

SHOULD MEN STRIKE?

WHAT BISHOP POTTER AND CARDINAL GIBBONS SAY ABOUT IT.

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

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NEW YORK, Jan. 26.—I give you today the views of two of the ablest divines of the country on the struggle which is now going on between labor and capital. The men are especially noted as thinkers and they are the friends of the public.

One is Henry C. Potter, the head of the Protestant Episcopal church of New York, and the other James Cardinal Gibbons, the chief of Roman Catholicism on the North American continent.

A TALK WITH BISHOP POTTER.

It was in his apartments on West Fortieth street that I met Bishop Potter. Going up the elevator, I was taken into a little reception room walled with books and furnished in blue as delicate as that of the blue room of the White House. A saved-off boy in buttons took my card to the bishop, and a moment later a tall, straight, broad-shouldered man in clerical dress stood before me. It was Bishop Potter. "I should have known that," he said, "but I had not time to meet you in the study. He looks the eminent divine. His head is big, his forehead high and broad, his side whiskers are cut in formal Episcopal style and the words drop from his lips so clean cut that they made me feel of a copper-plate engraving. I had written him my desire for the interview, and in response to my questions he began at once.

"The struggle now going on between labor and capital is a serious one," said the bishop, "but I have no doubt but that time and the forces at issue will bring it to a successful conclusion. Neither the labor unions nor the employers seem to regard the greatest factor in it. They are neither laborers nor capitalists. The capital class is small, and it is estimated that there are four million people dependent on the wages of organized labor. We have a population of eighty millions, so that there are seventy-six millions outside. That seventy-six millions are not laborers, but they are not capitalists either. They are the masses of the people, and they will never permit it to rule. As soon as the inconvenience becomes too great they will rise up in arms and put it in one way or another. I don't think the labor unions realize this. They do not seem to appreciate the fact that they may raise a spirit of antagonism to their cause."

"Yes, I mean just that," said the bishop.

HOW LABOR DOES NOT CREATE CAPITAL.

"But, Bishop Potter," said I, "the laborer is certainly worthy of his hire. It is labor that creates the wealth of the country, and it would seem to me that labor ought to have its rights." "Yes," replied Bishop Potter, "I should provide it. I know, however, that it is ridiculous, however, to say that the wealth of the United States has been created by mere muscular force, that is, by the work of the day laborer. Such work alone has created no considerable part of our wealth. The men who furnish it might toil a thousand years if they could live so long and have a product no greater than at the end of the first day or the first week. They have their everlasting daily wages to devour their daily production, and it is only when they have extraordinary ability and the genius of invention come in that their work can be so directed and used as to create wealth."

LABOR AS AN ELEPHANT.

"The relations of labor and capital," continued Bishop Potter, "are in some respects like those of the elephants and their masters in the lumber yards of the far east. As you enter the ship-

yard at Rangoon, Burmah, you may see those huge unwieldy animals loading, unloading and stacking timbers. They seize great logs of oak, mahogany or teak wood with their trunks and trunks; they balance them carefully and carry them through winding pathways of the ships to the wharves and place them just where they are needed. Their intelligence seems wonderful and their ability beyond conception. As you look closer, however, you see a little black figure upon the neck of each elephant. He has a stick in his hand, but he rarely raises it and never strikes. Watch him closely, however, and you will see that his bare heel rests with an intermittent pressure on the neck of the huge animal he rides, and there you have the secret of the whole business. The brute obeys the man. The clever intelligence of the Burman's heel guides, directs, restrains, constrains and energizes the enormous living bulk beneath him and converts it from a destructive monster into a faithful and untiring servant. That is how the genius of capital uses labor—by invention, construction, organization and direction."

CAPITAL'S SMALL PROFITS.

"But the elephant has the right to his feed," said I. "Does labor get its share of the profits?" "It is getting more every year," was the reply. "This is especially so as to the real profits; that is, the commodities that can be bought with the money received from capital and labor. I don't think that it is generally considered that the great bulk of the capital of the country consists of an aggregation of small sums owned by people who are dependent upon them for their living. Take the widow whose all is the sum of \$5,000 which she has to safely invest.

"In 1890 that widow could put this sum into a safe bond which would bring her 7 per cent or \$350 per year. At the same time suppose a man received a dollar a day for his work and that he worked 300 days in the year. His income would be \$300 a year, or \$50 less than the earnings of the widow's \$5,000. Now it is estimated that since 1890 wages have been reduced about 60 per cent, so that the dollar a day man of 1890 would now get at least \$1.60, or \$180 more than he got in 1890. At the same time the widow's earnings have been reduced to 4 per cent instead of 7, and her income from the \$5,000 is only \$200, instead of \$350. She has lost \$150 and the workman has gained \$180. That is an example of how labor is actually getting a greater share of the profits."

"But what will be the end of it all?"

"It will come out all right," said the bishop. "The situation of today is merely an incident in our history. We are now in a transition state, but in the end matters like these regulate themselves. I have no fears for the future."

CARDINAL GIBBONS AT HOME.

I met Cardinal Gibbons in the library of his residence at Baltimore. His house is a big gray stone building of many rooms, just back of the cathedral. It has a cold air about the interior, as though the hand of woman were absent. And so it is. A colored boy in livery meets you at the door and you find only priests and students within. The cardinal is now 65 years of age. He is tall and thin, with a face bearing the evidence of hard study. He is very dignified, but at the same time kindly, speaking freely and interestingly on every subject. He found that he had recently delivered a sermon on labor, and his first words were on "The Sweat of the Brow of Labor." Said he: "The sweating system is a disgrace to the country. We have a large class of persons here in Baltimore employed by the proprietors of the clothing establishments. Some of them work in the stores and others in their own homes, bringing their garments to the establishments. These people are overworked and underpaid. I find that they put in six days, of 10 or 12 hours each, for from \$5 to \$8 per week. With this pittance they have to pay for house rent, food, clothing and all the expenses incident to family life. They have hardly enough to keep them from



CARDINAL GIBBONS.

From a Photograph Taken in January, 1904.

starving, and the result is that after a few years they are incapacitated for work. I find that many of them are compelled to toil in sweat shops contracted in space and poorly lighted."

"How can the matter be remedied, your eminence?" I asked.

"One way is to arouse public attention to the grievance and discriminate in favor of goods made in other establishments. We have in Baltimore a Consumer's league, the members of which agree to purchase only such goods as are made in sanitary quarters, with reasonable working hours and fair wages. The league has a label, which is put on all goods made in such places. I think it is a good thing and ought to be patronized."

ORGANIZED LABOR.

"How about the labor organizations, your eminence. Do you approve of them?" "Yes," replied the cardinal. "I see no reason why our working men should not combine together for their own protection and benefit. This is an age of organization. We have syndicates, trusts and all sorts of combinations of capital, why should we not have organizations of labor? The labor union is an emblem of freedom. It is the legitimate child of the trade guilds of old England. It has nothing to conceal, and it takes from man the pretext for the formation of dangerous secret societies."

STRIKES AND BOYCOTTS.

"That is so," said I, "but it also originates trouble. It causes strikes and boycotts."

"That is true," replied the cardinal, "but I think the day will come when such things will pass away, and when arbitration and conciliation will take the place of strikes. The disputes between capital and labor can be and should be amicably settled."

"As to strikes, I think they are at best a questionable remedy for labor troubles. They paralyze industry, prevent trade and lead to the destruction of property. They keep the men in enforced idleness, during which their minds are clouded with discontent, and they often cause great suffering to the workman's family. I don't approve of the boycott. I regard it as an unwarranted invasion of the commercial privileges guaranteed by the government to every business firm. A man has the

available. Activity is the law of all intellectual and animal life, and the man who works is the happy man and also the successful man. The majority of our rich men have become so through their own untiring industry."

I would advise the workman to take a personal and conscientious interest in his employer. He is to a certain extent a partner in the business, and he should desire its prosperity. The sensible employer will reward such service with a generous hand."

"Again," continued Cardinal Gibbons, "I would advise the workman to foster habits of economy and self-denial; to live within his income and keep out of debt. Let him be not overzealous to amass wealth. To desire to accumulate a fortune is our national distemper. Moderate means with content are worth more than millions without it, and the poor man has blessings which the rich man has not. There is a story of a peasant who was going over a man's farm hoping to catch some game for his family. He was suddenly met by the owner, and thereupon asked him how he proposed to get out so early. I am trying to find an appetite for my breakfast," replied his lordship. "And I returned the man, 'Am out hunting a livelihood for my appetite. I leave it to you which means was the right one.'"

"In conclusion," said the cardinal, "I would advise the workman to be sober and above all religious. But that is not for the workman alone, but for all."

A WORD ABOUT SOCIALISM.

"It is said that the labor unions are moving toward socialism, your eminence. What do you think of that?" "The better sentiment of the United States will never permit socialism to

have a hold in this country," was the reply. "The Catholic church is opposed to it, as is everyone else. The socialist is a drone who wishes to feed on humanity. He says to working labor and working capital, 'Go ahead and labor, I will stand aside and loaf and enjoy the results.'"

"Speaking of the church, your eminence, is there any change in Catholicism from Rome to here. Have you a superior Catholicism?"

"The Catholic church never changes," replied Cardinal Gibbons. "It is the same now as it has always been. It has adopted new methods of treatment of certain things to correspond with certain conditions, but the church is ever and always the same."

THIS NEW POPE.

"Tell me something about the pope, your eminence."

"I can tell you nothing about him that I have not said since I came back from Europe," replied Cardinal Gibbons. "He is a man of ability and of great spirituality. He has long been noted for his generosity and kindness, and his name is idolized in Venice on account of his charities."

"Is he a broad-brimmed man?" I asked.

"I think so," replied his eminence. "He has not been long in office, but his characteristics have already shown that."

"Does he understand the conditions in the United States?"

"To a large extent, yes," replied the cardinal. "But you must remember that he has the whole world for his field of study and work."

"One more word, your eminence," said I, "as I arose to leave. Tell me what you think of Dowleism?"

"That is a novelty," replied the cardinal as he said good-bye.

Bishop Potter on the Rights of the Consumer and the Capitalist—Labor As an Elephant Moved by a Golden Heel—An Interview with Cardinal Gibbons—He Talks of Sweat Shops and the Unrighteous Trusts—His Advice to the Capitalist and Words of Counsel for the Workingman—Socialism and the Church—The New Pope—A Word About Dowle.

DUTCH ALONZO.

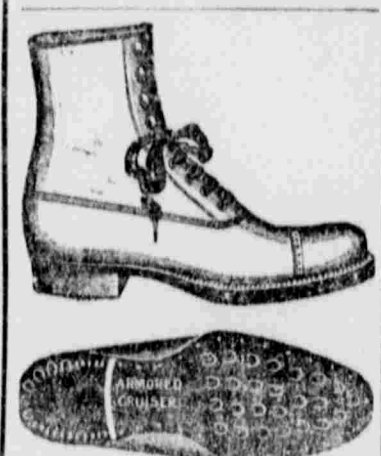


Dutch Alonzo, who has any number of sentences, a distinguished member of the light-fingered fraternity, was recently arrested in Paris for robbing a messenger of the Comptoir d'Escomptes of almost \$15,000 for which he will spend another term in prison.

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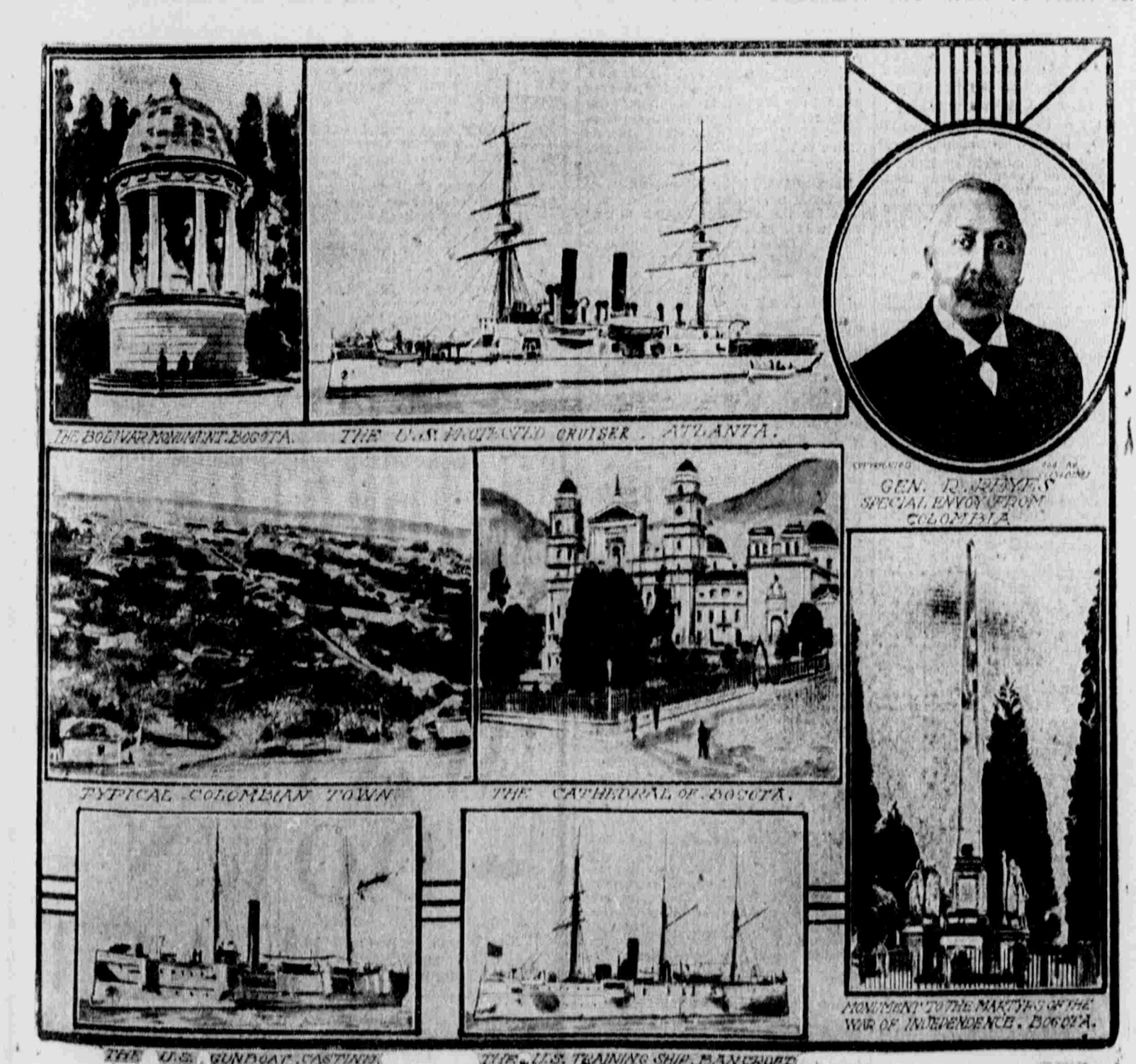
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The above scenes depict the civilization of the people whose ill-will has been engendered by our acknowledgment of Panama's sovereignty. The situation on the isthmus is so acute that United States warships are kept constantly on the alert to head off movements hostile to us, which may be precipitated by Colombia.