

## STRIKES, LOCKOUTS, AND ARBITRATION.

HISTORY records numerous instances where different divisions of the same army have by mistake fired into each other in the darkness. Not less sad blunders are sometimes made by labor and capital in those battles which find expression in strikes and lockouts. Labor and capital are each as necessary to the other as the two wings of a bird. Cripple either wing, and the other is useless. Neither labor nor capital can rise alone. In this paper we shall not attempt a dissertation on the politico-economic relations between these interests. We prefer to treat of some of the causes and cures of their troubles, and to deal directly with preventives which may help clashing interests to conserve themselves.

But first consider some of the moral questions involved in a labor trouble where a thousand hands are out of work. Their aggregate daily pay of perhaps one thousand four hundred dollars is a small share of the loss where hunger and cold, sickness and death result. Money values are pitifully powerless to measure that. All this is small, compared to a side of the question usually not even considered—the moral value of being employed. Very often to give one young man or woman honest employment is to save that one, body and soul, and to save the community care and cost. This is vividly illustrated by the well-known story of a friendless girl who, about three generations ago, was thrown upon the world and not cared for. Her children and children's children came to number over a hundred, desperate and dangerous men and women of crime. No record of earth can tell how many a bright young man or woman thrown out of employ by the labor trouble has thus become a center of equally dark and ever-widening circles. For these reasons and such as these, inconceivably great responsibility rests on all concerned in the labor question. It will not do to attempt to hide behind corporate action. Stockholders cannot be too careful of the power vested in the votes their stock represents. A labor cyclone may bring bitter regrets because officers and managers were not made to feel the personal influence of stockholders, exercised by word and letter, and presence at board-meetings. It is not improbable that the storm at Pittsburgh a few years ago, or the more recent telegraph strike, would have been averted if stockholders had been more vigilant.

Capital is probably as often right as labor. Through a blindness hard to understand, labor frequently stands in its own light. Here, again,

individual responsibility in many of the fearful relations above suggested must be assumed by any who in anger, stubbornness, or thoughtlessness start these labor troubles, or fan their flames after they are kindled. That man's heart is not in the right place who is willing on light occasion to "let loose the dogs of war" in a strike; who is not more than willing to favor a peaceful solution. It were better to do our duty in these lines of action in time than, too late, to be rudely awakened from dreams of fancied security by violences perpetrated by mobs made up of the dangerous classes, who prowl like hyenas, waiting to make labor troubles the occasion of looting, violence, and lust. The police know that often those who lead in these times are not so famous for mechanical skill or industry as for recklessness and criminal practices. Not infrequently communistic gatherings are where they originate. Yet these very gatherings, we may note in passing, are not always so intractable as they are supposed to be. Not many months ago, a lady who is president of one of our State Peace Societies quietly went into one of these socialist meetings, and, after listening awhile to their turgid expressions, asked leave to say a few words. She then laid before them a more excellent way. They heard her respectfully, and accepted her advice. This may be a straw showing the direction which can be given to a wind supposed to blow nobody any good. Judicious conference with socialists was thus shown to have a mission. All possible safety-valves should be in action in these dangerous days.

Over-concentration of population in cities and towns is one of the most fruitful sources of evils which find expression in strikes and lockouts. The latter are like the steam-gauge, indicating pressure—not the explosive steam itself. Securing continuance in rural life by those whose home is in the country, and as far as practicable turning others from town life to the country, is the best relief to that pressure. This abnormal concentration is subversive of the best interests of both labor and capital.

Young men enjoying independent life on mountain and prairie farms cannot be told too often, or with too much emphasis, that commercial records show that only three men in a hundred succeed as merchants, while ninety-seven go to the wall. A small proportion of those who go from the country to the city succeed in getting clerkships. Few of these have the grip or opportunity to become merchants, and we have just seen how unen-

viable is the lot of even those who reach that point. A small percentage of the thousands flocking to cities, like moths to a candle, succeed in getting the average net pay realized by men and women on farms. Deduct excess of cost of food, fuel, and more expensive clothing, rents, and the drain of long periods of being unemployed, from the seemingly higher city wages, and there is a heavy balance *per capita* in favor of country life. A much larger proportion become proprietors of homes in the country than in the city, and such proprietorship is a powerful bulwark to both labor and capital.

In proportion as farming is made attractive in scientific and æsthetic points of view, will it retain intelligent youth now engaged in it, and draw others from the city to it. Infusing into it the finish and thoroughness of French and especially Belgian methods will make the small farm sufficient for the support of a family. Practical development of the small farm idea makes it more possible for city life to be exchanged for that of the country. There are a thousand city people who could raise money to buy and work ten acres, where there is one who could buy a hundred acres. Of over three million farms in France, only about ten per cent. exceed five acres apiece in extent. Yet the French farmers were chiefly the people who paid the German indemnity, after the fall of Napoleon III., so quickly as to astound the financiers of Christendom. Sure we are, after traversing France from Calais to the Alps, that we have never seen rural life in Europe in more captivating light than among these people. Forestry is a strong point in making farming attractive. It creates the need of forest engineers, such as are employed abroad. Thousands of young men would soon find work in such capacity, at good salaries, if they would fit themselves for it. They are needed now by counties, states, and railway and land companies. If we consider the proportion who succeed in law and medicine, on a scale commensurate with the idea of those who leave farms to go into these professions, we shall see the ratio is similar to that in merchandising. There are a hundred lawyers and doctors with scanty practice, to ten who can be considered as independent as the average farmer. In proportion as these points are practically comprehended, will there be measurable relief from overcrowded markets, low wages, and poor pay for investment of capital in mining and manufacturing.

It is an axiomatic proposition that there is "more money in peace than in contention." A recent Western lawsuit over a few fifty-dollar calves cost twenty thousand dollars. A

case in Philadelphia, known as "the kitten case," arose over possession of a half-grown cat. It grew into expensive suits and counter-suits, and more costly hate. The president of the Universal Peace Union consented in the latter case to act as a conciliative board of one. He was successful, and so helped to develop a factor in the peace problem of no mean significance. The settlement of "the kitten case" shows how petty strifes may be prevented from growing into larger ones, which in the aggregate constitute much of the sea of turmoil vexing the great labor interests. When people practice peace in small circles, they will do so in large ones. Usually one or both parties are self-deceived by specious ideas of "fighting for the right." They forget, or do not know, that disinterested lookers-on see that the reverse is true. This naturally suggests conciliation and arbitration among the potent preventives of strikes and lockouts, and their *causes*.

During a once threatened labor trouble, Daniel Webster made a speech in the interest of capital. In that speech he said in substance, and said impressively between clenched teeth, "When any man says the poor against the rich, mark him! mark him!" We say, "When any man, rich or poor, is unwilling to settle a labor trouble by fair, conciliatory arbitration, mark him! mark him!" Like the woman in Solomon's time who was willing to have the baby cut in twain, he is presumably in the wrong who is not willing to refer. Conciliation and arbitration — not arbitrary arbitration — have been fruitful of much good in the Old World. Trade guilds used it in mediæval times. In the early part of the present century, Napoleon devised and established the "Court of Peace" under the most perfect system of laws, framed by him to this beneficent end, which were ever enacted. Such courts are still widely and successfully used. Mr. Joseph D. Weeks says of this system of Napoleon: "These laws, with some slight modifications, have continued until the present under the title of '*Conseils des Prud'hommes*.' These councils," says Mr. Weeks, "are judicial tribunals constituted with the authority of the Minister of Commerce, through the chambers of commerce which are established at important trade centers of that country. They are composed of an equal number of employer and working-men members, each class electing its own representative, with a president and vice-president named by the Government. The authority of these councils extends to every conceivable question that can arise in the workshop; not only between the workman and his employer, but between the workman and his apprentice,

or his foreman. There is but one question they cannot settle—future rates of wages; but even this can be done by mutual agreement. Arbitration is compulsory upon the application of either, and the decisions of that court can be enforced the same as those of any other court of law. The workings have been beneficial to French industry, especially by conciliation, by which more than ninety per cent. of all cases brought before these tribunals are settled." In 1847 the sixty-nine councils then in existence had before them 19,271 cases, of which 17,951 were settled by conciliation in the private bureau, 519 more by open conciliation, and in only 529 cases was it necessary to have formal judgment. In 1850, of 28,000 cases, 26,800 were settled by open conciliation. There were at the close of 1874 one hundred and twelve councils in France. In 1878 there were brought before them 35,046 cases, of which 25,834 were heard in private, without a formal trial, and seventy-one per cent. were settled without a public hearing. Of the entire number of cases 21,368 were relative to wages, 4733 to dismissals, and 1795 related to apprentices. In 1883 over 263,000 cases were considered by these commercial tribunals. Of these a less proportion were carried on to the civil courts than were appealed there from lower civil courts. This satisfactory showing falls far short of expressing the great benefits of these councils to French industry, especially in removing *causes* of differences, or in preventing them from growing into disputes. Tribunals similar to those of France exist in Belgium. Their success has been less marked than in France, owing in part to the fact that they sometimes have criminal jurisdiction. The French councils are presided over by lay judges. They are tradesmen, merchants, or manufacturers, and are aided by clerks trained in this law. The claimants appear in person, seldom by attorney.

For over a quarter century, similar but voluntary boards have existed in England. Before the Nottingham system came into use in the hosiery industry, there had been desperate boycotting, also machinery smashing, with brutal beatings and even murders. Mr. Mundella was the prime promoter of the system, and the leading arbitrator under it. The Wolverhampton system was contemporaneous in its inception with the Nottingham, and was used among the builders. Here Mr. Rupert Kettle did good service as the leader. It succeeded better than the other, because its chairman had a casting vote. Pending arbitration under these and the French system work and wages go on.

The frequent and regular meetings of these boards of capitalists and laborers, as *equals*,

have good effects on both classes, or rather tend to obliterate class lines. The meetings are informal, and rich and poor sit around the same table like friends at a social debating club. Meetings being regular prevent delay in settlements. "Delay is dangerous." It causes irritation and makes the parties less and less in a spirit to listen to reason and be influenced by kindness.

The clear-cut, intimate knowledge all parties secure of facts and philosophies connected with their trades is a great advantage gained by these boards. Not only the members of the boards, but, through them, their constituents get information which gives them poise. Thus they all learn salient conditions of their special industry in various parts of the world, prices of labor and material, improved machinery and processes, etc. Delegates of workmen from these British boards are sent to investigate in France, Germany, and elsewhere, and they return and report. Similar methods of settlement have extended to the coal and iron trades, lace, leather, pottery, and other industries.

Selling prices have come to be accepted as the gauge of rates. On these, sliding scales are arranged, which are found to insure reasonably fair rates of advance or of reduction. It has been well said that "the love of justice and fair play that leads to being willing to arbitrate naturally insures abiding honorably by results." Ninety per cent. of the cases brought before the voluntary boards have been satisfactorily settled, and this mainly under the conciliation phases of their operation, before the arbitration stage was reached. All the work in this line in Britain might be said to be done in this voluntary way. There have been provisions for arbitration by law since the fifth year of George the Fourth's reign; but these and some other enactments of that nature have remained as dead letter, with few if any exceptions.

Somewhat extensive and not unsatisfactory arbitration has been tried in the settlement of difficulties in the vast shoe trades of Lynn, Massachusetts. Probably one of the most harmonious efforts in this line was by Straiton & Storm in New York city. They lost largely by a strike in 1876. In 1879 they arranged a permanent basis of conciliation and arbitration, which has since worked admirably. That basis was amended in 1880, and has been the model of similar work in various trades. Other arbitrations and their results, in several States of the Union and in a wide range of industries, have become well known through the public press. Some of the States have legal provisions for settlements by reference; and all of them would do well

to take higher, broader ground and more advanced legislation to this good end.

One of the most satisfactory cases of conciliation and arbitration in America was the settlement of a serious strike in the Philadelphia shoe trade, in 1884. This was arranged by Hon. J. M. Washburne, with some coöperation of the Peace Union. About \$7000 daily wages was involved, and what proved to be a cold winter was before the working people. The settlement saved this, with all the peace and comfort, health and morals involved. Not the least of the advantages gained was the formulation of eleven rules, with notes on the same. The value of these rules and notes is shown by their having since settled several strikes in other trades and other States. They were posted up in factories, and the workmen by way of pleasantry came to call them "The Eleven Commandments." They were furthermore made the basis of adjustment of a serious trouble in one of the largest institutions of learning in the country. These rules, with notes on them by Mr. Washburne, are as follows:

RULES ADOPTED BY JOINT BOARD OF ARBITRATION  
IN PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY 3, 1885.

*Rule 1, Sec. 1. The right of the manufacturer to employ and discharge employees must be acknowledged.*

Note: This rule means that the right to employ and to discharge laborers belongs to those who own the business. There could be no other rule. No prudent man would invest capital in business if he could not control it by employing the laborers he thought necessary and proper for conducting it. This is the inseparable incident of capital.

*Sec. 2. But if a person discharged claims that he is discharged because he is an active member of the Knights of Labor, by specifying his cause or causes of complaint, in writing, he may bring the matter directly before the Board of Arbitration for a hearing.*

Note: In this rule the word "he" includes both sexes. Its object is to prevent persons from being discharged "because they are active members of the Knights of Labor." But if an active member is discharged for any cause other than "because he is an active member," his case stands as that of any other person. When the person discharged claims that the act was done because he is an active member of the Knights of Labor, by complying with the direction of the rule, he may bring the matter before the Board for a hearing; and the Board has the sole right to hear it. The matter must be in writing, in order that the Board may see the exact cause of complaint, and know just what is to be heard and decided.

*Rule 2. Each factory is to regulate its own working hours, but in no case shall a day's work exceed ten hours, except in two or three departments, in order to fill orders on time.*

Note: Each factory shall say at what time hands shall begin to work in the morning, and when they shall stop, not exceeding the time named in the rule. When extra work is to be done, the manufacturer shall direct it in order to meet the engagement calling for it. But for the extra labor done there shall be extra pay. Business will decide the departments.

*Rule 3. Shop meetings to be held only after working hours.*

Note: The purpose of this rule is that there may be no interference with business.

*Rule 4. Grievance Committee of shops not to meet oftener than once a week, except in case of new employees.*

Note: The committee need not meet once a week unless it has business. But for the purpose of ascertaining the condition and standing of persons not hitherto employed in the shop, it may meet as often as necessary.

*Rule 5. Pending the discussion and decision of any difference or dispute, there shall be no lockout, strike, stoppage, or cessation of work by either employer or employee.*

Note: It is the object of this rule to substitute reason and right instead of violence in whatever form, by either employer or employee. And during no dispute or difference shall the work of any shop or department of it be stopped or interfered with. If the interests of parties cannot be so adjusted and harmonized that the parties can continue the relations of employer and employee, then, according to the real or supposed interests of the parties, they must separate, not in violence, but according to reason. This rule implies that in no case is it necessary to resort to lockouts, strikes, or violent means in any form; it being the office of reason, acting according to the golden rule, to adjust all human interests.

*Rule 6. The Grievance Committee of each factory is recognized as the only mode of communication between the employer and local assemblies; but in the event an agreement cannot be reached, the matter in dispute shall be submitted to the Board of Arbitration.*

Note: This rule is sufficiently plain without explanation.

*Rule 7. There shall be no interference with the employment or wages of hands hired by the week, when the wages are satisfactory to the employer and employee; so that competent workmen may be protected.*

Note: Business requires that some "hands be hired by the week," and the wages are paid to the skill of the hand. It is the object of the rule to protect both the laborer and the manufacturer. It is to give to the manufacturer the advantage of skilled labor, and to give to skilled labor a just remuneration. Of course the manufacturer may employ inferior skill, and give it inferior remuneration. This may be important at some times and for some purposes. It is the right of the manufacturer to determine how his business shall be conducted. Capital and labor should each receive its equitable reward. This rule was very thoroughly discussed, and unanimously and heartily adopted. If the wages are not satisfactory, the hand may quit work; and if not satisfactory to the employer, he may dismiss him. With any other rule business could not safely be carried on.

*Rule 8. The Joint Board of Arbitration shall consist of seven members from each side, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are appointed or elected. Five members from each side shall constitute a quorum. A majority vote shall be final in all cases.*

Note: Seven manufacturers and seven employees compose the Board. These are appointed by the respective associations. Five members from each side can do business. When, by the sides, there is a difference of opinion, the same number of persons only on each side shall cast a vote. But when the vote is not by sides, all at the meeting may vote, and the majority decides the question.

*Rule 9. In case of a tie vote each side shall select a disinterested person, and these two shall select a third person, and their decision shall be final.*

Note: In a warm contest both parties might not agree on a third person, and hence the provision of the rule. When the three persons are chosen, the majority vote cast by them shall be final.

*Rule 10. The Joint Board of Arbitration shall meet semi-monthly, at such time and place as may hereafter be agreed upon. No complaints shall be considered unless stated in writing, and the causes of complaint are specified and signed by the complainant.*

Note: All parties seek to avoid trivial complaints. The rule requires the complaint to be in writing, in order that the person may see it in that form, and that the Board may have something definite before it.

*Rule 11. Complaints may be presented to the Board at the first meeting after the cause thereof shall arise, or it will be deemed that there are no grounds for complaint.*

Note: This rule is rigorous, and might work hardship if the cause of complaint should arise just before a meeting. But all parties thought there should be no delay. If "an active member" is discharged, he wants a speedy hearing, and he must use diligent means to obtain it. It is improper to introduce stale complaints.

*Addendum. If any difference shall arise hereafter, touching any matter not provided for in the foregoing rules, such difference shall go before the Board of Arbitration for adjustment and decision.*

A good way to make this method general is for people to use it individually. It can be utilized in family and in personal troubles, so as to quench sparks that kindle fires resulting in separation of families and in deeds of violence and fraud. The idea of reference should be taught in the schools. Children could make profitable as well as interesting entertainment out of exercises in it. Kindergarten Peace Courts could so ingrain conciliation and arbitration into the people, that neither war between individuals nor nations would be thought of, much less tolerated.

No contract of importance should be drawn without a clause providing for reference. Such a clause should be the closing one in printed forms for contracts,—a few lines, either written or printed, stating in substance that if any misunderstanding arises under the contract, the parties to the same, for themselves and their legal representatives, agree to settle it by peaceable reference to disinterested third parties; one (or more) to be chosen by the party of the first part, and the same by the party of the second part, and if they cannot agree, they are to call in an umpire; that settlement to be final in the premises, and binding on all the persons and interests involved. This then becomes a part of the contract, and can be enforced as such. Further, being a contract, it is available under the common law of contracts even in a State where there is no special legal provision for arbitration. Many, if not all, of the chambers of commerce and boards of trade in the great cities have long had standing committees of arbitration, which save their members, and the community at large, untold expense and friction.

The humiliating results often occurring in legal contests, through the awful abuses pos-

sible under the jury system and an elective judiciary, call loudly for some way of relief. The United States Supreme Court, and also several of the State courts, are almost hopelessly encumbered with accumulated work. Arbitration would clear the dockets of much of this surplus, and tangibly check the supply at the fountain-heads of contention.

Not least among the advantages of arbitration would be the prevention of *publicity* to matters which should be kept strictly private. In hosts of cases, too, injustice is suffered through sensitive shrinking from having affairs hauled before the public, with which the public has no concern beyond contemptible curiosity. Many a wreck of family and of fair name might be prevented by this more common-sense way of "courting." Vexatious delays and the expense of lawsuits can to a great degree be done away with by peaceable reference. Many an unprincipled oppressor knows the money is not within reach of his victim to secure redress in the courts; or he knows "the law's delay" will secure his ends. Consequently the saving of *time, money, and publicity* by conciliation and arbitration are results the value of which is not easily estimated. The saving of friendships from wreck in the tempests of legal strife is another point well worthy of consideration.

Helping to self-help is a measure potent to prevent labor troubles, and fruitful of large results for good. Capital should help labor to stand alone. Under this head the definition of the capitalist by Smiles, as "merely one who does not spend all he earns," is important. By parity of reasoning, "capital" and "savings" are synonymous; and the mutual interests of capital and labor are promoted by helping laborers to become capitalists. Hosts of mechanics never rise above journeymen's ranks, because they never have enough ready money to start business for themselves. The moment a man has a reasonable prospect ahead of such a change, he becomes conservative. He is not now so likely to be a factor of labor troubles. Twenty-five cents a day, beginning at twenty-one years of age, put either into a savings-bank or an endowment life insurance policy, would give a mechanic at forty years more money in hand than most successful men have had for a start in the world. The drink and tobacco bills of any one of hundreds of thousands of mechanics would easily carry through such a scheme to secure working capital. The endowment is better, perhaps, than the savings-bank, in that it is impossible to withdraw it, and probably lose accumulating capital on some transient scheme before the "independence fund" has reached a sum sufficient to

be effective, or before the man has experience needed to handle his capital wisely. During the last half century this policy among British mill operatives has come much in vogue. One who is laying his course thus finds "birds of a feather flock together." Habits of sobriety and of saving lead the carpenter or the mason to study the higher branches of his trade, and to attention and application, which secure higher wages and less loss of time on sprees. So he gains ability to double the ratio of his fund, and probably has, besides, an extra dollar a day with which to buy a home and better food, furniture, and clothing.

Every million men making such use of a dollar a day throw over three times as much into the scale of home consumption of manufactures as the value of the total annual yield of all our gold and silver mines. Under-consumption, far more than over-production, is to-day the lion in the path of our industries. A quarter of the money working-people worse than waste in liquor and tobacco would give more and better and much-needed home comforts for themselves; would set looms and spindles, forges and lathes rolling out a labor anthem pitched to the key of plenty of work and good pay. It would at once create and consume a volume of productions, making a tangible difference in the output of manufactures. It would help both capital and labor to help themselves. Viewed exclusively from commercial and from politico-economic standpoints, the waste of national wealth by the working-people in drink and tobacco causes more of the trouble between labor and capital than all other causes combined. It has richly repaid some English manufacturers to both suggest these points to their workpeople and then help them to plan and execute to the end of carrying them into practice. It would not less richly reward American manufacturers to follow the good example. "Nature abhors a vacuum." This is true in other than material realms. The mill-owner may be sure that his employees, like his children, will be filling up with bad habits unless he helps them to fill up with good ones. If he enters into their plans with *sympathy*, he can lead them in wisdom's ways. It is not enough to provide night-schools. Mere mental education has well been characterized as "making clever devils." Teaching his people morals and habits of thrift will help the employer quite as much as the employee. Thus will more and better work be got by a given wage expenditure.

It is hard to get people to begin, and carry out, system in schemes for saving. Naturally a person not accustomed to saving regularly thinks the weekly earning so small that laying by anything from it is next to impossible.

It does them good to know some facts in this connection; to know that savings-bank records show the largest deposits have not been in times of high wages. The pressure of low wages is found to lead to provident plans and habits. On the other hand, the abandon born of a period of high prices for work has the opposite effect. Further, the largest averages of deposits are not among those paid the highest wages; the principal depositors in Manchester saving-banks, for example, being domestic servants. Consequently, the people want reminding that they need not wait for some time of high wages in the dim future to begin systematic savings.

Trying to ape the rich has kept millions of poor people from where they would ever be able even to begin to live in the style aimed at. This trouble is great in the Old World, but far greater in republican America. The effort of the masses to live beyond their means has created the pressure resulting in many a labor upheaval.

There is no independence, in a secular sense, without liberty and competence. Keeping out of debt and adding something, little though it be, to savings, are the keys to liberty. The man with one hundred dollars ahead, and gaining fifty dollars a year, though earning only ten dollars a week, is better off than one earning fifty dollars a week, but living up to his means. The latter can never earn a home; the former may do so.

There is no better investment for a capitalist than to teach these things to those in his employ. If this suggestion is considered utopian, go with me one hundred and fifty miles north-westerly from London, to a town on the dreamily beautiful banks of the Aire. There you may see what is so much more than has ever been hinted at here, that you will say, like the Queen of Sheba, "The half had not been told." Here is a model town built by Sir Titus Salt, not more for his vast alpaca factories than for his beloved people. As you go about the town, it will seem, as compared with the most highly favored of even New England manufacturing towns, like fairy land. Nearly a thousand cottages have been built for the operatives. These homes are bowered in vines and roses. The streets are broad and adorned with trees. Not common schools alone, but those for teaching art and science, together with public libraries, are there; a spacious and beautiful Protestant church and a charming park also. Here, too, are hospitals for the sick, and baths and gymnasiums for those who are well; a savings-bank likewise, but no place to buy intoxicating drink. These and other pleasant and useful adjuncts the proprietors have provided for dwellers in their

"happy valley," and so help them to rise to a high social as well as mental and moral level. They so identify themselves with their interests that the better soul within is roused. So these people come to know their employers as their true, sympathizing friends, and they heartily reciprocate the friendship. Any one engaged in getting up strikes would not do well to select that town as a theater of operations. It would be hard to find any one among those villagers who would not help drive him out of the town, and do it in a style suggesting that he would better "not stand on the order of his going." If some pessimist was in search of a business enterprise to hold up as an example of small financial profit, this manufacturing Acadia would not be his model. If therefore in this age of Golden Calf worship some keen-eyed capitalist wants to find a first-class business investment, let him establish any kind of manufacturing that has fair margins, and then take his people to his heart in a spirit of Christian philanthropy like that of Sir Titus Salt and his sons.

Saltaire is not the only case of the kind in England. The Crossleys have made almost a rival to it where their carpet-works are located. Several others have done likewise. Mr. Edward Akroyd, M. P. for Halifax, is proprietor of an establishment where the value of a similar policy has been demonstrated. Let us visit it. They are enjoying a gala day, and a spacious hall is occupied by a floral and fruit display. The fruits and a bewildering cloud of flowers are so rich and varied and profuse, that we might suppose the Queen's gardens and the conservatories of patricians had been depleted to realize it all. But no; as you walk around among the workpeople's cottages, you will be surprised at the number and the beauty of the gardens where they nestle. Mr. Akroyd has furnished these happy people with ground for the gardens, and charges them a small rental, the entire sum of which is applied to premiums and repaid them at the exposition we have been visiting. He has also provided these Haley Hill people with high and with common grade schools, library, park, etc., on a scale similar to the ap-

pointments of Saltaire. He has advised and aided them to organize and operate coöperative clubs for procuring food and clothing at wholesale prices. Compare this club work with the stores which American mining and manufacturing companies establish and then compel their employers to patronize, often at ruinous rates. Mr. Akroyd has been especially successful in organizing savings, assurance, and other thrifty enterprises among his people. This habit of systematic saving they find to be to the laborer what the balance-wheel is to the engine. It is a factor of stability of character in matters other than those that are monetary. In fact, it is just the pivotal point on which the wage-laborer becomes a capitalist. It proves what is saved, not what is earned, to be fixed capital. It is a key out of the dark and perplexing labyrinths of trouble between labor and capital which finds expression in strikes and lockouts. Either Saltaire, or Haley Hill, or the Crossley settlement demonstrates that moral and mental culture, coupled with sympathy, industry, and system in economy, are the pillars on which to build a superstructure of kindly and prosperous relations between capital and labor, most beneficial to both.

There are hosts of cases, however, in all ages and countries, to prove that blind greed of gain makes capitalists, and especially corporations, a force with which the laborer cannot harmonize. In many cases coöperation is the scape-valve to give relief here. In a recent strike two workmen found the rapacity of capital, together with the stupidity and stubbornness of their comrades, too much to contend with. They started a small shop, and hired two helpers. Within a year they were making more than four times the fifteen dollars a week apiece which they received as factory wages. In other cases coöperation between capital and labor, in the form of giving workmen a small percentage of the business profits in addition to wages, or stock in the company owned by workpeople, has secured peaceful and therefore prosperous relations. Where there is an honest will for peace, there is a way to it.

*Geo. May Powell.*

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