#### THE

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## Art. I.—THE MODERN THEORY OF FORCES.

II.

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IN a former article, we examined the modern theory of forces in the light of its own definitions, its consequences, and its confessions. We found the definitions to be confused and contradictory; we cited, from Spencer and Bastian and others, confessions of inconclusiveness and invalidity, and pursued the theory to some of its inevitable consequences of materialism and fatalism. In the present article, we purpose to consider this theory in reference to life and mind, and examine it in the light of consciousness, reason, and revelation. First, in reference to mind.

In this higher field of observation the subject is psychical, not physical, else it were the same field still, language itself were false, consciousness itself deceptive, and the term correlation meaningless, and all measurement impracticable (for matter cannot measure itself), and all knowledge impossible, for there would be nothing that could know, perhaps nothing that could be known. Who, at least, could say that there would be anything that could be known? This alternative would prove more disastrous to the supporters of this theory than to admit the existence of mind. In this higher field, then, the subject is

# Art. VIII.—OUR INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL SITUATION.

By Lyman H. Atwater, LL.D.

THE present and recent industrial and economic condition of the people of this country is very anomalous and perplexing. On the one hand, the granaries of our own and other nations were filled during the past year, to unexampled fulness, with wheat and other cereals. Never were the harvests of the world more abundant than last year. Seldom, if ever, could a given amount of labor purchase so large an amount of bread. Never were the producers of wheat more poorly remunerated for it, on account of its plentifulness and the quantity of it seeking purchasers. Yet, never were the numbers so great in this country of those destitute of bread, unable to procure it and famishing for want of it. Why all this in the face of unexampled plenty and of granaries running over? Why, simply because multitudes cannot obtain work or employment by which to produce or earn anything to give in exchange for this wheat, which thus seeks purchasers, i. e., to exchange itself for those commodities which these same unemployed laborers might—and would, if employed—produce and offer in exchange for it.

Now it is in accordance with the immutable law of God—leaving out of view for the present the exceptional cases, soon to be noted, to which it is inapplicable—that "he that worketh not, neither shall he eat."\* All are entitled to their own earnings and savings, and so much as these will exchange for of the earnings and savings of others. In other words, they are justly entitled to the fruits of their own labor; and to such fruits of the labor of others, as others are pleased freely to give them, either in exchange for their own, or gratuitously. But those who labor not themselves have no right to subsist on the labor of others, or its fruits, unless freely given them. This

clear declaration of scriptural ethics, is no less clearly the dictate of natural conscience, the intuitive judgment of the race. Every man has the right to his own labor and its fruits; not to have it wrested from him by violence or fraud, and so consumed by others to whom it does not belong; also, to do what he will with his own, up to the point of not trespassing on the rights and priviliges of others.

This, however, is so to be interpreted, as to include in parents their dependent children, who are entitled to be supported by the labors of the former until qualified to support themselves by their own exertions, while children in turn are bound to provide for helpless parents, and, as far as possible, kindred for kindred, friends for friends. Nor do we mean to deny the obligation of society to provide for its helpless members, who have none else to provide for them, and are not disabled by their own fault. Even if thus culpably disabled, humanity demands that they be not suffered to perish from starvation, nakedness, or want of shelter. Subject to these exceptions, it still remains a fundamental principle of morals, religion, and statesmanship, that "he that worketh not, neither shall he eat." This is certainly true of those who refuse to labor, but have the opportunity. "He that worketh not, neither shall he eat." But this does not exhaust our present problem. The multitudes famishing for want of bread, it is said, are famishing no less for want of work. They would be glad to find employment, but cannot. They would be thankful for crumbs. even of work, as the beggar Lazarus for crumbs of food, and "no man giveth unto them." Now, what shall we say to this?

A ready answer of many in this sad predicament is, that they are entitled to a support out of the property of the community; this, too, without any violation of the principle that only they that labor, and such as are dependent on them, are entitled to the products of labor. They allege that all the property of society is the produce of labor, and that, on this principle, these laborers who have produced it are entitled to possess it, or, at least, to share and appropriate it for their own support, having virtually paid for it out of their past, if not their present, earnings. This is another form of saying that those destitute of property have a right to an equal share of all the property held by others in the community.

Now—anomalies under arbitrary governments aside—this property is only the savings and accumulations of those who at some time have forborne to spend their earnings and profits upon their own or their families' pleasure and enjoyment. And if they have thus chosen to save their earnings, instead of spending them on present enjoyments, do not these belong to them, or their offspring after them, or to the persons and institutions on whom they bestow them? And is it to be pretended that they who have either been idle and earned nothing, or have spent all their earnings upon the pleasures or vices of themselves or their families, are entitled to seize and appropriate to their own support the fruits of the labor and abstinence of others? This, it need not be argued, is at war with the principles of eternal justice.

Not only so; it is destructive of the interests of all, nay, of the very possibility of advancing society and civilization. For surely it would speedily destroy all property, all capital, by removing every motive to abstinence, frugality, saving, and accumulation. Who will deny himself, first by laboring, and then by abstaining from squandering his earnings in self-indulgence, if what he thus gains is no more his own, nor disposable at his pleasure, or if he can be no more rewarded for it than the veriest idler or spendthrift, who lives only to waste his own and other's earnings? Such a system would soon sweep from existence all the property of the world. It would destroy the capital which sustains, reinforces, and rewards labor, because it is itself rewarded for thus sustaining industry and making it a thousand-fold productive. Capital furnishes sustenance, materials, tools, and machinery to the laborer, without which he would be essentially helpless and impotent. It is past labor saved and stored up in commodities for the purpose of furnishing the present and future laborer the means, material, and implements of effective labor. Without it society must relapse into the semi-brutish condition of barbarism. If all means of supporting labor are gone, much more are all means of supporting culture or civilization, any form of human progress, material or spiritual, social or individual, gone. Nay, the means of alleviating poverty and pauperism themselves will have disappeared, either because not produced, or, if produced, because consumed as soon as so produced. So, insane and suicidal are all forms

of Agrarianism and Communism, as methods of alleviating poverty and destitution, of bringing all to an equality of property. It may level the rich, the thrifty, and prudent down to and beneath the poor and improvident; it can never raise the latter above the common ruin.

If this is not the solution then of the present problem, it may be answered next, that we are to solve it not, indeed, by a communistic distribution of the capital of society, but at least by providing for the hungry, naked, and houseless from the public treasury, through a tax levied upon the property of the people, or by charitable associations and private almsgiving. This, doubtless, is one resource—the extreme remedy. The State must support as paupers those who otherwise would starve. But then it is as paupers, in the name and on the footing and proper fare of paupers, with due consideration for misfortune, providential visitations of disease, infirmity and disablement, in the case of respectable indigence. Cases of special delicacy are best provided for by friends, by the church, by private Christian benevolence, by special philanthropic associations, wherein we carry out the principle, at once scriptural and natural, of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us in like circumstances.

But herein all experience is against raising up a race of ablebodied paupers, who are ready to take that support, even though it be slender, from charity or from the public treasury, which they ought, because they are able, to procure by their own labor-thus trying to evade or defy that great ordinance, "He that worketh not, neither shall he eat." Let any provision, however coarse and lean, be made to feed and clothe indiscriminately all who may come pleading hunger or nakedness, and it is amazing what multitudes will choose to subsist in this way, leading lives of idleness and vagrancy, often running into theft and robbery, thus adding recruits to the "dangerous classes" who infest the cities, prowl about the country, and who might, without this temptation to live upon others, earn an honorable livelihood by their own labors, so recruiting the productive forces of society. The experience of the pauper systems of the Old World, of the indiscriminate charity in Chicago after the great fire, and in New York after the late and former commercial panics, more than confirms this view. Let then every method, devised for the relief of the destitute, guard against giving support to those who are able to work for a livelihood, without providing and requiring work which shall compensate for the food and raiment so furnished. Let not the idlers and vagabonds of society be the favored ones who eat, though they do not work, and who evade the primal ordinance for fallen man, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." Let this be secured, and vagrant pauperism would be vastly diminished. For shameless beggary would come the self-respect of honest and honorable labor-of labor that needs to be done, and will be in demand when it can be had at prices which those needing it can endure. Let economists and legislators task their powers to devise a system which shall compel those able-bodied beggars, who demand subsistence from the public, to earn it at wages which the public can afford to pay. If nothing better, let arrangements be made so that every ablebodied pauper should earn every meal he eats at the public table by breaking stone, or some work with pick-axe and shovel, to improve the public streets and walks.

Just here we strike the clew to the causes of our present financial and industrial difficulties, and the only remedy for them. They originate in the attempt to get over or around that law of God, of nature, of eternal justice, "He that worketh not, neither shall he eat;" in the various devices of men to subsist without labor, or in a manner better than any fair equivalent for their labor will sustain—i. e., to live, in whole or in part, on the unfair seizure and consumption of the earnings and savings of others.

Before going into details of this, it will not be amiss to say a word as to what labor or work is, and for a definition of this we have not far to seek. Labor is, first of all, effort, human effort, whether of mind or body, brain or muscle. It is such effort directed by reason, in such manner as mere irrational creatures cannot direct it. It is no mere aimless or instinctive movement. It is effort, withal, rationally directed to a certain end, and that end is the production of utilities, comprising broadly in this whatever is useful or desirable to man—whatever he is willing to work for as a means of his own welfare or enjoyment, either in itself or by what it will exchange for. This being so, it is not merely corporeal, or directed exclusively to

the production of material objects. The labor of the author's mind in producing a book which sells by the hundred thousand, is more than that of the paper-makers, printers, binders, great as that doubtless is. The publishers, clerks, and book-keepers, too, are laborers in its production and circulation. The superintendent of manufactures and commerce, or the capitalist who puts his talent to good and productive use, who does not stir a muscle, but so organizes and plans that all the laborers under him are thrice effective; the lawyer, physician. preacher, pastor, teacher, editor, all whose exertions promote the security of property and person, the increase of intelligence, the health and vigor of the body or the soul, are of all laborers the most intense and effective, for they render all manual labor more productive, and uplift and expand the soul itself, the noblest end of all exertion under God himself, who is glorified thereby. And hence it is often the highest economy of labor to supply to the superintending minds and master-spirits, that guide the labors of others to their highest achievements, that subsidiary service of all kinds which enables them to concentrate their whole powers upon such instruction and guidance. To this end the heavy salaries and rewards often paid such are the most economical of all outlays.

Now this labor since the Fall has something in itself of the element of toil and sacrifice, the "sweat of the brow." It costs something. It involves a pain or sacrifice which men prefer not to undergo, if they can avoid it. They like play better than work; they prefer the easy, uncontrolled, spontaneous exercise of their faculties to that which is self-controlled, persistent, disciplined, at once tiresome and untiring till it accomplishes its end. Long practice may overcome this repugnance. It may make labor a second nature, and turn work into play, so that the man will find it a spontaneity, a recreation, and all protracted leisure intolerable. But the natural bent of men is unquestionably towards ease, idleness, or sport. They are first induced to labor only by its rewards, otherwise unattainable, just as those who abstain from spending their earnings upon present indulgence are moved by the rewards they crave and hope from such abstinence. The verdict of humanity accords with scripture, that the laborer is entitled to the fruits of his industry, is "worthy of his hire," and that the sluggard should reap the proper rewards of his sloth—if he will do nothing, he shall have nothing—"He that worketh not, neither shall he eat." As we have said, it is the endeavor of men to evade this divine ordinance; that is the root of our chief present troubles.

First and foremost among these is the whole system of movement among laborers to extort unrighteous wages, by requiring ten hours' pay for eight or nine hours' work, enforcing it by the legislation which their votes can command; by trades-unions violently compelling monopoly prices for their work; placing poor workingmen on the same footing as the best; forbidding employers to take apprentices lest they suffer competition; by strikes of persons endeavoring to compel wages beyond the labor market, and to forcibly prevent others from taking their own places as laborers, when they themselves refuse to work. This whole system is simply a method, on the part of the trades adopting it, to compel all other laborers who buy the commodities produced by them, and made dearer by their violent and lawless agency, to pay them tribute to which they are not entitled. It does not, as they blindly conceive ordinarily, come so much out of their employers' as out of all the consumers of the articles produced by them; but, like other iniquities, it has wrought its own retribution, and is thus working its own cure. These enormous wages have crushed and killed the industries in which they had been exacted. Employers can no longer pay them, except at a loss. Why? Because the people cannot afford to pay the enormous prices required for commodities produced by such dear labor. What next? These laborers are thrown out of employment until they will take such wages as employers or consumers can afford to pay. Vain, and worse than in vain, are all strikes now; for every laborer in any trade, whether skilled or unskilled, who refuses work, twenty are ready and eager to crowd into his place. When the panic broke out a year and a half ago, it was largely due to vast outlays of the capital of this country, or borrowed from abroad, on unfinished and unproductive railroads. This stopped the demand for rails and locomotives. The factories for building them were closed; thousands of workmen were thrown out of employ. We have been credibly informed that a principal American manufacturer of locomotives had a chance to obtain a contract for building a lot of them at reduced rates for some foreign railroad, when the demand ceased here; and that, at some loss to himself, he offered to take it if his workmen would suffer some reduction in their own wages. This they peremptorily refused, and marched through the streets flaunting on their banners "Bread or Blood." Four thousand in the town where this is said to have occurred were fed that winter by public charity. Ought this so to be?

There is no department in which the system we now deprecate has been more largely carried into effect than the iron manufacture. With what effect? To raise iron to prices which, with high prices of construction in other respects, first bankrupted most of the new and unfinished western railways, then rendered it necessary for the residue to charge rates of transportation insupportable to the farmers—for whose benefit they were built—in the present state of the grain market, leaving, even then too often, no remuneration to the holders of the stock, and not much less often a default of interest on their bonds. Hence, largely came the panic which has ruined the iron manufacture itself, for the time at least, and thrown a paralysis into all forms of industry nearly or remotely implicated with it. So surely will nature's laws assert themselves and avenge the outrages upon them. The endeavors of some trades to pluck all other occupations for their own aggrandizement, is only a repetition of a very old scheme of killing the bird that lays the golden egg.

This, indeed, is the result of the whole system of inflation and extravagances engendered by the war, and fostered to some extent by the very aspirations which our universal political equality raises in the hearts of multitudes, tempting them to overspend their earnings and income on overstrained attempts to ape or overshadow the ostentation and luxury which they deem symbolical of elevated rank or fortune. It is unquestionable, that much of our present financial distress is due to the extravagance of dress, equipage, living, which has eaten out the substance of all classes of society.

Another mode of attempting to evade this great law of justice which has been rife among us, has been in the thousand processes of contriving to make a sudden fortune without the labor of earning it by any service rendered to men in exchange

for it. The vast body of speculators and gamblers in stocks and produce corners, of venal political adventurers who fill their own coffers with what they steal from the public treasury, fall under this category. True commerce and trade render a service in the distribution and exchange of commodities, and as much deserve reward as any other form of industry. But gambling and mere speculation render no conceivable service to men, and are fraught with all manner of moral, social, economical, and financial evil. They are mere devices for capturing the property and savings of others without rendering the slightest equivalent for them. They serve only to impoverish and demoralize the people, and bring an unmitigated curse upon the land. Here lies a serious cause of existing embarrassments.

To the same department belong all forms of embezzlement of funds, public and private, on the part of those entrusted with them. The thefts of property of individuals and corporations, and above all from the public treasury, on the part of those entrusted with their custody and management, have been immense, their forms innumerable. Peculation, robbing in some communities by taxation amounting to or bordering on confiscation, has been reduced to a regular trade; nay, brought to a fine art, by throngs of adventurers, bound together by the "cohesive power of public plunder." And in what ways, manifold and countless, have the managers of great corporations, including many of the vast railways of our country, contrived directly or indirectly to aggrandize themselves at the expense of those who, as bondholders or stockholders, have furnished the capital for their construction? This is one chief cause of the wide prostration of this great interest, viz.: the effort in this way to get rich without the labor of producing property through the fraudulent appropriation of the property of others, by a breach of trust.

Another cause of this prostration, which is implicated with all other financial distress of the country, besides those already adverted to, is the system, deliberately and systematically pursued, of alluring, by offers of extravagant and impossible interest, people to invest and sink their money in worthless, or at best unproductive, enterprises, especially railways built where they are not wanted, or before they are wanted, or can have any business which will pay expenses and reward the capital

invested in them; railways "from a wilderness, through a wilderness, to a wilderness." This risking, not to say appropriating, the property of others, in order to gain railway accommodations, and the advance of property and wealth through their means, without paying for them, has gone forward on a prodigious scale, until the business of the country is crippled and paralyzed by this incubus of unproductive investments. The credit of the country, thus overstrained and abused, is well-nigh exhausted, while the extent of indebtedness to foreign countries threatens to bankrupt our own; especially as the amount of interest annually due abroad, much of which is defaulted, already staggers the nation; and the abuse of past credit destroys or impairs it for the future.

We must not omit, in this connection, to say that our nation itself leads in the example of appropriating what is not its own, by compelling the people to take for dollars its mere promise to pay dollars, which it thus far makes no effort, or pretence of effort, to pay; certainly to pay with reasonable promptness. This of itself is enough to vitiate the whole standard of public morality in regard to the fulfillment of promises, the keeping of faith, and appropriating the fruits of the labor of others without earning a title to them. Nay, more; it unsettles all standards and measures of value, all certainty in contracts, all stability in business, as much as variable weights and measures. Endurable as a desperate war measure, its perpetuation in a time of peace is without shadow of justification. is only introducing into all transactions of commerce that "false weight and false balance," which is "an abomination to the Lord." The Lord hasten the time when this nation shall no longer hold this conspicuous leadership in forced loans and broken promises. Of all the discouraging tokens of the decay of statesmanship among our law-givers, none is more appalling than the currency debate in the last Congress, particularly in 1873-4. All the greater honor is due to the few statesmen who rose to the height of that great argument, and plead eloquently for the preservation of the national faith. Of the currency bill passed by Congress last winter, and its effect, we may hereafter treat. We hope that nothing will be done to hinder the restoration of coin payments as early as 1879, at least, if not earlier.

The inflated currency has had much to do with that universal

inflation of bubbles of speculation, overstrained credit, extravagance of living in pampered luxury and ostentatious costliness, beyond all means to support them, which has of late, without, however, lessening the number who are still making the fatal strain to live beyond their means, so ignominiously and fatally collapsed, thus bringing on a stagnation of business, trade, and productive industry, and threatening a deluge of pauperism, which makes the question, how we shall escape from them, the question of the hour. And the answer to it must be given briefly in the light of the cause of this distempered state of things.

Now the cause we have found to be mainly, the effort of such vast numbers to eat the bread of idleness; to live upon the labors and earnings of others, in whole or in part; to adopt a style and grade of expenditure beyond the legitimate means, earnings, or income of those who adopt them; to gain large wealth, not by skillful and effective service, which deserves and commands large compensation, nor by a prudent husbandry of the resources so acquired. This is the nature of the evil: correspondent must be the remedy. Let all obey the divine ordinance, of laboring that they may eat the fruits of honest industry. We leave out of view the helpless and disabled, who must subsist on charity, and even those able-bodied ones who, whatever their past errors, must receive temporary help to keep them from starvation. So far from continuing to levy unfairly upon others, let whoever has done so, do so no more, but "labor with his own hands, that he may have to give to him that needeth." If he cannot work at his chosen occupation, let him work at whatever he can find to do, and can do; if not at wages that will satisfy him, at such as others can afford to pay him. If all were to proceed thus, the wheels of industry would soon begin to move. One department after another would be revived. The immense numbers now idle would produce a vast amount of commodities for each other, and in exchange for the bread which the farmer now craves to sell for such commodities. This great abundance of things, thus produced by all, would be for the common possession and enjoyment of all engaged, whether with their capital or labor, in producing them, but which cannot be produced or enjoyed while all these laborers and all this capital remain idle. If through cheapness of labor they were cheaply produced, they would be cheaply procured in return for such labor. In place of scarcity and starvation would come that sufficiency which makes the sleep of the laboring man sweet. Let all be prudent, live within, rather than beyond, their means, and lay up something "in store against the time to come."

One way of escape from their difficulties, not to be overlooked, is for the laboring class to become capitalists to some extent, even if at first in a very small way, by their savings. Is it said this is impossible, for they must consume all they can earn in subsisting themselves and their families? The decisive answer to this is that, I. Many do save, and acquire homes and other property. 2. The saving of what is a thousand times worse than squandered on alcoholic drinks, to say nothing of tobacco, would make a tremendous addition to the national wealth, which would be shared by the laborers who practice such abstinence. A leading economist, Professor Cairnes, estimatesthat £90,000,000, or \$500,000,000 of our currency, are spent annually by the laboring classes of Great Britain in such drinks, worse than nothing in themselves, and inducing incalculable loss and waste in other respects. Suppose all this loss and waste were saved and invested, then the laboring poor of that country would become property holders and small capitalists. The same is true, on a no less gigantic scale, of the laboring classes of this country. Universal abstinence from hurtful indulgence would of itself nearly solve the drawn battle between labor and capital, which is one of the portents of the time.

Let all invest their earnings safely and surely; for sure, even if small returns, rather than risk them in wild adventure. Let all, whatever their sphere or occupation, whether intellectual or material, do their best, and put to the most effective use the faculties and opportunities which God has given them. Let those who are born to wealth, train themselves, not for a life of idleness, but for the noblest use of their means; in bringing a revenue not merely of comfort and improvement to themselves, but of blessing to man and glory to God. Let all who have done their best, be thankful and content with such things as they have, and be above that frailty which comes of an abuse of our political liberty and equality, which is all-pervading

in our land, and the source of incalculable mischief: viz., of every man thinking to make an expenditure, or show of expenditure, which is a token of equality in material resources with those utterly beyond his reach. Waiting-maids now often outdo their mistresses in dress, while the standard of fashion for all has reached a pitch of extravagance which would be ridiculous if it were not ruinous. All this more degrades than exalts those who practice it.

Whatever any lay up on earth, let them first of all lay up treasures in heaven, which they shall have at the resurrection of the just; which are imperishable and unalienable; which no moth nor rust can corrupt nor thieves break through and steal. So doing, let them learn the divine wisdom "in whatsoever state they are, therewith to be content;" since, at the worst, "these light afflictions shall work out for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, while they look not at the things that are seen and temporal, but at the things that are not seen and are eternal." So, even if poor for this world, shall they be rich, as the heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ to an immortal inheritance. Yea, "as poor, yet making many rich"—rich in faith, rich towards God, rich in the treasure which awaits them in eternity.

### Art. IX.—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States met in the First Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, Ohio, on May 17, 1875, at 11 A. M.

The Rev. E. D. Morris, D.D., of Cincinnati, Professor of Theology in Lane Theological Seminary, was chosen Moderator, and filled his office so wisely and well, as greatly to promote the harmony of its deliberations and the movement of its business to a speedy and happy issue. Fortunately, too, for this Assembly, most of the great questions of polity growing out of the