

gets him in his power he does not spare him. This is not quite to the credit of the workman, but it is the natural outcome of the war relation in which the two forces stand to each other. When the workman finds his employer in a position favorable for attack, with large contracts on his hands, with brisk demands for goods, then the screws are applied, and wages are either increased or great loss ensues to the producer, and even, through him, to the workman himself. But the capitalist has his opportunity when business is dull. When there is temporary over-production, and the manufacturer does not need to care much whether he shuts down or not, then he either lowers wages or throws the workman out of employment.

What, then, must be the remedy for this? Can we return to the peaceful though primitive condition of the fifteenth century, or to the independent though small producing stage of the last century? Evidently not. The perplexities of manhood are not to be escaped by a return to the careless condition of the child. Our safety lies in progress, our salvation must be wrought out. Perfect competition is evidently a thing of the past. We are moving in the direction of combination. The extensive use of machinery has made it impossible for small industries to live in competition with the larger. Great factories and mills filled with machinery, minute division of labor, centralization in production, will be the rule for the future. If, then, the workmen are not to give in to the capitalist, if they cannot return to the condition of small, independent producers, and if the present attitude of hostility is disastrous and wasteful now, with a worse outlook for the future, what is to be done? What else than for the opposing forces to combine, and, instead of wasting their energies in the endeavor to circumvent and overcome one another, to unite in overcoming natural powers and agents, conquering them for their mutual benefit. What millions are lost to America every year through strikes and lockouts! What millions, too, are lost through bad work, carelessness, lack of interest, and want of industry in working for an enemy! Does it not appear plain that there is everything to be gained by the combining of capitalists and laborers in a common production?

Before considering how this is to be brought about, let us look at two other proposals for overcoming the existing difficulties. First, it is proposed to set up boards of arbitration to mediate between capitalists and workmen, to settle their disputes, to say when wages must be increased and when they must be lowered, to