

# THE FAREWELL ADDRESS OF GALUSHA A. GROW

## Veteran Publicist Concludes His Long Career in Congress by the Delivery of an Address in Which He Defines His Views Upon the Proper Relations Between Capital and Labor.



Following is the address of ex-Speaker Galusha A. Grow, the father of the American Congress, defining his carefully matured convictions as to the relations which should exist between capital and labor. It is the last address which he will make in the Congress which he has so long and so honorably adorned:

Of all the baneful influences which lead to national decay, the most pernicious is a policy that degrades or impoverishes labor. The real strength of a nation consists not alone in fleets and armies, but in the manly spirit of an independent yeomanry, and in the intelligence, comfort and happiness of its laboring people.

Of all industrial questions, the one that most directly affects the general welfare is the relation of American labor to capital. In the prosecution of business of any magnitude three things are necessary—capital, supervision and labor. For success, wise supervision is quite as important as either. Without capital and wise supervision it would be impossible for labor alone to accomplish any great result. Yet labor, whether of brain or muscle, is entitled to receive out of the accumulations of wealth in proportion to what it contributes toward the accumulation. While this theory is just, the difficulty in reducing it to practice is to devise a satisfactory method by which it could be done.

Partnerships in all cases are based on the principle that whoever shares in net profits must in the same proportion be responsible for losses. But profit or loss in a business cannot be ascertained until after the expiration of a period in the business. Yet labor must be paid in current expenses whether there is any net profit or not. Statistics show that a large percentage of all kinds of business ends in bankruptcy, that is, the amount of capital invested. In such cases it is clear that labor receives all that it could possibly be entitled to under any theory of profit sharing. As wages are paid in current expenses, and capital takes all risks of losses, some method ought to be provided for the repayment of the capital invested. Even in successful business there would be no additional accumulation of capital until the money already invested should be repaid.

Partnerships between the owner of the capital in any business and its laborers would not be practicable, for the risk of losses and investment of money would all be on one side, without investment or responsibility on the other. Incorporations or associations of labor could not change these conditions. Incorporating individuals or associations without capital would be a mere fiction of law, like John Doe and Richard Roe in legal proceedings. Business cannot be prosecuted successfully on mere legal fictions. Therefore corporations or associations for business must be based on actual capital.

To work is a right of every self-supporting, law-abiding person under any form of government, and the highest duty of free government is to protect individuals in this right. To invest money or not to invest is the right of the owner of capital. But whenever it is invested in business or any lawful pursuit it is entitled to the protection of law the same as labor is entitled to protection for its rights.

Law cannot create or compel the investment of capital any more than it can compel labor to work outside of legal and charitable institutions. But unjust legislation can prevent the investment of capital and may destroy it. Unreasonable demands by labor upon capital, if persisted in, can do the same thing.

world. Free trade with the nations would give to labor everywhere the lowest wages paid anywhere.

In the countries of Europe there are to-day twenty millions or more of laborers and artisans producing articles for human consumption. And their daily wages are greatly less than those paid to labor in this country in like employments. It would cost any one of these laborers or artisans to remove from his home in the Old World to one in the New not to exceed \$50 or \$60. For every such person who should come there would be room for one less American laborer, provided there is American labor enough to supply the demand for labor.

The great attraction heretofore for emigration to this country has been that it is the land of liberty, home of the oppressed, and an asylum for the exile. In addition, make it by undue stimulation the most attractive country for high wages and short hours for work, and how long would it be before our home labor market would be overstocked, beyond the power of legislation or the capacity of consumption to save American labor from the low wages of the Old World? To determine the point to which the increase of wages in this country can go and not produce such a result is the real solution of the problem of American wages.

**Entitled to Fair Compensation.**

The employe is entitled in all cases to a fair compensation for the time he uses his brain or muscle, or both, for the benefit of another. The time thus consumed and paid for belongs to the employe, and he has the right to direct the mode and manner of its use. The time not paid for belongs to the employe, to do with it within legal limits as he sees fit. And the employe has no more right to say how it shall be spent than has the employe to say to the employer whom he shall hire or how he shall conduct his business. The right of the employer to control the time or the acts of the employe ends where payment ends. These are the relative rights of employer and employe, and they cannot be violated by either without injury to both. Either has the right to organize for the purpose of improving their condition or respect in life. But no voluntary organization or association has any greater power or rights than the individuals composing it. Any attempt to exercise any greater power or rights than those possessed by the individual becomes an organized attack upon society, which, in self-defense, if there was no other remedy, orderly government must repel and prevent if they would preserve their own existence.

Labor, whether of brain or muscle, has two indefeasible rights, both entitled to full, absolute protection under any form of government. One is to contract for employment on such terms as may be satisfactory; the other, to refuse all employment provided no application is made on the community for personal support. Every person self-supporting and law-abiding has a right to work or not to work as he chooses. This is an individual right, which the laws of a free government are bound to protect. But no person has a right to prevent another person who desires to work from doing so. Every person has the right to work without molestation, hindrance or any other kind of interference. The rights of one man end where the rights of another begin.

In free government there is no right in any citizen to combine for the injury of the general welfare, whether capitalist or day laborer. In this respect, law applies alike to both. The primary object of free government is the maintenance of free government is the general welfare, and in its administration, that is paramount to all else. While all have the right to work or not, no one has the right to prevent, or attempt to prevent, by word, act or deed, the pursuit of any lawful business or the pursuit of the development of any industry useful and beneficial to mankind. Nor has any one a right, by word or deed, to aid or abet in any way persons engaged in obstructing or hindering the prosecution or development of any business and industries calculated to promote the general welfare.

Boycotting, as it is called, in any business rests on the assumption that nobody has any rights except the boycotter, and that he is privileged to fix the price for his daily toil, and the conditions on which all business in a community must be conducted. The fundamental principle upon which which free governments rest, and without which they cannot exist, is the protection of the inalienable right of every person to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The inalienable right of life and liberty is of little consequence without the inalienable right of the pursuit of happiness. The pursuit of happiness includes the right of the individual to pursue any legal employment in a lawful way, without hindrance, molestation or intimidation in any form. Laws in just governments are made for the protection of these fundamental rights, and whoever violates them or attempts to do so is subverting the spirit and genius of free institutions. Whoever prevents or attempts to prevent the development of an industry beneficial to mankind, or prevents or attempts to prevent the prosecution of such industry by others, becomes a conspirator against the general welfare, just the same as a combination of capitalists might become injurious

to the general welfare in their combinations.

**No War Between Capital and Labor.**

A disagreement between the employer and the employe as to the value of the material, and thereby the sack, without their real interests are rightly understood and fully appreciated. They are mutually dependent on each other, and neither can accomplish any great results without the other. Of what use is labor beyond the supplying of mere physical wants by the cultivation of the soil, without capital to furnish transportation to market for the products of labor, as well as for the development of all industries? And of what use would capital be without labor? In the world's commerce the locomotive or the car without cars filled with the products of labor, and such cars would be of no use without capital to build the railroad and buy the locomotive.

In the old system of mining in Mexico the peon dug the ore deep down in the earth, filled a sack of rawhide with the material, and threw the sack across his shoulder with a leather strap across his forehead to hold the sack while he used his hands in climbing a single upright pole, with notches cut into it like stairs for his feet. On reaching the top he emptied the sack of ore into larger ones suspended on either side of a donkey. And the donkey transported them along a zigzag path down the mountain side to a smelting furnace erected on the bank of the nearest stream of water. Capital drives a tunnel through the mountain, lays an iron or steel track, and puts upon it a locomotive and cars, into which the peon loads the ore as he digs it, and in as many minutes as it took hours before the ore is transformed from a drudge, doing the work of a beast of burden, into a man, with wages sufficient to make home comfortable. Instead of the hovel of the peon, side by side with the stable of the donkey, there springs up comfortable dwellings, homes of happy childhood. So in all the pursuits of life, in order to accomplish the best results for the individual happiness of all, capital and labor must go hand in hand, mutually dependent on each other.

All manual laborers cannot be equally successful in any more than can all professional or business men. There is no possible way by which incapacity or improvidence can be made equally successful with capacity, prudence and economy in the struggles of life. If this inborn inequality of capacity in individuals is an evil, it must be charged as a fault in the wisdom of creation.

Whoever is contented with sufficient means for making himself and those dependent upon him comfortable has attained all there is of real happiness in the accumulation of wealth, and has therefore no reason to complain of his lot. All cannot be poets, painters or sculptors, any more than all can be lawyers, doctors or merchants, or tradesmen of any kind. Yet in this country every business pursuit or calling is within the reach of all. The highways to honorable distinction lead from the lowly cot of honest industry the same as from the gilded palaces of wealth or the halls of learning, and they are all open alike to the humblest child of the sons of toil, from whom have sprung most of the historic characters of our country, and in all cases is entitled to something more than mere living wages.

If the foregoing views as to the rights of labor and the relation of American labor to capital are correct, then it is important that some feasible plan mutually satisfactory to employer and employe should be adopted for profit sharing by labor. It is obvious that as a business proposition it would be wholly impracticable to make the laborers employed in any business stockholders of the association or corporation. But it could be a part of the contract of employment that all persons employed in the association or corporation should be paid out of net profits, at stipulated periods, on the amount of wages or salary received for such period, the same percentage as would be paid for such period to any stockholder on a like amount of stock. Such a plan, or something like it, would remove the complaint made that labor does not receive a fair share in the accumulations of wealth. Labor contributes no part of the money capital invested and takes no risk of losses, yet it would be paid out of net profits the same percentage on every dollar of wages received as would be paid to any stockholder on a dollar in stock. Some such plan would seem to give to labor its full proportion of the net profits of the business in which it might have been employed.

Such a method, or any other mutually satisfactory to employer and employe, that would avoid labor strikes, would save for general distribution a vast amount now invested in such strikes, saying nothing of the enormous losses of the whole community in all branches of business or of the sacrifice of human life by needless violence in such strikes. It has been estimated that the losses in the late anthracite coal strike in the state of Pennsylvania were over \$200,000,000. The following statement by items shows \$187,350,000:

Strike began May 12, 1902, duration 134 days  
Mines and other things out of work 182,500

patience. But that is the case with all attempts to remove long standing abuses or to establish improved conditions.

No cause, great or small, was ever benefited by the violation of fundamental principles of right. God rules the universe by immutable laws of justice, and it is in vain for man to attempt to nullify them. One person's rights end where another's begins, is a fundamental principle of all just laws, and is the basis of civilized society. Liberty is the right of every person to engage in any lawful pursuit for a livelihood, and to continue therein without hindrance or molestation by any other person. And it is despotism in its worst form that deprives him of this right, a crime against humanity scarcely less than the taking of life itself. Shylock said to the judge, whose sentence of confiscation spared to him only his house and his life:

"You take my house when you do take the roof.  
That doth sustain my house; you take my life,  
When you do take the means whereby I live."

The discontents and complaints of individuals in this country as to their lot in life spring in most cases from a mistaken notion as to life's most desirable aims and ends. No matter what the condition may be, there is more or less uneasy longing for something different. And when that something is reached or attained, the longing is not satisfied, and there is still something a little ahead, almost within reach. Like the child who hastens toward the place where the rainbow seems to touch the earth, no matter how near he approaches the apparent spot, the distance still remains the same.

Most of a man's discontents in life, whatever may be his pursuit, are either from impatience or from a longing for something which, if attained, would add little or nothing to his real happiness.

"We seem to wait for the thing worth having,  
We wait high noon at the day's dim dawn,  
We find no pleasure in toiling and saving,  
As our forefathers did in the good times gone."

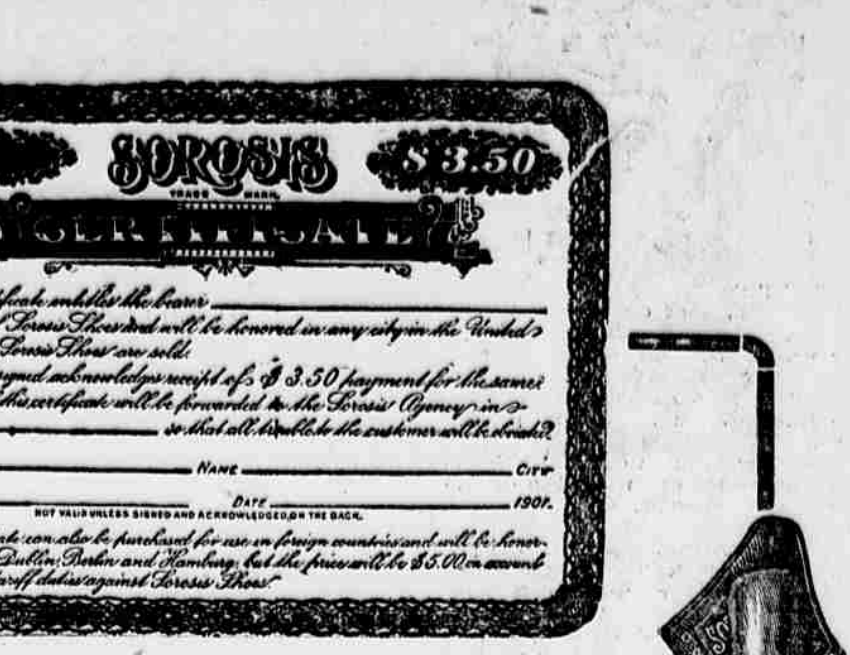
**The Essentials of Happiness.**

The man of immense wealth is no happier than the man with moderate means, provided each is comfortable and equally contented with his lot. Comfort and contentment are the two essentials for happiness in this world's pilgrimage, and whoever possesses them has no occasion to envy any other condition in life. Riches are not necessary to man's enjoyment, but the means to prevent starvation are. Nor is a splendid palace essential to his real happiness, but a shelter against the storm and the winter's blast is. These indispensable requisites to man's comfort can be secured only by labor. Divine wisdom, in the economy of creation, made labor a necessity for human existence, and also made health and happiness dependent upon it. Labor therefore is not an evil to be shunned, but is the means for the attainment of the most desirable ends and aims in life. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," was not a malediction against the race, but was a statement of the condition on which man could still be happy in his fallen state. All labor useful to man is equally honorable, and is entitled to public consideration, and in all cases is entitled to something more than mere living wages.

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What Gift could be more useful or satisfactory than a pair of Sorosis Shoes or Slippers.

By means of this certificate a perfect fit and choice of style can be had, with no possible chance of dissatisfaction.

This certificate is good for any style, any size, any leather, of over 100 different kinds.

Buy one of these Certificates and give it to loved ones at home or in other cities. They can present it to the nearest dealer in SOROSIS SHOES and get their choice. Saves the annoyance of choosing for another.

Thousands of these Certificates are used in this way all over the country. If you want to send them to the old country they are good there too, as there are SOROSIS Stores in London, Dublin, Glasgow, Leeds, Birmingham, Hamburg, Berlin and Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

## SAMTER BROTHERS, Complete Outfitters.

DETAILS OF THE TOTAL LOSSES BY REASON OF THE STRIKE

Loss in miners' wages	\$ 29,350,000
Loss of operators	68,800,000
Loss of merchants in mining towns	22,750,000
Loss of mills and factories closed	7,320,000
Loss of merchants outside district	16,000,000
Loss of wages	34,000,000
Loss of business permanently	9,000,000
Cost of troops in field	1,500,000
Cost of coal and iron police	3,500,000
Loss to railway men in wages	25,000,000
Cost of maintaining idle men	545,000
Damage to mines and machinery	5,000,000
Total	\$197,350,000

## We Are Not in the Trust

OUR MO. TO: INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM IN BUSINESS

### Don't Be Misled

A little gilding will cover a multitude of sins, but will not wear. If you want a gold filled case to wear, buy the best—we have them. We cut out every unnecessary profit in selling Diamonds.

Up-to-Date with Christmas Gifts  
Fine Cut Glass for the Table

## BERRY, The Optician and Jeweler

423 Lackawanna Ave.

A labor strike is an unequal contest at best. It is a contest of endurance between hunger and thirst of the human stomach and the income of capital. Capital in such contests loses none of its accumulation of wealth, unless an industry itself should be destroyed; and in such case labor would be the greater sufferer. The income of capital would be temporarily lessened. That would be all. The existence of labor itself is dependent upon constant employment, and its condition cannot be improved by idleness, or by lawless violence or a disregard of the rights of any law-abiding citizen. The obligation of both capitalists and laborers, like that of all citizens, is to promote the general welfare, or, at least, to do nothing to its injury. The paramount object in the establishment and maintenance of free government is to promote the general welfare. Some method of profit sharing between employers and employes that would secure an harmonious co-operation of both so as to prevent labor strikes and improve the condition of labor is of vital importance for the pillars of the republic rest upon the comfort of the home and the happiness of the fireside of labor.

### QUEER PACIFIC FISHES.

**Swarms of Little Creatures Built Somewhat Like Balloons.**

Avalon, Cal., Letter in Los Angeles Times

David Wilson and his launch, the Alligator, are becoming famous for the curious forms of sea creatures they bring in. His latest find consisted of five different kinds of jellyfish.

One was shaped like a big cigar, blunt at the ends, perfectly transparent, and almost impossible of detection in the water, except by its movements. Two spots in one end, a little more dense than the remainder of the fish, evidently its eyes, are the only things markedly visible about it. It is about six inches in length. Another species has the appearance of a small bladder, and one side is marked with a deep blue coloring, while the end is tipped with a bright grass green. A cord of royal blue fifteen or eighteen inches in length extends from its body. It seems to be able to inflate its balloon at will and rest on the surface of the water. The specimens of this variety are about three inches in length, and it readily moves any part of the body and extends and contracts the cord. Another is about two inches in length and an inch in diameter, perfectly transparent, with the exception of three red spots. Two of these "spots" emerged from the body and went cavorting about the pall after the fashion of a "wiggle," though much larger. Another is shaped like a Japanese umbrella, half opened, and it moves through the water like a fish. It has faint red markings along its sides. Mr. Wilson says the first one of this kind he attempted to catch jumped two feet and escaped him.

Still another is a delicate little bulb of transparent jelly an inch by half an inch, with a red cord six inches long attached. It moves through the water as rapidly as a duck could go. Mr. Wilson says he encountered a mass of

them this morning three miles off shore, there seeming to be millions which he failed to catch. The wonderful little creatures were preserved alive and taken to the aquarium.

**THE NEWSPAPER GETS THERE.**

Its Vast Superiority as an Advertising Medium Shown.

In the course of a recent lecture in Hartford, Conn., on "The Making of a Newspaper," Charles Hopkins Clark, of the Courant, said:

"How are you going to get at the public? Mail them circulars, and the waste baskets in 10,000 homes give each a weary yawn, and the circular disappears unread. Call upon the people and explain the merits of your wares. The sign 'Our Busy Day,' hangs in business offices; in private houses you must ring the bell. Oftentimes you are turned away. If you get in by any shrewd excuse, you cannot go beyond the hall or reception room—you are quietly watched in the interests of overcoats and umbrellas.

"But put a cleverly worded advertisement of these wares in a newspaper that has an established circulation in the city's home and business houses, and see what happens. You wouldn't get in there yourself, but your advertisement is there on the breakfast table, in the library, in the parlor, in the sewing room, and when everybody is inquiring for the paper which can't be found, it is very likely doing duty on the quiet in the kitchen. It is all over the house and wanted there. You are not, similarly, at the office. It is read and re-read, and part of the use of 'This is Our Busy Day' sign is to get the chance to read the papers. And it is interesting to note the advertisement has another than a commercial use. It is printed for business purposes pure and simple; but it is often read as news."

## Headquarters for Incandescent Gas Mantles, Portable Lamps.

THE NEW DISCOVERY

Kern Incandescent Gas Lamp.

## Gunster & Forsyth

325-327 Penn Avenue.

in amount. She furnishes you with most of the necessary food products you import. She has two-fifths of the railway mileage of the world. Thus she has become the foremost nation in wealth, manufactures and commerce, and promises soon, in some branches, to occupy the position which Britain occupied when it was Britain versus the world. She already does this with steel. Although no Briton can be expected to see with satisfaction his country displaced from first place, there is yet cause for rejoicing that supremacy remains in the family. It is not altogether lost what the race still holds. Macbeth's fate is not Britain's. The scepter of material supremacy has been wrested by no unskillful hand. It is her eldest son, the rightful heir, who wears the crown, and he can never forget, nor cease to be proud of, the mother to whom he owes so much.

See the Cut Man.

Effective and attractive half-tones and line cuts for card, advertising or any other purpose, can be secured at The Tribune office. We do work that is unexcelled, do it promptly and at lowest rates. A trial order will convince you.

Arbitration No Real Remedy.

Voluntary arbitration of disagreements between employer and employe, well enough in itself, only settles, however, the existing dispute, which may occur again in the same or a different form, as often as the old disagreement may have been settled.

Compulsory arbitration between employer and employe would be a usurpation of the inherent rights of both by the lawmaking power. And could it really be done, the tendency would be, on one side, to prevent the investment of capital, and on the other to a final establishment by law of a system of peonage of all labor. Law can no more compel capital to pay to labor a specified rate of wages than it can compel labor to work at a fixed rate of wages.

But if the proposition that ought to be paid to labor out of net profits in a business could be ascertained with mathematical exactness, it would not be a determination of the real relation of American labor to capital. The great question in this country, in addition to that of profit sharing, is to determine how high the wages of labor can go without destroying labor itself.

The higher the wages of labor and retain the market for its products, the better it is for everybody. To that point in all cases the employer can go. But beyond that point it is an impossibility. For labor cannot be paid in the production of an article more than the article itself will sell for in the market. The market price for an article and the wages of labor in its production are not fixed by this country alone. In respect to both market price and wages, this country is in competition with the markets and the labor of the world. A wise adjustment of tariff duties on the importations of the products of foreign labor can, to a certain extent, prevent the reduction of prices in this country to a point ruinous to labor. But the wages of labor can reach so high as to be beyond the power of tariff duties to overcome the competition of the poorly paid labor of the