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**THE LABOR MOVEMENT
IN AMERICA**

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The Labor Movement in America

BY

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TO

Mr. and Mrs. Eugene K. Hough,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THEIR SELF-SACRIFICING
ENDEAVORS IN YEARS GONE BY TO AID ME
IN THE SOLUTION OF THE TRYING
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF
MY OWN LIFE,
THIS BOOK,

WRITTEN WITH THE EARNEST DESIRE THAT IT MAY
SERVE OTHERS LESS FAVORABLY SITUATED,
IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

PREFATORY NOTE FOR THE MACMILLAN
COMPANY'S REPRINT OF "THE LABOR
MOVEMENT IN AMERICA."

THE present work was published in 1886, and, although since the appearance of the first edition some new matter has been added in the form of an appendix, the body of the book has never undergone revision. Nevertheless there has been a continuous demand for it. While the author is probably more painfully aware of its defects than any one else can be, the book has its friends who are good enough to say pleasant things about it and to express the opinion that it should be brought down to date by a thorough revision. This revision must necessarily take some time on account of the largeness of the field to be covered. In the meantime the Macmillan Company have undertaken to supply the demand for the book by the present reprint.

RICHARD T. ELY.

MADISON, WISCONSIN,
April 15, 1905.

PREFACE,

WITH FINAL WORD TO WORKINGMEN.

THE importance of those phases of American life with which the present work deals, is no longer likely to be called in question. The labor movement treats of the struggle of the masses for existence, and this phrase is acquiring new meaning in our own times. A marvellous war is now being waged in the heart of modern civilization. Millions are engaged in it. The welfare of humanity depends on its issue.

I do not claim to have written a history of the labor movement in America. I offer this book merely as a sketch, which will, I trust, some day be followed by a work worthy of the title, "History of Labor in the New World." In the meantime, I shall be abundantly satisfied if this more modest effort accomplishes two chief purposes which I have set before me as a goal. The one is to show that the material furnished to the historian by the movements of the laboring classes in America is interesting, instructive, and withal not devoid of the pathetic and picturesque. The other is to convince my readers of the vastness of our present opportunities. While America is young and our institutions and even our habits of thought are as yet plastic to an unusual degree, we have advantages which are not likely to recur in a near future. It is still in our power permanently to avoid many of the evils under which older countries suffer, if we will but take to heart the lessons of past experience, and seriously endeavor to profit by the mistakes of others; and surely this is wiser than to repeat their folly. The present crisis in our history is a time when either optimism or pessimism is easy; but both are dangerous. The potentialities for good or for evil are grand beyond precedent, and it rests with

the living to say what the future shall be. There is enough that is alarming to excite us to vigorous action; there is enough that is promising to encourage our best efforts with the brightest hopes.

I have endeavored in this book to present an accurate record of facts, to ascertain which I have spared no trouble. Books, pamphlets, and newspapers have been carefully collected for years, and several thousand miles have been travelled with this in view. Nevertheless, in a field so new and so immense, it is but natural to suppose that I must occasionally have fallen into errors both of omission and commission, and I shall regard it as a favor if any friendly reader will point these out to me. I shall also be under obligations to any one who—for possible use in a future edition—will send me any labor literature, such as constitutions, by-laws, and annual proceedings of labor organizations, newspapers, pamphlets, etc. The first phases of the labor movement in this country are obscure, and I should be particularly obliged for any of the earlier publications relating to it, as well as for any oral or written communications bearing thereon.

The aim of the present work is chiefly presentation rather than refutation, although it will be noticed that I do not entirely abstain from criticism. I do, however, presuppose that my reader is gifted with ordinary common sense, and will not be pleased by childish criticism such as must occur to every schoolboy. Criticism of this kind, thrust into the midst of the presentation of some theoretical system or historical narrative, has often annoyed me in works on social topics, and I have purposely avoided it. I further assume that the readers of the following pages are of moral natures sufficiently elevated to understand that we ought not to lie, murder, and blow up cities with dynamite, to accomplish our ends. I do not think it necessary to tell them this. I do not think it incumbent upon me to say on every page, that I am so far from sympathizing with schemes for destruction, that I regard them as damnable.

While I have endeavored first to understand the American labor movement, and then to present a description of it in such

manner that others may likewise understand it, letting the parties concerned speak for themselves as far as possible, it must be remembered that I have concerned myself chiefly with the main current of a great stream, and have not been able to find room for a treatment of many separate lesser currents of social life; consequently when I express approval of the labor movement, I do not approve everything connected with it.

Much that is done in the name of labor, I regard with abhorrence. In the same way should the reader understand my admiration for the Knights of Labor. I believe it is a grand society, but I dissent from some of its principles, and from its course in some localities. Individual knights and individual assemblies, have been guilty of outrageous conduct with reference to their employers, the general public, and their fellow-workingmen. Their deeds have sadly injured the cause of labor. Finally, while I believe that the Knights of Labor represent an organization of a higher type than the trades-union, I do not believe that the latter can yet be dispensed with. The two forms of organization should co-operate; but co-operation ought to be sought by lawful and kindly measures, and not by such abominable methods as I fear have been adopted in a few cases.

“I presume you have felt, as have I, the sting of criticism and censure — of misrepresentation because discussing this topic of socialism at all.” These are words written to me in a letter recently received, by a friend who is professor of political economy in a Western university. They indicate at once a difficulty in the way of the economist. The topics he discusses are so vital, that any presentation of them is bound to be misconstrued in some quarter. Nevertheless, there seems to be only one course for an honest man, which is to say his word and patiently endure misunderstanding and even malicious abuse. Yet the wilful falsehood with which one’s character and motives are assailed, when one attempts to treat social topics truthfully, are sometimes hard to bear, and at times one feels inclined to reply to some malignant critic, as Charles Kingsley did once when his honest soul was vexed beyond measure:—

"If you say these things, — *mentiris impudentissims.*" On the other hand, frank and honest discussion of differences of opinion can only benefit all parties concerned.

I regard this as a most conservative work, for I believe that error in our social life derives its chief strength from its admixture with truth, and that the larger the proportion of truth, the greater the danger of the error. The thought which has animated me, has been to separate the two, and to encourage people to render error comparatively harmless by a full and complete recognition of truth.

My thanks are due to many people for kind assistance in the preparation of this work. Professor A. S. Bolles, Mr. Joseph Labadie, and Mr. E. S. McIntosh kindly lent me valuable pamphlets. Officers of nearly all of the organizations of which I treat in this book have been most courteous in their endeavors to aid me in the presentation of an accurate and impartial account of their respective societies. My thanks are also due many business men, including some of the leading manufacturers of the United States, for information readily imparted, and for their generous encouragement, which has been a valuable stimulus to me in my task. One of the pleasantest features connected with the preparation of this work is the personal kindness received from so many men of all occupations, and of the most widely separated social positions, in various parts of the country; and without any mention of names, for which space is too limited, I beg them each and all to receive this expression of my gratitude.

Several chapters of this work first appeared in a series of articles in the *Christian Union* two years ago. These articles have been used freely both by pulpit and press, sometimes with generous recognition of the source of information, perhaps oftener without mention either of their author or the *Christian Union*. A year later they were revised, enlarged, and published, under the title, "Recent American Socialism," in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Chapter I., "Survey of the Field," and Chapter VII., "Co-operation in America," appeared first in the *Congregationalist*, of Boston. A few paragraphs appeared first in the *Andover Review*, and one

or two sentences are quoted—with acknowledgment—from an article of mine which recently appeared in the *North American Review*.

TO WORKINGMEN.

I wish the last word that I pen in the preparation of this book to be addressed to you, for it has been prepared in the hope that it may benefit you. I bring together in this place, even at the risk of repetition, a few words of caution and counsel; and I beg you to receive these as the sincere conviction of one who would be your friend. If I assume the imperative form of address, please understand that I do this simply for the sake of brevity, and not in any spirit of dictation. I do not wish you to accept what I say, unless it commends itself to your judgment and conscience. "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

1. Let every workingman try to make himself more indispensable in his place, a better workman and a better man. If every member of society is ever to receive a sufficient quantity of economic goods to satisfy all rational wants, products must be increased in quantity and improved in quality. If we ever expect to use our opportunities to the best advantage, we must improve our characters. Banding together will be of little avail to worthless men or a worthless cause.

2. There is no atom of help to you or to any in drink,—the poor man's curse so often, and so often the rich man's shame. Every effort making to promote temperance among you should receive the warmest encouragement.

3. Beware of demagoguery, especially political partyism, which will give illusory triumphs, but leave to you only wretched failure. Be not stepping-stones for others to vault into place. Cast off the slavery of party politics, and with faith in the triumph of righteousness, ally yourselves to every endeavor to elevate and purify public life. You have far more than others at stake in this. While the majority of you reject socialism, I am certain that most of you agree with me that along certain lines the functions of the State should be increased. Government cannot do

everything, but it can do much. Yet when this is suggested, corruption in the sphere of public life is urged as an obstruction to the performance by the constituted authorities of the land of their legitimate duties. Help all those who are trying to remedy this unfortunate state of affairs.

4. It cuts me to the heart when laboring men are shot down in the street. All the wars have been at the expense of your blood. Imitate no violence. Destruction of the property or lives of others cannot help you or enrich you. Your triumph can come only by peace.

5. There is much that is bad in existing social arrangements, but there is also much that is good; and this good has been procured by the struggles of centuries. With a full appreciation of all that is sad and disheartening in the condition of the masses, I believe that, on the whole, the lot of mankind was never a happier one than to-day. The preparation of this book has given me a stronger conviction than ever before that the past century has witnessed an improvement in the position of the laboring classes in the United States. Rights which the humblest of us Americans take as so much a matter of course that we do not reflect upon the possession of them as a source of pleasure, although to be deprived of them would inflict the keenest pain, were in a past age scarcely within the dreamland region of the masses. This is not said to suggest to you that you fold your hands, and lazily take things as they are, but to encourage the use of conservative means for the attainment of your ends. There are vast treasures in our civilization which it is in the interest of all to preserve. Resist wrong more strenuously than heretofore; strive for all that is good more earnestly than you have ever done; but let all your endeavors be within the law. The rich and powerful will always find protection; and if the dream of the Anarchists were realized, there would be no check to the despotism of the strong and cunning. The law is often not what it should be; but the law itself points out peaceful methods by which it may be changed. Law is often perverted, and fails to fulfil its function; but even when it is worst administered, it affords some protection.

6. Cast aside envy, one of your most treacherous foes. Reject every thought of levelling down. Cultivate an admiration for all genuine superiority. While all the monstrous inequalities of our times can by no means be upheld by good men, while many of those inequalities, the fruit of evil, can beget only evil, remember that nothing more disastrous to you could happen than to live in a society in which all should be equals. It is a grand thing for us that there are men with higher natures than ours, and with every advantage for the development of their faculties, that they may lead in the world's progress, and serve us as examples of what we should strive to become. It will not take you long, if you think earnestly about it, to become convinced of this. It is well for the small farmer to have a rich neighbor to take the lead in the use of expensive machinery, the introduction of blooded stock, and in other experiments, which, if disastrous, would ruin a poor man; it is well for common schools to be under the influence of the best universities, without which their work is likely to be indifferent. Why, it is often held to be a misfortune for a boy to belong to a class in school or college which he can lead. It is, as a rule, much better that there should be those associated with him who are abler than he, that they may serve as a constant stimulus to him.

7. If your demands are right, if they are reasonable, then you will win and hold your gain. The world will listen even to socialism, if properly presented. If you keep to the right, the world will come to you. The right is bound to win. Educate, organize, wait.

8. Christ and all Christly people are with you for the right. Never let go that confidence. This is a sure guarantee of the successful issue of every good cause, the righting of every wrong. Christ forever elevated labor and exalted the laborer. He worked himself and he sought his associates and the first members of his church among workingmen, men rude and ignorant, and certainly no better than the workingmen of to-day. As Charles Kingsley has said, "The Bible is the rich man's warning and the poor man's comfort."

You cannot proclaim the wrongs under which you suffer with

half the force with which they are condemned in the Bible. All the social arrangement of the Hebrews were contrived with a view to the protection of the weaker industrial elements, and where will you find a stronger condemnation of monopoly than this: "Wo unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth"? And where will you find a more terrible indictment of the rich oppressor than in these verses from the Epistle of James?

"Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of your laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

But while the Bible is a good armory from which you may draw weapons of attack, it at the same time points out the right course for you to take, and furnishes you with that comfort and hope which will enable you to continue your efforts for righteousness, without the dangers of hate and bitterness. It discourages no good effort; but even James follows his awful condemnation of the oppressor with these wise words, "Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh." No political economist can give you better advice. So when you are exhorted to faithful service, you are exhorted to a line of conduct quite in keeping with the teachings of science. And the peace and contentment which are promised good Christians have a high economic value, and in the brotherly love of those who have a common Father will you alone find that bond of union which can render your joint efforts completely successful.

"The church is unfaithful and is now an ally of Mammon." These are words frequently spoken by workingmen, and they are too true of individual church organizations. But the false coin does not detract from the worth of the genuine. Among the

twelve Apostles there was a Judas. Churches often are devoted to fashion, and are become "of the world," yet the faith they profess and the Bible which they receive is a constant warning to them against their departure from the true path. But even to-day enumerate the men outside of the laboring class who are prominent for their advocacy of the cause of labor. Write all the names on a slip of paper and cross out the names of clergymen, and you will find three-fourths of them gone. No other large and influential class in the United States is so devoted to your welfare, and I know how to give you no better advice than to urge you to seek counsel and friendly aid in all your endeavors from Christian ministers and search in the religion of the Master whom they worship, for that strength, bravery, consecration, which will render you invincible in your endeavors to serve humanity.

RICHARD T. ELY.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
BALTIMORE, MD., August, 1896.

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APPENDIX I.

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I.

PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION.

ADOPTED FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1868.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all people are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, govern-

ments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

That there are but two pure forms of government — the Autocratic and the Democratic; under the former, the will of the individual sovereign is the supreme law, under the latter, the sovereignty is vested in the whole people, all other forms being a modification of the one or the other of these principles, and that ultimately one or the other of these forms must prevail throughout all civilized nations, and it is now for the American people to determine which of these principles shall triumph. That the design of the founders of the republic, was to institute a government upon the principle of absolute inherent sovereignty of the people, and that would give to each citizen the largest political and religious liberty compatible with the good order of society, and secure to each the right to enjoy the fruits of his labor and talents; that when laws are enacted destructive of these ends, they are without moral binding force, and it is the right and duty of the people to alter, amend, or abolish them, and institute such others, founding them upon the principles of equality, as to them may seem most likely to effect their prosperity and happiness. Prudence will indeed dictate that important laws long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and experience has shown that the American people are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to change the forms and laws to which they have been accustomed. But when a long train of legislative abuses, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to subvert the spirit of freedom and equality upon which our institutions are founded, and reduce them to a state of servitude, it is their right, it is their duty, to abolish such laws and provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient suffering of the wealth-producing classes of the United States, and such is the necessity which constrains them to put forth an organized and united effort for maintaining their natural rights, which are imperilled by the insidious schemes and unwarranted aggression of unscrupulous bankers and usurpers, by means of unwise and corrupt legislation.

We further hold that all property or wealth is the product of physical or intellectual labor employed in productive industry, and in the distribution of the productions of labor. That laborers ought of right, and would, under a just monetary system, receive or retain the larger proportion of their productions; that the wrongs, oppressions, and destitution which laborers are suffering in most departments of legitimate enterprise and useful occupation, do not result from insufficiency of production, but from the unfair distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor.

That money is the medium of distribution to non-producing capital and producing labor, the rate of interest determining what proportion of the products of labor shall be awarded to capital for its use, and what to labor for its productions; that the power to make money and regulate its value, is an essential attribute of sovereignty, the exercise of which is, by the Constitution of the United States, wisely and properly granted to Congress; and it is the imperative duty of Congress to institute it upon such a wise and just basis that it shall be directly under the control of the sovereign people who produce the value it is designed to represent, measure and exchange, that it may be a correct and uniform standard of value, and distribute the products of labor equitably between capital and labor, according to the service of labor performed in their production. That the law enacting the so-called national banking system is a delegation by Congress of the sovereign power to make money, and regulate its power to a class of irresponsible banking associations, thereby giving to them the power to control the value of all the property in the nation, and to fix the rewards of labor in every department of industry, and is inimical to the spirit of liberty, and subversive of the principles of justice upon which our Democratic Republican institutions are founded, and without warrant, in the Constitution; justice, reason, and sound policy demand its immediate repeal, and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes, as the exclusive currency of the nation.

That this money monopoly is the parent of all monopolies—

the very root and essence of slavery—railroads, warehouses, and all other monopolies, of whatever kind or nature, are the outgrowth of and subservient to this power, and the means used by it to rob the enterprising, industrial, wealth-producing classes of the products of their talents and labor.

That as government is instituted to protect life and secure the rights of property, each should share its just and proper proportion of the burdens and sacrifices necessary for its maintenance and perpetuity; and that the exemption from taxation of bank capital and government bonds, bearing double and bankrupting rates of interest, is a species of unjust class legislation, opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and contrary to the principles of sound morality and enlightened reason. That our monetary, financial, and revenue laws are, in letter and spirit, opposed to the principles of freedom and equality upon which our Democratic Republican institutions are founded. There is in all their provisions, manifestly a studied design to shield non-producing capital from its just proportion of the burdens necessary for the support of the government, imposing them mainly on the industrial, wealth-producing classes, thereby condemning them to lives of unremunerated toil, depriving them of the ordinary conveniences and comforts of life, of the time and means necessary for social enjoyment, intellectual culture, and moral improvement, and ultimately reducing them to a state of practical servitude. We further hold that while these unrighteous laws of distribution remain in force, laborers cannot, by any system of combination or co-operation, secure their natural rights. That the first and most important step towards the establishment of the rights of labor, is the institution of a system of true co-operation between non-producing capital and labor. That to effect this most desirable object, money—the medium of distribution to capital and labor—must be instituted upon such a wise and just principle that, instead of being a power to centralize the wealth in the hands of a few bankers, usurers, middlemen, and non-producers generally, it shall be a power that will distribute products to producers, in accordance with the labor or service performed in their production—the servant and not the

master of labor. This done, the natural rights of labor will be secured, and co-operation in production, and in the distribution of products, will follow as a natural consequence. The weight will be lifted from the back of the laborer, and the wealth-producing classes will have the time and the means necessary for social enjoyment, intellectual culture, and moral improvement, and the non-producing classes compelled to earn a living by honest industry. We hold that this can be effected by the issue of treasury notes made a legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and convertible, at the option of the holder, into government bonds, bearing a just rate of interest, sufficiently below the rate of increase in the national wealth, by natural production, as to make an equitable distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor, reserving to Congress the right to alter the same when, in their judgment, the public interest would be promoted thereby; giving the government creditor the right to take the lawful money or the interest-bearing bonds at his election, with the privilege to the holder to re-convert the bonds into money, or the money into bonds, at pleasure.

We hold this to be the true American or people's monetary system, adopted to the genius of our Democratic Republican institutions, in harmony with the letter and spirit of our Constitution, and suited to the wants of the government and business interests of the nation; that it would furnish a medium of exchange, having equal power, a uniform value, and fitted for the performance of all the functions of money, co-extensive with the jurisdiction of government. That with a just rate per cent interest on the government bonds, it would effect the equitable distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor, giving to laborers a fair compensation for their products, and to capital a just reward for its use; remove the necessity for excessive toil, and afford the industrial classes the time and means necessary for social and intellectual culture. With the rate of interest at three per cent on the government bonds, the national debt would be liquidated within less than thirty years, without the imposition or collection of a farthing of

taxes for that purpose. Thus it would dispense with the hungry horde of assessors, tax gatherers, and government spies, that are harassing the industrial classes, and despoiling them of their subsistence.

We further hold that it is essential to the happiness and prosperity of the people, and the stability of our Democratic Republican institutions, that the public domain be distributed as widely as possible among the people,—a land monopoly being equally as oppressive to the people, and dangerous to our institutions, as the present money monopoly. To prevent this, the public lands should be given in reasonable quantities and to none but actual occupants.

We further hold that intelligence and virtue in the sovereignty are necessary to a wise administration of justice, and that as our institutions are founded upon the theory of sovereignty in the people, in order to their preservation and perpetuity, it is the imperative duty of Congress to make such wise and just regulations as shall afford all the means of acquiring the knowledge requisite to the intelligent exercise of the privileges and duties pertaining to sovereignty, and that Congress should ordain that eight hours' labor, between the rising and setting of the sun, should constitute a day's work in all government works and places where the national government has exclusive jurisdiction; and that it is equally imperative on the several States to make like provision by legal enactment. Be it therefore unanimously

Resolved, That our first duty is now to provide, as speedily as possible, a system of general organization in accordance with the principles herein more specifically set forth, and that each branch of industry shall be left to adopt its own particular form of organization, subject only to such restraint as may be necessary to place each organization within line, so as to act in harmony in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the whole, as well as each of the parts; and that it is the imperative duty of each individual, in each and every branch of industry, to aid in the formation of such labor organizations in their respective branches, and to connect themselves therewith.

CO-OPERATIVE.

Resolved, That in co-operation based upon just financial and revenue laws, we recognize a sure and lasting remedy for the abuse of the present industrial system, and that, until the laws of the nation can be remodelled so as to recognize the rights of men instead of classes, the system of co-operation carefully guarded will do much to lessen the evils of our present system. We therefore hail with delight the organization of co-operative stores and workshops, and would urge their formation in every section of the country, and in every branch of business.

WOMAN'S LABOR.

Resolved, That with the equal application of the fundamental principles of our Republican Democratic government, and a sound monetary system, there could be no antagonism between the interests of the workingmen and workingwomen of this country, nor between any of the branches of productive industry,—the direct operation of each, when not prevented by unjust monetary laws, being to benefit all the others by the production and distribution of the comforts and necessities of life; and that the adoption, by the national government, of the financial policy set forth in this platform, will put an end to the oppression of workingwomen, and is the only means of securing to them as well as to the workingmen the just reward of their labor.

Resolved, That we pledge our individual and undivided support to the sewing-women and daughters of toil in this land, and would solicit their hearty co-operation, knowing, as we do, that no class of industry is so much in need of having their condition ameliorated as the factory operatives, sewing-women, etc., of this country.

CONVICT-LABOR.

Resolved, That we demand the abolishment of the system of convict-labor in our prisons and penitentiaries, and that the labor performed by convicts shall be that which will least conflict with honest industry outside of the prisons, and that the wares manufactured by the convict shall not be put upon the market at less than the current market-rates.

IMPROVED DWELLINGS FOR LABORERS.

Resolved, That we would urgently call the attention of the industrial classes to the subject of tenement houses and improved dwellings, believing it to be essential to the welfare of the whole community that a reform should be effected in this respect, as the experience of the past has proved that vice, pauperism, and crime are the invariable attendants of the over-crowded and illy ventilated dwellings of the poor, and urge upon the capitalists of the country attention to the blessings to be derived from investing their means in the erection of such dwellings.

INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT.

Resolved, That the formation of mechanics' institutes, lyceums, and reading-rooms, and the erection of buildings for that purpose, are recommended to workingmen in all cities and towns, as a means of advancing their social and intellectual improvement.

REMEDY FOR INSUFFICIENT WORK.

Resolved, That this Labor Congress would most respectfully recommend to the workingmen of the country, that in case they are pressed for want of employment, they proceed to become actual settlers; believing that if the industry of the country can be coupled with its natural advantages, it will result both in individual relief and national advantages.

Resolved, That where a workingman is found capable and available for office, the preference should invariably be given to such person.

SIX ADDITIONS TO THE PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE
NATIONAL LABOR UNIONS SINCE 1868.

Resolved, That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations; but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted, free of cost, to landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding 160 acres of land.

Resolved, That the treaty-making power of the government has no authority in the Constitution to "dispose of" the public

lands without the joint sanction of the Senate and House of Representatives.

Resolved, That as labor is the foundation and cause of national prosperity, it is both the duty and interest of the government to foster and protect it. Its importance, therefore, demands the creation of an executive department of the government at Washington, to be denominated the Department of Labor, which shall aid in protecting it above all other interests.

Resolved, That the protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of government, and the first two more sacred than the latter; therefore, money necessary for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealth of the country and not be entailed as a burden on posterity.

Resolved, That inasmuch as both the present political parties are dominated by the non-producing classes, who depend on public plunder for subsistence and wealth, and have no sympathy with the working millions beyond the use they can make of them for their own political and pecuniary aggrandizement; therefore, the highest interest of our colored fellow-citizens is with the workingmen, who, like themselves, are slaves of capital and politicians, and strike for liberty.

Resolved, That women are entitled to equal pay for equal services with men; that the practice of working women and children ten to fifteen hours a day at starvation prices is brutal in the extreme, and subversive to the health, intelligence, and morality of the nation, and demands the interposition of law.

II.

JOURNEYMEN BRICKLAYERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA.

PLEDGE.

I hereby solemnly and sincerely pledge my honor as a man, that I will not reveal any private business or proceedings of this

Association, or any individual action of its members; that I will, without equivocation or evasion, and to the best of my ability, so long as I remain a member thereof, abide by the Constitution and By-Laws, and the particular scale of prices of work adopted by it; that I will acquiesce in the will of the majority, and that I will at all times, by every honorable means within my power, procure employment for members of this Association; that I will, at all times and places, especially at work, endeavor to assist and comfort my fellow-workmen who are members of this Association.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, To elevate and maintain a proper position in our trade and calling, we have found it necessary to organize and adopt means by which we may assert our individual rights, therefore be it

Resolved, That the Journeymen Bricklayers' Protective Association of Philadelphia, with a view to maintain a fair rate of wages, encourage members to advance themselves in their trade, to fraternize in a spirit of harmony, and use every means which may tend to the elevation of Bricklayers in the social scale of life, form themselves into a union for the accomplishment of these ends, do therefore enact and declare the following as their Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order.



III.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CIGAR-MAKERS' PROGRESSIVE UNION OF AMERICA.¹

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The working people, though being the creators of all wealth, are in every sense of the word unfree, economically and politically.

¹ This is one of the socialistic unions.

The means of production, money, machinery and tools of all kinds, as well as the soil, are in the hands of a few — the capitalistic class.

The working classes, compelled by want, are selling their only means, their laboring power, to the capitalistic class for wages, regulated by supply and demand.

The surplus of the values created by the laboring classes goes to the capitalistic class causing the growth of gigantic monopolies, the destruction of the middle class, and the pauperization of the working people in an ever-increasing ratio. The means of production in the hands of capitalists are a powerful means of subduing the class of workers.

Every improvement in the means of production does away with a number of human hands, and annually the army of the unemployed is on the increase, thereby decreasing the demand for the means of life on the part of the laboring class.

The misproportion of production and the demand for products is growing, and crises are the natural consequence.

The capitalistic class, by its wealth, owns all legislation, its privileges are guaranteed by law.

The laboring classes have — as experience shows — nothing to expect from present legislatures. Therefore, we consider it to be a necessity for the workers of our day to recognize and defend their common interests as a class.

For that purpose they need *Organization!*

Disunited, the workers are nothing! United, they are an irresistible power!

Organization and united action are the only means by which the laboring classes can gain any advantages for themselves.

Organization and Unity bear, in themselves, the germ for a just form of society.

Good and strong labor organizations are enabled to defend and preserve the interests of the working mass.

Organization enables them to assist each other in case of strikes, death and disease.

By Organization only, the workers, as a class, are able to gain legislative advantages. The battle-cry of the laboring class

must be: "Cut loose from the present political parties; *Elect none but workmen to the Legislature!*" They know the sufferings of the people; they know where to put in the lever to lift the burdens from their fellow-sufferers and to give them their economic and political rights.

These organized economic and political struggles teach the workers to conduct their own case and to give them confidence in their own might.

Self-confidence gives to the worker the power to do away with the present unjust mode of production, as well as with the social system of classes to put in their stead the co-operative mode of producing, with a just distribution of all products, and political equality of all individuals.

The confidence in one's own power destroys the belief in all authority wherever exerted.

To do away with all unjust domination in state, society, etc., and to establish real sovereignty of the people is the aim of the modern labor movement.

The laboring classes must be freed by the laboring classes themselves.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

SEC. 1. This Union aims at the furtherance of the material and intellectual welfare of all workers, male and female, employed at the manufacture of cigars.

SEC. 2. This Union proposes to carry out its aims by the following means:—

- a) By gratuitously furnishing work;
- b) By mutual pecuniary aid;
 - 1) In case of strikes and lockouts, of sickness and death;
 - 2) By lending money for travelling;
 - 3) In case of legal difficulties consequent upon affairs concerning the Union;
- c) Regarding intellectual advancement;
 - 1) By issuing an organ defending the interests of the Union;
 - 2) By lectures and discussions upon topics of Political Economy, Statistics, etc;

- d) By agitating propositions for the introduction of laws for the protection of labor's interests.

SEC. 3. Laws for the protection of labor's interests, as this Union understands them, are:

- a) Prohibition of industrial labor for boys under 14 and for girls under 16 years of age.
- b) Limiting the hours of labor to not more than eight per day, and enforcing such a law by the executive powers of the State.
- c) Prohibition of all night work.
- d) Abolition of the truck system.
- e) Prohibition of tenement-house cigar-manufacture.
- f) Prohibition of contract labor in prisons and reformatory institutions.
- g) State control of factories and workshops with reference to their sanitary condition, also laws for the protection of the life and limbs and the health of the workmen.
- h) Owners of factories to be made liable, unconditionally, for accidents caused by the lack of proper measures for the safety of their workers.
- i) Establishment of a Central Bureau of Statistics for labor and labor interests; the Bureau to be controlled by the labor unions.

IV.

REVISED CONSTITUTION AND GENERAL LAWS OF THE NATIONAL AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

PREAMBLE.

"Labor has no protection—the weak are devoured by the strong. All wealth and all power centre in the hands of few, and the many are their victims and their bondsmen."

So says an able writer in a treatise on association; and in

studying the history of the past, the impartial thinker must be impressed with the truth of the above quotation. In all countries and at all times capital has been used by those possessing it to monopolize particular branches of business, until the vast and various industrial pursuits of the world have been under the immediate control of a comparatively small portion of mankind. Although an unequal distribution of the world's wealth, it is perhaps necessary that it should be so.

To attain to the highest degree of success, in any undertaking, it is necessary to have the most perfect and systematic arrangement possible: to acquire such a system it requires the management of a business to be placed as nearly as possible under the control of one mind; thus concentration of wealth and business tact conduces to the most perfect working of the vast business machinery of the world. And there is, perhaps, no other organization of society so well calculated to benefit the laborer and advance the moral and social condition of the mechanic of the country, if those possessed of wealth were all actuated by those pure and philanthropic principles so necessary to the happiness of all. But, alas! for the poor of humanity, such is not the case. "Wealth is power," and practical experience teaches us that it is power too often used to depress and degrade the daily laborer.

Year after year the capital of the country becomes more and more concentrated in the hands of the few; and in proportion as the wealth of the country becomes centralized, its power increases, and the laboring classes are *impoverished*. It therefore becomes us, as men who have to battle with the stern realities of life, to look this matter fair in the face. There is no *dodging* the question. Let every man give it a fair, full, and candid consideration, and then act according to his honest convictions. What position are we, the Iron and Steel Workers of America, to hold in Society? Are we to receive an equivalent for our labor sufficient to maintain us in comparative independence and respectability, to procure the means with which to educate our children and qualify them to play their part in the world's drama? or must we be forced to bow the suppliant's knee

to wealth, and earn by unprofitable toil a life too void of solace to confirm the very chains that bind us to our doom?

"In union there is strength;" and in the formation of a National Amalgamated Association, embracing every iron and steel worker in the country, a union founded upon a basis broad as the land in which we live, lies our only hope. Single-handed we can accomplish nothing, but united there is no power of wrong we may not openly defy.

Let the iron and steel workers of such places as have not already moved in this matter, organize as quickly as possible and connect themselves with the National Association. Do not be humbugged with the idea that this thing cannot succeed. We are not theorists; this is no visionary plan, but one eminently practicable. Nor can injustice be done to any one; no undue advantage can be taken of any of our employers. There is not, there cannot be any good reason why they should not pay us a fair price for our labor. If the profits of their business are not sufficient to remunerate them for their trouble of doing business, let the consumer make the balance. The stereotype argument of our employers, in every attempt to reduce wages, is that their large expenses and small profits will not warrant the present prices for labor; therefore, those just able to live now must be content with less hereafter.

In answer, we maintain the expenses are not unreasonable, and the profits are large, and the aggregate great. There is no good reason why we should not receive a fair equivalent for our labor. A small reduction seriously diminishes the already scanty means of the operative and puts a large sum in the employer's pocket, and yet some of the manufacturers would appear charitable before the world.

We ask, is it charitable, is it humane, is it honest, to take from the laborer, who is already fed, clothed, and lodged too poorly, a portion of his food and raiment, and deprive his family of the necessaries of life by the common resort—a reduction of his wages? It must not be so.

To rescue our trades from the condition into which they have fallen, and raise ourselves to that condition in society to which

we, as mechanics, are justly entitled, and to place ourselves on a foundation sufficiently strong to secure us from further encroachments, and to elevate the moral, social, and intellectual condition of every iron and steel worker in the country, is the object of our National Association; and to the consummation of so desirable an object, we, the delegates in convention assembled, do pledge ourselves to unceasing effort.

ARTICLE I. — NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. This Association shall be known as the NATIONAL AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES, consisting of Puddlers, Boilers, Heaters and their Helpers; Roll Hands, except Drag-Outs on Muck Mills; Nailers, Spike Makers, Nail and Spike Feeders, Hammermen, Shinglers and Knobblers, Refiners, Roll Turners; also Picklers, Annealers, Washmen, Assorters, and Tin Men in Tin Mills; Hot and Cold Straighteners and their Helpers; Gagers and Drillers working by the ton; Chargers, Pull-Outs, Hot-Bed Men and Clippers in Rail Mills; Wire Drawers, Tackers, Spring Makers, Spring Fitters, Axle Turners, Water Tenders, Rivet Men, Axle Makers, their Heaters and Helpers; Heaters and Welders in Pipe Mills; Gas Makers in Crucible Steel and Iron Works, after they have been working at the business one year; Shearmen in Bar, Plate, Sheet, and Nail Mills; Engineers and Blacksmiths directly connected with Iron, Steel or Tin Works; also Stockers, Chargers, Cupola Tenders, Speigel Melters, Runners, Vesselmen, Bottom Makers, Ladlemen, Pitmen, Cindermen, Stagemen, and Blowers working by the ton, and Pipe Fitters connected with Bessemer Steel Works. Also Keepers and their Helpers, Bottom Fillers, Top Fillers, Engineers, Iron Men, Cindermen, and Water Tenders at Blast Furnaces directly connected with Bessemer Steel Mills.

SEC. 2. The objects of this Association shall be the elevation of the position of its members, the maintenance of the best interests of the Association, and to obtain by conciliation, or by other means that are fair and legal, a fair remuneration to the members for their labor; and to afford mutual protection to

members against broken contracts, obnoxious rules, unlawful discharge, or other systems of injustice or oppression.

ARTICLE II. — NATIONAL JURISDICTION AND GENERAL OFFICE.

SECTION 1. This Association shall have jurisdiction over the United States and Canada, in which there are at present, or may be hereafter, Subordinate Lodges located ; and shall be the highest authority of the Order in its jurisdiction, and without its sanction no lodge can exist.

SEC. 2. The general office of the Association shall be located in the city of Pittsburg, Pa., and it shall be required that the President and the Secretary of the National Lodge reside in the city where the general office is located.

ARTICLE III. — NATIONAL LODGE ELECTIVE OFFICERS AND THEIR DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The elective officers of the National Association shall be a President, who shall also be Organizer, a Secretary, a Vice-President for each district or division of a district, a Treasurer, and three Trustees, who shall hold their offices until their successors are elected or appointed.

SEC. 2. The President shall be elected from among the delegates at Convention, or those who have been delegates at any previous Convention, or whoever held office in the National Association previous to the adoption of this Article. He shall instruct all new members in the workings of the Association, and superintend the workings of the order throughout the jurisdiction. He shall sign all official documents whenever satisfied of their correctness and authenticity, and appoint Vice-Presidents or Trustees of the National Lodge where vacancies occur. He shall have power to visit any Sub-Lodge and inspect their proceedings, either personally or by deputy ; and require a compliance to the laws, rules, and usages of this Association, and if any Sub-Lodge shall refuse or neglect to place any of their books or documents, or any information in their possession, into the hands of the President, or his deputy, whenever required by

either of them for any information or investigation he may deem necessary, the President may fine or suspend the Sub-Lodge immediately, and report his action to the Secretary of the National Lodge, who, in turn, shall report the same to the Vice-President of the district in which the lodge is located, and to all Sub-Lodges in the Association as soon as possible. He shall submit to the Secretary at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, travelling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Association, and at the end of his term of office he shall report his acts and doings, in which shall be embodied the reports of the Vice-Presidents, to the National Convention. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of this Association, and for his services shall receive such sum as the National Convention shall determine.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall be elected from among the delegates at Convention, or those who have been delegates at any previous Convention, or who ever held office in the National Association previous to the adoption of this Article. He shall take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office. He shall furnish all elective officers with the necessary letter heads and stationery. He shall convene and act as Secretary of the National Convention, keep all documents, papers, accounts, letters received, and copies of all important letters sent by him on business of the Association in such a manner and place, and for such purposes as the National Convention shall direct. He shall collect and receive all moneys due the National Association, pay the same to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor. He shall also draw all warrants on the Treasurer and Trustees, which shall be signed by the President. He shall prepare a quarterly report of the financial transactions connected with the National Association, and furnish each Sub-Lodge with a copy of the same. He shall also furnish each Sub-Lodge, in arrears, with a statement of their indebtedness on or before the fifteenth of June in each year. He shall register the names of members who have received strike or victimized benefits and the amount each member has received. He shall close all accounts of the National Association on the thirtieth day of June in each year,

and *all* moneys received or disbursed after said date shall not be reported in the general balance account at the next National Convention. He shall, after the adjournment of each National Convention, prepare a general account of the proceedings thereof as soon as possible, together with a general balance account of all moneys received and disbursed, a copy of which shall be furnished gratis to each Subordinate Lodge in good standing, and for his services shall receive such sum as the National Convention shall determine.

SEC. 4. Upon the death, resignation, or removal of the President of the National Lodge, the Vice-President of the First Division of the First District shall immediately assume the duties of the President and notify the different Vice-Presidents, who shall meet, and in conjunction with the National Lodge officers, shall elect a successor for the unexpired term.

SEC. 5. Upon the death, resignation, or removal of the Secretary or the Treasurer of the National Lodge, the President thereof shall immediately take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office, and notify the different Vice-Presidents, who shall meet, and in conjunction with the National Lodge officers, shall elect a successor for the unexpired term.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to act as executives of the several districts or divisions of districts in which they may reside, and render such other assistance to the President as he may require. They shall report their acts and doings for their term of office, to the President of the National lodge, not later than the first of July in each year. (See President's duties.) They shall appoint three deputies each to assist them in their duties, the same to report to their respective Vice-Presidents every three months. When either or all of the regular deputies cannot attend, then the Vice-President shall have power to appoint special deputies for that occasion. Vice-Presidents shall be delegates at large to the National Convention.

SEC. 7. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and security of the National Association delivered to him by the Secretary, and all moneys that accumulate

in his hands over and above the amount of his bond (\$10,000), he shall deposit in bank, taking a certificate of deposit therefor, and all such certificates he shall turn over to the Trustees of the National Lodge. He shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others. He shall submit to the National Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office. He shall be required to attend the Sessions of the National Association; and at the expiration of his term of office, he shall deliver up to the successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the National Association under his control.

SEC. 8. It shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to receive and hold the certificates of deposit turned over to them by the Treasurer of the National Lodge, as set forth in the duties of the Treasurer, and in no case shall the Trustees return to the Treasurer any of said certificates, except on the order of the President, attested by the Secretary of the National Lodge. They shall also hold the required bonds of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, which shall be five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) each for the President and Secretary, and ten thousand dollars (\$10,000.00) for the Treasurer. They shall also, in conjunction with the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, audit all accounts of the National Lodge every three months, which settlement shall be final for each quarter.

A copy of such settlement shall be sent to each Sub-Lodge by the Secretary of the National Lodge, in which shall appear the individual expenses of the National Lodge Officers, including the Deputies and members of the Executive and Conference Committees of the several districts, and those settlements shall be referred to the Committee on Auditing at each National Convention. For the faithful performance of their duties the Trustees shall give a bond of five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) each, which shall be deposited with the President.

SEC. 9. The Trustees and officers of the National Lodge shall also constitute an Advisory Board to the President of

the National Lodge, with whom he shall consult at his discretion. •

SEC. 10. The President of the National Association shall preside at all National Conventions. He shall preserve order and enforce the laws thereof. He shall have the casting vote when equally divided on any question, but shall not vote at other times, except at the election of officers pro tem. He shall make out and announce the following committees:—

On report of the President and other officers, on Ways and Means, on Auditing, on Secret Work, on Grievance, on Claims, on Appeals, on Constitution and General Laws, on General Good of the Order.

SEC. 11. The National Lodge Officers, Vice-Presidents, Deputies, Executive, and Conference Committees shall, at the end of each quarter, present to the Secretary of the National Lodge, an itemized report of their actual lost time in the mill and all traveling and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the discharge of their duties, which shall be paid by the National Association. (See Section 8 of this Article.)

SEC. 12. The term of office of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Trustees of the National Lodge, also the Vice-Presidents of the several Districts and Divisions, shall not expire until the first day of October, after a successor to either of them has been elected.

ARTICLE V. — REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of this Association shall be derived as follows:—

For issuing a Charter to a Subordinate Lodge, \$5.00; new Seal, \$6.00; remodeling an old Seal, \$4.50; Rituals, \$1.00 each; Due and Withdrawal Cards, 10 cents each; Constitution and General Laws, 10 cents each; Blank Reports, 10 cents each.

SEC. 2. In order to create a fund to meet the expenses of the National Association it shall be the duty of the President to assess a quarterly tax on the different Subordinate Lodges, in proportion to the number of taxable members on the last report preceding the date assessments are made, sufficient to defray the expenses of the National Association.

SEC. 3. In order to create a fund for the support of victimized members, or such members as may be engaged in legalized strikes, it shall be required that each member of the Association shall pay to his lodge, for the Protective Fund, the sum of twenty-five cents per month.

SEC. 4. At the last stated meeting in each quarter the Financial Secretary of each lodge shall report to the lodge the correct number of members on his books taxable to the Protective Fund for the quarter, when an order shall be drawn on the Treasurer for a sum equal to seventy-five cents for every member on the books thus reported by the Financial Secretary, and the sum thus drawn on the Treasurer shall be given to the Corresponding Representative, who shall, as soon as possible, forward the same to the Secretary of the National Lodge, who will receipt therefor.

SEC. 5. In order to replenish the Protective Fund when it has been depleted by a long and continuous drain thereon, the President of the National Lodge shall have discretionary power to levy a special assessment upon each member reported in good standing on the past quarterly report, except members on strike or out of work two weeks, which assessment must be collected by the Financial Secretary of the lodge and sent to the Secretary of the National Lodge without delay.

SEC. 6. Any member who is sick or out of employment during the period of one full month shall be exempt from paying the twenty-five cents per month to the Protective Fund until he recovers from his sickness or finds employment. But members out of employment must report the fact to their lodge at every regular meeting or be charged with the twenty-five cents per month to the Protective Fund.

SEC. 7. All moneys due the National Association shall be forwarded to the Secretary thereof by draft (on New York, Philadelphia, or Pittsburg), Express, P. O. Order, or Registered Letter. For checks sent on any bank, except in the city of Pittsburg, twenty-five cents extra will be charged for collection.

ARTICLE VII. — STRIKES.

SECTION 1. No Sub-Lodge under the jurisdiction of this Association shall be permitted to enter into a strike unless authorized by the Executive Committee of their district or division.

SEC. 2. When the Executive Committee of a district or division find it necessary, in accordance with the laws of this Association, to legalize a strike in any one department of a mill or works, it shall be required that the men of all other departments shall also cease work until the difficulty is settled.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been legalized, and the general office of the Association has been properly notified of the fact, the Secretary of the National Lodge shall at once prepare a printed statement of all the facts as near as possible, and forward to all lodges, warning all true men not to accept work in such mills.

SEC. 4. Any Subordinate Lodge entering into a strike in the manner provided by the laws of this Association, shall receive from the Protective Fund the sum of four dollars (\$4.00) per week for each member actually engaged in the strike in the mill over which the lodge has jurisdiction, provided they remain in the locality of the strike, or notify the Corresponding Representative of that lodge of their location, and their being unemployed each week while on strike, and have held membership in the Association for six months, are not in arrears, and the lodge to which they belong is in good standing in the National Association. This section also applies to members who are standing turns in the mill on strike, and who hold no other situation except that of standing turns in that mill.

SEC. 5. No member shall be entitled to strike benefits for the first two weeks while on a legalized strike. Payment of benefits shall date from the commencement of the fourth week after the strike has been legalized, and no benefits shall be allowed for the fractional part of the first week.

SEC. 6. A member who has been suspended or expelled shall not receive any strike benefits until six months after he has been restored to membership.

SEC. 7. If any member or members, while receiving benefits from this Association shall work three or more days in one week, at any job, either in or outside of a mill or factory, he or they shall not be entitled to benefits for that week.

SEC. 8. Any member engaged in a legalized strike, procuring a permanent situation elsewhere, forfeits his claims to strike benefits during the continuance of such strike.

ARTICLE VIII.—VICTIMIZED MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Should any member or members of this Association be discharged (victimized) from his or their employment for taking an active part in the affairs of this Association, either as a member of the Mill or Conference Committee, or for otherwise being active in promoting and guarding the interests of this Association, such member or members shall use his or their best endeavors, with the Manager, to get reinstated, and failing in this, he or they shall then and there report such case to the chairman of the Mill Committee, who shall at once proceed to investigate the case as set forth in Sections 2 and 3 of Article VI. Should the committee fail to get the brother or brothers reinstated, they shall then carry the case to the lodge in precisely the same manner as in cases where the whole mill is involved in difficulty, and in no case of individual discharge (except the Mill Committee have good grounds to believe that the brother is discharged *without just cause*), shall such job be declared vacant until the Executive Committee of the district or division has decided the case.

SEC. 2. Should the Executive Committee of the district or division, after deciding the brother victimized, deem the organization unable to sustain a strike for his reinstatement, he shall receive from the Protective Fund of the Association six dollars (\$6.00) per week until another situation has been procured for him, either by himself or other members of the Association. The law applying to the payment of victimized benefits shall be the same as that governing the payment of strike benefits. (See Sections 5, 6 and 7 of Article VII.)

ARTICLE X.—SCALE OF PRICES.

SECTION 1. Wherever practicable, steps shall be taken to provide a scale of prices for every trade or calling in each district represented in this Association.

ARTICLE XVII.—DISHONORABLE MEMBERS.

SECTION 1. Any member robbing or embezzling from a brother member, or leaving a member in debt with intent to defraud by not giving proper notice of his departure, or has been fraudulently receiving or misapplying the funds of the Association, or the money of any member or candidate intrusted to him for payment of the same, or by divulging any of the proceedings of his lodge, or who has slandered any brother member, or advocated division of the funds or separation of lodge districts, or by acting contrary to the established rules of this Association on any question affecting the price of labor, or the system of working in any district, if opposed to the interests of his fellow-workmen in keeping with the rules of this Association, shall, upon trial and conviction thereof, be punished by fine, suspension, or expulsion, as may be determined by two-thirds of the members present.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—FINES FOR VARIOUS CAUSES.

SECTION 1. Officers and members of Subordinate Lodges are required to be punctual in their attendance.

SEC. 2. Officers of Subordinate Lodges failing to attend the regular meetings of the lodge shall, for each omission, be fined twenty-five cents, unless satisfactory reasons can be shown, in which case the fine shall be remitted.

SEC. 3. Members of Subordinate Lodges failing to attend meetings of their lodge at least once a month, shall be fined the sum of ten cents, unless excused through sickness or some unavoidable cause.

SEC. 4. Any member of Subordinate Lodges failing to appear at the last stated meeting in June and December, shall be fined fifty cents, unless he can give satisfactory evidence that it was impossible to attend.

SEC. 5. Any member of Subordinate lodges persisting in using unseemly language, or in an indecent manner giving offence to a brother member, or by offensive conduct, shall be fined one dollar for the first offence, and if he still persists in the unmanly use of such language, he shall be excluded from the lodge room, and not permitted to re-enter during the meeting.

SEC. 6. The Chairman of any committee failing to report at the time required, unless further time be granted, shall be fined one dollar. Such fine, however, shall be remitted when satisfactory explanations are given.

SEC. 7. Any member entering a Subordinate Lodge under the influence of liquor, shall for the first offence be fined one dollar, and double the sum for every subsequent offence.

SEC. 8. Any member of a Subordinate Lodge violating his obligation to this Order, shall be liable to a fine of not less than three dollars, reprimand, suspension, or expulsion, according to a decision of his lodge, on a two-thirds majority.

SEC. 9. Any Corresponding Representative failing or neglecting to prepare and forward the quarterly report of his lodge, or to attend to such other duties as pertain to his office, shall be fined two dollars.

SEC. 10. All fines thus imposed, if not paid at the time, shall be charged by the Financial Secretary to the person from whom due, and shall stand against such person as regular dues, and must be liquidated to entitle him to any privileges or benefits of this Association.

V.

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING PEOPLES' ASSOCIATION.

TO THE WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA.

FELLOW-WORKMEN: The Declaration of Independence says:—

“ . . . But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce

them (the people) under absolute Despotism, it is *their right*, it is *their duty* to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to reassert their declaration?

Fellow-Workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you candidly to read the following manifesto issued in your behalf, in the behalf of your wives and children, in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the expropriation of the propertyless classes by the propertied. This expropriation is such that the propertied (capitalists) buy the working force body and soul of the propertyless, for the price of the mere costs of existence (wages), and take for themselves, *i.e.*, steal, the amount of new values (products) which exceeds this price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working forces, an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working forces increase constantly, while the demand therefor decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink, or at least on the average, never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich, it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they

have to speculate upon, and absorb the labor-product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth, the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle, generally, the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production, as well as trade and intercommunication, into their hands, and develop into monopolists. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people, leads to so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration, the last census of the United States shows that after deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed — *i. e.*, stolen — more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class, being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, unable to consume their enormous "profits," and the producers, unable to consume more than they receive, — three-eighths, — so-called "over-productions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process, annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized, and is driven to "crime," vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane, and murderous. It is therefore necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it, and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked, which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains, as the economic condition is the same in all coun-

tries of so-called "civilization," as the governments of all Monarchies and Republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers, as finally the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society, so therefore the international fraternity of peoples, as expressed in the International Working People's Association, presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor —the soil and other premises of production, in short, capital produced by labor—is changed into societal property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoliation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fulness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can every one be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can satisfy their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization; the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes — be they monarchies or republics — form the barriers. These political structures (States), which are completely in the hands of the propertied, have no other purpose than the upholding of the present order of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly

directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance, and servility; in short, want of sense. The Church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass and to make them forego the paradise on earth by promising a fictitious heaven. The capitalistic press, on the other hand, takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the people. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers' can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point, it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeoisie of all countries—in America as well as in Europe—constantly commits, as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their condition. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie must have a violent revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:—

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and cannot consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our masters for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one recourse—FORCE! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force

is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set, the immemorial example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right; it is your duty," says Jefferson; "to arms!"

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply, —

First, Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, *i.e.*, by energetic, relentless, revolutionary, and international action.

Second, Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third, Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth, Organization of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth, Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth, Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

Whoever agrees with this ideal let him grasp our outstretched brother hands!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is ORGANIZATION and UNITY.

There exists now no great obstacle to that unity. The work of peaceful education and revolutionary conspiracy well can and ought to run in parallel lines.

The day has come for solidarity. Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle, "Workmen of all lands, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win!"

Tremble, oppressors of the world! Not far beyond your purblind sight there dawns the scarlet and sable lights of the JUDGMENT DAY.

VI

LETTER TO TRAMPS.

TO TRAMPS, THE UNEMPLOYED, THE DISINHERITED, AND MISERABLE.

A word to the 35,000 now tramping the streets of this great city, with hands in pockets, gazing listlessly about you at the evidences of wealth and pleasure of which you own no part, not sufficient even to purchase yourself a bit of food with which to appease the pangs of hunger now gnawing at your vitals. It is with you and the hundreds of thousands of others similarly situated in this great land of plenty, that I wish to have a word.

Have you not worked hard all your life, since you were old enough for your labor to be of use in the production of wealth? Have you not toiled long, hard, and laboriously in producing wealth? And in all those years of drudgery, do you not know you have produced thousand upon thousands of dollars' worth of wealth, which you did not then, do not now, and unless you ACT, never will, own any part in? Do you not know that when you were harnessed to a machine, and that machine harnessed to steam, and thus you toiled your ten, twelve, and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, that during this time in all these years you received only enough of your labor product to furnish yourself the bare, coarse necessities of life, and that when you wished to purchase anything for yourself and family it always had to be of the cheapest quality? If you wanted to go anywhere you had to wait until Sunday, so little did you receive for your unremitting toil that you dare not stop for a moment, as it were? And do you not know that with all your squeezing, pinching, and economizing, you never were enabled to keep but a few days ahead of the wolves of want? And that at last when the caprice of your employer saw fit to create an artificial famine by limiting production, that the fires in the furnace were extinguished, the iron horse to which you had been harnessed was stilled, the factory door locked up, you turned upon the highway a tramp, with hunger in your stomach and rags upon your back?

Yet your employer told you that it was over-production which made him close up. Who cared for the bitter tears and heart-pangs of your loving wife and helpless children, when you bid them a loving "God bless you!" and turned upon the tramp's road to seek employment elsewhere? I say, who cared for those heartaches and pains? You were only a tramp now, to be execrated and denounced as a "worthless tramp and a vagrant" by that very class who had been engaged all those years in robbing you and yours. Then can you not see that the "good boss" or the "bad boss" cuts no figure whatever? that you are the common prey of both, and that their mission is simply robbery? Can you not see that it is the INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM and not the "boss" which must be changed?

Now, when all these bright summer and autumn days are going by, and you have no employment, and consequently can save up nothing, and when the winter's blast sweeps down from the north, and all the earth is wrapped in a shroud of ice, hearken not to the voice of the hypocrite who will tell you that it was ordained of God that "the poor ye have always"; or to the arrogant robber who will say to you that you "drank up all your wages last summer when you had work, and that is the reason why you have nothing now, and the workhouse or the woodyard is too good for you; that you ought to be shot." And shoot you they will if you present your petitions in too emphatic a manner. So hearken not to them, but list! Next winter, when the cold blasts are creeping through the rents in your seedy garments; when the frost is biting your feet through the holes in your worn-out shoes, and when all wretchedness seems to have centered in and upon you; when misery has marked you for her own, and life has become a burden and existence a mockery; when you have walked the streets by day, and slept upon hard boards by night, and at last determined by your own hand to take your life,—for you would rather go out into utter nothingness than to longer endure an existence which has become such a burden,—so, perchance, you determine to dash yourself into the cold embrace of the lake rather than longer suffer thus. But halt before you commit this last tragic act in the drama of your

simple existence. Stop! Is there nothing you can do to insure those whom you are about to orphan against a like fate? The waves will only dash over you in mockery of your rash act; but stroll you down the avenues of the rich, and look through the magnificent plate windows into their voluptuous homes, and here you will discover the *very identical robbers* who have despoiled you and yours. Then let your tragedy be enacted *here!* Awaken them from their wanton sports at your expense. Send forth your petition, and let them read it by the red glare of destruction. Thus when you cast "one long, lingering look behind," you can be assured that you have spoken to these robbers in the only language which they have ever been able to understand; for they have never yet deigned to notice any petition from their slaves that they were not *compelled* to read by the red glare bursting from the cannons' mouths, or that was not handed to them upon the point of the sword. You need no organization when you make up your mind to present this kind of petition. In fact, an organization would be a detriment to you; but each of you hungry tramps who read these lines avail yourselves of those little methods of warfare which Science has placed in the hands of the poor man, and you will become a power in this or any other land.

Learn the use of explosives!



VII.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

Labor being the only creator of all wealth and civilization, it rightfully follows that those who perform all labor and create all wealth should enjoy the result of their toil.

But this is rendered impossible by the modern system of production, which, since the discovery of steam-power and since the general introduction of machinery, is in all branches of industry carried with such gigantic means and appliances as but a few are able to possess.

The present industrial system is co-operative in *one respect only*, which is, That not, as in former times, the individual works alone for his own account, but dozens, hundreds, and thousands of men work together in shops, in mines, on huge farms and lands, co-operating according to the most efficient division of labor. But the fruits of this co-operative labor are not reaped by the workers themselves, but are in a great measure appropriated by the owners of the means of production; to wit, of the machines, of the factories, of the mines, and of the land.

This system, by gradually extinguishing the middle class, necessarily produces two separate sets of men: That class of the workers, and that of the great bosses.

It brings forth as its natural outgrowths,—

The planlessness and reckless rate of production.

The waste of human and natural forces.

The commercial and industrial crisis.

The constant uncertainty of the material existence of the wage-workers.

The misery of the proletarian masses.

The accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few.

Such a condition, which under the present industrial *régime* cannot but become more and more aggravated, is inconsistent with the interests of mankind, with the principles of justice and true democracy, as it destroys those rights which the Declaration of Independence of the United States held to be inalienable in all men; viz., life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

This condition shortens and imperils life by want and misery. It destroys liberty because the economical subjection of the wage-workers to the owners of the means of production immediately leads to their political dependence, and it finally frustrates the pursuit of happiness, which is never possible when life and personal liberty are in constant danger.

To put an end to this degrading state of things, we strive to introduce the *perfect* system of co-operative production; that is, we demand that the workers obtain the undivided product of their toil.

This being only feasible by securing to the workers control of the means of production,

We demand, —

That the land, the instruments of production (machines, factories, etc.), and the products of labor become the common property of the whole people; and,

That all production be organized co-operatively, and be carried on under the direction of the commonwealth; as also the co-operative distribution of the products according to the service rendered, and to the just needs of the individuals.

To realize our demands, we strive to gain control of the political power, with all proper means.

The Socialistic Labor Party claims the title, "Labor Party," because it recognizes the existence of an oppressed class of wage-workers as its fundamental truth, and the emancipation of this oppressed laboring class as its foremost object.

DEMANDS FOR THE AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE UNDER THE PRESENT INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM OF SOCIETY.

The Socialistic Labor Party strives for a radical revision of the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, the States and Municipalities, according to the following demands: —

a. SOCIAL DEMANDS.

1. The United States shall take possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation.

2. The municipalities to take possession of the local railroads, of ferries, and of the supply of light to streets and public places.

3. Public lands to be declared inalienable. They shall be leased according to fixed principles. Revocation of all grants of lands by the United States to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with or which are otherwise illegal.

4. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

5. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

6. The United States to have the right of expropriation of running patents, new inventions to be free to all, but inventors to be remunerated by national rewards.

7. Legal provision that the rent of dwellings shall not exceed a certain percentage of the value of the buildings as taxed by the municipality.

8. Inauguration of public works in times of economical depression.

9. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; but smaller incomes to be exempt.

10. Compulsory school education of all children under fourteen years of age, instruction in all educational institutions to be gratuitous, and to be made accessible to all by public assistance (furnishing meals, clothes, books, etc.). All instruction to be under the direction of the United States and to be organized on a uniform plan.

11. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and temperance laws. Unabridged right of combination.

12. Official statistics concerning the condition of labor. Prohibition of the employment of children in the school age, and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Prohibition of the convict labor contract system.

13. All wages to be paid in cash money. Equalization by law of women's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limbs of working people, and an efficient employer's liability law.

15. Legal incorporation of trades-unions.

16. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production; establishment by Act of Congress of a legal work-day of not more than eight hours for all industrial

workers, and corresponding provisions for all agricultural laborers.

b. POLITICAL DEMANDS.

1. Abolition of the Presidency, Vice-Presidency, and Senate of the United States. An Executive Board to be established, whose members are to be elected, and may at any time be recalled by the House of Representatives as the only legislative body. The States and Municipalities to adopt corresponding amendments of their constitution and statutes.

2. Municipal self-government.

3. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed, or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of minority representation to be introduced.

4. The people to have the right to propose laws (Initiative) and to vote upon all laws of importance (Referendum.)

5. The members of all legislative bodies to be responsible to and subject to recall by the constituency.

6. Uniform law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

7. Separation of all public affairs from religion; church property to be subject to taxation.

8. Uniform national marriage laws. Divorce to be granted upon mutual consent, and upon providing for the care of the children.



VIII.

**A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE WAGE-WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.**

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of

earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinion of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the right of each to the undivided product of his labor.

That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferances of the people of these United States, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government.

The history of the present government of these United States is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of a system of absolute tyranny and oppression over the people of these States.

To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

It has refused its assent to laws the most wholesome for the public good.

It has refused to pass laws for the accommodation of large districts of people.

It has in every way betrayed the interests of the people.

It has manipulated the votes of the people to subserve the personal ends of its officials.

It has placed in offices of public trust, self-admitted thieves and bribe-takers.

It has created a multitude of new offices, and has sent out swarms of officials to harass the people.

It has instituted a system under which public office may be bought and sold, and has established a market-value for the votes of the ignorant.

It has, in violation of its own formulated laws, continuously appropriated public funds and public offices, that the rule of a faction might be indefinitely prolonged.

It has, in the shape of bastard appropriations, recklessly distributed the wealth which our tax-payers year after year pour into the governmental coffers, that its members might share in the spoils.

It has permitted and assisted railroad corporations to assume the control of entire States.

It has upheld such corporations by locating in such States, judges who are empowered to construe the Constitution to their own ends.

It has created among the people distinctions as marked as those under monarchical reign.

It has established a "shoddy aristocracy" in our midst.

It has refused legal incorporation to organized bodies of orderly workingmen.

It has legislated always for the interests of the few as against the interests of the many.

As the result:

Justice has become a by-word.

Patriotism is unknown.

In the mad rush for wealth and political sinecure, humanity and morality have been forgotten; "labor" has been humiliated and trampled in the mud.

"God" has assumed the figure of the "mighty dollar."

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our government officials. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to cease these usurpations, but in all cases have they been deaf to the voice of justice.

We, therefore, the *representatives* of the *wage-workers* of the *United States* of America, in *General Congress assembled*, appealing to the *Supreme Judge* of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the *wage-workers* here represented, solemnly publish and declare, that the *Trade and Labor Organizations* herein represented are, and of right ought to be, *free and independent organizations*; that they are absolved from all political allegiance to the present government, and to the old political parties, and that all political connection between them is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as *free and independent organizations*, they have full power to *formulate their own laws* and to enforce them, by the *boycott*, by *social ostracism*, and by any and all *peaceful measures* which may hereafter be deemed necessary.

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance upon the protection of a *Divine Providence*, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our services, and our sacred honor.

July 4, 1886.

Signed:

REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

APPENDIX II.

THE° RELATION OF TEMPERANCE REFORM TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

BY RICHARD T. ELY.

HON. A. J. STREETER, prominent in the ranks of organized farmers and workingmen, has recently written a letter in favor of an alliance between the advocâtes of temperance reform and the advocates of labor reform. This letter is a plain manifestation of a growth which has been taking place for several years.

Labor organizations and their leaders have evidently been more and more impressed with the fact that intemperance is one of the deadliest foes of the workingmen of this country, and their sentiment in favor of temperance reform has been becoming constantly more intense. Evidences of this abound, and may be found in labor platforms, in reports of meetings of workingmen, and in the labor press. It is scarcely too much to say that the labor organizations of the country are, at least, temperance organizations, and many of their members and leaders are outspoken total abstainers and prohibitionists. Every one knows that this is the case with that much misunderstood and more maligned organization, the Knights of Labor. Very impressive must have been the public pledge of total abstinence given to Mr. Powderly at the Richmond convention a few years since, by all the members of the executive board. A little later I attended a fair of the Knights of Labor in Baltimore and found on sale no beverage stronger than lemonade.

On the other hand, it is equally natural that the leaders of the great temperance movement should be thoroughly in sympathy with all just aspirations of the toiling men and women of the

world. What else but broad humanitarian views could have led these noble men and women to dedicate their lives to the cause of temperance? Many of them regarded the temperance movement as chiefly a labor movement. The evil of intemperance attracted their attention above all others, because it seemed to them the greatest curse of the age.

If the labor movement has broadened in the direction of temperance, it is equally certain that the current of temperance reform is broadening out and taking in a considerable portion of what is called labor reform. The various platforms of the temperance party, framed by state and national conventions, make this plain, and efforts to eliminate parts of the platform dealing with other aspects of labor reform than temperance have been happily voted down.

Any one who will read the testimony of Miss Frances E. Willard, President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and of her excellent lieutenants, before the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, will be convinced that the scope of the work of that organization is anything but narrow. The testimony was taken in New York in October, 1883, and was published in 1885, by the Government Printing Office, as Volume II. of the Testimony taken by the Committee. Recognizing that prevention is always better than cure, heredity and hygiene receive special attention, and each has a department in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union assigned it. Scientific temperance instruction has become general over the entire length and breadth of the land within a few years, and it is due to these earnest workers. Cooking is also considered in its relations to intemperance. I find this sentence in Miss Willard's testimony: "We think that if the people were taught to prepare food in a simple, hygienic manner, it would greatly redound to their benefit in establishing simple, unartificial habits." This confirms the utterance of a distinguished American physiologist that insufficient variety of food and poorly cooked food tend to intemperance by producing an unnatural craving for strong drink. A "Flower Mission," for taking flowers to the sick, is mentioned in another department of work. Military drill among boys has also

been introduced as a good feature of temperance reform. But it is not easy to enumerate all the ramifications of this temperance work. It is seen clearly by women like Miss Willard that whatever builds up the home, fosters patriotism, and stimulates love for our fellow-men, must diminish intemperance. The temperance movement is not a single movement. As I take it, the word temperance indicates a centre of great social activity. The temperance movement is a deep, wide movement of social reform which centres in temperance, but from that centre spreads out in ever more and more inclusive circles until it touches the entire life of society.

It is well, then, in view of these circumstances, to look at the temperance movement from the standpoint of the workingman, and to consider the labor movement from the standpoint of the temperance reformer. If the two cannot be coalesced, it is at least desirable that they should proceed in parallel lines.

I. Let us reflect for a moment on the loss occasioned to the workmen of the United States by the use of intoxicating drinks. The direct loss has been often described and its amount can be readily learned by a perusal of easily accessible tracts and pamphlets. The importance of a few cents a day is however not sufficiently appreciated by people in moderate circumstances, and still less is it by wage-earners. A street-car line in Baltimore charges five cents for a single fare, but sells six tickets for twenty-five cents. It may be put this way: if you invest twenty-five cents, you receive one extra ticket, good for a five-cent ride; that is, you make twenty per cent on your investment, which is equal to four or five years' interest on the money. Yet I have ridden on a car of this line when out of ten persons I was the only one to put a ticket into the box. In Washington, where all lines are compelled by law to sell six tickets for twenty-five cents, one may any day witness similar evidences of thriftlessness. You may even see a man pay fifteen cents in fares for three persons, treating two others, while by investing ten cents additional he could get six tickets.

This illustration shows widespread and very general lack of thrift. The expenditure of money for intoxicating beverages is by far worse, for it is a loss not of twenty per cent, but of one

hundred per cent. Five cents or ten cents a day seems like a small sum, but it is easy to show that after the expiration of a number of years it becomes a very considerable sum, sufficient, in most parts of the country, let us say, to pay for a comfortable home for an artisan in twenty years. But the direct loss is only a part, only the smallest part of the whole loss. The habit of thriftlessness grows, and it becomes ruinous to one's financial prospects, condemning one to a life of poverty. Waste for alcoholic beverages means generally waste for other injurious or useless indulgences.

The sum of money which a workingman who is a moderate drinker, or only an occasional drinker, can save in a few years by the practice of total abstinence, may not seem large, and let us confess frankly that it is small, and, as the rate of interest falls, becomes smaller; but it is a mistake to undervalue the utility of a small sum of ready money, for at a critical period it will often prove to be the difference between a life of comfort, usefulness, health, contentment, and a life of discouragement and poverty. Even so small a sum as fifty dollars may be the turning-point, and a deposit of ten dollars in a savings bank will spare one many a humiliation.

These are homely, old-fashioned arguments, but they cannot be repeated too often. They are unfortunately apt to arouse irritation and ill-will on the part of workingmen, because they are frequently put forward as the only thing which needs to be said on the subject of poverty. They are too often made a pretext on the part of the well-to-do, for their failure to concern themselves with the labor problem. It is very comfortable to the self-complacency of a plutocrat, as he sips his champagne, to say, "If the workingmen would stop drinking and save their money, they would never lack in this land of plenty. Intemperance is the cause of poverty and the only anti-poverty society needed is a society of one—each man for himself." Because this is so unjust and because its injustice is so keenly felt, the large grain of truth in it is too apt to be overlooked. It is this sort of talk more than anything else which has closed the ears of too many thinking workingmen to valid temperance argument.

The time lost on account of intemperance, and the strength of body wasted, have frequently been mentioned. Professor Huxley, the naturalist, has told us what kind of a body—broad shoulders and deep chest—he would wish for his son. He lays stress on physical strength, because in this age of sharp competition the turning-point of a life may be included within a few months, weeks, or days, and during this time final success may depend on power to sustain continuous exertion of the most intense kind. It is frequently necessary, to enable one to take the tide of fortune at its flood, to undergo arduous toil for a period of even years. Doubtless life is too intense and competition is too sharp, but the struggle for life must always be severe, and there is no prospect of improvement in a near future. He who burdens himself with habits which waste even a little time and dissipate even a little physical energy, enters the race handicapped; a loss of energy of which the loser may not even be conscious, has undoubtedly turned the scale of fortune against many a man.

The loss of mental energy is far more serious, on the whole, than the loss of physical strength, and this greater loss is experienced by many who never become intoxicated and who regard themselves as moderate drinkers.

The wage-earning classes need every bit of mental capacity which they possess or can acquire, to enable them to attain well-being in the struggle of modern industrial life. The wage-earning classes, as classes, must act solidly together. The solidarity of their interest can be disputed by no fair-minded and competent observer. Now, if this is so, every wage-earner who wastes any of his resources of body or mind by the use of alcoholic drinks, is an enemy of his class. At what disadvantage in dealing with employers are sullen and incompetent men, with no reserve of accumulated earnings, as compared with bright, open, and determined men! The talk about the equality of labor and capital in labor contracts is a farce, but why make the inequality needlessly great? Strikes occur too frequently, but that they are sometimes necessary is generally conceded. Upright and intelligent men will be very careful about entering on

a strike, but when once undertaken, they will make a good fight. What is the effect of intemperance and attendant lawlessness on strikes? It is needless to answer the question. Disorder is so manifestly injurious to strikers, that unscrupulous employers have been accused of sending emissaries among them to stir it up. Workingmen should remember Cromwell's praying soldiers, and the terror they were to their finally vanquished enemies. I think that absolutely temperate strikers, fleeing all association with saloons, opening every meeting of any sort with prayer, and holding a prayer-meeting or some kind of religious service every day, would inspire an unscrupulous individual or corporate employer with a new terror.

A good point was made in the testimony given by Mr. Alphonso Crosby before the United States Senate Committee, to which attention has already been called. He said that the wages of mechanics were set by drinking men, because drinking men were improvident, and, having no economic reserve, were obliged to take what they could get; they had nothing to fall back on. This is in keeping with what has been said about the solidarity of the interests of labor. Nothing is more disastrous to a man who has something to sell than to be obliged to force it on the market. A commodity under those circumstances will frequently not bring half-price. Now he who is obliged to force labor on the labor market does a thing equally disastrous, and his conduct is injurious to every workingman.

Intemperance weakens the working people in another way. It is made a reproach to them, and the innocent suffer with the guilty. It serves their opponents as a very efficient weapon. With the ordinary non-partisan — the man neither employer nor employed, in the usual sense — what is the most telling argument against the present agitation for the eight-hour day? Undoubtedly this: "More leisure means more time and more money for the saloon." Doubtless this is untrue, but in a good cause we ought not to give our enemies any handle to use against us.

A continual subject for discussion among workingmen is political action. It requires all the unimpaired power of the keenest intellects at their command, to decide what political course it is

best to take, and when any course is taken, it demands the utmost of their patience and self-control.

We hear in political economy of "the seen and the unseen," the unseen meaning simply that which is not readily seen. Now I think it is manifest that the worst effects of intemperance, considered from the standpoint of the labor movement, belong to the unseen. Is it not evident that temperance workers are among the best friends of the wage-earners of this country, and that any labor leader who has not sufficient mental power to grasp this, is unfit for his position? and, finally, that any intemperate laborer is an enemy to his class?

II. Let us now look at the labor movement from the standpoint of a broad-minded temperance reformer.

We should, I think, first of all, fully grasp the fact that the excessive use of strong drink is not merely the work of the devil. Perhaps I do not make my meaning clear. What I want to say is this: Men do not indulge in the use of intoxicating beverages merely because they are moved by an evil influence, and, except in the case of confirmed drinkers, not because they care particularly for what they drink. I am inclined to think that only a lesser part of the strength of the saloon is due to the love for the liquor which it dispenses. We must go below surface phenomena, and inquire what gives the saloon its strength? for when we do so, we shall become convinced that mere negative work is not half enough. If we simply drive devils out, they will return, as we are told, in sevenfold strength. A power for good must be introduced to take the place of evil influences expelled. *The greater part of temperance reform must be positive work*, and a failure to perceive this is, I think, one cause of many setbacks in the past, while an increasing recognition of this principle is precisely one of the most hopeful features of the temperance movement of to-day.

One main cause of the strength of the saloon is that it furnishes to the masses a convenient and always easily accessible meeting place and waiting place, free from restraints, and it is the only institution of the kind in American cities. One needs but to observe what can be seen any day and night in our cities

and to reflect seriously on its significance, to understand how far-reaching this proposition is.

Rich men have their social clubs, but these institutions are beyond the reach of the poor. Workingmen often wish to meet to talk over some proposed course of action, let us say, political. Where shall they meet? One place, and only one place, is always open, and that is the saloon. Many saloons keep large, pleasant rooms which can be engaged free of charge. What a temptation is this! Of course, the proprietor of the hall expects recompense, and every one who attends the meeting feels morally bound to drink at least two glasses of beer. The meetings which workingmen hold in these days are very frequent, and on the whole these frequent meetings are commendable, but it is a continual difficulty to find suitable meeting places.

What has been said is also a partial explanation of the strength of the saloon with the regular political parties. Many of the local headquarters are in saloons.

We have as yet taken but one step in ascertaining the causes of the strength of the saloon. A Baltimore cooper talked somewhat like this to a friend of mine: "What shall I do with my boys? I live in a small house, very hot in summer. I have eight children, one of them a crying, fretful infant, and when my boys come home after a hard day's work, they need recreation. They eat their supper and go on the streets and doubtless into the saloons, but I cannot say them nay. They are young fellows and must have some enjoyment, and there is nothing for them at home." My friend suggested the Y. M. C. A., but he shook his head. It was far away, and besides, he did not feel that his boys would be welcome. It was, moreover, expensive for a cooper's sons.

Take the street-car drivers of Baltimore. They work twelve hours and more a day; formerly, indeed, seventeen. The highest pay is two dollars a day. When one of them in winter has a free evening, how shall he pass it? Quite likely he has no friends with homes in the city, and to expect him to remain in his cold, cheerless attic is unreasonable. He wanders out on the street, he strolls about, he has nothing better to do. On every corner

he sees a saloon, and how warm it looks! How attractive the bright colors! how enticing the display of beautiful glass! He hears cheerful laughter and merry voices, and if he enters, he is thoroughly welcome. The price of admission is five cents. Is it any wonder that he goes in?

Men more favorably situated feel this temptation, as many who have been students away from home know full well. I remember meeting a Canadian student who had studied medicine in London. He said that on Sundays the only thing to do, if you did not want to pass the entire day in church, was to go to some place of temptation, for all the places of innocent recreation and amusement were closed. Many young men could tell the same tale. The devil has full swing on Sunday in great cities, for the churches make only a feeble competition for a few hours, and then are closed up.

Take also the case of men out of work, and remember that men in factories are idle about one-tenth of the year, and often for a longer period. What are they to do during these recurring periods of idleness?

Walking by a saloon, you may see a notice to the effect that base-ball scores are exhibited inside, and so they are always active to provide all those things and all those conveniences which men desire, and their pay is in liquor purchased, liquor with which those who drink would frequently as soon dispense as not.

If what is written is true, it will show many defects in our "holly-tree" inns and temperance restaurants. It seems to be supposed that what is drunk and what is eaten is the only reason why men frequent saloons, whereas it is only one reason, and probably in a very large majority of cases only a subordinate reason. Such an inn was once started in Baltimore, but did not succeed. An intelligent workingman told me that in the first place it was inconveniently situated on Charles Street, far away from the workingmen's quarters, and that in the second place it was presided over by ladies, as he said, dressed "in the tip of the fashion." He felt very uneasy, and after drinking his cup of coffee, left, never to return.

We have already advanced far enough to consider a few remedies. In one way or another, earnest attempts should be made to provide for the public convenient meeting places free from the temptations of the saloons. The holly-tree inns are a move in the right direction, but they should offer all the attractions of a saloon without the intoxicating beverages. I do not think they should be kept by ladies, but by men who have been successful as proprietors and managers of liquor saloons. When such a man, as occasionally happens, feels the degradation and wrong of his occupation, and is willing to make a change, this at once furnishes him with occupation, perhaps not so profitable, but at least sufficient to support him. All kinds of non-intoxicating beverages and good lunches should be provided at the lowest possible price; also tables and newspapers, giving men as good an opportunity to pass unoccupied time as the saloon, also rooms and halls for lodges, trades-unions, political clubs, and the like. There can, in my mind, be no doubt that such places would sooner or later be remunerative, although it might be necessary to lose a good deal of money at the start.

Some of the English cities seem to have provided public halls for meetings of citizens, and their experience is worthy of examination.

Some of our trades-unions and other labor organizations have done something to meet the want described, and they ought to receive more encouragement in efforts of this kind. A few winters since, I found two rather cheerless rooms in an upper story of a large building in Cleveland, as I was searching for an office. The rooms contained a few papers, checkerboards, packs of cards, etc. I asked a plainly dressed, but intelligent and honest-looking man, by whom the rooms were occupied, and was told by the Bricklayers' Union. He said that when "the boys" were out of work it furnished them with a lounging place and kept them out of the saloons.

The bricklayers of Philadelphia have a large, new hall, and when I visited it I found a store on the first floor vacant. It had not then been rented. The managers had received an offer of high rent for it from a man who wanted to open a saloon, but it

had been decided that under no circumstances would it be let for such a purpose, much as they might want the money. I noticed that the book-shelves were empty, and here was an opportunity for temperance workers and philanthropists to encourage a good beginning by providing literature of a high order to reduce still further the attractions of the saloon.

The Labor Lyceum of Myrtle Street, Brooklyn, furnishes a meeting place for workmen, and rooms for many of their organizations. A benevolent physician has been active in aiding in its construction. It was desired to prohibit altogether the sale of intoxicating liquors in the building, but unfortunately it was difficult to pay for it, and reluctantly the right to sell beer was given to a man who pays to the Lyceum a certain sum for every keg sold.

Now, what temperance workers ought to do, it seems to me, is to take hold of good features of the labor movement and assist in their development. Here, as elsewhere, what is wanted is to help people to help themselves. It is a mistake to try to force things on people. What is wanted is to take hold of institutions spontaneously arising among the masses, and to help to give them a sound development.

Churches should do more; think of saloons open one hundred hours a week, and churches open, say, six hours! The churches, if open at all times, would furnish meeting places, and if they kept people from evil, I believe God would be pleased.

Workingmen's employers would often find it profitable to assist in this work. I visited the Hocking Valley in 1886. It is a mining region in Ohio, and was the scene of long-continued and more or less violent strikes a few years ago, as will be generally remembered. In New Straitsville I was struck by the utter cheerlessness and desolateness of the lives of people condemned to live in such a frightful place. I went in the evening to an entertainment given by a troupe of very indifferent minstrels. The charge was ten cents, and as I came out, a lot of boys eagerly asked for my ticket. The look on the faces of the men and boys was to me pathetic. They were famishing for some rational, health-giving amusement. Their employers had spent several

hundred thousand dollars, and done their business a damage, some say, of over a million, to gain a victory "in widd," as a prominent member of the syndicate said. The syndicate was determined to crush the miner's organization, but when I was in the place I think there was not even one miner who was a non-union man. I thought how much better it would have been for the syndicate to expend, say, one hundred thousand dollars, in the construction of a library and hall, and to give the men opportunities for a more wholesome life. It would have been appreciated, and would probably have saved all that was lost in fruitless strife.

Child-labor is a potent cause of intemperance, and here temperance reform and the labor movement should proceed unitedly. It is an evil which is rapidly growing, especially in the West. Children fall into bad ways, and are lost while yet too young to be fully responsible.

Tenement-house reform is another work which is essential to temperance reform. It is impossible to expel King Alcohol from the slums of cities like New York and Chicago so long as these slums exist. Negative work here will never accomplish the end desired. The slums are breathing holes of hell, and should be swept from the earth, and if Christian people would go earnestly to work and stop listening to the devil as he preaches *laissez faire*, let alone, non-interference, they could be swept from the earth.

Bad ventilation of mines and workshops weakens the constitution and paves the way for beer and whiskey. Let every temperance advocate support the workingmen in their effort to improve the condition of mines and workshops. Measures like these are not something which temperance people may feel free to support or not to support as they see fit. They are a real essential part of the temperance movement.

Playgrounds for children are needed. No American city has done its duty in this respect, and we are lagging far behind European cities. I notice how eagerly any open spot near my house is seized by boys and girls. They are hungry for innocent play, and much mischief comes from lack of opportunity. It is mere

overflow of animal spirits which can find no harmless channel into which to flow. The experience of Cornell University is instructive. Ex-President White told me that after military drill had been introduced, a gymnasium erected, and opportunities for physical exercise of an innocent kind had been provided, difficulties of discipline almost disappeared. Disorder and lawlessness stopped almost spontaneously. I believe many a "city tough" might have grown into a useful citizen had municipal playgrounds and gymnasiums been provided for him while a child.

Overwork is a cause of intemperance, especially in over-heated and poorly ventilated factories, and it has generally been observed by those who have made a study of the matter, that a reduction in the hours of labor is followed by a diminution of intemperance, perhaps not at first, but in a near future. This is, I think, the very general testimony of experts in this matter, and is the result shown by every careful investigation. I will quote a few words on this subject from Robert Howard of Massachusetts, secretary of the spinners' organization, and a very intelligent and competent witness. In speaking of the girls in Fall River mills, he says: —

"It is dreadful to see those girls, stripped almost to the skin, wearing only a kind of loose wrapper, and running like a race horse from the beginning to the end of the day; and I can perceive that it is bringing about both a moral and physical decay in them. . . . I must say that I have noticed that the hard, slavish overwork is driving those girls into the saloons after they leave the mills in the evening; and you might as well deprive them of their suppers; after they leave the mills you will see them going into saloons, looking scared and ashamed, and trying to go in without any one seeing them — good, respectable girls, too; but they come out so tired, and so thirsty, and so exhausted, especially in the summer months, from working along steadily from hour to hour, and breathing the noxious effluvia from the grease and other ingredients that are used in the mills, and they are so exhausted when the time comes to quit, that you will find that all their thoughts are concentrated on something to drink to

allay their thirst." Of course, men are still more exposed to this temptation, and much more testimony could be given. .

Here, again, we ought to unite positive with negative work, and those interested in the temperance movement ought to help workmen to reduce to reasonable limits the length of the working day in factories and shops, and then to encourage them to make a good use of leisure. The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury — whose life, by Hodder, should be read by every philanthropist — was in this, as in so many other respects, a model reformer. He assisted the short-time committees very efficiently in securing suitable legislation, and when the working day was reduced in accordance with their programme, he wrote them a letter, from which the following is an extract: "My good friends, . . . First, we must give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God for the unexpected and wonderful success that has attended our efforts. . . . But with your success have commenced new duties. You are now in possession of those two hours which you have so long and so ardently desired; you must therefore turn them to the best account, to that account which was ever in the minds of your friends and advocates when they appealed to the legislature on behalf of your rights as immortal beings, as citizens and Christians.

"You will remember the principal motive that stimulated your own activity and the energetic aid of your supporters in Parliament, was the use that might be made of this leisure for the moral improvement of the factory people, and especially the female workers, who will now enjoy far better opportunities both of learning and practising those duties which must be known and discharged if we would have a comfortable, decent, and happy population.

"You will experience no difficulty throughout your several districts in obtaining counsel or assistance on these subjects. The clergy, the various ministers, the medical men — all who have been so forward and earnest in your cause — will, I am sure, be really delighted to co-operate with your efforts."

But one other point remains to be mentioned. The use of intoxicating beverages has been in a thousand and one ways

connected with sociability. It has associations with joyous and festive occasions. Here, again, we must not be content with simple banishment. Those who have gifts as social leaders have opportunity to do useful work. They should give their earnest, serious thought to the development of new social forms and customs, quite as charming and delightful as the old, yet unconnected with beverages which intoxicate. Always strive to put some good influence in the place of the evil habit banished, for until this is done the victory is only half won.

These are a few of the suggestions which occur to me in connection with those two large subjects, temperance reform and the labor movement, and, inadequate as this treatment is, I trust that it may stimulate thought and endeavor, and help forward the good work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

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