

sellers try combinations against them they seek to outwit and overcome them. All this is but consistent from their point of view, an integral part of our industrial and economical system. If this produces unsatisfactory results, then the system itself should be attacked, not the single individual representing it.

"On the other hand the vendors of labor power, dimly realizing that they must sell themselves in order to gain a livelihood, are casting about for ways and means by which to improve and strengthen their position in the market. Hence that tremendous movement toward organization, hence the discussion of methods of reform.

"After half a century's effort, trade unions have some results to show; but they have also brought about the natural sequence of capitalistic counter combinations. The strike and the boycott are answered by the lockout and the blacklist. Thus production is carried on in a sort of latent warfare among its chief factors, interrupted only by patched up truces. The weakest point in regard to labor organizations is that so large a portion of workers remain outside, serving as a club by the use of which organized labor may be downed whenever capitalists are willing to pay the cost of the fight. No less an expert than John Burns, the famous English labor leader, frankly admitted this in a remarkable address recently delivered before a large audience in London. In all great strikes and lockouts the workers are thus made to fight among themselves, and the forces that ought to stand united in a common interest remain hopelessly disrupted. The so-called scabs, against whom the wrath of the strikers is directed, find protection at the hands of their capitalist employers, and ultimately the machinery of the State. To strikers it makes practically little difference whether they are overawed by Pinkertons, or by the police and militia. Pinkerton Winchesters, police night sticks or militia rifles are weapons, different in name only, but, as a rule, working toward the same end.

If we realize, then, that trade unionism is not satisfactory as a remedy, let us examine some of the propositions frequently made. Would the stoppage of immigration effect a cure? Look to Italy and Spain for an answer. Those countries are not suffering from an influx of laborers, and yet their working classes are in a pitiable condition, resulting every now and then in violent outbreaks.

"Then there is the cry for arbitration, for laws imposing that method of settlement. As things are, it would only mean interfering with the buyer and seller of labor power. Both sides instinctively resent such meddling. In our own State, where a board of arbitration legally exists, its results are very meagre indeed. During the memorable strike on the New York Central railroad the impotence of the board was made manifest to every onlooker. The commissioners were snubbed by the spokesman of the road, and there the matter ended. It is extremely doubtful whether any law for compulsory arbitration could ever be framed in such a way as to be tolerably fair to both sides. And then, how are you going to enforce a decision considered unjust on either side? Can you make the employees go to work by force? Can you prevent the employer from shutting down his mills or mines? The working people will always think of legal arbitrators as a part of the political machine, and treat them with the suspicion and distrust in which they hold the whole class of professional politicians.

"Therefore, nothing will avail but a new adjustment by which a harmonious working of our economic order may be achieved. The conflict will last as long

as the worker is not master of his tools. Between him and them stands the capitalist, taking the lion's share of the product and ever on the lookout for an increase, no matter at what cost. The capitalist as employer is a historical result. He was absolutely necessary in order to perfect production on a large scale. He is necessary no longer. He may stay in Newport or in Cluny Castle while his subordinates carry on his business or fight his battles. He becomes more and more simply an obstacle. Like the feudal system, capitalistic production has outlived its usefulness, and it soon must give way to co-operative production and distribution in the interest of society.

"But then you attack the sacredness of property upon which civilized society rests! Nothing is more absurd to my mind, than the phrase of the 'sacredness of property.' What is the object of attack is private property in the means of production. Let us bear in mind that such property is created by organized society, and changes its forms according to the needs of society. To assume that the present form of property is unchangeable is to deny historical progress. Property in slaves, property under the feudal system had their day, and ceased when no longer serviceable to society. Necessity is a strong master and will make the change regarding the property in means of production imperative. The days of our present industrial system are numbered once the masses clearly realize that co-operation must take the place of murderous competition. In a country where the right of revolution is fundamentally recognized no change in the interest of the public weal is impossible or illegitimate.

"Such is the lesson of Homestead."

The article is analytical and logical until it reaches the remedy, which is revolutionary. Our disagreement with it does not apply to the principle of co-operation as a remedial means. Our exception relates to what Mr. Oppenheimer inappropriately calls co-operation. He applies the term to what would be a species of coercive communism, the basis of which would be seizure of the means of production and their subsequent distribution to be conducted co-operatively for the benefit of society.

The first step toward such a system would be the direct opposite of co-operation—confiscation. Such a movement would precipitate the bloodiest revolution on record. The Amalgamated Trades Union at Homestead seems to be possessed of Mr. Oppenheimer's socialistic idea, as, in a manifesto issued by it, the claim was made that the workmen had a proprietary right in the Carnegie works because they had, by their labor, helped to produce them, and the government was asked to sustain, by its powers, this proposition. To apply the term co-operation—which implies mutuality—to a condition which involves a conflict between the parties in interest is ridiculous. If ever the time shall come when labor shall make the demand and insist upon it, by force if necessary, that the capitalists shall surrender possession of the means of production, then will a sanguinary struggle be precipitated that will throw ordinary civil strife into the shade of forgetfulness. Instead of co-operation it would be class against class, and man against man. The race is not educated out of selfishness into self-denial yet. Until that time shall come social affairs will be in perpetual com-

motion. Such ideas of co-operation as those of Mr. Oppenheimer cannot become realities at present. Attempts to enforce them would lead to indescribable woe and disaster.

A CHANGE DEMANDED.

WITH Keeler on the Justice's seat and Powers at the bar, the acquittal of the two saloon men who were charged with violating the Sunday ordinance is not remarkable. And yet the evidence was very clear and straight. A number of men testified to having bought and drank intoxicants on the premises of the defendants on Sunday, July 24th. If there were some trifling discrepancies developed under the cross-fire of attorney Powers, they were insignificant in the light of the undisputed evidence of other witnesses. But when the palpable errors of the defending attorney were adopted and repeated by the court, it was evident that the prosecution had little chance to gain the case.

This is all in line with the tender policy exhibited towards convicted saloon keepers, and shows that if the work inaugurated by the Mayor and Captain of Police is to be carried on effectually, some other magistrate will have to hear complaints and impose penalties. The prosecution of lawless saloon keepers at present amounts to very little more than a song-and-dance performance.

THE SCRIBE AND THE ATTORNEY.

THE Ogden Standard contains a strong yet respectful article from the trenchant pen of J. R. McBride in response to the two-column assault upon him by O. C. Goodwin. Although the latter is an experienced writer and in a certain class of literature has achieved some success, he does not come near in force and keenness, in pointed yet polished sentences, in sarcastic and well turned arguments, to the practiced lawyer and debater who shows him up so deftly in the Standard. His opponent intimates that he will keep up the fight as long as he continues to assail and slander him. Discretion is said to be the better part of valor. We have had mud-slinging and vituperation enough from the journalist; a little of the better part of valor will now be the right thing and may save him from being utterly used up by the lawyer.

RETURNED ELDERS.

Elder Brigham Johnson, of Provo, returned to this city today from the Sandwich Islands, for which part of the world he left to fulfil a mission on May 24th, 1889. He labored constantly and faithfully among the natives of the islands until released. Elder Johnson returns home in good health and spirits. He took the afternoon train for Provo.

Elder Nephi Edwards of Beaver City left his home for a mission to Europe on February 16th, 1891. He traveled in the Scottish Conference the first ten months, at the expiration of which time he was transferred to the Birmingham Conference where he labored until released. His health was not good during the latter part of his mission and he is glad to get home.