

United States,* especially, as in this case, the men were only employed on five days a week during thirty weeks in the year.

The Bureau originated various precautions for insuring that a full eight hours work a day (or, as was actually the case, a night), should be got out of the garbage men, in order to reduce their numbers from 98 in summer and 95 in winter, to 76 all the year round. It was left to a supplementary report, dated three months later, to mention the fact that three dollars and a half, and not three dollars, as in the garbage department, was the price paid for a horse and man in all other city work. In suggesting that larger wagons, to be drawn by two horses, should be employed in future, it was therefore urged that, when this was done, the collectors should be paid five dollars a day.

As for the horses, of whose wretched condition the Inspectors had complained, the report merely stated that they were provided by the collectors. It did not say whether they belonged to the men, or were hired by them. If they were owned by those ill-paid men, it was not surprising that many of the horses should be old and feeble, for their owners could not afford to set them free and buy others to take their place. If, on the other hand, the men hired the horses individually from some Company, they could not so powerfully insist that the horses supplied to them should be fit for work, as could a Municipal Government employing a large number of horses. Surely every Municipality should own the horses that it needs and should make itself responsible for their care. The raising of the collectors' wages and the Municipalization of the horses used for garbage collection, seemed to me infinitely more urgent than the building of larger wagons!

But so it was in all these reports. Careful and conscientious as they were, they contained few really radical changes affecting the wages and well-being of the Council's employees and of the poorer members of the community in general. Almost every proposal was for the prevention of some leakage through carelessness or dishonesty, or for the saving of expense by lengthening the hours of labour, or by keeping the workpeople more rigidly to their tasks during the working hours, in order that it might be possible to dispense with a number of those hitherto employed. Nowhere did I find a suggestion that wages should be raised, except in the case of the garbage collectors already mentioned, and in that of the

Chief Plumbing Inspector whose salary was recommended to be raised from 1,500 to 1,800 dollars a year.*

Perhaps it had to be, but the Bureau of Economy and Efficiency certainly seemed to consider the methods and machinery before the human beings. When the official, who most kindly and thoroughly explained to me all the charts and diagrams, was showing me various sub-divisions of the police department, and the improvements in organisation effected by the Bureau, I asked what experiments had been made in regard to the more human side of the work. For instance, had they engaged police detectives to be called for whenever women were arrested or were found homeless and destitute? 'No,' was the reply, 'as yet we have only been able to make purely administrative changes in the direction of placing everything on an efficient and economical basis.' He added that in the State of New York a woman had been appointed a Deputy Sheriff but she had been found to be disqualified, as such appointments could only be held by persons entitled to exercise the franchise. The same objection he said would apply to the women of Milwaukee and would bar out women police constables and detectives. I suppose that a special Act of the State Legislature would have been needed to circumvent the difficulty. I also asked whether in the construction of schools, bridges and other buildings direct labour was employed by the Milwaukee City Council, as is done by many English public bodies, but again the reply was, 'No, we have not been able to do that yet.' Indeed in most directions it was impossible for the Milwaukee Council to make any reform hastily. Even the consolidation of the police and fire alarms had necessitated the passage of a Bill through the State Legislature, and the consequent waste of much valuable time.

But in spite of its being handicapped by such checks and of the fact that it is easy to criticise, difficult to perform, its work seemed to me to show that the Bureau of Economy and Efficiency was too heavily weighted with accountants, business men and University professors, who had no practical knowledge of the hardship, toil and struggle of poorer working lives. I hoped that the Bureau's influence was not tending to divert the time and energies of the whole administration too much into purely mechanical and 'business' channels.

I felt this over-emphasising of the 'business' aspect, even in regard to what I learnt of the Bureau's reconstructive arrangements. I strongly

* {SP} See Appendix B, Chapter 2.

* Elwell, *Plumbing*, p. 14.