

The Workmen's Advocate,

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ORGANIZED WORKMEN OF NEW HAVEN AND VICINITY REPRESENTED IN THE TRADES COUNCIL OF NEW HAVEN, ISSUED BY THE TRADES COUNCIL PUBLISHING COMMITTEE EVERY SUNDAY MORNING. Office, Trades Council Hall, 799 Chapel St.

Published for the purpose of countering the evil influence of the corrupt capitalistic press by printing the truth, and placing before the working people food for thought and reflection upon their industrial, social and political conditions, to the end that they may emancipate themselves from wage slavery and landlordism.

Interesting correspondence solicited from proletarians in all parts of the world. Letters requiring answers, should contain return postage. Address all communications to:

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LET IT SUCCEED.

Upon the success or failure of any reform movement depends in a great measure its justification, as the world goes. The superficial manner in which such decidedly pro-capitalistic editors as Dana, of the Sun, discuss the various phases of the labor movement are far from edifying in the eyes of the thoughtful workmen. Last Tuesday the Sun eclipsed itself with the following:

Suppose that because of the unwillingness of the directors of a certain company to yield to the demands of the strikers, all the horse cars in this city should be tied up for a week. Would the people stand it? Can it be that they would bear patiently the immense inconvenience of such a situation merely because the president of the Third Avenue Railroad didn't think best to grant certain demands of his workmen? Would the public permit his obstinacy to be the occasion of stopping all the horse cars?

This is a question which a great many men, strikers or not, must be asking themselves at present. The answer is not difficult.

The public will not support the strikers if the demands of the latter are contrary to fair play. If these are not just, public sympathy and public assistance will be given to the railroads.

If it remained for the public to decide who was right and who was wrong in this matter, it might take several years to come to a conclusion. The public will accept the conditions imposed by the victors in the struggle, provided the public is not put to unheard-of inconvenience. In the latter case, the public might possibly organize itself into a committee of the whole and pass resolutions. And Editor Dana would tell the public what public sentiment was; and the public would, perhaps, imagine that the Sun shone for all.

But that would not run the cars. Neither would it pay dividends. Nor would it alter the fact that such workingmen who could not afford to hire cabs would have to walk, provided the "elevated" was included in the "tie-up."

Some "crank" might propose, in such an event, that the State take charge of the passenger traffic, and run the railroads for the public convenience, paying the employees good wages and treating them humanely. Some ambitious State officers—railroad commissioners might move in the matter for the sake of glory and future "consideration" at the hands of the public. If the railroad commissioners succeed in relieving the public from the inconvenience of a "tie-up," and do it in a way that will satisfy the demands of the strikers, the public will no doubt applaud the strikers and remember the wise commissioners in the days of nominations and elections.

If, on the other hand, the corporations succeed in resuming traffic with the aid of militia and hungry scabs, the day of settlement will only be postponed; for, Mr. Dana, this question of public transportation will never be settled until it's settled right.

Public sympathy will be closely

connected with public convenience, and the party that provides for public convenience will probably enjoy a brief period of adulation, complacently accept what is considered due, and quietly sink into oblivion. Meanwhile, other questions will be settled, and if the public don't kick more vigorously against the tide, they will be settled upon more and more socialistic principles, and the "cranks" of to-day will become un-conspicuous in the multitude, while the Danas, and the Atkinsons, and the Goulds, if they live, will be looked upon as cranks most peculiar and impractical.

Let the strike go on. Let the tide flow peacefully. Let not the capitalists block the wheels of progress. The public will serenely accept whatever the successful workers provide for them out of the great labor movement. Only let it succeed.

THE ALTERNATIVES.

In the midst of a continental agitation for the amelioration of the condition of laboring people, the owners of wealth seem to take but little interest in the real object of the agitation; and yet they ought to be deeply concerned in the matter. Still, their only care seems to be to secure to themselves the prerogatives which a false system has thus far permitted them to enjoy.

If there is anything to be gained by the occurrences in the battlefield of Capital and Labor, it is the warning that they give of the inevitable consequences of robbing Labor of its product. If these consequences only affected the poor toilers, we could easily account for the apathy of the capitalist class; but as society at large—the very life of nations is involved, and the wealthy must suffer with the poor, it seems that all should take a lively interest in the scientific solution of the questions that to-day occupy the thoughts of thousands of workingmen.

To ignore these questions will not prevent their solution, though it is possible that a general interest in them, activity in agitation and organized effort at reform may decide the manner and process of their solution.

Organized Labor cannot be a sense of the injustice practiced towards its members is not as "dangerous" an element as unorganized workmen bound together for a time only, and intent not upon reform, but revenge. But the science of social order and industrial economy must be spread among the people, and will be, when they take the trouble to think and discuss the questions at issue. To be sure, as a prerequisite, it is necessary to know that there are issues that demand attention. As the intelligent portion of wage workers very naturally have this prerequisite as a result of actual experience of suffering, perhaps, we find them in many instances engaged in organizing lyceums, debating clubs, and joining the ranks of such peaceful institutions as trades unions, the K. of L., and Socialist societies.

They recognize the fact that the alternative of a peaceful and reasonable solution of the labor problem, on the one hand, or a series of sanguinary conflicts on the other, are imminent. While they would, if possible, avert the latter, they are by no means certain of their power to do so; in fact, it is only by the operation of those who are to-day arrayed against Labor, or at least those who, by their neutrality shirk the responsibility, that a peaceful reform can be established.

That the reform must be radical to be sufficient goes without saying. The laborer must receive the full fruits of his labor; society must control that which is essential to its stability and progress; equal and exact justice to all its members must

be guaranteed by the State; the proper education of the young; protection to the weak; provision for the unfortunate, must be enforced; cooperation must replace competition, and usury abolished.

Ah! but this means the establishment of the Co-operative State—Socialism! Even so. Accept the inevitable with dignity and peacefully permit the social evolution to accomplish that which blind selfishness, ignorance and forcible resistance may for a time delay but not prevent. There are two alternatives which shall we accept?

QUEER.

One of the queer things in connection with the attempt of boycotted sinners to infringe upon the liberty of American citizens who happen to be workmen, is, that while they want boycotters arrested and punished for interfering with their business, they report a great increase of custom. Take the following item, for instance, from a capitalistic sheet:

"Three more of the boycotters were arrested in Chicago for distributing hand-bills against R. Lothholz, a butcher of that city. The boycott has increased the business of Mr. Lothholz."

Then, there is the case of the scab boss, Gray, who uses his wife for the purpose of working up public sympathy, and whom the capitalistic press throughout the country has praised for "her" pluck. Speaking of the workmen who were arrested through capitalistic influence, a capitalist sheet says:

"It is probable that indictments will be found against some of the parties on the ground of violation of the penal code regarding the interference with legitimate business occupation. Business was brisk all day in the bakery, and Mrs. Gray found it necessary to add another baker to her increased force."

One would naturally suppose that any man or body of men whose actions tended to increase the business and profits of a concern, would be encouraged by the parties benefited, instead of being prosecuted for "interfering with their business."

It seems as if these capitalists are so intent upon crushing Organized Labor that they will not receive even pecuniary benefits at its hands. And that's the queer part of all.

A CLERICAL BLASPHEMER.

Fool is about as mild a term as can be applied to the preacher who told whoppers to his congregation in the church of the "Holy Sperry" last Sunday. The miserable, servile toady to toady-lushing capitalists derided the labor organizations, and the members thereof, as being "the dupes or at least the tools of rats from the foulest sewers of Europe." And this palaver, coming as it did from the lips of a simoniacous hypocrite as ever wheedled a salary out of superstitious profit mongers and labor squelchers, was all spiced out in the name of "Christ" and "Liberty." The double blasphemy? On week-days this fellow exhibits himself behind a clipped horse—a disgusting clerical fop.

NOTES.

The editor of the Register does not agree with John Swinton as to the boycott. "Queer, isn't it?"

It is said that the city must have greater accommodations for its High School scholars. Fifty thousand dollars expended on the old State House would restore the ruin, give ample accommodations, be a saving to taxpayers and settle the long-talked-of question of what can be done with that classical antiquity?

The papers which a day or so ago told us that chemical experts found it extremely difficult to detect pure butter from oleomargarine, and the failure of laws similar to our new one on this subject in other States to

prevent counterfeit, now are crowing over the appointment of some farmer from the interior, evidently, because he is a good partisan and will no doubt use his \$1,500 salary with credit to his party.

A miniature weekly called the Labor Reporter is published by Julius Bordello, 105 Broadway, New York, in the interest of free reading rooms and libraries. The first number was dated April 18th. Subscription 25 cents a year.

Where an employer cuts down wages below the "living" point, and does his best to prevent his slave from getting another job in case he should look for one, it's perfectly legal—there's no coercion in it whatever. But when, on the other hand, workmen resolve to let this employer alone, and request their friends to do the same, thereby cutting down his income, it is conspiracy and coercion. See?

There are employers who say they believe in arbitration, and there are wage slaves who profess the same love for the patent peacemaker. But the question with some of our New Haven bosses is as to the points to be submitted for arbitration. There are some things that no court of arbitration can hammer into the heads of the unwilling; and when a committee is successful in enforcing a decision it is usually not on the ground of right, but because of the force at their back. Why will people continue to humbug each other?

In view of the fact that the Courier volunteers considerable advice to workingmen, presumably from the purest of motives, perhaps a few words from this source for the benefit of the proprietors of that very ably edited paper might not be amiss. Now, we advise our friends to settle their little difficulty with the printers as soon as possible, for, if public opinion, as expressed in a boycott, is to decide, though it may take a year or two, we believe the Courier will not be as flourishing an institution at the end of that time as it is now. "A word to the wise," you know.

It is said that this is a free country, and the sentiment is quoted by both capitalists and workers. The former want to be free to control the hours of labor, dictate wages and conditions for their employees. The latter want to be free to fix their own hours of labor, decide upon the price of their labor, and improve their condition. Both appeal to the "public" for justification. Why not let the public decide, then? If the public is against the employer, the public can express itself very clearly in a boycott; if against the workers, then they will suffer condemnation and lack support. But, then, who is the public?

A SUBSTITUTE FOR BOYCOTT.

Organized Labor should learn a fasting lesson from the great strike against the Gould monopoly in the Southwest. The effect should be to solidify the organizations of wage-earners to overcome the system which permits the causes for such disorders, and crush out the power which brings about social and economic disturbances which are felt from one end of the nation to the other, which enlist all the influence of a press controlled by capital on one side and the sympathies and support of all right-thinking people, whether wage-earners or not, on the other.

How is the great evil to be overcome, how divest the power of such monster corporations, with their Goulds and Hoxies, to dupe and rob the people? Is it by the strike and boycott? The capitalistic press tells us it can never be done by these means. Perhaps in a measure it is right. Perhaps public opinion cannot be forced. Must the result of organizing labor be abortive? Our

lesson must be in vain if it were so. Some of our organizations have already in their program a substitute for the boycott and strikes in political action. In the questions of government control of railroad and telegraph we begin to see a chance to remedy the abuses of a system which has fostered monopoly. With our legislatures debauched by political bribery, our judges in conspiracy with and under corporate dictation, and our laws perverted to sustain and foster watered stock speculation and robbery of the people, is it not time for those most affected—the largest class—the wage-earner to do something? Let the responsibility be fixed. Recall delinquent and disobedient representatives and demand in tones that cannot be drowned the State control of our common carriers, the railroads and telegraphs. Send such men from our own ranks as will be sure to give what we ask. Our supplies will be surer and cheaper, all the more so in that we can dispense with that wasteful system of private and corporate control of public means.

Would it even be necessary to compensate our monopolists for what we intend to place at the people's disposal? Have they not already been sufficiently rewarded in their millions drawn from the watered stock and the speculative gambling of useless and criminal exchanges?

Let us all unite in calling for government control, and through our political franchises see that we get State interference in these matters, and profit by our lesson.

WHAT OTHERS SAY.

TRADE UNIONS AND K. OF L.

There are fears expressed in some quarters of a growing antagonism between the trade unions and the Knights of Labor. We believe there is no reason for serious apprehension. The trouble comes, not from conflict between the organizations themselves, but from the inflated consequence of some late comers into the labor movement who appear to think they can best build up by tearing down.

No intelligent Knight of Labor can afford to speak sneeringly of the "trade union idea." No believer in the progress of the labor movement can for a moment disregard the work accomplished by them. No one but a superficial reader of history can ignore the advance achieved through them. Even numerically the trade unions to-day outnumber all other forms of organized labor.

There is a disposition always in mankind to take a short cut to the millennium. The old ways are not speedy enough. This is well, providing the new track is properly surveyed and does not lead into quagmires.

The Knights of Labor have grasped a great principle—the intimate relation of all classes of laborers to each other. How far its practical application is possible to-day has not yet been determined. How rapidly the discordant elements will fuse is yet a problem in social chemistry.

The trade unions have been steadily enlarging their scope each year. They are on solid ground. Their work is less empirical than that of the Knights of Labor. Whether it is less useful or not time can only tell. Meanwhile a stopper should be put upon the egregious asses who go about degrading everything that is done, except by the comparatively infant Order of K. of L. We repeat once more, there is no antagonism, and he who tries to stir it up should be speedily set down upon by all true friends of the labor movement.

TRADE UNIONISM.

The comparative immunity from violence which this country enjoys as compared with America, France and Belgium is due in a large measure to the more complete development of trade unionism, which has given the working classes here a better chance of obtaining fair play than is possible where well-organized or powerful trades unions do not exist. Men will not resort to force if justice is possible without it, and the degree of order of every community will be in proportion to the sense of security which every man feels that he will get fair play in the battle of life.—London Democrat.

Typographical unions have made strikes much rarer, and provided a means by which publishers can employ large bodies of printers and get

the most satisfactory service from them with the least friction. And similar results have followed trade organizations in every industrial calling. They weed out unworthy members, elevate the average of the craft, and govern the whole with the aggregate wisdom, restraining individual impulses by collective counsel, and evolving the patience and dignity of action which go with deliberation and a proper sense of responsibility. In this respect, labor organizations are the natural outgrowth of our free institutions, and are operated by the same springs of action, the same ideas of self-help and self-government.—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

TOM MOORE.

Possibly the poet had in mind a prophetic vision of a latter day scab when he wrote:

Oh, for a tongue to curse the slave,
Whose treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes over the combs of the brace,
And blasts them in their hour of night?
May life's unblest cup for him
Be drugged with treacherous to the brim
With hopes that but allure to fly.
With joys that vanish while he slips
Like dead sea fruits that tempt the eye,
But turn to ashes on the lips?
His country's curse, his children's shame,
Outcast of virtue, peace and fame,
May he at last, with lips of flame,
On the parched desert thirsting die?
While lakes that show in mockery die,
Are falling off, untouched, and dried,
Like the once glorious hopes he blasted?
And, when from earth his spirit flies,
Just Prophet, let the damned one dwell
Fall in the sight of Paradise,
Beholding Heaven, and feeling hell!

COMMUNICATIONS.

To the Workmen's Advocate:
The following communication, Mr. Editor, was declined by one of the least bigoted, perhaps, of our New Haven dailies, The Morning News:

I do not write in any controversial spirit, but to treat one or two points of importance, suggested by the News editorial of yesterday, which, in spite of its exceptional fairness, all the more dangerous on that account, to fail in disclosing the issue between the Knights of Labor and the Missouri Pacific, for it simply allows that the one has the advantage in the character of its chief, and the other in the fact that the strike was a causeless one.

It is assumed that Jay Gould "has been known as an unscrupulous man, whose rapacity was restrained only by a wholesome fear of the law." Now, if a vote were taken on that question tomorrow, the country would most likely be found divided in its opinion, and on one side would be the working class, and on the other the capitalistic class, as a rule.

Why, not long since, a Yale student, and Sunday school superintendent, declared that Gould was probably doing as much good as any man in America, and exemplifying in his life the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount! Certainly Yale's political economy furnishes us with no reason for suspecting Gould to be anything else than one of the best citizens as he makes himself out to be in his late letter. As to Mr. Powderly, I notice that the public's estimate of him has been almost revolutionized within the last forty-eight hours, since he has declared himself squarely on the side of the strikers.

Then it is stated that "the strong point in the case of the Missouri Pacific is that the strike on that particular road was without provocation," while nothing is said about the charge against the Railroad, which Mr. Powderly thinks justifies the bringing to bear on the man Gould, "the whole power of the Order," that Hoxie refused to treat with the Executive Board, after its agreements with Jay Gould, and also positively refused to employ Knights of Labor, whether they had been active in the strike or not.

Besides it is not correct, to say that "the strike was confessedly without provocation." No such confession has ever been made. Assuming the strike to have been because of the unjust discharge of one man on the Texas Pacific, it may or may not follow that it was unjustified. That is a question which admits of argument, and depends on the principle involved. If the strike on the Missouri Pacific was simply "throwing a brick at a private citizen who had nothing to do with the injustice," then, indeed, would Jay Gould deserve to come out victorious in this fight, and the like of myself would fight for him. But other causes of grievance than the one mentioned have been given; only the press of the country has taken care not to give them to the world, or not to say anything about them. The Missouri Pacific is charged in ten different counts with violating the contract of March, 1885.

It is not a fight between Powderly and Gould, nor between the K. of L. even, and the Railroad. It is a fight between two industrial systems—the co-operative and the competitive, or the socialistic and anarchistic modes of living, and it has only begun. T. W. CURTIS.

NOTICE.

Address communications in reference to the organization of new Trade and Labor Unions to TRADES COUNCIL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, P. O. Box 1502, New Haven, Conn.