CHAPTER IV
WORKPLACE EDUCATION BECOMES A RECOGNIZED ACTIVITY IN BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS, 1915-1939

Employers continued to look to education as a solution for labor problems occurring in their workplaces. Relations with workers were unimproved, and changes of great magnitude continued to impact workplaces. The demands for increased productivity during World War I and the economic swings after the war -- a brief depression, New Era prosperity of the 1920s, and then the Great Depression -- especially challenged employers to find new ways to manage their workplaces. Past attempts to manage changing workplaces -- changing and automating production processes to better control the work flow, adopting new management methods, developing and implementing new organizational structures -- had not necessarily solved problems and in some cases, especially where employees were resistant, had exacerbated them. Management, as in the past, turned to education. Employers modified and refined earlier educational programs and developed new ones to manage problems associated with changing workplaces. How and when management supported employee training and education was inconsistent. Workplace training and education provided for workers ebbed and flowed with changing working conditions. The practice became recognized as a business solution for labor problems, but it generally did not achieve enduring status and position within business organizations.

EDUCATION BECOMES AN ACCEPTED STRATEGY FOR MANAGING CHANGING WORKPLACES

Employers began to look for new solutions to managing industrializing workplaces in the decades following the Civil War. Employers' influence and power initially allowed them to use crude methods such as the drive system to manager their workforces. When this method increased tensions between employers and employees, disrupting productivity, employers experimented with education as a solution. They used it as a tool, not only to impart job skills and knowledge, but also to attempt to mold and shape the character and behavior of their workers. The unparalleled changes in industrializing workplaces in the period between the Civil War and World War I were followed by more dramatic changes. War and economic upheavals disrupted the still not stable workplaces, which dictated adaptation and change by employers and their employees. Management continued to turn to education to attempt to promote workplace harmony and to increase productivity.
Workplace Disruptions Create Management Challenges

Employers had faced fundamental changes in factory environments in the decades following the Civil War. They experimented with educational programs not only to acclimatize workers for industrial work environments but also to train and educate them for new and changing work requirements. Although employee-employer relations were not necessarily improved, an uneasy peace resulted. These conditions held for many organizations until around 1915, when World War I induced the tightening of labor markets, creating new problems. Between 1915 and 1918, labor productivity dropped ten percent, the first reversal in the historic upward trend excepting acute depressions. The decline in productivity was attributed to a labor shortage, acute labor turnover, and intense industrial unrest (Brody, 1980, pp. 39-46; Jacoby, 1985, pp. 133-165).

War Years – 1915-1919

Although war industries accelerated the demand for labor, the supply was reduced through the curtailment of immigration, enlarged government service, and wartime conscription. Employers made up some of the labor shortfall by hiring women into nontraditional occupations such as machinery and metalwork. Another solution was through non-European immigration from Asia and Mexico and internal migration, especially from the South. Black migrants took the least skilled and least desirable jobs which had been filled earlier by European immigrants (Dubovsky, 1985, pp. 119-121; Jacoby, 1985, pp. 133-134; Lescohier, 1935, p. 321).

Businesses were not only faced with assimilating large numbers of inexperienced, untrained workers into their workplaces, but they were also experiencing enormous turnover problems. Employers often reported their annual turnover rates exceeding 200 and 300 percent. Jobs were plentiful, and inexperienced and unskilled workers changed jobs frequently (Colvin, 1918, pp. 430-431; NACS, 1920, p. 445).

As a final blow, labor relations had not improved; there was more strife and unrest. An underlying cause for the inability of management and labor to reach a satisfactory relationship was that the native American worker in his political and social life continued to think in terms of democracy. On the other hand, business, as it has evolved, had been built around leadership, with decisive entrepreneurs expecting strict obedience to authority from above. A free hand for the man at the helm was as much a rule of business as of the military (Cochran, 1961, p. 248).

Because the successful issue of war was dependent in so large a degree upon industrial efficiency, the government recognized the value of the new doctrine of employment management and the Shipping Board and Ordinance Bureau men expended time promoting and spreading the movement (Bloomfield, 1919, p. 441). The emphasis on hiring, turnover, and increasing unrest resulted in innovations in the employment areas of business organizations (Willis, 1919, pp. 47-50). Walter Dill Scott, a pioneering industrial psychologist, conducted an extensive testing program for the
Army during the war. As a result, following the war, psychological testing became popular, especially among larger employers. The federal government gave impetus for job analysis, a technique used to provide information useful for determining hiring and training needs by standardizing and classifying job responsibilities. During the War various government agencies also encouraged the use of employment managers to reduce turnover and labor unrest. To support this action, the government sponsored six-week courses at a dozen universities (Nelson, 1975, pp. 151, 153-154). These innovations contributed toward personnel and employment managers demonstrating a measure of success during World War I (Milton, 1970, p. 100).

The war ended in November 1918, and the war boom continued until in 1919. Industrial educators who had been involved in the wartime training, both executive and shop training for new employees, lauded the results of their efforts upon the efficiency and output of wartime production. They suggested that business should use the results of this wartime experience in peace times (Bloomfield, 1920, p. 207). The professional career of personnel management, however, was not to take such a positive turn.

**New Era – 1920s**

The top executives of America's leading corporations -- Standard Oil, Bethlehem Steel, DuPont, General Electric, General Motors, Goodyear, International Harvester, Irving National Bank, U.S. Rubber, and Westinghouse -- founded the Special Conference Committee (SCC) in 1919 to coordinate labor relations and personnel policies. The SCC, because of legal and political questions regarding its existence, operated in secret. The YMCA and the newly formed American Management Association became important vehicles for carrying out the three-point program of SCC. The SCC opposed unions and collective bargaining. Rather than promoting the open shop, they supported employee representation as the main means of practical application. The second element was 'new' or pecuniary welfare work -- pensions, paid vacations, group insurance. These programs not only minimized employment resentment resulting from the more paternalistic traditional programs, but boosted the public image of business. The third element was SCC's support of employment management, primarily to ensure consistency. This form of employment management consisted mainly of activities such as record-keeping and orientation sessions for new employees as opposed to other personnel reform activities which had gained popularity during the war. In fact, the SCC disapproved of the professional, centralized model of personnel management, believing that power should be returned to the foremen to preserve authority and discipline on the shop floor (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 180-182).

The SCC negatively impacted the professionalization and centralization of employment and personnel activities as did the recession of 1920-1921, which played havoc with the prosperity of industry. By the middle of 1920 industrial firms had to reduce production or shut down entirely; and,
by the spring of 1921, industrial stagnation and extensive unemployment were prevalent. Personnel and labor departments established during the war were reduced in size or, at times, dismantled (Derber, 1970, pp. 281-284). Although these moves were publicized as cost-cutting necessities, many were probably the desire of management to restore old-fashioned discipline by restoring power to foremen (Jacoby, 1985, p. 178).

The 1920s are usually characterized as a time of prosperity, growth, and tight labor markets. This obscures the fact that manufacturing employment was stagnant throughout the decade. Between 1923 and 1927, industrial unemployment rates were higher than for any other five-year period since 1900. The term 'technological unemployment' was used for the first time in the 1920s when greater mechanization resulted in the displacement of many workers. Technological displacement contributed toward higher unemployment because displaced workers did not easily find employment during this period (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 168-169).

During the early 1920s employers had been worried that the curtailment of immigration would result in labor shortages. This was not to be the case. In those areas where a labor shortage existed, migration from Mexico and the movement of native-born whites and blacks into urban areas closed the gap. The number of Mexicans in the population more than doubled between 1920 and 1930; and, the black urban population outside the South rose by 70 percent between 1920 and 1930. Blacks made up about 10 percent of labor force of automobile manufacturers even though some firms still refused to hire them. The labor market of the 1920s turned out to, in fact, be a buyers' market, and many workers became hesitant to quit their jobs because of fear of extended unemployment. Labor was much less mobile than in previous decades, and the average age of the manufacturing labor force rose (Jacoby, 1985, p. 171).

The high unemployment weakened the labor movement and strike activity. This factor together with a labor surplus, high productivity, and low quit rates created an environment that was not conducive to liberal employment policies. During the 1920s, employers no longer felt the same pressure to maintain or expand their personnel activities, including training. Companies did not need personnel departments to maintain morale or to keep turnover rates low. Fear of the loss of a job took the place of earlier more liberal programs. Decisions in many businesses tended to be decentralized and left to the foreman's discretion (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 171-173).

Overall the number of personnel departments continued to grow, but at a much lower rate than during the war period. The uneven development of personnel management led to great variance in personnel policies and activities. The vast majority of companies, usually small- or medium-sized, had no formal personnel department. This group, generally made up of companies who had hesitancy to install personnel departments because of the fear of robbing foreman and lower-level supervisors of their prerogatives, continued to shrink during the 1920s. Other companies had personnel departments described as mere fronts, the departments not being an integral part of administration. These
personnel departments had responsibility for selecting employees and for administering the 'new' welfare programs, but they lost much of their independent authority and responsibility (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 173-174). Large firms tended to support more advanced personnel activities, but there were numerous exceptions. Some organizations, regardless of their size, considered their foremen to be personnel executives, eliminating or reducing the need for centralized professional personnel areas (Jacoby, 1985, p. 191).

**Great Depression**

These conditions existed until the stock market crash of 1929 triggered a spiraling depression. There was no precedent for the tremendous unemployment which took place. A quarter of the labor force was unemployed in 1932 and 1933, and a substantial share continued to be out of work during the whole decade. In contrast to the situation in 1921, personnel activities were initially relatively immune to reductions or closures in 1930 and 1931. The reason for this is not because these areas had been fully accepted by their companies. Many of these departments probably survived because they were no longer involved in line activities, posing little threat to operating managers. Some companies tried to maintain the welfare programs they had introduced earlier. As the depression wore on, however, there was simply less for personnel departments to do, their already restricted activities further shrinking or disappearing. Nevertheless, few departments were eliminated entirely during the depression, most being further downgraded in size and responsibility (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 215, 221).

**Recovery and the New Deal**

Franklin Roosevelt came into office in 1933 when the depth of the Depression had been reached. His legislation included the New Deal, of which the lasting consequence was workplace reform. Rather than continuing the *laissez faire* attitude, the government took action to improve the welfare of workers. The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) known as the Wagner Act of 1935, gave employees the legal right to organize and defined unfair labor practices by employers. The Social Security Act (1935) dealt with security -- social security measures for old age and survivors' insurance, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation, which provided security for individuals during various periods of their life. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 defined employment codes -- maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and the abolition of child labor under sixteen. These areas, which were institutionalized by the government, no longer remaining the domain of the employer. The New Deal was also intended to aid in recovery. Public investment in a variety projects, the most noteworthy the Tennessee Valley Authority related to water resources, were initiated as social benefits. Even though they provided jobs, a substantial portion of the labor force remained unemployed in 1940 (North, 1966, pp. 165-180). The government took on
a new role, becoming involved for the first time, not just in labor issues, but in expanding and developing the economy.

The labor movement was gaining, and strike activity turned sharply upwards. Because the National Recovery Act (NLRA) had no way to handle labor disputes, President Roosevelt appointed a National Labor Board (NLB) in 1933 to monitor employers' discrimination against union members or supporters. The NLB was replaced soon after with the first National Labor Relations Board (1934), which had more authority.

Throughout the decade, business experienced a loss of prestige. And, while business power and influence declined, the federal government gained power and prestige. These factors set in motion a chain of events which were to give impetus to employment reform. Personnel management experienced a spurt of growth because business needed personnel specialists for conscious, intelligent labor planning, to comply with governmental restrictions and regulations, and to help business rebuild their public image.

Management Strategies

The workplace upheavals resulting from the United States’ involvement in World War I, the economic prosperity of the 1920s, and the Great Depression created problems for the relatively new management profession. Management forged ahead, continuing to automate their production processes, develop new management structures, and employ any other means to protect their business interests.

Organizational Structure

Prior to World War I, General Electric and DuPont had perfected the organizational structure which would be used for years to come by centralized organizations. Beginning in 1920 a second organizational structure was developed which permitted effective administration of a number of vertically integrated subsidiaries or divisions. Chandler calls this administrative form the decentralized, multidivisional enterprise. It arose because of increasingly complex administrative problems both in some new industries (electrical, automobile, and chemical products industries) and in some technologically complex older industries (petroleum products, rubber products, and agricultural implements). Top management was consequently relieved from responsibility for administrative forms and able to concentrate upon more strategic, decision-making activity (Chandler, 1977; George, 1982, pp. 94-96).

Organistic vs. Mechanistic Approach

Although many businesses had taken steps to improve physical conditions, they generally continued to place emphasis upon the technical aspect of operations. As business organized and
managed their workplaces, their emphasis was primarily upon the mechanistic and economic aspects of business with minimal or no attention to the humanistic aspect of their employees (Fitch, 1917, pp. 211-215; Parker, 1918, pp. 212-231).

During the War Years, some businessmen had come to the conclusion that they should be giving the same attention to employees as to machinery. This was probably largely as a result of businesses' need to find the answers to the problems facing them -- turnover, labor shortage, and labor unrest. After the war, during the 1920s, when there was a labor surplus, high productivity, and low unionization and quit rates, many employers lost interest in professional personnel management. In addition, the new political conservatism, with a lack of interest in social experimentation which carried over into industry, reduced the pressure business had felt previously to introduce or to expand humanistic personnel activities.

There were contemporaries who argued that the change in the labor market had not ended business's interest in progressive employee policies. There were probably, at most, however, 10 to 15 percent of the labor force who were affected by this progressive perspective. Following the war the more liberal industrial relations managers downplayed the impact on their movement. But, the managers who retained their jobs quickly fell in line with management's more conservative mood (Derber, 1970, pp. 173, 179, 190-191).

**Production Role**

The decentralization of labor relations areas resulted in foremen assuming responsibility for employee activities. Businessmen expressed the view that it was time to end industrial relations activities, termed wartime exigencies, and get down to the essentials. A representative of the American Management Association contended that personnel men had lost their position within business because they had used too much authority and interfered with normal disciplinary procedures (Derber, 1970, pp. 177-178).

Nevertheless, a seed of the humanistic view of employees had been planted. The industrial climate in the 1920s did shift to put more emphasis upon individual adaptability and cooperation rather than individual character and effort (Brody, 1980, p. 13; Fitch, 1917, p. 42; Parker, 1918, pp. 212-231). Some sources (NACT, 1921, p. 50) reported that methods of industrial management were more and more becoming methods of leading rather than driving. The development of social and behavioristic psychology addressing what would motivate human beings at least kept business speculating on the human side of employee/employer relations and on employee welfare.

The need for economy, demands of organized labor, enactment of labor legislation and the slowly emerging humanistic view of employees all combined, at various times, to give a degree of significance to labor administration -- obtaining and holding employees, technical training, employee education, and providing in other ways for employees' well being and development (Montgomery,
Whether employers sponsored training and education as a temporary solution for business problems or as a way to create enlightened workplaces, employer-provided educational programs continued to exist in some form.

**Role of Education**

Employer-provided education had become an accepted tool for managing workplaces. As stated by the Manager of the Educational Department of Western Electric Company (1916), "there will always be definite training work for business which will have to be undertaken in business by business" (Dietz, 1916, p. 244). While some employers continued to insist that their training work was only temporary because of the public schools or some other training agency failing to furnish an adequate supply of trained employees, the need of comprehensive training systems in business was growing (Dietz, 1916, pp. 244-245). Employer-provided education was the answer to the demand for trained workers by large business and industrial concerns.

Albert Beatty reported (1918) that although virtually every important social, political and economic organization had attempted solutions for vocational education and that although the importance of the problem had been growing in the public consciousness for the past two decades, that it still awaited a satisfactory solution (p. 8). Employer-provided education was purported as coming about because of the inability of other organized means of education to provide in an adequate measure that specific trade and vocational training demanded in the industrializing workplaces (Beatty, 1918, p. 22).

Business not only provided workplace education, but they used their power and position to influence external education related to the workplace. Employers had defined their role in relation to external agencies such as the public schools, "that general education is a function of the public schools, and the special education is a function of the corporation. With this declaration, it must be kept in mind that there have come great changes in industry, types, hours of labor, etc., and that, therefore, there must be a corresponding change in the adaptation of public education to industrial needs" (NACT, 1920, pp. 512-514).

Business continued to develop and provide educational programs for their workers as influenced by their dynamic workplaces. To do this they were able to use the knowledge and experience they had accumulated in the past fifty years. This provided the basis for employers continuing to develop the practice of employee training and development.

**BASIC EDUCATION**

Employers desired contented, happy workers willing to comply with their workplace demands. To accomplish this, they expanded and modified earlier basic education programs intended...
to influence workers behavior by enhancing their welfare and development. Programs included welfare work, safety and health education, and Americanization programs for the foreign born.

**Welfare Capitalism**

The expansion and decline of corporate welfare work was related to the impact of World War I upon industrialists and the labor supply and to cycles of prosperity and decline in the economy. The War Years from 1915 to 1920 witnessed a rapid development of welfare programs. War agencies encouraged welfare practices to support the war effort. In 1916 Congress established the Council of National Defense to coordinate the preparedness effort for World War I. The Advisory Commission of the Council in turn created a Committee on Labor intended to increase productivity and prevent labor disputes, which subsequently created a Committee on Welfare Work. The objective of the Committee on Welfare Work was to stress to employers the importance of conserving the health and efficiency of employees. Members of the committee, who were industrialists, created three subcommittees -- the first was to promote sanitary facilities in factories and company towns and to improve sanitary practices in employees' homes; the second was to improve housing; and, the third, to encourage recreational activities for employees (Brandes, 1970, pp. 23-25).

The United States Shipping Board and the United States Housing Corporation not only encouraged employer-provided housing but built houses for workers. During World War I, the United States government spent nearly $194 million building a series of company towns. In 1918 the Department of Labor established a Working Conditions Service whose objective was to reduce turnover and improve industrial relations by promoting to employers that improved working conditions supported by welfare programs were a paying proposition (Bloomfield, 1920, pp. 309-310; Brandes, 1970, p, 26).

The labor shortage during World War I resulted in the rapid development of businesses' own labor policies closely related to welfare work (Cochran, 1961, p. 245). Employers, seeing the effectiveness of organized singing, dances, and athletic contests among the soldiers and war workers, adopted similar programs. Employee magazines sprang up and long-service and quality workers were written about. The placement of women in many of the jobs resulted in improved working conditions beyond what was required by the law such as the installation of electric fans, more conscientious cleaning, and other improvements in shop conditions. Service premiums were offered to keep workers drifting from job to job, and numerous bonus plans and group insurance plans supplemented regular wages to induce employees to report for work promptly and regularly. Profit sharing and stock purchasing took on more impetus. Housing shortages led concerns to build company houses and dormitories. And, efforts to give workers a modicum of self government resulted in attempts at employee representation plans, some of which were little more than employee athletic committees.
while others took part in grievance adjustments and determining working conditions (Lescohier, 1935, pp. 321-323).

Except for a brief interruption during the depression of 1921, welfare capitalism continued to expand until the mid 1920s when it reached the height of its popularity. Welfare programs generally declined during the great depression of the 1930s; and, only vestiges of the programs remained in the decades that followed (Brandes, 1970, pp. 26-28; Lescohier, 1935, p. 321).

**From Industrialism Paternalism to Welfare Capitalism**

Welfare programs began as random, unsystematic educational experiments intended to acclimatize workers to new industrial environments in the decades following the Civil War. Around the turn of the century the concept expanded, employers seeing the programs as a way not only to fulfill their social responsibilities, but also to ease the employee-employer relationship which was proving to be counter to production. As more employers interpreted welfare activities to fit their own workplace environments, corporate leaders generally came to believe (1915) that welfare programs could directly increase productivity and profits (Channing, 1916, p. 365).

The uproar in business circles concerning the costs of turnover and employee unrest gave impetus to the welfare movement. Although turnover was as old as industry itself, employers were becoming more aware of the costs of this escalating problem. Prior to World War I turnover had been primarily due to workers' disillusionment with the opportunities presented them by industrialization. Although employers would advertise and scout for labor, they seldom made it worthwhile for a worker to remain in his job by carefully selecting, placing, and training him to do his job. In addition, poor working conditions and employers' tendency to lay off workers with market fluctuations further encouraged a migratory labor force (Montgomery, 1987, pp. 16-17, 229-244). Welfare activities were seen as a tool to reduce turnover by giving an employer a competitive advantage in retaining current employees and attracting new employees (Boettiger, 1923, p. 22; Colvin, 1918, p. 428). In 1917 an advertisement asked for the services of a hundred workers, placing emphasis upon the advantage offered in, "cheerful and sanitary working conditions, rest rooms, and lunch-room facilities, with extras at cost" (Fleisher, 1917, p. 54).

Contemporary sociologist Boettiger suggested (1923) that modern employee welfare work was, "... becoming less a matter of caprice and more definitely an indispensable part of the administration of all industrial enterprises" (p. 122), when he listed reasons employers might institute such welfare programs. In addition to an employer's intentions to benefit employees and humanity, he gave a number of more practical motives which were tied to the success of the company. These included increasing productive efficiency, reducing labor turnover, attracting a desirable grade of labor, advertising the business concerned, reducing strikes and labor difficulties, averting industrial conflict by lulling workers into a feeling of contentment with conditions which would otherwise be
vigorously protested, averting state regulation, disrupting the discipline of unionized labor, and reducing taxes on profits by increasing or inflating costs (Boettiger, 1923, pp. 1, 123, 268). Other rationale cited by contemporary employers for their welfare programs (1917) supported their belief that social vision had developed among business owners and managers and that industry was emphasizing the human element in industry and doing away with concept of men as machines. These reasons included the pride of individual plant owners in the plants they controlled and a personal interest in their employees (Fleisher, 1917, p. 54).

Whatever the reasons given, business used welfare activities to shape and mold their employees to fit their stereotype of the ideal employee -- efficient, disciplined, willing, cheerfully obedient and loyal. In departments stores, welfare work could improve productivity through better customer service by helping to change the image of the shop girl by attacking her class-based characteristics (Benson, 1986, p. 147). In factories, welfare work might influence workers to willingly adapt to dull work routines in a less-than-perfect environment. These employee modifications were accomplished by a growing variety of activities classified as welfare capitalism (Harris, 1942, p. 159).

**Lack of Standardized Definitions and Programs**

No single term was uniformly accepted to this work, labels including industrial betterment, welfare work, welfare service and eventually welfare capitalism. Neither was there one definition for the programs, contemporaries expressing the difficulty in standardizing welfare work. The efforts and plans of the employers who undertook the work exhibited little uniformity, either by industry or locality. The range of activities and the fact that the field was not 'fixed' made simple definition of the field difficult (Fleisher, 1917, pp. 50-51).

Welfare management was defined by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (1919) as "anything for the comfort and improvement, intellectual or social, of the employees, over and above wages paid, which is not a necessity of the industry nor required by law (Bulletin 250, 1919, p. 8). Louis Boettiger's historical study of employee welfare work (1923) defined welfare work as, " . . . effort of the employer to establish and maintain certain standards in respect to hours, wages, working and living conditions of his employees which are neither required by law nor by the conditions of the market" (p. 19). And, the Supervisor of the Welfare Division of Metropolitan Life Insurance defined welfare work as, "that service given by employers to their employees, beyond the requirements imposed by law or forced by employers, and in addition to the conditions of employment prevalent in their community" (Fleisher, 1917, p. 51).

There was no standard model for welfare work, not only because of employers' differing philosophies, but because of the diversity in workplaces and workforces, regardless of the size or industry, and the voluntary nature of the work. Welfare work was extended particularly to those
employed in manufacturing and transportation and mercantile industries. Development was also sporadic because some employers were interested in extended programs only in specific areas such as sanitary factories, housing of their employees, safe workrooms, recreation and education, or programs for employees' families (Fleisher, 1917, p. 51).

The demographics and character of the labor force determined to some extent the conditions in the place of the work and the resulting welfare programs. A company was apt to operate a lunch room where office women were employed on a large scale; at the same time, a dining room was practically unheard of where many women were employed in a cotton mill. Organizations continued to direct their programs toward any female employees. Diverse companies provided cooking and sewing schools for girls, reasons given for such training that it taught habits of thrift, simplicity, and economy and would preserve the family unit and improve dietary habits (Brandes, 1970, pp. 58-59; Otley, 1913, p. 6).

Because of the fundamental consideration that the work was done voluntarily, the field was constantly changing. When service formerly given voluntarily by employers was legislated and employers were required to provide it, the activities were no longer considered welfare. Welfare work had to be in addition to, not a substitute for, acceptable wages, hours of labor, and working conditions, which were prevalent in the community where it was undertaken (Fleisher, 1917, pp. 50-51).

**Varied Elements Make up Diverse Program Offerings for Employees**

By the 1920s many of the major corporations were providing their employees with a host of services, including recreational facilities, club rooms, reading rooms, Americanization programs and other benefits. Some welfare activities were being added and promoted while others were losing employers' interest. An increasing number of employers were recognizing the importance of vacations and rest periods. Not only did many manufacturing establishments have compulsory vacation for repair and stock-taking, but vacations with pay were becoming more common. Fundamental improvements were being made in wage-payments, checks replacing cash payments with regular, fixed pay-days to encourage saving. And, greater care was being taken in choosing employees, including physical examinations, purportedly to protect the health of those already employed (Fleisher, 1917, pp. 51-52).

**Consideration for Physical Working Conditions**

The Supervisor of the Welfare Division of Metropolitan Life (1917) saw employers as giving primary consideration to the workplace. He indicated that, with the aid of modern engineering knowledge, in both new and older buildings, which were being remodeled, attention was being given to light, heat, ventilation, and protection from fire and dangerous machinery (Fleisher, 1917, pp. 51-52).
Lunch Rooms

A 1916 Bureau of Labor Statistics study including 431 establishments in a variety of establishments indicated that 234 of the 431 provided lunch rooms. Determining factors varied. They included the distance from homes, the lack of good restaurants or the presence of many saloons near the plant, the desire to keep employees upon the premise, or perhaps to give employees the proper kind of food and to influence their habits with regard to good nutrition. The lunchrooms frequently were not for the general workingmen but rather mainly for the office force and for officials (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1919, pp. 45-46).

Social and Recreational Activities

Employers also saw recreational activities as providing for the education of their employees. Patriotic recreation taking the form of military drill classes, mainly for younger employees, not only supported Americanism, but gave lessons in discipline and obedience. Another rationale for providing company recreation was indoctrination, employers believing that it could be used to instill the right attitude in the worker and to help build and strengthen character. McCormick, for example, saw it teaching values which led to loyalty to the company (Brandes, 1970, pp. 75-81). The same 1916 survey disclosed that more than half of the responding companies provided outdoor recreational activity on a regular basis, more than a third offered indoor facilities, and at least 1.3 million workers had recreational facilities provided by their companies. More than any other welfare activity, recreation received support in both large and small towns (United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1919, pp. 8, 73, 89).

Housing

By 1916 at least a thousand American firms provided housing for at least 600,000 employees and their families, roughly three percent of the population of the United States (Magnusson, 1920). Mary Gilson, the Employment and Service Superintendent of Joseph & Feiss Company, presented the importance of good home conditions as related to industrial efficiency (1916). She stressed that the health and well being of an employers employees were fully as dependent upon the conditions which confronted them outside of the factory as upon those within the factory. Gilson contended that factory management becoming involved in the lives of workers outside of the factory was not only an employer’s right, but was a duty which was a natural outgrowth of executive responsibility (Gilson, 1916, pp. 390-402). Other reasons given by business for company housing included necessity because private developers had not provided needed housing, as a means of controlling the labor supply, and attracting better employees and inducing them to stay. Foes of company housing believed that it was used as a means of social control (Brandes, 1970, pp. 43-51).

Visiting Nurses

The visiting nurse was part of the welfare work of many organizations. Employers used visiting nurse programs for health reasons, but also to overcome the habit of employee irregularity and
to obtain information about home conditions (Fitch, 1918, pp. 435-440). Carnegie Steel Company rationalized their visiting nurse function as providing an employee and his family with the necessary knowledge and instruction to make their home life better, cleaner, and more attractive. One welfare worker described the function: "Just as the vocational school gives to the workman the necessary knowledge of his trade, so social service brings to him and his family those things which enable them to attain health and happiness in the home" (Burnett, 1914, pp. 628-631). While nurses' home visits were publicized as a measure to create a sense of familial warmth and friendliness and a way to build close personal ties with workers, the home visit also became the occasion for a patronizing lecture. Gilson recalled that "there was no facet of life we did not touch." She reportedly advised employees on marital choice, furniture arrangement, and even personal appearance. Welfare workers also served as a conduit of information on the workers’ union tendencies (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 51-52).

**Pensions**

Although the problem of old and unproductive employees was not new, the nineteenth-century solution, that of assigning an aged employee to routine, physically undemanding tasks or scrapping him, was becoming increasingly outdated. Pensions had received minimal attention during the early years of welfare work, the greatest efforts for injury or old age being those of the railroads. Beginning in the War Years there were an increase in the number of firms providing pension systems for their employees (Brandes, 1970, p. 103; Schuey, 1900, pp. 119-127; Whitney, 1918, p. 443).

**Profit Sharing**

Profit sharing programs expanded greatly during and after World War I. By the time America entered the war, some 250 companies were involved in either profit sharing or stock ownership. That growth was moderate compared with that which followed the war. Workers at Bethlehem Steel alone owned $4 million of company stock, while every one of the 14,000 people working for Firestone Tire and Rubber was a stockholder (Bloomfield, 1920, p. 376; Brandes, 1970, pp. 83-84). A primary purpose of profit sharing and stock ownership was character development. Companies related the award of stock to employees on the basis of industry, attendance, quality of work, cleanliness and deportment, real and good will, courtesy, patience, and sobriety. A key component for character was the lesson of thriftiness. Business often despaired over how their employees spent their money and hoped to instill the virtue of thrift in employees. They believed that workers who lived within their means, who had money in the bank, or who held stock certificates, might be less likely to see the need to strike for higher wages. Stock ownership therefore might lead to thriftiness and thriftiness to independence (Brandes, 1970, pp. 87-88; Lief, 1958, pp. 131-132).

**Employee Participation**

Although welfare work continued to be controlled by employers, employers were pressured to give employees a share in the control of the activities. In these instances, employers frequently
assisted in the formation of the organization, made contributions to its funds, and made suggestions for its guidance. Co-operative plans for the administration of welfare activities took the form of shop committees, works councils, welfare committees, joint boards of control, industrial assemblies, and promotion and discipline committees. Programs in which employers gave employees an active part generally included athletic and recreation activities, and lunchrooms. Welfare work managed by employees was considered to be training in the fundamentals of democracy, cooperative activity and mutual responsibility (Fleisher, 1917, pp. 56-57; Whitney, 1917, p. 445).

Many firms reported that the efficient management of welfare work was conditioned upon these joint administration plans. Employers believed they could help eliminate the risk of misinterpretation on the part of employees, many who did not support the paternal or one-sided type of welfare policy which they contended violated their independence. Successful experiments in which employees participated included Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, Dennison Manufacturing Company, American Multigraph Company, and International Harvester Company (Boettiger, 1923, pp. 222-237).

**Company Unions**

Around 1917 another important element of welfare capitalism, the company union, or “employee representation plans” as unions labeled them, gained popularity. World War I accelerated their growth. The National Industrial Conference Board reported 225 representation plans in 1919, 725 in 1922, and 814 in 1924. By the early 1930s some two million wage earners were in organizations "initiated, nursed, protected and financed by the employers" (Davis, 1928, p. 9; Derber, 1970, pp. 211-219; Lescohier, 1935, p. 336). A pioneer in this movement was the Boston Filene Store which had begun a program in 1898. The program had expanded over the years giving employees increasingly wider jurisdiction over their own problems. Perhaps the most elaborate plan of all was the Leitch plan for “Industrial Democracy” first established (1912) in the Packard Piano Company. The best known plan was probably Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Company plan (1922) called by the company a “square deal” for all concerned -- employees, management, stockholders and the public. (Derber, 1970, pp. 215-218; Faulkner, 1951, pp. 271-275).

**Well-Known Programs or ‘Best Practices’**

As welfare schemes expanded and became much more elaborate during the War Years and the 1920s, companies readily shared information about their successes. Providers of welfare programs drew upon other companies’ experiences to develop their own programs which would meet their particular objectives (Herring, 1929, p. 349; Korman, 1967, p. 77). Two notable programs of welfare capitalism, when it was at its height in popularity, are described in Table 6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company Information</th>
<th>Work Environment</th>
<th>Recreation</th>
<th>Safety and Health</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothcraft Shops (Part of the Joseph Feiss Company) Employment and Service Department</td>
<td>- Separate dining rooms for men and women&lt;br&gt;- Separate locker rooms&lt;br&gt;- Separate bath and shower rooms&lt;br&gt;- Banking services provided by Employment and Service area&lt;br&gt;- Employees participated in decision making through Foremen’s Meetings, The Employee Advisory Council, And the Heads of Tables Conferences</td>
<td>- Separate recreation rooms for inclement weather&lt;br&gt;- Outside recreation grounds for baseball, basketball, and quoits&lt;br&gt;- Recreation rooms used for parties to build working spirit&lt;br&gt;- Noon-day recreational activities provided&lt;br&gt;- Dancing in women’s recreation room&lt;br&gt;- Choral Club&lt;br&gt;- Separate reading rooms for men and women</td>
<td>- Medical department maintained as part of Employment and Service Department&lt;br&gt;- All applicants under go physical and mental examinations&lt;br&gt;- Home visits to ensure health and well-being of employees&lt;br&gt;- Employees counseled on day following home visit&lt;br&gt;- Insurance matters left to employees</td>
<td>- After being hired, each employee assigned an instructor to teach correct method of performing work and to help employee adjust to factory environment&lt;br&gt;- Applicants which do not understand English must agree to attend English class held in factory&lt;br&gt;- Whenever possible, workers trained for more than one kind of work&lt;br&gt;- Maintain branch of Cleveland Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford Motor Company Profit Sharing Plan Began in 1914</td>
<td>- $5 day began in 1914&lt;br&gt;- Work hours reduced from 9 to 8 hours&lt;br&gt;- Foremen could eliminate a man from his department but not from company&lt;br&gt;- No man would receive $5 wage who could not qualify for plan – who could not show he could use it advisedly and conservatively</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- English school with compulsory attendance&lt;br&gt;- Staff of sociologists examined habits, home lives, and attitudes of workers to determine if they were eligible for $5&lt;br&gt;- Investigators provide ‘education’ through kindly suggestion or by laying out detailed plans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Clothcraft Shops of The Joseph Feiss Company believed that scientific management was the solution for industrial problems. They contended that each industry must determine not only the best method of handling materials and equipment but also the principles which underly the correct methods of handling men. To accomplish this themselves they integrated scientific management and welfare capitalism when they organized their Employment and Service Department. This area not only practiced the scientific selection of employees but they provided for the scientific education and development of employees through their welfare programs (Feiss, 1916, pp. 27-56).
When Henry Ford simplified production into more routine tasks along the assembly line, skill levels declined and so did Ford’s dependence on skilled craftsmen. To maintain his force of 13,000 employees (1913), the company had to hire 54,000 men which equated to an annual turnover rate of 416 percent. Control of men and materials was critical to the Ford vision; and, when Ford managers were unable to achieve technical control, they turned to personnel administration (Ford, pp. 158-186).

Ford Motor Company consequently developed a program for molding the character of the employees which was unmatched by other businesses of the day. Ford’s welfare program was idiosyncratic, not unlike his innovative technology and production methods. Key elements of the program included home visits by welfare workers and Americanization classes. Dean S. S. Marquis, who had left the deanship of the Cathedral of Detroit to join the Psychological Department of the Ford Motor Company, reported on Ford’s welfare work at the 1917 Convention of the National Association of Corporation Schools (NACS, 1917, pp. 451-461). He defended the company’s paternalism, their home visits and investigations, by defining it as ‘kindly, fatherly oversight’ (NACS, 1917, p. 453).

Ford stood at the forefront of personnel administration in the period of the First World War. However, the Ford management style became increasingly authoritarian and parochial in the 1920s and 1930s when declining paternalism was replaced with tight supervision and stringent work rules (Lichtenstein, 1982, pp. 237-239).

**Relationship between Welfare Capitalism and Scientific Management**

Some of welfare work's strongest opponents were industrial engineers like Frederick Taylor, who argued that profit sharing and other welfare programs were secondary to wage-incentive programs. They criticized welfare work because of the indirectness of rewards or on the grounds that it was too effeminate. Charles Post, prominent cereal manufacturer, was quoted, "...mankind should obtain welfare as the result of service and often-times hard service, that it should not be fed to him in a silver spoon and his chin held up while he takes it" (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 54-55).

Scientific management, however, failed to produce labor harmony. To laborers, scientific management signified the speed-up of production, pay reductions, and the breakdown of collective bargaining (Cochran, 1961, p. 244). Under scientific management workers did what they were told promptly and without asking questions or making suggestions. The industrial relations experts of the 1920s did not deny this vision of the movement, rather they assumed the task of completing it by employing welfare programs to attempt to make the worker, who had been deprived of more of his responsibilities, a happy, and hence efficient participant (Brody, 1980, p. 14).

For management the combination of welfare capitalism, which was intended to diminish labor turnover, absenteeism, and accidents, and scientific management, which was introduced into the production process to enlarge managerial prerogatives and to lower production costs, was positive.
Combining the two approaches could result in the formation of a satisfied labor force that would continuously function at managerial direction in the most efficient manner (Dubofsky, 1985, p. 84).

**Contributions of Welfare Capitalism**

While welfare work undoubtedly provided benefits to both employers and employees, it was not uncontested. Boettiger suggested that employers would only undertake welfare work when they could be shown that temporary expenditures would be more than compensated for by future gains. He contended that companies’ experiences proved that welfare activities not only had been instrumental in reducing labor turnover but that they also resulted in a greater total production of goods per unit of labor time (1923, pp. 9-12). At the same time, welfare work, although arbitrarily and inconsistently applied, undoubtedly did much to improve the working conditions for many workers. Welfare activities brought attention to and gave impetus to minimum legal standards (Fleisher, 1917, p. 57).

Many of the reports of welfare work were business touting their own programs. Others did not necessarily have the same perspective. Welfare work did not necessarily receive high marks for retail employees. When Mary Barnett Gilson became involved in salesgirl training, she was critical of welfare work. She described it as, "... sometimes consisting of hiring trombone players and drummers for a store, band, or arranging picnics and parties and of supervising toilets and rest rooms, which often consisted of a couch and a few rocking chairs covered with dingy burlap or denim" (Gilson, 1940, p. 42). She said, from her experience, even elementary welfare work was by no means universal, that hours were long and wages low (Gilson 1940, p. 42). While welfare work could awaken loyalty and perhaps decrease class tensions, its paternalism could also arouse resentment. It was described as setting the mood for efficient selling, but doing little to translate that mood into effective action (Benson, 1986, p. 166).

The Secretary of Commerce for the United States government (1916) presented an overall evaluation of welfare work. He said that there was much under the heading of welfare work that thoughtful people must admire and emulate, but that there was a feature of the work which was objectionable. He said that he did not believe that it was wise for employers to impose their own ideals of welfare upon their employees and that no amount of welfare work could ever take the place of a righteous wage -- that an employee should have both. He went on to contend that he did not know why an employer would have the right to impose his ideas as to sanitation and cleanliness upon employees. He said, "I sometimes think there has been a little bit too much in some cases of the attitude that the workman needed to be taught about these matters by his wiser master and thus be brought to a better standard of living. . . . Let us meet men fully half way but let us not try to impose upon them our own ideals, for even if ours are the better ideals they will resent them if imposed from above” (Redfield, 1916, pp. 9-14).
Education an Important Element of Health and Safety Programs

Prior to the war, many states had mandated safety precautions and inspections and had passed Workers Compensation Acts which placed responsibility for accident prevention directly on the employer (Lescohier, 1935, p. 322). Although safety and workers compensation legislation encouraged the efforts of managers to eliminate hazards, accidents continued to take a heavy toll (Derickson, 1988, p. 190). During World War I, manufacturers were pressed into urgent shortcuts, which increased safety and health risks (Scranton and Licht, 1986, pp. 144-145). Labor turnover was also discussed as a large factor in the causing of accidents. Employees incapacitated by sickness and accidents increased turnover, resulting in the hiring of new employees. And, new employees, unfamiliar with the work environment and frequently unskilled, exacerbated the risk of accidents (Alexander, 1916, pp. 132-133; Ashe, 1917, pp. 273-274).

Employers continued to contribute high accident rates to their employees' actions rather than measures they could take. Dr. Lucy A. Kenner, chief physician for the Larkin Company, pointed out that safety legislation aimed at preventing accidents through safeguards, completely ignored the largest single cause of accidents, the carelessness of the injured employee (Kenner, 1917, pp. 178-180). Business also blamed industrial accidents upon employees' personal problems, continuing to name fatigue as the underlying cause. While some men were working too hard or had sick family members to tend to, employers contended that others administered fatigue upon themselves through lodges, parties, theaters, concerts, lectures, and other diversions. Business also attributed accidents to the indiscriminate sale of alcohol to employees (NACS, 1914, pp. 620-21).

While employers would not take direct responsibility, they began to take indirect responsibility by educating their employees. Business and other organizations -- the National Safety Council, Safety First Society, and the Association of Industrial Surgeons -- were arriving at the same conclusion, that the most effective way to obtain success in safety work was through continuous, systematic, educational programs. Employees would need to be educated and encouraged to interest themselves in their own protection (Kenner, 1917, p. 279; NACS, 1914, pp. 619-620; NACT, 1921, pp. 494-506). The Assistant Secretary/Treasurer of the New York Edison Company put it this way: "They (employees) do not know anything about health or its value. You must teach them" (NACT, 1921, p. 163).

Provisions in Welfare Programs

During this period elaborate employer-sponsored health care and welfare programs developed which attacked health care and safety problems. Companies hired safety or welfare engineers, their duties to attend to plant conditions and other functions such as handling employees' health grievances (Derickson, 1988, pp. 190, 216-217). Various elements of welfare programs, which would reduce
turnover and result in a reduction of accidents, also provided for the general health and well-being of employees (NACS, 1918, pp. 165-181). Boettiger (1923) listed activities which were part of companies' welfare programs intended to eliminate fatigue, treat sickness and injuries arising from accidents, and prevent accidents and industrial poisoning. Included in these activities were shorter working days, rest periods, vacations, recreational features, lunchrooms and cafeterias, company stores, company housing, conditions of work, and washing and dressing accommodations (pp. 186-207).

An important development and prevailing interest in welfare programs was medical care for employees, both preventative and curative. The need for labor conservation together with the popularizing of medical examinations and sickness prevention as a result of army examinations and the pressures of the new workmen's compensation laws encouraged employers to employ plant doctors and nurses. Preventative measures included activities such as medical examinations, rest rooms, washing and bathing facilities, home nursing, and lunch rooms; and, curative activities included dispensaries and hospitals, special clinics for optical, dental and tuberculosis care (Fleisher, 1917, p. 52). Medical departments were not only responsible for the treatment of injured and ill workers, the oversight of plant facilities, and medical examinations, but they were also frequently charged with the education of employees (Lescohier, 1935, pp. 322-365).

After 1910, pre-employment examinations became an important part of corporate safety and health programs, the military serving as a model for private industry (Derickson, 1988, p. 206). One railroad justified 'rigidly' examining young men before enrolling them in their schools: "The government requires sound bodies in the army and navy and in civil service -- why not the manufacturing plants and railroads" (NACS, 1914, p. 306). Employers' rationale for examining periodically the entire force were advertised as arresting or correcting incipient conditions, arranging for treatment of those needing care, and lending moral support and encouragement to others on their "pilgrimage toward health" (NACS, 1921, pp. 502-503). Workers objected to the examinations as an innovations of their privacy and contended that pre-employment examinations provided a means of denying work indiscriminately, especially to unionists (Derickson, 1988, pp. 206-207).

More and more companies' programs included installing lunchrooms. In the past employers' public rationale for lunchrooms had included the distance of the company from employees' homes, the lack of good restaurants or the presence of many saloons near the plant, and the desire to keep employees upon the premises during the luncheon period. Employers’ rationale changed to concern over the health of their employees. They stressed (1917), "the wish to give employees the proper kind of food, since the tendency with many workers is to economize in this way to the detriment of their health, strength, and efficiency" (Whitney, 1917, p. 467).

The United States Public Health published articles about the negative financial impact of employees’ ill health (NACS, 1914). Federal investigations (1917) ascertained that sickness caused
six times as much disability as injury in the United States (NACS, 1918, p. 159). To negate this cost, contemporaries recommended that educational work, which had already accomplished much in the prevention of accidents, be extended to health to reduce the number of cases of illness. Employers promoted careful physical examination of employees as a method of disease control. Employers also promoted educating employees to interest them in their own health protection. Employees were encouraged to take advantage of medical facilities to head off conditions before they became serious, and to learn first-aid for disease rather than just from the accident angle (NACT, 1921, pp. 502-504).

**Other Employer Policies and Programs for Employee Health and Safety**

The 1918 Annual Conference of the National Association of Corporation Schools reported health and safety work as basic to many workplaces. They reported that businesses had installed safety devices to decrease the number of accidents and conducted campaigns of education with the same end in mind (NACS, 1918, p. 85).

The NACS Committee on Health and Safety (1916) outlined educational methods for safety. These methods included bulletin boards, works' papers, rule books, lectures, discussions of first aid and other topics, educating foremen in the importance of safety work, competitions among departments, and bonus systems. They also recommended that companies become familiar with the safety literature of the National Safety Council, The American Museum of Safety, and various large insurance and manufacturing companies (NACS, 1916, pp. 704-707).

One tool especially promoted for safety education was the plant magazine or house organ (Korman, 1967, p. 180; Coxe, 1926, p. 191). The editor of the Atlantic Refinery's plant magazine, *The Atlantic Seal*, suggested (1926) that a company's regular periodical was one of the best vehicles for educating employees and carrying the message. Atlantic Refinery used their company's periodical for safety education by presenting safety features regularly throughout the year, by stressing positive examples of the benefits of employees' positive safety records, using cartoons and humor to publicize safety rules, carrying the safety messages to the families of employees, and through games and contests. Other Atlantic Refinery methods for safety education included departmental or group safety committees, safety bulletins liberally posted and frequently changed, sympathetic doctors and nurses for first aid, fostering a feeling of interdependence of employees for their safety protection, safety contests, and other means to keep the message continuously in front of employees (Coxe, 1926, pp. 126, 189-190, 193-196).

Employers took measures to familiarize unskilled workers -- frequently immigrants or migrants -- with the workplace and to provide special training. This training was not only intended to allow them to keep up with the production demands, but also to prevent accidents (NACS, 1914, pp. 822-23). Companies offered school work to the foreign-born because many accidents were the result of the foreign-born not knowing how to keep from getting hurt (Dietz, 1917, p. 414).
Employers also participated in and supported external efforts such as those sponsored by the National Council for Industrial Safety and the Bureau of Mines. The National Council for Industrial Safety, organized in 1913, promoted industrial safety work. The council, which began with 40 members and had 3300 members by 1917 and 5255 by 1931, was made up of corporations, associations and government agencies, and school and library memberships. The Council began the publication of the National Safety News in 1919 and safety films in 1923. It was responsible for issuing thousands of posters, newspaper releases, and for other types of educational material and pushing safety in both industrial and school contexts (Lescohier, 1935, pp. 369-370).

Employers, who saw boys in school today as employees in industry tomorrow, participated in safety work in public schools, and promoted its inclusion in compulsory part-time schools. General Electric Company (1916) gave lectures to elementary and high school students. Another company (1916) started a safety campaign in the schools showing motion pictures and giving short talks and supported school safety committees; and, they cooperated with the Board of Education to reduce injuries through educational programs (Kenner, 1917, pp. 281-282). Delegates at a NACS convention (1920) were encouraged to use their influence to insist that proper emphasis be given to health education in the organization of compulsory part-time schools in their locality. They promoted the concept that business should develop propaganda to not only make the boys going to continuation schools want safety and health instruction but also the kind of propaganda that would make teachers want to teach it (NACS, 1920, pp. 406-407).

Accident prevention had become an integral factor in every successful industrial organization. By the mid 1920s, the era of union self-help had been undermined and largely replaced by these programs. Larger organizations and economic rationalization had fostered more enlightened labor policies among leading corporations. Beyond the need to comply with legal requirements, managers were examining the advantage in preventing occupational hazards. Employers also hoped that a benevolent image, that of a safe and health work environment, would attract better employees and undercut unions (Derickson, 1988, pp. 190-191, 217).

**Americanizing the Alien**

J. E. Banks of the American Bridge Company and Chairman of the Committee on Unskilled Labor defined Americanization (1921) as, " the process of assimilation of the foreign born into American standards of material, mental and spiritual life. It should endeavor to retain and develop the better native qualities of the various races of the foreign born to the end that the whole life of America may be enriched" (NACT, 1921, p. 846). Although the meaning of Americanization was rather tenuous, in general it included teaching immigrants English, encouraging them to take out citizenship papers, and getting them to adopt American customs and institutions. However imprecise the
definition, the meaning was clear to business -- the main purpose was to allow the employers of these workers to increase productivity and profits (Brandes, 1970, p. 27).

Prior to World War I, both employers and public and private agencies had participated in acclimating the foreign born. Americanization had been incorporated into many organizations' welfare programs. Communities had offered education for immigrants in English, civics, and citizenship in night classes, the public schools, state continuation schools, and social settlements. It was not actively promoted, however, until the war years (Korman, 1967, p. 167).

World War I gave impetus to Americanization programs. The scarcity of labor, caused partly by the cessation of immigration and partly due to many able-bodied men of foreign birth leaving the United States to fight in their native lands, was described as a labor famine throughout industrial centers (Weinstock, 1917, pp. 66-71). Industrialists looked to Americanization as a solution to the critical labor shortage. Foreign-born workers, who could not speak English, not only did not have the American spirit, but they could they follow work instructions or protect themselves from accidents (Korman, 1967, p. 182).

Employers saw the teaching of English as a community responsibility (Close, 1920, p. 36; Colvin, 1918, p. 432). The report of the Committee on Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Labor of the National Association of Corporation Schools (1918) stated their position that, "... dispensing general education is the function of the public school and special education is the function of the corporation... Americanization of the foreign born is a function in which society as a whole is vitally interested and it is therefore inconceivable that the making of citizens and the preparation for civic responsibility and duty should be considered a special function of a private corporation" (pp. 390-391). The National Association of Corporation Schools continued to maintain this position throughout the war years. They contended that the influence of industry should be used to not only encourage public schools to assume their responsibility for the teaching of English to the foreign born but also that the public schools should realize that it is special work requiring particular training of teachers -- special work business was not qualified for (NACS, 1918, p. 369; NACS, 1920, p. 596).

Although NACS companies declared that the responsibility for teaching English and other subjects to the foreign born was the responsibility of the public school, they stated that if the public school was not doing their job that they (business) would have to (NACS, 1919, p. 463). Consequently numerous companies initiated training programs.

**Employers' Americanization Programs**

Community groups involved in war organizations and activities attempted to make factories instruments of Americanization. Familiar with the work of Ford Motor Company, U. S. Steel, and International Harvester, promoters realized that factories were autocratic organizations capable of both
encouraging and coercing workers to attend classes in English, civics, and history and to become naturalized citizens (Korman, 1967, pp. 173-174).

Largely as a result of World War I, factory classes for immigrants gained wide acceptance between 1915 and 1918. These classes, generally under the title of Americanization, included English language classes, and adapting to American customs and habits. Packard Motor Company and other concerns required English or willingness to learn it and acquire citizenship as a condition for employment (Kellor, 1916, p. 243). The Ford English School, sponsored by the Ford Motor Company, provided instruction on the care of the body and teeth, on state and national government, and instruction in naturalization. More than 16,000 men were reported as graduating from the seventy-two lesson course (Brandes, 1970, pp. 60-61; Leiereson, 1924, pp. 121-122; Boettiger, 1923, p. 147; Bloomfield, 1919, pp. 140-147, 152).

Americanization campaigns during the war years used tools similar to those in safety campaigns -- noon-day meetings, posters, bulletin boards, slips in pay envelopes, and personal solicitations by superintendents and foremen -- to increase enrollment in English and civics. As it was difficult to persuade employees to attend the night school, classes inside the factory were seen as the best approach (Korman, 1967, p. 184).

Companies talked about the problems they had conducting Americanization work. Swift & Company indicated they were confronted with the problems of fluctuating hours of employment dependent upon variations in the receipt of livestock. Consequently it was impossible to be certain when the men would be through work on any given day, complicating the question of attendance at any classes which they attempted to hold. Another problem was that, although the average foreman in industry was not particularly interested in Americanization work, the work required his cooperation and support to obtain steady attendance at the classes. These programs also frequently encountered resistance from the immigrants who insisted that they had the right to perpetuate their own languages and cultures. Business also reported finding the illiterate foreigner as having little desire to learn the English language or to inform himself regarding the duties and privileges of citizenship (Korman, 1967, pp. 167-168; NACT, 1921, p, 911).

Not all employers were interested in participating in these programs. A NACS survey (1917) of seventy-five representative companies reflected that there was slight interest in the subject of educating foreigners (pp. 426-427). The Submarine Boat Corporation reported attempting no Americanization or other general education work for unskilled workers. They indicated they were developing an operative force from raw or semi-finished material -- unskilled and semi-skilled workers who were both foreign born and American born. They made no distinctions nor did they provide any special training activities designed for any particular class. Rather their training for unskilled and semi-skilled workers was entirely confined to development along mechanical lines (NACT, 1920, p. 646).
Even when companies wanted to implement Americanization programs, they did not necessarily have the required personnel, a condition which had been recognized by the United States War Industries Board when it established courses to train social service workers. Other agencies such as the Extension Division of the University, who had for a number of years provided specialized courses in various aspects of manufacturing and social work, added courses in Americanization (Korman, 1967, pp. 185-188).

**Involvement of External Agencies**

Employers cooperated with external agencies to Americanize the aliens. A Chicago wholesale clothing house with 7,500 employees maintained a school for teaching English conducted by the Young Men's Christian Association (1918) in the company's lunch room (NACS, 1918, pp. 427-428).

Chicago city schools maintained free classes for foreign speaking people (principally adults), from seven to nine o'clock four days a week. These classes furnished regular instruction in reading and speaking English and some instruction in taking out citizenship papers. For a number of years the Chicago YMCA had also held English classes for foreigners. The work was discontinued in 1918, reportedly because of the lack of attendance (NACS, 1918, p. 428).

The importance of reaching the entire family of the immigrant was also recommended. Cleveland was one community experimenting with using its public schools as community centers with activities for the women of the household to instruct them not only in the English language but also in household economic and cooking products new to the foreigner (Colvin, 1918, pp. 432-433).

**Status following the War.**

The war had provided impetus for employers' Americanization programs; the aftermath demonstrated otherwise. Although many citizens wished to change industrial relations in various ways, especially where the immigrants were concerned, employers had for the most part not shifted. The foreign born were still treated simply as workingmen of varying capacities and potentials rather than as foreign born whose divergence from the American norm required that they be handled in special ways.

**Educational Programs to Orient New Employees**

Businesses became interested in programs for new employees, largely as a result of high turnover. Estimating that it cost at least fifty dollars to break in new employees, they suggested that they could save much of this expense by creating employee good will. Charles Pearson, spokesperson of the German American Button Company of Rochester, New York, classified employee good will as an asset, not unlike public good will (NACS, 1916, p. 229). Businesses were
beginning to believe that early training influenced an employee's attitude toward his employer and that the enthusiasm of the instructor explaining thoroughly the policies of the business to new employees could, in turn, enthuse the students.

One company described their program for new employees. The majority of new employees went through the Training Department immediately after being hired. At that time, “thoroughness, cleanliness, order, responsibility, safety and opportunity” were stressed upon each employee as strongly as possible in order that they practice these qualities in the works. The employee was also made to feel that he could go back to the Training Department for assistance and information concerning his job, whether of a technical or personal nature (NACT, 1920, p. 181).

Another company, International Harvester, described their policy of following up with employees after they were hired as part of a lecture, “The Right Man on the Right Job and the Basis of Sound Industrial Relations,” presented at the 1921 National Association of Corporation Training (NACT). The Employment Department was responsible for the introduction of the new employee to the plant including making the employee feel at ease, using a handbook and lectures to explain special hazards in the plant, and personally conducting the employee to his department and introducing him to the foreman (NACS, 1921, pp. 356-359).

Businesses contended that employees' belief that the company was trying to get as much as possible from them was largely a result of larger businesses with less frequent contact between management and employees. Training for new employees was seen as a way to produce a closer harmony between management and employee by teaching the employee that, "a concern's interests are his [the employee’s] interests, that everyone from president down is working for the good of the cause, that merit will be recognized, that every action is based upon a due regard for the welfare of the employee as well as that of the employer" (NACS, 1914, p. 508).

**JOB SKILLS TRAINING AND EDUCATION**

Business training and education for job skills and knowledge resulted from workplace changes modifying old or creating new job requirements. Employer-provided education encompassed more categories of work during this period -- not just for skilled workers, but also for the unskilled and semi-skilled. Business estimated (1920) that at least 80 percent of employees generally needed only the skill and knowledge to do a particular job well, rather than the knowledge of an entire trade or operation (NACT, 1920, pp. 753-754). Employers consequently developed methods to prepare semi-skilled employees for the more specialized jobs in their workplaces. When immigration was curtailed, employees invested in training to improve the unskilled labor supply. Business also offered training to more diverse groups of employees -- women, native minority groups, and the foreign born -- who filled gaps in their labor forces during labor shortages.
Adaptation of World War Training Method -- Vestibule Training

In order to meet the war demand, manufacturing industries had to come up with meeting training needs not met before. A shortage of 500,000 skilled workers (September 30, 1918) was being met by a new quick method of training operatives. What before had been primarily a three-to five-year course to learn a skilled trade was changed to short intensive courses in single units to develop the ability to operate one particular line such as various pieces of machinery or to assemble parts. During World War I vestibule schools, a short, intensive training method with machines set apart from the regular production operations, were hastily organized in order to quickly teach the skills necessary for certain specialized operations (Clark and Sloan, 1966, p. 7; NACT, 1921, pp. 333-334; Wilson, 1917, p. 3).

Factories making war orders were not assuming to teach a worker a whole trade. Rather they were teaching the worker how to master one process or one machine in a few weeks or a few days. The Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, made up of labor, employer and educational representatives, was instrumental in developing the training department or vestibule schools. A report prepared for the Committee described how numerous companies were successfully training unskilled labor and new entrants to the labor force, primarily women. These companies included the Wright -Martin Aircraft Corporation, Winchester Repeating Arms, Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing, Westinghouse, Blanchard Machine, Scoville, Burroughs, National Cash Register, and Packard Motor Car Company (Section on Industrial Training of the Council of National Defense, 1918, pp. 3-61).

Business had concerns about the effects of the short unit, emergency war training courses upon their longer apprentice courses. They debated whether war-trained mechanics would fit into the ordinary industrial plants and what aspects of this type of training would be valuable for the future. The conclusion was that the so-called vestibule school training provided a method to train workers entering the workforce with little or no training for specialized jobs such as operating particular machinery or assembling parts, but that this type of training could not take the place of all-round training for a journeyman. Vestibule training would be useful for giving new unskilled or semi-skilled employees preliminary instruction before they were assigned to specific tasks, or for individuals transferring from one department to another. Vestibule schools and apprenticeship training provided for two entirely distinct lines of work -- the specialist and the journeyman (NACS, 1919, pp. 443-458).

Changing Categories of Work -- Skilled, Semi-Skilled, and Unskilled

By 1918, the members of the National Association of Corporation Schools had devised plans for all classifications of employees -- unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled. An unskilled employee was one with a certain amount of intelligence who did not have mechanical skill or
instruction in the use of tools or machines. Semi-skilled referred to an employee who had sufficient mechanical skill to enable him to operate a particular machine or tool without having served an apprenticeship, and who, on changing from one machine to another, had to be re-instructed. A skilled workman was one who had served a regular apprenticeship in a trade and, although not an all-around mechanic, had learned to operate a number of different machines (NACS, 1918, pp. 369, 390-400). The semi-skilled and skilled classifications formed two groups in industry – specialized and general. The semi-skilled or specialized were those following an occupation which could be viewed as part of a trade, and the skilled or general, those following a trade (NACS, 1918, p. 375).

Although industry was discarding old skills and reducing the value of others, it was not wiping out the need for skilled and semi-skilled workers. Employers generally required men and women of some intelligence and education, and with a certain specialized skill to operate the major portion of the machinery and to do the major portion of the tasks in industry. The field of employment of semi-skilled workers consequently expanded at the expense of the common labor field. The standard of efficiency of the semi-skilled, as it increased, obliterated more and more the dividing line between the skilled and semi-skilled and at the same time pushed the unskilled into the ranks of the semi-skilled. The demand for genuinely skilled workers expanded as well, even though older trades had been split into tasks. There was not only an increased demand for highly skilled machinists, tool makers, and other sorts of skilled workers in metals, but new trades and new crafts were springing up (Kreutzpointer, 1918, pp. 395-396; Lescohier, 1935, pp. 270-271).

Business Training for Semi-Skilled Labor

It was not until the demand for semi-skilled workers greatly increased that business training for semi-skilled workers took on importance. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers during this period were made up of the foreign born and the American born -- immigrants, migrants, and women -- who had not had primary education and training (Kincaid, 1919, pp. 461-462; Kreuzpointner, p. 392). The methods of training -- sink or swim method, instruction by older employees, instruction by shop foremen, instruction by means of threshold school (part-time or full-time) are described in Table 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Method/Application</th>
<th>Training Method</th>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sink or Swim</td>
<td>- Employee acquires information and dexterity by own experience and observation</td>
<td>- An aggressive employee may ultimately become more self reliant</td>
<td>- May learn wrong methods and attitudes&lt;br&gt;- May distract other employees&lt;br&gt;- Consumes more time&lt;br&gt;- Increases accidents&lt;br&gt;- Discouraging to new employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction by older employees</td>
<td>- Employee receives instruction directly from foreman</td>
<td>- Reflex actions of older employees may be beneficial</td>
<td>- Tends to perpetuate wrong methods attitudes&lt;br&gt;- Reduces best employees' productivity&lt;br&gt;- Older employees may not be interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction by foremen</td>
<td>- Employee receives instruction in work directly from foreman</td>
<td>- Foreman becomes acquainted with employee and observes him&lt;br&gt;- Foreman has opportunity to establish right attitude&lt;br&gt;- Employee sees the boss is interested in him</td>
<td>- Takes foreman's attention from other work&lt;br&gt;- Foreman may not be a good instructor or have his mind on other things&lt;br&gt;- Foreman may not know the best way to do operation&lt;br&gt;- Foreman may let first impression hinder training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction by shop instructors</td>
<td>- Employee receives instruction from special instructor selected for his knowledge of the work, skill, and ability to teach</td>
<td>- Shop instructor can become more proficient in teaching because he is not held for production&lt;br&gt;- Instructor is available to help both new and old employees&lt;br&gt;- Reduces defective work</td>
<td>- Ties up floor space and machinery&lt;br&gt;- Group instruction is difficult&lt;br&gt;- Instructor cannot give individual instructions&lt;br&gt;- If small number, cost may be excessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction by threshold school (full-time)</td>
<td>- Employee trained in separate training room&lt;br&gt;- Intensive instruction by instructors selected for knowledge, skill, ability&lt;br&gt;- Employees paid at special rate</td>
<td>- Gives correct and uniform instruction for all&lt;br&gt;- Correct attitude toward work taught before entering shop&lt;br&gt;- Working conditions more favorable to quick learning&lt;br&gt;- Does not tie up shop space&lt;br&gt;- More individual attention</td>
<td>- No disadvantages given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruction by Threshold School (part-time)</td>
<td>- Similar to full-time (above)</td>
<td>- In addition to above, old employees can relearn work or prepare for advancement without loss of earning&lt;br&gt;- Offers an incentive for em-employees to qualify for training</td>
<td>- No disadvantages given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table adapted from "Methods of Instruction for Employees [Employees] on Semi-Skilled Work." 1918 Proceedings of the National Association of Corporation Schools, pp. 378-379.

The new supply of unskilled and immigrant labor fit with the subdivision of tasks into smaller and smaller units and machine specialization. Employers referred to semi-skilled work as
requiring only limited experience, a fair degree of intelligence and knowledge, and specialized training (NACS, 1918, pp. 375-381). Training for semi-skilled workers, that time before they produce first-class work, could range from two or three days to several weeks, depending upon the nature of their instruction.

**Training Women Entering the Workforce**

During World War I, the necessity of making munitions and the manufacture of tools and machinery to be used during the war called women into machine shops and workrooms for the first time in history. This employment extended also to some extent to foundries and steel and rolling mills.

To train unskilled workers for the war effort, the Executive Club of Detroit, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Board of Commerce, the Employers Association and other groups concluded that public school equipment was of minimal service for training unskilled labor due to the impossibility of bringing the classroom either a sufficient amount of work or equipping the school-room with the special fixtures required. They suggested that the only place to train employees for production operations, either running a specialized machine or assembling parts, was in the factory and that this should generally take no more than five to six days (NACT, 1921, p. 822).

The role of the school was to recruit workers, provide for special physical examinations to ensure that each worker was fit for work, to teach proper shop dress, and to give valuable information relating to the moral atmosphere of work. Employers borrowed from welfare programs in providing for women -- providing a separate entrance as far as possible, allowing women to come and go at a different time from the men, providing separate lunch rooms and employing a matron in charge of the rest rooms. Another recommendation was that women be given special training in a separate department prior to placing them in the line of production. In 1921 the greatest success of women in industry in order of importance were machine shops, woodwork factories, optical and instrument factories, and sheet mill shops (NACT, 1921, pp. 822-823).

The employment of woman's service extended beyond the war period in various lines of work. The demands of war necessitated manufacturers to spend time and money in training women to meet the unusual conditions. With the ending of the war, most manufacturers discarded this responsibility. A report given by Margaret Reish adapted from a Bulletin of the Women's Bureau (1921) recommended that courses of training already open to men should continue to open their doors to women to increase their efficiency in their new occupations (Reisch, 1921, pp. 893-897). A few businesses indicated that women had brought improvement
to their work and that women's contributions would be important in the future. These included the Recording & Computing Machine Co. of Dayton, Ohio (NACT, 1921, p. 903).

The Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. (1921) reported that while women gladly performed many kinds of mechanical work such as the operation of machine tools to contribute their support to the war effort, the need for extraordinary production had passed. Women were gradually withdrawing from those types of employment and going back to the lines of work they followed before the war. In the electrical industry women, in addition to office positions, had been engaged mostly in occupations such as winding and connecting coils and assembling and preparing insulation. Westinghouse explained that long-term training courses have not been prepared for women because they were not considered as permanent employees; an employer was disadvantaged who would maintain extensive courses of training for employees who inevitably would withdraw within a period of a few years, just at the time when their accumulated training would be of value (Heck, 1921, pp. 897-898).

**Development of Modern Apprenticeship**

Prior to the war years, employers experimented with modifying traditional apprenticeship to prepare skilled employees for their workplace requirements. Employers, as the years passed, continued to resist apprenticeship subject to union legislation and to experiment with providing their own training programs -- factory apprenticeship schools or other apprentice plans furnishing both academic and shop training to youths enrolled either as apprentices in the shop or as students in a company school (Lescohier, 1935, p. 274).

Modern apprenticeship was defined as a school for practical trade training (Dietz, 1916, p. 249; Scrimshaw, 1932, p. 3). Modern apprenticeship differed from earlier apprenticeship in that the theory and practical work were considered distinct from each other, theory usually being taught in school classes, rather than being acquired with shop work (NACS, 1918, p. 357). Companies did not agree, however, upon whether shop or classroom training was more important. Their preferences could be arranged on a continuum ranging from completely separate theory and practice to various combinations of classroom and shop instruction to a situation where all learning took place in the shop. Western Electric had a 'theory training shop' where students worked a portion of their time under competent instructors and remainder of the time in the regular shop under the supervision of the shop foreman (NACS, 1917, pp. 183-184). Carnegie Steel felt that the shop end was more important. They indicated that they did not know of any steel company able to systematize shop training of apprentices or workmen because the work was too varied. They contended that their method produced the best all-round mechanics (NACS, 1916, p. 141).

Some railroads argued that they could not have a separate training shop equipped because of the great quantity of machines and equipment which were necessary to do their shop work. They
believed that the boys should do actual shop work, working with the men and receiving instruction from the shop instructor and foremen (NACS, 1916, p. 182). A locomotive manufacturer reported that, instead of putting a boy in the erecting gangs with the journeyman, he was put in what was called an apprentice gang where he was under an instructor (NACS, 1916, p. 186).

Another issue was shop instructors. The Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Railway contended that more emphasis should be placed upon the importance of having shop instructors in an apprenticeship school system -- that the journeymen in the modern shop did not have the time nor the spirit to stop and show a green boy how to do things (NACS, 1916, pp. 166-167). The Southern Pacific Railway believed (1916) that the training of the shop apprentice should not be left to the shop instructor, but in order to insure uniformity the training should be under the supervisor of apprentices, or the man who had charge of the school and shop training in the plant (NACS, 1916, p. 171).

Size was also a consideration for smaller companies who wanted to establish classrooms for apprentices. The Pennsylvania Railroad indicated (1918) that they had found that it paid to have a school where six or more employees were employed. They handled these smaller schools by traveling instructors who normally conducted the work at three schools (Yoder, 1918 p. 364). The NACS recommended (1916) that six to fifteen new employees being trained on fairly similar work warranted a full-time instructor (p. 248).

**Return to Traditional Apprenticeship Features**

The essence of traditional apprenticeship had been the simultaneous education of the student in good habits and good craftsmanship. Apprentice masters not only instructed in the craft of a trade, but also were generally required to provide fundamental education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to provide direction in acceptable job behavior. During this period employers, who considered general intelligence, a social outlook, and conformity to current mores to be no less necessary than skill and technology, were returning to the theme of traditional apprenticeship (Lescohier, 1935, pp. 271-272). Employer apprenticeship programs began to give more emphasis to subjects such as English and mathematics (NACS, 1916, pp. 134-193; NACS, 1920, p. 277, NACS, 1921, pp. 348-358).

Companies were also interested in managers, as apprentice masters had, modeling behavior for their employees. The Packard Motor Car Company expressed their philosophy (1914): "Our company believes that as our executives sow, so shall the company reap . . . if they sow kindness and interest in their men they should reap honest, loyal and interested workmen" (Weller, 1914, p. 346). They expected their executives to understand the importance of their own deportment, which was to include being sober, truthful, honest, busy and above all punctual. In addition, they were to keep every promise they made to their workman and they were not to abuse them nor to swear at them (Weller, 1914, pp. 346-347).
Standardization of Apprenticeship

While earlier years had been a period of experimentation, the National Corporation School Association had the goal of developing information which would be tangible and useful to companies either wishing to start a school for apprentices or to improve the effectiveness of an existing school. The 1916 Report of the Committee on Trade Apprenticeship Schools presented an outline of the subjects and problems required in several trades -- machinists, boilermakers, car builders, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, patternmakers, carpenters, bricklayers, roll turners, foundrymen, painters, tin and copper smiths, cabinetmakers, and moulders. A printed caveat explained the difficulty the committee had in coming up with standardized methods and programs (NACS, 1916, pp. 140-148). Not only was each business organization, regardless of similarities among size and industry, organized differently, but there was also a difference in the degree of attainment for different individuals of each school. Corporation schools adapted their courses both to the requirements and conditions of students or apprentices, their normally being a wide variety of ability, adaptability and need (NACS, 1916, pp. 140-141).

Cooperative Programs with External Providers

The increasing development of continuation schools, as a result of the Smith-Hughes law, encouraged states to become more interested in apprentice training. Twenty-eight states had continuation school laws as of 1921 (NACT, 1921, p. 333). Federal and state legislation gave impetus to employers establishing relationships with public schools.

The Erie Railroad had worked out a ‘fifty-fifty’ proposition with a high school. They would take ten students at a time along with their regular apprentices. At the end of the two weeks, the students returned to the school and stayed the balance of the month. The only issue for Carnegie was whether or not they got to select the students (NACS, 1917, pp. 394-395).

For shops having from one to five apprentices, the NACS recommended a solution similar to that in Chicago where a number of printing firms had conducted a school successfully for over six years (1921). The firms organized a committee from the Chicago Typothetae to handle educational problems. The committee organized the Chicago Typothetae School of Printing which succeeded in securing and training boys who were anxious to learn a trade. In 1921 the school had an enrollment of nearly fifty boys from twenty different firms. The boys, who were selected by the director of the school, were employed in various shops. They were given a two-year course, spending one-half day in the school and one-half day at work in the shop, being paid from the beginning and given steady increases as they gained skill. At the end of two years, they were given full-time work in the shop, continuing their apprenticeship under the direction of skilled workmen (NACT, 1921, pp. 213-214).
Impact of External Influences

The years 1917 and 1918 were trying ones for corporations operating industrial or training schools because for the first time in their history many corporations were having difficulty employing apprentices. Industrial plants with war contracts were demanding mechanics, near mechanics, or boys and men who could operate at least one machine or who could be taught in a brief period of time. This above normal demand, together with the high rates of pay, were attracting boys who were already apprentices with other concerns or who would normally have gone to a shop to learn a trade. All of the industrial and railroad members of the NACS reported large numbers of their apprentices and young graduates leaving to enter military service or entering into the employment of munitions factories and shipyards. Nevertheless, corporations which already had strongly organized apprenticeship or other training programs, were able to continue work with a force of trained men augmented by apprentices in various stages of their training (NACS, 1917, pp. 396-397; NACS, 1918, pp. 335-337, 363).

Following the war, companies did not always find the war-trained employees meeting their standards. The Submarine Boat described how they had to put war-trained mechanism back into their training department in order to train them to their particular standards of speed, quality and versatility (NACS, 1919, pp. 445-446). Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company agreed that it had been imperative for the Army to greatly intensify education, but they contended that the theory had been carried too far by companies trying to accomplish too many difficult things within a short time (NACS, 1919, pp. 433-436).

A 1919 NACS discussion ensued as to whether the results achieved by the vestibule schools would result in a shortening of the regular trade apprenticeship course. Carey of Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company advised against this plan. He said that artisans could be classified into four groups -- mechanics, machinists, machine operators and machine tenders. He defined a mechanic as one who could do a creditable job at more than one grade; a machinist as one who could do a creditable job on any of the usual machines; a machine operator as one who can do any job on one machine; and, a machine tender as one who can could do one operation on one machine. Vestibule schools produced a grade of man in between the last two classifications. Carey added that this was not meant to detract from the results achieved by the vestibule school work (NACS, 1919, pp. 310-311).

Legislation Provides Apprenticeship Standards

In 1915 the State of Wisconsin pioneered with legislation providing for an organized system of modern apprenticeship. And, twenty-two years later, the federal government followed with the Fitzgerald Act. With the passage of the Fitzgerald Act (1937), statutory provision was made for the establishment and continuing development of a program of apprenticeship on a nation-wide basis.
National standards relating to instruction, wages, supervision, and evaluation were determined by a federal policy-making body with administration carried out by the Department of Labor. This act enabled the Secretary of Labor to formulate and to promote labor standards necessary to safeguard the welfare of apprentices and to cooperate with the states in the promotion of such standards (Clark and Sloan, 1958, p. 5; Hawkins, Prosser and Wright, 1951, p. 335).

Corporation Schools

Although most organizations had business reasons for establishing their corporation schools, there was not a typical, corporation school. Individual schools grew up under diverse conditions and in response to such different demands that Beatty reported (1918) he could not find two schools with the same organization and curricula (Beatty, 1918, p. 30).

By the early 1900s corporate school education had come to encompass virtually all methods applied to all domains of education. Training consisted of areas of study ranging all the way from the more technical aspects of production to general subjects taught in the public school. The National Association of Corporation School's Committee on Educational Methods (1917) sent a questionnaire to members asking what subjects they taught. They primarily taught skill and knowledge required for work. These courses included drafting and drawing, commercial subjects, instruction in the tools and equipment needed for manufacturing, and selling and salesmanship. More general education courses included principles of business and collateral reading, which involved investigation and research with the aid of a library. Professional development included efficiency for foremen and managers, factory operation, organization, and supervision, and apprenticeship programs for college graduates. Other responses included elementary subjects -- reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, civics and other subjects taught in the first eight grades of the public schools -- and high school subjects -- algebra, English, geometry, trigonometry and elementary. Basic education subjects included the study of English and elementary principles of grammar (NACS, 1917).

Although corporation schools reported eleven methods of instruction (1916), three methods were primarily used. These were inspection or observation trips to observe others methods, the laboratory method involving learning by actual participation in making or doing things, and the library method using the library for reference work to increase the effectiveness or scope of educational training. Other methods -- study and recitation, supervised study, lectures, projects, conferences, seminars, projects and correspondence -- were used less frequently (NACS, 1916, pp. 244-252).

Some corporation schools were full-time classroom schools while others combined the classroom with factory and office work. A few companies permitted employees to attend classes in outside institutions on company time (Clark & Sloan, 1958, p. 6). One appraisal comparing corporation schools with regular public schools found the former superior in responsiveness of
students, recitation technique, and mental discipline. The latter was found to be superior in teaching, breadth of view, and general cultural development. In large measure, corporation schools obtained their objective -- improving quality of production, controlling turnover, reducing waste and accidents, and creating the opportunity for promotion (Beatty, 1918, pp. 76-139; Clark & Sloan, 1958, pp. 6-7).

The National Association of Corporation Schools divided their educational programs into three main parts to support the divisions of their organizations. These were the production side or those schools which were a part of apprenticeship, the distribution side, and the coordinating element or the office work schools (NACS, 1916, p. 553).

**Office Work Schools**

Office work, which had resembled a craft in the 1800s, had been changed to a series of routinized, repetitive tasks (1915). By 1930, the fundamental characteristics of the modern office had been established. Not only had the clerical force been feminized, but control over the work processes had been diverted from the clerical workers to the managers (Davies, 1982, pp. 97-128, 163; Quinney, 1986, pp. 266-268).

Businesses reported hiring office employees from business and commercial colleges and the expanding commercial courses of high schools (NACS, 1916, pp. 551-635). As business education expanded in the public sector -- in public high schools, normal schools, and universities -- it diminished in the private sector. The United States Office of Education reported that their mailing list of 1,850 private business schools in 1929 had declined to 1,600 in 1939 (Moreland, 1977, p. 64). University business schools offered training to aspiring managers, and public high school commercial education departments taught clerical skills.

The character of the student body was changing. At the turn of the century, men had predominated, a large degree having received only an elementary education. Women made up only 4 percent of the students enrolled in commercial schools in 1871; they accounted for 32 percent in 1894-95. In high school commercial courses women predominated comprising 54 percent of the total in 1902-03 and 67 percent in 1930 (Davies, 1982, p. 73). The late twenties showed a marked increase in the percentage of students who had a high school education; and, in 1929, there was a tendency for students with some college training to enroll in business schools. The business school faced changing conditions -- changing requirements in office positions and the trend toward raising the compulsory school age which tended to eliminate young people of high school age from their student body. The introduction of business subjects in high schools, junior colleges, and collegiate institutions offered private business schools difficult competition (Haynes and Jackson, 1935, pp. 37-39).
Private employers also maintained their own schools. Fifty companies responded to an NACS questionnaire (1917) on the benefits of internal office work schools. The responding companies reported from 104 to 1,988 employees in their offices or an average of 664. While 34 percent of the employers considered it economically beneficial to employ instructors to teach office work, thirty percent indicated it was not economical, and 36 percent did not reply. Businesses reported using a variety of methods for instruction -- office manuals and instruction books, libraries, lectures, study groups, and house organs (NACS, 1917, p. 76).

The NACS Committee on Office Work Schools (1916) presented 'practical' educational material to assist other organizations interested in training their office workers. The committee included an outline for the organization of an office work school and manuals covering filing, stenography, typewriting, phonograph operation, correspondence, handing complaints, and a manual for office boys and messengers (pp. 556). The Report of Committee on Office Work Schools (1917) gave detailed outlines for teaching in offices of from 1 to 100 employees, 100 to 250, and 250 to 500 employees. For offices where few new clerks were taken in at one time the committee recommended that teaching be done with office manuals and instruction books, libraries, periodic lectures, study groups, house organs, and subscribing for correspondence courses for individuals (NACS, 1917, pp. 731-769).

Business continued to report that they could not just teach those subjects related to the office work in their organizations, but that they also had to make up for deficiencies in preliminary education. They contended that they had to take on the function of public schools by giving training in English, arithmetic and similar subjects. They stressed remedying this situation through closer cooperation between industry and the school systems (NACS, 1914, pp. 534-535; NACS, 1920, pp. 759-760; NACS, 1921, p. 87). Businesses with corporation office schools recommended that companies take advantage wherever possible of instruction presented by external organizations such as public schools, evening high school programs, YMCA, universities, and other organizations. These organizations could lighten the load of the instructor and lower expenses (Haynes and Jackson, 1935, pp. 150-151; Johnston, 1918, pp. 87-96).

**Corporation School for Public Service**

Businesses were becoming increasingly aware of the importance of training employees who provided public service. Retail organizations and others reported providing customer service training programs. The New York Edison Company, for example, reported educating their telephone girls in order that they make friends for the company (NACS, 1914, pp. 160-164).
**Retail Selling Training Programs**

By the 1900s, store managers rejected the older ideal of the naturally gifted salesman and the late 1800s model of the passive, order-taking salesperson. By 1915, the general belief was that every proprietor of every store could create saleswomen, that unskilled women were putty in the hands of their managers or blank slates on which new sales wisdom could be written (Benson, 1986, p. 141).

Training programs fluctuated with business cycles, being one of the first store activities to be cut back in difficult times. Training expanded until the depression in the early twenties when programs were drastically curtailed; training again expanded during the mid and late twenties until the Great Depression when once again programs were curtailed, reorganized, or completely abandoned. Retail store training programs again became prominent between 1935 and 1937. This type of training accompanied the movement of store structures from centralized to decentralized. Decentralization fit in with the growing conviction that store selling could best be learned on the shop floor; this type of training was also less expensive because it relied on sponsors and buyers more than on specifically hired training personnel (Benson, 1986, pp. 150-151).

Training salespeople proved to be a difficult task. Attempting to systematize and rationalize a highly variable type of human interaction was troublesome. At the same time, contradictions were involved with training and managing service workers. Businesses were attempting to teach their saleswomen initiative and independence yet control the exercise of these characteristics. Saleswomen were to be thinking but also obedient employees; they were to follow store procedures and store rules book to the last detail, yet respond creatively to special opportunities to sell to each customer; and, they were to develop independent judgment but still display unquestioning loyalty to the store (Benson, 1986, pp. 166-167).

A paradox in training saleswomen was that training tended to succeed best on the selling floor where store managers had the least control. General education and store systems could easily be taught in traditional classrooms, but the most critical aspect, that involving merchandise and customer interaction, was more effectively learned through experience and participation. One writer reportedly maintained that fully 85 percent of training time should be spent on the selling floor. Training on the floor was usually conducted by a sponsor. The sponsor was a saleswoman who was assigned the duty of greeting, indoctrinating, and training newcomers to her department and who frequently had different ideas about selling than upper management. Appearing on the scene at the turn of the century, sponsors continued to be used between 1910 and 1940. They provided a convenient and economical means of training. Managers also attempted to create the flavor of real selling away from the selling floor through demonstration sales and role playing. Both of these methods unsuccessfully attempted to teach, by example, skilled selling, using relatively controlled situations rather than the difficult-to-supervise atmosphere of the selling floor (Benson, 1986, pp. 153-155, 166-177).
Department store managers experimented with other methods, deemed educational, to manage saleswomen. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, discipline tended to be all stick and no carrot, underlined by complex systems of fines and penalties. When this system created resentment rather than cooperation, industry writers counseled managers to change their terms as well as their tone. Department store managers consequently experimented with inspirational meetings to instill a spirit of cooperativeness in their employees. Store newspapers, beginning in the 1900s, helped to build up a spirit of harmony and loyalty and to promote team work. In 1937, a survey of leading retail stores found that over two-thirds either currently had employee newspapers, combining store news and words of instruction or reproof, or had been forced by the Depression to curtail publication. A common method of avoiding capricious management practices was the rule book. One of the most pervasive and enduring of the new rules regarded dress. Dress regulations, first appearing in the 1890s, were common practice by the 1920s. A 1929 survey of 22 New York stores, indicated that every store but one specified the color of saleswomen’s clothing (Benson, 1986, pp. 138-140).

Store schools had become popular (1916), but apparently there were no two alike (NACS, 1916, p. 337). The Retail Salesmanship Report in the proceedings of the 1917 National Association of Corporation Schools presented a plan and suggestions for stores starting educational courses with the caveat that employers would have to adapt the plan to suit their individual needs (NACS, 1917, pp. 709-721).

Businessmen continued to express their contention that department stores were doing a job that public schools should have been doing. They described their educational efforts as, "doing the elementary training -- that is, English, arithmetic and things that we ought to expect schools as they are now organized to do and to do and to do well" (NACS, 1914, p. 462). They did not disagree with providing particular courses related to their business, but objected to doing what they considered was the public schools' job (NACS, 1914, pp. 462-463; NACS, 1917, p. 694). They subsequently recommended against stores giving general education. They suggested having a library and urging students to attend night schools for general subjects (NACS, 1916, p. 529).

Stores began to turn to forms of cooperative organization between the corporation school and the public school (Beatty, 1918, pp., 18-19). Continuation classes under public schools increased rapidly after 1915 (NACS, 1916, p. 533) enabling stores to use continuation classes, the alternating store and school program, for employees entering the department store with limited education. Courses taught included simple mathematics, penmanship, and salesmanship (NACS, 1918, p. 85).

By 1917, four cities, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati offered high school courses in salesmanship. Boston had two plans. Salesmanship was an elective in selected high schools, generally open only to high school seniors. Under this arrangement, about twenty stores cooperated with the high schools employing the students at certain times. Other public schools sent
teachers into a number of stores employing boys and girls from 14 to 16 years of age. The stores provided the room, equipment, heat and light, while the public schools furnished the supplies and teachers for classes in arithmetic, spelling, hygiene, textiles, English, civics, commercial geography and store topics. In New York, a three-year program was planned for high school students, where two students would alternate going to school and to work in a store. In Philadelphia, students in their third year had the option of taking a Salesmanship Course during their remaining two years. Cincinnati also used the system where high students were paired in co-operative classes. They alternated weekly between going to class and working in a store (NACS, 1917, pp. 706-709; NACS, 1918, pp. 277-292).

Public school programs in retailing expanded somewhat when the Smith-Hughes Act of 1918 provided federal matching funds for state vocational programs, but retail vocational education came of age in 1936 when the George-Deen Act allotted federal matching funds specifically for part-time or evening vocational programs in retailing or distribution. Department store managers eagerly embraced these programs which absorbed part of their training costs and supplied them with low- or free-cost labor during peak hours (Benson, 1986, p. 152).

Universities eagerly leaped on the bandwagon. The pioneering New York University program (1916) introduced a series of courses in Department Store Education in cooperation with the Department Store Education Association. The courses, planned as the result of an increasing demand for teachers for department store work, included Store System and Salesmanship, Textiles and Textile Processes, and Non-textile Merchandise. Groups of both experienced and inexperienced saleswomen attended classes. The university, which reported the plan working well as a result of the cooperation of the stores, received financial support from at least six New York department stores (Benson, 1986, p. 153; NACS, 1916, pp. 63-72).

By the late 1920s, there were retailing programs at Simmons, New York University, the University of Pittsburgh, Ohio State University, and the University of Southern California, followed by Northwestern University in the 1930s. Most received financial support from local merchants. Post-secondary retailing programs typically focused on training retail teachers and combined classroom work with field work in stores (Benson, 1986, pp. 152-153).

**Marketing/Sales Training**

With industrialization came the need to develop training for new positions (Corbin, 1914, pp.145-161; Tipper, 1914, pp. 124-139). One of these was the development of salesmen of high grade automobiles (NACS, 1914, pp. 145-161). A. E. Corbin, the Assistant Sales Manager of the Packard Motor Company, Detroit, Michigan, described how his company trained salesmen. The company first selected men for the program or 'raw material' -- healthy men of pleasing appearance with clean and pleasant diction and speech, preferably of character and moving socially in the same strata of prospective customers. The company then reported spending from nine months to two years
training them. After a man was hired and spent time in subordinate positions in the factory or with a
dealer, he became a salesman, spending from three to six months in the dealer's territory to learn the
local environment. He then attended the Packard sales school which lasted for two weeks. This
included talks by executives and department heads, spending time in the departments in the factory,
doing laboratory work in the factory finding the answers to specific questions, and a written
examination. The objective was to make the students self-teaching in order that they would continue
learning about the product and special merchandising methods (Corbin, 1914, pp. 145-161).

Although limited organized selling schools developed, many concerns attempted to instruct
their salesmen without a well-defined plan, methods ranging from casual trips through the factory to a
few weeks' study of processes and policies of company and bombardment of literature (NACS, 1916,
p. 476). The Remington Typewriter Company, with fifty-seven branch offices, reported (1916) how
they had incorporated training by educational campaigns issued from the Home Office. Materials sent
out included a sales manual composed of pamphlets, each describing some machine or feature of the

A 1918 report of the Annual Conference of NACS gave glowing reports of the effectiveness
of corporate selling schools. These included worker usefulness increasing in all branches of
corporation work; employees being promoted due to added efficiency; employees forming correct
habits and principles of life; and, a sympathetic association arising between employee and employer
(NACS, 1918, p. 85).

GENERAL

Employers were generally not interested in extending educational opportunities until a need
arose which could not be satisfied in any other way. This included teaching subjects of universal
applications which employers considered to be the responsibility or function of the public school
(NACS, 1918, p. 538). Business expected that public schools would furnish the training needed as
preparation for vocational life and that the industries would follow this training with specific trade or
shop training for the particular industry or commercial career chosen. In 1918 the National
Association of Corporation School's policy regarding public schools was that public schools should
develop healthy young men and women with good personal, social and moral characteristics of high
general intelligence trained to use both hand and head. In turn, it was the function of industry to
develop skill, technique and knowledge along special lines (NACS, 1918, pp. 375-376). Business
representatives contended that, because the schools had neither the facilities, understanding, or
suitable teachers for such work nor did the social consciousness recognize the need for it, that
employers had to undertake the job of the public schools. Consequently it was included as a part of
many of their educational programs (Kreutzpointer, 1918, pp. 396-397; NACS, 1914, pp. 162-163).
General Education as Part of Retail Training Programs

Retail training sought not only to teach specific skills but to develop, “the ability to cope creatively with situations requiring discretion instead of cut-and-dried compliance with rules” (Benson, 1986, p. 147). The Committee on Retail Salesmanship (NACS, 1916) outlined instruction which could be given in the store in general education. It included knowledge of oneself, health and hygiene, good citizenship, courses in current events, debating, and morals and manners (p. 529).

Department store training for saleswomen consisted of general education which, by building on welfare work's foundation, attempted to fill in the gaps left by inadequate family and school training. Courses ranged from grammar school work for younger employees to university-level offerings for adults. Although this aspect of training did not speak explicitly to better selling performance, it grew out of the conviction that a better education would give an air of polish and efficient competence to the sales force (Benson, 1986, p. 147).

General Education Included in Training for Office Work

Lewis Atherton, Swift & Company in Chicago, shared at the 1917 NACS Convention how his company incorporated general education into their training program for office workers. Atherton said they that although his company did not know what to call this type of education -- school work, betterment work or welfare work -- that it was the human element in service that they were searching for. One of their main purposes was to teach the employee what the company stood for, how the employee was related to the section in which he worked, and the relation of his department to all other departments. It was through this method that Swift & Company contended they were developing the quality of imagination. In this way the company taught employees to come to a decision on a subject requiring judgment prior to submitting it to an executive for final approval (NACS, 1917, p. 775).

Learning How to Learn

Industry was discarding old skills and reducing the value of others, but it was not wiping out the need for skilled and semi-skilled workers. What it was changing (1920s), was that it had made the future value to workman of specific skills less secure, and increased the value of those general capacities that facilitated adaptation on the part of the worker to different kinds of work (Lescohier, 1935, pp. 270-271). J. W. Dietz, Manager of the Educational Department of Western Electric Company, suggested giving employees broader business training to increase their versatility (Dietz, 1916, pp. 244-251).
EDUCATION FOR CAREER ADVANCEMENT -- FOREMEN AND MANAGERS

Fewer and fewer of the captains of industry began their careers in the ranks. This was the result of the complexity of industrial problems. Although pioneering executives were still successful, the general consensus was that they would undoubtedly have achieved greater success if they could have had the benefit of special training for their executive responsibilities. The Educational Director of American Steel and Wire Company described the times as, "an age of great combinations, or rapid progress and marked expansion of great aggregations of capital, of rapid transportation and of many new and perplexing economic social problems" (NACS, 1914, pp. 259-266).

Prerequisites for Management Positions

Contemporaries did not agree upon the individual attributes and education necessary for successful managers. Professor E. B. Gowin of New York surveyed 276 businessmen for qualities considered essential for the business executive. Their responses ranked favored qualities in the following order: judgment, initiative, integrity, organizing ability, health, perseverance, aggressiveness, open-mindedness, cooperatives, competitiveness, control of emotions, refinement, appearance, and sense of humor (NACS, 1918, pp. 133-153). The rating scale devised by the Committee on Classification of Personnel in the Army for use at Officers' Training Camps also ranked leadership qualities. This scale ranked a candidate based upon physical qualities, intelligence, military leadership, character, and general value to the service (NACS, 1918, pp. 143-146).

Steinmetz, president of General Electric, contended that the successful executive was not the typical temperament of the human race, that individualistic temperament, rather than the collectivistic type generally held by the human race, was the prerequisite for executive success. He believed that success was not based upon training, education or instruction, but upon having an inherent and inborn individualistic temperament (NACS, 1914, pp. 410-412). Others stressed more academic requirements. An address to a Meeting of the Academy of Political Science (1918) stressed that unless the general manager in charge of the plant had the background to make him sympathetic to modernization in the methods of handling labor at his plant, that he could block any such attempt at a modern scientific approach. The points that needed to be introduced into the curriculum of every technical institution for potential managers included courses in sociology and in the modern technique and methods of handling labor. These courses should be required and should be thoroughly understood to be an integral part of the training of the students (Lewisohn, 1926).

The Educational Director of American Steel and Wire Company gave his rather broad recommendations on what a young man should study to be fitted for future executive positions.
His recommendations included a general fundamental knowledge of all those subjects commonly included in high school courses. Although not essential, a command of either French or German was also recommended. The potential manager should also know the principles of mechanics and architecture and have a knowledge of working drawings to enable him to talk and to reason intelligently about the construction of machinery and buildings. The candidate should also broaden his knowledge of the humanities by reading selections on subjects relating to health and hygiene, psychology, courtesy, self development, character building, effective speaking and business imagination, fundamental laws underlying industry, history and development of the industry which he is preparing to enter, the best technical works pertaining to his line and other similar topics including the general political and economic subjects of the day. He should learn to concentrate his mind on any subject of hand. Business course study was to include economics, commercial law, organization, principles of efficiency, management, cost accounting, selling, advertising, traffic, credits and collections, accounting practice, auditing, money and banking, corporation finance, foreign exchange investment and speculation, real estate, and insurance (Sturdevant, 1914, pp. 263-264).

National Association of Corporation Training delegates (1921) discussed how important English, as a supplemental subject, was for advancement into executive positions. They suggested that a manager's ability to receive and give orders, write reports, take part in conferences and executive meetings, depended largely upon his ability to use the English language clearly, concisely and at times forcibly. They suggested that this training would give a young man a broader background and outlook upon life (NACT, 1921, pp. 324-325).

**Apprenticeship as Training for Advancement**

Businesses offered optional education in their apprenticeship training in order to provide opportunity for advanced education leading to executive work. Required subjects were taught to all apprentices, and optional subjects that could lead into a higher position were taught to potential managers (NACS, 1916, pp. 184-185).

The NACS Committee on Trade Apprenticeship Schools reported that nearly all railroads which had a good apprenticeship system had special apprentices, college men serving at least three years and sometimes four. In the first two years the special apprentices received a general knowledge of all shop operations, and in the last year, knowledge of office work together with insight into railroad management (NACS, 1917, pp. 406-407). Pennsylvania Railroad's special grade apprentices were college graduates serving a three-year program preparing them for minor executive positions (NACS, 1918, p. 365).

Other organizations also used apprenticeship to train managers. The Packard Motor Car Company had a group of technical school graduates who had shown superior mechanical ability
and executive potential. They were given training to prepare them to be foremen and at some later date, possibly executives (Weller, 1914, p. 344). Montgomery Ward also reported using apprenticeship with the view of creating future superintendents. As a mail order business, Montgomery Ward reported having difficulty finding superintendents or men of higher caliber, and they were willing to spend six, eight or ten years training men or women for management positions (NACS, 1917, p. 322).

**Education Specifically for Foremen**

Employers recognized the importance of the foreman in carrying on successful business operations -- that his close contact and influence over workers placed him in a strategic position for both output and human relations (NACS, 1919, p. 68). The Conference of the National Association of Corporation Schools devoted a report (1919) to the selection and training of foremen, whether the positions were in banks, stores, offices, hotels, or factories (p. 74).

Only slightly over half of the member companies of the NACS (1919) reported having organized methods for training foremen. Informal means for training foremen included their being trained, “. . . by the superintendent during his daily walk through their departments . . . and are constantly trained as individuals, by giving them personal attention, keeping them advised and informed of plant policy and preparation, and checking on their standards every three months (NACS, 1919, p. 76). Organizations providing more organized training, fourteen of the fifty-four companies, reported holding foremen’s meetings, sending their foremen to outside plants to inspect their operations, using their libraries, holding meetings with lectures, conducting training through formally organized courses, and affiliating themselves with outside institutions (NACS, 1919, pp. 346-349).

Two factors especially encouraged the development of foreman training. The first was the abnormal demand for quantity production in new and expanded plants during World War I, which served to revolutionize foremanship methods. It also created many new and inexperienced foremen. As a result a number of foremanship courses were developed and put into operation. Prior to this time, with few exceptions, employers had appointed a foreman and let him 'sink or swim'. Secondly, when companies dismantled personnel departments following the war, the foremen assumed more responsibility for personnel activities. Employers, although they wanted discipline, did not necessarily want to stir up labor problems by returning to the driving method of managing employees. Training was intended to make foremen more effective and enlightened managers (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 186-187; NACT, 1921, pp. 693, 696-698).

The National Association of Training Schools (1921) reported the impossibility of standardizing a method for the training of foremen (NACS, 1921, p. 694). Various methods companies reported as using are described in Table 8.
### Table 8. Formal Training for Foremen Conducted by Corporations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Objective/Other</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **International Harvester** | - Objectives were to improve administration, solve shop problems, and improve the quality and quantity of production  
                              - Students were foremen, assistant foremen, gang bosses | - 25 lectures followed by discussion                                   | Suggested subject list  
                              - Economics of Business  
                              - Shop Practice  
                              - Industrial Relations  
                              - Popular Subjects  
                              - Summary |
| **National Cash Register**      | - Reported taking steps to give foremen opportunity to improve themselves for many years (1921)  
                                          - Considering (1921) starting foremanship training work under Smith-Hughes with instructor from Cincinnati University | - Distribute up-to-date literature  
                              - Hold weekly meetings to discuss problems  
                              - Monthly meetings of foremen's Advance Club for lectures, demonstrations, etc. | |
| **Winchester Repeating Arms Company** | - Reported discontinuing conferences (1921) due to irregular schedules | - Conference Method -- held 15-20 minute lectures followed by discussions led by foremen | |
| **Dennison Manufacturing**        | - Maintained no organized course for foremanship training; used other means | - Industrial Management classes held annually  
                              - Monthly divisional meetings for foremen  
                              - Appoint foremen to executive committees  
                              - Transfer foremen to other jobs to broaden training | - Study personnel problems and planning issues  
                              - Different foremen gain experience conducting meetings  
                              - Gain experience working with executives |
| **Submarine Boat Company**         | - Conducted extensive analysis of foreman’s work prior to developing training | | |

NACT, 1921, pp. 693-818

Foreman training courses could be purely instructional such as lectures on special problems, purely inspirational, general education, or technical courses in the trade supervised. They could be developed by the company itself or provided by an outside agency such as the YMCA or the American School of Correspondence. The University of Pennsylvania reported holding lectures (1920-1921) for a group of about 500 foremen on a weekly basis. Following lectures, they foremen broke into smaller groups to discuss the topics which ranged from leadership to hiring men to physical working conditions, training workers, and maintaining discipline (NACT, 1921, pp. 728-729).

Meetings and conferences were reported as proving useful for foreman training. Companies reported holding meetings every two weeks or once a month, which covered topics
such as work rejected by the Inspection Department, means to eliminate errors, preparing reports for factory management, announcing and explaining changes in company policies, procedures or manufacturing schedules, employment problems, training unskilled employees, and employing women. One company reported bringing out a box of cigars, striving to put the foremen at ease in order to bring out the best in them and put them in a receptive mood for management suggestions (NACS, 1914, pp. 76-78). Conferences took the form of foremen meetings consisting of group discussion and debate of an assigned topic. Students at times took notes, and later could be examined or quizzed. Conferences as a method of learning had the advantage of individual help and contact. The group discussions reportedly developed foremen's ability to think quickly and clearly and self-reliance in obtaining information (Hamburger, 1919, pp. 675-676).

**Foremen’s Clubs**

Foremen’s clubs, which began as an effort to bring foremen together in an informal, nonunion context, were initially sponsored by the local Dayton YMCA in 1917 or 1918. The clubs were either shop clubs with membership confined to a single plant or city clubs with membership drawn from several plants. The Dayton Foremen’s Club was organized in 1918 and the Ohio Federation of Foremen’s Club in 1923. Growth was slower in the east, but the movement grew; and, the National Association of Foremen (NAF) was organized in 1925 (Graebner, 1984, p. 83-84).

These clubs were an employer response to the long-term changes which had taken place in foremen’s responsibilities and status -- changing back and forth from being responsible for virtually all aspects of their employees to losing these responsibilities. Business used foremen’s clubs to attempt to modify foremen’s attitudes or to convince them that the changes had not fundamentally changed the nature of their jobs and that their allegiance was with management rather than labor. The clubs were used to educate and develop foremen to businesses’ way of thinking. This was accomplished through study groups, increased flow of communications, promoting teamwork, improving coordination, and developing feelings of interdependence between management and foremen. The NAF provided foremen with outlines for meetings and discussions. NAF objectives included improved efficiency and productivity and workforce education, all of which had persisted for years but were incorporated into this new format (Graebner, 1984, pp. 83-87).

**Influence of the Smith-Hughes Act**

Foreman training was also provided for by the Federal Government through the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act. The Federal Board of Vocational Education at Washington
and the E. I. DuPont Company of Wilmington, Delaware, through a cooperative arrangement
developed a course for the training of foremen in 1920. This plan was subsequently made
available by the Federal Board for Vocational Education as a guide for management contemplating
the introduction of foreman training into their companies. The plan included the subject-matter
content for the course, suggestions for teaching methods, and other information for industrial or
school executives interested in developing such courses (NACS, 1921,
pp. 294-297).

Universities and State Boards of Education became affiliated with foremanship training,
also conducting their work under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act. The courses were
teacher-training courses, their purpose being the development of men to handle this activity in
industry. Courses were originally organized at the University of Cincinnati followed by the
University of Michigan, University of Texas, and the Department of Public Instruction for the
State of Utah (NACT, 1921, pp. 746-762).

**Special Training Schools**

The ‘special training school’ was the term applied to training departments which business
concerns maintained for college graduates and technical men. Special training courses described
by NACS representatives are included in Table 9.
Table 9. Special Training Classes for Employee Advancement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Educational Plan</th>
<th>Admission Requirements</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway System Topeka, Kansas | - Three-year course -- first two years are apprenticeship training and third year consists of working in all departments  
- Special written report required by each apprentice every 30 days | - Physical examination  
- Personal interview  
- Graduate in mechanical engineering of some reputable engineering or technical school |
| Bell Telephone Company Pennsylvania Graduates can become supervisors | - Four to twelve-month course  
- First four months is intensive study; latter part of course consists of actual work in various departments | - Physical examination  
- Personal interview  
- Prefer prior education -- engineering, business, or general science courses |
| Montgomery Ward and Company Chicago Illinois Graduates eligible for executive or managerial positions | - Six-month course  
- Training consists of text-book study of scientific business management & practical experience in various branches of business | - Physical examination required  
- Personal interview required  
- Previous preferred education includes university graduation or equivalent training  
- Evidence of leadership desired |
| Packard Motor Car Company Detroit, Michigan Graduates generally become executives | - Two-year course  
- Training consists of productive work in use of various machines, tool bench work, motor assembly, and foundry and tool design | - Physical examination required  
- Personal interview required  
- Graduate in mechanical engineering |
| Public Service Corporation Newark, New Jersey Graduates manage local offices | - Two-year course  
- Training is a combination of study and general office and sales work | - Physical examination required  
- Personal interview required  
- College or technical graduation preferred |

"Special Training Schools," NACS, 1917, pp. 480-503

A contemporary described the special training school as, “an organized effort to produce . . . all-round men where as the present tendency in organization is to train specialists” (Beatty, 1918, p. 46). Special training schools were used to train new employees for specific work and to teach a business as a whole, but a primary purpose was to fit employees for advancement (Beatty, 1918, p. 47).

PROBLEM SOLVERS -- AN EVOLVING PRACTICE AND PROFESSION

By 1915, at least in a few cases, the welfare secretary had evolved into a personnel manager (Nelson, 1975, p. 119). Although this new practice, as reflected by literature which had emerged on and about the profession, was on the way to becoming a recognized function within organizations, there was not agreement as to what the practice should be called, where it fit in the business organization, or what the responsibilities were. There was no standard development of personnel departments -- either by organization, by size or industry, or by name. They assumed responsibility
for various combinations of activities related to employees. Their importance and placement within organizations varied considerably.

**Growth and Development of Practice**

To quantify growth of the practice is difficult because this activity was carried out by different areas within organizations under different titles at different times. Employee training and development, if it existed as a formal activity, was frequently included within the employment or personnel function. Consequently, the growth of personnel functions, although far from perfect, was an indicator of employer-provided training and education for employees. And, there were a growing number of personnel departments. While there had been only 3 to 5 percent (estimated) of employers with personnel departments in 1915, there were 25 percent in 1920, and 34 percent in 1929. A 1928 study made by the National Industrial Conference found that of 4500 plants with over 4 million workers, 34 percent of the employees with 250 workers or more had personnel departments in contrast to only 3 percent of those with less than 250 workers (National Industrial Conference Board reported in Derber, 1970, p. 215).

During its earlier state, the development of personnel management had not been related in any way to particular industrial characteristics such as technical sophistication of processes or profitability. After 1920, however, some industries took the lead in this area. They were usually companies with high and stable profit levels, generally companies from industries with relatively stable seasonal and cyclical product demand. Financial stability gave companies the ability to finance personnel programs. Progressive personnel programs also tended to be privately owned or tightly controlled, with no public shareholders to satisfy (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 192-193).

The development of the practice, prior to World War II, was uneven and sporadic. The practice waned and prospered depending upon such determinants as political decisions, labor availability, management strategies, the labor movement and economic cycles.

During the war years (1915-1920), the labor shortage, stress upon productivity, and the costs of turnover attracted national attention. Employment management, seen as offering a solution for these problems, assumed increasing importance. Hundred of companies set up personnel departments, their function to find the right employee and to keep him or her productive (Cochran, 1957, p. 69; Cochran, 1961, p. 245; Derber, 1970, p. 210; Montgomery, 1987, pp. 238-239). Meyer Bloomfield, a well-known consultant in employment management and industrial relations and founder of the first Employment Managers’ Association (Boston) referred to the work of employment managers as, "the new profession of handling men" (Fitch, 1917, p. 43).

Labor problems during World War I gave enormous impetus to the allied study of personnel management. The emergence of the discipline of industrial psychology which began shortly before the war, the effective use of intelligence tests during the war, and studies of employee attitudes, job
satisfaction, and morale by psychological consulting firms all encouraged interest in the area as a tool to manage employees. The expanding programs of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, the Harvard Business School, and others gave a further boost to personnel work and research, as illustrated by the famous project of Western Electric at Hawthorne Illinois (Derber, 1970, pp. 210-211). Numerous books and articles offered solutions to turnover and labor problems (Avery, 1916; Bancker, 1916; Bloomfield, 1919; Brasher, 1918; Burke, 1916; Fitch, 1918; Gilbreth, 1916 and 1924; Huey, 1916; Scott, 1916). In the five years after the war, 2750 volumes appeared on personnel administration (Lescohier, 1935, p. 330). Although many employers lost interest in personnel management following the war, this ongoing study and research helped to incorporate the practice into American business policy (Cochran, 1961, p. 245).

Although progressive employment practitioners gained prestige and importance during World War I, the profession did not really build upon itself after the war. Practitioners' responsibilities and influence ebbed and flowed during the period from the beginning of World War I to World War II.

Function and Influence within Business Organizations

Responsibilities for employment or personnel as employee activities varied greatly. The area was seen as managing not only selection of the employee but also those activities having to do with the employer's continuing relation with the employee, such as education and other activities (NACS, 1916, p. 691).

Sidney Ashe, General Electric Company, described his responsibilities (1920): "supervise a works hospital, have charge of our educational safety work, a mutual benefit association, and evening school of about 300 pupils, and publish a works paper, handle all relief work, besides looking after our relations with many different activities in town. I am also on a good many committees like the Apprentice Committee, Food Club, Students Committee, Home Building Committee, etc., incidentally attending conventions and making many special surveys, and yet, outside of our hospital staff, there are only myself, two women assistants and an office boy to handle that work . . ." (NACT, 1920, p. 94).

One NACS delegate (1916) reported that their employment department consisted of a health division, an employment division, an instruction division, and a welfare division (p. 691). Another delegate at the same convention indicated that their employment function covered not only the initial selection, but also the training, assignment, development, and discipline of employees (p. 693). Other contemporaries (1919) stated their belief that, because the training work was entirely distinct from employment, training should not be under the employment manager. Rather, there should be a separate training department with a specially trained individual in charge. In this instance, the employment department would provide the training department with men to train. (NACS, 1919, p. 442).
The report of the 1920 NACS Committee on Employment included their recommendation for the complete organization of an employment department. The five areas outlined were employment; health, sanitation and accident prevention; education and training; personal service work; and, wages and working conditions. Education and training activities included introducing new workers through oral instructions and a pamphlet of general information, job instructions, trade apprentice courses, Americanization classes, lectures, bulletins, libraries, employees' clubs for study and discussion, employees' magazines, and cooperation with other educational institutions. Health and safety included activities considered by many firms to be part of welfare work -- physical examination of applicants, medical and dental treatment, visiting nurses, rest periods for prevention of fatigue, accident prevention through literature, posters and lectures, and employees' safety committees (pp. 87-106). The individual in charge of the personnel department was industrial relations manager, personnel manager, or employment manager (NACS, 1920, p. 100).

Ambitious practitioners recommended (1921) that a typical Personnel Department include employment, transfers, education, training, welfare, safety, hospital, and community work. The chief aim of this function was depicted as placing every employee in the most advantageous position, having every position filled by the person best fitted to fill it, and then seeing that both parties (employer and employee) got a square deal. Practitioners were "to keep the physical and mental condition of the works so that everyone would be on the job every hour of every day as contented and efficient as possible all the time" (NACT, 1921, pp. 177-231).

An Education Department was described by the NACT (1921) as responsible for examining all applicants for apprenticeship, preparing texts, outlining courses, lectures, arranging for special lectures and courses given by outsiders, maintaining a close relationship with other corporation schools and agencies and local schools. They were responsible for looking after the boys' problems both inside and outside the shop, maintaining employee information by means of books, records and statistics, and employing a corps of competent instructors. Their objectives were to maintain thoroughly up-to-date schools for boys, as well as adults, where trades could be well taught; and, to maintain good relationships with employees (NACT, 1921, p. 180).

A Training Department was also described as responsible for training men and women to become operators at production, to retrain those being transferred or misplaced, and to train adjusters, inspectors and special operators. The training was to include instilling loyalty, a sense of responsibility, and patriotic ideals in the employees. To this was added furthering Americanization by close personal contact and congenial relations and arranging special lectures to foremen and groups of employees (NACS, 1921, p. 181).

The Welfare Department was to handle employee relations. Activities included extending a helping hand to every employee as follows: "This department should welcome all those who have a burden to unload, whether imaginary or not, to be able to help them forget those troubles and by
doing so, not only make them content, but also more efficient” (NACT, 1921, p. 181). Other responsibilities included handling 'get together' problems such as entertainments, sports, band concerts at noon, and clubs. The main objective of the Welfare Department was depicted as keeping employees contented and happy and making them feel that management was interested in their welfare and ever ready to help them in their troubles (NACT, 1921, p. 181).

**Impact of Scientific Management Upon Personnel and Training Function**

Scientific management gave impetus to certain functions within employment or personnel such as job analysis and the scientific selection of workers. Job analysis, a responsibility of the personnel department, determined the correct selection of employees and training needs. The new personnel managers, in their effort to reduce turnover and workplace strife, analyzed racial adaptability to different kinds of work. Personnel workers strove to select workers of the right nationality, race, and sex for each position (Montgomery, 1987, pp. 242-243; Williams, 1917, p. 64).

Although the development of personnel administration has been attributed to scientific management, this is not the case (Williamson, 1953, pp. 611-612). The new profession of personnel management, or employment management as it was labeled during its early years, was not simply an extension of scientific management. Personnel management and training represented a new awareness among industrialists of some inner contradictions in scientific management and an attempt to do something about those contradictions (Montgomery, 1987, p. 239). Even the personnel department at Plimpton Press, a company within the Taylor fold, owed its character more to a welfare work philosophy than to scientific management. The personnel manager was reported as someone a worker could go to for advice and for suggestions with regard to his present employment and for outside education instruction, which was a far cry from Taylor's planning clerk or shop disciplinarian (Jacoby, 1985, pp. 48-49).

**Line vs. Staff**

Personnel management was a generally a staff function providing advice and technical facilitation to aid management in the solution of labor problems (Davis, 1940, p. 9). Some contemporaries, however, believed that the area should be a line function, which would oversee or be overseen by the production or line area.

Dr. Lee Galloway, New York University, described the dilemma (1919). He did not dispute the fact that the position of the employment management had many responsibilities and the influence of his or her actions were far-reaching. Dr. Galloway, New York University, described how, up to that time, nothing much more than talk in vague terms occurred about employment management and personnel. He contended that no one had a clean-cut conception of where the activities of the employment manager began and ended. Dr. Gallow reported that men could be found at the head of
the training department having all sorts of relationships with the men higher up and with the men beneath. No well-defined ideas existed as to whether their ties were with the personnel or labor administration area or with production (NACS, 1919, pp. 151-165).

Edward Jones, Professor of Industry and Commerce, University of Michigan, described the place of employment management within business organizations (1918). He contended that while executive control had generally been exercised by three main divisions -- finance, manufacturing, and sales -- that a fourth division should be added, that of the employment or personnel (NACS, 1918, p. 119). Dr. Jones defined employment management or personnel as all of the activities having to do with human relations -- hiring, education, promotion, discipline, discharge, wage setting, pensions, sick benefits, housing -- gathered under one head or authority with specialists for each subsection so that they could be handled in a more expert manner. Jones went on to add that another function was often the supervising of apprenticeship in vestibule or shop schools. He contended that this practice of human engineering, of which training work was a part, should transform the employer/employee relationship from one merely based upon cash into a satisfying human relationship (NACS, 1918, pp. 118-121).

The position of the National Metal Trades Association (1918) was that that training should be part of personnel work and that it should be tied to the personnel department. Their rationale was that it would be "dangerous to tie training to the production department because the engineer is trained to see one thing, namely, production; and, he is apt to transfer undertrained workers to production and thereby damage the reputation of training work" (NACS, 1918, p. 442). The association believed that the best solution was to have a separate training department with an executive in charge who would responsible to the same authority as other department heads (NACS, 1918, p. 442).

The Employment Managers Association in Boston in a 1920 meeting, as reported at the NACS a month later, had a very heated debate as to whether the employment department should be a line department or a staff department. The question was whether these activities should be carried on by a department that considered itself merely as advisory, a coaching or a teaching staff, or whether they should be part of a production department overseen by foremen and production superintendents. At this meeting those who wanted to become a line department were charged with trying to create their own jobs and not being satisfied with carrying out industrial relations and employment and training by advice, suggestion and consultation. There was no solution. Most people went away from the meeting still unsolved as to whether employment people should be a line or a staff functionary (NACT, 1920, pp. 97-100).
Challenges for Practitioners

The job was described as especially difficult not only because it stood between parties that had traditionally been opposed to each other, labor and craftsman vs. capital and management, but also because it antagonized or alienated those in the factory who for the sake of prestige might cling to functions taken over by the new function (Jones, 1918, p. 126). Although management was turning more authority over to the individuals responsible for these areas, hesitancy or resistance was exhibited on the part of some higher executives to part with functions and authority, just as foremen had objected to have the hiring, discipline taken away from them (NACS, 1916, p. 355). Resistance was displayed on the part of minor executives or subforemen who may have felt that their prestige with new employees would be impaired and that they could do a better job than the employment department because of their intimate job knowledge (Hopkins, 1916, p. 69).

A lack of recognition existed that good human relations needed the support of the chief executive. A popular policy was to just turn over all of the human problems to a personnel department. Such delegation, without the appropriate support, ignored the fact that top management had ultimate responsibility for personnel relations and the lack of recognition that good human relations began with the chief executive and should be practiced by all managerial personnel (Houser, 1927, pp. 80-81; Milton, 1970, pp. 122-123).

A representative to the National Association of Corporation Training described (1920) another problem practitioners were experiencing was not being able to justify or to get approval to implement new developments in the field. He contended that practitioners had not yet learned how to demonstrate in dollars and cents the value of what they were doing, that their methods of measuring results were inadequate to show the commercial value of their educational work (NACS, p. 78). Another representative expressed his conviction (1920) that only 20 percent of practitioners’ problems were actually related to personnel, and the other 80 percent pertained to salesmanship. He suggested that the new practice needed to refrain from looking upon the field of personnel work as a heterogeneous mass of activities that could be dipped into here and there as the occasion demanded. Rather, these developing professionals should concentrate on a thoroughly organized plan of personnel work and strive to understand each link in the chain dealing with human relations. This approach would improve the image and, consequently, the influence of the practice (NACS, 1920, p. 80).

Another problem practitioners faced, the lack of professional development of the function, could have been part of their own undoing. Contemporaries (1921) attributed the lack of the professional development of the entire area to the failure of those responsibility for the varied activities within the function -- employment activities and training activities -- to understand the close relationship that needed to exist between these two areas. The contention was that employee training
and education tended to be undertaken with little or no attention to job analysis, compensation, job transfers and promotions, and turnover (NACS, 1921, p. 172).

**Professional Practitioners**

"Caring for the human machinery" was only gradually becoming a profession (Montgomery, 1987, p. 13). As industrial organizations became more complex, problems increasingly required the services of practitioners with specialized backgrounds, training, and experience in the personnel field. As late as 1917 contemporaries reported that industrial service work still lacked professional status. In actuality, few companies had specialists in employment, personnel, or industrial management. Employment managers usually functioned also as welfare workers. Service secretaries were usually self-styled workers or visiting nurses who often flitted from position to position. For example, between December 1917 and March 1918, Avis Ring of the Holeproof Hosiery Company, Milwaukee, served as employment manager, social worker, and service worker, after which she left for a position in the state's vocational educational program. Others had no preparation at all. At the Johnston Candy Company (1918) a young lady with a graduate degree in American history from the University of Wisconsin was the head of the welfare department, where she viewed military drill for girls as essential for the workers’ well being (Korman, 1967, pp. 181-182).

**The Ideal Practitioner**

Meiborg of the Young Men's Christian Association gave qualifications (1918) for the Educational Director:

"... the man, or woman, to direct this work must be well grounded in the subject; must be of pleasing and forceful personality, easy of approach, with sound judgment, discretionary sympathy. He must have unusual tact, ability to enlist the cooperation of workers themselves, as well as the support of the natural leaders of the community. . . . In all the activities of the worker -- educational, social, athletic, the Educational Director will be adviser and friend. Where the corporation school work does not go far enough, he will be called upon to suggest courses for the workers in trade schools, in the public evening schools, in near by universities tending toward still further development. He will be asked to suggest reading for the workers bearing on their studies. In the school work, he will note the individual abilities and potential possibilities calling for special vocational guidance. And in the common work there will be the spirit of service, the spirit of cooperation -- the true forerunner of Democracy -- the ultimate goal to be attained" (NACS, 1918, p. 86).

Qualifications of the position, relating to its newness, emphasized flexibility, the ability to conduct investigations, the courage to be a pioneer, and the ability to command the confidence of others. Other qualifications included a person fitted for leadership, self-balanced with impartial judgment, possessing humanitarian instincts and a sympathetic disposition, and strength of character. General social experience dealing with people not only as individuals but in various forms of voluntary organizations was also recommended (NACS, 1918, pp. 126-127). Another contemporary
described how this position required the ability to meet the humblest working boy or girl on one hand, while on the other being able to convince hard-headed mangers and presidents of the importance of businesses’ conscience, which lagged behind social conscience (Person, 1916, pp. 120-122).

An early educational recommendation included sufficient education in oral or written use of the mother tongue to avoid embarrassment and the education to enable the practitioner to understand general principles, unlike the practical man; and to meet the minds of others. It was also recommended that the ideal candidate have general industrial experience, including shop experience for manufacturing establishments, to give him the meaning of factory life (Jones, 1918, p. 127).

**Development of Professional Education for Practitioners.**

In 1916, for the first time, Dartmouth College's Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance conducted classes specifically designed for employment executives (Person, 1916, pp. 117, 690). The Tuck School described preparation for their employment management position as follows: primary and secondary school training to develop character and mind and impart basic information; freshman through junior years of college to develop character and mind development of a higher order and to impart more complex information; and, the senior year in college to contain a block of prescribed courses on basic facts and principles of every phase of business (Person, 1916, pp. 122-127).

By 1916 more than 150 engineering schools offered classes related to industrial welfare work. Much of the class work training young engineering students taught English, first aid, or civics for foreign-born employees (Brandes, 1970, p. 22; Jacoby, 1985, p. 101).

By 1918 Dartmouth, Harvard, Rochester, Columbia, and Pennsylvania universities were all offering professional training in employment management (Montgomery, p. 241). The Buffalo Chamber of Commerce proposed a College of Industrial Engineering to study industrial hygiene, apprenticeship, psychology, sociology, and administration. During World War I several series of short courses for employment managers were given by the United States Department of Labor (Montgomery, 1987, p. 13).

In response to the NACS calling attention to the demand for capable directors and instructors in corporation schools, New York University began a class (1919). The NACS proceedings reported that two classes of about 20 members each had graduated, with approximately 50 percent securing positions in industry. Because this did not meet industry's needs, the President recommended a summer course of from four to six weeks of concentrated study to include the duties of the director of the corporation school and to treat problems falling within the scope of personnel relations (NACS, 1919, p. 53).
Professional Organizations

In 1920, the National Association of Corporation Schools changed their name to the National Association of Corporation Training (NACT) to more accurately reflect the broad spectrum of employee education they enveloped. Then, in 1922, the NACT merged with the National Association of Employment Managers to form the National Personnel Association. The name was changed to the American Management Association in 1923. The new association was controlled in the 1920s by business executives determined to counteract what they considered to be excessively altruistic notions of professionalism that they claimed wartime conditions had stimulated within the personnel practice. The leaders concluded that the management of human relations should rest with line officials or regular production executives (Lewisohn, 1926, p. 89).

The National Association of Corporation Schools left behind them a valuable record of the actual experiences and research of their members. The NACS was a valuable resource for this developing practice. The Executive Committee and supporters of the Association developed tangible materials intended to be immediately useful not only by those directly involved in the practice but also to secure additional support for this educational movement. Delegates attending NACS annual meetings talked about how they could learn from all of the other industries represented at the conventions. It was described as “industry meeting industry” where the various industries could learn from all of the other industries represented at the convention (NACS 1916, pp. 138-139, 193).

By 1920, the Taylor Society had become the most ardent engineering association supporting personnel management. Harlow Person, director of the society for many years, taught personnel management courses in New York after the war and periodically invited Meyer Bloomfield and other critics of scientific management to address the society. The Taylorists came to agree on the sensitive issue of the engineer's suitability to manage employment affairs, that engineers were not qualified to be personnel managers because of their training and orientation to technical subjects (Jacoby, 1985, p. 104).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Business continued to provide education programs to positively influence worker behavior, to improve productivity, and to maintain dominance over internal operations. Employers placed the greatest emphasis upon basic education, specifically welfare programs, and upon job skills training and education. They were also beginning to realize the importance of developing employees to manage their increasingly complex organizations.

Welfare capitalism reached its pinnacle in the 1920s when greater numbers of employers expanded their programs. While working conditions were no longer considered to be welfare work, lunchrooms, social and recreational activities, and housing and had become popular. Employers sponsored education programs intended to safeguard employee health and safety as a result of
increasing public concern and government involvement, but businesses ceased participating in Americanization efforts. Immigration been curtailed as a result of the war, and this form of education no longer contributed to profitability. Variances among basic education programs were great, but this form of corporate education had become more inclusive, reaching more employees than in the past.

Employer-sponsored education providing job skills expanded. Employers trained not only skilled workers but gave more attention to the unskilled and the semi-skilled. Businesses incorporated the vestibule method, an intensive, short-term method of training developed during World War I, into their educational programs. Corporation schools became more popular, frequently providing the classroom training for apprentices.

Employer-sponsored apprenticeship came full circle. When businesses had industrialized production processes, they countered earlier craft control by automating or deskilling work, which resulted in employees not needing the degree of skill provided by traditional apprenticeship. Employers consequently established their own apprenticeship programs, modifying this age-old institution to fit their current business environments. They dismantled the traditional form, eliminating the general education features and relaxing or dropping traditional standards related to the content, delivery, or the time period for instruction. Once employers had assumed control over apprenticeship arrangements, however, the programs they sponsored began to resemble earlier more formal arrangements. Business lobbied for more standardization of company-provided apprenticeship, providing they were the ones who would maintain the standards. The Federal government legislated apprenticeship in 1937 with the passage of the Fitzgerald Act.

World War I, which revolutionized foremanship methods, contributed to the development of professional education. This development helped employers recognize the importance of well-trained foremen and managers to direct the operations of larger, more complex business organizations. Not only was traditional education becoming more important for professional development, but businesses were also developing their own programs. In addition to advanced apprenticeship programs intended to train supervisors and managers, companies introduced educational programs specifically for management development. These educational schemes included special training schools incorporating the conference method and foremen’s clubs, a new format for influencing and educating foremen.

World War I also contributed, at least in the short term, to the development of the practice. When employment activities were given increased importance by war production and government intervention, business established personnel departments to lead this function. Following World War I, however, conservative businessmen returned many of the personnel activities, including training, to foremen and supervisors. Management was undoubtedly concerned about the potential of foremen siding with labor rather than with management in an increasingly adversarial workplace.
The personnel/training practice, which varied greatly across businesses, remained undefined within business organizations. The inclusive, practical approach of the National Association of Corporate Schools (NACS) toward workplace education contributed positively to the development of the practice (1913-1921). When the NACS became a part of the American Management Association (1923), through mergers with other professional organizations, the emphasis moved toward management control rather than employee development. It was not until World War II, which played a critical role in re-establishing the importance of employee training and development, that the practice would be able to find a more permanent place within business organizations.