

mitted to industrial life can afford to disregard. The compulsory arbitration law did not spring out of theory, and has not ended in theory. It was the remedy sought as a way of escape from practical embarrassments of the most serious sort. The strike of 1890 brought New Zealand as well as Australia within a day's journey of anarchy. This was followed by apprehensions of a big railroad strike. To save New Zealand from being ravaged by these industrial conflicts, more terrible in their sum-total of losses than a foreign war, the then Minister of Labor, William Pember Reeves, who lately came to America as the official representative of his government at the Commercial Congress in Philadelphia, began to study what had been accomplished by other nations in arbitration, and was forced to the conclusion that "voluntary arbitration is a sham." He traced the development of arbitration in all the leading countries up to the Massachusetts Board of Conciliation and Arbitration. This he found the best of all and lacking only one thing to make it completely successful—compulsion.

New Zealand began where Massachusetts left off, and has succeeded where Massachusetts failed. Mr. Reeves saw that to be effective, arbitration, like taxation, must be compulsory, not that the minority might rule the majority, but that it might not. Time and time again in New Zealand the majority of masters and men in trade had agreed to terms of settlement or methods of arbitration, sometimes after years of negotiation, only to have the whole structure of their civilized efforts overthrown by an irreconcilable minority of commercial cut-throats determined not to abate one jot or tittle of their privilege of murderous competition.

The theory of the compulsory arbitration law is that the majority must rule. There are three parties vitally interested in every industrial dispute: labor, capital and the state. Whichever side the state finds right is therefore in a majority.

The New Zealanders are not at all sensitive about the use of compulsion. They are the most democratic people in the world, and they believe in whatever compulsion is necessary to prevent the minority from ruling. They see that compulsion is only another name for law.

The principal points of the law are, first, procedure for voluntary arbitration, with no publicity and no investigation if the parties can thus settle their difficulties among themselves; but if they cannot, the law shows its other face. If their differences are irreconcilable by themselves the parties must arbitrate if either of them so elects; fight they shall not, if either wants arbitration. The compulsion of the law is threefold; compulsory pub-

licity, compulsory reference to a disinterested party, and compulsory obedience to the law's awards. The state has no powers to intervene in any dispute, even for inquiry, of its own motion. Those concerned sue and are sued as in other courts.

The employers, most of them, like compulsory arbitration. It enables them to make their business arrangements for months or years ahead with certainty, and without the necessity of putting "strike clauses" in their contracts. It relieves business of one of its most harassing annoyances—the perpetual friction with labor. A little easy manœuvring with the men brings cut-throat competitors before the court and puts them under the compulsion of law to pay the same wages and give the same treatment to their men as decent employers do.

The working men like compulsory arbitration. It ensures them at all times and under all circumstances a full and fair hearing for their demands. When they are resisting a reduction or demanding an increase of wages it enables them to learn the facts of the situation and all of them. It fixes the product of their labor not by a false "law of the market" as interpreted by the greed or the whip hand of a master, but by the true "law of the market" never before ascertainable. For the first time in civilization the organization of labor is not merely tolerated, but given a premium. The law fixes a living wage or a minimum wage, and yet allows the superior man all the advantage his strength and skill deserve. Again for the first time in history the toiler has found a place where he meets his employer on equal terms, with no temptation to cringe or to bully. This law puts in the hands of the workman an irresistible means of stamping out the moment it appears in any industrial centre the first tendency to sweat the working people.

An employer in any part of the country detected in an attempt to cut wages or worsen conditions can be called before the court and straightened out, and what might have developed into a widespread spoliation, running from one competitor to another, justified by this merchant because it had been adopted by that competitor, is arrested at the very start. The satisfaction of the working men is universal.

The Compulsory Arbitration Court of New Zealand has an aspect of even greater importance than the industrial peace which is assuredly a very great aspect. In this arbitration court New Zealand has achieved what the people of the world have been sighing for for centuries—cheap, uniform and speedy justice. It points the way to the realization of the dreams of quick and true justice for all, which is the greatest need and the dearest

hope of the people of the world. And the Compulsory Arbitration Court of New Zealand is a light on a hill to those who are seeking a means of establishing international arbitration. The nations will get arbitration only as the people of New Zealand got it—by compulsion. When the nations made up their minds that the duty of arbitration shall be mated with the right of arbitration, and that as no nation ought to fight, no nation shall fight, and that as every nation ought to arbitrate, all nations shall have the right to demand arbitration, and when they, as the people of New Zealand did, create a tribunal with the power to enforce these rights and duties and to punish any people that violate the new international law, then, and not till then, shall we have the possibility of international arbitration. Law and order must have its policemen between nations as well as within the nations.

The only country in the world where there have been no strikes or lock-outs for five years is the only country in the world that has a compulsory arbitration law. That country is New Zealand, and New Zealand is today not only more prosperous than it ever has been before, but, so far as my observation goes, is the most prosperous country in the world. Not even a New Zealand advocate of compulsory arbitration would claim that its prosperity was due to compulsory arbitration, but the prosperity certainly has falsified all the predictions that disaster would follow.

"Is," or "Are?"

For many years there has been a controversy over the question whether a plural or a singular verb should be used with the term, the United States. This dispute has in a measure been officially settled by the House committee on revision of the laws, which after deep exploration and prolonged consideration have decided in favor of the singular form of the verb. In the earlier period of our National existence the rule was the other way. The plural form is used in the Constitution itself, and was employed until a comparatively recent date by the Supreme Court in its decisions, and is still used even by many members of Congress and other officials. But the singular form of the verb has been growing in favor, and it was discovered was used by many eminent men of former periods. The committee consulted a pamphlet written by ex-Secretary of State John W. Foster, who traced the course of the change, and quoted from Hamilton, Jefferson, Webster, Benton, Marcy, Motley, C. F. Adams, Seward, Evarts, Fish, Blaine, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, Fresham and Olney, all of whom used the singular verb. The earlier Presidents, except Jackson, used the plural, but Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, Harrison and McKinley all used the singular form exclusively in this connection. The change has been an evolution, perhaps significant in some little degree of the change in the conception of the character of our Nation. It is no longer regarded as a federation of states, but as a Nation, with a big N. Hence the United States, spoken of as a Nation, "is," not "are."—Portland Telegram.

HELL!

A Visit to the Real Old Thing.

BY HARRIET L. HENDERSON.

Few of the Europeans—Anglo-Saxons, Celts or Romans—in the present or in centuries past, but have had their souls dwarfed and smothered, their minds perverted and clouded, and their lives darkened and made miserable, by the insane and criminally ignorant pulpit teaching about a flaming sea of brimstone, religiously and reverently called Hell. There all who were not sanctified, like the good and holy pastor, would surely spend their eternal days in indescribable torment and suffering. Charming idea!—and how vividly and luridly was it pictured by self-indulgent old barbarians? How they immensely enjoyed the chains that bound their flourishing flock. How they loved and fostered their ignorance and superstition, and weekly, monthly and yearly reaped from their terror so much a head. Gray-haired, toothless old men and those better-looking shouted "Amen!" Frail little children were terrified at the awfulness of the spectacle which haunted their thoughts by day and their dreams by night. Nor were wanting weak, emotional women—the hypocritical and selfish devotees of fashion's foibles, whose tears over their own danger were soothed by those of self-gratification, to know that all their neighbors and acquaintances would surely be caught in that fiery furnace of blue flame and smothering gases. Then they would be fluttering around the throne of grace and basking in the smiles of an all-wise and all-approving God. Such was and is the Hell of religious orthodoxy, rank enough to send a smell of sulphurous incense to the farthest portals of space. It has almost breathed its last fumes—throttled by its own cruel, criminal horror. Only here and there we can yet faintly hear its death-rattle amongst the more degraded of the gospel faithful.

Its final demise is a certainty. But that leaves his Majesty the Devil without a home! How long will a homeless Devil survive? The Hell and Devil gone, how long will the function of saving souls last? What will be its stimulus? An obliterated function needs no organ of operation. Then, farewell Priest and Pastor,—except as frauds?

Here I am in Palestine, with the original Hell before me. Let us enter. As we stand upon the Hill of Zion, looking west and south, we behold the supposed field of blood (Acts i, 19); beyond and to the left is the "Mount of Evil Counsel," deriving its name from a legend of the 14th century, to the effect that "Caiaphas" possessed a country house here, where he consulted with