

Ontario Workman.

THE EQUALIZATION OF ALL ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY IN THE SOCIAL SCALE SHOULD BE THE TRUE AIM OF CIVILIZATION.

VOL. I.

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Labour Notes.

The Knights of St. Crispin of Utica, N. Y., have subscribed \$5,000 towards starting a co-operative shoe factory in that city.

One thousand women are employed in the potteries at Leeds, England, working nine hours a day, at the rate of sixty cents per week.

One store in Paris, "La Belle Jardiniere," employs 1,500 women; the most skilled are paid \$1.40 per day, the common seamstresses 50 cents per day.

Brother L. B. Greene, delegate from St. Albans' Division, No. 85, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, has been duly appointed F. G. A. E. for the balance of the present term.

San Francisco does its share of boot and shoe making. There are now in operation there twenty-six factories for manufacturing boots and shoes, and sixteen for slippers. The number of all kinds made during the year is about 950,000.

PRESENTATION.—The workmen of the Canadian Lamp Manufacturing, on the 24th inst., presented Mr. George Boxall, who has been foreman of the establishment for twelve years, with a gold chain and complimentary address. Mr. Boxall has relinquished his situation.

The postmen who recently refused the stripes offered by Mr. Monnell have accepted them, each stripe carrying an increase of 6d per week to the salary and 3d per week to the retiring pension. About 210 men will obtain stripes.

A number of skilled shipwrights at Chatham dockyard have given notice to leave, and others have made known their intention to adopt the same course. The men have been offered employment by private shipbuilding firms in London and elsewhere at greatly increased wages.

Mr. J. McKelvey, the great originator and designer of new, useful and astonishing things in the mechanical line, has been commissioned by the London (Eng.) Aerial Navigation Company to draft the design for an air ship. He is busy upon it now; and what may we not expect from the man who invented the cream-still?

The bookbinders of Belfast, now out on strike for the 54 hours' system, have published an address thanking their friends in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Dublin and London, for assistance received from them. They state that it will be a source of regret to the people of the town, that at the forthcoming Vienna exhibition Belfast will not be represented in their department.

Large meetings of Fifeshire miners were held on Monday, at which it was resolved to resist to the utmost the proposal made by the masters to reduce wages 1s. per day. In one instance the men agreed to strike, but it was generally determined to work only four days a week, as several of the largest colliery owners in the county demur to any reduction of time. A lockout is anticipated. Union and non-union men are acting together in the matter.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.—Police constable Tyers, who was recently a member of the P division of the Metropolitan police, and who was sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment without hard labor, at the Lambeth police court, for having told the men to stand firm by the man Goodchild, the secretary of the late police agitation, was discharged on Wednesday morning at seven o'clock. A purse of 50 guineas has been subscribed, and it will be presented to him at a public meeting.

STRIKES.—Gas Stokers—London. Tobacco Pipe-makers—Newcastle. Ditto—Gateshead. Ditto—South Shields. Puddlers—Stockton. Building Operatives—Belfast. Hosiers Hands—Hawick. Linen Weavers—Barnsley (partial). Limestone Getters—Dudley. Carpenters—Newport (Mon.) Printers—Edinburgh. Brassfounders—Ditto (partial). Tin plate-workers—Ditto (partial). Plumbers—Bradford. Building Operatives—Birmingham (partial lock-out). Bricklayers—Blackburn. Bookbinders, &c.—Belfast. Silk Workers—Coughton.—Labour News.

FARM LABORERS.—A conference of laborers' representatives has been held at Mansfield, delegates being present from Nottingham, Newark, Retford, Sheffield, Doncaster, and other places, when the thorough amalgamation of the different branches throughout the country was agreed to, and it was determined to hold a large conference at Doncaster on the 24th of January, 1873, every branch society of

laborers in England to be represented. The delegates represent a constituency of 8,000 laborers. The executive council of the National Agricultural Laborers' Union met on Monday at Leamington, Mr. Arch presiding. Fewer cases of oppression were reported, and it is the bitterness of feeling is subsiding. Mr. Daintree, agent of the Queensland Government, offered special facilities to emigrants. The executive council, at present preferring migration to emigration, declined to especially further Mr. Daintree's proposal, but gave him permission to attend the Union meetings and endeavor to obtain emigrants.

THE GAS STOKERS.—By cable telegram we have already been informed of the strike among the gas stokers. The chairman of the committee thus states their case to the editor of *Reynold's Newspaper*:—"As you are by this time fully aware, the majority of the press have taken the side of our employers, in this our present struggle, by publishing a number of articles calculated to mislead the public as to the causes that have led to the present state of disaffection between employers and employed; and in contradiction to these articles, we wish to say that it was not caused by the discharge of one man, as represented by them, but by the lock-out of a number of peaceably inclined men, employed at the same station—namely, the Fulham station of the Imperial Gas Works—by the orders of Mr. Kirkham, the manager of these works. This act was, we understand, in the adoption of a course laid down by some of the managers of gas works to crush the union lately formed among us. Through that union we obtained a partial abolition of Sunday labor, a result directly in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the managers. For this, they have retaliated on us by marking those men who took a leading part in the affairs of our union, discharging them, and throwing them upon our funds with the object of crushing us. And one manager declared that, would the company he represented back him in his design, it would expend a million of money to gain this end. We have offered to settle the dispute by arbitration, but they seem to take no notice of our offer." At the Thames police court, Charles Dixon, Henry Mortimer, Daniel Rouse, and John Brown were each sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment with hard labor.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

BY PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH.

We take the following from a lecture delivered by Prof. Goldwin Smith, before the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, and published in the *Canadian Monthly*. After giving an historical account of the progress of labor reform, the lecturer goes on to say:

Now the present movement, even in England, where there is so much suffering and so much ignorance, has been marked by a comparative absence of violence, and comparative respect for law. Considering what large bodies of men have been out on strike, how much they have endured in the conflict, and what appeals have been made to their passions, it is wonderful how little of actual crime or disturbance there has been. There were the Sheffield murders, the disclosure of which filled all the friends of labor with shame and sorrow, all the enemies of labor with malignant exultation. But we should not have heard so much of the Sheffield murders if such things had been common. Sheffield is an exceptional place: some of the work there is deadly, life is short and character is reckless. Even at Sheffield, a very few, out of the whole number of trades, were found to have been in any way implicated. The denunciation of the outrages by the trades, through England generally, was loud and sincere: an attempt was made, of course, to fix the guilt on all the unions, but this was an hypocritical libel. It was stated, in one of our Canadian journals the other day, that Mr. Roebuck had lost his seat for Sheffield, by protesting against Unionist outrage. Mr. Roebuck lost his seat for Sheffield by turning Tory. The Trades' candidate, by whom Mr. Roebuck was defeated, was Mr. Mundella, a representative of whom any constituency may be proud, a great employer of labor, and one who has done more than any other man of his class in England to substitute arbitration for industrial war, and to restore kindly relations between the employers and the employed. To Mr. Mundella the support of Broadhead and the criminal Unionists was offered, and by him it was decisively rejected. The public mind has been filled with horrid

fantasies, on the subject of unionism, by sensational novelists like Mr. Charles Reade and Mr. Diarmid, the latter of whom has depicted the initiation of a working man into a Union with horrid rites, in a lofty and spacious room, hung with black and white, and lighted with taper, amidst skeletons, men with battle axes, rows of masked figures in white robes, and holding torches; the novice swearing an awful oath on the Gospel, to do every act which the heads of the society enjoin, such as the chastisement of nobles, the assassination of tyrannical masters, and the demolition of all mills deemed incorrigible by the society. People may read such stuff for the sake of amusement and excitement, if they please; but they will fall into a grave error if they take it for a true picture of the Amalgamated Carpenters or the Amalgamated Engineers.

Besides, the Sheffield outrages were several years old at the time of their discovery. They belong, morally, when the anions of working men being forbidden by unfair laws framed in the masters' interest, were compelled to assume the character of conspiracies: when, to rob a union being no theft, unionists could hardly be expected to have the same respect as the better protected interests for public justice; when, moreover, the mechanics, excluded from political rights, could scarcely regard Government as the impartial guardian of their interests, or the governing classes as their friends. Since the legalization of the unions, the extension of legal security to their funds, there has been comparatively of unionist crime.

The Trade Unions are new things in industrial history. The guilds of the middle ages, with which the unions are often identified, were confederations of all engaged in the trade, masters as well as men, against outsiders. The unions are confederations of the men against the masters. They are the offspring of an age of great capitalists, employing large bodies of hired workmen. The workmen, needy, and obliged to sell their labor without reserve, that they might eat bread, found themselves, in their isolation, very much at the mercy of their masters, and resorted to union as a source of strength. Capital, by collecting in the centres of manufacture masses of operatives, who thus became conscious of their number and their force, gave birth to a power which now countervails its own. To talk of a war of labor against capital generally would, of course, be absurd. Capital is nothing but the means of undertaking any industrial or commercial enterprise; of setting up an Allan line of steamships, of setting up a costermonger's cart. We might as well talk of a war of labor against water power. Capital is the fruit of labor past, the condition of labor present; without it no man could do a stroke of work, at least of work requiring tools or food for him who uses them. Let us dismiss from our language and our minds these imponderables, which, though mere creatures of fancy playing with abstract nouns, end by depraving our sentiments and misdirecting our actions; let us think and speak of capital impersonally and sensibly as an economical force, and as we would think and speak of the force of gravitation. Relieve the poor word of the big C, which is a greatness thrust upon it; its tyranny, and the burning hatred of its tyranny will at once cease. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a working man, standing alone, and without a breakfast for himself or his family, is not in a position to obtain the best terms from a rich employer, who can hold out as long as he likes, or hire other labor on the spot. Whether unionism has had much effect in producing a general rise of wages is very doubtful. Mr. Brassey's book, "Work and Wages," goes far to prove that it has not, and that while, on the one hand, the unionists have been in a fool's paradise, the masters, on the other, have been crying out before they were hurt. No doubt, the general rise of wages is mainly and fundamentally due to natural causes, the accumulation of capital, the extension of commercial enterprise, and the opening up of new countries, which have greatly increased the competition for labor, and, consequently, raised the price; while the nominal price of labor, as well as of all other commodities, has been raised by the influx of gold. What unionism, as I think, has evidently effected, is the economical emancipation of the working man. It has rendered him independent instead of dependent, and, in some cases, almost a serf, as he was before. It has placed him on an equal footing with his employer, and enabled him to make the best terms for himself in every re-

spect. There is no employer who does not feel that this is so.

Fundamentally, value determines price; the community will give for any article, or any kind of work, just so much as it is worth. But there is no economical deity who, in each individual case, exactly adjusts the price to the value; we may make a good or a bad bargain, as many of us know, to our cost. One source of bad bargains is ignorance. Before unions, which have diffused the intelligence of the labor market, and by so doing have equalized prices, the workman hardly knew the rate of wages in the next town. If this was true of the mechanic, it was still more true of the farm laborer. Practically speaking, the farm laborers in each parish of England, ignorant of everything beyond the parish, isolated, and therefore dependent, had to take what the employers chose to give them. And what the employers chose to give them over large districts was ten shillings a week for themselves and their families, out of which they paid, perhaps, eighteen pence for rent. A squire, the other day, at a meeting of laborers, pointed with pride, and, no doubt, with honest pride, to a laborer, who had brought up a family of twelve children on twelve shillings a week. I will venture to say the squire spent as much on any horse in his stables. Meat never touched the peasant's lips, though game, preserved for his landlord's pleasure, was running round his cottage. His children could not be educated, because they were wanted, almost from their infancy, to help in keeping the family from starving, as stonepickers, or perambulating scarecrows. His abode was a hovel, in which comfort, decency, morality could not dwell; and it was mainly owing to this cause that, as I have heard an experienced clergyman say, even the people in the low quarters of cities were less immoral than the rural poor. How the English peasants lived on such wages as they had was a question which puzzled the best informed. How they died was clear enough; as penitentiaries in a union workhouse. How did the peasantry exist, what was their condition in those days, when wheat was a hundred, or even a hundred and thirty shillings? They were reduced to a second serfage. They became in the mass parish paupers, and were divided, like slaves, among the employers of each parish. Men may be made serfs, and even slaves, by other means than open force, in a country where, legally, all are free, where the impossibility of slavery is the boast of the law. But now Hodge has taken the matter into his own hands, and it seems not without effect. In a letter which I have seen, a squire says, "Here the people are all contented; we (the employers) have seen the necessity of raising their wages." Conservative journals begin to talk of measures for the compulsory improvement of cottages, for limiting ground game, giving tenant right to farmers, granting the franchise to rural householders. Yes, in consequence, partly, at least, of this movement, the dwellings and the general condition of the English peasantry will be improved, the game laws will be abolished; the farmers pressed up from below, and in their turn pressing upon those above, will demand and obtain tenant right; and the country, as well as the city householder, will be admitted to the franchise, which, under the elective system, is at once the only guarantee for justice to him and for his loyalty to the State. And when the country householder has the suffrage there will soon be an end of those laws of primogeniture and entail, which are deemed so conservative, but are, in fact, most revolutionary, since they divorce the nation from its own soil. And then there will be a happier and a more united England in country as well as in town; the poor law—the hateful, degrading, demoralizing poor law—will cease to exist; the huge poor-house will no longer darken the rural landscape with its shadow, in hideous contrast with the palace. Suspicion and hatred will no more cower and mutter over the cottage hearth, or round the beer-house fire: the lord of the mansion will no longer be like the man in Tennyson, slumbering while a lion is always creeping nearer.

The general effect of the labor movement has been, as I have said, the industrial emancipation of the workmen. It has perhaps had an effect more general still. Aided by the general awakening of social sentiment and of the feeling of social responsibility, it had practically opened our eyes to the fact that a nation, and humanity at large, is a community, and that the good things of which all are entitled to share, while all must share the evil things. It has forcibly dispelled the notion, in which the

rich indolently acquiesced, that enjoyment, leisure, culture, refined affection, high civilization are the destined lot of the few, while the destined lot of the many is to support the privileged existence of the few, by unremitting, coarse and joyless toil. Society has been taught that it must at least endeavor to be just.

Wealth, real wealth, has hardly as yet much reason to complain of any encroachment of the labor movement on its right. When did it command such means and appliances of pleasure, such satisfaction of every appetite and every fancy, as it commands now? When did it rear such enchanting palaces as it is rearing in England at the present day? Well do I remember one of those palaces, the most conspicuous object for miles round. Its lord, was, I daresay, consuming the income of some six hundred of the poor laboring families round him. The thought that you are spending on yourself annually the income of six hundred laboring families seems to me about as much as a man with a heart and brain can bear. Whatever the rich man desires, the finest house, the biggest diamond, the reigning beauty for his wife, social homage, public honors, political power, is ready at his command.

If the movement, by transferring something from the side of profits to that of wages, checks in any measure the growth of these colossal fortunes, it will benefit society and diminish no man's happiness.

The most malignant feelings which enter into the present struggle have been generated, especially in England, by the ostentation of idle wealth, in contrast with surrounding poverty. No really high nature covets such a position as that of a luxurious and useless millionaire. Communism, as a movement, is a mistake: but there is a communism which is deeply seated in the heart of every good man, and which makes him feel that the hardest of all labor is idleness in a world of toil, and that the bitterest of all bread is that which is eaten by the sweat of another man's brow.

I sympathize heartily with the general objects of the nine hours' movement, of the early closing movement, and all movements of that kind. Leisure, well spent, is a condition of civilization; and now we want all to be civilized, not only a few. But I do not believe it possible to regulate the hours of work by law with any approach to reason or justice. One kind of work is more exhausting than another; one is carried on in a hot room, another in a cool room; one amidst noise wearing to the nerves, another in stillness. Time is not a common measure for them all. The difficulty is increased if you attempt to make one rule for all nations, disregarding differences of race and climate. Besides, how, in the name of justice, can we say that a man with a wife and children to support shall not work more if he pleases than the unmarried man, who chooses to be content with less pay, and to have more time for enjoyment? Medical science pronounces, we are told, that it is not good for a man to work more than eight hours. But supposing this to be true, and true of all kinds of work, this, as has been said before, is an imperfect world, and it is to be feared that we cannot guarantee any man against having more to do than his doctor would recommend. The small tradesman, whose case receives no consideration because he forms no union, often, perhaps generally, has more than is good for him of anxiety, struggling and care, as well as longer business hours, than medical science would prescribe. Pressure on the weary brain, is at least, as painful as pressure on the weary muscle; many a suicide proves it; yet brains must be pressed or the wheels of industry and society would stand still. Let us, all I repeat, get as much leisure as we honestly can; but with all due respect for those who hold the opposite opinion, I believe that the leisure must be obtained by free arrangement in each case, as it has already in the case of early closing, not by general law.

WHITE HART, corner of Yonge and Elm streets, is conducted on the good old English principle by Bell Belmont, late of London, England, who has gained the reputation, by strict adherence to business, of keeping the best conducted saloon in this city. The bar is pronounced by the press to be the "prince of bars," and is under the entire management of Miss Emma Belmont, whose whole study is to make the numerous patrons to this well-known resort comfortable. Visitors to this city will not regret walking any distance to see this—the handsomest bar in the Dominion.