

STRIKES AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE STRIKERS.

BY FRANK K. FOSTER.

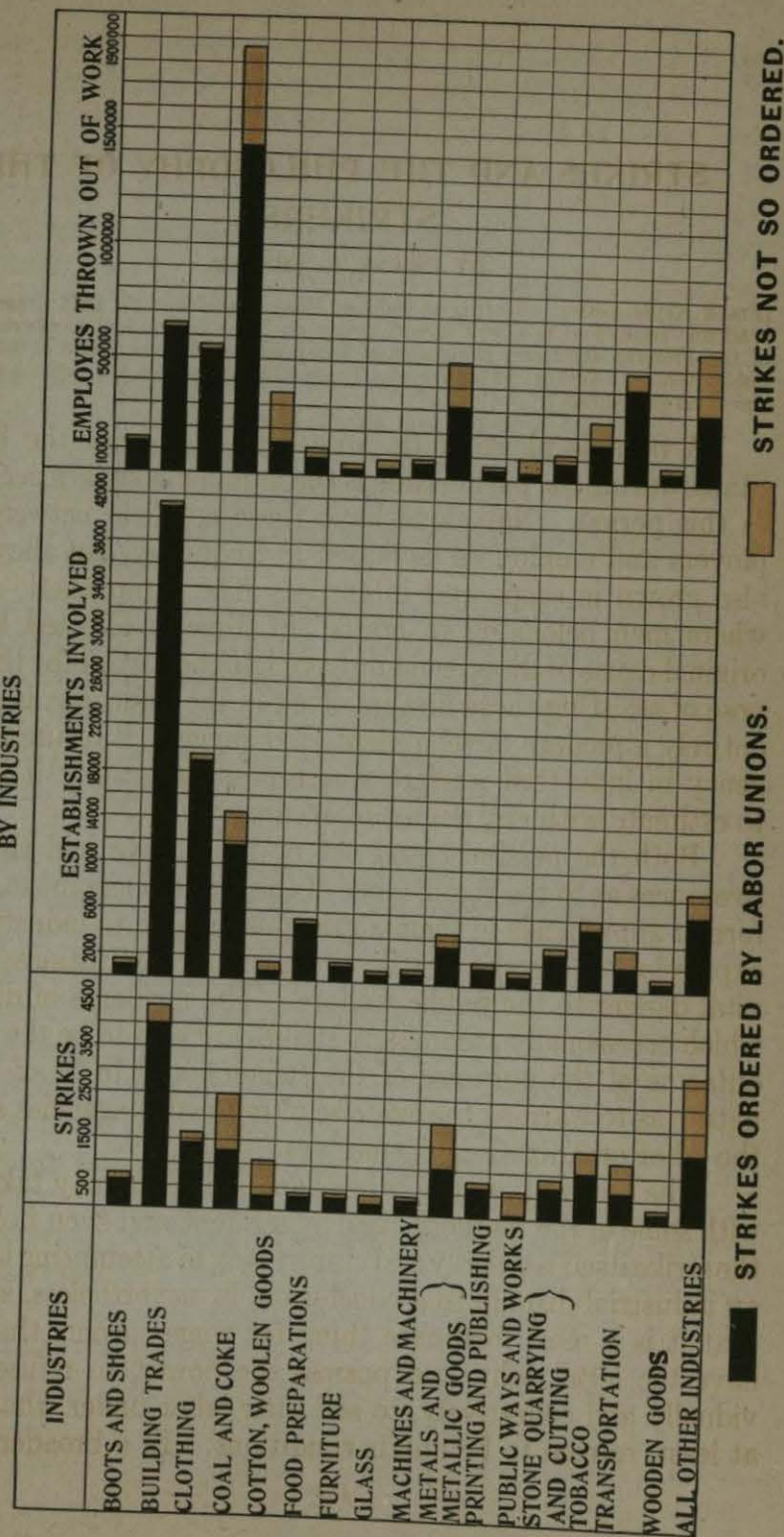
[Frank Keyes Foster, editor; born Palmer, Mass., December 19, 1854; received an academic education; is a well known writer on labor topics, and has been trustee of the Franklin fund and a member of the investigating committee of the Boston public library. Author: Evolution of a Trade Unionist, and many articles in magazines and periodicals.]

A notable phase of the industrial history of the United States during the past decade is the number of strikes occurring in this period. Not alone have these conflicts between employers and employees increased in frequency, but they have also grown in scope and intensity. The sympathetic strike, where men belonging to crafts not directly affected by the original cause of disagreement have left their work for the purpose of assisting those first involved in the difficulty, is almost entirely a modern development, and suggests a future contingency in industrial warfare whose possible gravity it is hard to estimate with any degree of accuracy.

Both the pessimist and the optimist have had their deliverances as to the significance of the strike phenomena. The former apprehends in them a grievous menace to industry, the expression of a spirit hostile to American institutions and of vital danger to the public welfare. The incidents of disorder which occasionally accompany strikes are held to be the logical outcome of the purposes of the strikers, and to be of such a nature as to warrant the exercise of repressive agencies against the labor organizations themselves.

The optimist, on the other hand, while he may take issue with some of the methods used by strikers, and even hold that the strike itself is a costly and clumsy way of attempting to bring an industrial dispute to a conclusion, is, nevertheless, sensible that it is a most fortunate thing for wage earners that they have the legal right, and possess the power, to refuse, individually and collectively, to sell their labor under what they, at least, esteem to be unfair conditions. In a broader sense,

STRIKES, ESTABLISHMENTS INVOLVED AND EMPLOYEES THROWN OUT OF WORK 1881 TO 1907 BY INDUSTRIES



moreover, he recognizes that this power of resistance possessed by the wage earner in an era of gigantic combinations of capitalists assists in maintaining that equilibrium between contending interests whose destruction would be the severest of blows against industrial freedom. "So long," wrote Herbert Spencer, "as men are constituted to act on one another, either by physical force or force of character, the struggle for supremacy must finally be decided in favor of some one; and the difference once commenced must become ever more marked. It must be evident, therefore, that believers in democracy who are of cheerful vision must find cause for felicitation that the industrial masses possess the capacity to enter into this struggle for supremacy."

But, to begin at the beginning, what is the economic object of the strike?

Labor is reckoned by the economists as a commodity to be bought and sold in the market as other commodities are bought and sold, and with its price regulated by the law of supply and demand. A surplus of a commodity, under the natural operation of this law, creates a tendency toward a falling market; a scarcity of a commodity creates a tendency toward a rising market.

Even under the orthodox definition of labor, it becomes apparent that within certain limits, there are two classes of interests in the industrial world; the interest of the labor buyer to purchase the commodity at a low price and the interest of the labor seller to dispose of the commodity at a high price.

The lines marking this limit are roughly determined by the margin of profit in production. It is evident that if the margin of profit becomes absorbed by the abnormal forcing up of the wage rate, the labor seller destroys the market for his commodity. Conversely, if the wage rate be depressed below the living wage, the labor buyer not only decreases the value of the commodity he buys, but cripples the market for the joint product of labor and capital, which is dependent in no small degree upon the purchasing power of the wage earner.

It is useless to assert that, within these limits, the interests of the labor seller and the labor buyer are identical. In the apt phrase of Col. Carroll D. Wright, chief of the national

bureau of labor statistics, they may be, and often are, reciprocal, but they are never identical.

But in the economic philosophy of the wage earner there is taken into account an element which the orthodox economist too often entirely ignores. The wage earner grants that labor is a commodity but a commodity plus the laborer. Labor thus differs from an inanimate commodity by all that marks the distinction between a man and a bale of cotton. The latter commodity has no volition as to the conditions under which it is disposed of. The cotton seller has to deal with merely the commercial element in the transaction of sale. He may ship his commodity to the other side of the world, receive therefor his bill of exchange, and the business is completed. There is a certain visible supply of cotton in the market, and excepting for the influence of tariffs and trusts and their like, the law of supply and demand works inexorably and decisively.

But the laborer and the commodity he has to dispose of are one. In selling his labor, the labor seller must to that degree, sell himself. He must go into the market where his labor goes; he must endure the conditions under which it is disposed of. But—mark the point—by virtue of his volition he may increase or diminish the amount of his commodity on the market. He may, individually or collectively, modify the normal operation of the law of supply and demand by willing to withhold his labor from an unfavorable market. It is as though a million cases of shoes should refuse to be sold, except under conditions approved of by them.

It is in this differentiation between the commodity of labor and inanimate commodities that the impossibility inheres of instituting a fixed science of political economy. A science demands absolute quantities. The laborer is not an absolute quantity, but is subject to continual change through the agencies of environment, education, and aspiration. The serf of to-day becomes the sovereign citizen of to-morrow. The Hungarian miner, content with a crust of black bread for food, wooden shoes, and the coarsest of fabrics for clothing, a miserable shanty for a dwelling, evolves into a member of the Miners' National Union of America,

whose stimulated intelligence and awakened wants lead him to demand wages which will procure for him a far larger share of the comforts of life than he formerly required.

The modern trade union is as distinctively the product of an advancing civilization as is the town meeting, the daily newspaper, the university, or any other agency which has developed the faculties of men and led them towards higher levels of thought and action. The trade union is the historic and agreed upon agency selected by the judgment of the labor sellers to protect and advance their interests as such. It has evolved from the experience of centuries of back bending toil and travail as the most available means of securing an equality of bargaining power for the labor seller in his relations with the labor buyer. Its potential possibilities are limited by naught save the capacity of cohesion and wise action among the workers of the civilized world.

The trade union recognizes the strike as a legitimate weapon of offence and defence. It is grossly unfair to style the trade union, as some ungracious critics are in the habit of doing, a striking machine. It has countless other functions besides that of precipitating industrial war. In fact, the strike plays but a subordinate part in the history of the great craft organizations of America, and represents but a small part of their expenditure of funds and energy. But the power to strike is of great importance in the consideration of the status of these organizations, upon the same principle that the fighting power of a people, even though it is rarely resorted to, is largely instrumental in determining its status in the family of nations.

"Thank God we have a system of labor where there can be a strike," said Abraham Lincoln in a speech delivered in 1860. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workingman may stop.

But as the purpose of this article is to examine more particularly into the nature and causes of strikes, the benevolent, educational, and fraternal aspects of the trade union movement may not properly be entered into in detail. It may be said, however, that a form of organization which

has enlisted the active support of over five millions of English speaking people constitutes a working force worthy the most respectful consideration of all students of sociology. In Carlyle's words, "The shadow on the dial advances without pausing. This that they call the organizing of labor, if well understood, is the problem of the whole future for all who will in the future govern mankind."

As has been stated, the trade union holds the strike to be a legitimate weapon for use in certain contingencies. It is a sound, general principle in law—subject to exceptions—that what one man may lawfully do a thousand other individuals may do. If one labor seller may refuse to sell his labor, except under certain conditions, a thousand labor sellers may lawfully do likewise. The business wisdom of the captains of industry and controllers of trade and commerce has sought to eliminate ruinous competition among those of their class and kind having like interests. The pool, trust, and combine among capitalists is an object lesson writ large in view of the laborer who slowly reads the lesson, and then says, It shall go hard but I will better the instruction.

The trade union does in a measure, dependent upon its completeness of organization in a craft, lessen the ruinous competition among laborers. Through its agency, A agrees that if B cannot secure the desired price and conditions for the disposal of B's labor, A will not enter as a rival to bear the labor market. As a purely business principle, this protects the interests of both A and B as the labor sellers, as against the interests of C, the labor buyer. It gives to B a greater equality of bargaining power than he would otherwise possess, while, if the compact of agreement in the trade union embraces D, E, F, and their fellows, it becomes the more effective. If, however, they withhold their co-operation, and stand ready to place B at a disadvantage in his dealings with C, the argument rests not against the strike method, but against its use on the specific occasion. But, moreover, it is not usually necessary for the trade union agreement to embrace all labor sellers in order that the object of the strike may be accomplished, but only that it may control a sufficient percentage of them to render it unprofitable for the

labor buyer to continue his disagreement with the labor seller to the point of open conflict.

The virtue of the strike lies in its application. Of and by itself the strike is neither moral nor immoral. It is an instrument, a weapon, a piece of economic machinery. The surgeon's knife may be used to commit murder, the patriot's sword figure in a highway robbery, yet this detracts nothing from their utility when exercised in their proper functions.

The same logic holds good as to the strike. It has been truly said that the strike is industrial war. But if a war be righteous, if it makes for greater human freedom and the betterment of the race, then is that war justifiable. The lesser evil of the destruction of life and property is rightly held to be subordinate to the greater good of the advancement of the race. Society confers its highest meed of praise upon those who risk their lives in defence of home and country. History places the names of its Washingtons, Hampdens, and Lincolns upon the loftiest pinnacle of fame. In industrial war, then, the question becomes not as to whether the strike in general is moral, but as to whether the particular strike is moral; whether it is warranted by circumstances; whether it is entered upon in a judicial spirit, and as a last resort, and whether it is conducted with judgment and with due respect for the rights of noncombatants. In the words of John Stuart Mill: "A strike is wrong when it is foolish."

In the mythology of our Norse ancestors the legendary tree Ydrasgil sent its roots to the innermost recesses of the under world, while its topmost branches pierced the illimitable heavens. The myth fitly typifies the sphere of trade union activity. The underlying cause of strikes extends along the entire range of human passions. The strike may result from the most selfish of human desires, or it may be the expression of the consummate blossom of the highest aspirations of the wage earners' world.

From the official tabulation of 283 strikes entered into by the Cigar Makers' International union during five years, we find forty seven were for increase of wages, ninety four against reduction of wages, fifty eight victimization of members, twenty eight lockouts, fourteen against violation of apprentice laws,

one against violation of eight hour law, and forty one for other causes, such as against nonunion cigar makers, retention of weekly pay, for strict union shop, retention of label shop rules, etc.

There are, broadly speaking, four distinct interests involved in nearly all strikes of any magnitude; first, the interest of the strikers; second, the interest of the nonunion men; third, the interest of the employers; fourth, the interest of the noncombatants, or general public.

Primarily, the objective point of the striker is to control the market in which his labor is to be sold. If his craft be thoroughly organized, the problem is to that degree simplified, and the question becomes one of a test of strength between the passionless endurance of the almighty dollar and the amount of will power and resistance the striker can put forth to gain his end. As a part of this method of resistance, every well regulated trade union aims to build up its treasury so that its strike fund may be of sufficient proportions to defray the actual living expenses of its members upon the contingency of their being called upon to withhold their labor in strike periods. To this end, modern trade unionism insists upon high dues from its membership—that is, high dues as compared with the system of low dues which obtained in the early period of unionism—but even the largest amount of dues paid by unionists is relatively insignificant in view of the objects sought to be attained by them. Average trade union dues run from twenty five cents a month per capita in the so-called cheap unions, which do little more financially than defray their routine expenses of hall rent, etc., to as much as fifty cents, or even more, a week.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the high dues unions use their funds for many other purposes than for strikes. The Cigar Makers' International union, for instance, which is one of the best examples of modern trade unionism, has not only accumulated a strike fund of over \$300,000, with a reserve fund of as much more, which may be drawn upon in case of necessity, but it also pays sick, death, traveling, and out of work benefits, contributes liberally to other unions in need, and spends tens of thousands of dollars every year

in advertising its label, which is placed upon the product of union factories. In fact, the amount expended for strikes by this union is but a small fraction of its entire expense account. The knowledge, however, that this organization possesses the power of resistance represented by its disciplined membership and strong treasury acts as a decided deterrent upon the buyer of the labor of cigar makers, who would otherwise feel inclined to enter into a controversy with the organization. It is worthy of notice, in this connection, that during the recent period of industrial depression when daily announcements of cut downs were being made by the press, that in no instance did the union cigar makers suffer a reduction of wages.

President Perkins, of the Cigar Makers' union, in submitting a report, adds: The tables furnish the gratifying information that trade disputes or strikes are growing less in number each year, despite the fact that the membership is increasing, and that the statistics show that we have made substantial gains in wages. This bears out the often repeated assertion that better organization means better trade conditions, and better wages with less strikes.

Among the other organizations with the system of high dues may be mentioned the glass workers, hatters, web weavers, boot and shoe workers, and many others, while there is a general tendency in all the older low dues unions to raise the amount of monthly payments and to increase the amount of benefits rendered in return.

Paradoxical as it may seem, there is nothing in the history of trade unionism to warrant the assumption that the possession of a large strike fund promotes a disposition to enter upon strikes. Responsibility breeds conservatism, and it is notable that the financially strong unions are the most cautious about appealing to the arbitrament of the industrial battlefield, while the more newly organized and less stable unions are apt to precipitate themselves into conflicts for which they are comparatively unprepared.

But the question of finances, or munitions of war, is but one of the problems which confront men who go on strike. There are but comparatively few of the crafts sufficiently

organized upon trade union lines to enable them to control the labor market through control of their own membership. The nonunionist is to be reckoned with, and he is usually the prime source of strategic weakness in the position of organized labor.

There is possibly no one point as to which the methods of trade unions have been so severely criticised as in their attitude towards the men who take the striker's places when they quit work. The law itself has found it a knotty problem to decide the exact status of the striker toward his supplanter. The question has developed a fertile field for new decisions limiting the unionists' scope of action, and an ever growing barrier of injunctions hedges him about.

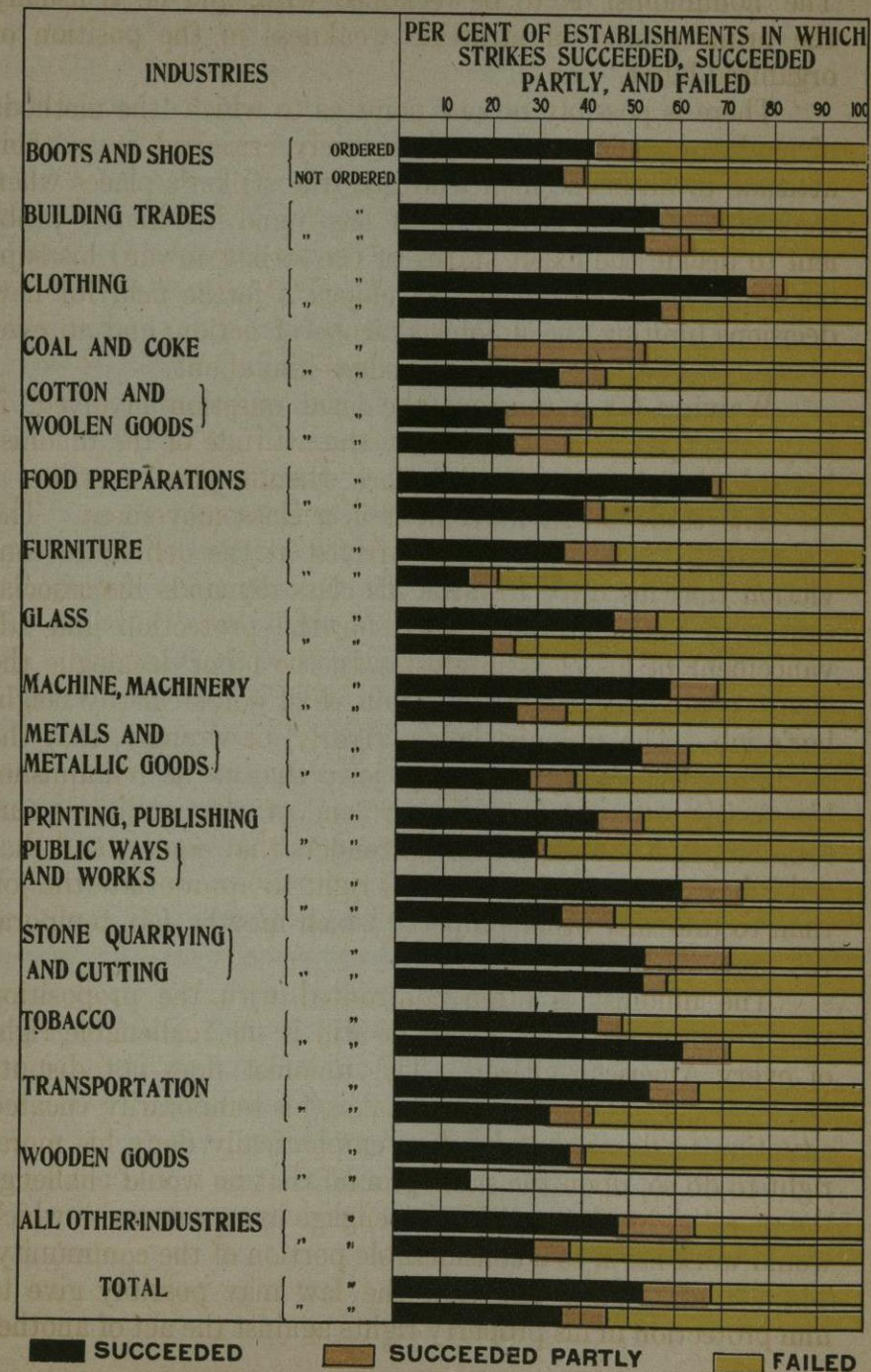
Waiving for a moment the legal question involved, it may be proper to state concisely the attitude of the unionist towards the man who fills his place when he goes on strike.

The trade union movement is a class movement. The unionist, if he be sincere, has arrived at the deliberate conviction that his duty towards his class demands his association with his fellow craftsmen for the protection and advancement of his class interest. In the labor decalogue the eighth commandment reads, Thou shall not steal thy neighbor's job. The unionist holds, rightly, or wrongly, that the workman has an equity in his job; that if he relinquishes his position to obtain a betterment of the conditions surrounding it, he by no means surrenders that equity, and that a third party has no more moral right to appropriate the job than to take any other property which may be left temporarily unguarded.

The unionist is often confronted with the proposition that freedom to labor where he will is the inalienable right of every American citizen. The unionist does not dispute the legal right of the man who takes his temporarily vacated situation to do so, but he does emphatically deny his moral right to do so, upon the same ground that he would challenge the moral right of any citizen to engage in an enterprise which would work harm to a considerable portion of the community. The unionist points out that the law may possibly give to him protection in his property rights against the act of another

RESULT OF STRIKES ORDERED BY LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND NOT SO ORDERED, 1881 TO 1900

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in, for instance, erecting and maintaining a nuisance in close proximity to his dwelling; but the law takes no cognition of the act of a third party in interfering with the means whereby the unionist gains a livelihood. He holds, therefore, that the man who takes his place when he is on strike is not only recreant to the interest of the class to which he belongs, but that he is also sinning against the general principle of liberty embodied in the proposition that one has freedom to do that which does not interfere with the equal freedom of another to do the same thing.

In the case of a strike, the majority judgment of the wage earners has decided that work shall not be performed under conditions which are assumed by them to be unfair. The job purloiner ignores the judgment of his fellow craftsmen, and sets up his minority judgment in its place. He has, therefore, according to trade union logic fairly forfeited his claim to the moral respect of his fellow craftsmen by his gratuitous interference with the original parties in interest.

But no trade union overlooks for a moment the fact that the nonunionist is within his legal rights in taking a striker's job. Its method of dealing with him must, therefore, be a legal method. The trade union does not countenance physical coercion or intimidation. It is unfortunately true that over zealous individuals may fail to grasp the distinction between moral and legal rights, and may attempt to visit their personal displeasure upon the man who, as they believe, has done them an injury. But these ebullitions of unbalanced proselytizers are common to all militant movements, and may not properly be charged against the real purpose of the organization. It is the absolute and unqualified truth that the trade union policy is to live within the law and to respect the legal rights of even its bitterest foe, the industrial deserter.

The two channels through which the trade unions endeavor to influence nonunionists from taking the places vacated by strikers, are persuasion and social pressure. In smaller communities, where there is a direct personal acquaintanceship among members of a craft, the social stigma which attaches to the man who takes a striker's place is a weighty deterrent

against the act. Among the workers of the civilized world, social ostracism is the universal penalty paid by him who commits this offence against the traditions of his station. Sentimentalists have exploited exceptional cases where this ostracism has worked hardship to individuals, novelists have found here a fruitful mine for pathetic situations, and unfriendly censors have used the harshest terms in condemnation thereof.

But, as in most phases of the social problem, the point of view is all important in determining the justice of the attitude of men towards one another. If a thousand men honestly believe that ten other men have committed the most grievous of industrial offences toward the larger number, it is quite along the usual lines of human action that they should decline social intercourse with them. The trade unionist is willing to grant that there are certain contingencies—such as the absolute want of the necessities of life on the part of helpless dependents—under which such an offence may be condoned; but no well regulated trade union expects men to accomplish the impossible, and it does not ask men to stay on strike when the starvation period is reached. Industrial war entails privation, but the trade union doctrine holds that it is sometimes well to suffer privation for a time in order that greater future good may ensue.

Professor Bascom, in his *Social Theory*, puts the case fairly as follows: "When a strike is in progress, attended with much suffering, and nonunion workmen accept the rejected service, they are taking labor they have not themselves secured, and by so doing are aiding to bring about a reduction. The case is one in which the plea of industrial liberty is brought in a deceptive way against social progress.

The individual in a general movement for the public welfare must concede something of his personal liberty. A compulsory organic force gets hold of him and he must respond."

But the main reliance of the trade unionist on strike in dealing with one who may possibly supersede him is through persuasion, by appealing to the sense of justice of the non-unionist, to his fealty to his craft interest, by every legitimate

argument and protest. In order to argue effectively with the nonunionist, it becomes necessary to interview him personally, and out of this necessity has arisen the universal custom of picketing, or patrolling with union committees, the locality where a strike is in progress, in order that men who are brought to take the places of strikers may not do so in ignorance of the fact that trouble exists in the particular establishment concerned.

This practice has engendered much legal controversy, and has been the subject of widely varying decisions by the courts. The trend of these decisions has been decidedly hostile to this practice of organized labor, and many of the injunctions recently granted against union pickets have been dangerously near, even in the opinion of competent attorneys, the verge of interfering with the constitutional right of free speech.

To mark the progress made in this direction, it is only necessary to compare the earlier and later rulings of the judges upon this issue. In the case of *Vegehn vs. Guntner*, et al., in the Supreme court of Massachusetts, in 1893, Judge Holmes says: "I ruled that the patrol, so far as it confined itself to persuasion and giving notice of the strike, was not unlawful, and limited the injunction accordingly." Compare this with the language used by Judge Clark of Cincinnati, eight years later, when issuing an order against the striking machinists of that city: "I have arrived at the conclusion, beyond all shadow of a doubt, that picketing is unlawful; that it is immoral and wrong. Counsel for the defence must understand plainly that I am opposed to picketing in any form, and that I will promptly make the power of this court felt against it." In the order of Judge Wing of Cleveland, restraining union workmen from talking to the men who had taken their places, he says, "Persuasion itself, long continued, may become a nuisance and unlawful." Judge White of Buffalo enjoined striking machinists from attempting by argument to influence the men who had supplanted them. Judge Gager of New Haven enjoined one hundred and fifty strikers "from in any manner interfering with any person who may desire to enter the employ of the plaintiff, by way

of threats, persuasion, personal violence, intimidation, or other means"; and more than two score of like decisions, recently, mark the evident temper of the judiciary towards the custom of picketing as exercised by the trade unions.

By some of these orders, no union man may speak to a nonunionist, at any time or place, no matter how far removed from the locality of the strike, without incurring the penalty of violating the injunction, even though he use the mildest language, and seeks an interview for no other purpose than to give the information that a strike is in progress.

The broader aspects of this question are not now under discussion, but it is nevertheless true that not trade unionists alone find matter for grave apprehension in this impingement of the judiciary upon the legislative branch of government, as well as in the serious limitation of the constitutional right of free speech which such decisions carry with them. The two following quotations from lawyers of high standing are but representative of the opinions held by many eminent members of the bar.

The Hon. Wm. H. Moody, one of the foremost members of the legal profession in New England, and since attorney general of the United States, said: "I believe in recent years the courts of the United States, as well as the courts of our own commonwealth, have gone to the very verge of danger in applying the writ of injunction in disputes between labor and capital."

Col. J. H. Benton, Jr., an attorney for one of the largest corporations in the country, in an address delivered before a bar association said: "The courts have, in the judgment of many of the most intelligent and thoughtful citizens, and of congress, exceeded their just powers; they have by the so-called exercise of equity power practically assumed to create and punish offences upon trial by themselves without a jury, and with penalties at their discretion."

The mass of the trade union membership is made up of industrious and peaceful citizens, men who earn their daily bread by arduous manual labor. These men are not law-breakers, either by nature or by the teaching of their class organization. They may fairly claim, however, that they

should not be unduly hampered in the use of the power of their associated effort by judge made laws, enacted, as it naturally appears to them, in order to force them into the false position of lawbreakers, even when they are proceeding along the lines of moral suasion and legitimate argument.

In direct results, according to data compiled by the national and state bureaus of labor statistics, strikers are successful in rather more than fifty per cent of the controversies into which they enter. But this by no means, in the view of the trade union, represents even the economic value of the strike. Not alone is the direct gain in wages, hours, and conditions to be considered, but also the check on the tendency to reduce wages inherent in even the strike which results in temporary defeat.

In regard to the assertion that a day's labor once lost cannot be regained, the trade unionist points out that while there is idle labor in the country—a condition which universally exists—and while the productive capacity of shops and factories so far exceeds the normal demand for the product, the enforced idleness of the strike does not materially diminish the aggregate of the year's labor which will be performed. There is, moreover, the moral effect of the strike to be taken into account, and this, in the judgment of the wage earner, warrants the conclusion arrived at by John Stuart Mill, when he says: "Strikes, therefore, and the trade society which makes strikes possible, are for these various reasons, not a mischievous, but on the contrary a valuable part of the existing machinery of society."

Civilized warfare is governed by certain established canons which apply to belligerents on both sides of the conflict. In industrial warfare, trade unions grant the legal right of employers to obtain control of the labor market and to receive full protection for their property and the conduct of their business. In the earlier days of trade unions, there was ground for just accusation that organized labor did not respect these rights as it should have done, but these conditions no longer exist, especially among American trade unions.

In the case of labor disputes of magnitude the noncombatant general public frequently suffers seriously, and may

rightly exclaim, "A plague on both your houses!" This is the inevitable consequence of war, for which there seems to be no remedy except through the force of public opinion and the exercise of greater consideration for the public welfare by both parties most directly concerned.

The delegates to the national conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly pronounced against the endorsement by that body of the principle of compulsory arbitration, holding that the phrase itself is a misnomer. This attitude is mainly due to two reasons: first, the undesirability, if not the impossibility, of erecting a tribunal of appeal endowed with such arbitrary powers over the acts of employees; and, second, a well grounded distrust of the probable personnel of such a body. The trade union policy places little faith in the ministrations of holders of political appointments, and prefers to rely in the struggle for the victory of the best, upon its own organized instrumentalities.

These objections do not hold, however, as to the principles of conciliation and voluntary arbitration, which are quite generally endorsed by associations of wage earners. By far the majority of trade unions, when signing an agreement with employers, are ready to incorporate in the contract a stipulation that any differences arising in the interpretation thereof shall be decided upon by a mutually appointed board of adjudication.

With the increasing growth and strength of organized labor will assuredly result a greater willingness on the part of both factors in industry to adopt conciliatory methods of treating with each other. As Abram S. Hewett, himself a large employer of labor, well said, in speaking of the resisting power possessed by the trade union: "The great result is that capital is ready to discuss. It is not to be denied that until labor presented itself in such an attitude as to compel a hearing, capital was not ready to listen."

The power to strike and the resultant greater equality of bargaining power procures for workmen that consideration which is a most essential preliminary to conciliation and arbitration. So long as the employer talks dogmatically of "My business," conciliatory methods are barred. When

the truth dawns upon him that the workman who expends life and vitality in his employ has a claim in equity upon that employment, a saner ground of mutual relationship is established. "We consider," said James Mundella, the great apostle of arbitration and conciliation in Great Britain, "in buying labor we should treat the labor seller just as courteously as the seller of coal or cotton." When this stage of progress is reached by labor sellers, the strenuousness of the industrial relationship will be materially modified and the strike epidemic be abated.

"In dealing with the question of wages," said the gentle and gracious Arnold Toynbee, "I do not hesitate to say that you cannot separate it from the whole question of human life."

What then, is the final word to be uttered by the optimist after surveying the economic waste and social bitterness generated by the clash of antagonistic human interests on the industrial battlefield? Has the future no greater promise than in the continuance of the rule of material strength; no remedy save in the appeal to the gage of battle; no peace save in armed neutrality?

The spirit of forbearance and mutual toleration has steadily developed along theological and political lines, and now, though possibly in a lesser degree, is percolating through the strata of the industrial world. Those same qualities which make for righteousness in society at large must be depended upon to work out industrial regeneration.