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ARTICLE IX.
SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

OUR CREED.

As the author of these notes is a stranger to the readers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, it may not be amiss to give a short statement of his creed in sociological matters. The first article in this number will reveal it more or less clearly, but a few points may be stated more explicitly. He believes in a more equitable distribution of the product than at present prevails, but he emphatically denies that the best way to secure it is by revolution. The world is growing better and not worse. Improvement can and will come along the lines anticipated by our best economic writers. Monopolies and trusts must go; patent laws must be so amended as to prevent the object for which patents are granted from being subverted to monopoly interests; natural monopolies, or non-competitive industries, must be gradually assumed by the state and run in the interests of the people; a graduated tax must be levied upon property left by will, so as to encourage benevolence and wider bequests. The unjust and unequal mounds of property will be dissipated by time, as the newness of the country and the infancy of our industries have largely been the occasion of them. The writer believes earnestly and sincerely in every effort that is wise and lawful, made in this day, to uplift the downtrodden and discouraged. He welcomes the Institutional Church; the Settlement plans so nobly carried out by Jane Addams and others. He believes in that true friendship for humanity that aids by demanding respect for law and property rights, and also by genuine assistance in time of need.

For labor organizations that are formed for all lawful purposes the writer has only the warmest words of encouragement and sympathy; but whenever any use violence and defy established authority he would enforce the law first and offer assistance afterward.

For those earnest and well-meaning clergymen and newspapers that are abusing the churches for their failure to solve quickly the vexatious problems of to-day, the writer has the same feelings that he has for the ignorant who use violent means to gain quickly their ends. And when such especially, simply scold and abuse without giving any substantial aid or pointing out any particulars where reforms would be beneficial, the writer believes their zeal is not according to knowledge. The nostrums for society's ills are numerous, and some of them would be amus-

ing if they were not trifling with matters vital and serious. Some new form of government that has never been tried successfully anywhere is a common panacea proposed by well-meaning but theoretical sentimentalists. A new form of taxation, as the doctrines of George for example, or the manual training school, which is a valuable but partial cure, is urged by the specialist.

The truth is, we are suffering as a nation from unrestricted immigration which never should accompany high protection; from lack of ability on the part of our statesmen, who are too largely political demagogues, to cope with foreign nations in their financial warfare on this and other silver-producing countries; from the prevailing passion to accumulate money to the neglect of such important matters as good citizenship and education, which is characteristic of a new nation in its earlier stages of development; and from the dazzling and misleading effects of the sudden and unprecedented material prosperity leading to a disregard of the laws of economy such as prevail and are elements of strength in the older countries. This prosperity is a source of peril although it has come to the American people by reason of their great inventive skill, their undaunted courage, their limitless resources, resulting in abundant confidence in themselves and in their form of government. Another cause is the tendency of new labor-saving machinery to produce friction until labor adjusts itself to the new conditions. Most important of all, and resulting partly from all the other causes, is the unprecedented growth of monopolies and trusts laying their hands upon the throats of the common people, and with which, as yet, our statutes seem unable to cope.

For such a complication of evils no single remedy is sufficient, and when offered as such, is only suggestive of the quack.

But Christianity, as a life if not as a creed, is the deepest love, because it is the highest ideal, of the true American heart, and its precepts will be heard and followed. We spell God and gold nearly the same, but God comes first and has a capital. The American people love justice and fair play and our great saving power is the middle class, who, after all, are nearest to God, for they strive not, as the wealthy, unduly for material wealth and prosperity; nor, as the lawless and ignorant, for the overthrow of established authority and the reign of anarchy. The saloon, demagogism, and ignorance are the worst foes of the American people. Education and time will surely cure all diseases, but the cause of the lowest classes must find a warm and loving heart and a listening ear among the middle and upper classes. No reform must be derided because it is new, nor must we trust to old methods entirely because they have done good duty in the past and are sanctified by age. But to destroy without being able to build better is not Christian or wise.

PULLMAN.

THE statement of facts given to the public by George M. Pullman, the president of the Pullman Palace Car Company, was evidently made for the purpose of allaying the prejudices of the American people for his refusal to arbitrate the question in dispute with his employes. The statement is evasive and misleading. The question to arbitrate was not really one of wages, but was as to the truth or falsity of his statement—that he was losing money on the work he was doing. His refusal was, therefore, a confession of weakness. Not a small part of his work was repairs on cars, for which he charged time plus his profit. On this he was making money. Hard times cannot materially affect repairs on cars. If these repairs were on his own cars the dividend declared since the dispute arose is an answer as to his ability to pay fair wages. He reduced wages but not rents, and permitted men to work long enough to pay their rent. Instances were in evidence where less than twenty cents came to men, after rent was paid, for the month's wages, out of which was to come food and clothing for the family. The slave in the South had better treatment than that, for his master furnished him with food and clothes from motives of self-interest.

Pullman admits that he is charging for rent three dollars per month per room for his tenements which were built at wholesale cost on swamp land upon which he is paying taxes as swamp land to-day.

He has elsewhere stated that such a rent charge nets him 3.85 per cent on his investment.

This would assume the cost of a six-room tenement, with the land, to be over \$5,600. But the architect, or anyone with the most limited experience in building, knows the absurdity of such a statement. Such houses cannot cost over \$1,000 to build, or \$1,500 at the most. The land is worth, even at enhanced prices, not over \$400. The income is clearly seen to be from ten to twenty per cent on the investment. This estimate is verified from the statement of a real estate agent in the vicinity who has similar houses to rent for two-thirds of Pullman's charges, and he is making not less than ten per cent on his investment.

Pullman's statement that the thirty-six millions of capital in the Palace Car Company was all subscribed and paid for in cash at par, is equally misleading. What part of this thirty-six millions was declared in dividends? It is an old trick of corporations to declare a stock dividend by making it a cash dividend with privilege of subscribing for the stock at par. These privileges sell at a premium.

There is nothing in Pullman's statement that is ingenuous. We are warranted in believing that he has charged, as part cost of making cars, many expenses that belong to the running of sleepers or to the renting of homes such as rent on his office building or salaries of his officers. The Pullman Palace Car Company has been protected by patents granted by the government; by the state militia and federal troops when its prop-

erty was endangered. It has had in its employ a man who gave his time to legislatures; it has evaded its taxes in every way; it is honeycombed with favoritism and rings within rings.

We are sure that the treatment of its employes is but one of the Pullman Company's failings. It is high time the stockholders investigated affairs. Pullman has somewhere acquired a very low estimate of human beings and of man's natural rights.

Charity ball boxes at \$500, gifts of statues to the public, and affirmations of integrity are poor substitutes for justice. The starved porters on the sleepers are turned over to the sympathies of the public for proper remuneration, when at the same moment Pullman is charging three prices to the same traveling public for the use of his cars. The whole system is over-reaching and un-American and should be regulated by law.

THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE.

PROFESSOR E. W. BEMIS, of the Chicago University, has printed in pamphlet form an article on Homestead contributed by himself to the July number of the *Journal of Political Economy*, of which he is one of the editors. It is an assumed dispassionate view of that most passionate struggle.

Professor Bemis is by nature and training one of our fairest and best economic writers of the present day—broad in his sympathies, careful in his facts, and fair in his conclusions. If he errs at all, he prefers to err in his sympathies for the laboring classes, and, in this respect, he shows that spirit of good will and earnest desire to help the downtrodden which is so characteristic of him as a Christian scholar and gentleman.

When the writer of this review wrote his address delivered before the Sunset Club at Chicago, the committees from the Senate and House had not made their report, and he was obliged to look for his facts to the best sources he could find. So far as the statement of facts therein contained have been modified and corrected, the writer acknowledges to Professor Bemis his obligations.

The main facts, however, remain untouched. Professor Bemis admits that the mills were the best equipped in the United States, if not in the world; that this superior equipment, which was capital's contribution, forced competing mills to the wall and enabled the Carnegie Company to pay higher wages than any of its competitors; that it also was enabled by its superior capital to build homes for its workmen upon which no foreclosure had ever occurred; that of 3,800 employes, the wages of only 325 men were involved in that memorable struggle, and these men worked but eight hours a day, and that no wages of less than two dollars per day were involved. The reduction in wages at all, was in

pursuance of an agreement to follow the market price of Bessemer steel billets. The question of who should benefit by improved machinery was also involved.

These workmen, thus situated and paid, belonged to an association which numbered 24,000 members which was clearly a "strike" association. One-third of its members were foreigners who came here attracted by high wages and steady employment.

The Carnegie Company was afraid of this organization because of its tendency to use violence. Its theories were one thing and its practices another; and in this it differs not a whit from most labor organizations at the present time. The first great purpose of a labor organization is to hold men's places open until they are ready to return if they are ordered out on a strike. This, to be successful, involves attacks on the natural rights of man, life, liberty, property, and reputation.

This was precisely the case at Homestead. The lives of non-union men were in danger, and even the water they drank was poisoned; the property of the company was seized; the men who wanted to work were called "scabs" and other such abusive epithets, which is simply an attack on reputation; while the non-union men were deprived of liberty in every way, being afraid to go out of the works, even after the militia patrolled the streets.

The theory of most labor organizations is commendable, but their practices are often vicious. This has come to be so well known that even their leaders, in treating with employers, covertly threaten violence if certain demands are not complied with. This is usually done in the form of a "fear" that their men will use violence.

Professor Bemis knows and admits such an unfortunate state of affairs at Homestead, and does not approve of it; but we cannot escape the conviction that he is too amiable in view of such facts. He speaks of the "folly of violence," but what of its wickedness! Economic writers must not, in this day, lack the heroism of indignation and even fury at the attacks on organized government; and they are free to exercise the same qualities toward those who would grind the faces of the poor, but the truth must be spoken. Must we, as economic writers, become so judicial and so "fair" that we cannot see whither we are drifting? No unprejudiced person should write of Homestead and not burn with indignation at the passions excited and aroused by the vicious and depraved leaders of the union workmen at that time. Murder, arson, riot, treason, insurrection—all that was devilish and beastly in human nature found expression there at that time. And for what? Can any thinking and reasonable man give a good reason? When we become so judicial that we cannot define and abhor crime it is time for us to ask if Christianity has any backbone, any moral tissue or fiber. But we would not thus too far judge Professor Bemis. He has made a careful statement of facts, and the inferences he leaves for his readers to draw. So far as we are

concerned, we prefer to state them in plain words, for in that way alone can the value of facts be estimated and understood. In economic truth we must hew to the line and let the chips fall where they will. Gibbon was said to be intentionally fair in his treatment of the fight between the lions and the Christians, but his sympathies were with the lions. We must be impartial, with no prejudices for or against capital or labor.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

IN the non-competitive industries, or natural monopolies, where the public is virtually the silent partner, compulsory arbitration is just and proper, and laws should be enacted making it possible.

Such are transportation companies, whether on land or water; corporations controlling the telegraph, telephone, electric light, gas, and water works. All such, whether under corporate ownership or under partnership or private control, involve the State as silent partner, in the very nature of the case. This comes about, not because the State has legalized a corporation, as in the competitive industries, which in law is only a person; but because the public granted the franchise, deeding away valuable public rights; because the natural monopoly can have no competition, and the public is therefore dependent upon it in a peculiar sense; because the monopoly depends upon the public for its support and patronage; and because the public is the greater sufferer in case of failure or stoppage, being affected the most intimately and quickly by any calamity. These broad grounds, in equity, give the public a voice in the monopoly, if for any reason the public is deprived of the benefits for which it deeded away its privileges and rights. The fact that the State simply granted rights to incorporate constitutes no ground for interference.

In all cases where the public is silent partner, employers must not permit the stoppage of the works or of traffic, the cutting off of the supply of water, or any infringement of the public rights, because of differences with its employes in the question of wages, hours of labor, or anything else.

Such questions must be submitted to arbitration, and statutes requiring it are eminently proper and just. A refusal to arbitrate should be the forfeiture of the property to the State, to be run by the State until the legal owners are willing to abide by the law which makes them simply trustees in possession and acting for the owners and the State so long as they serve faithfully the interests of both parties and do not subvert the public good to the interests of the other partner,—the capital invested in the enterprise.

The penalty for seeking to accumulate, by taking the public in as silent partner, should be the willingness to settle, by arbitration, all matters affecting the public.

It should be made obligatory upon employes, also, who seek employment in corporations or works of such a public character, that they shall not conspire to injure the public by concerted action in the matter of strikes, and much less, if they voluntarily quit work, shall they threaten, intimidate, or in any manner interfere with others who would fill their places. The attack on reputation by the use of vile epithets such as "scab" is as much a form of violence as the attack on life and property, and should be punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both.

But, since an employer stakes his property, in an agreement to abide by arbitration, and the workman has nothing but his body to offer as a pledge of good faith, and especially since an unwilling worker is undesirable to the employer, a month's wages should be retained by the employer to be forfeited by the employe in case of violation of agreement.

But in competitive and private industries such a law would clearly be unconstitutional, as it would infringe the natural rights of man. Freedom of contract must be maintained, and compulsory arbitration is a contradiction of terms. It is compelling a man to make a contract and continue business against his will, which is clearly an act of tyranny.

A law thus operative could bind the employer but not the employe, for the latter has nothing but his body to pledge, as has been said before, as a guarantee of good faith; and to seize the body because a man preferred not to work when he was not compelled by necessity, would be the highest tyranny. An arbitration law that could thus bind the employer but not the employe would be a one-sided affair. Furthermore, unwilling service by employer or employe would easily find a way to defeat the decision of any arbitration tribunal.

Therefore, Pullman as President of the company running cars for public use should be compelled to arbitrate; but Pullman as President of the works making cars to sell can never be made by law to run his works if, in his judgment, it is unprofitable to do so. The former is a case in which the public is partner, and the latter is not. To compel arbitration in the former case adequate laws can be enacted, but to accomplish the latter, would require an amendment to the constitution, and even then such laws would be practically inoperative because of their tyrannous nature. It would quickly result in the withdrawal of capital from all manufacturing industries.

LO, THE IDEAL CITIZEN.

THE new standards of excellence by which the coming man is to be judged, will bring Lo, the poor Indian, to the front as an ideal citizen of to-day. The Indian is not shut in by the restrictions of civilization. The forest is his to roam where he will, and he can do as he pleases, whether he pleases to do right or not. This is the anarchist's idea of liberty. The

Indian knows no law of habeas corpus except as he skulks stealthily behind an imaginary foe, kills him, and proceeds to scalp him. Knowing no forms of court procedure, he is in no danger of contempt of court. In these particulars he is not unlike Debs, the ideal hero and citizen of the lawless, ignorant, designing, and sentimental. The conventionalities of society, the Indian knows nothing about, and cares less for their observance. His clothing is reduced to the minimum in quantity even if it be at the maximum in color. So long as his squaw will keep him in food and the government will keep him in blankets, he is contented and happy. Thus, he has Thoreau's idea of reducing want to a minimum. He takes no thought for the morrow, and in that follows Tolstoi's plan of doing literally what Christ commands. He will divide with his neighbor according to the loftiest ideal of the communist, and never question whether neighbor is benefited or injured thereby. In this he is truly "altruistic," judged by the standards of many economic writers of to-day. Such heathenish traits as prudence, forethought, thrift, ambition, enterprise, the desire to acquire, own, and bequeath,—in fact the sense of property,—are foreign to his nature. Such unchristian forces have never enslaved him and have no part in forming his noble manhood. He is simply a child of nature, with no ambition to succeed or overcome beyond his fellows. No cast-iron rules of self-denial vex his righteous soul. He is not only willing to be nothing, he is unwilling to be anything. In this particular he has emptied himself of himself and is in a very humble, lowly, and receptive state of mind. That Indian who bought a corner lot, began to acquire, gave up his whiskey and tobacco, started a bank account, and really had an ambition to be somebody and succeed in the world had simply contracted a white man's disease,—he had been converted.

Some old-fashioned thinkers have imagined that the noble red man is a slave to his own passions, his ignorance, his animal nature; that he has never conquered space or time; that he is hemmed in and limited by his own notions of freedom, and that he lacks but the inspiring forces of Christianity to civilize him and set him free. Such thinkers imagine that if Christ should set him free he would be free indeed. They have an idea that liberty is freedom only to do right and not permission to act as one pleases, unless he pleases to act in obedience to the highest laws that man is capable of discerning. They imagine that freedom of conscience is not a dead conscience but one made alive and quickened, operative because obeyed; that liberty of the press is freedom to speak the truth in love; that true liberty is therefore the child of bondage and born of obedience to law.

But these old-fashioned notions of man and the proper way for him to overcome heredity and environment must take a back seat. They are a back number. The new idea for the new era and the new century, with many modern writers, finds no use for the notions of civil and religious liberty bequeathed to us by the Pilgrims on the *Mayflower*; wrested from

the Indians by heroic self-denial, hardships and suffering; struggling for utterance through the weary years of the Revolution and the civil war, and finally overcoming, forming a standard of excellence which Christianity through its universities of learning and churches have emphasized and enforced. These must all go because the sentimentalist in economics and the demagogue in politics have so decreed. Not that these old-fashioned thinkers believed that our civilization was already perfect and had no unjust laws of distribution which in the natural and proper way would be rectified, such as statutes against unjust acquisition and rapacious monopolies and trusts founded and nourished by greed. These statutes they would enforce by the moral sense of a long-suffering community, but their old-fashioned ways were too slow. The way to make Pullman do right is to destroy the lives and property of all who patronize his cars.

The Indian is revenged. He has returned and asks recognition as the ideal citizen in a free, democratic republic. Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die. Let us shout for Coxey, Debs, the demagogue and anarchy. The saloon and politics will hear their complaint, and, in the name of equality, liberty, and brotherhood, the demagogue will plead their cause. Hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue, and the "claims of humanity" cover a multitude of sins. Otherwise the people would discover the cloven hoof and be alarmed.