

SUPPORTS LABOR.

Bishop Fallows Endorses the claims
of the Homestead Workmen

AND ARRAIGNS THE MAN-
AGEMENT.

Bishop Samuel Fallows preached on the Homestead trouble at St. Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church, Chicago, last Sunday night. The Bishop, who has lately been in Homestead, expressed radical views on the relations of capital and labor.

The career of Carnegie from workman to proprietor of the largest rolling mills in the country was traced. The ground of difference between the Amalgamated Association and the management of the mills was clearly stated, as well as the claims put forth on each side. The controversy, said the speaker, furnished no good grounds for political argument, either for or against the tariff. The employees objected to any reduction of the scale on the ground that their wages were none too high considering the profits received by the firm. They were right in saying so, said Bishop Fallows.

"Better wages," he continued, "enable workmen to have better schooling for their children and give them a chance to cultivate literature and the fine arts. Has the improvement in these respects in the condition of the workmen of the best class kept pace with the improvement in the condition of their employers? It is said some of the employees in the mills rode to work in their own carriages. I wish every mechanic in the United States could go to work in his own carriage. There are many good homes in Homestead that belong to the workers in the mills. How many palaces are their employers able to afford?"

"It has been figured that at the reduced scale the profits to the firm would be \$14 a ton. This is an immense profit, and it shows that there was no necessity for any reduction. In this struggle not only the present but the future welfare of the workmen is involved. The firm refused to arbitrate the questions in dispute or talk to the Amalgamated Association or any union of the men. The firm made the issue 'No arbitration, no labor union.'

"Then the Pinkertons were brought in, the bloody conflict ensued and the shameful scenes after the surrender, due to an unruly mob such as follows any attempt of organized labor to assert its moral rights. These acts were most deeply regretted by the union men.

"In the refusal to treat with the Amalgamated Association and the employment of Pinkerton men there was an attempt to degrade labor. In the past the degradation of labor was always due to the inability of labor to combine against the stupendous combination of capital. In the nineteenth century the greatest combinations of capital that have ever existed have been formed."

Bishop Fallows referred to the coal combine, which had the whole United States by the throat, as an instance, and said labor must combine more courageously and successfully now than ever before. The refusal of the firm to recognize the fact of organized labor, Bishop Fallows said, was a serious mistake. He regretted that the honored name of Pinkerton, the man honored with Lincoln's confidence, should gain such unenviable notoriety through "the organization of the most dangerous order of spies that ever preyed on the republic," and "an irresponsible horde of men not recognized by the State or any lawful authority." Whether it was the Pinkertons or the mob that fired first only a full legal investigation would determine. Was it an invasion of the State of Pennsylvania?

Only one flag must wave either at Homestead or at the schoolhouse in Franklin, De Kalb County, Ill.

"The Homestead case must be tested on its merits alone," continued the Bishop. "These men have helped to create the wealth of Homestead. The firm proposes a new scale, and says to the men: 'Either accept or go.' The men say: 'Arbitrate.' Again the firm says: 'Accept or go.' The eight thousand troops assembled at Homestead with their eight thousand bayonets say: 'Accept or go.' The law says: 'Accept or go,' just as law-entrenched capital said it.

"I say the law is wrong. It should protect the workman in his moral right, which should be a legal right. The workman has to sell his labor for what he can get. The law is wrong in making a man a free serf—his employer an autocrat.

"The law can compel arbitration. So long as capital combines and labor combines compulsory arbitration is the sole legal method of adjustment. There is an obligation on the part of the Homestead management to arbitrate now.

"The only result of combinations of capital and of labor that will secure peace and prosperity is co-operation—making the workman a sharer in the profits. That this can be done successfully has been shown. This is evolutionary, not revolutionary; ballots, not bullets. This is the spirit of Christianity, and this spirit carried out would settle the trouble for all time."

HOW IT WORKS.

Once upon a time, rats were very troublesome to the good people of an uncertain village; and to exterminate them, it was proposed to offer bounties from the public treasury to breeders of black snakes, and to give to black snakes the freedom of the village streets and protection wherever they might go, even though it were into the very hen roosts of the village. Furthermore, to encourage the black snake as an exterminator of rats, it was decided that black snake owners should be exempt from all damage claims by the villagers for loss of property whenever a black snake varied his rat diet with eggs or chickens. The scheme met with strong opposition. Among other objections, it was argued that it involved, not only a misappropriation of public funds, but a free license to trespass upon and even to confiscate private property. It was adopted, however, and the breeding of black snakes became a favorite occupation. The rats were exterminated, but in time the snakes were a greater nuisance than the vermin they had displaced. Every villager who kept poultry was despoiled of his chickens and his eggs, yet he was without redress against the owners of the marauding snakes, who insisted upon breeding the pests in order to draw bounties from the public treasury. Finally, the plundered people voted to repeal the unjust privileges that had been conferred upon black snake breeders. They demanded that the owners of these reptiles should be held responsible for their trespasses, and that the common treasury should no longer be depleted by bounty payments to encourage an industry which, however useful it might have been regarded by the majority of a previous generation, was unanimously pronounced a nuisance now. This demand was about to be granted, when the snake breeders protested; and an eminent representative of the highly tutored class pleaded for them in the name of justice.

"These snakes are property," said the advocate. "You have encouraged men to invest labor and capital in breeding them, and they are as truly property as is your house or your cow." "Very well," came the response from an untutored villager, "let them keep their property. We have no objection to that. What we object to is the law that allows their property to fatten upon our property, and themselves to grow rich by draining the common purse."

"But it is part of the contract," returned the advocate of vested rights. "It was agreed by your agents—the

officials of this village—that snake breeders should receive an annual bounty for every snake, and that their snakes should be free to feed upon your eggs and chickens. If you withdraw the bounty, you must pay them its capitalized value; and if you abolish their privilege of allowing their snakes to feed in your hen houses, you must pay them the value of that. It would be robbery to take their snakes from them."

"We don't intend to take their snakes from them, I tell you," shouted the untutored spokesman, a little angrily. "Let them keep the snakes. We propose to abolish the bounty and the feeding privilege."

"Ah," said the other, with a gentle and patronizing smile, "my untutored friends, you evidently do not understand that these snakes are not bred because their owners want snakes, but because they want the bounty. Abolish the bounty and you abolish all that is valuable in the snakes—in effect, you destroy all property rights in these beneficent creatures. And as to your eggs and chickens, if the snakes may not freely feed upon them, the value of the bounty and consequently of the snakes will be diminished. At present the owners of black snakes can sell them for a considerable sum per head. Abolish the feeding privilege, and the value of snakes will decline; abolish the bounty, and it will disappear. Fellow-citizens, you cannot honestly abolish these rights, so long vested and enjoyed, and so often passed not only from generation to generation by inheritance but from hand to hand in exchange for property earned in sweat and saved in privation. That would be confiscation. I pray you, be honest men. Abolish snakes if you will, but pay for them when you do it."

"Come off," exclaimed the villager, who, had he been highly tutored, would have used a politer phrase. "A confiscation has been going on this long time. It is going on now. These snake owners are confiscating our property. If we don't abolish their privilege they will keep it up. If we compensate them, they will be confiscating from us in a lump instead of doing it year by year. We don't know much about vested rights, may be; but we do know that if it is confiscation from them to withdraw the bounties and the rest, it is confiscation from us not to do it; and since it's to be a case of confiscation any how, we reckon that the snake owners have enjoyed their share of that long enough, and we'll try it ourselves a little while for a change. It may not be quite the straight thing, according to your notion of vested rights; but we reckon that our rights are just as much vested in our own eggs and chickens and in our share of common funds as theirs are vested in snake property. Our vested rights have been unvested long enough, and we're going to keep them vested from now on. That's the way the thing looks to a man up a tree, professor; and you may take it for granted that the dust of this village won't be healthy hereafter for any snake whose owner doesn't support him at home."

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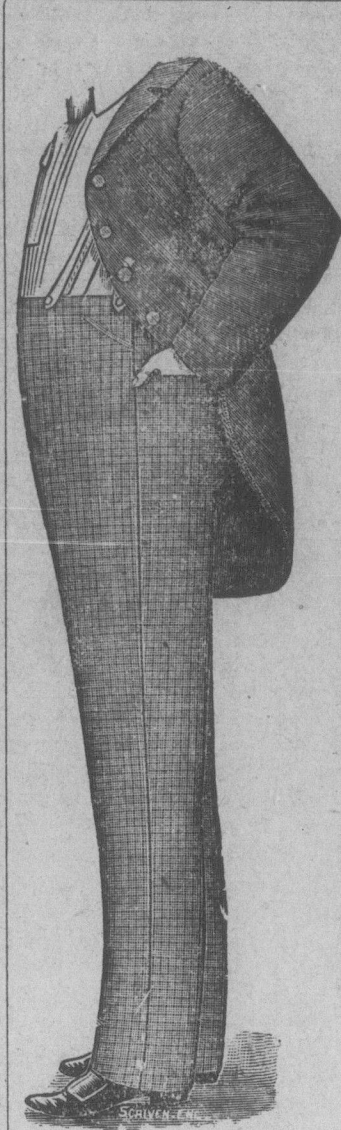
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