year. It would also result in larger consumption because of the greater distribution of the earnings. It would enable the laborer to make better terms for his services, because the demand for laborers would be great.[24]

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[22] Quoted in Gladden, "Social and Industrial Situation," 394.

[23] Ibid., 395.

[24] Ibid.

Gladden believed that laborers working eight hours a day would accomplish more than four fifths of what they would produce in ten hours. Also, he thought, the reduction in hours would add steadiness and continuity to their work.

Washington Gladden was asked his views concerning whether or not government employees should have the right to join labor unions and whether or not they had the right to strike for higher wages and better conditions. Gladden could see no justification for any organization of government employees for ordinary trade union purposes. He believed that mutual benefit societies could be formed, but not organizations whose purpose was to enforce demands by carrying out strikes. To Gladden, a strike was a means of warfare, and thus, he could not see it being carried out against the government.

Gladden believed that the case of the employee of the government was different from that of an employee of a private person or company. To him, the government employee is a citizen of the country, and a member of the government, and has had an opportunity to help in fixing terms and conditions under which to work. If he was not satisfied, he had the privilege and the power of joining with his fellow citizens in making them satisfactory. The matter could be referred to the people of the nation.

A strike of government employees, thought Gladden, would be an attempt of a class of citizens to interrupt the operation of the government upon which the welfare of the whole people depended. No class of citizens, he said, had the right to do this.

Some people wanted all the public service industries placed under government control. This, they thought, would put an end to industrial strife. However, Gladden thought that if government employees were given the right to strike, the industrial situation would be in a worse state than it was. Thus he maintained that no government employee should become affiliated with any labor organization which tried to determine the terms and the conditions under which he should work.[25]

Gladden thought that labor had the mistaken idea that they were the sole source of wealth. To him, labor was one of the bases of wealth, but not the only one as capital and land were also sources. The workingman, too, did not realize that leadership and intelligence were factors in industrial profit. This along with the ingenuity and business capacity of the employer were of utmost importance. Gladden, along

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[25]Gladden, The Labor Question, 200.

with others, believed that these people who directed industry were receiving too large a return, and that the wage worker should receive a greater share in the growing wealth of the nation.[26]

Labor was discovering the boycott as a tool in attempting to secure demands from industry. Gladden understood its use, but could not see any justice in the secondary boycott in which all who would not boycott the disliked individual were themselves boycotted.[27]

After the release of an article entitled "The Case Against the Labor Union" which appeared in the magazine, Outlook, he received many complimentary letters from both employer and employee. However, one letter he received from an employee admonished him for his attitude. The workingman wrote:

> In your case against the labor unions, I find you very small indeed for you are taking up the case of the rich against the poor. For Christ's sake let the poor alone. They have trouble enough.... It seems to me you do not need the money, or are you doing it for money? You as a preacher of the gospel should follow Christ, as he was kind to the poor.[28]

Gladden thought that this worker must have read only the title and not the complete article. Much of the industrial

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[26]Gladden, Tools and the Man, 130.

[27]Washington Gladden, "The Case Against the Labor Union," Outlook (New York), v. 97, p. 471. February 25, 1911.

[28]Quoted in Gladden, The Labor Question, 183.

trouble was because many of the unionists were like this worker.

Yet, Gladden was a strong supporter of the right of workers to unionize. He felt that if he was a wage worker he would feel under obligation to join the union. He declared:

> If I were a workingman I'd join the union. Freedom of my class is maintained only by organization. I would not feel admirable toward men of my own trade who did not join and did what they could to defeat its purposes.[29]

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[29]Washington Gladden, "Crosslights and Counter Claims," Outlook (New York), v. 97, p. 851, April 5, 1911.

2. The Employer

Washington Gladden did not neglect the employer's side in the industrial struggle even though championing the side of the worker. The employers in industrial America were now corporations and trusts. The friendly owner-worker relationship had disappeared. Rockefeller, Carnegie, Morgan, Hill, and Vanderbilt were just names to the employees who were now only a small unit in the overall picture. The relationship between employer and employee was one of "cash nexus" or current wage.[30] The employer, too, had his problems of adjustment in this new relationship.

Gladden found that hostility between employer and employee was ever increasing. The employers did not wish to have men organize unions nor did they wish to recognize them when they were organized. Some employers believed that if all industries were unionized, the employer would lose all control of his business, production would be crippled, and prices would rise. Profits would be so small because of high wages that it would not be worthwhile to enter business.[31] Gladden thought that this picture was vastly overdrawn.

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[30] Gladden, Social Facts and Forces, 83.

[31] Gladden, "Crosslights and Counter Claims," 827.

In the survey of the industrial conditions in Ohio, the question, "Do you think that the present relations of employers and employees are satisfactory?" was asked.[32] The answers that Gladden received from employers and employees alike were in the negative. He found that the conditions between the two were worse than they needed to be. One employer admitted that the reason that relations were not satisfactory was that the workers were not getting their fair share of profits. Another employer thought that the cause of the unfriendly relationship between owner and worker was the small wages that the worker received. Most of the workers interviewed agreed with this and claimed that the relationship would exist as long as the prevailing wage level was maintained.[33]

Yet, the employers in the Hocking Valley coal fields spent hundreds of dollars trying to do away with unions. The Haymarket Affair of 1886 caused the public to denounce the unions even more violently and to support the employers. The public also took the side of the employer in such strikes as the New York Coal Handlers Strike of 1887, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Strike of 1888. The public denounced

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[32]Gladden, "Social and Industrial Situation," 384.

[33]Ibid., 385.

labor severely in the New York Central Railroad Strike of 1890 because it inconvenienced them, and the strikers wanted to control the hiring and firing policy of the company. Owners of other industries charged that unions crippled production by restricting the output of goods, by reducing the speed at which they worked, and by attempting to make a job last as long as possible.

The employer was also against the trade unions because their rules were forced upon him. Gladden maintained that petty restrictions such as forbidding a plasterer to drive a nail, or a plumber to do a single task belonging to a bricklayer, or fixing the hours of labor so rigidly that the worker was not permitted to finish a job even if it took ten minutes more than their regular working day were just causes of complaints of the employer.[34] The employers, he found also, opposed the violence of strikes and the lawlessness that sometime caused destruction of property. He believed that the employers were perfectly justified in condemning the strikers who were guilty of violence.[35]

Yet Gladden could not see how the employer could demand high standards from the worker if he denied them the right to unite for the protection of their rights. He thought that if

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[34]Gladden, The Labor Question, 12.

[35]Gladden, "Case Against the Labor Union," 468.

the employer would recognize this right, he would find the worker much less disposed to resort to the extreme measures to which the employer objected. A wise employer would realize that an organization among his workers was needed to safeguard the employees from any injustices Gladden believed.[36]

Gladden felt that if employers recognized local unions and had friendly relationships with them, many difficulties between the two could be settled. The national union, he found, undertook to enforce demands on an industry by ordering the local union to strike. But, if friendly relations existed, the bond would be so strong between the two local parties that even a national union would be unable to force its will on the local union. An intelligent employer, said Gladden, would want to keep his relationship with the local union favorable and settle locally all questions that arose.[37]

However, the important lesson for both workingmen and employers to learn, Gladden contended, was that they were neighbors and should adhere to that old fashioned law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."[38]

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[36]Washington Gladden, "Industry and Democracy," Outlook (New York), v. 97, p. 594, March 18, 1911.

[37]Gladden, The Labor Question, 198.

[38]Gladden, Recollections, 298.

3. Solutions to Problems

The struggle between employers and employees to further their own ends was a needless one, Gladden thought. The problem that needed to be solved was to find a way of bringing capital and labor together on friendly terms and to make a settlement that would insure industrial peace.

Gladden noticed that the method commonly used to settle difficulties between owner and worker was that of coercion. Whenever a dispute occurred between them, such as one created by a demand for higher wages by the workers, or a decrease in wages by the employer, the men would go out on strike, and the employer would lock the doors to his shop. Then it became a question of who could hold out the longest.

Gladden thought that it was absurd that these two parties expected to promote their own welfare by refusing to cooperate with each other. The result was a waste of money to both sides as well as moral degradation to the workers.

As early as 1886, Gladden came out for settlement of labor disputes by arbitration. He felt that tribunals could be set up to which all questions regarding wages and hours of labor as well as any other disputes could be referred.

The waste and the suffering caused by the disputes could thus be alleviated by holding friendly conferences between the two sides. Andrew Roy, a former inspector of mines in Ohio, declared that losses through strikes to the miners of Ohio during a twelve year period had averaged three hundred thousand dollars a year or a total of $3,600,000.[39] This showed that the monetary loss was great, but along with this was an increase of hatred between the two classes.

Gladden found that the workingmen and the trade unions were in favor of arbitration. They believed that peaceful means were a much better way of settling disputes than the use of force. The president of the trade union congress of 1877 believed that if an arbitration board was set up and given proper publicity, the results would be promising. Terence Powderly of the Knights of Labor and A. Strasser, president of the Cigar Makers' Union came out publicly for arbitration.[40]

However, it was the employers who were usually unwilling to negotiate with the workers. They not only did not want to negotiate with the trade union, but also did not wish to recognize it. The first step toward arbitration,

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[39]Washington Gladden, "Arbitration of Labor Disputes," American Journal of Social Science (Boston), v. 21, p. 147, September, 1886.

[40]Ibid., 156.

according to Gladden, was the organization of workers into a unit which would be able to bargain with the employers. The next step, he said, was the recognition of their existence by employers and the readiness of the employers to deal with the representatives of the union.[41]

Gladden received some support for his ideas when the Straiton and Storm Cigar Manufacturing Company of New York organized a board of arbitration in 1886. On this board were seven representatives of labor and seven representatives of the employers. The results of this board proved more advantageous than was hoped for. The success of this justified, to some extent, Gladden's ideas on arbitration.

Another means of solution to the labor problem advocated by Gladden was industrial partnership or profit sharing. This was a limited partnership between the employer and the employee, in which wages should depend upon profits. It was an admission of the fact that workingmen, too, have a stake in the business and that the business was not conducted exclusively for the employer, but also for the benefit of the laborer. The employer was willing to give the men as large a share of the product as he could afford to give. Capital was furnished and the business was organized and directed by the employer.

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[41] Ibid., 157.

The workingmen were paid wages at the market rate, and at the end of the year they received a percentage of the net profit, each man receiving an amount in proportion to his earnings.[42]

Although the system of industrial partnership had been in successful operation for many years in France and in Germany, Gladden noted that American employers were not in favor of it. They did not wish to lose any of their profits from business. Under this system, Gladden maintained, friendlier relations would occur between owner and worker. The workingmen would be partners in the business. As a result, they would become more efficient and conscientious in their work. They would save materials and machinery. Not only would this system result in a great pecuniary advantage to employees, he said, but it would also be an attempt to recognize labor with some regard to the Christian law of human brotherhood.[43]

In Gladden's survey for the Congregational Association, employers and employees were asked their opinion concerning the feasibility of industrial partnership. The opinions received were many and diverse. Some employers were in

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[42]Gladden, Tools and the Man, 157.

[43]Ibid., 210

favor of it. They thought that the worker would take more interest in business and in making it profitable. Another employer was against profit sharing because not all industries could or would adopt it, and thus, the supply of labor would be greater than the need in the industries that had adopted profit sharing. The result would be a reduction in wages.[44]

The workingmen, he found, were in favor of industrial partnership and would like to have seen it put into effect. However, the employees saw no advantage to this system if the salary of the owner was so large as to cause a decrease in the profits of the business.[45]

Although industrial partnership was a scheme that would prove beneficial to the laborer, Gladden came to the conclusion that one of the reasons workingmen did not show a greater interest in it was that this movement required the initiative to come from the employer. For it was the employer that was giving up part of his profits. There was also a fear by labor that industrial partnership would weaken the status of the union. Gladden also found that workingmen wanted measures more radical than profit sharing, although he did not enumerate these measures.[46]

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[44]Gladden, "The Social and Industrial Situation," 388.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid., 390.

The interviewees were also asked by the committee for their view concerning nationalization of industry with the government controlling capital and the machinery of industry as a possible solution to the labor problem. Gladden found that the employing class was against this. They thought that inefficiency would result as well as increased corruption in government.

The workingmen, however, were for control by the government in some of the industries. They believed that the means of transportation, the telegraph, telephone, and lighting systems should be government controlled. They cited the mail services and banking systems as examples of successful enterprises that the government handled and believed that they could do the same in the above mentioned.[47]

In 1902, the coal strike of the anthracite and bituminous miners was paralyzing the nation. Neither side would submit to arbitration. The country finally looked toward President Theodore Roosevelt to mediate. Gladden, who was a personal friend of the President, was asked by a group of citizens to write the petition calling on the President to intervene and to help settle the dispute. The petition that Gladden wrote is worth quoting in full as an excellent statement

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[47] Ibid., 397.

of his views:

To His Excellency, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States.

We whose names are underwritten, citizens of the United States, most earnestly ask you to use your good office in bringing to an end the unhappy strife in the coal regions.

Some of us are men and women who work with our hands; some of us are earning our livelihood in other ways; many of us are losers now by the conflict; all of us are appalled by the prospect of suffering before the country if it not be speedily terminated; and we feel that we have a right to call upon you as our representative to see what you can do to make peace.

We do not ask you to use any official power in the matter, for you have none to use; we only ask you as the first citizen of this nation to mediate between the contending parties.

You can speak as no one else can speak for the plain people of this country. Every workingman knows that you are his friend; no capitalist of common sense can imagine that you are his enemy. The fact that others have spoken without effect does not shake our faith that your words of counsel and persuasion would be heeded.

We want no injustice done to either party in this conflict. We want no coercion to be used or threatened. Coercion is the game both sides are now playing; we want them to stop that, and reason together. No question of this kind is ever settled rightly or finally by coercion.

We recognize the fact that you would hesitate to interpose, even in the interests of peace and good will, lest you should seem to be exceeding your preogatives. But if the voices of hundreds of thousands of your fellow citizens should summon you to such a task, you would not, we are persuaded, shrink from undertaking it.

> This is not business, Mr. President, it is not politics, it is something much higher and finer. May God help you to render this great service to your country, and crown you with the blessings that belong to the peacemakers.[48]

In 1910, a strike of the street car workers of Columbus, Ohio, occurred. It had its origin in the circulation of a petition among the men of the car lines in January, 1910. This petition asked the owners for an increase of pay on the grounds of increased cost of living. The company refused and dismissed from its employ the men who had circulated the petition. At this time there was no union among the street car workers, and none had been contemplated. However, this action of the company aroused the men into forming a union. The company, therefore, began to dismiss every man known to have any part in the newly formed union. The union, nevertheless, became strong, and by April 1910, was able to demand an increase in wages and restoration of dismissed employees. After a conference between the company and a committee of men not representing the union, an agreement was reached by which the company increased wages slightly, promised to rehire thirty-five discharged men, and not to discriminate against union members.

But friction between the owners and the workers did not cease. The employees complained that inspectors and

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[48]Gladden, Recollections, 396.

foremen of the street car system were constantly threatening the union. The company complained that the union men were not acting cooperatively with the non-union men. On the grounds that the company had not kept its pledge to avoid discrimination, a strike was declared in May. The company refused the offer of the workers to submit the matter to arbitration. After five weeks, an agreement was reached between the two with the company's assurance that it would not discriminate against men who belonged to the union.

However, complaints soon arose from the workers that they were being discriminated against and that men were being discharged for their affiliation with the union. Another strike took place in July, 1910. Although the company refused to negotiate again, the Ohio State Board of Arbitration investigated the situation, and found the company guilty of violating their pledges. But this board had no power to enforce its decisions. Mayor Marshall was forced to call upon the Governor for militia after considerable mob violence occurred in Columbus.[49]

Gladden became convinced that the differences between the two parties should be arbitrated. The strikers were

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[49]"Street Car Strike of Columbus," Outlook (New York), v. 95, p. 903, August 27, 1910.

willing, but not the employers. Gladden, therefore, expressed his convictions of the matter publicly by means of a letter to the newspapers. The employers were enraged by this. Nevertheless, Gladden did not hesitate to put his convictions into a sermon and preach it to his congregation. He then wrote five articles and published them in a book called The Labor Question which was concerned with opposition of employers to the workers.[50]

Gladden also believed that the refusal of employers to have any dealings with representatives of unions was unjust. The employer, he said, would find the labor representatives intelligent and reasonable men. If the employer would rid himself of his views concerning labor's walking delegates, he would find it greatly to his advantage. The trouble was that the employer waited too long before calling in these people, and as a result unnecessary strife resulted.[51]

A contract between the Manufacturers' Association of New York and the Garment Workers' Union in September, 1910, was one that Gladden thought liberal, reasonable, fair, and honorable, and he believed that similar ones should be adopted. It stated:

> Each member of the manufacturers is to maintain a union shop, a union shop being understood to

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[50]MacFarlan, "Gladden, First Citizen," 22.

[51]Gladden, "Crosslights and Counter Claims," 830.

> refer to a shop where union standards as to working conditions, hours of labor, and rates of wages as herein provided shall prevail, and where, when hiring help, union men are preferred, it being recognized that, since there are differences in degrees of skill among the employed in the trade, employers shall have freedom of selection between one union and another, and shall not be confined to any list, nor bound to follow any prescribed agreement whatsoever....The manufacturers declare their belief in the Union and that all who desire its benefits should share in its burdens.[52]

Gladden contended that the important solution to industrial strife was for men to act as Christians. If both parties would obey the Golden Rule, their relationship would be harmonious and satisfactory. If the employer would show a willingness to share the profits with the laborer, then, Gladden believed, the labor problem would be quickly solved. This was happening slowly, he found. There seemed to be more kindness, consideration, and willingness on the part of employers to be just and fair. One employer commented, "I would be glad to give ten years of my life to find an arrangement that would be permanently satisfactory."[53] Gladden said, "The welfare of the nation requires the highest possible degree of health, vigor, and independence in all its citizens. The labor of the nation is the life of the nation."[54]

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[52]Quoted in Gladden, "Crosslights and Counter Claims," 832.

[53]Gladden, "The Social and Industrial Situation," 404.

[54]Washington Gladden, Applied Christianity (Boston, 1892), p. 52.

4. The Church and Labor

"The business of the Church in the world is to bring the departments of life under Christ's law of love, that they may be filled with the spirit of Christ and may govern their conduct among men by Christ's law," wrote Gladden.[55] To him, the labor question was a part of the economic question, and as such was a religious one. He believed "that there are no souls that more need saving than the souls that are getting entangled in the materialism that undervalues manhood; and that there are no people who need moral guidance more than those who are grappling with the manifold phases of the labor question."[56] To Gladden, the strife between workers and the owners was seriously affecting the moral attitudes of the people. Therefore, the church must help society to produce cooperation between the two to secure justice, friendship, good will, and peace for all.[57]

An increasing number of Protestant ministers in the 1880's began to take an interest in the labor movement. The Reverend Harry Cadman of San Francisco wrote, "The duty of Christianity in the present crisis is to infuse industrialism

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[55] Washington Gladden, The Church and Modern Life (Boston, 1908), p. 92.

[56] Gladden, The Labor Question, 153.

[57] Washington Gladden, "The Church and the Labor Question," Outlook (New York), v. 98, p. 35, May 6, 1911.

with the spirit of love derived from Jesus Christ."[58] George E. McNeill, sometimes called "the father of the American Federation of Labor", wrote in his book entitled The Labor Movement, "When the Golden Rule of Christ shall measure the relations of men in all their duties toward their fellow, in factory and workshop, in the mine, in the field, in commerce... the promise of the prophet and the poet shall be fulfilled... and peace on earth shall prevail... by the free acceptance of the Gospel that all men are of one blood."[59] David J. Hill wrote in his book, The Social Influence of Christianity, published in 1888, "If all men were Christians, the labor problem would melt away and be forgotten in the sense of universal brotherhood."[60] The Reverend H. S. Bigelow of Cincinnati, Ohio wrote, "Let the church become identified with the labor movement. Let its sympathies be so democratic that no plutocrat will apply for admission. Let it preach a message calling men to the work of the poor. That will vitalize the religion as nothing else can."[61] Thus, others of the period were aware that the church had an immediate interest in labor's problems.

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[58] Quoted in Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, 88.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., 89.

[61] The Public, v. 1, p. 15, September 17, 1898.

Newman Smyth, one of the Social Gospelers of the period and minister of the Center Church in New Haven, Connecticut, stated that the laborer was not getting his just share from the products he helped to make, a definite social class was being formed by the industrial society, and capital was receiving the advantages.[62] Josiah Strong in the New Era wrote, "The worker is not receiving his share of benefit of recent material progress, nor is the division of property between labor and capital just."[63]

The early days of the last half of the nineteenth century saw a decrease in membership of the workers in the churches. The reasons were that they felt the relationship between the church and the employers was too close and that the pulpit criticized labor. A few of the clergy who leaned toward labor did not fully understand the problems of labor. Wage and hour proposals, which were the main aims of labor, were either ignored or thought of as too materialistic by the clergy. Many of the workingmen felt that the approach of the clergy lacked sincerity. The church still preached to them to rid themselves of "their vices".

Gladden, in 1885, decided to find out why the workingmen were not attending church. He therefore sent out a

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[62] Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, 81.

[63] Quoted in Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, 150.

questionnaire to some of the workers. He found that the two main reasons for the worker's absences were their inability to dress well enough to appear in church and the feeling that the churches were controlled by the capitalistic class. One of the workers replied to Gladden as follows:

> Of course the manufacturers can and should dress better than the laborer; but when we see them so full of religion on Sunday, and then grinding the faces of the poor on the other six days, we are apt to think they are insincere.... When the capitalist prays for us one day in the week, and preys on us the other six, it can't be expected that we will have much respect for this Christianity.[64]

Gladden also found that the hearts of the workers were set against God and that they preferred to spend their day in pleasure rather than in church. Some of the workers felt that the ministers preached politics and so stayed away. Others felt that not only could they not dress well enough to appear in such a fashionable place as the church, but they could not afford the cost of going to church. Gladden found that this reason was related to the fact that they were paid low wages.[65]

In 1891, one of the purposes of the survey for the Congregational Association was to find whether or not laboring

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[64] Ibid., 85.

[65] Gladden, Applied Christianity, 154.

men complained of the church and what their complaints were.[66] The committee discovered that the laboring class as a whole did not complain about the church but seemed indifferent to it. One worker stated:

> We do not feel that the ministers take the side of labor as they should.... There are more that condemn labor than uphold it. The pulpit is a place where the subject ought to be put in the right light.[67]

Another said:

> We cannot afford to go to church, cannot dress as the rich and feel out of place where are so many grand people.[68]

Samuel Gompers in a reply to Reverend H. Francis Perry of Chicago in 1898 concerning the reason that workers did not attend church said that the workers felt that the church defended the capitalistic class.[69] John B. Lennon, general secretary of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, gave as his reason that the workers felt that the employers controlled the churches.[70] Thus, it can be seen that throughout the years one of the main reasons for the workingman's absence from the church was his belief that the

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[66] Gladden, "The Social and Industrial Situation," 407.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Hopkins, Rise of the Social Gospel, 85.

[70] Ibid.

church was controlled by the owners of industry and his feeling that he received little Christian treatment from them.

In 1887, because of its concern for the welfare of the workers, an organization was formed and called the Church Association for the Advancement of the interests of Labor. Its principles, based on Christ's teachings, were brotherhood of man and the duty of every man to labor. Its methods were to be prayer, sermons on the relevance of the gospel to social problems, lectures and addresses, and conscientious use of the ballot. This organization rapidly spread throughout the country and became recognized by labor as an ally. Meetings were held where such topics as women's suffrage, prison reforms, housing needs, sweat shops, and other phases of the labor problem were discussed. The Association had three standing committees. These were the Committee on Tenements whose duty was to inspect all buildings in the parish and report violations of the law, the Labor-Organization Committee, which insured that justice took place in controversies, and the Sweatshop Committee which published a "white list" of firms that paid a living wage and treated employees fairly.[71] The Association

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[71] Ibid., 151.

stressed action and practical solidarity with the labor movement. It also campaigned against child labor, sweat shops, slums, and spoke out for the effective arbitration of strikes. This Association was also the creator of Labor Sunday--- one Sunday a year devoted to the cause of Labor.

Although other associations such as the Actors' Alliance and Church Social Union were formed to help labor in its struggle, there were many things that the ministers themselves could do. The ministers should try to convince the wage workers that the churches were not on the side of capital in the struggle. They should speak out for the right of the wage worker to combine into unions for the protection of his interest. Gladden believed that ministers should advocate arbitration as the way for settling labor disputes. Gladden was a believer in profit sharing as one of the solutions to the labor problem. He believed that ministers should make themselves familiar with the facts of profit sharing in France and in Germany and should bring these facts before the employers in their congregation.[72]

Gladden also believed that Christian individuals could help in finding solutions to the economic problem by voluntary contributions. People should give money to charitable

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[72]Gladden, Applied Christianity, 154.

institutions, help the needy and those struggling to better themselves, build sanitary dwellings which would be rented at a fair price, and endow public libraries.[73] There would then be a reformation in the church, he believed, that would result in a changing attitude toward the working class and an awakening of the church to its responsibilities.

The world and the nation, maintained Gladden, needed religion. People should have the conviction that the spiritual world was the real world. Those unseen things such as truth, purity, honor, justice, integrity, fidelity, and unselfish love, Gladden said, were enduring realities.[74] What the world needed was more faith in God. The Golden Rule of life was the working rule of life. If the employer and the employees could govern themselves by this law, they would find peace and the solution to their problems.[75] The Christian employers and the Christian employees must be Christians wherever they might be and as Christians should regard the interests of others as well as their own.

In a speech at the Seventeenth Semiannual Dividend Meeting at Ivorydale, Ohio, Gladden said that the only law

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[73]Gladden, Applied Christianity, 25.

[74]Washington Gladden, The New Idolatry (New York, 1905), 4.

[75]Gladden, "The Social and Industrial Situation," 410.

that man could live under was, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."[76] He said that this meant that in all transactions, services, and exchanges of commodities, one must not ask for anything more than was fair and just. The Christian law, he maintained, did not require employers to give away all profits so as to destroy business. The employer had a right to resist this. The employer should practice economy and care in the administration of his business. What the Christian law required, he said, was, "that every man in exchanging commodity or service shall ask for himself only what he deems to be just, and fair, and give in exchange for what he gets as much as he can."[77] Accordingly, the employees should not ask for a higher wage than the employer can pay and should give loyal and faithful service to the employer. It did not, said Gladden, require the worker to give all his time or ruin his health, but he should give as much as possible for the return that he receives. The employer also, he continued, should not ask any more of the workers than was just or fair and should give them as much as possible in wages. This was the Christian law of industrial society. The employer who tried to get out of the workers as much as possible and pay

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[76]Washington Gladden, "The Relations of Capital and Labor", An address at the Seventeenth Dividend Meeting at Ivorydale, Ohio, February 3, 1896. Published by request, p. 9.

[77]Ibid., 10

him as little as possible and the worker who did not cooperate with his employer were selfish. "When Christian principle governs the action of employer and employee, that association is profitable," declared Gladden.[78]

The employer, keeping the Christian law in mind, would want to make his business successful so that the profits could be shared with the workers. These men were his brothers and he should try to do all he could for them. If he did not do this, he would not be obeying the Christian law. The workingman, too, must cooperate in the practice of the Christian law or nothing could be accomplished. There must be the will on the part of the employees just as much as on the part of the employers. Cooperation and consideration would be practicing this Christian rule of life. The thing to be desired was that the Christian principle would take hold in the minds of both employer and employee.[79]

Gladden received many letters from employers questioning the right of the minister of the Gospel to have any opinion or publicly expressing it about the labor question. They felt that it would be wrong if they gave Gladden any advice concerning his spiritual work and felt that Gladden was wrong in giving them advice about their business.

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

However, Gladden felt otherwise. He admitted that he knew nothing about manufacturing, production, and marketing, and certainly would give no advice to business men on this. Industrial society had a technical and mechanical side which a minister had nothing to do with. But he believed that he was well acquainted with human relationships, and it was his duty to find out how men could live peacefully, usefully, and prosperously. The teachings of Christ, he said, applied to the industrial society as well as any other society. The business of the church was the application of the Christian law in all human relations.

The question at hand was what kind of men were being produced by industrial society and what social relationships between the worker and the employer existed, said Gladden. He felt that if the classes were being brought together in a happier, stronger, better, and more hopeful relationship more closely knit through a spirit of friendship and cooperation, then the Christian Church was fulfilling its duty. However, if the reverse of these conditions was taking place, the church was failing. Ministers had everything to do with the human side of any activity, and thus, Gladden had reason to take an interest in the industrial society of the day.[80]

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[80]Gladden, The Labor Question, 207.

5. Socialism

To some, the answer to the turmoil existing between employers and employees was socialism. They pointed out that industrial strife, panics, and depressions were caused by the character of the industrial system. This was the result of the competitive system. Socialist thought circulated freely in Europe and America and eventually reached the Protestant Churches.

The Society of Christian Socialists was formed in Boston in 1889. It concluded that the wrongs of the modern industrial society were the concentration of ownership of resources and inventions in the hands of a few, unplanned production resulting in business crises, concentration of control of industry in hands of a plutocracy who were guiding the destinies of the masses, and the consequent prevalence of moral evils such as mammonism, overcrowding, prostitution, and crime. The aim of this Society was to show that the goals of socialism embraced the principles of Christianity. During this period, a number of clergymen had embraced a Christianized version of socialism as the ideal formulation of the religious Social Gospel. Christian Socialism was interpreted to mean Christianity plus modern socialism. The aim of both Christianity and socialism was to secure the recognition of

society so that a greater diffusion of virtue, power, and intelligence would result.[81]

The socialists favored control of factories, mines, raw materials, land, as well as the direction of all the productive and distributive industries, by the state. They also wanted all the railroads, telephones, telegraphs, and other means of transportation and communications to be state controlled. The state then could distribute labor as needed and control supply and demand. Thus, the socialists maintained, the function of the state would be threefold--- as a superintendent, a statistician, and an arbitrator. The state, therefore, would be supreme.[82]

To Gladden, socialism was "a proposition to extend the functions of the state so that it should include and control nearly all the interests of life."[83] Although he disapproved of this exaltation of statism, he was in agreement with many of the points that the socialists brought forth concerning the ills of the industrial situation. The socialists believed that there was a tendency for the wages of the workers to decrease toward a starvation point while

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[81]Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel, 175.

[82]Gladden, Applied Christianity, 77.

[83]Gladden, Tools and the Man, 243.

their share in the national wealth grew smaller. Gladden was in agreement with this. The socialists maintained business operations and enterprises were becoming concentrated into fewer hands, and that the wage worker was becoming confined more and more to present status. Gladden agreed with this also.[84] The socialization of mines, transportation services, waterways, light, water, and telephone services was supported by Gladden. This would aid the worker, he believed.

Nevertheless, he did not believe that socialism was the panacea for industrial ills. If socialism was going to take over, he felt that it should proceed cautiously and slowly. The municipalization of public utilities, nationalization of railways and telegraphs, and the education of the people should come first. He thought that a rapid movement towards bringing the country under socialism would be destructive. The socialists in this period were in favor of centralization of power because it would make it easier for them when the control of industries passed from the hands of the trusts and corporations into their hands. The faster that centralization took place, the quicker it would be overthrown by democratic forces, and would make their task easier.[85]

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[84]Gladden, Applied Christianity, 69.

[85]Washington Gladden, "The Spread of Socialism", Outlook (New York), v. 62, p. 871, December 9, 1899.

Although Gladden agreed with the socialists in many of their views, he, himself, was no socialist. He did not see how socialism could take over. The people of the country were not ready for it. He thought that the socialist plan of nationalization was too large an undertaking and he could not visualize how it could successfully be accomplished. The work was so vast and complicated, and there were so many details and adjustments that the central bureaucracy established by the socialists would collapse. He believed also that the one way the socialist scheme would work was by uniformity of most of the details of life. Under socialism, the freedom of the individual would also be limited. It would produce "a race of weak, insipid, dependent creatures."[86] Man would not strive forward and would expect that the state owed him his living. The gain of cooperation would be overshadowed by this loss of integrity of the men. Gladden also believed that socialism was fundamentally wrong because it based its economy on a doctrine that all value was the product of labor.[87]

Many other clergymen also took a stand on socialism. Reverend Frank North stated that the common brotherhood of

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[86]Gladden, Tools and the Man, 274.

[87]Gladden, Applied Christianity, 90.

man is the Gospel of Christianity and the Gospel of socialism. To him, socialism was not the foe but the brother of Christianity.[88] The Reverend Joseph Cook, a prominent minister in Lynn, Massachusetts, rejected socialism because he thought it would lead to more government corruption than already prevalent and would tend to discourage initiative.[89]

George D. Herron, pastor, lecturer, and author, was a Social Gospeler who believed that the church should not try to reform society but to reconstruct society in accordance with the standards of Christ. The society would then be a socialistic one. He wrote:

> A system which makes one human being dependent upon another to earn his bread and develop his life is a system which enslaves bodies and souls; it is inherently immoral, destructive of life, wasteful of spiritual and material forces. Faith and love as social forces, with liberty as a social fact, means communism in natural resources, democracy in production, equality in use, private property in consumption, social responsibility in all relations and things.
>
> The realization of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth means a civilization in which all shall work for the common good and each receive according to every sort of need.[90]

Another Social Gospeler who embraced socialism was Walter Rauschenbusch. His book, Christianity and the Social

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[88] Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel, 172.

[89] Ibid., 41.

[90] George Herron, An Address at Kansas State Agricultural College, The Public, v. 1, p. 13, November 5, 1898.

Crisis, established him as one of the leaders in this movement. He advocated an adoption of a program of social Christianity. He believed that necessities such as coal, iron, waterways, and other natural resources should be owned by society for the common good. He thought that along with socialization of property there would be a rise in the spirit of people. These natural monopolies should be owned by the people because they would not only be run more efficiently and coherently, but also because their common ownership would give rise to civic morality and public spirit.[91] He believed that a socialistic state directed by a hierarchy of virtue was practicing the truths of Christianity and the truths of social science. He avowed that capitalism was in direct opposition to Christianity.[92]

However, Gladden, Lyman Abbott, Richard Ely, and other Social Gospelers stopped short of Rauschenbusch's conception of overwhelming solidarity which practically submerged individualism. They did not agree with Rauschenbusch that Christ stood for the doing away of the capitalistic system and the institution of a socialistic system as a replacement.

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[91]Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel, 225.

[92]Donald Come, "The Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenbusch," South Atlantic Quarterly, v. 49, no. 3 July 1950.

Thus, it is apparent that the social gospelers had similar goals as to the organization of society for the benefit of all men. But, whereas Rauschenbusch and Herron would achieve it through the inauguration of a socialist economy, Gladden, Ely, Abbott, and others favored an approach through the improvement of the Christian principles of the individual man. Gladden believed that the remedy to the complaints of the socialists was the application of Christian principles and Christian methods to the solution of industrial problems.

Chapter III

Applied Christianity

The labor question was of utmost importance to Gladden. However, there were various other economic and social questions that occupied his mind. He concerned himself with the problems of the farmer, of the Negro, of relief, of municipal and state governments, and of church missionary societies.

The interests of the farmers of the nation, especially in the mid-west, collided with those of the industrialists during the 1880's and 1890's. The farmer was faced with the problems of monetary deflation, as well as those arising from abuses of the railroads, and the practices of the monopolies. A Populist Party had been formed by the farmers to help bring about inflation by fiat money and to secure legislation in their favor. Gladden, in an article called "Embattled Farmers" written in 1890, recognized the plight of the farmer. It seemed to him that those who were producing a great share of the country's wealth were receiving very small returns. As the farmer went further into debt each year, he found it more profitable to move to the city and take a job as a common laborer.

Gladden believed that this poverty of the farmer was caused by mono-metalism, deficient circulating medium,

protective tariffs, the trusts, speculation in farm products, high transportation rates, and over-production. The general credit system was disadvantageous to the farmer. He was forced to borrow money from eastern bankers who not only charged a high interest rate of 7 to 12 per cent, but also the cost of the negotiation. Thus, the farmer's debts had been on the increase. Gladden believed that the farmer instead of giving up and going to the city should use a little ingenuity in solving his problems. He should raise or produce goods that would appeal to the people. He would thus find a ready market and be able to realize a profit.[1]

Gladden was also interested in the Negro problem. He was president of the American Missionary Association, an organization formed to help the suffering and the friendless. Addressing a meeting of this organization, he told the members that one of its greatest tasks was to help the American Negro achieve manhood. The North helped free the Negro, and now Northerners must help care for them. This job could not be left to the South. The Negro, numbering at this time around nine million or one ninth of the total population of the United States, was a national problem.[2]

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[1]Washington Gladden, "Embattled Farmers," The Forum (New York), v. 10, p. 315, November, 1890.

[2]Washington Gladden, "The Negro Crisis," American Magazine (New York), v. 63, p. 296, January, 1907.

Gladden believed that there was a movement to return the Negro to serfdom. He cited as evidence the fact that the contemporary governors of Mississippi and Georgia, R. Vardaman and H. Smith, advocated repealing the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Such a policy of subjugation and repression of the Negro would result in segregation of the races and partition of territory between them. The thing to do was to give the Negro a good Christian education and let him take his place in society. The American Missionary Association had over one million dollars to spend in the South for Negro education.[3] The Negro was a citizen and must be recognized as such. The white race and the black race, Gladden maintained, could live together, learn to respect each other, and work together for the common good.[4]

The depression occurring in the 1890's brought a new problem to Gladden's attention. This problem was unemployment and Gladden believed that the community should find work for the unemployed. To find jobs, he said, an employment bureau should be set up with descriptions of jobs available and names of those seeking employment. The cost to the community would not be any more than was already handed out as charity

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[3]Washington Gladden, "The Negro's Southern Neighbors and His Northern Friends," An address to the American Missionary Society, n.p., n.d.

[4]Gladden, "Negro Crisis," 298.

to help find and provide jobs for these unemployed. The difficulty that the community had in doing this, Gladden found, was that the fear of socialism was strong among some of its members. However, Gladden could not see how giving people money from the public treasury was any less socialistic than providing jobs for them, since the money all came from the same source. He concluded that if the community was unable to find work for the unemployed, then the state should assume the responsibility.[5]

One of the primary duties of Christians in a community, said Gladden, was the Christianization of the community. Men should cooperate and join together for this end. Yet, Gladden found that in rural areas, churches were organized and competed with each other for membership. Some Christians, he discovered, believed that competition was the right principle for church extension. In some areas there were six churches where two would do and be more useful. He felt that the organization of a municipal church was necessary to develop and foster the unity of the good people in the community in order to help municipal reform.[6]

At the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Gladden was on his way to England. Here he delivered speeches

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[5]Washington Gladden, "Relief Work, Its Principles and Methods," Review of Reviews (New York), v. 9, p. 38, January, 1894.

[6]Washington Gladden, "The Municipal Idea of Churches," Review of Reviews (New York), v. 6, p. 335, October, 1892.

concerning the humane motive of the United States in the war. These speeches were entitled "Causes and Issues of the War" and "Reasons for Friendship Between England and America." He defended the right of the United States to go into Cuba and help her overthrow her oppressors. He believed that if Cuba and the Philippine Islands were unable to govern themselves, it was right for the United States to govern them until they could do so. Since this imperialism was new to the United States, he believed that the government ought to set up a policy to follow. Possession by the United States of these territories would give the people of these countries more liberty than they had ever dreamed of, would fill the land with schools, and would fit the people for self-government and liberty.[7] The United States could do all this and still not be imperialistically inclined in her role as benevolent administrator, Gladden maintained.[8] These speeches met with cordial responses from the English people and press.

At the time of World War I, Gladden spoke out for non-intervention. He was against the building up of armaments and the creation of a huge navy. He believed that such a course would cause a race with other nations, and all this

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[7]Washington Gladden, "Causes and Issues of the War", Outlook (New York), v. 59, p. 675, July 16, 1898.

[8]Ibid.

preparedness would lead to war. Gladden believed that there would be no gain to this war, and the result would only bring disaster to the people. Gladden admitted that he was a pacifist. He did not want "peace at any price" but maintained that the price of peace was justice, truth, trust, fair play, good will, and kindness. The price of peace should not be slaughter, crippled lives, ruined cities, and hatred.[9] Gladden supported intervention in the Spanish American War. Yet, eighteen years later, he had reversed his position on war and argued that the United States should stay out of World War I. It seems strange that he was impressed by the alleged atrocities of the Spaniards in Cuba and that he accepted without cyncism the intervention of the United States, while in the greater conflict of World War I, he called himself a pacifist.

Gladden also became interested in state and local governments. In Ohio in 1884, two elections took place. One was the October election for governor and other state offices. The second election was the presidential election held in November. Thus the state was in a political turmoil from June through November. Gladden thougnt that this was economically and morally injurious to the state. He therefore

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[9]Washington Gladden, "Plea for Pacifism," The Nation (New York), v. 103, sup. 2, August 3, 1916.

undertook to get the constitution of the state amended so that the state elections would be held in November also. He wrote a petition for this and secured the signatures of the governor, the ex-governor, the two United States senators from Ohio, the judges of the Ohio State Supreme Court, and various other leading men of the state. This petition was printed in the newspapers and received much support. When the state legislature met at its next session, it passed a joint resolution submitting an amendment to this effect to the people. It was readily approved by the people of Ohio at the election.[10]

Gladden took quite an interest in the municipal government of Columbus, Ohio. Shortly after arriving there, he found the city government to be in need of reorganization. He had Seth Low, mayor of Brooklyn, New York, whose city had adopted a reform charter, speak to the citizens on "Municipal Problems." The Brooklyn plan was one in which the mayor had executive responsibility giving him the right to appoint and remove heads of city departments. Each department came under a department head who was responsible to the mayor. Financial matters were left in the hands of the city council. However no change in the set up of the Columbus city government

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[10] Washington Gladden, Recollections (New York, 1909), p. 316.

occurred at this time. Gladden believed that unless a greater majority of the citizens were willing to assume responsibility in the government, no plan would result in good city government.[11]

In the spring of 1900, Gladden discovered that the city council members seeking re-election planned to demand money from a public service corporation whose charter was up for renewal. Gladden believed that the interests and the rights of the people were being sacrificed. Since one of the council members involved in this transaction was from Gladden's own ward, Gladden announced by a statement in the newspapers that if the voters of the Seventh Ward wished him to represent them on the city council, he would accept the job. He ran as an independent candidate, although he received the endorsement of the Democratic Party in its primaries. The voters at the Democratic primaries had scratched the names of two partisan candidates on the printed ballot, and had written in Gladden's name to give him a plurality of votes. Gladden did no campaigning after his initial announcement. His neighbors responded, however, by forming a "Non Partisan Municipal Association" which made a door to door

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[11] Washington Gladden, "Public Service Companies and City Governments," Outlook (New York), v. 66, p. 502, October 27, 1900.

canvass in his support. Although Gladden's name was listed under the "Independent" column at the election, he was elected by a majority of seventy-six votes over his Republican opponent. He served for two years on the council; he was chairman of one committee and member of three others.

Gladden followed a conservative program while a member of the council. He was opposed to municipal monopolies and machine politicians. He said that "as long as public service industries are privately owned, their owner must not be deprived of a just reward for their services and sacrifices, but neither should they be permitted by shifty financing and corrupt bargaining with politicians to bind heavy burdens on the necks of the producing class."

Gladden believed in municipal ownership of public service industries. He believed that they were necessary monopolies and as such should belong to the people. Also, he thought that if the municipality owned the public services there would be less corruption. However the public services in Columbus were not taken over by the people, but were leased out to private companies. While he was on the city council, the street railroad system came up for rechartering. Gladden wanted a reduction of fares made for while he believed the company should have a fair return on its investment, the

present rate gave them an excessive profit. He said:

> We want to confiscate no man's earnings or savings. We want every man---capitalist and laborers to have all his rights---but we want no man to be given legal power by the city to tax the rest of us to pay interest in watered stock.[13]

Gladden enjoyed his two years on the city council. He did not seek re-election because of the pressing duties of his church. He admitted learning two facts while serving on the council. These were that a corporation in dealing with a city need not be expected to tell the truth and that a representative had better, as a rule, rely on his own judgement and not seek instructions from his constituents.[14] Gladden received five hundred dollars for his services on the city council; he returned this compensation to the City Treasurer.

Gladden also believed that any business which depended upon the state for its existence should have the state as a dominant partner in the business to help control it in the interest of the people. Transactions of railroad companies should come under state control for they had been given land and money by local, state, and national governments. Without

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[13] Anon., "Dr. Gladden's Election to the City Council," Outlook (New York), v. 64, p. 855, April 14, 1900.

[14] Gladden, Recollections, 344.

state control and as a result of competition, the railroads had become a monopolistic and powerful force.[15]

No franchise should be given to any public service company unless it contained provisions requiring that all disputes occurring between owner and worker be submitted to arbitration. Men who went on strike before the question had been submitted to arbitration should be guilty of a misdemeanor. He also believed that if a company refused to arbitrate or carry out the decision of the board it should lose its charter.[16]

Gladden believed that there were three social evils which tended toward the disintegration of society. One was drinking, which he thought to be a great waste of money and ruinous to the health of the people. However, he did admit that the saloons offered social relaxation for some people. Another was "the unsocial factors" that made war upon society by assailing the family. These forces were caused to a considerable degree by selfishness. The third evil was gambling. Card playing and the like he considered a great waste of time. However the worst gambling was speculation in business, in the stock market, and in the grain market.[17]

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[15]Washington Gladden, "Limits of Competition," The Independent (New York), v. 52, p. 540, March, 1900.

[16]Washington Gladden, "Crosslights and Counter Claims," Outlook (New York), v. 97, p. 832, April 5, 1911.

[17]Washington Gladden, Social Salvation (Boston, 1902), p. 135.

Gladden did not believe that the schools were doing all they could toward making the children better citizens. To him, the functions of the school was to teach the children how to live with others and to identify their interests with others. The schools must also attempt to cultivate the habit of cooperation and the spirit of service.[18]

In 1905, the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions, a body supported chiefly by the Congregational churches and famous for its educational and missionary activities, announced that they had accepted a gift of one hundred thousand dollars from John D. Rockefeller. Gladden objected to the acceptance of this gift, especially after it became known that the money had been solicited. He gained much attention by his denunciation of its acceptance.

Gladden believed that the fortunes of millionaires had been built up by violating laws and by using underhanded methods such as bribery. It was well known to all, he said, that the Standard Oil Company had such complete control over the railroads that they not only received rebates but fixed the rates themselves. He pointed out that their methods were well known from the publication of such books as Henry Lloyd's Wealth Against Commonwealth and Ida Tarbell's History

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[18]Ibid., 186.

of the Standard Oil Company. These books presented the facts, for no legal action was taken by the company against the writers. Rockefeller, maintained Gladden, had been the instigator of many wrong deeds and practices. Gladden had singled out Rockefeller because of his contribution to the American Board, but admitted that there were many others in the same category as Rockefeller.

Churches should refuse contributions from such sources, Gladden maintained, although he realized that it was difficult to refuse such large contributions. But if churches accepted money from the Standard Oil Company, they allied themselves with it and laid themselves wide open for other such alliances. Some said that the money received from Rockefeller would do the same things as money received from more reputable people. Gladden admitted this but maintained that the result of accepting money from such people freed the donor from criticism by the ministry. It is true, he said, that the ministers do not necessarily make any promises not to criticize the giver, but out of respect, the ministers in most cases simply would not criticize him. Thus it would lead to the refusal of ministers to take a stand against public evils and wrongs. They would resort to the preaching of the "Simple Gospel," to religion only, with little reference to the social and economic world.

Such a situation limiting ministers is created by what Gladden called "tainted money."[19] Not only would the pulpit refrain from mentioning the problems of the day, but young men and women, seeing the church condoning such things, would lose faith in the church and this indeed would be a mortal blow to it. It would also prove to the working people that the churches were in close association with the wealthy classes. The Christian Church should be a leader in the fight for equality and liberty, he emphasized.[20]

Some of this "tainted money" had been given to educational institutions also. The results, Gladden thought, were the same here as in the churches. Teachers were prevented from saying anything injurious about the donors; furthermore, they were held in such high esteem that the young men in college idolized them and attempted to pattern themselves after them. Therefore, educational institutions, too, should be careful about accepting gifts.[21]

Gladden thought that there was enough free money which had been honestly acquired to supply the needs of the church without the acceptance of such contributions. He accordingly introduced this resolution before the American Board:

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[19]Washington Gladden, The New Idolatry (New York, 1905), p. 25.

[20]Ibid., 49.

[21]Ibid., 25.

> Resolved that the officers of the Board should neither solicit nor invite donations to its funds from persons whose gains have been made by methods morally reprehensible or socially injurious.[22]

Although this motion was tabled at first, it was later approved. Gladden believed that the responsibility of a missionary society began "in the act of receiving a gift, if that gift is unsolicited" rather than"after the gift has been received."[23]

Gladden was one of several Americans chosen by Fredrick U. Adams to give his views on several questions centering around the theme "Are Great Fortunes Great Dangers?" The first question was concerned with whether a man could render his country such service that he was entitled to a reward of millions of dollars. Gladden did not believe that any man could render service to his country or to his fellowman that would entitle him to such a huge reward. He thought fortunes of such huge proportions were acquired by unsocial and corrupt methods.

The second question asked was "Does the possession of a billion dollars in the hands of an individual constitute a menace to the republic?" Gladden believed that it was a serious menace because it gave the person tremendous power

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[22] Ibid., 56.

[23] Ibid., 56.

over the community. Gladden also thought that if a man acquired a billion dollars, he should be prevented from bequeathing it to anybody at his death. In answer to the question whether he was in favor of an inheritance tax and an income tax, Gladden replied that he favored both but on a proportional basis. The last question asked "Do you favor the municipal ownership of street railways, gas plants, and similar utilities?" Gladden was in favor of this. He believed that it would result in less corruption in municipal government.[24]

It is apparent that Gladden's life was occupied in helping to solve the many economic and social problems of the day. His viewpoints on the subjects made him one of the best known Congregationalist ministers of his time.

To make the story of Gladden's life complete, a few of his other activities should be mentioned. In 1893, he became one of six preachers appointed to the staff at Harvard University. Each minister spent six weeks at the University, and his duty was spiritual oversight of the students. Gladden

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[24]Fredrick U. Adams, "Are Great Fortunes Great Dangers?", Cosmopolitan (New York), v. 40, p. 393, February, 1906.

enjoyed this contact with these young men and served on the staff for three years.[25]

Gladden was considered for the presidency of three universities, yet never received an appointment. He was considered by Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, but at this time he gave an address to the workingmen and employers of Cleveland, "Is It Peace or War?", and as a result his name was dropped from the list of possible candidates by the trustees of the University. He was approached by Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, to become its president. However, the state legislature refused to make any appropriations to the University if a man from Columbus was appointed. They felt that with a Columbus man as president, the city would have too much control over a state university. The offer to Gladden was withdrawn. Gladden also refused the offer of the presidency of Illinois State University. He felt that as a university president, his freedom of expression would be limited. From the pulpit he could express his thoughts and views without restraint, free from any influence.[26]

During his stay in Columbus, he became an honorary member of the Columbus Board of Trade. This was an organized

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[25]Gladden, Recollections, 324.

[26]Ibid., 413.

body of over one thousand business men who represented the material interest, life and enterprise of the city. Gladden was the only person that this honorary membership was conferred upon who was in no way connected with business.[27]

Gladden retired from active church work in 1914 after thirty one years of service to the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, becoming Minister Emeritus. The following year he was invited by Henry Ford to become a member of the Ford Peace Party, but was unable to accept the invitation. He did endorse its purposes. In 1916, he was awarded one thousand dollars for his prize winning essay "Fork in the Road" by the Church Peace Union. This organization was founded and endowed by Andrew Carnegie in the spring of 1914 for the purpose of promoting the cause of international peace.[28] It is interesting to note the fact that Gladden accepted this gift of one thousand dollars from an organization endowed by Carnegie, because Carnegie, like John D. Rockefeller whom Gladden attacked in 1905 during the "tainted money" incident, had built up his fortune by means perhaps not socially justifiable.

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[27] "The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Commencement of the Pastorate of Washington Gladden", Pamphlet of the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio, 1907.

[28] New York Times, May 8, 1916.

Gladden was a prolific writer with many books and articles to his credit. The book that he believed his best was Where Does the Sky Begin?, a book of sermons. His last writing was an article, "Do We Believe in God?" concerning the religious questions of World War I.

On July 3, 1918, Washington Gladden died at the age of eighty-two from a strcke of paralysis. Thus came to an end the outstanding career of this writer, speaker, teacher, minister, and servant of God.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

Washington Gladden was one of the foremost pastors of his day in striving to bring economic theories, industrial relations, and social institutions under the law of Christ. During his lifetime, industry, commerce, and political life evidenced changes which he attempted and tried to explain to his fellowmen. He championed the application of the Golden Rule in settling industrial disputes believing that capital and labor could settle their differences by friendly methods.

Gladden was one of the first of the clergy to bring the social conception of the Gospel to the fore. He suggested that the essential note of really Christian civilization was in the humanization of the employer and the employee in industrial relations. He recognized the fact that changes and new views were occurring and that the church must move to meet these. As one of the leaders of the Social Gospel movement, he helped to awaken some of the clergy to assume their place in this new industrial age.

Gladden's views toward economic problems went through a transformation. In 1869, when Chinese workers were brought to North Adams, Massachusetts, to replace the striking workers in the shoe factories, he defended the right of the employer

to do this. It was not until 1875, when he was pastor in Springfield, Massachusetts, that he developed a real interest in working men, their problems and their conditions. From this time on, his interest in industrial relations continued for the rest of his life. Gladden tried to bring to the Christian community an understanding of the industrial problems of the day. He tried to enforce upon men the moral responsibility that accompanied industrial conditions. His service to humanity enabled him to come into contact with all kinds of people. He was able to interpret employers to employees, employees to employers, classes to classes, the world to the church, and the church to the world.

Gladden never became identified with any political party. His victory in the city election for city council occurred under the "Independent" ticket. The fact that Gladden served on the city council was unusual because it was uncommon for a minister to assume such a public office. Furthermore, when he returned his pay to the City Treasurer, he demonstrated his interest for good municipal government. As has been pointed out, his interests were also centered on better state and federal government. Although a friend of presidents, governors, senators, and the like, he retained his simplicity and independence.

Some of the many things that Gladden stood for and supported were the recognition of labor unions, the right of labor to organize, the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes, regulation of hours of labor, factory inspection, taxation on inheritance, income tax, strict regulation of monopolies, civil service reform, and church unity.

Gladden was a man who possessed those outstanding qualities of courage and common sense. Although his congregation was wealthy and conservative, he did not hesitate to speak out his views and thoughts on whatever subjects occupied his mind. Although there were differences of opinions between the pastor and his parishioners on leading questions of belief and conduct, Gladden's position was usually accepted because of his essential rightness and his strong personal influences. His common sense and clear thinking helped this man to understand the problems of his time. He was held in the highest of esteem by his fellow church members, the citizens of Columbus, and those of the nation.

Gladden's own life seems to be summed up best in one of his most well known works:

> Oh Master, let me walk with thee
> In lowly paths of service free;
> Tell me thy secret; help me bear
> The strain of toil, the fret of care

Help me the slow of heart to move
By some clear, winning word of love;
Teach me the wayward feet to stay,
And guide them in the homeward way.

Teach me thy patience; still with thee
In closer, dearer company,
In work that keeps faith sweet and strong,
In trust that triumphs over wrong;

In hope that sends a shining ray
Far down the futures' broadening way;
In peace that only thou cans't give,
With thee, O Master, let me live!

Washington Gladden represented a type of citizen that embodied the best of American ideals.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

PRIMARY SOURCES

Washington Gladden was the author of numerous books and magazine articles. Most of his writings were obtainable in the Michigan State College Library, the Michigan State Library, the Detroit Public Library, and the University of Michigan Library.

Each of Gladden's books read contributed information contained in this essay. His Recollections, Boston, 1909, was a great aid. This book covered his life up to 1909 and presented many interesting phases of it that could not be found elsewhere. The books that were used to determine the opinion of Gladden's economic philosophy were Applied Christianity, Boston, 1893, Social Facts and Forces, New York, 1897, and The Labor Question, Boston, 1911. These gave an insight to Gladden's views on labor, the worker, the employer, the corporation, wealth, property, competition, and socialism. Gladden's book Ruling Ideas of the Present Age, Boston, 1895, was concerned with the ideas and views on religion and politics, and brotherhood of man. Social Salvation, Boston, 1902, gave some of the author's attitude toward education. The New Idolatry, New York, 1905, gave an excellent account of his views on the Rockefeller gift to the American Board and the "tainted money" incident. The Church and Modern Life, Boston, 1908, expressed his attitude toward the part that the

church plays in everyday life. The Past, Philadelphia, 1904, from the William L. Bull Lectures for the Year 1904 was read, but little was drawn from it.

Numerous magazine articles by Gladden were used. An excellent one was "Arbitration of Labor Disputes," American Journal of Social Science, v. 21, 1886, p. 147, in which Gladden strongly supported industrial partnership and arbitration of disputes between owner and worker as a means of bringing about industrial peace. The article "The Social and Industrial Situation," Bibliotheca Sacra, New York, v. 49, 1892, p. 686, was valuable because it gave an account of the interviews that Gladden and the committee had in interviewing the employers and employees of Ohio. In 1911, some of the best articles written by Gladden concerning the industrial situation appeared in the Outlook. These were "The Case Against the Labor Union," v. 97, February 25, 1911, p. 468, "Reasons for the Unions," v. 97, March 4, 1911, p. 497, "Industry and Democracy," v. 97, March 18, 1911, p. 589, "Crosslights and Counter Claims," v. 97, April 15, 1911, p. 827, and "The Church and Labor," v. 98, May 6, 1911, p. 35. Other articles of value were "Moral Tendencies of Existing Industrial Conditions," Outlook, New York, v. 63, December 9, 1899, p. 871, "Limits of Competition," The Independent, New York, v. 52, March, 1900, p. 540, and "Spread of Socialism," Outlook,

New York, v. 62, May 13, 1899, p. 116. These were all important sources of information.

Articles that gave some of Gladden's views toward other problems of the period were "Embattled Farmers," The Forum, New York, v. 10, November, 1890, p. 315, "Problems of Poverty," Century, New York, v. 45, December, 1892, p. 245, "Relief Work, Its Principles and Methods," Review of Reviews, New York, v. 9, January, 1894, p. 38, "Religion and Wealth," Review of Reviews, New York, v. 11, February, 1895, p. 214. Gladden's attitude toward the Spanish-American War was somewhat covered in his article "The Causes and Issues of the War," appearing in Outlook, New York, v. 59, July 16, 1898, p. 59. Additional information on the "tainted money" incident was found in Gladden's "Rockefeller and the American Board," Outlook, New York, v. 79, April 22, 1905, p. 184.

Other articles by Gladden used in producing this essay were "The Church and the Reward of Iniquity," The Independent, New York, v. 58, April 20, 1905, "The Negro Crisis," The American Magazine, New York, v. 63, January, 1907, p. 296, "Religion and the Schools," Atlantic, New York, v. 115, January, 1915, p. 57. Some of Gladden's articles on World War I were "The Great War," Sermons by Washington Gladden, Columbus, Ohio, 1915, published by McClelland Company and "Plea for Pacifism," The Nation, New York, v. 103, sup. 2, August 3, 1916.

Other works that were particularly valuable were Gladden's "Rights and Duties," an address delivered at the Fifty-eighth Commencement of the University of Michigan, June 19, 1902, published by the Board of Regents in 1902, his address entitled "The Negro's Southern Neighbor and His Northern Friends" given at the meeting of the American Missionary Society in New York, n.d., "The Relations of Capital and Labor," an address on the occasion of the Seventeenth Semi-annual Dividend Meeting at Ivorydale, Ohio, February 3, 1896.

SECONDARY SOURCES

General secondary works were important in giving a background of American labor history. John Commons, History of Labor in the United States, II, New York, 1918, and D. Lescohier and E. Brandeis, History of Labor in the United States, III, New York, 1935, were invaluable aids. Also, Herbert Harris's American Labor, New Haven, 1938, Samuel Yellen's American Labor Struggles, New York, 1936, and Charles Beard's The Rise of American Civilization, New York, 1927, were valuable supplementary sources.

Lyman Abbott's Christianity and Social Problems, Boston, 1901, Richard Ely's Socialism, New York, 1894, and Walter Rauschenbusch's Christianity and Social Crisis, New York, 1907, were read in order to obtain the views of other Social Gospelers.

Henry May's Protestant Churches and Industrial America, New York, 1949, is a recent book describing the Protestant church and its role in the industrialization of America. It offered a store of valuable material. The most important secondary source book was Charles H. Hopkins' The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, New Haven, 1940. In this book the author traces the rise of the Social Gospel movement in the United States---its birth, its development, its coming of age. Its value is noted by the number of references drawn from it in writing this essay.

Other material used was Donald Come, "The Social Gospel of Walter Rauschenbausch, " South Atlantic Quarterly, New York, v. 49, no. 3, July, 1950, p. 346, which contrasted some of the views of Rauschenbausch with those of other Social Gospelers.

Magazine articles that were found of value were "Washington Gladden," Outlook, New York, v. 52, November 9, 1895, p. 745, "Dr. Gladden's Election to City Council," Outlook, New York, v. 65, April 14, 1900, p. 855, which gave a good account of his victory in the city election, George Morris's "Preacher and Patriot," Century, New York, v. 49, 1905, p. 815, and "The Work of Washington Gladden," Outlook, New York, v. 82, January 27, 1906, p. 154. An article by Fredrick U. Adams entitled "Are Great Fortunes Great Dangers?", Cosmopolitan, New York, v. 40, February, 1906, p. 393, gave

some clear-cut opinions of Gladden concerning wealth, income tax, and municipal ownership of utilities. "The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Commencement of the Pastorate of Washington Gladden" at the First Congregational Church in Columbus in 1907 gave some excellent evidence of the high esteem Gladden was held in by his congregation and fellow citizens. Peter Clark's article, "Washington Gladden, First Citizen of Columbus," Colliers', New York, v. 49, June 19, 1912, p. 20 gave a very good picture of Gladden. Other articles about Gladden were "Character of Gladden," Outlook, New York, v. 93, December 4, 1909, p. 776, "Washington Gladden, Retirement," Outlook, New York, v. 106, January 24, 1914, p. 160, and "Peace Prize Essay," Literary Digest, New York, v. 52, June 24, 1916, p. 1848.

Articles that appeared after Gladden's death and were used to obtain the reactions of others were "Washington Gladden, Obituary," Outlook, New York, v. 119, July 17, 1918, p. 442 and "Death of Washington Gladden," The Independent, New York, v. 95, July 20, 1918, p. 77. An article also useful was Reverend Gains G. Atkins' "An Address In Memory of Washington Gladden," given at the First Congregational Church, Columbus, Ohio, February 13, 1919.

From the magazine Outlook, New York, v. 95, August 27, 1910, p. 908, an article, "Street Car Strike in Columbus,"

gave the history of the development of this strike which was used for background material. Also, under the Religious News in the Christian Union, New York, v. 44, no. 1, July 4, 1891, p. 28, an account was given of the formation of the committee headed by Gladden for the Congregational Church Association of Ohio to investigate social and economic conditions in Ohio. An excerpt from George Herron, An Address at Kansas State Agricultural College, The Public, v. 1, p. 13, November 5, 1898 was used.

Although it was difficult to secure newspaper articles on or concerning Washington Gladden, a few were secured from the New York Times, 1905, 1916-1918.