

OUR GREATEST PROBLEM.

—The Enormous Growth of Trades Unions and Trusts.—

(Special Correspondence of the Deseret News by Frank G. Carpenter.)

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WASHINGTON, D. C.—I have been asked to make an interview of some of the great broad-and-butter questions which are now agitating the minds of most of the men and women of the United States. These questions are those relating to the new conditions of capital and labor; the question of the big deal; the question of the little one; of high wages and high prices, of long or short hours, of union and non-union, and especially whether the consumer is to be ground between the upper and nether millstones of employer and employee. These are problems which affect every man's pocketbook, his chance to work for whom he pleases, his wages if he is a laborer and his profits if he is a capitalist, and, in fact, the comfort and success or failure of every one in the country.

A FREE-FOR-ALL.

The interviews will be with representative men of all classes. I shall have talks with some of our chief capitalists, including now and then a millionaire or trust magnate, who will give us the benefits of organized capital, and shall have expressions of opinion from the leaders of the trade unions, who in their mighty hands wield the millions of organized labor. The non-union man will be represented by other thinkers, as will also the unorganized and long-suffering public, which pays all the bills and forms the very foundation of the existence of laborer and capitalist.

I wish to say at the start that these interviews are not the expression of my opinion or of the paper in which they appear. The man who talks may say what he pleases, and the more forcibly the better. My only aim is to give a fair show to all sides without fear or favor. If labor is denounced this week, capital may have its denunciation next. The unionist and non-unionist is here on an equal footing, and the individual establishment and the great trust stand side by side. As for me I am only the telephonic connection between the men interviewed and my readers—a mere receiver and transmitter—my chief ambition being to distinctly convey the sound.

The present letter gives some idea of the situation and the parties at issue. The interviews will begin publication next Saturday.

LAND OF GOLDEN GIANTS.

In the past the United States has been great in the hands of individual citizens. It has been the land of all others where the single man could stand alone and fight his way up through any sphere to fame and fortune. This condition is rapidly changing. We are doing things in large numbers. Men work in bands, and dollars in millions. The land is one of golden giants, of mighty masses of organized capital and herculean armies of organized labor. First look at a combination of capital. They surpass in their ac-

complishments the wildest dreams of a Croesus, and Aladdin or a Monte Cristo. It is not long since the millionaires of the United States could be counted on your fingers and toes. Now they are numbered by thousands, and we have individuals worth more than the aggregate wealth of some of the smaller European states. Take Carnegie. No one knows just what he has, but his three hundred million dollars of steel securities bring him in an income of more than fifteen million dollars a year, or more than forty-one thousand dollars for every day of the week, including holidays and Sundays. John Rockefeller scoops in something like two thousand dollars an hour all the year through from his stocks, real estate and mines, and the Vanderbilts, Astors and Goulds have proportionately large incomes. There are today a number of men in the United States worth fifty million dollars and upward, and the organizations of capital whose stock runs in eight or more figures are legion.

FIFTEEN BILLIONS IN TRUSTS.

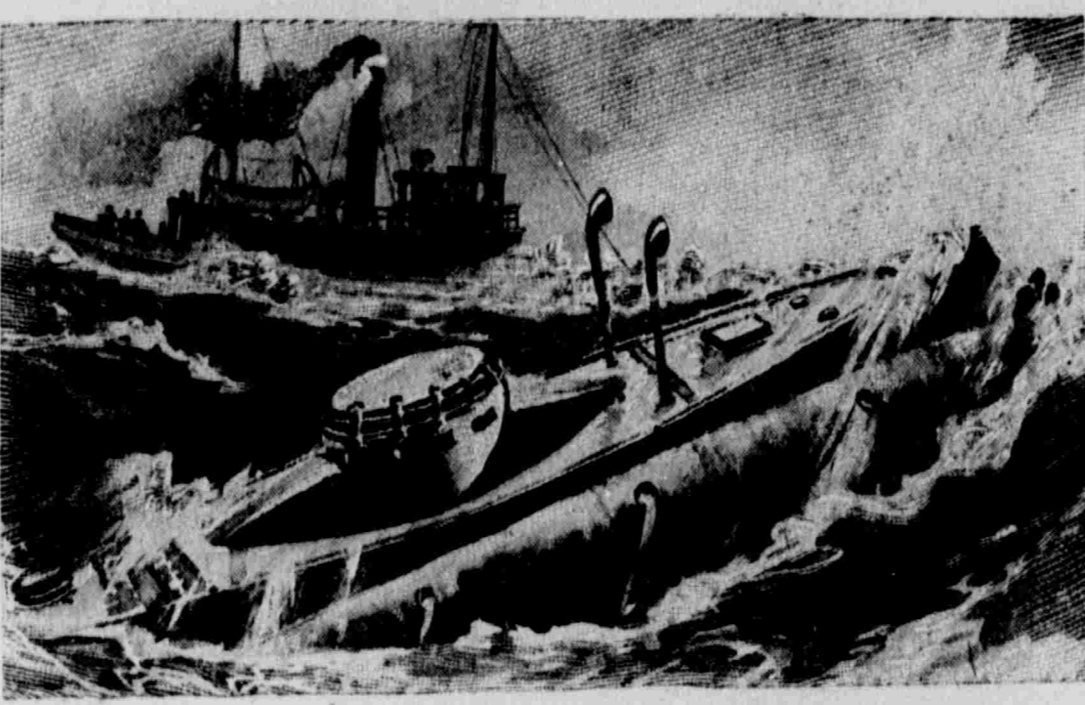
We now have, in addition to the billion-dollar trust which, by the way, is a little shrunken at the waist, and in addition to the gigantic Pennsylvania railroad, about 850 industrial combinations, which command, all told, fifteen thousand millions of dollars. We have 210 industrial trusts capitalized at more than a billion dollars, and more than 5,000 other corporations. These trusts are swallowing their smaller competitors. They are branching out to include all businesses of profit, and are blinding the hands of industry with trade regulations. Indeed, we are fast becoming a nation of pool-makers, rate-fixers and profit-sharers, and new questions of enormous importance stare us in the face.

THE HERCULES OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

At the same time our working men are organizing on a gigantic scale. The trade unions are growing as never before, and they are combining into associations of enormous proportions. We have more than 20,000 unions in one federation, and these unions cover every trade and hope to control every wage earner. John Mitchell estimates that there are from two and one-half to three million workmen in the various unions; and Samuel Gompers tells me there are more than two millions associated together in the American Federation of Labor. This federation has national, international, central, state and local unions, which it hopes to wield as one man on all great labor questions.

Some of the unions are very strong, and are using the money in their treasuries to use in the strikes and struggles which may arise between capital and labor. The United Mine Workers, for instance, has 200,000 members, and it has \$1,000,000 saved up. The Cigar Makers' union has 100,000 members, and it annually handles, all told, more than a million dollars, giving direct benefits and out-of-work payments to its unfortunate members. There are many other unions of large size, but these will show more or less what all are

SUBMARINE BOAT MAY BE WRECKED.



The first real lively experience we have had with our new submarine boats was the almost complete wrecking of two of the finest in the navy during a recent storm off Norfolk, Va. In the work of rescue the Peoria, Yankton and Vixen lent conspicuous service. The present experience may lead to a new estimate of the value of submarines.

24,000 TRADES UNIONS.

These trades unions do not by any means include the majority of our working men. It is doubtful if they have more than 15 per cent of them. Nevertheless they are banded together under leaders, and a well-commanded army is stronger than 10 times as many individuals. I have said there are 24,000 unions. To show their variety I give you some of those which are of a national or international character, taking them from a list which I have from the American Federation of Labor.

There are national associations of bakers, barbers, bill posters and blacksmiths. There are associations of blast furnacemen, boiler makers, bricklayers, broom makers and those who labor in breweries. There are brotherhoods of carpenters and joiners, of wagon workers and wood carvers, car workers and chain makers, and also of clerks and cigar makers, copers and commercial telegraphers.

There are unions of electrical workers and electrical constructors, of coal-hoisting engineers, steam engineers and also of ironmen, flour mill men and freight handlers. There are garment workers united in a union embracing many thousands, glass workers, glass bottle blowers and glass snappers. Even the gold beaters have a national union, and also the grinders of table knives. The hat-

makers are united. The horsehoers have a brotherhood and so have the hodcarriers. They have amounted to over \$200,000,000, and have caused more than 6,000,000 idle workmen. During the same time the lockouts have affected more than half a million workmen, resulting in a wage loss of about \$50,000,000.

Of the above strikes about one-half succeeded; some were partial successes and more than one-third total failures. The strike of the past year have been more than usually successful. Times have been good, orders plenty, and the employers could not afford to stop the factories. They have given in to the men and wages have risen. Times now promise to be hard. Many dishonors are cutting down their forces and some are reducing wages. What these changes will cause new strikes remains to be seen.

3,000 FACTORIES AGAINST THE UNIONS.

At the same time an association of manufacturers has been formed to oppose what they claim are the exactions of the unions. This is said to have a membership of 3,000 factories, each of which contributes \$50 a year toward the movement. It is rapidly increasing in size and is extending its work to all parts of the country. It has established a publication and information bureau at Indianapolis, and like the trades unions, it is doing missionary work in education of its principles. The head of this association is David M. Parry of Indiana, who is also president of the Citizens' Industrial association.

\$400,000,000 LOST IN STRIKES.

These labor unions are better organized than ever before, and their leaders have enormous power as to the inauguration or the prevention of strikes. Their demands for higher wages and better conditions are steadily advancing and within the past few years the strikes have materially increased. According to the figures of the labor bureau here at Washington there have been involved a loss to the wage earners and their employers of about \$400,000,000. The losses of the workmen have

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A Land of Golden Giants—Our 800 Industrial Combinations And Their Fifteen-Billion-Dollar Capitalization—Twenty-Four Thousand Trades Unions and what they Represent—Hundreds of Millions Lost in Strikes—What the Civic Federation is Doing—The Industrial Association—How Some Unions and some Trusts are Squeezing the Public—The Day of High Prices.

ation of America connected with it. These people claim that the labor union is nothing more than a labor trust, designed for the benefit of its own members at the expense of the public. They stand for the non-union man and for the individual and especially for the rights of the employer against organized labor. They are for the open shop and against boycotts, blacklists and strikes, claiming that all differences between employers and employees should be settled by an amicable method that will preserve the rights of both parties.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

Perhaps the most powerful force now organized for the prevention of labor troubles is the National Civic Federation. This is composed of prominent employers of labor, the heads of the great labor unions and a number of leading thinkers representing the public. These men meet together in convention at certain fixed periods to discuss the differences of labor and capital and how they may be amicably settled. They have an executive committee, which tries to bring the employers and employees together wherever there is trouble, and this has already settled many strikes and prevented others. In 1902 the Civic Federation averted a strike of 50,000 workmen in 30 paper mills, and it had settled 11 coal strikes before the troubles in the anthracite fields began. Its members did what they could in the anthracite strike, but were unable to succeed. During the present year their work has been much greater, embracing labor difficulties of many kinds, a report of which, I am told, will soon be given to the public.

REPRESENTATIVE MEN FROM EVERYWHERE.

The civic federation embraces the leading thinkers of the United States. Its executive committee is divided into three groups of twelve each, one group on the part of the employers, another on the part of the wage earners and a third on the part of the public.

The representatives of the public are such men as ex-President Cleveland, Cornelius N. Bliss, August Belmont, Charles Francis Adams, Oscar Straus, Archbishop John Ireland, Bishop Potter, President Eliot of Harvard and John G. Milburn of Buffalo.

The employers are headed by Senator Mark Hanna, and with him are men like Schwab of the steel trust, Underwood of the Erie railroad, Nixon of the United States shipbuilding company, Marcus Marks, president of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers; Charles H. Taylor, Jr., president of the Newspaper Publishers' association; H. H. Vreeland of the street railway, and others.

The labor leaders are equally strong. They are headed by Samuel Gompers of the American Federation, and have such men as John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers, Theodore J. Shaffer, president of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel workers, James O'Connell of the American Machinists, Henry White of the Garment Workers and John Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers' union.

The president of the Civic Federation is Mark Hanna. The vice presidents are Samuel Gompers and Oscar Straus,

while Ralph M. Easley is the secretary. **TRUSTS AND LABOR AGAINST THE PUBLIC.**

All these combinations are chiefly for labor and capital. Their differences are to be reconciled. What the average man wants to know is where the public is to come in. How about the consumer who pays the bills? Everybody's business is nobody's business, and while the representative men of great force, they have not the vital pocket book interest of employer and employee. The laborers want high wages, the manufacturers can satisfy them without personal loss by increasing prices, and the public carries the burden.

Indeed, the combinations of capital as to price are now organized as never before. Nearly every trade has its association, which meets together to stifle individual competition. There is a wholesale druggist combination which represents ninety per cent of the jobbing trade of the United States. The members of this meet and decide just how much we shall pay for our pills, powders and bitters, and especially for our patent medicines of all kinds. The combination will not permit the dealers to undersell one another. It has spies on the road to watch them, and the man who cuts the regular list is furnished no more goods.

The book sellers and book publishers have recently combined to force the retailing of books at net prices, and the book stores which give discounts are not to be supplied.

providing that all sorts of plums and supplies shall be sold only to plumbers, and the handy Yankee will no more be able to stop a leak or put in a washer or spigot for himself. He can't get the spigot without the plumber, and the plumber will get his percentage out of the price. Indeed, it is not possible for the ordinary man to buy a section of gas pipe in many of our cities.

POOLS TO RAISE PRICES.

In this way the consumer is at the mercy of the dealer and the workman combined. Such combinations are being extended to all branches of trade. In many of the cities the bakers dare not deliver their own bread, but must send it to the grocery stores. It must be made by union hands, or it will not be accepted. The New York confederator who cuts the association price of candy is fined \$50, and the New York milk dealer is in a combination which fixes the amount paid to the farmers. Indeed, the farmers themselves are talking of pools, and one of them recently proposed a national organization to raise the price of corn to a dollar a bushel. Such a demand is no more ridiculous than are the actions of many of the industrial pools of today.

FRANK G. CARPENTER.

Wonderful Nerve.

Is displayed by many a man enduring pains of accidental cuts. Wounds, Bruises, Burns, Scalds, Sore feet or stiff joints. Rub there's no need for it. Buckle's Arnica. Salve will kill the pain and cure the trouble. It's the best Salve on earth for Piles, too. 25c. at Z. C. M. I. Drug Store.

The Analogy Between "Rough Rider" Roosevelt and "Old Hickory" Jackson

"What is the difference between a Democrat and a Republican?" is a question sent to the Post, recently, by various persons in various forms of language, but all meaning the same. One query presents the old proposition of voting for principles, or for men; that is to say, if one candidate is superior to another, may the less able candidate's party policy be more important and vital and offset the other's personal advantages? Answering that question involves, "What is the difference between the Republican and the Democratic party policy and principles and ultimate purposes?"

Several books have been issued lately dealing with these questions from an historical standpoint, chief among them "The Life and Times of Thomas Jefferson," by Thomas E. Watson (the Appletons), and "Jeffersonian Democracy," by John R. Dunlap (the Jeffersonian society, New York). Unfortunately these books are full of crochets. The authors try to prove their own present day theories by Jefferson instead of setting forth what Jefferson advocated and represented in his day. It seems almost impossible for a partisan mind to work along unpartisan lines.

The fact is that it is absurd to try to prove what the Democratic party ought to be today by Thomas Jefferson, who died in 1826. It is equally impossible to determine present Republican principles by the work and words of Abraham Lincoln, who died when the generation now passing from the earth was young. But history throws light upon the origin of things and it must be considered in forming a conclusion. Without exception, the queries received by the Post asked about the difference between the two great parties NOW.

From that standpoint, the writer will try to answer them. The Republican party's original reasons for existence necessarily involved the proposition of strong central government. Its main issue being to stamp out rebellion and secession, it had to practise centralized government. The Republican party came into being and enjoyed power, not as a matter of the science of government. It was not the product of a study of the science of government. It was conceived in a demand for the abolition of slavery and born through a passion to preserve the Union. Its bright, glorious guiding star was National Strength. Jefferson was a PEOPLE'S party. Lincoln was a NATION'S party.

The Civil war temporarily suspended, scattered and lost to the people the questions of science of government. Beyond its stand for National Strength and a protective tariff, the Republican party was crude and undeveloped. It replied to its opponents with the roll of drums and with waving of flags. Its purposes were impulsive, rather than studied. Their strength lay in their closeness to that most powerful of political factors—patriotism.

The country had been shattered by civil war. And the Republican party sought to build up prosperity with a protective tariff, creating great industries. It was chary about foreign policy. Indeed, it had none.

Both parties, in reality, have been un-

dergoing a transition stage. The two terms of Cleveland were partly the result of tariff agitation, and partly a protest against Republican corruption. The election of McKinley was owing to no more intelligent reason than there had been hard times under Cleveland. Bryan, the Democratic candidate, was supported by the friends of paternalistic schemes which utterly conflicted with the doctrines of Jefferson.

Free silver is now known to have been only a confusing and remarkable incident of the new development of American political parties as separated by definite and logical principle.

The Democratic party was conceived in the study of the science of government by a group of great Virginians—men of classical education and private fortune. Later it was dominated by the idea of a slave-owning chivalry. Its original aims were confused and dispersed by the hatred that culminated in the Civil war. Shattered by the consequences of a war—a conflict which its founders foresaw and strove to forestall—the Democratic party has been the victim of circumstances and "opportunism." "Opportunism" is a good American word for taking advantage of anything that promises temporary success.

Of late years the old times and the "opportunists" have rent the party. It got somewhat mixed with a new party of unstable character (the Populist, or People's party), and the result of defeat, dissension and opposition to the Republican party for opposition's sake, has been to make the Democracy simply the anti-Republican party.

As a great Democrat remarked, bitterly, "We are all Republicans, nowadays, or anti-Republicans." The great Conqueror, when McKinley, the great Conqueror, His death brought confusion.

Civil service is an excellent illustration of the folly of trying to gauge modern politics by the past. Today civil service reform (the antithesis of "To the victors belong the spoils") is accepted by the people generally. Nobody is afraid that civil service will build up an office holding aristocracy. Jefferson was concerned, as much as about anything, with preventing an office holding class. He was an enemy of aristocratic government, which was one of the evils of his day and age in England and Europe. Today it's not aristocratic government that is feared, for it has ceased to be a possibility in America, but we are concerned about the domination of government by the bureaucracy or wealth.

Another vital and deep-rooted issue, about which politics revolved, and from which sprang many controversies, was slavery. It is plain that drawing parallels today with the words and policies of men who were actuated by their feelings about slavery is not a fair comparison.

It is attempted to compare slavery with the trusts, and to parallel Jefferson's deep rooted opposition to slavery with the modern Democratic position on trusts, but the attempt is far-fetched. Jefferson foresaw the consequences of a country growing up half slave territory and half a zone of free labor. He saw it meant civil war. And it did.

Slavery meant, of course, a proud, politically active and warlike slave-

holding aristocracy. The result of trusts is corruption. It is already here. And, in seeking to eradicate the corruption, the measures proposed tend toward overturning the most luminous features of American government, which was a feature of the Democratic party in the past, namely, anti-paternalism.

Jefferson hated paternalism. Jackson was its keen enemy. Paternalism is the seed of Socialism which has always existed. It is the demand that the government shall be a father to its people, that it shall take the form of a kind and humane despotism. Its final proposition is that the people shall control all industries and arts; fairly distributing the blessings of the earth to the end that poverty shall no longer be as frequent as wealth, or as many put it, that every person shall be entitled to all he produces, or its equivalent.

In Jefferson's day there was the issue of a strong central government versus the home rule. Jefferson was a home ruler. His belief was that the least amount of governing was the best. The government should preserve the peace; furnish courts to settle disputes; enact only necessary laws; provide a stable currency and foster education and science; beyond that its best attitude was to let the people alone and leave trade and enterprise untrammelled.

The Federalists, or Hamiltonian party, feared that this meant mob rule; they felt that public morals had to be guided by a strong government and the very name "Democrat" originally, was an epithet of hate and derision resented the use today of the term "anarchist."

In the furtherance of this Jeffersonian Democracy, or "anarchy," it became necessary to regard principles as higher than personality. The strong government party naturally leaned toward the strength for its cause found in strong, masterful men in the offices while, except when following a popular leader, the people's party placed its belief above preference for individuals.

Thus, again, the national Democracy will very likely make a campaign on principles, versus the brilliant and strong man, President Roosevelt.

Of course, this rule has only been applied according to occasion, because any sort of party naturally prefers a fascinating standard bearer.

The national campaign will be influenced by personalities, perhaps more than by party principles. No matter how lucidly the Republican national convention of 1904 sets forth its policy, or how satisfactorily the broken parties of the Democracy are reunited, the people of the country will be voting for or against Roosevelt.

And should the Democracy nominate Grover Cleveland (despite his declination it will become largely a question of choice between men, because many Republicans (mainly in the east) will prefer Democratic victory, with Cleveland, to a triumph of the "Rough Rider," and many Democrats (mainly in the west) will prefer the purchase of peace with Roosevelt than the re-election of Cleveland.

Amrican politicians of both parties are united in the feeling that leaders who are greater than their parties are dangerous. They want "safe" men—meaning by "safe" men, leaders who will be strict party servants or champions. To this feeling may be ascribed much of the talk about the Republicans

nominating Hanna instead of Roosevelt in 1904. And that raises the query, "What principles of the Democratic party will he follow after the trusts as Jackson attacked and destroyed the United States bank. Jackson stood for a principle, which is still a paramount Democratic policy among all divisions of the party, namely, that no institution should get stronger than the people. The struggle which wiped out the United States bank and did away with the growth of a gigantic financial power, which might have dictated to the government and intimidated the people, is analogous to the trust issue. In his fight against the bank, Jackson was the "Rough Rider" of his time. The friends of the trusts today are afraid that Roosevelt will jar loose and go after them as "Old Hickory" accomplished the death of the bank.

In the days of Democratic power before the Civil war the Whig party represented the element that feared the growth of new states and wished to maintain the old states as the paramount power. That issue existed in the time of that mighty Democratic triumvirate, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. Their act of the Louisiana purchase was violently opposed by persons of much the same quality as the eastern anti-imperialists of today. Later, the Democracy stood for west-

ing an empire from Mexico and again, that act was denounced as infamous and revolutionary by many Democrats, just as we find today Republicans opposing to their party's expansion policy, Senator Hoar and the shade of John Quincy Adams are together today.

Roosevelt's strong foreign policy, his expansion principles, his action in the Panama canal matter, his supposed management of office to the extent of being responsible for the famous phrase, "To the victors belong the spoils."

But the conditions of Jackson's time and the conditions today are different.

This article has tried to show that, while the past party influences and determines the conflict of principles between the parties, nevertheless it is impossible to determine the future by the past. We can demonstrate that the Democracy in the past was warlike, favored a strong foreign policy and was an expansion party. But there can be no doubt about the being cast, now, to the contrary. The Democratic party is irrevocably opposed to its former policy. Its odd policy has passed to the Republican party. Both Bryan and Cleveland agree on that.

Both parties propose to regulate trusts. But the fact is that neither knows at present what it will do. The tariff has ceased to be a national issue.

Silver is no longer an issue. The great questions are imperialism, trusts and strikes. And, with regard to strikes, both parties may be expected to hedge in their platforms and depend on the impressions made by their nominations.

Both parties today are for centralized government. Democratic states have tried state anti-trust laws without real success. Admittedly, trusts must be dealt with by the United States.

The broad political lines today consist of those who would crush all conflict with existing laws, and those who would destroy any trusts conflicting with the laws that exist and those who would place them under elaborate government supervision; and those who would demand that business shall be left alone and those who wish to cure evils by legislation. But, unfortunately, the issue of imperialism and the Panama canal have nothing to do with trusts and strikes and, therefore, men who agree in internal policy disagree upon foreign policy.

Broadly speaking, the Republican party under Roosevelt stands for the executive power of the United States government, while the Democratic party is a legislative party.

Roosevelt is being knocked because his personality interferes with the line-up. With Hanna as the Republican candidate the issue would be to let business alone; suppressing the demand of organized labor that only union men shall be employed and a strong foreign policy as opposed, probably, to a Democratic general play for the anti-trust, union labor and anti-imperialist sentiment.

It is thus seen that it is irrevocable

that the Democratic party must stand for a strong internal government, able to regulate labor and business. It can't escape the proposition of extending, instead of restricting, the purposes of national government, and thus, in all probability, the Republican party will take up the old Jeffersonian mantle of the least government the better, but coupled with powerful preservation of peace and order, just as it has become the war-like, strong foreign policy and expansion party.

What may be termed Cleveland Democracy want to take the course of letting business alone; enforcing existing laws and suppressing organized labor wherein it conflicts with present laws—but these Democrats are anti-imperialists. It is thus seen that there is great

confusion in certain Republicans and certain Democrats being together on internal matters, and divided on external issues and certain Republicans and certain Democrats being agreed on external policy and split on internal tendencies.

There will come out of this vital political changes. In 1904 there will be two Democratic parties unless some external issue arises and the Democrats compromise of utterly conflicting tendencies can only be temporary. Some Democrats must become Republicans and some Republicans must change to Democrats in the next few years.

And to all this there bears much the same relation that "Old Hickory" bore to his era. His party was a hot-bed of secession. He throttled secession for a time.

The Republican party is responsible for the trusts and the "Rough Rider" stands against them as Jackson threatened the "Nullifiers."—Paul Thielman in Denver Post.

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