

LIVE QUESTIONS.

A Series of Articles Contributed to These Columns by Advanced Thinkers.

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION.

Whenever a strike or lockout is of sufficient importance to attract public attention, after it has continued for a few days there begins to be talk of "arbitration" on the part of the press and of the workmen who are engaged in the contest.

If arbitration is resorted to, the questions in dispute are referred to one or more arbitrators, who hear both sides and decide between them. This is, of course, a judicial process, except that the submission of the question on both sides is purely voluntary, as neither can force the other into court, and the obligation to abide by the decision is moral only; there is nothing legally binding in it.

Usually strikes and lockouts are settled in a less formal way by the intervention of persons inspired either by private or public interest, who act as go betweens and run from one side to the other, gaining a little concession here and there, smoothing away one difficulty after another, and finally arranging matters with as little loss of dignity as possible to the contending parties.

But between civilized bodies of men whose services are vitally important to each other, who make their living by the help of each other, it is a disgrace that there should be these constantly recurring contentions.

They arise only from the selfishness and tyranny of men, unrestrained by nobler qualities, and selfishness and tyranny are equally hateful and mischievous whether exhibited by employers or employed. Unfortunately, whichever side has had the power has usually exercised it in so arrogant a manner and with such unrelenting harshness as to goad the other side to resistance, resulting often in a state of open warfare which has continued either until one side or the other is quite conquered, when the old series of acts is begun again to end in the same way or until both sides are exhausted.

The fact needs to be emphasized that the same qualities have been exhibited by both sides, that human nature, when undisciplined, is very much the same thing "in masters and in men," and that neither side has a right to cast stones, but both should cry "mea culpa, mea culpa!" At times it is the labor organizations which are dictatorial, while the employers cringe and relinquish all their rights to maintain peace, but more frequently the employers are arbitrary and tyrannical, asserting loudly that they "intend to manage their own business as they choose and will not be interfered with by their workmen."

Here is the weak point—there will never be justice between employers and employees, and consequently there will never be a lasting peace, until the public and the employers recognize the claim of the employees to a voice in the settlement of questions relating to the conditions of labor. These questions are of vital importance to the employees, and do, in fact, more nearly concern them than they do the employers, for in the case of the latter it is only their business success or their living which is involved, while with the employees all interests are at stake. It can scarcely be expected that American citizens who have been born and bred with the instincts of freemen will submit tamely to a system which places their welfare entirely in the hands of others.

The above suggestion will be new to many, and may seem to be unreasonable, but the more it is considered the more just it will show itself to be, and it will finally be acknowledged to be true. As Mr. William H. Sayward, secretary of the National Association of Builders (an association of employers), says in a lecture on the "Relation of Employer and Workman":

"The labor question has two component parts, the employing or profit labor, and the performing or wage labor, and it is folly to attempt to deal with the question at all unless both parties are united in the consideration. Neither party to the joint interest can handle the question alone."

HON. C. F. ADAMS ON ARBITRATION. The next question is the practical one, "How can employees be taken into the councils of their employers?" and the answer made by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, for many years state railroad commissioner in Massachusetts and for many years also president of the Union Pacific railroad, in an article entitled "The Prevention of Railroad Strikes," is one which must cause a responsive thrill in every American breast:

"It will be impossible to establish perfectly good faith and the highest morale in the service of the companies (railroad) until the problem of giving this voice to employees and giving it effectively is solved. It can be solved in but one way, that is, by representation. To solve it may mean industrial peace. It is impossible to dispose of these difficult matters in town meetings. Nevertheless, the town meeting must be at the base of any successful plan of disposing of them. The end in view is to bring the employer—who in this case is the company, represented by its president and board of directors—and the employees into direct and immediate contact through a representative system. When thus brought into direct and immediate contact, the parties must arrive at results through the usual methods; that is, by discussion and rational agreement."

"It follows the lines of action with which the people of this country are most familiar. The path is that in which for centuries they have been accustomed to tread. It has led them out of many difficulties. Why not out of this difficulty?"

THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM REST. Mr. Adams' solution is, so far as American railroads are concerned, purely theoretic. There is in other indus-

trial fields proof that the principles he advocates are correct. Experience has demonstrated that the representative system is as useful in business as in government. For the last 30 or 40 years in many large industries in England all questions of conditions of work have been settled, without strike or lockout, by "joint boards," "boards of conciliation" or "arbitration boards," on which the associations of employers and employees have both been represented by delegates duly chosen and empowered to legislate for their constituents, and on these boards the employers and employees have always had an equal representation. In our country also and in Belgium such boards are known and have met with equal success, but the practice of justice with us has been neither so long nor so widely extended as in England, and, strangely enough, employers here, instead of instinctively recognizing that this is the only solution of the difficulties of the "labor question," assume a tone of arbitrary ownership and proclaim their right to issue orders which must be obeyed.

From business men one might have expected more "practical" conduct, since it is very evident that those who adopt this position do not succeed in avoiding labor conflicts and disturbances which cause them great loss and trouble, while the employers who recognize the justice of their employees' claim to a joint control in questions of common interest do escape them.

In the cases where "joint boards" are formed the preliminary step usually is the mutual recognition that both sides are about equal in strength, that each can injure the other seriously, but that neither can conquer the other. The proof of this necessarily comes from the experience of a long series of alternating strikes and lockouts—the employees making unreasonable demands when trade is good, the employers doing the same when trade is bad, a system "mutually predatory." Finally it occurs to a few men on one side or the other that the whole thing is unworthy of intelligent men who make their living by the help of each other.

This sounds simple enough, and to a disinterested observer seems the only reasonable method of settling questions which are of the greatest importance to both employers and employed, which cannot be settled except by mutual consent, either forced or voluntary, and which must be settled if business is to continue.

And yet the obstinacy and arrogance of men make this reasonable arrangement a very difficult one to accomplish.

FAIRNESS ON BOTH SIDES. The two sides must be about equal in strength, or, in other words, both must be "well organized"—there must be a strong association of employers and a strong trades union or other labor organization, both of which shall represent the majority of the employers and workmen in the trade. This is necessary because the "joint committee" or "wages board" must be composed of representatives who are authorized to bind their constituents; otherwise their agreements would be empty words.

Besides this, however, both the representatives and the organizations they represent must in the main be honest men, intelligent men, or the plan will fail. JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL. New York, March, 1896.

THE LOCAL PAPER. In newspaper work as well as elsewhere "distance lends enchantment to the view." Many people imagine that the paper published far away is for that very reason better than the home paper. But this is often not the case.

Every one should be deeply interested in the home paper—support it heartily.

The newspaper is the greatest means for spreading knowledge in existence. It is the one means, the only one, that reaches all the people with knowledge, and hence is at once school, professor and textbook combined.

The newspaper, more and more, is catering to the tastes of all classes. Its editorial policy may be for one party or denomination, but in its pages will be found a vast variety of opinions on all kinds of subjects. The secret of the success of the great dailies is this—that they have opened their columns to all kinds of ideas. I am sure that this is the method and purpose of all local papers who know the trend of things and appreciate the situation.

The editor who would admit nothing into his pages but that which agreed with his own views would certainly be out of place and not succeed.

As the forum where opinions and theories meet and clash, loss and win, the local paper is a great institution, and is destined to have a still greater future.

Along the two or three lines hinted above—viz, (1) greater variety, (2) more literary finish, (3) greater accuracy in statement, whether in argument, descriptions or reports—the newspaper of the future will develop, and editors everywhere are planning and working in these directions. Now, the reader is not always aware of the great difficulties and large expenditures necessary for such improvements. Hence his (or her) warm co-operation is of great value. Too many people, for example, do not appreciate the fact that a notice, announcement, report or article written for the local paper should be well written. We dash off a paragraph of news and hand it to the editor with not much care as to its accuracy or its gracefulness of diction. In writing the most commonplace of announcements we should be as careful as in preparing an essay that is to be perused by a critic.

Again, there are hundreds of good thoughts cherished in every community that never get into print. If these sincere and capable people would write out their dearest opinions, putting them in crisp, clear, terse and smooth sentences, editors would be glad to publish them.

These are only a few of the many ways that we, dear reader, can help the editor, and we owe it to the cause of human progress to do so.

ANTHONY MURDOCK.

WHO IS HE?

Story of a New York "Meanest Man," who is of the 400.

We all know him. His name is in the list of the "Four Hundred." He is prominent in church work. His wealth is counted by millions. Not many years ago his brother was at the head of a great manufacturing establishment, which he had built up in this city, and from which he derived an enormous income. Illness laid him low, his doctors said he would die within a week and he sent for this "meanest man."

"Brother," he said, "I shall be dead in a few days. I want to turn my property over to you. Take everything and do what good you can in the world."

So the business was given to the "meanest man," and preparations were made for the funeral of the rich brother. He, however, fooled the doctors and got well. His first move was an attempt to recover his property from his brother, but the latter held on, and has held on ever since. He captured the whole plant, and has it yet, and that man who gave it to him on his deathbed is now dependent on him for support.—New York Press.

BUILT A RAILROAD ON FAITH.

What the Confidence of a Farmer Has Done in Minnesota.

Perhaps the most curious incident growing out of opposition to railway monopoly is found up in Minnesota, and is described in the Chicago Times-Herald. A farmer named Hines, who owned nothing in the world but a quarter section of mortgaged land and a spavined team of horses, suddenly concluded that the country was being robbed by railroads, and that the farmers must build a road of their own. He started out. The farmers did not have any money with which to subscribe for stock, but they pledged so many days' work on the road. Others made a gift of the right of way. Still others went into the woods and cut ties. Farmer Hines was much ridiculed when he started his agricultural road, but he has stuck manfully to his task, and now the chances are the road will be actually built. He has 150 miles of right of way, pledges for the earthwork, and ties enough to cover the line. The road will run from Duluth west through the Red River Valley into North Dakota, opening up a new section of country. This is what an American farmer with a spavined team and faith in himself can do when he sets about it.

An Expert Confounded. The Butte Inter-Mountain tells a good gold-dust story of George Wilson, who owned the famous Paris mine in Park county, Mont. Wilson was visited by some Englishmen one day, among whom was an expert of the English pattern—one who knew all about mines and a great deal about everything else, in his own opinion. They wanted to see some of Wilson's gold, and he panned out some very fine colors for their edification. "But that isn't gold," pronounced the youthful expert, after a critical examination. "Me deah fellah, I am a graduate of the English School of Mines, and I know gold when I see it, you know. That is iron." Wilson didn't say much. He just leaned over and took the alleged expert confidently by the shoulder. "Mebbe it isn't," he said, "but don't go and give it away to those fellows down at the Denver mint, for I have been selling the stuff to them for gold all along."

No Apology Needed.

In addition to giving the convicted man a term of ten years in prison, the judge imposed on him the gratuitous punishment of listening to a long speech made for the benefit of the reporters, in which he set forth specifically the reasons for his action. "You needn't have done all that apologizin' fer imposin' on a feller man," said the culprit, kindly. "They ain't no hard feelings on my part. I know as well as you do that a man can't hold the job of judge and act the gentleman at the same time."—Indianapolis Journal.

He Knew Their Flattery.

When the picture of the Russian Grand Duchess Olga, whom he later married, was shown to the late King Charles of Wurtemberg, he looked at the portrait carefully and then said, dryly: "The portrait is highly flattering; the hair is too full, the eyes are too brilliant and the skin too fresh." "But, your Majesty, you do not know the Princess," answered the adjutant, who had been sent from St. Petersburg. "No, that is true," said the King. "but I know court painters."—New York Tribune.

Just Nature, That's All.

I don't know why it is, but a woman will never answer you frankly, directly, and point blank, if you ask her what size shoes she wears. She won't say, "I wear threes or fours"—fours being the average size of the feminine shoe. She will say—and if you don't believe me, try it—"Well, these are fours," with the emphasis on the "these," quite as if "these" weren't at all the shoes she habitually wears, but somebody's else, slipped on entirely by accident. She usually adds, "But they're miles too big for me." Why does she do it? That's a sphinx's riddle.

All Luck.

"Ef I had your luck and you had mine," said Dismal Dawson to one of his prosperous clients. "I s'pose it would be me helpin' you." "Lucky" answered the prosperous one. "I made all my money by hard work." "That's where the luck figgers. You was borned with a likin' fer work, I wasn't."—Indianapolis Journal.

Rudyard Kipling was asked recently whether he enjoyed writing poetry or prose most. He remarked that the pleasure of creating a poem was the highest intellectual delight he had ever experienced.

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