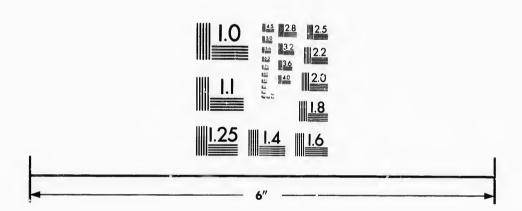


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€Working-men's } Associations. €

## A LKGYUKK

-DELIVERED BEFORE-

## Pioneer Lodge, P. W. A.,

SPRINGHILL.

On the  $\mathcal{K}$  vening of ) egember 15th 1886.

----BY -----

REY. A. W. MICOLSON.

STELLARTON, N. S. TRADES JOURNAL OFFICE, 1887.

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ORKING-MEN'S & ASSOCIATIONS.

# A LEGYLER

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-DELIVERED BEFORE-

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SPRINGHILL.

N THE Wening of Segember 13th 1886.

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RHY. A. W. MICOLSON.

STELLARTON, N. S.

TRADES JOURNAL OFFICE,
1887

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# €WORKING-MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.€

#### OFFICERS AND MEMBERS:-

In meeting your request for a Lecture I have but one object in view—to aid a deserving cause. And I have but one topic,—your Society, its aims and ambitions. Of course I have consulted your Constitution and Bye-Laws, tried to apprehend the conditions which gave rise to "The Workmen's Association," and in every particular endeavoted to put myself in your place, before attempting any written opinion. Let me, therefore, come before you as a speaker having no selfish aims in this especial duty.

Let me first say of your Society,

#### WHAT I THINK IT IS NOT.

There is a most mischievous, and too often tatal opinion, that Capital means always idleness and tyranny; and that Labor should combine to thwart its aims, and break down its energies. Your society is not based on any such idea. You are fully aware that Capital as we know it in this country, has sprung from labour; that if any man among you ever shall become a capitalist it must be by labour; that, moreover, the capitalist is usually a hard working man. There is the born capitalist, who himself may be a drone or a fool; but assuredly his father was a man of shrewduess and industry, or the son would have been left a pauper. There is again, the retired capitalist, whose life just now may be one of case or luxury; but living men have seen many a day when he rose early and retired late. There is, thirdly, the active capitalist, whose hoard has been invested in some honest

enterprise, who himself likely works hard with his brain, that his means may drive the engine that grinds the profits. Every such capitalist is a power in the land—is a provider of labour, a large taxpayer, an example of success; and as such you have for him only sympathy, respect and goodwill. He, too, is a workman, only a little farther up the ladder. There is not a line in your books that suggests a word of communism or what is foolishly called "equality of rights." You advance no claim to any man's property, whether enjoyed by the rights of industry or by heritage.

Nor can I find any hint that your Society exists for the purpose of forcing wag s beyond a reasonable level. You abjure tyranny in yourselves as you hate it in others. You have respect to the laws of demand and supply. The head of the stream is the highest point to which the waters of the stream can be conducted by natural means. To force it beyond that is to take it out of the hands of Nature altogether. There is a balance of power between Master and Man. It is not your motive to force either scale down, or up but rather to keep the scales in perfect equipoise. Seeing this, what good man would hesitate to give you his benediction?

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Your Society, as I understand it, is not even an experiment of this particular time. If it were I would not be here to night. The Association is based on very oid principles, as I shall endeavor further on to show.

Let me now state, as far as I can discover
WHAT YOUR SOCIETY IS.

As expressed by your Manuals, it is simply a Mutual Aid Society. Its objects are briefly, to afford protection to each other in securing reasonable wages, reasonable hours, reasonable laws, and just returns for your work in all other respects. To throw about each other arms of support and comfort in times of trouble or misfortunc. To make each other better citizens morally, mentally, socially and physically; and to foster habits of thrift, industry, economy and sobriety.

Another advantage of your Association I do not find in your printed regulations, but it has been brought to my attention by my own enquiries. The existence of a tribunal to which both your employers and your

members may appeal in case of disagreement, is an advantage that must be prized by both parties. Indeed, I am confident both that and other circumstances have combined to bring about the present happy condition of things. It is my good fortune to come among you at a time when the utmost harmony prevails between the Company and its people; when work is abundant and wages are remunerative. And I am bound to add that in my opin on the good-will prevailing at this time is an outgrowth of the respect which the community entertains for its Managers, and the uniform courtesy manifested by the Managers to the men.

Let me now sketch briefly

#### THE HISTORY OF WORKMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

Two things the Creator had in view in making man —He must labour; and he must afford his share toward keeping the world together and making it better. Work and help were the watchwords of creation.

Work is not a result of the Fall-it was in Eden, dressing it. Bafore Eve ate the apple Adam was growing sweet oranges and grapes. and earrying them to the comfort of his glorious young bride, There was only one tree in the garden that Adam did not dress and keep. The first subtle whisper of the devil was a sneer against God's restrict. ions in human government - "Gid hath said ye shall not eat of every tree in the garden"; "you, here, boasting of freedom, and yet having to work hard for a poor living, while the earth is full of good things." That was a communistic devil, and he is not dead yet. temptation, and the one that did the mischief, was, that food, which neither Adam nor Eve had ever earned a title to, by work or purchase might safely be eaten without evil consequences. Eve yielded and suftered. That destructive argument has held its brazen face to the world ever since that day. "There is select and luseious fruit in the earth; one has as much right to it as another"--that has been the temptation of anarchy, bloodshed, destruction, confusion, for 6000 years. Thank God we have reached a day when an angel with a flaming sword stands over greedy Aldermen in New York and communistic dynamiters in Chicago!

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### "SO HE DROVE OUT THE MAN."

And the angel has t pretty wide commission. The merchant who charges 200 per cent. prefit; and the farmer who sells a big stone in his bag of wool; and the mechanic who shows veneered refuse pine for mahogany; and the capitalist who charges twelve per cent interest; and the preacher who steals his sermons—are they not all communists in their way! They will meet the angel some time.

Work is a necessity; the work of the strong man is sweet; honest work is manty and godlike. You are a Miner; God the Father is a world maker; God's son was a earpenter. Hold up your heads with the pride of Chieftainship until the day when you begin to heg or borrow, or steal.

Two things make it necessary that mankind shall bind themselves in brother-hoods. One is the law of mutuality. Far as the eye can reach this law governs the universe. The sun gives energy to the planets; the planets keep the sun balanced in its place. Brutes and birds herd or cluster together against a common enemy. Human nature being what it is, the mutual banding together of the weak against the mighty becomes an absolute necessity. The fact is clearly traecable through all history. And the grand effects of combined weakness against tyranny is equally visible.

Woman was werk and defenceless. The laws were against her, social customs were against her, her very husband was against her. The combinations of sympathy, after long-suffering times, have emancipated woman. Children were weak and defenceless. The laws found them under cruel management, working long hours, paid scant wages, blinded by bad atmospheres, deformed by heavy burdens. Combinations again stepped in, and demanded a change. The last, most shameful indignity that could be offered to human weakness was the slavery of the person. Wifehood, childhood, manhood, were at once blotted out, and instead came the tyrant's rights, tyrant's customs, tyrant's laws. That, too, was broken up. So this race, with the blood of three tyrant-haters in its veins—the Gaul, the Angle and the Saxon—ever finds some grievance to combat, and shall never cease its agitations till the jubillee trumpets sound.

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Who were the progenitors, then, of this Association? Men who for weary centuries cried for justice—too often cried in vain. You find them in the 14th century demanding, in a very feeble voice, better returns for honest work, and they are met by laws yet more stringent, coupled with scales of smaller wages, and chapters of counsel to suffer and be content. Down to the begining of the 19th century you find them in the pillory, in the streets of Manchester, with one ear cut off, I ecause they asked more wages than the law allowed! The laws have changed, because the fashions have changed. It is fashionable now to be on the workingman's side. The man who would presume to intro luce a law in Parliament bringing back the old conditions, would be hooted out of society, and would deserve to be.

IS THERE ANY NEED FOR SUCH ASSOCIATIONS NOW?

Certainly. Capital has taken to itself new powers. It adds cunning and secrecy to strength. It is bold and venturesome too. Let me instance,

The PRODUCER'S need of defence again the Speculator Finding that money is a power, ten capitalists can agree to "corner" any article in commerce. They can run a dam across the stream and hold the supplies to force a market. Meantime the producer must accept the prices offered, and the prices are forced down by the ten speculators. It is a fair maxim of commerce that an article is worth what it will bring in the market. 'But what if ten men make the market? In that case a bushel of wheat is worth just what ten men choose to pay. Again,

The PURCHASERS need of defence against the Speculator. Caplial here comes into selfish hands, and proves very often a tremendous two edged weapon. While it strikes the producer on the one side, it smites the purchaser on the other. Europe may be famishing for bread. These ten speculators can hold back the surplus corn of America till it commands famine prices. The American world of commerce is in danger of falling into the power of unscrupulous tyrants. Our next great revolution will be one of the working, purchasing and producing classes against monopoly. Laws will be made to throw open the gates of trade to the widest extent possible, and making it criminal to close them by a hairsbreadth.

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Equally may we regard as a necessity, Associations of workingmen wherever their numbers are large and their daugers imminent. Self preservation is the first law of nature. Those that go down to the sea in ships, those that toil on the railway belts of the Continents, or that descend into the coal pits, are placed more in subordination to this law than ordinary workmen. No apology is needed for their attempts at mutual guardianship.

### WHAT ARE THE EVILS TO BE AVOIDED ?

Your history ought to be enough on this point. You are men of intelligence and prudence. It is too clear to the reader that combinations of workmen have not always been free from the excesses—have indeed been as a remedy worse than the disease. Let me outline a few of the causes which have so often crept in to work ruin among the members.

- 1. Bad leaders. In all ages it has been understood that the law of compensation works on the lowest as well as the highest planes in producing good material. Men usually are "made perfect through suffering." Hence it is that those who come up from the ranks, with scars upon them, are regarded as the best officers. The British military have made this fact so plain that the system of preferment has given place to promotion by merit. Every subaltern now may become an officer. But this iaw has its exceptions. Suffering, like fire, will either purify or harden, according to the material it operates upon. Some men never forgive the indignities of the lower stations, and when promoted, live only for revenge. The consequences are that they who, in the words of Burns, "nurse their wrath to keep it warm," make fair promises till the time comes for retaliation. Then they are at once changed into tyrants. They lead others into mischief. They bring repreach upon a good cause. Choose men of sense.
- 2. Rash counsel. Grievances must come. They come to all men, everywhere. And human nature is weak. Let your aim be to conquer by prudence. There is advice that falls like a violent storm, tearing up and scattering: and there is counsel that descends as the dew, or like melting flakes of snow, the softer it falls, the longer it dwells upon, and the deeper it sinks into, the mind. It requires a skillful hand to probe the wound to the bottom, with the boldness and

resolution of a good Surgeon and yet with the delicacy and tenderness.

Self of a friend. I would have the character of gentleman stamped on the counsels of every member in your Association. Let me consider you a society of peacemakers.

3. Doubtful policy or principles. Choose a high standard of truth in your discussions and decisions. Trample under foot anything having the semblance or suspicion of meanness, selfishness, that is sinister, snakelike, that shuns the full light of investigation. It may try your patience to wait for the results of a slow progress; but if the principles you choose be right they will repay your waiting. You can never get beyond the Golden Rule:—"Do to others as you would wish others to do unto you." The short cut is sometimes safe and sometimes dangerous. It is safe if it be through the plantations of integrity. But if it lead through the slough of doubtful expediency, go round. Let schemers and time-servers wallow there; do you keep on solid ground, even if the journey be longer, So shall your feet be clean and your consciences peaceful.

I may be permitted also to point out

### A FEW OF YOUR MANIFEST ADVANTAGES.

1. As to your influence in moulding the habits of your fellow work-Your meetings may have other good results besides discussing questions affecting work and wages. I find in your Constitution full provision for mutual help as to mental and moral improvement. It will be well always to remember, when speaking, that a score or a hundred human beings under your voice are just so many instruments on which you can play-so much material that you can mould and fashion. I have gone into a museum of Art and watched young Sculptors carving, by samples before them, to bring out of the marble form, a subject, to suit the fancy. One produced an angel, another an ape. And it required as much skill to do the one as the other. Herein you differ from the Artist. It is by patience only that the man-angel can The man-ape is in the material already. Your be brought out. work is to change its features, to put it on its feet-an upright, godlike being, no longer to move or live like the brutes.

My experience with young men convinces me that the larger proportion do not rise because they will not rise. Sir Isaac Newton used

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quires a ness and to say that he had no advantage over other men, except that whatever he thought of sufficient importance to begin, he had enough resolution to continue until he had accomplished his object. Therein lies the Most young men have flashes of ambition; secret of much success but they fail through lack of will. Now, be it remembered that willpower, like steam-power, may be worked up. Every faculty of our nature can be cultivated, developed. Indeed, all our conditions, phys. ical, as well as mental and moral are subject to this law. man who began at twenty with a frail constitution, through lack of tone in some member of his system, has come to health and endurance in old age, through attending to and helping the one weak point in his coporeal manhood. If, therfore, the weak point in young men be will-and I am inclined to think it is-why not aim at strengthening that faculty? It may be done by willing that the will shall be better. God has put certain things in our own hands, and this is one of It is all very well to pray for strength of character: -pray, certainly, and persistently; but when you have prayed to be made more firm, manly, truthful, persovering, you should help to answer your own prayers. How often have I singled out young men of promise (and that is a habit I would recommend to you, the guardians of this association :- keep your eye on the likely ones, direct their thoughts, help them over rough places, show them possibilities lying dormant within and about them) how often, I say, have I approached young men, and awakened their sleeping consciousness to what they might be, and do, if only they tried bravely and persevered. And how often, alas, have I been obliged to go after the interesting book I had loaned, and bring it back unread. A score of times have I brought them up beside me, and found them afterwards slipping down, down, for lack of a little will-power. One such I can remember. He was a son of a clergyman, with ordinary intelligence, and had come through vagrant wanderings from the Southern States to Nova Scotia. had no vicious habits-was goodlooking and thoughtful. He seemed to covet a better position, and I urged him forward. I gave him books and sent him to school. Before the week was out he yielded to the discouragement and humiliation of the daily task. He dropped out, another victim to weakness. He might have been by this time a Col. afranciself

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ar th lege Professor, or a Preacher of the Gospel, or a Chief Clerk, I am afraid he is a cobbler, not even a good shoemaker, with a sickly wife and several clamouring children, who will probably all be like himself, the victims of sheer laziness.

Some men deserve to be servants. I once walked sixty miles over the burning sands of the African coast. We had been shipwrecked. To reach a shipping port, it was necessary that weary miles must be traversed, taking the journey by short stages in the cool of the day. The poer relics of our personal effects were carried by Hottentots. Who were these Hottentots? A race of little men wonderfully shrewd, hardy and fleet of foot. For a quick journey, with a heavy load, they are miniature camels—ships of the desert. There are two other classes of inhabitants there—Boers, Dutch Farmers, sturdy men, who can change the sand desert into a garden. (Just think of a dreary, barren, drifting sand-waste, being compelled to yield crops of barley and corn. But that is the fact, where men of pluck put their foot down!) Next are the Caffres—a stalwart, warlike race; as lithe and brave as the Black Watch Highlanders, and as cunning and unscrupsulous as the devil.

Now, how corner the Hottentot to rank lowest and least of these three classes? They were once owners of the soil in that country; they are now servants of servants. The Boers own the land, the Caffres ride fine horses, but the Hottentot serves the one and dreads the other worse than death. The Hottentot is a standing example of what mankind may become through lack of will. They were first found in a state of independence; they gradually yielded their will to the Boer and the Caffre; they became fond of strong drink; they lost their land, their freedom, their homes, and now live in Kraals, in abject submission to any one stronger who comes along. And that is man without will power. The Prince of Darkness has it and uses it. "Led captive by the devil at his will." Drives his victims like oxen! But hundreds of young men lack it, yet cannot see anything in their circumstances but stern fate and bad luck. It would be an insult to any young Nova Scotian to call him a Hottentot; but anyway some of them are neither Boers nor Caffres!

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man ought to aim at as constituting the first sten oward in lepen 1ence-a home of his own, and a voice in the management of his count-This is the freeman's Continent. Land is abundant. In the motherland 874 people own one fourth of the whole country. Twenty five of the twenty six millions of "the land of the brave and the free" have not land enough for their graves. 4,200,000 acres, or one seventh of all England, was given away by English Parliaments in about one hundred years. Half of Ireland is owned by 750 persons. How rich the contrast here for the workingsman. The first ambition of every human being naturally should be to possess the written right to his own dear fireside: and here is the fairest chance of gratifying that ambition. It is an Englishman's right to grumble over his taxes; but the first man to fight for the home that lies behind the taxes is the Englishman, Nurture well the blood of your fathers that boils over indignity to the country because it contains the four square walls of home.

With the rights of a home come the privileges of the franchise, To be permitted to share in the creation and direction of the laws of the land in which you live ought to be regarded as a precious boon to be covet. ed first and prized afterwards. For three weeks in each few years you will receive a very respectful lifting of the hat on the part of the honorable the Candidate for Cumberland; though, sooth to say, you may possibly drop out of the honorable gentlemin's malnory at the end of the three weeks, till the return of the next election! But you will always retain the respect of the honorable the voter for Cumberland, that is yourself, when once you have won a place among your peers of independence. And once won, treasure your privilege, Spura all attempts to place you among the human flock that are bought and sold by unscrupulous politicians at five dollars per head. Let your vote be like the black steed of Thomas Fowell Buxton. 'His Majesty desires to know, Sir Thomas" said an equery coming up behind, "what price do you put on your horse," "Go tell his Majesty" replied Buxton "that there is not money enough in the Royal treasury to buy Thomas Buxton has as good right to a good horse as the King of England."

I need scarcely urge upon you the dictates of loyalty to your Queen

and country. There is no land under the Sun that holds a more pat riotic yeomanny than our own. The immense army of Britain has sprung from the working classes chiefly. Her "Vountary Enlistment" stands out as the only military service of that kind in the list of all the countries of Europe. Her noble band of militia, too, making in themsolves a total of nearly half a million of men. I was proud of my country as I stood, five years ago, at a point in the squares of Edinburgh and looked at a grand procession of the Scottish volunteers, 42,000 in number, each regiment clad in its own tartan, preceded by its own band of music. For four hours, they marched, four and five deep, past that centre. Farmers, masons, fishermen, miners,-stalwart, holdstepping sons of the soil and the sea, following their honest toil, but ready at any moment to leap at the throat of their country's enemy. No land can perish that has such ar element in its life. Be it yours to rank among the staunshest advocate; of Canada's rights to a place among the free nations of the world. Give no place to those who ery it down, no matter what may be their object. Politicians you may and ought to be; but adopt no politics that are not patriotic.

And, while on this topic, I can see no reason why workingmen should not be represented by working men in the Parliaments of their country, Why should education or capital forever claim the right to represent and rule over strong sense and industry? Shall it always be that a fledgling lawyer, in virtue of his polish, will be worth more in the market than an untutored farmer or miner, who may have forgotten more than the youth ever learned of practical, every-day information? Put Joseph Arch into the scales, and how many young lawyers would he weigh down? This country has been made by staunch, hardworking, selfdenying men. They wrested the victory from soil overgrown with great forests-paid the penalty of success with their lives very often. They built the dykes and launched the ships and broke up the acres which have made this one of the most flourshing young nat. ionalities on the face of the earth. And yet -yet, we are only beginning to maintain that the man with the hard hands and sunbrowned brow may have a place in the legislatures of his country. Why, I witnessed the return to the Parliament of Bermuda of a coloured man to represent coloured men. May we not presume to ask as much for

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a Farmer or Miner in Nova Scotia?

A lecturer on my Subject would scarcely be justified in overlooking THE PRINCIPAL VICES OF WORKING MEN.

I must speak with some qualification on this head, lest I may ba regarded as a slanderer rather than a moralist. I am free to confess the babits of this community are, for a new town, exceptionally good. The stranger who visits us is by turns shocked and agreeably astonished. He sees the town of very considerable population, very ragged, without any system of drainage, having no water supply, and heave at the mercy of fire from without and pestilence from within. He forgets that the town has just "moved in"—that it has had scarcely time to put off its coat and hang up its hat. He sees on the week evenings, however, scores of men by the street-walks, with never any excitement beyond a boisterous joke or a friendly wrestle. On the Sabbath he finds large churches full of worshippers, These to the stranger are unexplicable phenomena. Putting the good against the evil I am proud of our people. And yet to make the good general and uniform we must show the stranger, as soon as possible, clean streets, a good supply of pure water, and a thorough system of drainage Every man who owns a foot of ground here is deeply interested in this subject. Nothing can prevent our town from becoming one of the principal mining, manufacturing and commercial centres in the Province if its population but work together for that end.

But no man in my profession can shut his eyes to the evils which lurk among miners as among other men. This Association should do much to counteract their influence

For instance take the vice of waste, extravagance, improvidence. Do our people understand the value of little amounts as levers to independence and comfort? There are to-day 1100 men on the pay roll of the Cumberland Coal and Railway Company. Do you know what is meant by the sum of one dollar a week saved from each man's earnings? It means just \$57,200 a year, A good cottage with a plot of land ought to be secured here for one thousand dollars. Fifty seven cottages could be built every year on independent property by the average savings of one dollar a week in these mines alone. The system of credit I regard as next to inexcusable in our circumstances.

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Three things a man should do who receives regular weekly wages:—
He should live within his income, positively; he should avoid debt,
even for twenty-four hours; he should aim at putting his foot on the
first round of the successful man's ladder—namely, the possession of
one hundred dollars. He will find the second round easier, and the
third easier still.

There is much gained by awakening an ambition to save. I tried the experiment with a young man in a printing establishment under my care. He had settled down to the idea that he was making the very most of chances by supporting a wife and child out of seven dollars a week. I offered to raise his wages a dollar a week providing he allowed me to retain that amount for a year at 6 per cent interest, and also would bring to me at the end of the year fifty cents a week saved from the seven dollars he was then receiving. He came in due time with the money, and declared he had provided even better for his family than he had done before. He had mastered the leak, and contracted the habit of saving. The six per cent would have been a just commission had he paid it to me for my advice; but I paid it checrfully, and thereby helped to set a young man on his feet. It suits preachers to give such advice; for the men who save are those to whom preachers apply for help in any financial difficulty.

What becomes of the dollar a week which the wasteful man does not save? It is frittered away. I stood within the Mint of England once by special permission, and saw the process of melting and moulding and weighing the coin of that great realm. The earth under the feet of the workmen there is sufficient to make a little fortune every week. From the mere waste of the precious metal there are some pounds weight sifted from time to time. I sometimes feel as if I were in that Mint now, and the best fortune I could covet would be the waste of the workmen. If I could have that, in ten years I would undertake to build good houses for 500 families, and be myself the owner of \$60,000.

Another vice is drunkeness. There is nothing new to be said on this subject. It stands to-day where it stood fifty years ago, the most destructive curse of the people. You have asked me to speak here, and you must bear with me if I say that the societies, moral and religious,

of this town have not done their daty as regards this evil. Having matters practically in our hands, with the goodwill and support of the Company behind us, we have shown but little disposition to protect ourselves against the effects of strong drink. If each miner were a Pastor for one short month, he would be filled with mighty indignation at the miseries inflicted by drunkards upon their wives and children. What right have dealers to take the hard-earned money of our men, and then turn them into tyrants and paupers? While you strive as an Association for mutual protection, do let your influence be felt on the side of temperance. This is a subject on which I can scarcely trust myself to speak. The chief heartaches of my public life have been caused by strong drink—its disgrace, its sufferings, its remorses and its burials.

I must also instance the vice of profanity. The race has reached a period when the men who do not respect themselves must step down. I can remember when drinking men, swearing men, could hold a high place in social influence. It is so no longer. The common judgement now is that profanity betrays a low and vulgar mind. I can go farther than that, and declare my conviction, from lengthened observation, that the deliberate swearer is almost invariably a coward. generally a sort of audacious swagger; an attempt to make hearers be lieve that the high stepping, blustering fellow is very brave. I knowbetter. I have seen him tried by good tests, and know that nine times out of ten he is a poltroon. That is the judgement of the listener now; So that when one yields to an oath he may rest assured the finger of humanity is pointing behind him saying-"There goes a coward." Some young men need this bit of advice, when they pat themselves on the back and imagine they are in a fair way to earn a gold medal. Gold medals are for heros in these times!

Now, officers and members. I must close; and even in closing I would teach you something. I have avoided preaching as much as possible in my lecture; but let me now ask you to do all things from the most serious motive—that of working to one grand end; and to do all things with the fullest apprehension that the end will come very soon. Life to you and me will be just what we make it, under God; and at its close only one consolation can come to us—that we have honestly tried to leave the world better than we found it. "Keep my memory green" said Charles Dickens. There is but one way to ensure that;—leave mankind plenty of sunshine in which to embalm their best thoughts of you and your influence.

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