SIBLEY COLLEGE LECTURES.—V.

BY THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY NON-RESIDENT LECTURERS IN MECHANICAL ENGINEERING.

THE RIDDLE OF THE SPHINX.*

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THE fact that "through all the ages one increasing purpose runs" is shown by the remarkable adaptation of classic myths to the uses of modern illustration. The extravagant allegory of the Theban sphinx might almost take rank as an apocalyptic vision, and would not seem out of place in the awful panorama of the future which unrolled before St. John at Patmos. Juno, it will be remembered, sent a formidable creature of composite architecture, to occupy the public highway near Thebes, propound a conundrum to passers-by, and rend and devour those who could not guess it. The thoughtful student of sociology and political economy is conscious of the presence in the great highway of progress of a monster fairly comparable to the sphinx. Its head and breast are human; the expression of its face is calm, but intense, patient, but terrible. Its body is the body of a lion—lithe, pliant, sinewy, and robed with quivering muscles. Its tail is the tail of a serpent. Its folded wings suggest that barriers and obstacles place no restraints upon its movements. Its name is labor; its riddle "the labor question." It stands face to face with society, demanding an answer. It has waited for generations, and perhaps it will wait yet a little longer the tardy response to its grim interrogatory, but it will not wait forever. Complex and difficult as the scarcely understood question it asks admittedly is, the answer must be found, and the flashing eye and lashing tail of the monster warn us that its demand is exigent.

The figure may seem a bold one, but it does not exaggerate the idea it is intended to convey. Unfortunately for society, the monster has a grievance. However blind one may be to the spread and influence of socialistic teachings, there is little excuse for persistence in cherishing the idea that the wage-earner has no cause for dissatisfaction with his situation and prospects, or that his proper duty in life is to imitate the excellent example of the pious shepherd of Salisbury Plain, who derived supreme contentment from the fact that a kind Providence had vouchsafed him salt to eat with his potatoes. Since the French revolution of 1793, there has been a steady, and of late a rapid, progress of the socialistic movement. More general education, a free press, and organization for resistance or aggression have been the agencies by which the working classes have gained clearer ideas of their power and opportunities. The dull despair of mediæval servitude has given place to an intelligent and profound discontent with a situation which every year seems to make more hopeless. Blind Samson stands chained, but if he shall bend himself upon the pillars against which he leans in sullen silence, the whole superstructure of society will come crashing to the ground, and nothing will restrain his purpose, should the mood seize him, even though that which he destroys must inevitably fall upon and crush him.

It is fortunate for those who have what they are pleased to consider, and society to recognize, as "vested rights," that labor has not yet found an answer to its own question. Socialism, using the term comprehensively, has thus far represented many and widely different purposes, immediate and ultimate, often at variance one with another. When its forces shall focalize upon one idea, we may be certain that, right or wrong, that idea will, for the time being, dominate human thought and action. When it shall direct its energies to the attainment of a fixed purpose, practicable or impracticable, it will move with resistless power.

The literature of socialism is a most instructive study, and shows very clearly a slow but steady progress toward the evolution of a social system having for its object the emancipation of labor from a condition of servitude, and the attainment of an equitable participation in the products of industry. It is in every aspect a labor movement, and the social revolution it proposes is only an incident of the industrial revolution it seeks to bring about. Such political significance as it possesses is due solely to the fact that under existing systems of government, class distinctions are recognized and guarded, and vested rights respected, including land titles, charters conferring valuable privileges, inheritance and individual proprietorship in many things which labor insists should belong to the State, that is, to the people.

To understand this subject at all, it will not serve our purpose to examine merely such phases as are presented for the study of those who are noting the progress of current events in this country. We must first gain some idea of the tendencies of the labor movement in Europe during at least a century, a retrospect which is necessary for two reasons, first, to show what may have been the aims and objects of social revolution in the past, and, secondly, how much more practical and purposeful the movement is now than it was even a few years ago.

Babœuf, guillotined in May, 1797, for an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Directory, was among the earliest of the writers on social problems to give direction to the movement as we find it to-day. Those who preceded him in French economic literature had rather voiced the complaint of the people than sought a means of bettering their condition. This statement should, of course, be made with some qualifications, but it is sufficiently accurate for the purposes of this discussion. Babœuf's leading idea was that "the aim of society is the happiness of all, and happiness consists in equality." Obviously, this is fallacious and self-contradictory. "Let all the arts perish," he proclaimed, "provided we attain real equality." "Nature has given to every man an equal right in the enjoyment of all goods." It is but fair to say that the term "equality" as employed by Babœuf is a mere shibboleth. His dream was a commonwealth in which all titles should be vested in the municipality, the village, the commune, great or small. Production should be carried on in common, and officers selected in some way should equably distribute the fruits of production. He proposed to bring these changes about gradually, titles held by individuals or corporations reverting to

the public during, say, fifty years, by the abolition of inheritance. His scheme provided for a government more absolute than any ever known, and a strict censorship of the press was deemed necessary to prevent the spread of erroneous ideas. In a word, it sought equality through the creation of officers with an authority undreamed of under any practicable system, and liberty by means of a government with powers of unlimited oppression. It is safe to say that when Babœuf's head dropped into the basket of sawdust, the cause of humanity did not suffer irreparable loss, whatever his own claims to grateful remembrance.

Cabet, who succeeded Babœuf as an apostle of socialism, gave a new and much more practical direction to the thoughts of those who were seeking to promote a more uniform and evenly developed civilization. Cabet's commune was a very different sort of Utopia from Babœuf's. In a fanciful romance entitled "A Voyage to Icaria," he describes the ideal state of society which he subsequently attempted to realize by founding a colony in what is now a part of Texas. His advance guard of Icarians settled on the Red River, but most of them died of yellow fever before Cabet arrived with a second company of emigrants. Gathering such following as he could command, he abandoned his first location and set out for the deserted city of Nauvoo, the first Mormon capital, intending to occupy it. His company at one time numbered 1,500, but lacking practical aims and without a competent head, they soon scattered. It is an interesting fact that a remnant of the original colony remain and keep the name Icaria, but Cabet's dream has found very limited fulfillment, although the Icarians are still governed according to his teachings. Cabet taught the amiable doctrine of fraternity, but did not demand equality in any literal sense, nor did he seek to abolish the family relation. He was a noble character and a moral hero, and his work has not been without benefit.

The next great light of socialism in France was Saint Simon, who has a good title to grateful remembrance from having aided with his sword the cause of the colonies during the Revolution, and also to a place in American history as the original projector of a transisthmian ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific. In the field of socialism he was an energetic and enthusiastic "crank," deriving his inspiration from Charlemagne, his alleged ancestor, who appeared to him in a vision during his imprisonment at Luxemburg. He suffered all sorts of vicissitudes, battling with poverty and even hunger, to reform society. An unsuccessful attempt at suicide when he was more than sixty years old shows that he considered life a failure, but, recovering, he resumed his labors and printed his three great works, "Catechisme des Industriels," "Nouveau Christianisme," and "Système Industrielle." He sought the welfare of society by universal peace; employment for all guaranteed by the state; government by a chosen ruler or leader, to be known as First Industrial; the abolition of inheritance and the promotion of the good, the true, and the beautiful. Upon this unobjectionable though impracticable foundation, his followers have built up all sorts of extravagances, for which the impartial biographer will not hold him responsible. He enjoys the distinction of being the first exponent of pure socialism founded on an economic system involving a common production and an equitable distribution, but without enforced social equality. After the death of Saint Simon, Enfantin and Bazard became the leaders of the movement, which gained considerable impetus after the revolution of 1830. A division occurred in 1831, and, later, the organization founded by Saint Simon went to pieces, but left its mark indelibly upon the socialistic movement in Europe.

About this time Fourier came to the front, and had some success, even finding followers in this country. I remember very well as a lad visiting a community or phalanx of Fourierites in New Jersey, an experiment in which Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, George Ripley, Albert Brisbane, Margaret Fuller, George William Curtis, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Dr. Channing, and many other excellent and eminent people took a great interest. Fourier's ideas were many and somewhat crude. His plan was the establishment of rural agricultural and industrial communities called phalanxes. He had great confidence in hens, and one may find much amusement in reading his calculation of how soon the debt of Great Britain might be paid in eggs. He was, perhaps, the first to devise a system of co-operative production, and one of the indirect results of his labors is the great community in Guise, France, where his best ideas have been realized. M. Goudin, of Guise, is undoubtedly an enlightened and advanced Fourierite, and his work entitled "Solutions Sociales" will probably have a lasting influence. A few facts concerning the great co-operative enterprise of Guise will be given under another head.

During the Empire, Louis Blanc attracted considerable attention in France with schemes of industrial organization, which were tested by the ministry in a way to discredit him and invite failure. The object of these experiments was undoubtedly to destroy the influence of Louis Blanc with the working classes, and convince them that he was a mere empiric, whose leadership they could not safely follow. It is difficult to predict what he might have accomplished with honest co-operation; perhaps as much for France as the eminently practical Rumford accomplished for Bavaria—results, by the way, which show that schemes for the betterment of humanity, the suppression of pauperism and vice and the improvement of the condition of the working classes, are not necessarily impracticable when wisely planned and carried out by the strong arm of autocratic power. I shall probably have something to say concerning Rumford's work in the second division of my subject. Louis Blanc was by no means as great a man as Rumford, but none the less he was one who properly merits the title of great, although, from causes beyond his control, he accomplished comparatively little.

Among recent leaders of the socialistic movement in France, there are many who claim more or less recognition. Proudhon is the most conspicuous, and he was at least successful as an agitator. He was a Radical of the Radicals, an avowed anarchist, and a believer in absolute equality. From such teachings no good can come, and none has come. More recent French writers have advocated the participation of labor in the profits of industry on the basis of industrial partnership, and thousands of French workingmen are conducting small manufacturing enterprises of their own. It is interest-

ing to note in passing that in the city of New York French mechanics are building up an industrial system very different from anything previously known in this country. There are many hundreds of French artisans quietly working in little shops of their own, using small steam powers and light machinery for the manufacture of specialties, in the production of which the great manufacturing establishments have not thus far been able to compete. These men live and work under one roof, and have their shops in all sorts of unexpected places. They manufacture art works of various kinds by electro-metallurgical processes, small art objects for ornamental purposes, passe-partouts and other light picture frames, and fine confectionery. Some of the artisans, working as I have described, are producing very beautiful goods. I know one taciturn old Frenchman, with a shop in the cellar of the house which he divides with three or four other families, who is making armor of the most beautiful design and finish, most of which is sold through the bric-a-brac shops at prices proportionate to the interest of the fictitious narratives furnished with them. These men earn more money and live better than they possibly could as wage earners in the great manufacturing establishments of the city, and if it were not that they are content, as the rule, with very small things, some of the industries they have founded would certainly develop and attain large proportions.

In Germany the socialistic movement has assumed a different and much more interesting phase. With a more intelligent leadership it has sought to build up a school of political economy which shall meet all the requirements of humanity and correct all the evils resulting from or incident to existing conditions. The great socialists of Germany have been students and thinkers rather than dreamers. They have sought to build up, rather than to destroy; to evolve a higher and more regularly developed civilization by practicable measures of reform rather than to attain Utopia by revolution. Although the more advanced have, at times, been held in suppression by the government under severe and, at times, cruel repressive measures, they have at other times exercised an immense influence, and at present the great Bismarck is stealing their ideas and even their shibboleths and incorporating them into the policy of the German Empire.

The representative socialists of Germany have included some of the most remarkable men of the century. If time permitted, we should find it a pleasure and a profit to review their writings. In some respects Karl Rodbertus, who died in 1875, was the most profound student of sociology the world has yet produced. He was to socialism what Ricardowas to political economy—exact, scientific, statistical, incontrovertible. The great evils which he labored to correct are pauperism and commercial crises. These, he believed, could be averted only by a system which guarantees to laborers an equitable share in the national production. Such a system must be established, regulated, and maintained by the state, which must fix values and determine the share which labor shall have of that which labor and capital jointly produce. The wages of labor are to be paid in labor-time money, based on the unit of one hour. If the productivity of labor doubles, the unit remains unchanged, and a given amount of labor-time money is doubled in purchasing power. Rodbertus did not believe in the abolition of land titles, nor did he believe that property was robbery. He taught no false doctrine of equality, but demanded that social inequalities should be based on merit alone. He was rather a great teacher than a leader or organizer, and he has left the impress of his thought upon all German socialistic literature of later date.

Another eminent and strictly representative student of social problems was Karl Marx, who died in 1883. Marx was an intellectual giant and a natural leader, but somewhat intemperate in his ideas and methods, and a little too intense for Germany. His most important work, "Capital," was published in London in 1867, and is, in some sense, a sequel to his "Critique on Political Economy," published in 1859. "Capital" has been called the scripture of the social democrats. It is a work of admitted ability and ranks among the greatest treatises on political economy ever written. As an analyst of history Marx was certainly extremely clever, and upon such analysis he built his scheme of social progress and development. He was chiefly instrumental in organizing the International Workingmen's Association, which had vast potentialities of good or evil, but ceased in 1875 to have a visible organized existence. Its spirit still lives, however, and is a potentiality of incalculable power. Its work is not yet accomplished, and cannot be predicted.

Resembling Marx in many respects, but widely differing from him in others, Ferdinand Lasalle is undoubtedly the most brilliant and picturesque figure in the history of social democracy. While yet a student he wrote his "Philosophy of Heraclitus the Obscure," and challenged the attention of the greatest men of his time. Humboldt called him an infant miracle, and sought his friendship. In 1861 he produced his "System of Acquired Rights," which is rated as the ablest legal book of the century. He began his agitation on behalf of the working classes in 1862, with fiery zeal and enthusiasm, tempered by rare tact and discretion. He was the first to effectively organize labor in Germany on a large scale, and its present power in German politics is in a great degree due to his mastership. His writings on social and economic subjects have changed but little, if any, the theory of social democracy. He popularized the profound teachings of Louis Blanc, Rodbertus, and Marx, by presenting them in a form intelligible to the average laborer, and thus vitalized them. His work, however, is not without originality, since he was quick to perceive and apply the economic laws which others had patiently formulated and statistically demonstrated. Perhaps, however, he will be misjudged if judged by his socialistic writings alone. It is safe to assume that he adapted his teachings to those he taught, and advanced only such propositions for immediate consideration as he thought would be understood and accepted by his followers, intending to lead them on step by step as they progressed in intelligence and gained capacity for organization and concerted action. His death in a duel terminated his brilliant, but somewhat unfruitful, career. Had he lived ten years longer, the Universal German Laborers' Union, which he founded, would probably have become a mighty power, but it has since lacked a leader of Lasalle's capacity. Prince Bismarck knew and greatly

* Portions of this lecture are adapted from an address on "The Engineer and the Wage Earner," delivered by the author as President of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, at the meeting in Halifax, N. S., September, 1885.

admired Lasalle, and has been, it is said, in no small degree influenced by his writing. The accident insurance law of Germany was a distinctive socialistic measure, and others of like nature are expected to follow. It is an interesting fact that the Chancellor of the German Empire, who once persecuted the social democrats as Saul persecuted the early Christians, has acknowledged their power and is yielding to it, though without confessing it.

At the present time the professorial school of socialists is doing most to promote the progress of socialism in Germany. Its representatives include many of the best men at the German universities, and their influence upon the rising generation is obviously very great. In Great Britain socialism is apparently something quite different from what we find it on the Continent. Under judicious and enlightened leadership it has accomplished great things in co-operative distribution, and aims at results equally important in co-operative production. It is moving slowly and by practical means to the attainment of desirable ends, and among these is the solution of the land question and the curtailment of the power of the Peers. Mr. James Swift, General Secretary of the Steam Engine Makers' Society, in a report on the progress of the labor movement from 1866 to 1886, concludes as follows: "Trades unions and their members were ridiculed, condemned, and despised in 1866. . . . All this has been changed within the twenty years that have intervened, which goes to prove that extensive reforms have been effected in combinations, to secure the influence they possess and the power they are at the present day. Their members are no longer (in a moral sense) outlaws; they are no longer under fear of prosecutions for asserting the terms on which they will dispose of their labor. Their societies' funds are protected, and their leaders secure the respect of former opponents. Their societies are strong, but they rarely abuse their strength, and as a rule their members are law-abiding citizens. They have a great future before them if they use their power wisely, while their political influence can decide the fate of governments. They have also serious responsibilities to their fellow workmen and the country generally; but we have every confidence that the future will see them discharge their duty to their employers, their duty to the state, and help to maintain our country's supremacy as the chief manufacturers of the world."

In Russia socialism is so closely identified with nihilism that it is difficult to separate them. Its best known leaders are mostly in Siberia, and until political revolution shall have emancipated the people, freedom of speech and organization for the promotion of social progress will be impossible. In southern Europe the Black Hand represents the most advanced ideas of agitators and revolutionists, and concerning this we can know but little. I think the time not far distant, however, when we shall learn more.

From such study of socialism in Europe as I have been able to make, I am convinced its tendency is in the direction of revolution—primarily political, secondarily economic. Its political significance is at the moment paramount. This is natural, for the reason that until the whole system of government is changed in every European country, no scheme of social progress is considered practicable. Of necessity the socialist becomes a revolutionist, and it is not surprising that all forms of nihilism, communism, and political conspiracy derive their support from the classes which feel that the burden of misgovernment must be lifted from their shoulders before they can stand erect and claim their rights as citizens and producers. The labor question there is, consequently, a very different one from that which presents itself here. An intelligent and progressive nation, living under a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," with every natural and acquired advantage, should be and probably will be the ones to lead the movement by which the great social problem is to be solved. For this reason it has for us an interest quite distinct from that which attaches to its phases in the Old World.

Those of us who trace our origin to New England stock, and who claim a more or less direct inheritance of name and character from the Pilgrim fathers, should remember that Plymouth was a socialistic experiment. The Pilgrims were largely agricultural laborers, who had a double reason for leaving England. Religious persecution was one reason; a desire to exempt themselves from conditions hopelessly opposed to the improvement of their fortunes was another. We may also remember without injustice to their memory that they endured the privations and sufferings here encountered, not wholly because of a force of character which forbade them to abandon an enterprise in which they had engaged, but because the conditions to which they must return, if they abandoned the shores of America, were even less agreeable than those they must face by remaining. They founded here a commonwealth, with equality and fraternity as its corner stone. It was not long before they found that severalty in ownership was essential to social welfare, and the New England of to-day may be considered the legitimate outgrowth of this discovery.

So far as I can learn, those who are likely to exercise an important influence upon the working classes of this country have very different aims in view from those presented in the writings of representative European socialists. It involves a great mistake, however, to define socialism as a noxious exotic brought here by immigrants who were born discontented. The cause of humanity is universal, but different evils demand different remedies. Perhaps we can readily understand how it is that centuries of misgovernment and oppression, and the accumulated burdens of extravagant monarchies and useless wars, have made the working classes of Europe restless and discontented; but why, it is asked, should unrest and discontent exist in this great and new world? Here no man is oppressed; equal citizenship and a free ballot place each man's destiny in his own hands.

I grant that the conditions here are different from those existing in most countries of the Old World, and that the difference is in favor of the working classes of America; but even a casual examination of the relations which have already taken shape between the social classes here will show that we have grave problems of our own to consider, which demand our most careful study. Of these the least serious are those which attract the attention of the newspapers and invite the interference of the police. The inflammatory

utterances of nihilist refugees and the vehement orators of the Sand Lots, the resolutions passed at meetings of the so-called communists and the impotent conspiracies of restless spirits who delight in planning revolution and destruction, may be dismissed as mere breaches of the peace. This is the serpent tail of the Sphinx, disquieting but comparatively harmless—the rattle, not the fang. The movement which has in it the power and potency of unmeasured good or evil makes no threats, hides no incendiary torch, and plots no secret deeds of violence. It does not rendezvous in beer cellars and gather in mobs to terrorize our city authorities. It has organization, however, and is felt in the councils of the working classes. Even in free America socialism has gained more than a foothold, and its influence is already seen and felt in legislation directed against monopolies. The Granger movement in the Western States, the advocacy of the postal telegraph, the opposition to national banks, the outcry against land grants and subsidies, trade unions, national labor leagues, anti-monopoly leagues, co-operative insurance associations—these are a few of the phases of socialism in its American aspect. All such movements are tending in one direction, and are prompted by the instinct of self-protection.

In reasoning upon this subject, especially if misled by the illusions of half-knowledge, it is easy to deceive one's self. There was a time when industry and thrift were the sole conditions of success in this country. Perhaps they still are in portions of our territory newly opened to settlement, and, to a certain limited extent, in the older and more thickly settled districts. But one who ventures to talk that sort of platitudes to the wage-earner in any of our great productive industries will be likely to fatigue him. It is undoubtedly true that in no country of the world has the man with labor to sell so free a market in which to sell it as in America. The country is yet comparatively new, and there is still so much land open to settlement that mouths have not yet begun to multiply more rapidly than food. There are so many examples in which, under favoring conditions, industry and thrift have secured to the wage-earner independence, and even wealth, that those of us who have never known from personal experience what it is to overcome the difficulties which beset the mechanic in his struggle for self-improvement and social advancement are very free with good advice for those who ask it, as well as for those who do not. But there is good reason to suppose that we know very little of the actual situation of the average workingman, and that we have no adequate conception of the strength of the cords which bind him down in the place which our industrial system has made for him. In considering the position of the wage earner in any one of our great industries, we must remember that the progress of half a century has closed to him many of the doors which once stood open to industry and thrift. The high perfection of the machinery employed in all branches of production has destroyed the apprentice system, or at least so much of it as was advantageous to the apprentice.

The young man upon whom devolves the necessity of self-support has very little chance to learn a trade. He can and does learn a part of it, but beyond acquiring a general familiarity with one or two operations in an industrial process, he reaches man's estate with very little more knowledge of the trade he has undertaken to master than he had when he began. His chances of gaining the comprehensive knowledge which is needed to fit him for advancement to responsible positions of management and direction are so small that they may be said to be as nothing. His early education is such as boys without home advantages are likely to gain in the free schools, and of this he will retain only the elements. He can read, write, and compute in the four simple rules of arithmetic; but his mind is untrained, and unless he has a strong natural bent for study there is little likelihood of his supplementing the deficiencies of his education by systematic and profitable reading. Were he disposed to do this, he could not find the books which would serve his purpose. Even elementary works presume a knowledge greater than his, and if he should make the attempt, as thousands of ambitious young mechanics have done, to improve his mind by reading the text-books of his trade, he would abandon the task, as thousands have before him, because between him and the beginnings of technical literature there is a gulf which he finds impassable. He knows his daily work, and it yields him a support. The future is before him—full of hope, perhaps, but offering no tangible goal for his ambition. As the rule, he marries young. His earnings will support a wife, living as the people of his class live, and he cuts off the slight remaining chance of bettering his condition by thus anchoring himself in the sphere to which he was born. The children which come to him are dear to his heart, but every one added to the number is only another millstone about the neck of his ambition. His home may be as happy and comfortable as a virtuous and industrious wife can make it with the slender resources at her command, but it is cramped and crowded, and the ever-present cradle is an obstacle to self-improvement which only genius can overcome. His youthful ambition matures into the hope that he will be able to earn food and shelter for his dependents. He realizes, however, that he is but a part of the great industrial machine, and that forces as far beyond his individual control as are those which hold the planets in their orbits determine whether he shall attain the measure of even this reasonable hope. He works when it serves the purpose of capital that he shall work; he stands idle when capital orders production to stop. His savings in time of prosperity are consumed in times of depression, and the debts then incurred become a mortgage upon his future. His children have no brighter outlook than he had. As they grow up, each in turn must help carry the burden. Of what use is it to him to know that in the far West there are unmeasured acres of fertile land, and that he may have a farm for the asking? How shall he get there? How can he bridge the interval between leaving the daily work which feeds his family and reaping the harvest which that land would yield? How shall he build his house and his barn and provide the implements of husbandry? Who will teach him how to break the virgin soil and plant the fruitful seed? He cannot escape from the servitude of his trade, whatever its vicissitudes. He is a free citizen of a free country, but the brass collar of Gurth, born thrall of Cedric the Saxon, was lighter and more easily borne than are the

shackles with which the exigent demands of his daily life have bound him hand and foot.

The wage-earner may be ignorant of science and the arts, and the sum of his exact knowledge may be only that which he has gained in his closely circumscribed daily toil; but he is not blind, and his thoughts do not take the shape of daily and hourly thanksgiving that his condition is not worse than it is. He sees on every side the lavish display of wealth in which he has no part. He sees a large and growing class enjoying inherited abundance. In a word, he sees the power of capital ever widening while the sphere of the wage-earner is becoming daily more and more circumscribed. He cannot fail to reason that there must be something wrong in a system which effects such unequal distribution of the wealth created by labor. In the union, which is his defense against the oppressions of individual or corporate greed, he meets the thousand others who, like himself, feel that their only hope is in destroying the existing relations of labor and capital and substituting for them a better and more equitable system of joint participation in the profits of production. He may reason wrongly, but it does not help the matter to tell him so. He may act on wrong impulses, but if repressed and defeated, he will try again. With him the impulse to pull down and destroy, and to create equality in suffering because no other equality is possible, does not now exist as a purpose; but scarcely a year passes without giving evidence that it may flash into instant action, and that in the discontent of the working classes we have the potentialities of inestimable catastrophe.

If the average wage-earner was in any sense to blame for having stood still while more enterprising and more fortunate members of society climbed past him to the higher planes he cannot now reach, he would be entitled to very different sort of consideration. The hopelessness of his position consists in his ignorance. The progress of the arts has been so rapid that few men starting in life without education are able to keep pace with them, or, indeed, to acquire such familiarity with principles that they can hope to attain to responsible positions of management. While the sphere of those born to serve has been thus steadily narrowing, the sphere of those so fortunately situated that they have been able to acquire liberal education is steadily broadening. The capitalist is rarely safe in intrusting his interests in production to the merely practical man. Success in business enterprises of every kind now depends upon so many things of which the merely practical man knows little or nothing, that management is usually intrusted to the man who combines education and experience, and his staff of responsible assistants is made up of young men of education, who take subordinate positions to gain experience. In all but exceptional instances, the future of the average mechanic promises nothing better than continuance in the labor he has learned, as a competitor with machinery which may at any time displace him, and force him to seek some other and perhaps less congenial employment, or starve.

We must also remember that in an industrial system good organization tends to the specialization of labor. The superintendent of a manufacturing establishment rarely has an application for employment from a mechanic who knows the trade as a trade, and is prepared for any assignment which may be given him. He must organize his working force by selecting from applicants each of whom has, or claims, a special skill in one operation or process; and the greater the industry, the more marked the subdivision of labor. Even in shoe making there are many processes, and the man who has learned to polish heels would have a new trade to learn if set to pegging soles or cramping uppers. This specialization of labor is the direct result of the introduction of machinery in mechanical processes; and while it is undoubtedly true that man plus machinery is the industrial unit, man has become a factor of uncertain and steadily diminishing value. The workingman realizes this more and more keenly every year. He sees that an industrial system which considers only the volume and economy of production has cut him off from the chance of learning the trade at which he works; and the schools from which he and his children can derive no benefit are furnishing graduates whose superior fitness for organization and management close to him every avenue of advancement. To dispense with the little skill he has gained is the constant aim of his superiors, and he can never know when arms of iron that tire not, and fingers of steel that work with mechanical precision, shall come to take his place, or when the progress of science shall discover ways of rendering his knowledge of no further use. Is it to be wondered at that such a man is discontented and restless, and that if it is left to him to solve the great problem of a satisfactory readjustment of the relations of the classes, he will try dangerous and impractical methods, knowing no others? He has a grievance in the misfortune of birth under conditions which have given him little or no chance for self-improvement, and he rebels against his fate. These are plain and practical truths, known to us all, but perhaps not realized in all their grim significance. We no longer have use as an industrial symbol for the brawny arm wielding a hammer with which we were once familiar, and may forget the old couplet,

"By hammer and hand
All arts do stand."

It is the shape of a man's head, and not the circumference of his arm, which determines his place in the industries, and our new couplet might read,

"Brains command
Both hammer and hand."

To show how much of warrant there is for the feeling on the part of labor that even in America its position is one of helpless and hopeless servitude, one need but quote the arrogant language of those who represent the employing class. Some months ago there was a strike in an important Western iron works against an oppressive reduction of wages. During the course of this strike one of the owners of the mill was interviewed as to its probable outcome, and expressed himself in a way calculated to bring the hot blush of shame to the cheek of every man with self-respect or respect for his fellow men. Omitting names, I quote him as follows:

"The iron and steel business is depressed, and what do we care whether the mills are running or not? I am only a small stockholder, but what does Mr. A, Mr. B, or Mr. C care about the strike? All the directors of

the company are off enjoying their vacations, and they will eat just as many square meals and drink as many kinds of wine for dinner as though the mills were in full blast. Why should they care? They are all independent of the income they may derive from the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company. Mr. C, I know, has an income of \$30,000 a year from another source. *I tell you, the directors will see the grass growing ten feet high all over the mill before they will yield to the strikers.* And while the directors are enjoying themselves, *these cattle out here are starving.* We call them cattle because we hire them, not for the brains but for the muscle that is in them. They are not to blame because they are cattle. It is their misfortune. I like to see the laborers get all they can, and I am sorry for these poor devils, but, pshaw! they can never force their terms. They must come to us. *Yes, it is true that our company has made thousands, and I might say millions, but are we going to distribute the profits now with these workmen?* Not much. *I tell you, we've raised the Black Flag, and we are going to keep it up.* The strikers can hold their meetings and resolve and write lies to the papers, and the papers can damn the . . . rolling mill company, and it won't amount to the snap of a finger. . . . We . . . have canceled our orders, and can well afford to rest. Pretty soon these poor devils will come begging to get back, and we will take back all we see fit to at our terms. We beat them years ago, and we will always beat them."

Commenting on this arrogant and even brutal boast, a labor paper said:

"These utterances remind us of similar expressions used just before the French revolution. . . . The picture is just the same. The nobles (or stockholders) have made thousands, and even millions, off the labor of their 'cattle,' as this fool . . . dares to call them; yet they are unwilling to abate one jot or tittle of their 'rights.' They must eat as many delicacies and drink as many different kinds of wines as before. . . . With an honest stupidity he goes on to tell why 'we' call the workmen 'cattle,' goes on to acknowledge that they have made thousands and even millions of dollars in the past, yet for all that the wages of their 'cattle' must come down as they wish. So far the French revolution has repeated itself with strange fidelity. The same bread riots, labor disturbances on the part of 'cattle, as we call them,' the same disregard of modest demands, the same haughty, aristocratic spirit opposing every compromise, granting nothing to avert starvation, as previous to 1789. That French fool of a wit who said the 'canaille could eat grass' received a terrible punishment a few years later. He was caught by a 'mob,' and hung to a lamp post. His mouth was stuffed with grass. His head was severed from the body, and, elevated on a pike, it was carried through the aristocratic quarters. The flippant mouth stuffed with the grass it had advised the people to eat might have been a warning for all ages to come, if fools could be warned. We should not be surprised if the similarity to the French revolution repeated itself still further. 'Cattle' will play an important and vigorous part then."

I present these quotations as striking illustrations of cause and effect. One has better reason to wonder at the cruel boastfulness of the employer than at the impassioned and indignant response of the workingman. The incident is characteristic. It illustrates the relation which unquestionably exists between capital and labor in a general way; it shows how capital seeks to guard its interests, and what schemes of retribution are taking shape in the brain of labor. If, through ignorance and moral helplessness, the wage earning classes are to the classes who govern through superior intelligence as cattle to their masters, it need cause no surprise if they exercise their brute force ruthlessly and with no conception of the ultimate consequences.

Henry George, in his "Progress and Poverty," states certain startling facts with great force. Perhaps, however, the coincidence to which he calls attention cannot be more strikingly illustrated than by means of a parable based upon the happenings of a few years in a town which, within my recollection, has grown from a village to a manufacturing center. Why progress is, as Henry George describes it, a wedge driven not under but through society, raising those above the point of separation and degrading those below it, I leave to the political economists to explain. How it operates in the way described I shall try to show by a simple and easily understood illustration.

In 1860 the village, which we will call Linden, had the characteristic features of all villages in agricultural districts, and the traveler alighting from the stage coach at the steps of its little tavern felt that, at last, he had placed himself outside the busy circle of the world's activities and industries. Linden was not a paradise, and no doubt the younger portion of the community thought it a very dull, sleepy place, without enterprise—a good place to get away from as soon as possible. But to the student of social problems Linden was a most interesting village. It contained but little wealth, but one might look there in vain for evidences of the kind of poverty with which dwellers in more progressive neighborhoods are so familiar. Some had a modest property, and others had little or nothing, but social distinctions based on these differences were unknown. Force of character and moral worth gave some a recognized social and political leadership, but in church or town meeting or neighborly intercourse, the richest and the poorest met on equal terms, and the son of the "Squire," who had been in the legislature and occupied the most pretentious mansion on the main street, might woo and wed the daughter of the poor widow who nursed the sick and wove carpet rags for support, if thither attracted by a fair face and a good name, without the sacrifice of any social advantage. There was enough for all, room for all, work for all. Even the village drunkard somehow managed to eke out a precarious but sufficient subsistence, and his sons and daughters found shelter in other and better homes, and, being themselves worthy and reputable, were welcome to a place in its social life.

If the traveler was interested in problems akin to those which engage our attention to-night, he would look about him to see how labor fared in this community. Among the resident mechanics were those usually found in villages which are the centers of small and scattered agricultural communities. Probably the most important of the village artisans was the blacksmith. He was a man wise in his craft, an ingenious practical mechanic who could meet all the demands

upon his skill. He was not always busy at the anvil, and his charges were certainly not exorbitant, but he owned and occupied as comfortable a home as any in the village, and was a much respected man. People called him "fore-handed." He was a deacon in the church, a selectman, and as a citizen he had no reason to take off his hat to any one. The harness maker was also the person of considerable local importance. His shop adjoined his comfortable dwelling, and his daughter taught the village school. For years he had been a justice of the peace, and was regarded as a valuable citizen and an excellent neighbor. In the hollow near the brook was the shop of the wheelwright and the wagon maker. He lived in a comfortable house with a few acres of well cultivated land about it, and between his trade and incidental farming had done well and accumulated something. There was also the carpenter. He was "a handy man," as the neighbors said, and could do anything from building a house or barn to mending a broken cradle. He worked at his trade when opportunity offered, and on his land between times, and in one way or another had managed to live comfortably and maintain a good social position. The village also had its tinsmith and general mechanic, who sold stoves and in the mechanical line did almost everything which the blacksmith or carpenter could not do. He owned a comfortable house, and his family was as good as any one's family. The student of the labor problem noting these facts would naturally conclude that here the problem had solved itself. Linden was the Utopia of the socialist's dream. Here labor paid no tribute to capital, but enjoyed the fruits of industry, and poverty was unknown. Such was the fact, and thus it might have been to-day had not the wave of progress which swept over the country between 1860 and 1870 struck this happy village, and inspired its people with a desire to stimulate its growth and make it more important than a dot on the county map. In 1861 it secured a railroad connection with the nearest large town, and the completion of the line was the occasion of a great local celebration. But if the happenings of the future could have been foreseen, the shriek of the first locomotive that passed through Linden would have sounded to more than one of the delighted people like the wail of the Banshee, foretelling grief and calamity.

When the new railroad was fairly in operation, the good people of the village began to feel very enterprising. Desirable real estate was held at double its former valuation, and those who owned it congratulated themselves that they had grown quite rich. To bring in fresh population, increase the local business, and make Linden an important town was a perfectly natural ambition on the part of the more public spirited citizens. It was discovered that good natural advantages for manufacturing existed, and if these were made evident, outside capital would come in and "boom" Linden into prominence. One day there was held in the Squire's office a meeting at which probably a dozen leading citizens were present. They included the Squire, three or four farmers who had retired with a modest competence, the two general store-keepers of the village, the blacksmith, the wheelwright, the local physician, and a few others. The object of the meeting was to consider the advisability of organizing a company to manufacture farm wagons and agricultural implements. The wheelwright and blacksmith had conceived the idea, and were prepared to undertake its practical management, besides subscribing something to the capital if the company could be organized. The necessary investments and estimated profits were carefully considered, and the result of the meeting was the organization of the Linden Manufacturing Co., with a capital of \$100,000—\$50,000 paid in. The people held their breath when the announcement was made public, and visions of a future great city came in dreams that night to more than one of those who had staked all they had or could borrow upon the issue of the enterprise. The Squire was elected president of the company, as the one best fitted to conduct its financial management. The wheelwright, a clever, energetic man, became secretary and treasurer. The blacksmith was elected superintendent, and from the other stockholders a board of directors was chosen. The company was duly incorporated, the capital subscribed, and work upon a factory begun.

In considering the details of the scheme, it became evident that the village did not afford accommodations for the families of the workmen to be employed, and this must be provided for. The company must build some houses. After due conference, a piece of land—cheap, low-lying, and undesirable—was selected, and a dozen or more houses built, the like of which had never before been seen in Linden. Lots thirty feet wide and fifty feet deep were deemed to be large enough, "because, you know," said the president, "these workmen won't have any time to make garden." A rental of fifty dollars a year was all that the company expected, and they built with a view to making that amount of income cover interest and taxes. It never occurred to the wheelwright secretary or the blacksmith superintendent that the company should provide houses like theirs for the workmen who were coming. Cheap tenements in a crowded row were good enough. They knew how wage-earners lived in other centers, large and small, and Linden must provide tenements suitable for poor people if it wanted the advantages of manufacturing. Finally the preparations were completed. The factory was started with labor gathered from anywhere, and everybody shook hands with his neighbor and congratulated him that, with a railroad connection and a factory, Linden was on the high road to prosperity.

Ten years pass. Let us look at Linden again, and see what has befallen the pretty village. It would be hard to recognize it, so completely has it changed. The wagon and implement factory has become a great establishment, widely known for the excellence of its product, and paying its stockholders large dividends. It employs in its several departments at least two hundred men. There are three other manufactories in town, all doing well—from the stockholders' point of view. In fact, it has become quite a manufacturing center, and has a population of something over 3,000, mostly dependent upon local industries. We notice some familiar buildings. There is the Squire's house, now owned and occupied by a local tradesman. The Squire's new house is that pretentious mansion on the hill yonder—the finest in town. The one to the right is the new house

of the secretary of the wagon company. The house he used to live in now holds two or three families. That substantial brick house on the corner belongs to the general superintendent of the same company. He used to be the village blacksmith, but is now a bank director and a very important personage. In fact, all the large and pretentious houses in this part of the town belong to gentlemen more or less prominently identified with manufacturing. Now, let us take a look on the other side of the railroad. Here we find something very different. The tenements built by the wagon manufacturing company ten years ago look really aristocratic amid their yet meaner surroundings. Linden has back streets now, and neighborhoods of a kind one might have sought in vain in the village as we remember it. A good many of the mechanic class have died since the factory was started, and left widows and orphans without support. Linden has plenty of poor, and the ladies on the hill find amusement and a certain sentimental exaltation in maintaining a system of charitable relief, which, as usual, reaches the least deserving first and exhausts itself in encouraging mendicancy. The wage earners live very differently from the mechanics of the village as we first knew it. There is not one of them who could own or rent the blacksmith's old home, or that of the harness maker. If he had one of these places rent free, he could not afford to live in it and keep it up in good shape.

If we remain a while in Linden, we shall find that its social life has changed as much as the outward appearance of the village. The Squire's family have become extremely exclusive. They are the center of a little coterie which includes people who have been so fortunate as to make money, but does not include many of their old associates of village days. Many of them spend their winters away from Linden, and during the summer depend for pleasure more upon company from town than upon anything which the village affords.

To the people of this class, the workmen and their families are known merely as so many common people, made of coarser clay than they and in no way a matter of concern until they invite the attention of the constables or come under the supervision of the ladies' relief association. Indeed, there are few places in which social distinctions are so marked as in Linden. Moral worth counts for very little unless it is gilded. All this has come about within ten years. During this period the rich have become obviously richer and the poor evidently poorer. There are several saloons in the hollow, which seem to be well patronized. "By whom?" you ask. "By the working men principally." "But," you say, "when I was here before, the mechanics I met were not the kind who would have given the saloons much support, even had they been more numerous." "No," replies your guide, "they were a very different sort of people from these." "Did not the difference," you ask, "result in great degree from the restraints imposed by their social position? Was not the fact that they were respected by others and socially recognized the source of that self-respect which made them what they were?" "No doubt," answers your companion, "but all that has changed now. These workmen must be content with their own society. No one else either cares or knows what they do when they are not working." "But do not the good influences of church and school operate as they used to?" "Oh, no," answers your companion. "Why should they? These people have no place even in the churches where the richer people attend. There is a little missionary chapel over yonder, where they can go if they want to, but if they were to show themselves in one of the churches in the upper part of the town, they would be frozen out very quickly. As to the schools, only workmen's children attend those which are free. People of means send their children to the Academy and pay for their tuition rather than have them contaminated by daily contact with children born under less advantageous circumstances." Having a favorable opportunity to talk with an intelligent workman, you ask him how it fares with him, and he replies, "Oh, well, I don't know as I have any reason to complain. The company pay as good wages as I could get elsewhere, and I manage to get along, although it is pretty close work to keep out of debt and maintain a decent appearance. The company is paying big dividends, I am told, but I don't know as that does us any good."

Let us visit Linden again a few years later. General business is not prosperous just now, and the demand for wagons and agricultural implements has fallen off to such an extent that stock is accumulating in its warehouses. The directors of the Linden Manufacturing Co. have a meeting, and decide upon a 15 per cent. reduction of wages. The men demur. "Very well," says the superintendent, "we will close the works. It is of no advantage for us to go on manufacturing just for your accommodation. During prosperous times we paid you good wages, and now that business is dull and prices low, you decline to accede to a necessary and reasonable reduction. The company has treated you right in every way. We should not reduce your wages if we did not consider it necessary to do so, but since you have refused, I hereby give notice that every man who does not go to work next Monday morning at the prices named may consider himself discharged, and if we have to close the works, we will do so."

This ultimatum is received in silence, and the men withdraw to confer. That evening the room of the local union is crowded, and when the meeting is called to order there is an ominous stillness. The chairman briefly states the object of the meeting. He says: "We are called together to consider what action we shall take on the proposition of the Linden Manufacturing Co. to reduce our wages 15 per cent. It is unnecessary, gentlemen, that I should call your attention to the importance of deciding this question with deliberation. What is your pleasure?"

A man in the middle of the room rises. "Mr. Chairman: I move it is the sense of this meeting that the following resolutions be adopted: *Resolved*, that the employes of the Linden Manufacturing Co. respectfully request the officers to submit to a committee of arbitration the question whether a reduction of wages is called for at this time, and if so, how much. *Resolved*, that we name Richard Henning, Thomas W. Brunson, and Matthew Reardon a committee of three to represent the workmen, with authority to agree on our behalf to the decision of a board composed of the three men named, three representatives of the company, and one other to be chosen by a majority of the six."

After some debate, the resolution is adopted by a decisive majority. A committee is appointed to wait upon the superintendent and obtain his answer, and the meeting adjourns until 8 o'clock the following evening.

The appointed hour found the room again full of anxious workmen. The chairman took his seat, called the meeting to order, and directed the reading of the minutes. The first business in order was the report of the special committee appointed to confer with the superintendent. The chairman of the committee arose and spoke as follows: "Mr. President: Your committee appointed to wait upon the superintendent and present the resolutions adopted last evening regret the necessity of reporting that their errand was unsuccessful. Mr. Brown at first refused to see us as a committee, sending out word that the company was willing to hear what any workman in their employ might have to say for himself, but that they must decline to receive a delegation as a delegation. With the consent of my associates, I then asked to see Mr. Brown alone, and was admitted to his office. He asked whether I had come to say that I would or would not go to work Monday morning at the reduction. I said to him, 'Mr. Brown, I cannot answer that question just now, but if you will hear what I have to say, I will probably be able to answer you day after to-morrow.' 'Very well,' said he, 'go on.' I then told him that last night the men affected by the proposed reduction had a meeting and adopted a set of resolutions which I had been instructed to present for his consideration. I handed him the paper, and he read it. 'Is that all you have to say to me?' he asked. I said it was all at present. 'Well,' said he, 'I will send you an answer in writing to-morrow.' I then came away, and about an hour ago I received this letter, which, with your permission, I will read:

OFFICE OF THE LINDEN MANUFACTURING CO.
June 4, 1877.

Mr. Richard Henning:

The resolutions you handed me yesterday were duly considered at a meeting of the directors held last evening, and I am instructed to reply as follows:

The Linden Manufacturing Co. does not recognize any meeting or committee as authorized to express or convey the decision of those in its employ. However, as it is well to avoid any misunderstandings, you are authorized to communicate to whom you will the contents of this letter.

The officers of this company decline to submit to arbitration any question at present at issue between themselves and those in their employ. They consider themselves perfectly competent to manage their own business, and have no use for the services, in an advisory capacity, of the persons named in the resolution.

As bearing upon your personal decision, permit me to say that the reduction of wages decided upon has become necessary, owing to the depressed condition of trade and the decline in prices. If we consulted our own interests, we should close the works; but rather than do this we are willing to give employment to such of our hands as care to accept a proposition which we deem liberal. Those who do not want to work for the wages offered need not do so. We shall not undertake to coerce or persuade them. When we feel that we can advance wages again, we will do so; but if our workmen decide to strike, we shall simply carry out our original intention of closing the works until such time as it suits us to open them again. We shall submit to no dictation now or in future, and those who do not like our system of management can look for work where they will be better suited.

If you are pleased to make any use of this letter in a public meeting, please say that the company requests that no more committees be appointed to wait upon the superintendent, as he will be under the necessity of declining to recognize them as representing any one but themselves, or, in the event of a strike, as workmen in the company's employ.

Respectfully,

G. R. BROWN, Superintendent.

The reading of this letter, though not materially differing from what had been expected, created a profound indignation. It was a cold-blooded, insulting document—a heartless assertion of arbitrary power. The men, who might have conceded a reduction of 15 per cent. had the reasons for it been explained to them, and a promise made them in good faith that their interests would be protected in future, felt justly incensed at the tone of the superintendent's communication, and for two hours the hall rang with vigorous denunciations of the company and its management, and stirring appeals to those present to resist its policy of oppression at any sacrifice. Before the discussion closed an old man arose and secured recognition. He said: "Mr. President: I am old enough to have learned something from experience, and one of the things I have learned is that, however hot the frying pan may be, the fire is hotter. The letter which has been sent in reply to our resolutions is an insult to this meeting. It is a good thing to remember, but it is not well for us to move to our own disadvantage under the impulse of passion. The company has got us where we cannot help ourselves. We had better submit until it comes our turn. My advice is that we go to work on Monday, and if we must accept the 15 per cent. reduction, let it be with the determination that the company must pay it back with interest when the time comes.

"I came here when the business started in 1862. It was a small concern then, and there are not more than two or three in the room who came when I did. This man Brown, who writes so supercilious, was a blacksmith, and was no better than any one else. There was not a stockholder in the company who was any better than I was, and half the capital with which the concern started was borrowed. Look at them now. Every one of them is rich, and people like us aint good enough for them to wipe their feet on. What has made them rich? Was it their capital or was it our labor? For every dollar they have paid us, we have earned them five, and while they have got rich, how is it with us? I am poorer to-day, a great deal, than when I came here fourteen years ago, for I have not the health and strength I had then. It costs more to live, and I have less to live on. I used to live in a house, but I scarcely know what to call the place I live in now. Probably Mr. Brown would call it a sty. Do you think I love these men who have grown rich on my labor? Do you think I would hold my hand if I

could make them feel the blow I would strike if I could? When the time comes, I would cut off my right arm if I could pay these men the debt I owe them. Damn their hypocritical professions of poverty and the necessity of cutting down wages. They have \$100,000 of surplus, and if the men in this room do not sooner or later divide that surplus, they will deserve to go hungry; but not now. I move that this meeting adjourn subject to the call of the chair."

The speech had its effect. Its meaning was well understood, and when, on the following Monday, every man was at his place, the people who judged from surface indication only might have supposed that the trouble was over. The president shook hands with the superintendent, and the direct s congratulated him on the masterly way in which he had managed the workmen and stamped out the spirit of insubordination which had begun to show itself. But there was no handshaking or congratulation in the shop. The men were sullen and silent, working without heart and seizing every opportunity which offered to reduce the value of their labor as much as the company had reduced wages. And when Saturday night came, and each man took his envelope, he squeezed it between his thumb and first finger, and, realizing how little was in it, cursed in his heart the company and all its belongings.

Meanwhile the words of the old man had not been forgotten, and a deep-seated desire to make the company pay dearly for its triumph in 1877 took possession of those who were regarded as leaders. The local unions were strengthened and brought into closer relations with the national unions, and those who were in a position to save something from their scanty earnings became frugal, knowing that they would need a reserve when the time came. The superintendent was aware of the preparations in progress, but paid very little attention to them. What he had done once he could do again; but as a precaution against the trouble he evidently feared, one after another of those known to be most active in union matters were discharged on convenient pretexts, as a wholesome example to the others.

So matters continued until 1879, when the rising tide of prosperity which began in 1878 became a tidal wave of speculative excitement. The Linden Manufacturing Co. began to feel the impetus toward the close of 1878, and by the end of that year were booming ahead in splendid fashion. About that time the men began to be troublesome. The superintendent was notified by a committee that wages must be advanced 15 per cent. After some lofty talk on his part, the demand was acceded to. He was then notified that some of the shop rules must be rescinded. It was not a time for contest with labor. The company must make hay while the sun was shining, so the objectionable rules were rescinded. Then one after another of the trades represented in the shop demanded advances or concessions. The superintendent grated his teeth, but was powerless. It became known to the men that the company had bought a large amount of material at high prices to cover an extensive line of orders which had been booked, and that it must continue in operation whatever the demands of labor. Among the workmen in more or less responsible positions were several who had not affiliated with the unions. Refusing to do so, their discharge was demanded, and the demand was unconditionally and flatly refused. "We must draw the line somewhere," said the superintendent, "and we draw it right here." The directors did not think the trouble would last long, and so they authorized the superintendent to do as he thought best. A strike followed, and as neither side would yield, week after week passed in idleness. The superintendent turned pale as he saw his purchases of materials coming in and his orders canceled.

He tried to fill up the shops with non-union labor, but his plans were thwarted, and a stranger coming into town had to submit to a cross examination before he could get into the works. Some who had been brought from distant places by the offer of good wages returned voluntarily when they learned the condition of affairs in Linden. Others were frightened away by threats of personal violence; others were given railroad tickets to return home, and but few managed to slip through the pickets and get into the shops, from which they dare not go out. The strike was characterized by more or less violence. On more than one occasion missiles were thrown and pistol shots exchanged. Lawlessness and intemperance gained headway, and could not be controlled. The workmen illustrated, as workmen always do under such circumstances, a capacity for self-sacrifice quite heroic. They would rather starve than yield, if by yielding they acknowledged their subordination to a power always arbitrary and often unjust. So months passed—months of lost profit to the company and suffering and privation for the workmen.

Finally the company yielded, and work was resumed on the terms dictated by the union, but all hope that an alliance for mutual advantage could be formed was forever at an end. The company has lost heavily both in diminished surplus and anticipated profits. Before the costly stock of materials in its storehouse had been worked up, it could have been replaced at much lower prices, and orders canceled were not renewed. Toward the close of 1880, the works were shut down, and have not since been profitably or extensively operated. The other industries of Linden have had varying fortunes, but during the long period of depression they have been idle for a good part of the time. Among the working classes there has been much suffering. Linden has now a large number of dependent poor, as well as much ostentatious wealth. How four-fifths of its population live, the remaining fifth cannot guess. No one would now be attracted to it, as its back streets and impoverished, neglected neighborhoods are its principal feature. The wealth which labor created at Linden has largely found investment elsewhere, and but few of those who represented the employing class in 1865 now remain among its residents. The original stockholders of the companies are dead and their families have scattered. Something may happen to revive its industrial activities, but the probabilities are that capital seeking investment will go elsewhere in search of better advantages.

In this parable I have pictured actual happenings. Linden is a type, but we may find such villages all over the country. In briefly recounting its history, I have endeavored to illustrate the practical workings of

the wage system, and to show why the wage-earner is dissatisfied. Of the hundreds attracted to the village by the opportunity of work, there were not six, and perhaps not three, who could have profited by the example of the blacksmith, the wheelwright, or the harness maker of the Linden of 1860. It may be said that the troubles, disagreements, strikes, and lock-outs which marked the industrial history of Linden were unnecessary; that during the years of prosperity thrifty and frugal workmen could have saved something to tide over the intervals of dullness and reduced wages. True, but those capable of exemplifying these excellent virtues would not have gone to Linden in search of employment, or, going there, would not have remained wage-earners. It is no excuse for the oppression of soldiers that some have gained promotion. There must be soldiers as well as officers, and for every man promoted a great many must be enlisted. The problem presented for the consideration of enlightened philanthropy is not how to benefit those whose superior intellectual force or ability enables them to rise unaided, but how to make comfortable and satisfactory the sphere of those who must ever remain "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and establish between them and the employing classes a community of interest and a co-operation for mutual advantage in promoting industrial progress.

In these remarks, necessarily discursive and incomplete, I have endeavored to sketch in bold outline the progress of the labor movement, and to show that, however different the conditions existing in Europe and America may appear to be, the cause of the wage-earner is much the same here as there, with this exception: In Europe political revolution must apparently precede social revolution; here the existing political system is the agency by which social revolution will probably be effected. I have also attempted to present the riddle of the Sphinx as a plain and intelligible proposition. In my next lecture I shall endeavor to show how labor is trying to guess it, and what help can be given toward its solution by those upon whom devolves by right of fitness the duties and responsibilities of industrial command.

A GARDEN AT FALMOUTH.

WE often receive notes from gardens on the Cornish coast, but none has afforded such evidence of the mildness of the climate in that part of the country, says the *Garden*, as the account which Mr. Howard Fox sends us of the kinds of plants which he is able to grow in the open in his garden at Rosehill, Falmouth, all, or nearly all, of which are too tender to thrive in the open about London. The list speaks for itself. The plants which flourish at Rosehill one would only expect to find flourishing in the sunny Riviera. We received the list on New Year's Day. "The following," Mr. Howard Fox says, "are among the most noteworthy which flourish here:

Acacia dealbata, several trees 30 feet to 35 feet high, generally covered with bloom in February.
A. melanoxylon, 30 feet high.
A. lophantha, now flowering.
A. dependens, 15 feet high.
Desfontainia spinosa, 8 feet high, flowers for eight or nine months in the year.
Brugmansia sanguinea, 10 feet high, in profuse bloom in June and again in the autumn.
Aralia Sieboldi, a very free grower.
Abutilon Boule de Neige, 12 feet high. } Against wall
A. megapotamicum. } protected by
A. vitifolium. } yew boughs
Lophospermum scandens. } during frosts.
Citron, Madras, etc.
Fuchsias, many species.
Aloysia citrodora (lemon plant), 10 feet high.
Aster argophyllus, 10 feet to 15 feet high.
Benthamia fragifera, large trees, 20 feet to 25 feet high.
Bambusa Metake, etc.
Ceanothus, several species against walls.
Chamærops excelsa, 12 feet to 15 feet high.
Clematis balearica, etc.
Cordylina australis, 10 feet to 15 feet high, now in seed.
Dracæna indivisa.
Daphne indica.
Diplacus glutinosus.
Eugenia Ugni, bears fruit abundantly.
E. apiculata.
Escallonia, various species.
Eucalyptus globulus, etc.
Habrothamnus elegans.
Hedychium Gardnerianum (flavum).
Hydrangea japonica and quercifolia.
Magnolia grandiflora, etc.
Phormium tenax, now in seed.
Pittosporum Tobira.
P. Mayi, 15 feet to 20 feet high, flowers freely.
Solanum crispum, etc.
Veronica, several shrubby species, 10 feet high.
Woodwardia radicans, self-rooting fronds, 6 feet long.

"At Penmere, one mile from Falmouth, there are eucalypti over 50 feet high bearing seed freely, from which we grow our young plants."

The *Garden* gives an illustration, showing a grove of Dracænas at Rosehill, reproduced from an excellent photograph taken and sent to it by the Rev. A. H. Malan, of Perranarworthal Vicarage, who also says that "the Dracænas do admirably hereabouts. I have a large bed of them in this garden, but not so tall as Mr. Fox's, for they are younger than his—it is only a question of time. The D. indivisa is better suited for an avenue than D. australis or than the cross between both, as the two latter send up so many shoots from the base. Mr. Fox has a citron tree on which I saw some ripe fruit last summer. Benthamias and embrothiums do well here; of course, also Gunneras and camellias. I have a red-berried solanum which has been established some years here; oleanders do well as to growth, but it is difficult to get them to blossom, though they form buds freely. I had one truss of flowers this past summer. The trees that don't do with us are walnuts, apricots, and deodars."

By the use of delicate scientific instruments, it has been determined that the Washington Monument on a clear day moves at the top two inches, one inch in each direction, east and west, between sunrise and sunset.