HISTORY

OF THE

Eight Hours' Movement

BY

W. E. MURPHY.

Vol. II.

HISTORY

OF THE

EIGHT HOURS' MOVEMENT

VOL. II.

(By authority of the Officers and Members of the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee, 1896 and 1900),

BY

W. E. MURPHY,

EX-SECRETARY OF EIGHT HOURS' ANNIVERSARY COMMITTEES OF VICTORIA, 1881-2-3;
EX-SECRETARY TRADES' HALL COUNCIL, MELBOURNE;
SECRETARY TRADES' UNION CONGRESS, 1884;
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OCEANIC PUBLISHING CO., SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE, ETC.

Publisher:
J. T. PICKEN, PRINTER, 464-466 FLINDERS LANE,
MELBOURNE.
1900.

Preface to Vol. II.

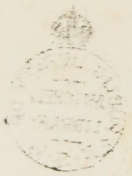
IN complying with a general desire to follow up the HISTORY OF THE EIGHT HOURS' MOVEMENT—the first volume of which I issued in 1896—I am encouraged in my effort by the flattering criticisms I then received from the press, and generous encomiums of advanced Socialogists who make Industrial literature their special study.

I was reminded, however, by publishers and Reform leaders of both England and America, that the first volume embracing the origin and development of the Movement into a system throughout Australasia, created a desire for a more extended treatment of the subject.

The liberal patronage accorded to my first volume by the Victorian Eight Hours' Anniversary Committees of the year 1896 has now induced me to attempt in as concise a manner as possible, the completion of the remarkable narrative of this now world-wide Movement.

THE AUTHOR.

Melbourne,
1900.



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PRESIDENT—JAMES ROBB, MELBOURNE CARPENTERS' PROTECTIVE SOCIETY.

VICE-PRESIDENT—EDWARD WARDE, UNITED FURNITURE TRADES, MELBOURNE.

VICE-PRESIDENT—HENRY BELFRAGE, SEAMEN'S UNION OF AUSTRALASIA.

SECRETARY—CHARLES HARRIS, MELBOURNE SADDLERS' SOCIETY.

List of Delegates.

Societies.	Delegates.
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Australian Workers' Union ...	Andrew, G. A.
,, ,, ...	Acheson, F. J.
,, ,, ...	Colenso, William
,, ,, ...	Taylor, William
Bakers, Operative	Garrow, J.
,, ,, ...	Harrison, H. H.
,, ,, ...	Preston, C. W.
,, ,, ...	Wardley, James
Bookbinders	Barnett, F. G.
,, ...	Dods, J.
Bootmakers, Operative ...	Billson, J. W.
,, ,, ...	Bennett, James
,, ,, ...	Hyman, J.
,, ,, ...	Solly, R. H.
Bootmakers (Bespoke) ...	McNamara, P. J.
Boilermakers—	
Melbourne	Brownlie, R.
,, ...	Stevenson, A.
Williamstown	Rees, T.
Bricklayers—	
Melbourne	Beard, H.
,, ...	Campbell, A.
Richmond	Sindrey, J.
Prahran	Steedman, J.
Builders' Laborers	Jackson, J.

Butchers	Anderson, C. H.
,, ...	Williams, T.
Brushmakers	Allen, A. H.
Coopers	Smith T.
Confectioners	Geddes, T.
Cutters and Trimmers... ...	Houston, C. T.
Cigarmakers	Kirwan, A.
Carpenters—	
Progressive	Robb, James
Amalgamated No. 1 ...	Poyner, W. J.
,, ...	Simpson, R.
,, ...	Middleton, G.
,, Williamstown ...	McAuslan, J.
,, Port Melbourne ...	Freeman, J.
Engineers—	
No. 1, Amalgamated ...	Gifford, J.
,, ,, ...	McCabe, W. J.
,, ,, ...	Warner, H.
Melbourne South	Donald, J.
,, ,, ...	Evans, Ivo.
,, ,, ...	Grainger, J.
,, ,, ...	Irwin, J.
Footscray	Ford, E.
Williamstown	Campbell, W.
Engine Drivers	Graham, J.
Felt Hatters	Devereux, M. J.
,, ,, ...	Eaton, A.
,, ,, ...	Smith, W.
Felt Hat Trimmers and Binders	Fitzgerald, M.
,, ,, ...	Grimshaw, S.
,, ,, ...	Keyte, M.
Furniture Trades	Dobson, A.
,, ,, ...	Hearn, J. H.
,, ,, ...	Warde, E.

Glass Bottle Makers	Chipman, H.
Ironmoulders...	Denton, R.
Ironworkers' Assistants ...	Coffey, F.
,, ,, ...	McDonald, W.
,, ,, ...	Harrison, F.
,, ,, ...	Price, T.
Litho. Printers	Milne, J. S.
Masons, Operative	Laughton, T.
,, ,, ...	Robertson, J.
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Millers	Gilbert, A.
,, ...	Goding, J.
Plumbers and Gasfitters ...	Asbury, George R.
,, ,, ...	Atherton, A. E.
Pressers	Barker, Stephen
Quarrymen	Davies, James
Vic. Railway Daily Paid Union	Holmes, D. G.
,, ,, ,, ...	McCance, Wm. H.
,, ,, ,, ...	Smith, A. T.
,, ,, ,, ...	Williams, Wal. F.
Saddlers	Harris, Chas.
,, ...	Hagley, G.
Seamen's Union	Belfrage, H.
,, ,, ...	Smith, J. K.
Stevedores' Union	Morris, J.
Shipwrights' ,, ...	Hennessy, James E.
Tanners and Beamsmen ...	Alloway, J.
Leather Table Hands	Dupree, G.
Fancy Leather Dressers ...	Mateer, W.
Tinsmiths	De Gruchy, J.
,, ...	Thewlis, J.
Tobacconists	Wheller, J.
Typographical Society ...	Bolger, J. C.
,, ,, ...	Clough, J.

Typographical Society	...	Findley, E.
,, ,, ...	...	Field, J. Howieson
Timber Yard *Employés* Society	...	Spence, J.
,, ,, ,, ...	...	White, F.
,, ,, ,, ...	...	Young, R.
Tailors' Trade Protection Society		Ewe, F. W.
Tailoresses' Society ...	...	Wyse, Miss Mary
,, ...	...	Moodie, Mrs. Lucy
Wharf Laborers' Union	...	Baines, B.
,, ,, ,,	...	Jones, William
,, ,, ,,	...	Merriman, J.
,, ,, ,,	...	Williams, J.
Wickerworkers' Union	...	Tozer, F. C.

To

JOHN BURNS, M.P., L.C.C., etc.

My Dear Comrade,

Some time ago, I paid a visit to our mutual friend, Mr. J. D. Fitzgerald, at his pretty "nook" at Ashfield, Sydney, on which occasion he conveyed to me your greetings, and presented me with your portrait.

You will now see the use I have made of the latter, and in return for the former I beg your acceptance of the dedication of this little volume (II) of the "History of the Eight Hours' Movement."

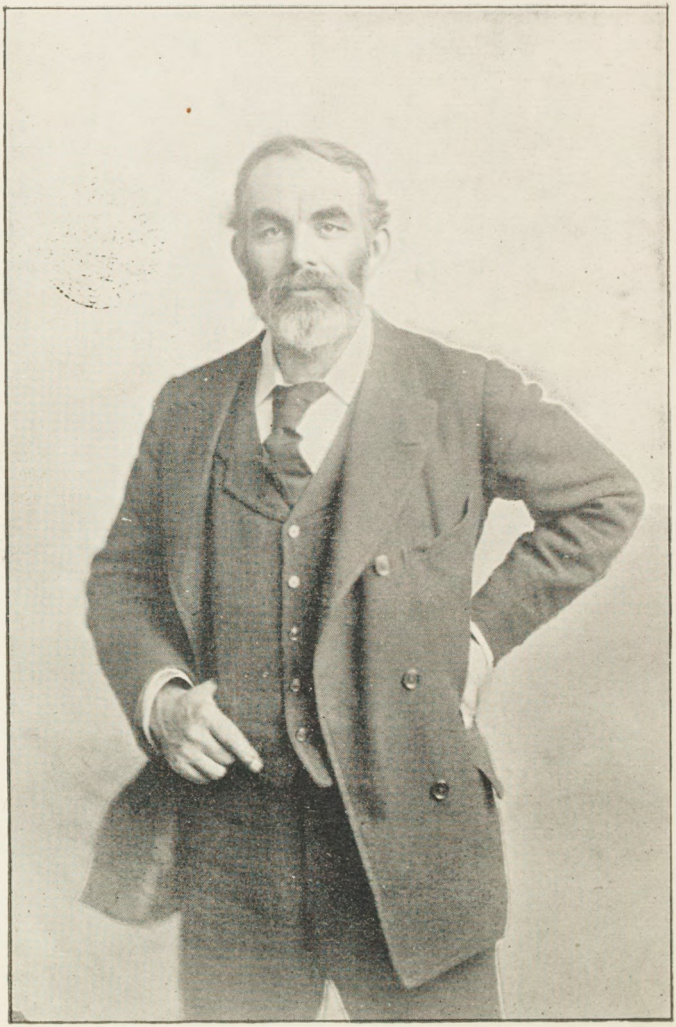
Although we have never met, and may be, we never shall meet in this world, I am yet delighted to clasp "hands 'cross the seas" in spirit with the man who waved the Austral Flag, as I did the British Jack, on two memorable occasions, over the fields of those countries—divided, indeed, by the wide expanse of oceans, but so close in Industrial sympathy and National devotion.

I am, dear Mr. Burns,

Yours ever faithfully,

W. EMMETT MURPHY.

Melbourne,
21st April, 1900.



JOHN BURNS, M.P., L.C.C.

HISTORY

OF THE

Eight Hours' Movement

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION.

ARGUMENT.—A Half-Century of Peace—The Great Maritime Strike—Australian Workmen Sympathise with British, American and Continental Unions—Adverse Literature—A Warning—Politics of the Australasian Working Classes—"Liberty and Liberalism"—Charlatinism—Progress of the Eight Hours in Australia—America the next to follow—First Australian Trades Hall—First Onslaught on the Eight Hours' System in Australia.

PEACE! All-pervading but active peace, has been the key-note of the Industrial classes of Australasia for nearly half a century.

From the tragic drama enacted at the Victorian Eureka in 1854, and referred to in the first volume of

this work, all the movements, both political and social throughout the colonies, have been either won or lost without aggressive bitterness, or the shedding of one drop of human blood.

So Arcadian in its character has been this repose, that were it not for the war in South Africa breaking in upon our tranquility, and in which the city-built soldiers of Australasia, and the hardy bushmen of our wild interior are now engaged, there seemed some probability of the old fighting spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, transplanted in these colonies, becoming as mythical as the Brobdingnaggians of Swift, or the Colhues of Mexico.

The great maritime strike of 1890, for which the shipowners of Australia were responsible, and for which they were condemned by the legislature of at least one colony, as well as by members of the learned profession and the public generally, threatened at one time to result in serious consequences, through the ill-advised action of the Governments of New South Wales and Victoria calling out the military to overawe the Unions before a single arrest for common assault had been made in connection with the strike, or a manifestation of disorder—overt or covert—could be laid at the doors of the Unions.

Apart, however, from this latter incident, for which two notoriously hostile Governments also stand condemned at the bar of public opinion, a period of nearly fifty years of almost pastoral quiet has prevailed among the working classes, through good seasons and depression, through strikes and lock-outs, through good legislation and hostile political blundering, indifferent alike to press censorship and press criticism ; and, notwithstand-

ing many drawbacks, always looking forward and ever advancing the great scheme of Unionism, and the extension of their coveted prize—The Eight Hours' System.

Nor have the Australian Unions enjoying the boon, been unmindful of their toiling brothers across the seas.

They have watched with keen interest, not unmixed at times with apprehension, the struggles of their countrymen in Great Britain, as well as their fellow craftsmen of the continent of Europe to obtain possession of the System, which governs so great a proportion of Australian workmen to-day. In addition to the exertions of the Unions, fugitive literature has done much to advance the question, but the regular press has done more, to spread a knowledge far and wide of the fluctuations of public opinion on the question, and the successful or ill-timed demonstrations adopted for its achievement.

This latter proposition—the manipulation of public opinion—has ever been regarded by Australian Unionists as an axiom, supremely indispensible, whether it be exerted in the first place to sustain a just cause without coercion, or in the case of obstinate resistance on the part of employers, to bring pressure to bear on the legislature to compel submission to the popular will.

There is not, however, an Australian Unionist but knows while he deplores the difficulty of capturing public opinion on the continent of Europe, where the machine gun and the bayonet bristles between the popular will and the councils of the State, or the bureau of the autocrat.

Even in the land of the Great Republic with its

nominally free institutions, an autocrat equally potent, and whose title is expressed in the one short word CAPITAL, has obtained such enormous powers over the State resources, that he can call out the militia, purchase police, manufacture spies, and in the security of his well guarded mansion, gloat over the blood of his countrymen, shed in an effort to obtain one of the most beneficient and reasonable concessions that the civilisation of the nineteenth century has produced.

Nor can it be said that within the boundaries of Great Britain itself, that the same impediments to advancement are unknown. The numerous attempts made to establish the Eight Hours in the Mother country, have been resisted mainly by this same power of capital, and in some cases seconded by the unpatriotic action of men who, enjoying the measure themselves, voted against its extension to others who had not the good fortune to obtain an equal share of public opinion in their favor.

There is no imprudence in stating the facts, written as they are in a land where the Eight Hours' principle is almost universal among those engaged in laborious occupations. It may be said that there is an abundance of literature in England adverse to the principles of Trades Unionism, and whose authors speak eloquently for those who live in perpetual dread of the introduction of the Eight Hours as a System.

It is time Unionists learned to assess the stuff at its value. In the Australian colonies, open, undisguised, even hostile criticism has done more to establish the Eight Hours on a solid foundation, than its inclusion in the rule books of all our Trades Unions.

It would, moreover, be childish to misconstrue the ethics of the question through the receipt of a friendly warning.

I write with some knowledge of my subject when I affirm the desire of all Australian workmen, that the *inevitable* should come quickly—as it assuredly must come —and that Great Britain, whose children we are, may speedily take her place once more in the van of manhood reform, nor tarry until continental workmen, who are still laboring under the most grievous disabilities, shall snatch the laurel of conquest from her brow. Australians fondly hope that this latter contingency may form no portion of the future History of the Eight Hours' Movement.

A well-known Australian author, who has made a close study of the interests of the capitalistic class, reviews in a work of some 700 pages[1] the state of political society in all the English speaking countries of the world; paying special attention to the aspirations and the foibles of the working classes of the colony of Victoria.

The pages of a condensed labor history is not the place for a criticism of so ponderous a subject as that with which the author deals, but as the work may be read in other countries far from the scene of his learned satires, I shall briefly refer to such portions as call for notice from a Trades Union point of view.

The author's frequent references to the discussions on the Eight Hours' question, apparently for the purpose of exposing every loose phrase, oral or written, made by

[1] "Liberty and Liberalism," by Bruce Smith. George Robertson and Co., Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide. 1887.

working men at their congresses, would seem to some extent unworthy of the involved subject he undertakes to elucidate. Had it not been for this, the author might not have seriously anticipated "*the unpopularity which, much of what I have written, is calculated to draw upon me from the working classes.*"

Indeed, I believe that some of the working classes would be bound to admit that the work, apart from the historical and traditional leanings of its author, is a valuable and outspoken contribution to the literature, which embraces the relations between capital and labor.

Of what he has written he says, "*I believe it to be true,*" but throughout his entire work he refuses to others—unless they think as he does—the right of thinking at all for themselves. The letterpress which abounds in some original and many borrowed syllogisms and quotations opens with the premises.

"Many and various circumstances have of late rendered it almost impossible to obtain anything like universally accepted definitions of the principal terms of political classification, which are in general use among the present generation of English speaking communities. . . . In some of the British colonies, as might have been expected, a tolerably wide-spread use has been made of the political arguments and theories, which have done so much service in the older community, and this especially applies in the case of the colony of Victoria, to the legislation of which I shall in the following pages frequently refer for illustrations of my arguments.

"It does not seem to be thought, or at least very clearly recognised, in any of such colonies, that those arguments and theories, though originally capable of

ready and consistent application in the case of Great Britain, which has a history, which has traditions, which possesses a less 'advanced' condition of society, as well as institutions of a much less democratic order should, nevertheless, have little or no bearing upon the affairs of younger communities, in which the whole circumstances of the people are upon a different footing. Strange to say, this anomaly seems to have been less realised in the colony of Victoria than in any other of such younger communities, notwithstanding the fact that, in it, there is no established church; that, in it, land (the chief subject of modern political theories) can be purchased from the State, at a price which would seem ridiculous to an English agricultural laborer; and that, in it, such restrictive customs upon land transfer and land disintegration, as primogeniture and entail do not exist."

I have quoted thus far of the opening pages of "Liberty and Liberalism," because I consider that almost the whole subject is crystallized therein. It is true that in Victoria "there is no established church," a fact which is the historical sequence of the "democratic order," and for which the late W. E. Gladstone (whom the author quotes freely) is responsible. All the same, however, religion flourishes, free and untrammeled within the colony, and we have not forsaken the "traditions" of our fathers', for the belief so tersely expressed in the epigramatic's lines of Brunton Stephens:

> When the savage learned no love from earth nor from the shining frame,
> And merely feared the devil under some outlandish name;
> There are heaps of Britishers whose creed is just the same.

That Victorians should call themselves "Liberals"

seems to Mr. Bruce Smith preposterous, and argues a profound ignorance of the nomenclature by which political parties should be designated. Victorians have been, and still continue vindicating their right to greater freedom in connection with the political institutions by which they are governed, but which would seem (according to Mr. Bruce Smith) a disqualification for the title of "Liberal," while to them (the Victorians) it is synonymous with freedom, and becomes as much their privilege to adopt as a cyclist of the present day holds in designating his velocipede—a bike.

Why Australians should not adopt "political arguments and the theories which have done so much service in the older community," does not seem quite clear to the minds of Australian casuists. When the colony of Victoria, which the author takes under his special tutelage, was granted self-government, the virgin pages of her Statute-book were—by Conservative lawyers and politicians—crowded with the good, bad and indifferent laws which blessed or scandalised the moth-eaten tomes of British legislation. To reform bad laws, and to assimilate as far as possible "those arguments and theories . . . capable of ready and consistent application" transmitted to them, have been the objects for which the Victorians have striven, and so successful, by the way, were their efforts, that some of their reforms have found their place on the Statute books of the Mother country.

As to "Great Britain, which has a history, which has traditions, etc.," it does seem illogical to assume that Britishers, whether in England or Australia, should not cleave to the same traditions, take pride in the same history, and wrangle among ourselves

for advantages, as did our ancestors in the dim and distant past. The application of Mr. Bruce Smith's "arguments and theories" to the affairs of younger communities, might perhaps have some point, if they referred to a period of our history, when Australia was a dumping ground for British felonry; but in the Australia of to-day, inhabited by over three millions of British free-born subjects, his deductions are narrow, inconsistent and retrogressive.

Mr. Bruce Smith is, as a lawyer, in the habit of thinking straight, writing straight, quoting the opinions of others straight, and, in his own groove, acting straight, but the possession of these qualities does not always constitute political wisdom.

Professor Blackie says: "There is nothing more dangerous, not only in political, but in all practical matters, than logical consistency: the most narrow-minded people are always the most consistent, and this for the very obvious reason, that they have only room for one idea. . . . whereas God's world contains many ideas—stiff ideas too—and given to battle, which, must be brought into some friendly balance."

Mr. Smith's work, as the title implies, hinges largely upon the definition of the noun "Liberal," and he quotes Webster, the American lexicographer, I presume, in support of his etymology. Webster says, "Liberal, one who advocates *greater freedom from restraint* (the italics are Mr. Smith's), especially in political institutions."

Is not the definition a sort of two-edged sword? It is certainly equivocal, to say the least of it, for *any* (the italics are mine) class-advocate to rely on. Webster,

however, gives us further on, a definition of the noun "Liberalism," as "liberal principles or feelings; freedom from narrowness or bigotry, especially in politics."

The author's reference to the land question would seem somewhat unfortunate for his argument. Notwithstanding that "primogeniture and entail do not exist," what have been the experiences of Australian democracy in connection with "the chief subject of modern political theories?"

I will quote from a recent article in the Melbourne press: "It is a common axiom that the land belongs to the State—which under a democratic form of self-government, constitutes the sovereign people. Within this same period of fifty years the latest returns show that in New South Wales, with a balancing population equal to that of Victoria—say in round numbers a trifle over a million and a quarter—the public estate, estimated at 198,000,000 acres, has, notwithstanding the operations of Land Leagues, Reform Leagues, and Labor Federations, been dispoiled of an area approximating to that of all Victoria; plundered from the people by unscrupulous land sharks and territorial robbers conniving under the name of legislators. Victoria contains in round figures an area of 50,000,000 acres, or about one-fourth that of New South Wales, and here what do we find? Twelve million acres of the peoples' estate already alienated, and the bulk of which, being the richest lands in the colony, lies uncultivated in the hands of monopolist squatters and land sharks. Add to this about 500,000 acres of proclaimed public roads, a large proportion of which have been filched and fenced in by these rapacious land cormorants, and to remove a slip-panel blocking the

public highway, would probably result in the owner—the public—being arraigned for trespass before one or other of these cormorants, and lodged in the nearest gaol." New South Wales has (certainly during a longer period) alienated over 40,000,000 acres under the old "Liberal" system, which the author describes as "*the free play of individual character.*" Here we have a specimen of this "free play," while the bureaucracy of our early governments were uncontrolled by public opinion. However, "this anomaly" has been swept away by the true exercise of public opinion, legitimately and constitutionally expressed through the organizations of working men throughout the colonies, and which had their origin in the Eight Hours' Movement of Australia.

I shall now proceed with the History of the Eight Hours' Movement; its trials and its triumphs, and refer as occasion arises, to the literature of the subject as touched upon by Mr. Bruce Smith, and others whose contributions are, like his, worthy of respect, even though they represent the highly colored picture of the partizan.

With charlatanism and scurrility I make no quarter, except as the writer may serve, for an illustration of his dogmas. Here is one I culled from "The Australian Magazine," under the heading of "The Australian Workingman" "He has strong prejudices, and it is certain that these are directed, in the main, against the educated class. In his intercourse with this class, therefore, his manner is defiant and demonstratively insolent. Take, for example, the case of a workman employed about, or in a house where the occupants remain. Let him be a carpenter, a painter, a plumber, a paperhanger—what you will. In addition to the leisurely way in

which he goes about what he calls his work, he will whistle, sing, shout, smoke, expectorate, strike matches on the walls, and otherwise comfort himself as if with the determination to make clear the belief that, as a working-man, he is superior to the weakness of good behaviour. He will make your house a chaos of discomfort for weeks, and apparently revel in the misery he causes." It is a wonder the dyspeptic brimming over with the black bile of bigotry did not add theft to the other qualifications of his "what you will."

It is reminiscent of a story told by a journeyman cabinetmaker who, accompanied by an apprentice, was required to perform some necessary work at the house of one of "the educated class," and while busily engaged in the dining room, a lady of "the educated class" entered the room, and perceiving the workman, she rang the bell violently for the servant, whom she rated for not having removed the valuables, and instructed the domestic forthwith to carry away all the plate from the room, and to be sure to lock the sideboard and bring the keys to "the lady."

The stoical mechanic realizing the danger, called the apprentice, and producing a well-filled purse from his pocket, which, with his watch, he handed to the lad, saying "Here Tom, take these home to my old woman, there seems to be robbers about this place."

In the first volume of this work, I carried my readers up to the year 1857, and the anniversary of the first celebration of the movement in Victoria, my object being —as I have already explained in the preface—to establish the true story of the origin of the EIGHT HOURS' AS A SYSTEM.

It is to be regretted that no evidence exists for many years subsequent to 1856 of the introduction of the System into either England or America. I am, therefore, constrained, in order to maintain the sequence of events which transpired, to pass in review as rapidly as may be, the progress of the System in Australia through the years between 1857 and 1868, when the United States of America followed Australasia in the acquisition of the Eight Hours as a System.

It has been averred that some of the Miners' Associations of England obtained the Eight Hours about or before this period. If regard is to be taken of isolated efforts, tentative and spasmodic in their character, to secure the boon, the history would be carried over so wide a field that few readers would be disposed to the task it would entail. I purpose therefore to give a resume of the principal attempts made throughout the world, and to introduce such detail as may serve to relieve the narrative from the "dry-rot," which is more or less a component of all forms of history.

The first strike in Australia to obtain the Eight Hours has already been described as having taken place in Sydney, in 1855, in which the Operative Stonemasons were the first to succeed to the temporary possession of the principle, through the firmness they displayed at the building of the Parramatta Street Brewery.

In the colony of Victoria, the following year, as a result of the acquisition of the Eight Hours, new Unions were being quickly established under the influence of the pioneers, and the congratulations of both the public and the press.

Speculation was, however, rife in both of the colonies

named, as to the prospects of the permanence of the acquisition through sufficient time and strength prevailing to warrant it being regarded as a System. In New South Wales some political friction existed through the recent separation of Victoria from the dominion of the former colony, and which almost effectually prevented any fusion of sentiment among the early Unions on any subject whatever.

It is lamentable that people of the same race, and whose interests are identical, should be torn by paltry local jealousies, which lead to political discord and ultimately causes a *cheveaux de frise* to be erected across the road, which leads to mutual advantage.

I have been unable to define with any degree of certainty the period during which New South Wales retained the shorter hours they won in 1855. It is probable that frequent inroads were made upon the principle soon after its acquisition, until it ultimately wore itself out. Certain it is that there does not appear to have been any further demonstration to commemorate the event until 1871.

In a speech by Mr. Dyke, President of the Eight Hours' Committee of the latter year, he said in response to the toast of "The day we celebrate": "It would be well for them to look back to the first celebration which took place in 1871. That celebration was composed of five societies; only four of these were, strictly speaking, Eight Hours' trades, namely, Brickmakers, Stonemasons, Laborers and Carpenters."[2]

In Victoria, so eager were the early unionists to take

[2] "Sydney Morning Herald," 3rd October, 1882.

precautions for the safety of their prize, that they run a danger of weakening their cohesion by what political economists call "over-legislation." In the years 1857-8-9 and 60, three representative associations existed, each of which claimed support from the new Unions.

The first was the "Land and Convention League of Victoria," of which I have already written, and which joined hands with the "Eight Hours' League," and a third entitled "the Operatives' Board of Trade."

The first lived long enough to expose the System under which the lands of Australia—as I have already pointed out—passed into the possession of the dominant party, and after much real and vigorous agitation, succeeded in effecting some sweeping reforms.

In New South Wales, a similar league was formed on the land question simultaneously with that in Victoria. The former was organised and led by the late Daniel Henry Denehy (brilliant little Dan—he was only 5 ft. 2 in., and which appellation was intended to connect his talents with those of the great Irish tribune, O'Connell), who collaborated with John Wilson Gray—the founder of the Victorian organisation—in drafting and carrying through both Parliaments the principle of free selection before survey with deferred payments; thus establishing in both colonies the first democratic measure by which the lands of Australia were opened to the people.

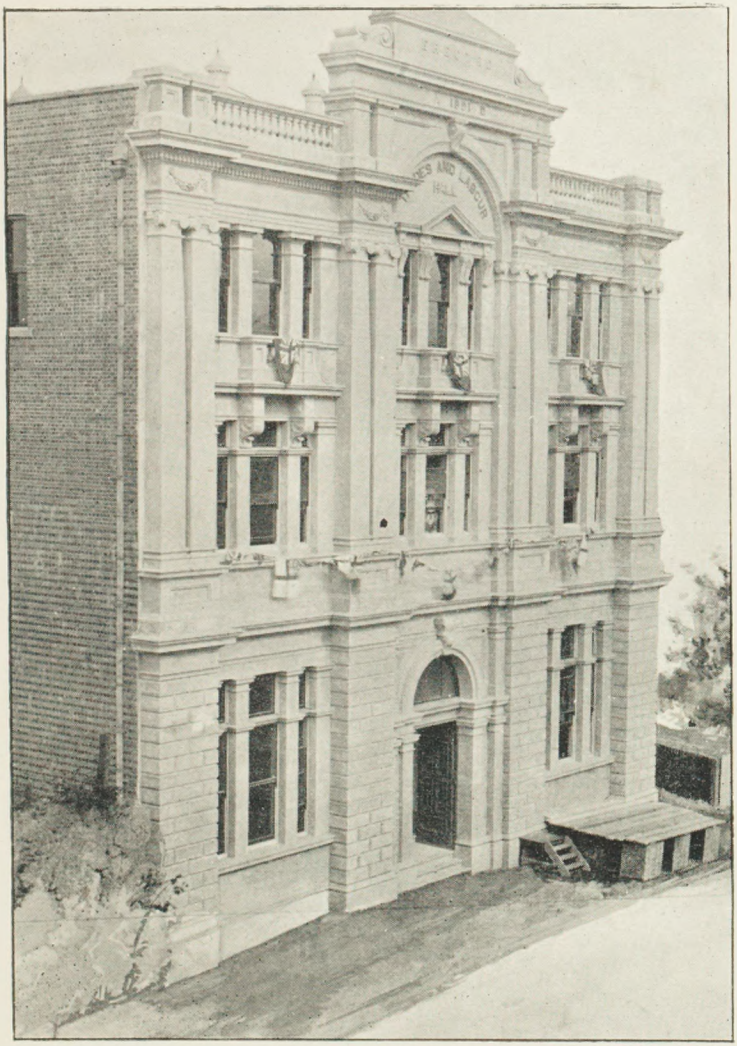
"The Operatives' Board of Trade," which was established on 28th October, 1858, for the purpose of guarding trade principles in other directions, seems to have been an almost superfluous body, but organisation was the order of the day with the early unions, and its

birth was the result of a labor dispute I shall presently describe, and in some measure justified its limited existence. It may be said to have merged into the Trades Hall Committee, appointed by the Eight Hours' bodies, as the governing executive of the new Trades Hall erected by the Anniversary Committees as a memorial of the unity of the trades brought together under the banner of "Eight Hours' Labor, Eight Hours' Recreation, Eight Hours' Rest." The "Board," however, dissolved on 6th January, 1860, and the Trades Hall Committee accepting no other functions than those comprising the management of the new buildings, there remained no central executive for many years after to whom the Unions could appeal for guidance or support.

Neither did the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee take further responsibility in trade affairs than those of carrying out the annual *fete*, and devoting its surplus funds arising therefrom to the building fund of the permanent Trades Hall, which they conceived to be the most appropriate way of advancing the Eight Hours' principle, while provision was also made for the support of the local charities.

This parent of all the Unions of Australia, in those early days of colonial settlement, and colonial enterprise, only met for a few months of each year—usually beginning about the month of January, and closing its annual session the following May. So extensive, however, has the System become in Victoria, that a permanent executive is now maintained throughout the year.

The first direct onslaught on the Eight Hours in Victoria, was made on the 4th May, 1859, at the Government workshops in the construction of new railway



TRADES' HALL, BRISBANE.

carriages by a contractor named William Williams. Under various pleas, the latter sought to break down the Coachmakers' Society, representing pressure of the Government for the completion of the work, and insufficiency of men in the labor market. The Coachmakers resisted any extension of the hours; non-union labor was introduced; a "Liberal" Government influenced by the secret enemies of the principle (of whom I will treat in the following chapter), connived at its overthrow; the Coachmakers, although supported by the "Board of Trade" (which had no funds), were defeated after a lengthened struggle, and both the Board and the Coachmakers' Society collapsed; the former *sine die*, and the latter until 1882, when the Trades Hall Committee restored its banner, the new Society having obtained permission to reappear on the Anniversary Celebration of that year.

Williams lived to occupy the mayoral chair of the City of Melbourne, but died with the unenviable reputation of being the only man who directed a successful blow at the Eight Hours in Victoria.

Chapter II.

Technological Education and the Eight Hours—Culture—Educationalists—Arnold—Macauley—Lord Ross—R. L. J. Ellery—Levelling up—Uses of Leisure to the Working Classes—Artisans' Schools of Design—Workingmen's Colleges, Melbourne and Sydney—Francis Ormond—The "London Times" on Eight Hours in Australia—Cornish and Bruce, and the Melbourne and Sandhurst Railway—Evans, Merry and Co., and the Geelong and Ballarat Railway—Rundle and the Sydney and Parramatta Railway.

It may be said that no section of modern British society holds the exclusive patent rights to knowledge.

It is a commodity as frequently gained in the severe school of adversity, as in the Universities of the high-bred scions of wealthy orders. Neither can it be admitted that an ignorance of certain subjects constitutes irreparable infirmities in the national character ; because if this be claimed, it is obvious that Cromwell could not have been a soldier, as he did not pass through a military college ; Cobden, who was not grounded in the classics, could not have been a statesman ; and the Government that resisted the Chartists, and imprisoned Lovett and O'Connor, must have been born idiots.

Matthew Arnold in his ratiocinative style, points out that "culture being a pursuit of our total perfection, by means of getting to know on all matters *which most concern us*, the best which has been thought and said in the world, and through this knowledge turning a stream of

fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits."

Now it is these "stock notions and habits" which are at the bottom of much mischief, and too often contributes to that ignorance of which Macauley complains in a letter to his sister in the following words: "The curse of England is the obstinate determination of the middle classes to make their sons what they call gentlemen. So we are over-run with clergymen without livings, lawyers without briefs, physicians without patients, authors without readers, clerks soliciting employment, who might have thriven as bakers, watchmakers and innkeepers." But the days when Macauley wrote this, was a period when the upper and middle classes considered even some of the advanced arts vulgar, if indulged in by the aristocracy. Lord Chesterfield, who anticipated his son's regard for the accomplishment of a violin player, interposed his advice: "If you desire to fiddle, pay someone to fiddle for you, never fiddle yourself."

All this prejudice which dictated the theory that manual labor is incompatible with intellectual development, is undergoing swift and material changes within the last fifty years. Of late, we have seen noble lords selling their ancestral estates and entering upon the hard realities of life as sheep-farmers and manufacturers, while dainty countesses may be seen in their well appointed shops as the vendors of art treasures, millinery and French flowers; and apparently without any loss of dignity perform, with their own hands, the work which at one time they would have relegated to their chamberlain or their dressmaker. Many years ago, while it was yet unfashionable for the white hands of society-bred

youth of the period, to be defiled by the touch of instruments of labor, I visited the workshops at Malahide Castle, where Lord Ross—inventor of the great telescope which bears his name—displayed his own manual and scientific skill in the prosecution of the arts of fitter, turner, carpenter, smith and lapidary. More recent still, it has been my privilege to observe the ex-Government Astronomer of Victoria, R. L. J. Ellery, Esq., C.M.G., with sleeves rolled, as he stood in front of his lathe at the Observatory, in the execution of some intricate mechanical turning required in connection with the delicate instruments under his charge.

This tendency of the upper and middle classes to encroach upon the domain of the practical workers, has created, by association, a desire among the latter for emulation, leading to advancement and proficiency in the higher branches of physical and mechanical science.

Need it be said that this is largely the result of intellectual development exerted by the superior systems of education, which the working classes have won for themselves by ceaseless clamouring for reforms, prominent among which has been the demand for the technical training of the people.

The Eight Hours' System, perhaps, more than any other social movement in Australia, is responsible for this thirst after knowledge When the reduced hours of labor was first mooted in these colonies, one of the principal arguments used by the promoters of the System in favor of its adoption, was the increased opportunities it would afford the toilers to improve their minds during the hours of relaxation incidental to its provisions. Those (they were few) who opposed its

introduction, contended that experience had shown that working men would reap no advantage from these opportunities of promoting their higher and spiritual nature, and that the public-house and the gaming-table would secure, as usual, their company, and the fruits of their toil in enhanced proportion.

These detractors, as far as Australia is concerned, have long since been contradicted by the logic of events. One of the first uses that Australian emancipists from lengthened hours of toil made of their acquisition, was the introduction of Technological Schools throughout the cities and towns where the Eight Hours had been won, the voluntary teaching staffs being solely composed of the men, who, through the day had performed their eight hours labor at the banker, the foundry, the workshop, or the scaffold, and then gave up their evenings to improve the position of the rising generation about to enter upon the battle of life.

The Trades Hall of Melbourne, which was opened in 1859, was devoted to this purpose, and long before any higher educational establishment had been provided, hundreds of the youth of the young metropolis could be seen in its class rooms receiving instruction at the hands of those men whom an anonymous slanderer in one of our local magazines indites as "selfish, wilful, narrow-minded, truculent, and, what is perhaps worse than all, *generally unintelligent and technically unprogressive*." That this charlatan (whom I have already quoted in the first chapter, although shielded by anonymity) is utterly unworthy of notice, I shall demonstrate later on, but, in the meantime, I have availed myself of the courtesy of F. A. Campbell, Esq., M.C.E., the director of the

Workingmen's College of Melbourne to give here a brief resume of the history of that institution, bearing, as it will, upon the part which the Eight Hours' Associations took at its inception with its late lamented founder, the Hon. Francis Ormond, M.L.C., in planting the tree of advanced industrial knowledge in Victoria.

In this connection, we may well recall the words of Algernon Sydney, in chronicling the death of Louis Kossuth: "When good principles are planted, they do not die with the person who introduced them; and good institutions remain, though the authors of them perish"

In 1881 the late Mr. Francis Ormond proposed to the citizens of Melbourne the initiation of a Technical College, and in the following year a large public meeting was held in the Town Hall to further the project. The Mayor, the Hon. C. J. Ham, presided, and a great speech was made by the late Chief Justice Higinbotham. He moved the first resolution, to the following effect: "That it is desirable to found a Working Men's College for the promotion of general education and technical training." This was seconded by Professor Rentoul, and carried unanimously. The following gentlemen also spoke: Dr. Moorhouse, Rev. Prior Butler, the late Sir James MacBain, the late Wm. K. Vale, Sir M. H. Davies, Dr. Pearson, and Messrs. B. Douglas and W. E. Murphy.

Mr. Ormond offered £5,000, on condition that a like amount was raised by public subscription. A provisional committee was formed, consisting of Hon. F. Ormond, Sir J. MacBain, Profs. Pearson and Irving, and Messrs. L. L. Smith, R. A. G. Ellery, Wm. K. Vale, C. A. Fuller, C. J. Ham, and W. E. Murphy. Steps were then taken to raise the necessary funds, both by the

Trades' Hall Council and the general public, and within a comparatively short time there was over £10,000 to the credit of the fund.

The Government granted a site, viz., that now occupied by the present main building, and matters being clear for a start, a Council was appointed, consisting of Hon. J. Ormond, Mr. J. MacBain, R. A. G. Ellery, Prof. Irving, Hon. Wm. K. Vale, Prof. Pearson, J. Hitchcock, Mr. M. H. Davies, B. Douglass, J. Hall, D. Syme, C. S. Paterson, C. A. Fuller, G. Ravenscroft, J. Nixon, and E. Storey. Mr. Ormond was chosen President, and Mr. J. Nixon Hon. Secretary. Tenders were invited for a portion of the complete design prepared by Messrs. Terry and Oakden and A. Barnet, the cost of which was £11,000.

This being completed, a new Council was elected in 1886, consisting of Mr. F. Ormond (President), Messrs. Wm. K. Vale, Prof. Pearson, W. A. Trenwith, A. Yewdall, C J. Ham, J. Nixon, B. Douglass, C. S. Paterson, F. H. Bromley, J. Yewdall, J. G. Barnett, and H. A. Harwood.

The Government having promised a grant of £2,000 to assist in carrying on the work, Mr. F. A. Campbell, C.E., was appointed secretary, and a great inaugural meeting was held in the Town Hall, followed soon afterwards by the opening of the College to students. This happened in June, 1887.

The result was remarkable. "If in two years there are 400 students," said the late Mr. Ormond, "I should be well satisfied." In the first two months over 600 students enrolled. In two years the numbers had

reached 2,000. Such growth was phenomenal, and the dismal prophets of failure were silenced.

This history of the college, since its opening to the end of 1892, is one of continued growth and success.

In 1893, the institution received a blow from which it took years to recover. Up to that time the Government had behaved towards the institution with great liberality. But owing to the necessity for retrenchment, the vote for education was cut down severely, and for 1893 the subsidy was less than half of that previously given. The reduced revenue was not the worst part of the position however. The Council was perfectly agreeable to suffer reasonable retrenchment, but they objected strongly to the methods which it was proposed to introduce for the management of the college. These objections not being regarded, the Council closed the college, in protest, for three months. Opening again, the institution dragged on for a year or two, under regulations which did much to retard good work, and with a subsidy miserably inadequate. The most objectionable features of the scheme being removed, and returning prosperity enabling the Government to increase the vote, and also enabling students to pay the fees, the college once more has regained its old position in point of numbers. It has much more than gained it in point of efficiency, for now advanced technical work is undertaken, which was not attempted during the earlier years. Courses of study have also been arranged, and the students encouraged to take them up in preference to taking up subjects in no way connected with one another.

The latest development has been the establishment of complete day courses extending over four years. The

leading technical institutions of the world now recognise that technical work should cover the preparation of the foreman and manager as well as of the artisan. Three years ago this branch of work was added to the college, and has proved a distinct success. Although the fees are high, it is to be hoped that by means of scholarships the benefits of such training may be opened to the children of our artisans.

The great work of the college, however, is still, and will always be, done in the evening.

The college was intended primarily for those who were occupied during the day, and this has never been lost sight of.

One department of work has been added after another, until the place at night, lighted with electricity with its own dynamos, is a veritable hive of industry, and is a sight which strikes every one seeing it for the first time with wonder.

The last department to be added was that for letter-press printing, and capital work is being done by these classes.

New additions are now being carried out to afford greatly needed accommodation in connection chiefly with the non-working trades. There will be provided a large engineering workshop, a blacksmith's shop, a foundry, and a wool room. These are expected to be ready by the middle of the year, and will form a notable addition to the already extensive premises.

The Council of the college for the year 1900 consists of the following members: Mr. J. Nixon, President; Messrs. F. H. Bromley, M.P., and C. A. Patterson,

Vice-Presidents; Messrs. R. L. J. Ellery, and Thos. Smith, M.P., Hon. Treasurers; and Messrs. W. H. Embling, M.L.C., C. E. Oliver, A. G. Arnot, James Robb, E. Findley, Rev. John Reid, James Smith, Professor W. C. Kernot, D. McIver, R. H. Solly, and S. Barker; Mr. F. A. Campbell being still Secretary and Director.

The extensive nature of the work now carried on by the institution will best be realised by a perusal of the prospectus, which deals fully with the subjects taught and the fees for each.

My space will not permit of a description of the several Technological Colleges and Schools of Mines, which are liberally provided for by the Governments of the Australian group. In New South Wales, even greater facilities for the pursuit of technical skill is evident than in any other of the colonies. Artizans' Schools of Design were early established in the city of Sydney, followed in 1878 by a Technological College in the School of Arts, Pitt Street, the resources and conveniences of which becoming speedily overtaxed, the Government of New South Wales in 1888-9 voted the necessary funds for the erection of the present Technological College and Museum at Harris Street, Ultimo, with branches at West Maitland and Newcastle.

The annual subsidy voted by the Parliament of the Mother colony for the maintenance of these institutions, varies with the exigencies of the colonial exchequer. In 1895, the amount was £15,879 1s. 7d. for technical instruction, and £3,731 12s. 9d. for the Museums in connection with the Schools.

The attendance at these classes for the same year was as follows :

Sydney Technological College ...	2,956
Suburban classes	508
Classes in country towns	2,500
Public Schools classes	579
	6,543

It must be obvious to any impartial mind, that had it not been for the extra leisure which the Eight Hours' System affords, the educational advantages which now exist, and must increase for the youth of these young colonies by the operation of technical training, would have remained a sealed book for an indefinite period.

It has, moreover, been clearly demonstrated, that the intentions of the promoters of the Eight Hours have been vindicated, while the predictions of that section of the *Laissez Faire* school, which objects to Government subsidies—except such as the statute of limitations of which the school approves—have been carried into the region of *reductio ad absurdum*.

Here, however, we must leave the schools for the present, and return to the more active operations of the Eight Hours' System.

The "London Times" in an article (April, 1892) stated, that "the adoption of the Eight Hours' System in the Australian colonies, was the result of persistent agitation ; and further, that the proposal to make the Eight Hours a statutory day's work was not favored by working classes of Australia."

Both of these points may be said to be inferentially incorrect. The means employed to obtain the acquisi-

tion of the System in the Australian colonies, can scarcely come under the dominion of the significant phrase " persistent agitation " ; while on the other hand, numerous and persistent efforts have been made to legalise the System, as I shall show later on.

The Eight Hours' System was won in New South Wales and Victoria, more by a concensus of public opinion being brought to bear on the merits of the question itself, than by any form of agitation, which would tend to promote hostility, and thus lead to its rejection by the public.

Following this, for nearly half a century, trade after trade fell in with its provisions, and, in the majority of cases, the shorter hours were conceded rather by the grace of the employers interested, than from any display of dictation or arrogance on the part of their employès.

There was, however, a small minority whose cupidity was impervious to either public opinion, or the ordinary code of moral obligations. With those, it became a sort of second nature to offer a stout resistance, wherever working men calculated upon reaping any advantage, which, in their mistaken acumen they considered would trench upon their trousers pockets, or the ideal relations which they conceived should exist between master and man. The introduction of the Eight Hours therefore brought out all the talents of this class, and by *persistent secret agitation* they conspired for the overthrow of the System, while with unblushing effrontery they would aver their attachment to the principle which they never ceased to assail whenever an opportunity offered.

A few of these may be cited. Almost simultaneously with Williams' direct and deliberate onslaught in the

Railway Carriage building contract before mentioned. Two other attempts were made by contractors, who proved to be coadjutors with Williams, although by dexterous intrigue and dissimulation they, for some time, concealed the fact from the public, and the operatives in their employment.

The assailants on these occasions were Messrs. Cornish and Bruce, the former who, operating under the *nom social* of Cornish and Co. in 1856, was one of the contractors for the new Houses of Parliament (as I have already stated, vol. i., p. 62), and in 1858 with his above-named partner, were the contractors for the Melbourne and Sandhurst Railway.

A second firm of railway builders were engaged at the same time in construction of the Ballarat and Geelong Railway, under the *nom social* of Evans, Merri and Co.

Previous to the works being entered upon, there were manifestations of unrest among the building trades, and to render the conditions of labor more secure, a deputation from the Masons' Society waited upon Cornish and Bruce with a view to a clear understanding being arrived at as to the wage rate which should prevail during the progress of the works. It may be here stated that in making out a schedule of prices for large Government contracts, the rate of wages upon which contractors base their calculations is specifically stated. In the tender for the Melbourne and Sandhurst Railway, Cornish and Bruce—in order to allow for possible fluctuations in the labor market, to which young communities (the population of the entire colony was under half-a-million) are more or less susceptible, estimated masons' wages at 22s. per diem.

At the interview between the parties, a certain amount of reserve was at first noticeable, but on mutual explanations being tendered, the most amicable relations sprung up, the operatives representatives binding their society that the wage rate should under no circumstance exceed 20s. per day during the term of the contract.

Nothing was said about the hours, it being clearly understood that the new System was recognised by all contractors throughout the colony. The interview ended, but the masons' representatives appeared to forget that they had been dealing with the builder of the Parliament Houses.

The works had only been in progress a few weeks when Cornish (Bruce seems to have been a sleeping partner) struck his first blow, by instituting a system of sub-contracting, and the employment of such chance workmen as might be met with in the country through which the line passed.

The wages which ruled at the time being 16s. per day, was soon reduced by this move to 14s., while the sub-contractors' sensitiveness on the invialobility of the Eight Hours' principle were of the most elastic character.

In this ruse, however, the contractors were early checkmated by the organized masons, who brought the pressure of Government to bear on Cornish and Bruce, resulting in the discontinuance of such sub-contracting.

Foiled in this endeavour to effect a breach in the citadel of the Eight Hours', the diplomatic firm yet cherished a secret satisfaction, that, within a month from this first repulse, they would astonish Australia by a *coup dé etat* worthy perhaps of a better cause.

With an ill-directed prescience born of avarice, those sapient contractors either arranged with a foreign, or despatched a local agent to Germany, with instructions to charter a vessel with the ordinary powers to receive passengers and cargo for Port Phillip, and finally that the ship should be timed to arrive within two months of the starting of the new railway works—not a bad achievement in those days before either cables or fast ocean-going steamers bridged the vast expanse of oceans separating Europe from Australia.

The tactical masons, however, becoming apprised of the design, prepared for any contingency which might threaten their new-won principle, and caused "an address to masons" to be printed in the German language, setting forth the danger they apprehended.

In due time the vessel—the "P. C. Kinch"—arrived, which, in addition to the general passenger list, contained one hundred masons, with whom articles of contract had been entered into for service to Messrs. Cornish and Bruce, at a wage of 14s. per diem for ten hours' labor.

The day of retribution had come for Cornish, as he exultingly boarded the vessel to welcome his new employés. The scene changed, as in a short time the local unionists were observed clambering up the ship's side, and were soon engaged in the distribution of their circulars.

The strangers were astounded when they found that they had been practically kidnapped, as the circulars expressed, while the local unionists, with such dumb show of friendly greetings as they could command, *coaxed* the Teutons to accompany them to the lodge room, where, having regaled the new arrivals, the latter joined

the Masons' Society, and Cornish found too late that *labor contracts entered into beyond the seas were not binding at the port of destination.*

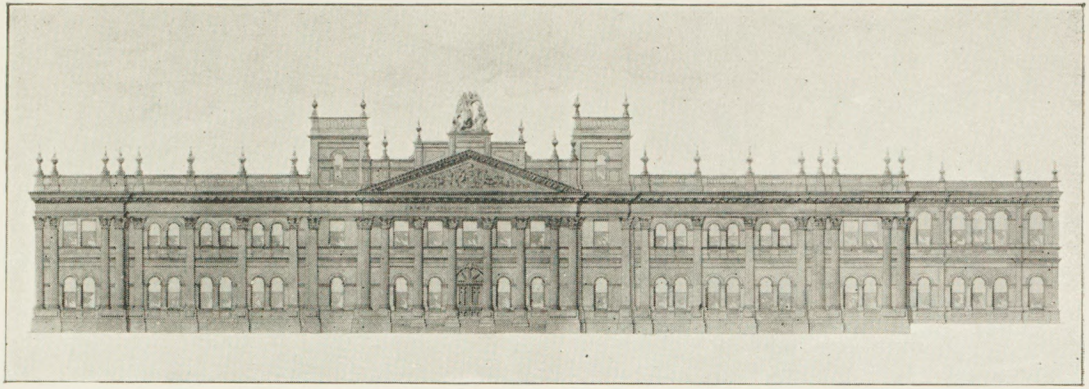
Here again, in connection with this dispute, was public opinion elicited by the appointment of a citizens' committee, who, having investigated all the circumstances, exposed the first FREEDOM OF CONTRACT job attempted in Australia, and with no uncertain sound sustained the victory of right over prejudice by again proclaiming the Magna Charta of Industrial Unionism in Victoria.

Of the second firm, Messrs. Evans and Merry, the contractors for the Geelong and Ballarat Railway, without directly attacking the masons, or importing foreign labor, yet adopted other tactics in regard to a large number of blacksmiths (also Eight Hours' men) employed on their works.

An assault was made on the hours and wages at the same time under various pretexts, such as the demand for overtime (the most insidious enemy of the Eight Hours' System), working extra shifts, and changing men over long distance stations, with a view to weaken the organization whose cohesion and unity they cordially hated.

By these tactics they succeeded in temporarily harassing the smiths—whose astuteness being inferior to that of the masons—resulted in a reduction of wages, but the Eight Hours' Principle remained unimpaired.

On the completion of these works, a lengthened dispute took place between the Government and the contractors, the latter claiming many thousands of pounds, with the result that interminable law suits and



TRADES' HALL AND LITERARY INSTITUTE, MELBOURNE.

appeals to Parliament ensued, all of which remain unadjusted to the present day.

Throughout these proceedings, Evans and Merry had reason to remember their malignant, but futile attempt made over forty years ago, to wreck the struggling unions, and to burst up the Eight Hours' System in Victoria.

Of a different character were the circumstances which took place in New South Wales towards the close of the same year, when, on the completion of the Sydney and Parramatta Railway, which had been carried out under the Eight Hours' System, Mr. Rundle, the contractor for the work, gave a banquet to commemorate the event in the Cleveland paddock, to which all his employés were invited.

Doubtless, Mr. Rundle had watched with a lively interest the proceedings which took place in the younger colony, and wisely contented himself with observing the salutary admonition of the sage of Chelsea: "This, that they call the organisation of labor, is the universal vital problem of the world. It is the problem of the whole future, for all who in the future, pretend to govern men."

The instances, the particulars of which I have reluctantly recorded, will serve to introduce the question, whether or not the Eight Hours should be legalised? The tendency of this class of employers (and unhappily in some countries they form a large proportion of the whole) to resist innovations, which tends towards improvements upon illogical and antiquated customs, leads them in their lust for wealth, to disregard all compacts or conditions of service, which is not binding upon them by the laws of the land.

It must, however, be admitted, that in Australia, the working classes, possessed from an early period in the government of these colonies of manhood suffrage; exercised a power which has placed reforms more easily within their reach than is practicable in older communities, and yet, with all this power at their disposal, the legalisation of the Eight Hours has not, as a general law, found a place on the Statute books of a single colony in Australia.

This circumstance is, however, by no means a corroboration of the statement of the "London Times": "that in the colonies, the proposal to make Eight Hours a statutory day's work is *not* favored by the working classes." In all the congresses held throughout these colonies, the legalisation of the Eight Hours has invariably been one of the most prominent planks in the platform of labor questions.

At these assemblies, however other questions are beset with a collision of intellect, resulting in divisions of opinion and voting, no voice has ever been raised in these colonial congresses in opposition to the measure, which is regarded as the *sine qua non* of the Eight Hours' Movement.

As a system, however, it was partially legalised in Victoria after a protracted strike by the Bendigo and Stawell miners in 1872, who succeeded in reducing their hours from 10 to 8 hours' shifts, and, which on the amalgamation of all miners' associations in 1874, was legalised by the passage of the "Mines' Act." This was followed by a clause inserted in all Government contracts, making Eight Hours a legal day's work in Victoria in 1874, and later on in New South Wales and South

Australia. The operation of the clause vegitates with more or less effect as *the unwritten law* of contract throughout Australia, but beyond this, the attainment of the complete legal measure has, through the power which employers bring to bear on the Legislative Councils (our colonial Houses of Lords) been so far unsuccessful.

As far back as 1859, Charles Jardine Don—the first *bona-fide* labor member elected to Parliament in Australia, and of whose natural oratorical abilities I referred to in vol. i., p. 65-6, moved in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria: "That, in the opinion of this House, all future contracts should be let on the understanding that Eight Hours shall be considered the term of a day's work." The motion encountered fierce opposition at the hands of an unpaid Parliament, and was ultimately withdrawn.

The Hon. J. J. (now Judge) Casey, in 1869, introduced a Bill in the same House for the legalisation of the Eight Hours, which, however, did not leave the Assembly until the Session closed. In 1870, the same gentleman renewed the attempt and re-introduced the measure, meeting as usual with strong opposition, but on this occasion, the honorable gentleman had the satisfaction of getting the third reading passed, only to find the Legislative Council—true to its instincts—reject the measure in the summary manner for which this branch of the Legislature, when dealing with Labor Bills, is conspicuous.

On the 21st December, in the same year, Mr. Everard moved the following series of resolutions:

1. "That in the opinion of this House, immediate steps should be taken for the legalisation of the Eight Hours' System of labor."

2. "That this System should be applied to all workshops and manufactories."

3. "That it should be made compulsory on all municipal bodies, corporations, borough councils, shire councils, road boards, mines, and public companies."

4. "That powers should be given to municipal and other corporate bodies (on a requisition from a majority of any section of the trading community) to compel that particular section to close their places of business at such an hour as may be determined upon by the majority."

5. "That a Bill be brought in for the above purposes."

The House affirmed the principle by adopting the first resolution, but stultified its action by refusing to pass the second, which would have given practical effect to its former decision.

Mr. Everard, in disgust, withdrew the remaining resolutions, preferring to wait for a new Parliament, which would be more favorable to the object he had in view. The old Trades' Unionists stood aghast—the measure sickened—the mover died, and, Labor members of Australia look to it—*the patient is dying yet.*

If this latter observation will give any consolation to Mr. Bruce Smith, I do not envy him the relish it will afford. Doubtless, he will now regard the members who have sat for years in the Australian Legislatures representing their fellow workers, and who made little or no effort to legalise the Eight Hours, as true types of the old "liberal" school, of which he is a staunch adherent;

or, perhaps, as aspirants for the honorable guild of *Laissez Faire*—whom the late member for Footscray critically defined as "more lazy than fair." Mr. Smith says: "The truth is, there is a wide-spread belief that an Act of Parliament is something more than a resolution of the people to do something *for themselves* combinedly. There is, in fact, a vague and undefined sort of belief that Parliament is a kind of power in itself, quite apart from the people; that it is a power capable of almost anything, and that, as far as ways and means are concerned, it has no known limit to its resources." Surely Mr. Smith will admit that the Eight Hours' advocates have "done *something for themselves* combinedly, and that over and over again has this *something* been ratified by the high court of public opinion; and yet Parliament remains as obdurate as ever in *not* giving effect to the will of the people so emphatically expressed."

Is it any wonder, therefore, that the advocates for the complete legalisation of the Eight Hours entertained "a vague and undefined sort of belief that Parliament *is* a kind of power in itself," whose "resources" can only be moved by the Williams', the Cornish's and the Evans'—being a minority—to defeat the measure and prevent the will of the people—the majority—from becoming the law of the land?

In the next paragraph, Mr. Smith quotes Mill, who says: "The public, collectively, is abundantly ready to impose not only its generally narrow views of its interests, but its abstract opinions, and even its tastes, as laws binding upon individuals;" "and," continues Mr. Smith, "that this readiness would quickly take the shape of Acts of Parliament, if an opportunity offered,

has been sufficiently shown by the numerous efforts of . . . Eight Hours' advocates—and others of equally narrow vision." Now, in the modicum of justice embraced in the Mines' Bill, and the limitation clause in Government contracts, vouchsafed by Parliament to the Eight Hours' advocates and the people, the latter got less than the half of what they asked for. Let us quote Mill again : "To seek conciliation—not by compromise, but by justice—by giving to every man not the half of what he asks, but the whole of what he ought to have." Mill is a prevaricator, but he is right in this.

Chapter III.

The Great Republic of the West—The rise of Trades Unions in America—Causes which herald reform—The Fourth of July—The American Labor Charter—President Jackson—Competition—Laissez Faire—Freedom of Contract—Martin Van Buren, President, issues proclamation for ten hours—California Goldfields—The Civil War—Congress pass an Act for the establishment of the Eight Hours in 1868—Great Procession in New York, local movements throughout the States—Literature—Success of the Building Trades' efforts for Eight Hours—Opposition by some trades—Anecdote re overtime—The 1st May, 1886—Partial success and strikes—Losses therefrom—The Knights of Labor—T. V. Powderly—Great South-Western Railway Strike—Riots and Bloodshed.

I must now leave Australia for a time—that newest of new lands—which has been grotesquely described by one of our early lecturers, as "the country where the birds are songless, the flowers are scentless, in which the stones grow on the outside of its fruits, where the trees flourish without bark; the animals have not yet learned to walk on all fours, and a man can sleep for nine months of the year under a gum tree."

Our subject must now lead my readers to far distant shores towards which, at different times, have been wafted the spirit of the enterprise which had its birth, if not its conception, among these southern seas.

The Great Republic of the West, with its enormous social combinations, must be considered in connection

with the Eight Hours' Movement, and its relation to the contemporary agitation of the workers, in the various aspects of the question from which it is viewed in the United States. In this connection it is clear that the admixture of different nationalities in some of the great unions, has so involved the single question with the congested ethics of continental socialism, that the success of the Eight Hours has been considerably retarded thereby.

Let us take a retrospect. We are on the eve of closing an eventful epoch in the history of labor throughout the world.

Its emancipation from the tyranny of ages has been won, partly by a terrible struggle against hereditary wrong doing, and partly by organisation ; but primarily by the education and enfranchisement of the masses of the people.

Thus it is that the nineteenth century has been one of reform and advancement.

It began in England with the repeal of penal statutes against the workers. As it proceeded, the amazing power of organization on new principles threw into shade all the ancient mysteries and tomfooleries of the old guilds and liverymen—those thinly disguised adjuncts of feudalism—and it is about to close with an educated democracy, claiming equality and demanding its privileges, after a fashion that would at one time have consigned the advocates of these principles to the pillory or the gaol.

It is somewhat remarkable that the advent of Trades Unions as a System in America was coincident with that of the newer unions of England.

In the year 1803, the first free Labor Union of America was formed, in the establishment of the New York Society of journeymen shipwrights.

Isolated Trades Unions—the ashes of the mediæval guilds —had been known both in England and America, long before, and subsequent to, this period, and which continued their desultory system of defence against the brutal tyranny of inhuman monsters, calling themselves *masters*, and the oppressive laws which ignorance and cupidity had woven around them.

With the decline of the old guilds, all outward display of combination, by pageants or processions, were strictly forbidden in England. The meeting of the early Trades Unions were held in secret, and when the business for which they had assembled was finished, the books and papers were buried until the next meeting took place, while the members of the brotherhood being sworn to secrecy parted at the rendezvous, as the presence of two or three in company was an infraction of the accursed laws by which men were governed at the time.

It may be, that the loss of the American colonies to Great Britain, should only be quoted as an instance of that insane doggedness of British politicians, as it has so frequently been shown in British employers, which precipitates conflict where common sense, timely reform, and mutual forbearance, would have disarmed even the wrath which follows upon injustice.

It may be too, that the French Revolution which speedily followed, dispelled with a rude hand the fancied security of the oligarchy of Europe, and brought the best intellects to bear on the cause and probable effect of the social upheaval, which threatened the stability of Euro-

pean thrones and the Governments of *Laissez Faire*. It may be, that on the 4th July, 1788, a great lesson was inculcated; when the anniversary of American independence was celebrated in Philadelphia—then the largest city in the United States—by a grand civic and military procession, in which fifty-nine trades formed for the occasion took part, and headed by a grand federal edifice drawn by ten white horses, marched with banners flying and bands vibrating the *Io Pæans* of a regenerated people.

Were there not British workingmen in that procession who remembered that last invocation pronounced by Chatham—perhaps Britain's wisest and best statesman—the night before he died? "Do justice to America; do it to-night; do it before you sleep; or have a care that one of the brightest pages in your history may not be written in your heart's blood."

The formative period of Trades Unions, as they have since existed both in England and America, may be said to have begun in 1825; in the former by the passage of Hume's repeal of the Combination laws, and in the latter, with the election of John Quincey Adams to the Presidency of the United States.

In that year, two English labor reformers, the Brothers Evans, who had been obliged to fly from their old homes through the persecution of the restrictive laws against Trades Unions, arrived in America, and commenced their campaign by instituting a labor journal, through which they formulated what they called the charter of labor in America. In comparing its twelve articles with the "six points" of the reformers of '48, and for which the poor Chartists were sabred, bludgeoned and exiled, the latter is the milk of mildness itself.

AMERICAN 12 POINTS.

1. The right of man to the soil; vote yourself a farm.
2. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank.
3. Freedom of public lands.
4. Homesteads made inalienable.
5. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts.
6. A general bankrupt law.
7. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages.
8. Abolition of imprisonment for debt.
9. Equal rights for women with men in all respects.
10. Abolition of chattel slavery, and wages of slavery.
11. Land limitation to 160 acres; no person after the passage of this law to become possessed of more than that amount of land. But when a land monopolist died, his heirs were to take each his legal number of acres, and be compelled to sell the overplus, using the proceeds as they pleased.
12. Mails in the United States to run on the Sabbath.

It was during President Adams' period of office that the immense stream of immigration set in for the Western Continent, and which made Trades Unions possible, as was also the case in Australia at a later time.

With the tide came the leaders.

In 1833, during the administration of President Jackson, the first labor representative was elected to the Congress of the United States in the person of Mr. Ely Moore, then president of the "General Trades Unions of the City of New York." The excessive hours of toil, which the immigrants fondly hoped they had left behind for more ameliorating influences in the West, were, however, illusory. The greedy capitalist was there all the same. It is important, however, to note, that notwithstanding that unions of workmen had been established for some time and were growing in numbers, there was

no defined system of hours, and even the manifestoes and platforms of Labor Unions were invariably silent on this point.

It was the epoch of *competition*; that upas-tree of all organization, wherein the strongest *shall* prevail, and the weakest *must* go to the wall; it was the era (fortunately its decline) of *Laissez Faire* policy, which says: "All . . . that a citizen can ask for from the State, is that he may have secured to him as *free a course* as others have had in the struggle for existence[1]; it was the season of *Freedom of Contract*, the offspring of individualism, of which a recreant socialist writer[2] was so enamoured towards the close of the great Australian Maritime Strike; it was that freedom of contract which enabled Judas to betray his Master; it was, in the words of a learned American writer, "a question of wages, not time."

"There are two freedoms," says Charles Kingsley, "the false, where a man is free to do what he likes; the true, where a man is free to do what he ought."[3]

Conditions of labor, therefore, were not materially improved by the early unions of the United States. But, although they were unable to dictate the hours of labor, or deal with labor questions only as abstract principles, they, nevertheless, used their organisations for political purposes with advantage to their unions.

Martin Van Buren, whose election to the presidency was largely supported by the power of the unions, issued, on the 10th April, 1840, a proclamation for a ten hours'

[1] Liberty and Liberalism, p. 436.

[2] H. H. Champion.

[3] "Socialism, from Genesis to Revelation," by the Rev. F. M. Sprague, Boston. Lee and Shepard, 1893.

day to be observed in the navy yards, and all establishments belonging to the United States Government. This was all the more creditable to Van Buren, as it was a period of depression, the result of a financial crash of the old United States Bank, and from which the Republic did not thoroughly recover, until the breaking out of the California gold fields in 1849.

With this closed the formative period of the Trades Unions' System in the United States.

This new El Dorado of the West continued to draw its thousands of hardy adventurers thither by every vessel crossing the Atlantic, until the return from thence of E. H. Hargreaves, in 1851, to Australia, whose alluvial discoveries in New South Wales opened up these boundless fields of enterprise to the expatriated Chartist, the law-ridden unionist, and the new democrat, who are now sending their sons forth to maintain Britain's supremacy over the Dark Continent "in day and hour of danger."

The exodus of population to the Southern goldfields acted, therefore, in a similar manner as in the case of Australia, to a temporary disruption of the growing unions, and it was not until the decline of the alluvial deposits at California that manufacturing enterprise entered upon a new career, and re-established the workers' associations on a more permanent basis. A few years of tranquillity, however, brought about yet another era of trouble for the unions.

The Civil War made extraordinary demands on the population, and again the people were plunged in the midst of another excitement, which was inimical to the progress of Trade Union organisation. That terrible

ordeal, however, passed, and swords were being hammered into plough-shares, while an immense activity in all classes of trade and manufactures gave an impetus to industrial association, marvellous even for America. In the words of Mr. T. V. Powderly, "Industry had not suffered by lying fallow for four years."

"Army life," continues the same writer, "had educated the masses into a knowledge of the value of discipline and combined effort. They were trained to apply to the services of peace the system which they had been taught in the school of war. Never in the history of the world did labour advance so rapidly as in the time lying between the close of the Civil War and the year 1886." So complex is the literature on the subject of the Eight Hours in America, that it would be extremely difficult to fix with any degree of reliability the time when the first movement took place.

It was no doubt as much an aspiration with the British sections of Trades Unions transplanted in the Great Republic, as it was with them in the mother country from which they sprung. This we do know, that Congress in 1868 passed an Act by which Van Buren's ten hour system was repealed, and the Eight Hours proclaimed as the standard hours of labor in all Government Workshops and Naval and Military Establishments throughout the United States.

The school of *Laissez Faire* over-stepped its bounds again, and was followed, according to Professor Ely, soon after by a more general agitation for its adoption throughout the chief cities of the States. He says: "In the Spring of 1872, an imposing demonstration in favor of Eight Hours took place in New York city. The

paper before me estimates the number of those taking part in the procession through the principal streets at twenty thousand, and among other societies were the various New York sections of the 'International Workingmen's Association,' bearing a banner with their motto, 'Workingmen of all countries unite!'" In 1874, the Bureau of Statistics, established at Pennsylvania, formulated the first demand for the Eight Hours as a general scheme throughout that State, and from this forward until the great movement of 1886, all the organisations of the Republic became more or less embroiled in the impending struggle. Now commenced the flow of literature on the economic aspect of the question. In this connection, it seems strange that so many writers, both in England and America, quote what appears cogent, if not unanswerable, arguments, on the reasonableness of the now almost universal demand for Eight Hours, and apparently with the purpose of—like a child that has built a sand castle on the sea-shore—demolishing the structure with a kick, which has cost so much labor and patience to construct. The late Mr. Bradlaugh saw too many conflicting interests surrounding the idea. The Rev. Mr. Sprague envelopes the tender fledgling, shivering as it is for the warmth of public recognition, in a wet blanket, while some Trades Unions, deeply tinged with ultra-socialism, or what is worse, ultra-conservatism, refuse it the support of their literary organs, while they enjoy the boon themselves.

Mr. Sprague says: "It is a significant fact that many laborers fail to see any benefit in an Eight Hour day. The members of the Printers' Association in Washington *voluntarily* voted to repeal the rule prohibiting members

from working more than Eight Hours. A great Trades Union, the Printers' organisation, voted down a proposition for a nine hour day during last year (1891)."[4] I am not acquainted with these transactions, but accepting the statements on Mr. Sprague's authority to be correct, I venture to affirm that the reverend gentleman, in a preceding page, supplies a reason which is the tap-root of this apparent anomaly, when he says: "The real question at issue is not one of *time*, but *wages*."[5] Printers almost universally are paid by the abominable piece work system, which produces—no matter what the standard of payment may be—covetousness, insincerity, and cold-hearted callousness so well expressed in the coarse quatrain:

"Oh! Lord, bless me and my wife,
My brother David and his wife,
Us four
And no more."

In Australia it has become a trite saying among many unionists I have heard, that a man can now do as much work in Eight Hours as he formerly did in ten. Mr. Sprague says: "An ordinary laborer at ordinary work will produce more in a ten hour than in an Eight Hour day. This every employer and every laborer knows if he knows anything."[6]

The latter assumption, stated in its baldest sense, is only hypothetically correct; and underlying it there is yet another way of estimating its value.

The amount of work a man would perform in one day

[4] "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation," p. 224.

[5] Ibid., p. 219.

[6] "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation," p. 223.

TRADES' HALL, SYDNEY.

is not conclusive at all of what he would accomplish in six days, nor in any multiple of the latter. Take two ordinary laborers of equal stamina and skill; the one shall be occupied at heavy labor for ten hours per day for six days; the other shall be called upon to execute the same class of work for eight hours a day for the same term of six days. At the expiration of that period measure up or calculate each man's work.

In the case of the former, it will be found that the last two hours of each day bears no comparison with those of his earlier efforts of the morning, and as the week draws towards the end, the efforts of these last two hours become relatively of less value as the strain increases. In the case of the Eight Hours man, whose energies have been taxed one-fifth less, when his work is measured up, it will be found that his employer has not suffered loss to the extent of *two hours* per day nor anything like it, because he *voluntarily* barred the debilitating influences of the last quarter, and retained that vigour by only working for that length of time which all medical scientists and economists acknowledge as the maximum for which physical intensity can with safety be sustained. Now, keep these same two men so occupied at constant laborious work, say for fifty-two weeks, and it is more than probable that the Eight Hours man would, by the end of the year, have overtaken, if not out-run, the output of his long hours rival, while his condition, physically and mentally, would be incomparably superior to the other. This fact has received the testimony of the most prosperous employers of labor throughout Australia, whose profits have not been *lessened* by the system, and who would not now,

after an experience of the Eight Hours' principle for nearly half a century, revert to the ten hours' day if they could. Therefore, Mr. George Gunton is right when he says: "The Eight Hours' Movement . . . . it disturbs no existing interests, it does not change the relations of buyers to sellers, or laborers to employers."[7]

It does appear inconsistent that captious literary critics should quote approvingly the theory of Benjamin Franklin, who said that "four hours of toil each day would be sufficient to minister to the necessities of the world's inhabitants." This was enunciated at a time when the greater portion of the labor of the world was performed by ordinary manual skill, and before the magician of invention had supplied mankind with these facile appliances, which have increased productivity, and rendered it not only possible but imperative that even a greater reduction in the hours of labor should be insisted upon.

An English statistician, Mr. Leon Levy, estimates that "one and a-half hours' work per day by each individual would do the work of the world."

Is it, therefore, so difficult for economic casuists to understand the grounds upon which demands for the Eight Hours are based? Stripped of all subterfuge, special pleading, and quibbling philosophy, they are these:

1. To enable the masses of the people to obtain more leisure for recreation and mental culture, and

[7] "Wealth and Progress."

2. That the whole of the world's workers now in enforced idleness may—nay *must*—be employed.

Unhappily, much of the opposition to the extension of the movement, both in England and the United States, originates, as I have already pointed out, to the false notions of the workers themselves in not being able to see eye to eye with those who have experienced its salutary effects, or, as in the case of the printers of Washington, who *voluntarily* abandoned it, to obtain a temporary advantage of increased income, which experience has shown would have been possible under its provisions.

In the summer of 1872, one of the largest strikes, which took place in the United States, for Eight Hours was partially successful. During the year 1873, the following trades were working under the System in New York State and Brooklyn: Bricklayers, carpenters, plumbers, painters, brown and blue stonecutters, plasterers, paperhangers, masons and plate printers. In some instances the men accepted a reduction from ten hours to nine; but by the end of the year over 15,000 were working under the Eight Hours' System in this State alone. It will be observed that here, as in Australia, the Movement was almost solely confined to the building trades. The carpenters particularly improved their position, and from a return dated May, 1881, it was ascertained that they had obtained an Eight Hours' Day in one hundred and thirty-seven cities, embracing 46,197 operatives, while in other localities they had obtained a nine hours' day.

Public opinion had begun to ripen as a result of the Eight Hours' Leagues which had been established in

various places throughout the States, as well as by the example afforded by the Australian colonies, which was freely quoted in the various union journals and manifestoes of the time. In answer to a circular sent by the "American Federation of Labor," to 500 prominent persons throughout the country, asking their opinion as to whether laborers should be required to work more than Eight Hours per day, and as to its effects upon the economic, social, industrial, and commercial condition of the country, nearly all who replied gave the movement their unqualified approval. Among these were judges, senators, congressmen, professors, divines, and representatives of the public Press.

One of these, the Honorable P. A. Collins, of Massachusetts, hits off his opinion thus racily: "Two hours more of fun, air, family, books, rest, and recreation cannot but enormously help in morals and mind of those who would use them wisely."

The success of the building trades in the latter year (1881) stimulated the general system of the Trades Unions towards a more definite course of action in favor of the Eight Hours' Movement throughout America. In the same year was formed the "National Federation of Trades Assembly of America," and at its Congress held at Toronto (Canada), in 1883, it gave notice that the 1st May, 1886, should be the day on which the Eight Hours would come into force in every department of industry associated under the Federation in the United States. At its Chicago Convention in 1884, and the Washington Session in 1885, the resolution was reindorsed with the utmost enthusiasm.

It was not to be expected that in a country agitated

by diverse views, on the effect of the change on social conditions, and perhaps for a time on the all-important question of wages, that anything like complete unanimity of sentiment on the subject would prevail.

Several branches of industry opposed the introduction of the measure, one of the principal dissentients being the "Brotherhood of Loco. Engineers and Firemen." One of the covert objections to the Eight Hours' Principle in the States, as it is in England, is the abolition of the overtime system which prevails, and which some say is necessary to enable supply to keep pace with consumption. What then becomes of the thousands and tens of thousands who stand idle in the streets of all great cities whom this demon "overtime" has, and still continues to crush out of a chance to live, and whose right so to do is advocated unceasingly by unionists, and demanded by all laws human and divine?

Twist the argument how we may, disengage it from its fibrous surroundings, and at the centre we will find the core—*wages*.

Trades Unionists of America who hold this view of the question will be surprised to learn that it has not reduced wages in Australia in proportion to commodities.

When the Eight Hours was obtained in Australia, the wages of the building trades ranged from 12s. to 15s. per day; but the cost of living, viz., rent, clothing, foodstocks, etc., were 50 per cent. higher than they are at present, when the wages are at a standard, averaging 10s. per day in the same trades.[8]

[8]The wages of plumbers, in consequence of the application of the new sewerage system of Melbourne, ranged from 12s. to 14s. during the last two years.

Overtime, although not prohibited, is looked upon with so much disfavor in Australia that it is difficult to induce men, even under the advanced rates claimed by the unions, viz., 25 per cent. first quarter, 50 per cent. second, and double time for night, to comply with a demand for its operation.

I remember, on one occasion, while engaged on the works of one of the principal Government buildings of Melbourne, working the allotted term of overtime permitted by our union, namely—five nights in any one month under pressure of circumstances—when our foreman, a Scotchman, who was much given to the obnoxious imposition, came one evening to the men with the usual request :

" Wallie ! You would n' mind an 'oor or twa th' nicht."

" Na man, I canna doo't ; it's the loadge nicht, an' I micht be fined."

" Jamie ! We're sare pressed for time wi' th' job ; you'll nae see me warkin' by my ain-sel ; you'll come along after tea."

" M' wife's no well th' nicht, an' th' bairns are all sae troublesome that I fear I winna be aboot."

Coming to my bench, wringing his hands, the good old fellow made a similar proposition, which was politely, but firmly declined, when he left, exclaiming : Lor ! what-eever is a comin' over the lot o' ye. An' you take my advice, you should wark, wark, wark ! while-eever ye're here ; you'll get plenty o' reest when ye're deed."

The foreman is now awaiting the resurrection ; overtime its demise.

The 1st May, 1886 was the appointed day on which the hopes of the American toilers centred. It was intended to be the date of the inauguration of the Eight Hours as a system in the New World of the West. In February of that year the Central Labor Union of St. Louis, representing all the trades of that city, declared for Eight Hours, and named the above date as that of its birth. It was further resolved that no reduction of wages should be agreed in consequence of the innovation.

A tacit understanding was, however, in evidence that if the latter proposition should be from any cause attainable, then the operatives were to be at liberty to accept a reduction of pay, so long as the Eight Hours was adopted as a *sine qua non* of the new agreement.

In a great many cases the employers conceded the demands before the inaugural day. In others, a temporary cessation of work took place to admit of deliberation, but under all circumstances strikes were to be discouraged. Indeed, there is only a record of one, that of the furniture workers (cabinet makers).

The same circumstances prevailed throughout all the principal cities of the States on this eventful day in the history of American Trades Unionism. In other centres, however, strikes followed with more or less disastrous consequences to both parties. In New York city and Brooklyn, according to an estimate furnished by Mr. T. V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, 48,000 operatives were successful in obtaining the short hours without a strike, the International Cigarmakers' Union, which had been established in 1864, and numbering 20,000 members, being included in this estimate.

In Chicago, Baltimore and Grand Rapids, Mich., the unions were equally successful during the first week in May. An accurate estimate of the total number of men who obtained the Eight Hours on demand, is set down as 100,000. Strikes and lockouts, however, followed, with the usual display of bitterness on both sides, many of the employing firms withdrawing from their new arrangements, and leaving their more honorable compeers to take the consequences of the cut-throat competition to which their honesty of principle should expose them.

During the struggle of the first week in May, the numbers on strike were as follows: New York and Brooklyn 10,825, Chicago 30,820, Cincinnati 17,100, Milwaukee 9,000, Baltimore 4,600, Boston 5,800, Pittsburg 4,150, and in Detroit 3,252.

The total number of men engaged in the movement in the United States for the whole period of disturbance was 450,000, and before the close of the memorable year of 1886, it is computed that 240,000 had obtained the advantage of the Eight Hours, while a nine hour day as a sort of compromise was in a large number of cases mutually agreed upon.

The losses during the currency of the strike as set down in *Bradstreet's* shows the following alarming results:

Wages	$2,802,000
Current business ...	3,105,000
New business stopped...	24,800,000
	$29,707,000

or an approximate total of nearly six million pounds sterling of British money.

Incidental to the great movement it must be again remarked that the building trades were, as unions, the most successful. Seven of the local societies on the Pacific slope being branches of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners established in 1881, obtained and retained the Eight Hours; their numbers being 2,846.

In the United States everything is upon a gigantic scale. Its unions, its strikes and lockouts, its railway systems and oil trusts, its enormous mining syndicates and huge marine companies, its millionaires and its marvellous resources for the greater acquisition of wealth, all point to the inevitable condition that the organisation of the workers must needs be on a gigantic scale too.

Of these the most important, and doubtless the largest union the world ever saw, is that known as the Knights of Labor. With the history of this immense organisation, which numbered in 1886 about three-quarters of a million members, this work has nothing to do, except as to its attitude towards the Eight Hours' Movement.

Mr. Terence Vincent Powderly, an American of Irish parentage, was the moving spirit of this huge army of workers, composed of all classes of toilers, male and female, and refusing only to receive within its fold—as set forth in section 3 of its constitution of local assemblies—"any person who either sells, or makes a living, or any part of it, by the sale of intoxicating drink, either as manufacturer, dealer or agent, or through any member of the family . . . and no lawyer, banker, professional gambler or stockbroker can be admitted."

In 1886 this mammoth phalanx of democracy was in the zenith of it power, and through its ponderous machinery seemed capable of grinding out any reform

upon which it pleased its chief engineer to operate. Mr. Powderly has been assailed both in the press and through the unions, and charged with "lukewarmness" in connection with the great Eight Hours' Movement of the 1st May. Unhappily it is but too frequently the custom of Labor Unions to visit their leaders with revilings and opprobrium on the most superficial grounds, and denounce their judgment often in ignorance or in utter disregard of the motives by which they are guided in the execution of an always difficult, and not infrequently, a dangerous duty.

It is just possible that Mr. Powderly considered the movement for the 1st May premature, as it must be borne in mind that it had its origin with the National Federation, which body was not directly connected with the Knights of Labor.

That he was opposed to the movement on principle, as has been averred, is, I think, absolutely and meanly false. The 21st article of the union sets forth: "To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work for more than Eight Hours."

It was therefore scarcely possible for him to be the leader of an organisation which held this as one of its principles, and be "*opposed to it on principle.*"

It must be remembered too, that the greatest railway strike which has taken place in the world's history, had commenced in the United States simultaneously with the introduction of the Eight Hours.

Indeed it was marvellous under the circumstances, that the Eight Hours obtained the measure of success it did, while the principal railway system of the States was paralysed, and thousands of its employes rendered work-

less over the dismissal of one man. In the deplorable conflict which followed, and for which Mr Powderly was in no way responsible, eight men and one woman were shot dead by the civil power, numerous others were wounded, homes were desolated, and over a million dollars lost in wages, and all through one insignificant branch ordering a strike without consulting the executive of the union.

It was in the midst of this terrible ordeal that the Eight Hours was launched in America, surely a most inopportune time, and supported by some irresponsible branches of the great organization without preparation or the sanction of Mr. Powderly and the executive, and from whose defence I here quote a sketch issued on the the 13th March, 1886:

"It is evident that our members are not properly instructed, else we would not find them passing resolutions approving of the action of our executive officers in fixing the 1st of May as the day to strike for Eight Hours. The executive officers of the Knights of Labor, have never fixed upon the 1st of May for a strike of any kind, and will not do so until the proper time arrives, and the word goes forth from the general assembly. No assembly of the Knights of Labor must strike for the Eight Hours' System on 1st May, under the impression that they are obeying orders from head quarters, for such an order was not, and will not, be given. Neither employer nor employé is educated to the needs and necessities of the short hours' plan. If one branch of trade, or one assembly is in such a condition, remember that there are many who are in total ignorance of the movement.

"Out of the sixty millions of people in the United

States and Canada, our order has possibly three hundred thousand.

"Can we mould the sentiments of the millions in favor of the short hour plan *before the 1st of May?* It is nonsense to think of it. Let us learn why our hours of labor should be reduced, and then teach others."

Notwithstanding this, several of the various "assemblies" got out of hand and struck, which, together with the great strike on the Gould South Western railway, almost decimated some of the powerful union and gave the leviathan organization a shock, from which it has not since recovered.

It was, as I have said, fortunate that the Eight Hours' System was not wrecked at its birth in America, but it is not without its warning to Trades Unionists that breaches of discipline in social complications are usually attended with the same results as those committed by troops in the field—disaster and defeat.

The Eight Hours, however, being now transplanted in the West, it took but little time to "learn why the hours of labour should be reduced," and the agitation like wildfire spread over the prairies and far into the hearts of all the mining communities of the great Continent. My space will not permit of a detail of the sanguinary transactions by which it was sought to enforce its humanising provisions among the semi-disciplined miners of the States. In the township of Penn, State of Pennsylvania, it was estimated that 100,000 miners went out on strike for the Eight Hours in 1891.

Riots occurred at Pittsburg, Scottdale and Morewood

simultaneously; in the latter of which five men, two women, and one girl were killed, and over forty wounded.

In 1891, the movement became more intense, and early in the year notice was given of laying the pits idle on the 1st of May, if the Eight Hour day was not conceded in Ohio, Illanois and Pennsylvania.

The 1st May brought the realisation of the trouble with all its harrowing details of misery, incendiarism, riots and bloodshed.

The story of these strikes would fill a volume, and upon which I may not enter. The miners were successful in many cases, meeting their antagonists—the Pinkerton patrol, the coal and iron police, and Chinese competition, with the determination of men who put an issue of life or death on their resolve, and in the words of Stanley Jevons sang :

So we'll ne'er surrender tamely
To the ills that throng us fast.
If we must die, let's die gamely;
Luck may take a turn at last.

Chapter IV.

Continental Socialism—The Guild System in Germany—Trade Laws—Bismark—Bradlaugh—The wings of Capital—France, the birth-place of Modern Socialism—Louis Blanc—State of the German laborer—Eight Hours in the Reichstag—Karl Marx—Engels—Schulze-Delitzsch — Max Hirsch — Lassalle — Robertus — His prophecy—Improvement of the working classes in late years—Story of the Women's "streik" for the Eight Hours in Berlin—Paris International Congress—John Norton—Resolutions of the Congress—English delegates chary—Their explanation—The "Times" on the question — German literature — Strikes — Riots — Bloodshed — Effects of War on civil population—Renewed exertions of the Socialists—Bismark's abandonment—Industrial Freedom—First Eight Hours' Day on the Continent—Leo XIII.—The Rescript—The Berlin Conference—Simultaneous Congresses on the Eight Hours' Movement in Europe—Austro-Hungary.

It is quite conceivable, that Socialism with its enormous ramifications and glowing possibilities should inflame the passions of the proletariat of the Continent of Europe.

With them the institution of the Eight Hours' Day has proved to be a sincere aspiration, although there are many other considerations which surround their wretched condition.

The continuance of the feudal system, the curse of militarism, the inhuman treatment of women who are compelled to work as beasts of burden, and, in general,

the frightful conditions of life among the denizens of central Europe compels the idea that nothing short of a social upheaval is at all capable of social salvation.

The evolution is not a thing of yesterday, as some people may suppose. It has been going on by the operation of natural laws, which have agitated all communities from time immemorial, and the culmination of which usually springs into reform or revolution.

The scientific basis, however, on which modern Socialism is founded, has not been so long understood.

Indeed, it cannot be said that among the leaders themselves that anything approaching a consensus on the dogmas of its general principle has been arrived at. Be this as it may, European rulers have to acknowledge that it is a power to be reckoned with, and one which can no longer be brushed aside with obstinacy or contempt.

It is only within the last decade that in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Austro-Hungary, and even Russia, the tide of direct Socialistic enterprise has either set in, or the rush of its mighty current as it approaches, can be heard in the Senate halls of Empires, harbinger of world-moving change impending.

Trades Unionism, *per se*, on the Continent, has not yet assumed either the proportions or the compactness of our British industrial societies.

The Guild System preponderates, and is supported by the State in preference to the distinctively Union System, for the very obvious reason that by its codes the wealthy classes have a greater hold on the proletariat

than would be possible under communities of workmen only. This may be accepted as a reason why Trades Union ethics, as practised by British workmen, find so little place on the Continent.

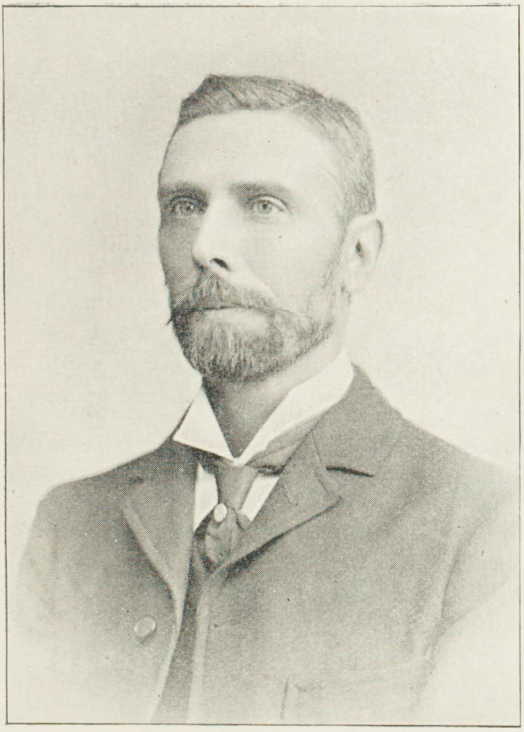
In Germany this is most marked, arising probably from the dearth of inter-communication between the workmen of the separate nationalities. Indeed, a feature of industrial life to be observed everywhere in Germany, is its isolation to the national character. A few Italians may be found in the principal centres, or, perhaps a few Austrians, but the low rate of wages prevailing in the Empire is an effective safeguard against the encroachments of the ubiquitous Englishman.

The country is to a great extent governed by the trade laws, which are designed to be the props of the Guild System, while it is put forward as a plea that they are intended to protect the artisan against the growing power of capital, as represented by the factory system.

The Emperor of Germany on the 25th November, 1886, in a speech from the throne, declared it to be an Imperial duty to give these trade organisations (the Guilds) support, with a view to the restoration of a more vigorous artisan class. We are told by Mr. Dawson[1] that "no fewer than 9,185 Guilds existed in Germany in 1886. In Berlin, the most radical city in the country, nearly half the artisans belonged to these Guilds. The total number of artisans was 35,330, of whom 13,249 were employers with 31,988 journeymen, and 7,554 apprentices organised under the Guild System."

The trade laws, however, allow combinations, other

[1] "Bismark and State Socialism," W. H. Dawson. Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., London, 1894.



CHARLES HARRIS,
Secretary Anniversary Committee, 1900.

than the Guilds for the purpose of obtaining higher wages, etc.

The late Prince Bismark, who could hardly be described as a disciple of *Laissez Faire*, which he described as "*the abandonment of the weak to their own resources*" was yet somewhat dogmatically opposed to any limitation by law, or otherwise of the hours of labor. In a speech delivered by him on the 9th of January, 1882, he is reported to have said:

> "In special businesses the hours of labor cannot be dictatorially curtailed in all cases. Every business has its ebb and flow. . . . There must be freedom of action, so that with a larger trade, more forces may be employed than is the case with a small trade."

He further states:

> "A maximum work day would be attended with the danger that every employer would feel justified in going to the maximum, even those who had not formerly worked so long. If it were ordered that fourteen hours—which by the way, I regard as a monstrous working day, and one which is intolerable—might not be exceeded, the employer who had hitherto perhaps only worked ten or twelve hours might say, 'I can legally work fourteen hours.'
>
> "Therein lies the danger of a maximum regulation. A normal work day would be extremely desirable if it could only be attained.
>
> "Who does not wish to help the working man when he sees him returning home at the close of the day, tired and needing rest, when he finds him embittered that this rest is not allowed him through the imposition of overtime—the rest which he would rather have than the money he earns by overtime
>
> "The man who has not earnestly wished to help the working man in his grievances cannot have a heart at all. But how is it to be done? This he confessed he did not know."

Who would have thought that within the rugged breast of this man of "blood and iron," beat a heart so full of tender sentiment, and in which the milk of human kindness overflowed, inculcating the maximum that "the drying up of a single tear has more of honest fame than shedding seas of gore."

Great men have a marvellous faculty for such outpourings as the one I have just quoted; but they are usually unreliable navigators on a sea of social turmoil.

The late Mr. Bradlaugh also confessed that he too "did not know . . . *how is it to be done?*"

The twin philosophy of these great friends of the workingman was unequal, or perhaps unwilling, to frame a chart by which the open sea of industrial freedom may be gained, and the frowning rocks of mythological disaster avoided.

The dual reasoning adopted by these two censors of progressive labor aspirations may be placed with advantage thus:

BISMARK.[2]

"If the hours of work were to be reduced twenty per cent., wages would fall to the same extent, and what would the working classes do then? At present they earned just sufficient for their needs, and the reduction of their wages would mean want and distress, unless, indeed, the State were to step in and make up the deficit. It was

[2]Continuation of speech in the Reichstag, 9th January, 1882.

C. BRADLAUGH.[3]

"That is, the workers will produce less in Eight Hours,[4]

[3]Force or Conciliation in labor disputes? C. Bradlaugh, in "Subjects of the Day," Part vii., p. 138. London, G. Routledge, 1890.

[4]Although I have already intimated that sustained forced labor is capable of greater productivity, it is not to be overlooked that that principle does not apply in all cases. Railway men, tram employés, waterworks employés, and others could not of course increase their output, but must, however, be considered in connection with the economic side of the question, embracing the recent improvements, scientific and mechanical, of the means of production.

impossible to expect employers to pay the same wages if the hours of labor were reduced; that would be to increase the cost of production, to cripple trade, and particularly to strike a heavy blow at export industries. Thus there were rocks on both sides, a Scylla on this, and a Charybdis on that."

and to sustain the rate of production, more workers must be employed. But either the present workers for the lesser hours are to receive a lesser wage, or the cost of production must be materially increased. Ought it to be within the competence of Parliament, by an Eight Hours' Act, to arbitrarily either lessen the wage, or to increase to the consumer the cost of the article produced? If it be true that say in textile industries, additional employment is to be given, then either double shifts must be worked, or additional plant must be added, larger mills being required. Ought Parliament to run the risk of annihilating some industry, the margin of profit in which will not permit this considerable increase of fixed capital?"

Here again we have the old crux parentally explained for the benefit of the working men, which, stripped of its economic integuments, and—to use a vulgarism—"boiled down," signifies wages *versus* profits. If aught must yield, it must perforce be the former. Profit must not be disturbed, save by an upward tendency; wealth must continue to accumulate in the hands of the few, and fewer still, as the world grows older, and no process of re-adjustment of the hallowed export trade can be thought of. The time-worn axiom that "the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer," is the third postu-

late of the Socialists, and the late W. E. Gladstone has said :

> " It is one of the most melancholy features in the social state of this country, that while there was a decrease in the consuming powers of the people, and while there was an increase in the privations and distress of the laboring class and operatives, there was at the same time a constant accumulation of wealth in the upper classes, and a constant increase of capital."

It is with some concern that an Australian workman observes that neither Bismark nor Bradlaugh did not include yet another argument generally adopted by some colonial doctrinaires of the same school of political economy, viz. : " That in the event of either profits or exports being endangered by any unholy effort on the part of labor, capital would take wings and fly to some other and more congenial resting-place."

It is said : " Where a man hath his treasure, there also is his heart ; " and although Australian workmen have listened with much respect to these diatribes, their equanimity remains undisturbed by the potency of the doctrine. Even the French revolution did not drive all the capital from France, its possessors in too many cases preferring to take their passport to heaven to that of taking flight to another terrestrial atmosphere.

The hollowness of these economic shams, as far as they affect the Eight Hours' question, may be sounded by a reference to the progress made under the system in the half century of its existence.

In Victoria, the total number of factories in 1857—the year following the introduction of the Eight Hours' System—was 474, employing 13,000 hands.

Although there were threatenings, even then capital did not fly away, and in 1882, the year in which the great Chancellor made the speech in question, these factories multiplied into 21,854, employing nearly 50,000 hands, the plant and machinery in operation being valued at £12,633,988.

We will further see how the Government Statist puts the matter.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total Trade.
1882—New South Wales	£21,281,150	£16,716,961	£37,998,111
1882—Victoria ..	18,748,081	16,193,579	34,941,660
	40,029,231	32,910,540	
	32,910,540		
	£7,118,691	excess of imports over exports.	

So much for the political economists and the export trade. Working men, however, will no longer be deluded when they can point to the fact that in 1882, the imports of the two principal colonies showed an excess of £7,118,691 over exports, and in 1899 the order is reversed, as last year showed our exports exceeded our imports by £4,088,502.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total Trade.
1899—New South Wales	£24,860,681	£28,334,288	£53,194,969
1899—Victoria ..	17,952,894	18,567,789	36,520,683
	42,813,575	46,902,077	
		42,813,575	
		£4,088,502	excess of exports over imports.

We now come to the consideration of the continental labor question in its relation to the Eight Hours' System

France is the birthplace of modern Socialism, Louis Blanc, its founder. Had it not been for this movement, which caught up every tenet of social amelioration as it became revealed, it is probable that the Eight Hours' Movement would not have been included in the Socialistic propaganda—in fact, it is more than probable that it would not up to the present have taken root beyond the confines of the English-speaking race.

Notwithstanding that the millions of toilers of Continental Europe had no share of daylight to call their own, working far into the night, nor seldom resting on the Sabbath, these ill-starred workers struggled on uncomplaining; their chief grievance being that nature would not permit them to work longer, so that they might earn a little more to assuage their miseries, and often those of their half-starved families.

Living in squalidness, cooped-up dens that a British dog would shun, festering in disease, in perpetual dread of the laws which should be their safeguard, goaded to desperation at the sight of the aristocrat sweeping past in his gilded chariot while their own wives and little ones are shoeless and ragged, haunted by the wild delirium of better days, or death, to release them from those scenes:

> "Where all life dies, death lives and nature breeds,
> Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable."

In 1885 the Socialists introduced a Bill into the Reichstag for a normal work day of ten hours, and eight on Saturdays, for all people over sixteen years.

2. For underground work the maximum day to be Eight Hours.

3. No work on Sundays or festivals, except in the case of railways or canals, means of communication, places of recreation, and industries where uninterrupted work is necessary, etc.

The Socialists did not expect to do more than open the question in opposition to the prevailing trade laws, but they succeeded in having the scheme referred to a Committee of the House, and no more was ever heard of it. A private member of the Reichstag, in 1887, sought to pass a measure for the purpose of enacting a legal day of eleven hours for work people, but this also failed. Thus far the German Socialists had not ventured to include an Eight Hours' proposal in their propagandist platform. Neither Karl Marx, nor Engels (who proclaimed the tocsin: "The working-classes have the world to win—they have nothing to lose but their chains"), never dreamed of an Eight Hours' Day.

Dr. Herman Schulze-Delitzsch, of whom Mr. Max Hirsch is a disciple, mainly busied himself with co-operative schemes. Lassalle, who brought Socialism to a higher and more practical level than any other of his compeers, did not seem to have contemplated that a shorter work day would enable his "Labor Battalions" (they numbered three-quarters of a million during his life) to more thoroughly grasp his doctrine, as he expressed it: "The alliance of science and the laborers, those two opposite poles of Society, when once they have met and embraced each other, will crush the impediments of culture in their brazen arms. This is the object for which I am determined to spend my life so long as there is any breath in me." What Lassalle

might have accomplished had he lived long enough it is impossible to conjecture. He was one of those rare beings whose majestic personality has a charm for all who had once seen and heard him speak.

While Schulze-Delitzsch and Robertus-Jagetzow were formulating schemes co-operative and State-Socialistic, Lassalle with a wave of his hand called into existence the *Allgemeine Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein* (General Laborers' Association of Germany), of which he was elected quinquennial President. His life was cut short in a duel over a love affair, and thus was lost to the world probably the greatest political organizer which Europe had seen since the immortal Corsican had fascinated La Belle France.

Robertus, who advocated the more pacific theory of social evolution by gradual and peaceable means, suggests it to be the duty of the State to fix a normal day of labor, State interference, and State help in the solution of the social problem.

The Rev. M. Kaufmann, M.A., in an essay on "Scientific Socialism," introduces Robertus by a passage from one of the latter's writings on the subject:

> "I am persuaded that the revolution will come. It will come either in complete conformity to law and order with all the blessings of peace, if there is wisdom and resolution enough on the part of the rulers to effect it from above, and while as yet there is time. Or it will break out at any given moment with all the convulsive energy of force, with wild waving locks, and with sandals on its feet of burnished brass! One way or another it will come, and I myself, when deaf to the daily noise around me, absorbed as I am reflecting on the history of the past, can hear its approach."

It will, therefore, be observed that the wretched con-

dition of the German working classes previous to the introduction of Socialistic movements on the Continent, and in the agitations arising therefrom, the short hour question only held a minor place.

A writer who has visited Germany[5] with the object of inquiring into the condition of the working classes tells us: "As a matter of fact, formerly the German working man hardly knew the taste of meat, living upon black bread and vegetables. He was scantily clothed, and had to work 12 or 14 hours a day for his wages, so that with the enhanced cost of food, the inevitable demands of modern civilization and enforced taxes (chiefly indirect in his case), and high price of necessary articles of use, the protective duties by which the manufacturer is the chief gainer, a rise of 22 per cent. leaves him pretty well where he was formerly.

The Social Democrats have, however, of late years altered these dire circumstances considerably, and as they had their origin in France, so too did they receive their first inspiration in the Eight Hours' Principle at the Paris Congress of 1886. Tardy of growth though the movement appears on the Continent, it is hourly becoming more significant in both France and Germany that the Eight Hours' Question can no longer be considered as an adjunct, but must be placed in the van of Socialistic reform.

In their efforts in this direction, the disciples of Lassalle have succeeded beyond even their own anticipations, and the long 12 and 14 hour day throughout Germany has been reduced to one of ten, and in some

[5] "German and French Labor Movements" by James Samuelson.

cases nine, while it is also affirmed that some few firms in Berlin are now engaged in making the experiments of the Eight Hours' System of labor in their manufactories.

With this salutary change, improved conditions of living is also apparent.

Dr. Flint informed Mr. Samuelson that "the working classes live better now than formerly; that their wages had risen 25 per cent., and their condition was somewhat improved. They get a little meat now, yes, sometimes a little warm soup and meat; but they still live chiefly on rye-bread, butter, and cheese, and sausage; they drink beer (very weak lager beer), and occasionally they get schnapps."

The object of the German Labor Unions (which must not be confounded with the Guilds) in now clamouring for the Eight Hours is, with most of them, doubtless, sincere, believing that by ceaseless agitation, they may ultimately succeed in placing themselves on a similar footing with the more favored workmen of Great Britain and Australia.

The Bismarkian puzzle "how is it to be done?" scarcely deters, or confounds, them now. They know the answer: *Eight Hours means increased, not reduced, wages.*

Such is the charter; the first book of which has been purchased from the Sibyl of the South.

It may be interesting to Australian workmen, who, seated on velvet and morocco in their palatial Trades' Halls, and where the dignity of their labor holds on its undisturbed and peaceful course, to be told of the proceeding of an Eight Hours' strike meeting held at Berlin, at which Mr. Samuelson was present.

"This 'streik' meeting . . . was held in a beer saloon, or concert hall, called the Königstadt Casino, and although it was advertised for 5.30 p.m., it was an hour later before the proceedings commenced. I was told that if a meeting is not held within an hour of the advertised time, the police regulations forbid its being proceeded with." The strike was that of what is called "carton"—workwomen—viz., card-box makers. "At one end of the hall was a stage, or platform, on which sat, or rather, stood, the chairman, for he was constantly on his feet, and seemed to consider it his duty to influence his audience. By his side sat the vice-*chairwoman*, a handsome, but stern-looking girl, who, contrary to the received opinion regarding the sex, was remarkably reticent, and confined her speeches to occasional calls for order, and at her side a quiet young man, who acted as secretary. Notice of such a meeting has to be given to the police, without whose authority it dare not be held. And below the platform, between it and the audience, sat an old lieutenant of *gens d'armes* radiant in blue and silver, 'proto-colling,' or taking notes, a 'sub.' sitting by his side. If anything seditious had been said, he would have risen and dissolved the meeting; and outside there was a *posse* of *gens d'armes* ready to give effect to his orders.[6] The permission to hold the meeting was shown to him on his arrival, but there was no need for his intervention, for although some very strong expressions were used against the employers, no reference was made to politics. The strikers, about 300 in number, were women and girls, with a fair sprinkling of men, who did the talking.

[6]It may be here mentioned that in France a similar notice has to be given to the police, but they have no right to interfere except in case of a disturbance.

The women sat round small tables, and they, as well as the men, drank lager beer. Even the fair vice-chairwoman indulged in this indispensable necessity of German social life, and she more than once made elegant use of the back of her hand as a *serviette* after indulging in a draught. This feature in the proceedings would have shocked the feelings of an English Trades' Unionist, but here, to slightly vary a well-known couplet, was :

> 'Lager, Lager everywhere,
> But not a soul was drunk.'

The wages of the 'carton'—workwomen—had varied from 6s. to 12s. per week, and they now demanded an advance of 33 per cent. and an Eight Hours day."

This meeting taking place in 1890, is probably the first strike of workwomen on the European Continent for the Eight Hours.

The International Trades' Union Congress, which sat in Paris in 1886, brought together the combined intellect of several nationalities of representative workingmen, including one from far-off Australia.

Mr. John Norton[7] was the accredited representative of New South Wales to this world's congress of workingmen's leaders. Previous to his departure for Europe, Mr. Norton visited the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne, where he received a cordial reception.

Mr. Norton explained the objects of his mission to Europe, the Council endorsing some of his views, especially that of opposition to the spread of misleading literature then being circulated in Europe on the Emigra-

[7]Alderman John Norton, M.P., Proprietor and Editor of Sydney *Truth*, New South Wales.

tion question. I do not propose to deal with either Mr. Norton's exposition of the Australian labor question, or the series of resolutions debated during the session of the congress. It will be sufficient for the purposes of this work to state that Mr. Norton's mission was undertaken under peculiarly inauspicious circumstances.

Australia, at the time, was in the throes of one of those depressions, which is more or less a factor in the history of all countries, and from which even new settlements possessing great natural resources are not exempt.

Mr. Norton was severely criticised by sections of the English and colonial press for the manner in which he gave expression to the opinions and convictions of the working classes of New South Wales on the question of emigration of workpeople from Europe to Australia, at a time when it would have been impossible for the emigrants to obtain employment on their arrival. In doing this, Mr. Norton offended by adopting his since well-known style of vituperation.

He employed but little rhetoric in his denunciations of the mischievous and wholly unreliable literature then being circulated throughout Europe on Australia as a profitable field of labor, towards which the working classes of the old world in their distresses should converge. I know Mr. Norton well, and I am fully satisfied of his ability to harrow away the subtle meshes of sophistry and misrepresentation with which it was sought to lure to these shores the distressed British workman or the pittance-paid operatives of Central Europe.

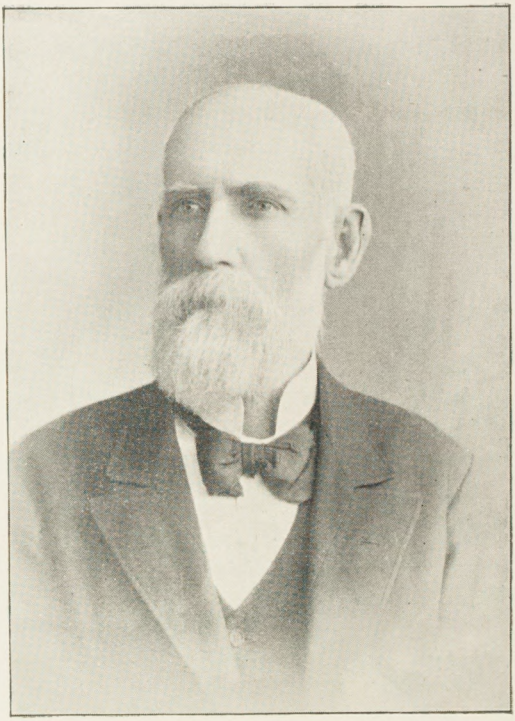
On this question at least, Mr. Norton carried out the

Burnett rose to explain that the English delegates remained neutral because they had received no mandate. They could only promise to lay the proposals before the Congress at Hull. They had come to Paris without instructions.

Mr. Norton, of Sydney, then rose and denounced the English delegates as men who had no right to be present at the meetings, seeing that they were merely authorised spectators, not actors.

Notwithstanding this remarkable *denouement* to a great international drama, the battle-ship of the Eight Hours was successfully launched on the troubled sea of Continental Socialism, and henceforth, though buffeted and blood-stained, it still pursues its humanising course to the port of Industrial Emancipation.

In Germany, the toilers are gradually, but surely breaking down the Guild System, and strengthening those true labor bodies in which employers can have place. The repressive laws which were formerly in force, have been relaxed, the authorities at length realising that such measures defeat their own ends, leading to dissimulation, conspiracy, and internecine reprisals. The circulation of democratic literature, although still subject to severe censorship, is educating the masses on those points which most concern them. "The language of their organs," says Mr. Samuelson, "is not always savoury, and their proposed methods, such as 'international revolution,' and 'destruction of the present class of society,' are not likely to meet with public support; but so long as class legislation is enacted for the rich, and denounced for the poor, State Socialism will grow in favor, and while the wealthy and 'privileged'



DUNCAN McIVER,
Ex-President Trades' Hall Committee.

think only of their own comforts and enjoyments, the poor and down-trodden will look to communism for relief."

It is sad, however, to think that the chrysalis which has been nurtured in peace and harmony under these Southern skies, should be dimmed so frequently on the Continents of Europe and America by riot and disaster. Early in 1889, a colliery strike for the achievement of the Eight Hours took place in Westphalia (Prussia), in which 40,000 miners were engaged, and riots ensuing, the military was called out and fired upon the unhappy men, killing three and wounding a great many more.

The employers appeared to give way, and the result instigated a greater number in Essen (Rhenish Prussia) almost simultaneously to strike for Eight Hours. In this latter district no less than 90,000 miners caught the flame, and onwards, as if fanned by the wings of Mercury, flew the tocsin of Eight Hours over Silesia and Saxony; in the former the mines were destroyed and pillaged, the military again called out, more firing upon the people—lives lost, some wounded, and a considerable number sentenced to lengthened terms of imprisonment.

It would ill become Australian workmen to withhold sympathy from their Teutonic fellow toilers in their efforts to obtain possession of a system which experience has shown to be the keystone of industrial progress.

But sympathy is not and cannot be misconstrued into acquiescence in proceedings engendering to rapine and wantonness.

These have proved in the past, and ever will prove in the future, the rock on which the bark of Trades'

Unionism strikes with such tremendous force, that public confidence is skaken, and the existence of the noble fabric imperilled.

In the month of January, 1890, the miners of Westphalia renewed the attempt to break down the long day measure, and gave notice that on the 1st May following, they would again throw the mines idle unless the Eight Hours' system was conceded.

In numerous other industries the same demand went forth, and the authorities were at length forced to grapple with the question, welling up as part of the Socialistic wave, which was now seething and rolling over the greater part of Northern and Southern Germany.

The war of '66-70, and the long peace following, had done for Germany what the great civil war accomplished for American workmen—it turned soldiers into socialists. Bismark infused a spark of enthusiasm into the hopes of the German socialists by a speech in the Reichstag on old age pensions: "If," cried the great Chancellor, "you will give the laborer the right to labor as long as he is in health, secure to him care when he is sick, provide for his support when he is old—if you will do that, and not cry out about State Socialism whenever the support of the aged is spoken of; if the State shows some Christian solicitude for the working people, working men will respect and champion the Government."

The Reichstag, however, refused to be guided by those burning words of wisdom, and preferred to let the tide roll on until it almost invaded their own dwellings, and only stopped at the foot of the throne. The Emperor issued his famous rescript directing his Chancellor to

convene an International Conference of the Powers on the question of the regulation of European labor. Bismark demurred to this, the Kaiser arranged the conference himself, hence the estrangement, abandonment, and final overthrow, of the great man who placed the iron crown of empire on the head of his Sovereign's grandsire.

Meantime the German cry, "*Gewerbefreiheit*" (industrial freedom) had penetrated to the southern province of Bavaria, which is the grand centre of the Social Democrats of Germany.

In the towns of Munich, Augsburg, Nuremburg, and Furth, strikes for shorter hours occurred, and resulted in many cases in the partial success of the workers.

In all these places female labor of the most degrading character is everywhere to be met with, in the towns, the fields, or by the banks of the "blue" Danube, the Rhine and the Elbe, feminine slavery is depicted in its most debasing forms.

Industrial freedom! Social Democracy! names of fœtid import to the disciples of *Laissez Faire*.

Where are your eyes, when you travel on the continent of Europe enjoying the surpassing beauties of the lovely countries traversed by these rivers? Did you not observe hundreds of poor women performing the work of English wharf laborers in the unloading of coal at the river side? Did you not watch them bending beneath baskets of the mineral, each of which weighs 65 lbs., for the pittance of 6s. a week with which to keep body and soul together?

Where are your ears? Does not the prophecy of Robertus tingle unto their drums?

> "Allah! Allah! cried the stranger,
> Wondrous sights the traveller sees,
> But the greatest is the latest,
> Where the drones control the bees."

THE FIRST EIGHT HOURS' DAY ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

THURSDAY, the first of May, 1890, has taken its place in history. It was inauguration day of the Eight Hours' System in Continental Europe. On that day the scions of labor held high holiday in honor of a principle—visionary, though it might seem, to many of them—it was yet worthy of the great demonstrations which in most of the European capitals welcomed its near, though perhaps somewhat nervous, approach. In Paris, Vienna, Rome, and numerous other cities, were to be observed congregated thousands of Franks, Teutons, Spaniards, Scandinavians, Swiss, Italians, Bavarians, Bohemians, Slavs, Dutch and Hungarians engaged in a national protest against the bane of long hours of labor.

So alarmed became the Governments of some of the great powers, that the principal streets of the capitals fairly bristled with soldiery.

In France—impulsive France! hundreds of arrests were made in anticipation of a popular *emeute*, but which turned out to be one of the most peaceful gatherings ever held within the gay city of Paris; the representatives of the new Socialism presenting their petition to a Cabinet Minister, and in which *La Carmagnole* was not recited. In Vienna, troops paraded the streets, while 150,000

processionists with bands, and banners waving, passed on their peaceful march, and displaying as loyal and peaceful demeanour as might be witnessed in one of the cities of the Sunny South.

Even in classic Rome, where trouble was expected, the King and Queen drove through the streets of the eternal city, and received from their Eight Hours' aspiring subjects an ovation as whole-hearted as it was pregnant, with the meaning attached to it by the late Marcus Clarke :

> " Liberty ! name of warning !
> Did you feel your pulses beat ?
> As ye marching, moved this morning
> All adown the cheering street ?
> In your federated freedom,
> In your manliness allied,
> While the badges of your labor
> Were the banners of your pride."

Unhappily, however, the great continental movement seems to have been of little educational influence to the upper classes nor the *bourgeoisie* of the capitals, who, perhaps, had never before heard of the Eight Hours unallied with Social ruin and anarchy. But the workers had now set their hearts on its achievement, and while they would endeavour to enlist public sympathy, a deep and fixed determination was evinced to stake the hazard of the die, even at the dreadful cost of lawlessness and self-sacrifice.

In Germany deputations of workmen and employers alternately waited on the Emperor, whose mandate to the latter was that concessions should be made, and while he promised the workmen his protection, he also

informed them that he would repress any socialistic movements with a stern hand, and, in the exercise of the great powers he possessed, he would shoot down every offender against the authority of the law.

It was at this period that he launched his historic rescript. In addition to having secured the assent of nearly all the great Powers—Russia and Turkey excepted—the Emperor addressed a letter to the Pope, asking that the approval of His Holiness might be given to the proposal. Leo XIII., in his reply, cordially endorsed the intended scheme of the Emperor, whose views he believed to be most opportune for the alleviation of the condition of the working classes of Europe. His Holiness, however, reminded the Emperor that any reform which was not based on religious principles would prove ineffectual for the purposes intended. His Holiness further intimated his intention to issue an encyclical on the subject.

The International Conference of 1890, at Berlin, brought forth nothing but some suggested measures of relief under the factory system, the English delegates—like those at the Paris Congress—being specially instructed to take no part in any discussion which might be introduced on the Eight Hours' Question. M. Jules Simon, on behalf of France, opposed the abolition of Sunday working, and which, with the half-hearted recommendations from the other commissioners, the feelings of the Social Democrats took fire anew throughout Germany and Austria; riots occurring in the latter country before even the close of the conference. Agitation and strikes all over the continent followed, display-

ing in their intensity a deeper feeling of disappointment than had hitherto appeared.

Early in the ensuing year, 1891, a Congress of Trades' Unions was held in France, at which the legalisation of the Eight Hours was demanded, and declaratory resolutions passed for the purpose of fomenting a general European strike to take place and continue until the measure was secured. Another similar assembly was held at Brussels with the same intention, and the additional purpose of breaking down the opposition of the employers to universal suffrage. At Madrid a Congress of working men was held about the same time, at which a general strike was advocated to secure the Eight Hours. A World's Miners' Congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in Rhenish Prussia, demanding the universal adoption of the system for all persons employed in mining pursuits, surface or underground. These were followed by another International Miners' Congress, held at Paris, when resolutions were again passed by the continental delegates in favor of an Eight Hours' Law, but to which the British representatives again dissented, culminating in disorderly scenes and another breach of friendly relations which marked the Congress of 1886. Nothing daunted, the continental Socialists organised a renewal of the May Day celebration. The Emperor of Germany, who fancied that his Berlin Labor Conference had completely disorganised the rising spirit of Socialism, now found himself confronted with a new power in the Reichstag, into which the Social Democrats had placed 34 representatives.

Anticipating the effect of the approaching May Day Fête, the Kaiser again referred to the "crying injus-

tices " under which the German laboring class suffered, and stated his intention of instituting measures which would effectually remove these injustices. Emboldened, however, by the steady refusal of the English miners to ratify any resolution for a legal restriction of the work day as demanded by the recent Congress, he announced that at the present juncture it was impossible to introduce the Eight Hours System into the coal mines of Germany.

This vacillation was followed by further strikes throughout Germany. The great amalgamation of compositors of the Fatherland struck work throughout the Empire for a compromise—nine hours—and got it. At Fourmies, in the North of France, a general strike was started on this fatal May Day, which led to a conflict with the troops, in which several lives were lost, and again the movement was repulsed in blood.

It would be too early in the history of labor movements in the other countries of Europe to notice at any length the efforts made at amelioration.

Trades Unions in the Austro-Hungarian Empire are of too recent birth to enable the Eight Hours' Movement to yet find a footing in the Empire of Francis Joseph.

In 1892, a few attempts at industrial organisation were being made. The wages throughout that Empire range from 1s. 6d. to 3s 8d. per day for men, and from 6d. to 1s. 3d. for women. The hours of labor vary from 10 to 13½, while, however, the miners work less, about 4 per cent. of the whole working Eight Hours. It will, therefore, be seen that the movement is in the embryo

stage; and it is regrettable to find our brother unionists of Great Britain, who anticipate the danger of competition with the cheap labor of the Continent, refusing to endorse the very measure which would raise the price of the foreign product and secure themselves thereby. But I am writing history, and will leave this subject for another chapter.

Chapter V.

Great Britain—Guilds versus Trades Unions—Divisions on the Eight Hours' Question—Legal Enactment Party versus the Voluntary Party—Wages—Overtime—The Earl of Shaftesbury—Miss Martineau—Ten Hours' Bill—The Amalgamated Engineers—The decade 1850-60—Transportation—Emigration—The London Masons—The London Carpenters and Joiners—The Great Lock-out of the Building Trade of '59—Collapse—Congresses—Parliamentary Committee—Mr. G. Shipton—Southport Congress '85—Bradford 1888—Miss Whyte—First Great International Congress held in England (London 1888)—John Burns—Great Struggle, Legal Enactment versus Voluntarism—Victory for the latter—First Eight Hours' Demonstration in England—The Liverpool Congress—Triumph of the Legal Enactment Party—Great Rejoicings—Eight Hours' granted by the British Government—Eight Hours' Mines Bill rejected.

Great Britain is the birthplace and the old home of Trades' Unionism. From its mediæval infancy it has grown and outgrown all other forms of organisation distinctly British in their origin. It was brought to life by the accident, misadventure or design of that prolific parent of social reforms—the oppression of the weak by the strong. The Story of the Guilds of the Middle Ages with their mysteries, and their liveries—which were harmless,—their provident accessories, their fraternisation at their common amusements, and their educational influences—which were the best of them,

—while their prejudices, their conservatism and their oppression of their weaker brethren, which brought about the rise of Trades' Unionism and their own decimation, are all too well-known to need recapitulation.

The history of both is a conglomeration of warring atoms; the Guilds embracing a medley of internal feuds with external jealousies and demonstrations against the *bourgeoisie*, the neighbouring lords and the Crown; the Unions suddenly ostracised from the former, deprived of the protection of the laws, their objects denounced by the Guilds, and their organisations penalised by the State, leaves all historians in doubt as to whether or not a single definite principle which they once held in common survives.

I think there is not; but it will be at least patriotic to concede to the late learned Thorold Rogers the prestige of Mediævalism for the Eight Hours' Principle. Throughout these pages, I have only endeavoured to trace its mundane career for over half-a-century in those countries where it has obtained a footing *as a system;* and I now return to a *precis* of its later developments in Great Britain, which has undoubted claims to its conception—apart from the traditional—and whose hardy sons successfully planted the seeds and brought forth the fruit on a new and more congenial soil.

The British Trades' Union System of to-day is a marvellous power; exciting the wonder of the civilised world. Its organisation and expansion into amalgamations, its imposing Congresses—local and international; its discipline, administration, economy, solidarity and fighting capacity claim for it as a social power a position inferior

only to the Army and Navy of the Empire as national institutions.

Its leaders, who are mainly drawn from the most intelligent of their own ranks, are usually men of ability, discernment, and courage.

Imbued with the doubting proclivities and the native pugnacity of the race, they frequently misconstrue and misinterpret each other's meaning, and wrangle doggedly among themselves; much as do the leaders of political parties in Parliament, while appearing to pursue the same object. This wrangling frequently ends in open rupture between parties, followed by corporate estrangement, by which some great principle is retarded indefinitely, or perhaps sacrificed to the methods which rival brains, acting with an obstinate zeal, contend for.

Thus it is that British Trades' Unionists are divided on the Eight Hours' Question into two separate camps. On the one side are the Legislative Enactment Party; and on the other what might be called the local optionists, or those who rely on the power of the Unions *per se* to achieve the object by the usual means adopted by these bodies. It must be admitted that the latter have strong claims to emphasise their views when they point to the fact that the institution of the Eight Hours in Australia was acquired by purely voluntary effort, and so far as the open labor organisations, both of England and the United States, are concerned, any measure of success they obtained in the introduction of the system has sprung from the same source. It might further be advanced by them, that the voluntary principle has extended in Australia from its inception, until it now embraces the workers in certain industries who never expected to

come under its provisions. So successful, peaceable, and smooth did the voluntary evolution phase of the question assume in late years, that it seemed almost a work of superrogation to wait upon an Australian employer in connection with the question. During my official connection with the Trades' Hall Council of Melbourne, I was visited by employers at different times who desired to give their adhesion to the principle quite unsolicited, and before even their own employees were informed of the contemplated change.[1]

These are evidences of the voluntary system, to which no doubt its advocates will add the additional reason, that its application in some cases would be unsuitable, and should not therefore be made compulsory against the wishes of those interested.

The advocates of the Legislative Enactment Principle base their claims on its expediency from a socialistic point of view, and consider for various reasons that the evolutionary process is all too slow in its operation, at the same time recognising—or rather giving away—a saving clause for those industries in which the operatives consider themselves to be the best judges of the time-parceling economy of their diurnal avocations.

What the claimants for legal intervention have to apprehend is, *not* the cupidity of employers, nor the loss of the export trade, nor the disinclination of the legis-

[1] Prominent among these may be mentioned the directors of the Carlton and West End Brewery; the late W. R. Montgomerie, brewer; Messrs. Smith, Winn and Fielding, maltsters; Mr. James Munday, tanner, Geelong; and while I write the Melbourne Tramway and Omnibus Company have published their adhesion to the principle, with one day of rest in seven, for their employees.

lature to give effect to the measure, which, however it may be introduced socially, cannot be preserved without the protecting arm of the law. It is none of these specious arguments which bangs the door in its face in England, it is the old—old spectres, wages! overtime! overtime! wages! I do not hesitate to affirm that I have encountered men who would work the whole 48 hours allotted for a week's labor within the first three days, if they were permitted to start the remainder for the wages of *overtime*. These are men, callous and unprogressive in their own natures, but possessing a marvellous power for evil through the example they exhibit to others less indurated, but too susceptible to the Will o' the Wisp influence of gain. Some employers hold them in especial estimation—for what reason it would be difficult to suggest—and the advanced talent of Trades' Unions have at length discovered that their lives are so valuable to the community in which they slave, that a special Act of Parliament is necessary to protect them—against themselves.

The story of the short-time movement in England covers a lengthened period, and has been so frequently presented to the public in various works on the subject, that I do not consider it necessary to do a little more than introduce such points in the movement as may bear on its latest phase—the Eight Hours' Day.

The late Earl of Shaftesbury, who died at an advanced age in 1885, was England's first and most distinguished socialist.

We have had amongst the nobility since that time many imitators of Lord Ashley (title before his elevation

to the peerage), but none have ever rivalled the philanthropy of this scion of the aristocracy, who stoutly opposed all the prejudices of his class, humiliated the intolerance of the school of *Laissez Faire*, and devoted his great talents, his generous heart and indomitable energies to the task of the emancipation of labor throughout the world.

Harriett Martineau, who was a devotee of the school, rated my Lords Ashley and Althorpe for *their* first Factories Bill.[2] She says:

> "Economists showed how vain had always been, and must ever be, laws to regulate labor and wages. Statesmen knew how vain it was to interfere by law with private relations, and the mill-owners complained of the injustice of arbitrarily raising wages."

Miss Martineau, with all, was a prophetess, when in reference to Wilberforce's declaration of labor emancipation, she said that

> "its consequences lie deep in a future which no man now living shall see."

Whether Trades' Unions or Socialism, or a fusion of both, shall bring about the "consequences," perhaps no man *now* living shall see—but it *will* come.

I may not dwell on the life of Lord Shaftesbury, covering as it did long years of intense devotion for the relief of the enslaved factory operatives and the underground toilers of Great Britain. I must hurry on with the story of the untitled agitators, whose sufferings and unselfishness led to the goal of the Eight Hours in Eng-

[2]The first Factories Act was passed in 1801, which only dealt with the hours of labor of apprentices—twelve per day—and whitewashing the buildings, etc.

land. In 1832 was first introduced into the British House of Commons the Ten Hours' Bill, but, as may be understood by students of the political history of the period, it was the rise of that esoteric circle of money-grubbing mill-owners, coal-owners and commercial speculators which dominated the Parliament, and effectually locked its doors against the rising tide of Democracy.

It was not until 1847 that the latter was in a position to measure swords with the Brights and the Cobdens and the other "silvery-tongued hypocrites" of the House, and the following year the Tories carried the Ten Hours' Bill, and the Lords giving way, the measure became law.

The Trades' Unions of England had by this time commenced to organise on entirely new principles.

Hitherto all their efforts were directed under local control, and societies were isolated from each other, both in action and internal economy.

The earliest attempt to give increased effect to the maxim, "Unity is Strength," was brought about in opposition to the overtime and piecework system practised in the iron trades. In 1850 several branches of this industry resolved to federate their local societies into one powerful Union under the title of "*The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Patternmakers.*"

In 1851, the amalgamation increased its members' roll to 11,829, with 121 branches in the principal centres of Great Britain. This great organisation is now—as most Trades' Unionists are aware—universal, and possessed of vast resources for provident or defensive operations. No union has ever battled with greater pluck and zeal

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE, MELBOURNE.

to break down the hateful and uncharitable system of overtime, and to reduce the working hours of its members to the coveted Eight Hours' maximum. In their great lock-out in 1851, the employers seemed to have a prescience of the trend of that modern Socialism—then in its early stages on the Continent—towards the working classes of Great Britain, as appears in a paragraph of their circular to the executive of the amalgamation :

> "These are their formal demands (abolition of piece-work and overtime), but *it is understood* that the council are prepared to advocate an equalisation of the rate of wages; to lend themselves in fact to an agitation for a trial of *the ingenious doctrines of M. Louis Blanc.*"

This is not the place, however, to deal with the disastrous results entailed by the great lock-out. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that a large number of the operatives emigrated to America and Australia, in preference to signing the obnoxious document of the surrender of their Union Principles at the behest of their unscrupulous employers, who were for the time the victors of the stupendous struggle. Defeated as the Union was, it, nevertheless, furnished an incentive to other societies to follow the grand scheme of amalgamation then instituted, and which since 1851 has made British Trades' Unions at once the pride of the workers, and the wonder of the world.

The decade ending with the year 1860 was an eventful period in the history of the working classes in Great Britain. The pantings of political liberty and an improved system of industrial organisation was to be observed in every breath of freedom drawn from the inspirations and the sighs of the poor but determined

agitators and organisers of those ten years. The leaders of the Chartists, the Unionists, and the Young Irelanders, mingled in the same convict ships which bore them to the confines of Botany Bay, Sydney Cove, Norfolk Island, Swan River, and Van Dieman's Land.

Often in those times—never to be forgotten—have I stood close by, and watched these floating hells receive within their dismal holds the flower of British manhood, as they ignominiously dragged their chains on to the decks, from which they took their last look on the green hills and smiling valleys of their native land; while grouped around, might be seen the agonised forms of those dear to them, and whom they might never see again. Others who escaped the bayonet or the sabre, or the merciless rigours of the ermined expounders of brutal laws, fled the country, and planted the tree of human liberty in those distant Crown colonies of North America, Australia, and New Zealand, where they assisted to establish the Greater Britain, and which recent events have shown to be England's pride and glory in the maintenance of her old invincibility by land, as she is admittedly unconquerable by sea.

The new epoch of Democracy had, however, taken deep root with the masses of British toilers, and although the deportation and the exodus of the army of agitators and their adherents continued during the decade, their work remained behind to be pursued by a younger generation. And so:

> "Although their clay, be far away
> Beyond th' Atlantic's foam.
> In true men, like you men,
> Their spirit's still at home."

In the spring of 1853, the London masons made an attempt to reduce their hours of labor to nine per day, and invited the carpenters and joiners to a conference. The latter, however, although acquiescing in the proposal, became content with an additional sixpence per day added on to their prevailing wage rate. The movement was thereupon suspended until 1857, when the carpenters and joiners in turn took the initiative, and called a delegate meeting to discuss the question anew. On 3rd June, 1858, at an aggregate meeting of the trade held at Exeter Hall, a memorial was agreed upon, and ordered to be sent to the Master Builders' Society.

The following is a copy :

"*To the Master Builders and Employers of Carpenters and Joiners of London and its vicinity.*

GENTLEMEN,—At an aggregate meeting of the trade, held in Exeter Hall, on June 3rd, 1858, it was unanimously resolved that a memorial should be presented to you, asking you to reduce the hours of labour from ten to nine hours per day, *with the present rate of wages.* The reason why we ask this of you is we believe the time has come when there must be a better equalisation of the hours of labour, in consequence of the great increase both of population and machinery; we are not opposed to machinery, but we are of opinion that the working classes ought to reap some benefit from its extensive introduction, and the benefit we wish is a mitigation of the hours of labour.

We also think that reducing our labour one hour per day would be a great boon to society in general, and would have a beneficial tendency to those employed in promoting their *moral and social condition.*

Gentlemen, the object of this memorial is to respectfully request you to concede to us the privilege of working nine hours per day instead of ten (as at present). We wish this alteration to take place without any diminution in the pre-

sent rate of wages; should you grant us this boon, it will produce and promote a better feeling between employer and employed, for long hours of labor are detrimental to both. Hoping that you will consider this question as employers of labor, belonging to a great country which is held up as a model for the admiration of the world.

We are, gentlemen,
Yours respectfully on behalf of the Trade Delegates,

THE COMMITTEE,
GEORGE POTTER, Secretary."

Following upon this, the other branches of the building trades made common cause with the formulating society, and which resulted in the memorable strike and lock-out of the Building Trades of London in 1859. The wealthy firms of Messrs. Trollope, Cubitt and Pipers took the lead in opposition to the reasonable demands of the operatives, coercing the smaller employers to adopt a definite course with them, the result being that on the 6th August 20,000 men were locked out on the streets of "Modern Babylon" "to starve, to shiver, and to die" through the terrible winter that closed the year 1859.

I well remember the scenes which followed, as I beheld the men who directed my own earliest lessons in mechanics, and who watched with a workman's pride the mutation from the school boy to the artisan, done to death with their helpless families in garret and cellar; the victims of a cruel, remorseless, relentless tyranny in that depôt of the commerce and the wealth of nations.

It is clear, however, that it was not the introduction of the Nine Hours' Day the employers feared, as may be gathered on reference to their committee's report to the Master Builders' Association:

"Although the *ultimate design* of proceeding to an EIGHT HOURS' MOVEMENT is formally disclaimed by the conference (operatives), it follows as a logical sequence from the foregoing statement of reasons for restricting the hours of labor to nine."

Thus was revealed *the shadow of the coming event*, which, like the dream of the Plantagenet, haunted their slumbers, and foreboded the rising sun of freedom.

The swashbucklers of capital prevailed; labor sunk again; the black pages of the Registrar-General of London in 1859 are congested with the names of the "dead, wounded, and missing" of that bitter struggle; but the victors found their Bosworth field in later years, when the Building Trades' of England succeeded to the Eight Hours, and the prophecy of the Master Builders' Association of '59 was verified.

No practical purpose would be served by following through the long years of suspense which succeded the events of the decade I have narrated. Neither am I anxious to inquire too closely into the circumstances nor the men engaged in desultory attempts to introduce the Eight Hours' day at particular periods, or in particular branches of industry in England.

In a country where exists some confused ideas of its origin, and where rival claims have been set up. the Alfredian theory on the one hand,[3] and Robert Owen, of the New Lanark Mills, whom an accomplished lecturer[4] gravely designated recently before a Melbourne audience as "the Father of the Eight Hours' System," on the other, is of minor consequence.

[3] "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," by J. E. Thorold Rogers.
[4] Alderman Ben Tillett, L.C.C.

To pursue the subject from that point of view might lead us back to the "Fall":

> "When Adam delv'd and Eve span,
> Then the Eight Hours' Day began."

The true story of the Movement as a system in England commences with the Trades' Union Congresses, local and international, which have been held at various centres in the United Kingdom, and where the subject was debated from a representative point of view with more or less interest.

These Congresses are to a considerable extent guided in their deliberations by their Parliamentary Committees, which act as an executive in the interval between the sessions, or annual meetings.

This committee usually includes some members of the legislature, who work in conjunction with the lay members in the promotion of the several measures remitted to them by the Congress by which they are appointed. In this committee, therefore, is reposed—or should be—a solemn trust to discharge, to the best of their abilities, the functions of a working executive.

It is also to be observed that individual members of the Parliamentary Committee have a divided allegiance to fulfil—the one, to the Congress by which they are commissioned; the other, to their societies which elect them as representatives to that Congress. Again, that section which may be termed the professional members have to balance their procedure by three factors (sometimes three alternatives)—1, the Congress; 2, their Society; and 3, their constituents. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the annual reports of these committees should be tempered by discretion as to the policy

these documents exhibit. In their treatment of the Eight Hours' Question a certain reserve—or, perhaps, a diplomatic sensitiveness—has been manifest in many of the Parliamentary Committee's reports.

In the inaugural address of Mr. G. Shipton, President of the International Trades' Union Congress, held in London in 1888, he is reported to have said:[5]

> "Quite recently some commotion has taken place regarding a law to be enforced by Parliament, restricting the hours of labor to eight per day, as if that was a question unknown, or something new to British Trades' Unionists. Why, I can give to this Congress a list of nearly seventy towns where for many years in some branches of the Building Trade the hours have only *averaged* eight per day."

Doubtless Mr. Shipton created some considerable astonishment among the Continental delegates by this statement, which they heard for the first time, but the surprise was none the less welcome to tens of thousands of his fellow-countrymen and Unionists in Australia and elsewhere, who also read for the first time the welcome intelligence.

In Australia we sincerely hope, however, that the verb *averaged* merely refers to such a distribution of the daily hours of labor as may be necessary to ensure *a full week of 48 hours maximum.*

Accepting the statement to be correct—as we are bound to do—it is yet to be regretted that at their annual meetings held anterior to the one to which I have referred, so little seems to have been said on so important a question. A declaratory resolution appears to have

[5]Report of the International Trades' Union Congress, held in St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, Oxford Street, London W., on November 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, 1888.

been passed in 1883, but it was not until the Congress held at Southport in 1885 that an official utterance was launched, and which deserves to be considered as the dawn of the Eight Hours' Day agitation in England. On that occasion the President, Mr. T. R. Threlfall, in his opening address, is reported as follows :

> " As a first step, I believe the time has arrived for the trades of the kingdom to take action in securing the Eight Hours working day. . . . In continuation of the efforts of the trades to secure the Eight Hours, vigorous action should be taken to obtain the extension of an amended Eight Hours' Factory Act to all classes of unprotected labor, whether toiling in factories or engaged in shops."

This appears to have been the first official declaration (since the reign of King Alfred) made on the subject of the introduction of the Eight Hours' System into the United Kingdom. In the Parliamentary Committee's report, which was presented to the Congress, no mention is made of the question, while in the political address which the same body compiled for circulation among the working classes of Great Britain on the approaching general election, there is a total absence of all reference to the subject.

Some members of the Congress interposed a few observations on the limitation of the hours of labor under cover of a resolution on the strike in the cotton trade of Oldham, including Mr. Forbes, of Glasgow, who "*thought* the hours of work should be limited to eight per day." At a subsequent stage of the Congress, however, Mr. Forbes, representing the Masons' United Operative Association of Scotland, true to the instincts of that brave old craft, carried the same resolution, which thirty years before had been proposed by the

masons of New South Wales, and which started into life the Eight Hours' Agitation in Australia. This resolution I am pleased to chronicle to the credit of Mr. Forbes and the Scottish masons. It was moved by Mr. Forbes, and seconded by Mr. Corbett, of the Brick-makers' Society of Nottingham :

> "That, in the opinion of this Congress, the adoption of the Eight Hours' System would largely benefit the working classes by giving work to many of those presently unemployed, and thereby relieving the existing depression in trade."

It is pleasing to be able to chronicle that the Parliamentary Committee soon after recognised the duty of investigating the *bona-fides* of the several Unions with regard to the Eight Hours' Question, and at the Bradford Congress, held early in September, 1888, they were in a position to place an official statement on the table setting forth the views of several constituent Unions on the subject. The peculiar and erratic system of voting almost renders the document (and which no doubt was carefully compiled) very difficult to understand ; the only point clear being that the Eight Hours, from whatever cause I do not pretend to explain, was rejected by a majority of the Councils and Societies which sent in their returns.

An extract from the President's opening address at this Congress may serve to throw some light on the reasons which apparently operated to bring about the foregoing result. Mr. S. Shaftoe, who represented the Bradford Trades' Council, who occupied the chair on the occasion, said :

You need not, of course, be told that all this points to an inevitable reduction of hours; in fact, so rapid has been the growth of opinion in favour of an Eight Hours' Day, that something like *unanimity prevails amongst several trades*; but whether you decide to secure it by legislative enactment or by organised effort, action should be taken at once. (Applause.) In view of the fact that a plébiscite of the trades has been taken on this question, I will not enter into its general application except to say that all adherents of an Eight Hours' Bill will admit that several of the skilled trades are very divided on the subject, this arising not so much from a dislike to legislative interference as from the difficulties they foresee in applying such a measure to their particular industry. No one will think of suspecting the operatives employed in the Painting, the Tailoring or the Shoemaking Trades with having reactionary opinions, yet many of the advanced men in these bodies, who in general principle support such an act, cannot see how it can be applied to their occupations. Indeed, all those employed in what are termed the season trades are met by this difficulty; on the other hand, there are industries where it can be applied with immediate advantage and nearly general agreement. While much may be said for and against a universal Eight Hours' Bill, strong reasons exist for applying such a measure to miners and railway servants; the dangers in both occupations, with the heavy toil of the former and the long hours of the latter, create claims for public consideration not usually found in other trades. The miners have set a splendid organising example to their brethren of other industries, yet, while they may have powerful associations in various parts of the country, it is found well-nigh impossible to obtain concerted action either for a reduction of the output or an advance of wages; and when a strike occurs in Northumberland, in South Wales, or in Yorkshire, the men practically stand alone, or what is worse, the members of other Miners' Associations are practically made the uncon-

scious instrument of defeating their brethren. Thus the coal which cannot be obtained from the strike district is procured from other fields. So long as this course of isolation is pursued, the miners will not succeed in materially raising their wages, or universally obtain an Eight Hours' Day."

After the reading of the report, which was taken at a subsequent stage of the proceedings, it seemed difficult to discover where the unanimity came in.

Towards the close of the fifth day's sitting, Mr. Kier-Hardie endeavoured to obtain a suspension of the standing orders with a view to re-open the question, when the motion was defeated by one vote.

Mr. T. R. Trelfall, who brought forward the subject at Southport, was more successful in opening the discussion by a resolution :

"That this Congress, recognising the many hardships under which the workers in the coal industry and railway service labour, and the insuperable difficulties to prevent the complete organisation of such workers, hereby demands the passing of an Eight Hours' Bill for these industries at an early date."

This also was defeated by 46 to 25.

On the following day, Mr. J. K. Hardie, of the Miners' Union, Ayrshire, moved :

"That the Eight Hours' Question should be remitted to the Parliamentary Committee, with instructions to take a vote of the trades on the following questions :

1. Are you in favour of an Eight Hours' working day ?
2. Are you in favour of it being obtained by Act of Parliament ?"

The resolution provided that only those who answered the first question in the affirmative should be allowed to vote upon the second.

Mr. Stevens (Birmingham) seconded the resolution, which was adopted by 42 votes to 22.

The debate was enlivened by some remarks from Miss E. Whyte, representative of the London Women's Bookbinders' Society, which would astonish some of our lady Unionists of Australia.

Miss Whyte is thus reported :

"She thought the Congress ought to have some consideration for employers, and she did not think workpeople could expect to be paid as much for Eight Hours as for nine."

It may be as well to inform this fair advocate of the gentle sweaters of London how fallacious are her thoughts on industrial economy. Perhaps her friend, Mrs. Besant (who has since visited Australia), may by this time have converted her from her Bismarkian-cum-Bradlaughian error. However, it may interest Miss Whyte to know, that there are some 22,000 female operatives employed in New South Wales and Victorian factories, who are in receipt of much higher wages under the Eight Hours' System than they formerly obtained working the longer hours, from which our Factories' Act released them. It would be a revelation to Miss Whyte to behold them morning and evening, as they pass through our streets and parks, in all the glow of health, in their dainty attire, gloved hands and pretty sunshades, and contrast them with the "whited sepulchres" of former days.

Is it any wonder, therefore, that on reading Miss Whyte's "thoughts," they would raise their eyes and exclaim, "Good Heavens! this from a chosen representative of female labor in that country, rendered famous by Tom Hood's immortal lines :

"Work! work! work!

. . . .

Stitch! stitch! stitch!
In poverty, hunger and dirt,
Sewing at once, with a double thread,
A shroud as well as a shirt."

Added to this let me add a little consolation for Miss Whyte's protegee, and say that the employers of female labor in Australia are piling up as big fortunes and bigger warehouses as are the gentle objects of her tender solicitude in the Great Metropolis.

Two months later than the events I have described, the first great International Trades' Union Congress held in England assembled in London, when in addition to a large representation of British Unions, were delegates from Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy and France, the iron laws of Germany and Austria prohibiting the attendance of delegates from these despotic and down-trodden countries.

The chairman of the British Parliamentary Committee, Mr. G. Shipton, being *ex officio* President of the Congress, opened the proceedings with an exhaustive historical address on the labor question from an early period in its history.

From the exalted position which Mr. Shipton occupied, one would naturally expect that he would have dealt in a more particular manner with questions of international importance with regard to the labour problem, or, perhaps, given a more detailed account of those "seventy towns" in which he said the Eight Hours' System prevailed, more especially as the continental delegates at the Paris Congresses of 1883-6 placed that question in the fore-front of their scheme of

industrial reform, and towards which the British representatives displayed a frigid reticence.

Instead of allaying the curse of racial bitterness engendered by a supersensitive distrust of the methods of their foreign fellow-workmen to obtain the measure of freedom which British Trades' Unionists enjoy, they were lectured on their inferior social position by the President, thus:

> "British Trades' Unionists are ever amenable to counsel and advice when accompanied by example and results; but if I know them rightly, they must be excused if they fail to follow the doctrine of any nation where the toilers work hours per day more than ourselves, where the wages and their purchasing power are far below our own, and where the right of public meeting, of free speech, industrial organization, or political liberty, are despotically prohibited and unknown.
>
> The policy of Trades' Unionism, as I conceive it to be, may be summarised in the words: No change except by law—no change in the law except by the will of a majority of the people. This is enlightened Democracy; for unless we obtained the sanction of a majority to our measures of reform they would be insecure, and to enforce them by a minority by physical power would be despotism."

This was certainly not the way to bring about that industrial homogeneity which is calculated to make "the world akin."

The Continental Unionists were endeavouring—according to their lights—to win over the "will of a majority of the people" on the Eight Hours' Question, in much the same way that the British Reformers of '32, the Chartists of '48, and the Unionists from the time of Edward III. have done, by overt demonstrations, and in which, if the ethics of British Trades' Union propriety

were offended, we should remember the proverb concerning those whose privilege it is to "cast the first stone." Following upon the President's address, some animated speeches were delivered by the continental delegates, more or less in accord with their national proclivities, and in the midst of which :

> "Mr. Burns rose to deny that perfect freedom of combination existed in England, and was proceeding to describe the action of the police and military during the strikes in Wales, when he was ruled out of order, as the subject under discussion only related to the continental countries. Some of the foreign delegates took exception to this ruling, and there was a somewhat noisy demonstration in the spectators' gallery, which made the chairman threaten to close the gallery to the public."

On the fourth day of the meeting, Mr. W. Parnell, the representative of the Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association (British) moved, and M. Sass (a Belgian) seconded :

> "That this Congress is of opinion that owing to the concentration of capital, and the relative weakness of Trades' Unions in proportion to the number of workers, it is impossible to further reduce the hours of labor without the aid of the State, and that in every case Eight Hours shall be the maximum number of hours worked."

Upon this a long and querulous debate ensued, from which I select the following :

> "Miss Whyte spoke in opposition.
>
> Mr. Burns remarked that the fact that this subject was on the agenda proved that Trades' Unionism, apart from political and State action, was unable to bring about the reduction of hours that they as labourers demanded, and was also powerless to prevent overtime being worked in the best organised trades. He said, 'We have the most difficult—I believe an impossible—task to keep our organi-

sation together, to hold what we have secured, and can only increase our power of doing good on Trade Union lines by increasing our subscriptions, which is impossible to-day. To avoid this, what is easier than to circumvent the masters by fighting them on their own ground—that is, transfer the battle from the bench and the workshop to the legislative platform We are losing our hold of the world's markets. Wages-saving machinery is displacing labor, and a crisis is inevitable. This we ask you to mitigate. Don't be influenced by capitalist criticism. They said the same of the pioneers of Unionism, temperance, etc."

An amendment to the resolution was proposed by Mr. Freak, and seconded by Mr. Caiger, to the effect that :

> Seeing the differences of opinion existing among workmen on the subject, the Congress recommend that in all private firms, employers and employed be recommended to come to the most amicable terms, but in all Government and corporation works eight hours per day should be strictly adhered to.

The Congress now proceeded to vote on this, the most momentous question submitted to its consideration. Mr. Freak's amendment, when submitted to the English section, was carried by 23 votes against 12. The foreign delegations explained, through their president, that they would willing vote for this resolution, so as to secure the unanimity of the Congress, if by doing so it did not preclude their voting in favour of an international Eight Hours' Bill. The English chairman, however, having declared that the adoption of Mr. Freak's amendment would settle the entire question and debar them from adopting any other and more sweeping resolution on the same subject, the foreign delegations unanimously voted against it. The amendment proposed by M. Tortelier was then put. It read as follows :

> Considering that it would be useless to expect from the Legislatures—who have, in order to keep their privileges, an interest to hold you in servitude—certain laws having for their object our improvement under the form of a re-

TRADES' HALL, ADELAIDE.

duction of the working day, the delegates decide to rely on their own strength in order to obtain their freedom.

Altogether 32 English delegates voted in favour of this resolution, and only nine against; the foreign delegations, with the exception of Italy, rejecting M. Tortelier's proposal. Then came the final vote on the original resolution proposed by Mr. Parnell, which was carried by four votes."

This was the final decision of the Great International Congress of 1888, on "the most momentous question submitted to its consideration."

In the following year, Mr. Parnell's resolution bore fruit. The Unions had at last awakened, the Parliamentary committee had begun to feel the spur of public opinion, and to Parliamentarians was opened up a field of new enterprise, in which they might win golden rewards. Lord Rosebery had visited Australia in 1884, and profited by an interview with one of the leaders of the early movement in Victoria.[6] The cables on the 16th December, 1889, flashed to Australia the welcome intelligence as it appeared in the columns of the Melbourne *Age* the following morning:

THE EIGHT HOURS' SYSTEM.

INTRODUCTION OF THE SYSTEM IN ENGLAND.

MR. GLADSTONE UNENTHUSIASTIC.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL A WARM ADHERENT.

LONDON, DECEMBER 16.

"Strong efforts are being made by the promoters of the measure which it is proposed to introduce into the British Parliament this session, to legalise the Eight

[6]This interview took place between His Lordship and Mr. Benjamin Douglass at Government House, Melbourne, 14th January, 1884.

Hours' Labor System throughout England. Mr. W. E. Gladstone, who has been asked to introduce the Bill in the House of Commons, has written to the promoters of the movement, stating that physical infirmity will prevent him initiating the measure, and expressing his intention of considering its details fairly, fully, and without prejudice when the Bill is brought down.

Lord Randolph Churchill has expressed the opinion that the Eight Hours' System is an ideal scheme, which he believes will have the effect of diminishing the unemployed trouble in England, that the comfort which the masses will enjoy under such a system will more than compensate the employers for the loss which they will at first apparently sustain, and that the fear of competition in trade from other countries where cheap labor prevails, is a mere bogus that will not stand the test of practical investigation. Lord Randolph Churchill is of opinion that Europe and America will quickly follow in the wake of England and Australia in establishing the Eight Hours as the law of the land, but he considers that the one essential to the universal success of the scheme will be the absolute expulsion of all pauper labor from England."

I am indebted to the proprietors of the Melbourne *Tocsin* for an account of the first Eight Hours' Day in England, which cannot fail to be interesting to the workers of the world, as showing the enormous strides the question has taken since those earlier incidents I have already chronicled.

THE FIRST EIGHT HOURS' DEMONSTRATION IN ENGLAND.

A RECOLLECTION AND A REFLECTION.

By X.

"NOTWITHSTANDING the unfortunate fate that overcame Lot's wife, it is a good thing, occasionally, to "look back." Especially is this so when there is not a Gomorrah at the

end of the vista, but the beginning of a path that leads to a brighter future. As Eight Hours' Day comes round every year, the present writer, almost perforce, looks back to the first Eight Hours' Demonstration he remembers, which was the first ever held in England. The scene comes back, as in a dream—so vividly that he can see the long line beside the brown Thames, hear the bands, and witness the semi-circle of platforms in Hyde Park, with their colossal audience of a quarter of a million people. Faces, once familiar, some famous, stand out with cameo-like distinctness from the mass; voices are heard as plainly as through a phonograph—the beautiful velvety voice of Bernard Shaw, the strident voice of Edward Aveling, the gentlemanly, Cambridge-tuned voice of H. M. Hyndman, the roaring voice of John Burns, the pleasant voice of Tom Mann, the strong voice of Eleanor Marx, the resonant voice (too big for his little body) of Ben Tillett—and, in the background, the cheery, genial, crisp, hearty voice of the poet, artist, craftsman, scholar, Socialist, William Morris, crying, 'Who wants to buy a copy of *Justice*? only one penny.' The park is green—gloriously green—the sun is bright, the sky blue (there are blue skies in London), the air has the breath of spring in it. It is the first Sunday in May, 1890.

Not that the Eight Hours' Movement in England began then. As early as 1844 Martin Jude, the miners' leader, contended for an Eight Hours' Day for all coalfield workers. Alexander Macdonald—the first working-class representative in the House of Commons; and a better man never sat there—made an Eight Hours' Day one of the planks in his platform. But the first regularly organised Eight Hours' Demonstration was that of 1890. The hand that holds the pen that writes this article is proudly glad that it was one of the dense multitude of hands that went up at the sound of the bugle in support of the resolution on that occasion.

Memory is fragmentary as to what it retains. But it is worth while skimming the memory in relation to that his-

torical demonstration. First of all, there was some trouble about fixing the day. The Continental Socialists were eager for an annual demonstration on the 1st of May, irrespective of the day of the week on which the 1st of May might fall. But the English Radicals preferred the first Sunday in May. Sunday, especially in London, is a great day for Radical gatherings. The English Social Democrats—or many of them—of course sympathised with their Continental friends, and held a meeting of their own on the 1st of May. But the monster demonstration was that of the 1st Sunday in May.

All the way from Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars and beyond the procession stretched before it started. It was gay with banners, blazing with bands. It seemed that as fast as one batallion moved from the Thames embankment another one came on to it. The last contingent never reached the Park in time for even the tail end of the meeting. I remember that as I left, after the principal resolutions had been put, fresh processionists were still marching up Grosvenor Place towards Hyde Park gates.

A curious thing about memory is that it is often the irrelevant details that remain in the mind. Here is an irrelevant detail, but as this sketch is professedly 'A Recollection,' it may go down. I remember, turning into St. James's Park as the head of the procession came round the Buckingham Palace corner, noticing a tall, thin, cultured-looking gentleman crossing at the same moment, accompanying a very pretty lady in an apple green silk dress, and with fine rich auburn hair: a colour harmony that struck the eye at once. The gentleman was Mr. A. J. Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, now First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons—a Tory, truly, but, at heart, a kindly man, not unsympathetic towards popular progress when once his 'philosophic doubting' mind is convinced. I saw him stand behind the railings and watch part of the procession pass.

Another picture framed in memory is one of Bernard

Shaw rising to address the part of the demonstration that gathered where I was stationed. I remember his first words : humorous of course they were. He had to balance himself on the edge of the waggon, and he said : ' The organisers of this demonstration have evidently taken me for a member of the Steeple Jack's Trades' Union ; I shall try to live up to the compliment by not tumbling on the head of the gentleman beneath me, who has a spike in his helmet.' Shaw, I remember, made some capital points out of information which had just recently been published in some of the papers about the Eight Hours' Day in Victoria. He read a clipping from the *Daily Chronicle*, and argued that there was no economic reason why the working day standard in Melbourne should not be the standard day for England. Bernard Shaw's speech, I imagine, was heard by more people than any other speech delivered that day. Why ? Simply because he knew how to use his voice. He got a number of the young speakers of the Fabian Society to go and have their voices trained by an Italian master settled in London. I remember hearing Shaw say that it was as much an insult to an audience for a man to address one in a harsh, unpleasant, rancous voice as for a person to sing to one without knowing how to use his larynx. Certainly he was a remarkably clever speaker to listen to himself. Bernard Shaw's voice, next to that of John Bright, was the most musical public speaker's voice the present writer has ever listened to ; and he could talk for an hour without the faintest huskiness or without ever tasting a sip of water.

Since that great meeting of 1890, Eight Hours' Demonstrations have been held annually in London and in nearly every large city in England. Has the movement gained ground ? Unmistakeably. At first the writers on political economy declared that the limitation of the working day in the manner demanded would mean ruin to English industry. Nowadays eminent economic writers hold the contrary view, and nearly all the leading academic economists are Eight Hours men. That is a great point gained, because the leaders of a great nation's thought really dic-

tate to the nation's statesmen. The politician put the ideas of the philosopher into Parliamentary shape. The vigorous writings of Mr. John Rae and the profound investigations of Sydney and Beatrice Webb have done an immense amount to educate public opinion on the subject —not only working-class public opinion either, but that Liberal middle-class public opinion which is so potent in British political life. And the industrial Democracy of Britain is almost solid for the general Eight Hours' Day. The Trades' Union Congress has repeatedly affirmed its adherence to the principle. In a few years' time there will scarcely be a municipality in the United Kingdom that will not have adopted the twin principles of the Minimum Wage and the Eight Hours' Day for all their employees. But what of the home of the Eight Hours' Day—Victoria? The Comic Muse must surely hold her sides as she hovers over the procession in Melbourne on Eight Hours' Day, and looks down upon the tram-cars that pass to and fro, worked by men who work their ten, eleven hours per diem, for a mere 'docker's' wage. Verily, Eight Hours' Day in Victoria is not yet the celebration of an achievement, but rather the signification of an aspiration."[7]

Several ineffectual attempts were made during this year (1890) by Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Dunraven, and Mr. Cunninghame Graham to bring the matter to an issue in the House of Commons. The Liverpool Congress succeeded. Here for the first time did the advocates of the legal enactment scheme score a victory for their side. The Eight Hours' Principle was made the great question on which all the fighting energies of the members were concentrated. "State Regulation of

[7] I have already intimated that the tram employees have obtained the Eight Hours by the voluntary concession of the directors. This, however, was mainly brought about by the vigorous action of Mr. F. H. Bromley, M.L.A., who brought in a Bill for the purpose, and which was slaughtered with the innocents at the close of the late session of Parliament. It proved, however, "the handwriting on the wall," as the directors declined to await the *denouement*.

the Hours of Labor" was the notice which now definitely appeared on the agenda of the Parliamentary Committee. The President, Mr. William Matkin, in his opening address, spoke with no uncertain sound on the necessity for the legislation of what he was pleased to term "the inestimable boon." The resolution bearing upon the advantages of endeavouring to obtain the Eight Hours by legislative enactment was proposed by Mr. G. J. Marks, of London, who made the most of his ten minutes' opportunity to impress the Congress with a sound and common-sense view of the salient arguments in favor of an Eight Hours' Bill. An amendment was, however, moved by Mr. Patterson, of Durham, a miners' delegate, in which he put forward the alternative proposition of obtaining the limitation solely by Trades' Union action. It was a fair and determined trial of strength between the two parties. The London Cabinet-maker, Mr. W. Parnell, who was of course in favor of "the Bill," made a great impression by a powerful exposition of its merits compared to the more tedious course of agglomeration by Trades' Union action. Miss Whyte went in for the voluntary principle. Mr. Threlfall, of Bradford, made a most effective and cultured speech in support of the motion. In response to loud cries for "Burns! Burns!" that well-known champion of labor stood up amid ringing cheers. Mr. Burns soon let it be known that himself and his colleagues of the Amalgamated Engineers had a mandate to support, and vote for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

The *Liverpool Mercury*, of September 6th, 1890, thus describes the closing scene :

"When the clock-dial indicated a quarter-past four the President put it to the Congress whether the division should be taken at once or the discussion be continued. For the former there were 170 and for the latter 104 votes. Mr. Marks waived his right to reply, and the tellers proceeded to count the hands held up for the amendment and those held up against it. The result of the enumeration was in these figures—For, 173; against, 181. This victory of the pro-legal section of the Congress was hailed with triumphant shouts, the penetrating voice of John Burns sounding over all, while hats and handkerchiefs and walking sticks and umbrellas were wildly waved in the air. A few minutes elapsed before the excitement faded. Again the tellers renewed their duty, the voting this time being upon the resolution, and when their labor was over, and the President read the figures thus—for the resolution 193, against 155—the excitement broke out afresh. The delegates in the majority cheered until they were hoarse, and jumping on chairs and tables repeated the previous scene of animation."

I will not pursue the History of the Eight Hours' Movement in England in further detail. I feel no doubt of its ultimate success in the old land, guided as it is by such powerful leaders as those to whom I have referred. In 1894, Mr. H. Campbell Bannerman, President of the Local Government Board, confirmed the decision of the Government in favor of the adoption of the Eight Hours' System in the Government Workshops, but, unhappily, the division of the miners on the question seems still to operate against the success of the measure in their regard, the latest information to hand being that the Bill introduced by Mr. J. H. Lewis, in the House of Commons on 28th February of this year, to make Eight Hours a statutory day's work in mines, was rejected.

Chapter VI.

A Retrospect.—Obstacles Explained—The Employers' Arguments—The Workmen's Arguments—Cultivation of Public Opinion — Capitalistic repugnance to Trades' Unions — Organisers Rewards — Conciliation — Professor Kernot—Andrew Lyell—Cardinal Manning—Effects of the great London and Australian Strikes, 1889-90—Hands across the Seas—Anecdote, the Climate for a Labor Leader—Back to the South—New Zealand—Tasmania — Queensland — South Australia — Western Australia—Concluding Remarks—Profit Sharing—Co-operation—Federation of Labor.

At the desire of the Victorian Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee of this year of grace, 1900, being the 44th anniversary of their triumph, I have endeavoured to place before my readers a succinct narrative of the Eight Hours' Movement throughout the world. It is necessarily imperfect, as most books on the subject must be, upon the questions which underlie the real or sinister designs of overt opponents or lukewarm friends of the system.

It will be sufficient, however, to show that although its attainment as a universal object has made giant strides in the countries of the old world, breaking down barrier after barrier, impeding its progress, much yet remains to be accomplished.

Australian Unionists are watching with feverish anxiety its development across the seas, and if even this

little tribute from the South to its future glorious consummation by their brothers in toil of other lands will be evidence of that anxiety—then it will not have been written in vain.

That the obstacles which beset the path of the Eight Hours in the older countries of the world are more apparent than real, must be conceded if the issues are submitted to the test of logical investigation.

It cannot, however, be denied that it is a question capable only of being solved in the first instance, through a consensus of ripe Trades' Union effort being brought to bear on public opinion to secure its recognition as a great national movement.

In this regard, every effort should be tried to obtain as large a measure of success by voluntary concession as may be possible as the forerunner of its ultimate consolidation by legislative enactment. The latter must inevitably follow the former, as surely as night follows the day. The moral effect which an enlightened public opinion exerts on the sensitiveness of even the most obtuse and sceptical employers of labor is wonderful.

It was at public meetings held in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1847 that the Otago pioneers formulated their scheme of Eight Hours, and which caused the first ring of their axes in the forests of New Zealand to reverberate under its sway. It was at public meetings held in Victoria—the colony which has retained it unbroken from 1856—that the ratification of the principle became the unwritten law of labor contracts, and when any attempt to secure it by legislative enactment would have been unavailing.

The ethical difficulties surrounding the question may as well be met boldly.

What may be called the sympathetic side of the problem is usually relied upon to catch the ears of an audience, but the fundamental objections lie deeper, and may be summarised under four heads thus :

1. The grab-all propensities, and intense selfishness of wealthy manufacturers, engendered by cut-throat competition.
2. The constant apprehension that any change of fiscal or industrial conditions is inimical to internal and external trade.
3. The repugnance to Trades' Union organisation, as they consider it to be subversive of that absolute control which they conceive should be their own especial prerogative.
4. The lack of economic foresight among the workers themselves, which is often the cause of internal jealousies and divisions on vital industrial subjects, by which isolation is placed in the ascendant—organisation nowhere.

The first and last of these are racial, and essentially Anglo-Saxon in their characteristics. The British manufacturer is ever ready to avail himself of improved methods of production, and which are in the majority the invention of some of his own paid workmen, who are seldom, if ever, rewarded for their ingenuity, beyond, perhaps, a small advance in wages, added to more constant employment. By the aid of these inventions, the manufacturer is enabled to enormously increase his output,

and to reduce in a corresponding extent the manual exertion he formerly found necessary.

The productive power of his mills are doubled, trebled, or quadrupled ; the wheels revolve more rapidly ; the countless millions of spindles are multiplied indefinitely ; the mills and factories work the same number of hours, at least, as far the Factories' Acts will permit ; while never a thought is bestowed on the tens of thousands of breadwinners displaced by these improvements. Now, suggest to this manufacturer that he is becoming correspondingly wealthy, the more he is enabled to displace manual labor, and that to remedy the " crying injustices " of thousands of workers who are starving, an Eight Hours' day of labour should be adopted, and he will will immediately raise up his hands and exclaim : " Competition ! Reduced prices of manufacture ! and the Export trade will be ruined !"

He will not discuss political economy any more than he will industrial and social economy.

He will not recognise that, as imports are the natural payment for exports, plus small cash balances, and that all excess of exports is the measure of profit of the exporting country, that he should attribute any deficiency from his transactions to his Cobdenite proclivities, and not to the incidence of a shorter working day to his workers.

On the part of the operatives, or at least a considerable section of them, they seem to have inculcated in a great measure the views held by their employers, and have a constant dread of the foreign manufacturer and the cheaper labor of the continent ever before their eyes,

regardless of the fact that the German and French workmen are pleading to the British Unions to assist them to obtain the same advantages which the latter enjoy.

Giving way, therefore, to these close conservative instincts, the British workmen are perplexed at the prospect of an Eight Hours' Day. I have said sufficient in evidence of its advantages when obtained, as it has been in these colonies, by organisation, and obtaining a peaceful possession of public opinion in its favor. Powerful as the British Unions are, it is clear that there are yet great and fertile fields for the much abused agitators and organisers. I take the words of Mr. Shipton, when addressing the International Trades' Congress at London :

> "But when you find a trade consisting in the aggregate of one hundred and sixty thousand workers with less than sixteen thousand in a Trades' Union; another trade with two hundred and twenty thousand workers with less than fifteen thousand in Union; or one with sixty thousand workers and less than three thousand in Union, and another with a hundred thousand workers, but not three thousand of them members of a Trade Society, is it, I may ask, any matter for surprise that these industries complain, and properly complain, of being cursed with the sweating system? But what is the true remedy? We have secured the repeal of the Combination Laws, and have now the legal right to organise, obtained through ages of time, and for which thousands of men and women have had to die."

The legal remedy is the true remedy told so often in time-worn exclamations: "Organise! Organise! Organise! Federate! Federate! Federate! and finally Educate!" The repugnance with which employers re-

gard Trades' Unions is with some hereditary; while with others it is of mushroom growth, but in both cases I have often found it to be capable of the noblest and most generous amelioration. It has frequently been my lot to come in contact with men who were considered to be the incarnation of all that was unreasonable, obstinate, perverse, morally insusceptible to change their opinions, and for whom the appearance of an "agitator" would produce a mental irritation suggestive of most unpleasant conclusions. The most absurd illusion going. I have usually found these tentative expedients of the utmost value, producing most satisfactory, and sometimes unexpected, issues. Where the expedients fail, no possible harm can be done, and an experience is gained which takes the sting out of ulterior proceedings, and justifies the name of — action.

I have no desire to suggest the fraternisation of the two forces in such form as prevailed under the old Guild System, but there is no reason why employers (Unions if they will) should not meet representatives of labor organisations in complete independence, and with a becoming spirit discuss the equity of an Eight Hours' Day, or any other economic question submitted from either side.

It is furthermore desirable, in the present stage of labor organisation, that negotiations should as far as possible be conducted by leaders unconnected directly with the employers who may be in dispute with their workers, in order to prevent that bitterness which arises from their employés being considered "marked men."

It is remarkable what a reciprocity of mutual good feeling characterises such proceedings. There are, of

course, some rabid natures to be dealt with at times, but the exception proves the rule.

I remember an incident which took place in the Victorian Parliament during the great Maritime Strike 1890, when an honorable member, conspicuous for his aversion to Trades' Union leaders, desired to relegate one of the class to a climate said to be more sultry than agreeable, when he was reminded by a colleague sitting close by that that would be inadvisable, as the obnoxious individual might "call the stokers out, and what would we do then?" "Pay them double and send them back again!" rejoined the plutocrat.

It is lamentable, however, to record that it is not only the indignities to which a leader is in rare cases subjected by every coarse *parvenu* who constitutes himself a knight-errant against labor; but the neglect and lack of appreciation—the salt of his existence—awarded too often by those for whose elevation to a brighter future his life has been one incessant struggle. Alas! many of the captains of the Eight Hours might well say with the poet:

> "How seldom, friend, a good man inherits
> Honor or wealth with all his worth and pains:
> It sounds like stories from the land of spirits,
> If any man obtains that which he merits,
> Or any merit that which he obtains."

The introduction of a third party into these deliberations is sometimes necessary; but, unhappily, this is rarely conceded by employers[1]—through that dogmatic

[1]Mr. Bruce Smith took an active part in the formation of a Board of Conciliation in Melbourne, which was of great value in the settlement of many disputes, and I am pleased to observe from a pamphlet issued by him in Sydney that he still holds to the

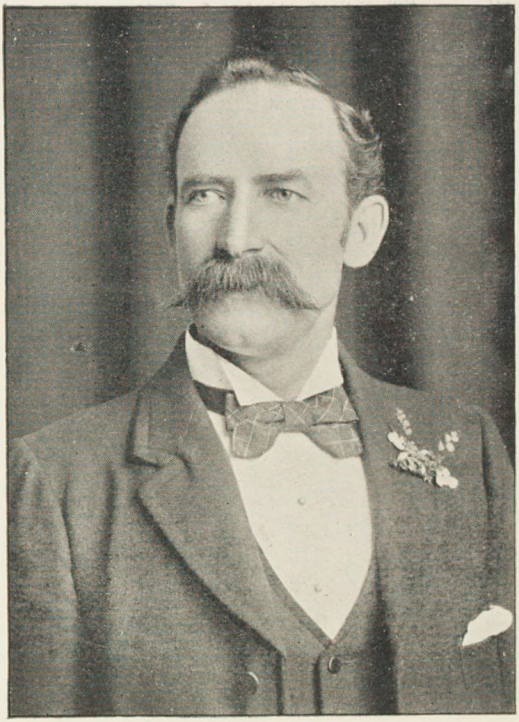
obstinacy which so often annihilates concession and precipitates conflicts—their almost invariable reply to a request for a conference being that "there is nothing to confer about."

If the kindly services of Professor Kernot, of the Melbourne University, and those of the late Mr. Andrew Lyell had been called in before the wharf laborers' strike of 1886, a very large sum of money might have been saved by the Victorian shipowners, which they had afterwards to pay as the result of their procrastination.

In like manner might the shipowners and dock companies of London have averted the huge complications which attended the great Dockers' strike of 1889, had the benevolent interposition of that august prelate and labor champion, the late Cardinal Manning, been availed of in anticipation of the impending catastrophe which ensued.

In such contingencies, reason is thrown from its balance, passions are let loose, and a state of chaos exists between the contending parties—threats of starving into compliance on the one hand, and on the other curses on the hands that so often have paid them wages; the choking sobs of hungry women and children; threats of retaliation, disease engendered by unwholesome and insufficient food, misery unutterable, often death. Oh! ye Plutocrats! is "there nothing to confer about?" Oh! ye bloated Burgeosie; will ye wait for the flood-

advantages of pre-interference. He says: "There can be no two opinions on this point; therefore, that whatever tribunal is to be chosen for the purpose of settling such difficulties as may arise, should be approved and appointed in *cold blood*, so to speak—that is to say, some time before the dispute which is to be referred has actually arisen."



JAMES ROBB,
President Anniversary Committee, 1900.

gates of Organization, Education, Manhood Suffrage, and Democratic indignation to o'erwhelm ye? Will *ye* not confer to stave off wringing hunger, while yet there is time? Living humanity implores you from the four winds; Henry Manning calls on you from the grave—"Lay not up for yourselves riches where the rust and the moth and thieves enter. . . ."

I think it is Mr. William O'Brien who has somewhere said: "There are a number of persons now in hell, who might have been in heaven for half the trouble."

One advantage followed upon that now historic rupture: it was the sympathetic and visible power which laid the first girder across the seas of that Greater Federation, not only the Industrial Unions of Australasia with the Motherland, but the destinies of a whole people in one unchangeable devotion.

THE BRITISH-AUSTRALIAN CANTATA.

DEDICATED TO THE EARL OF ROSEBERY.

BRITANNIA—

Hail, Australia!
Land of Freedom, hail!
I come to thee with tidings glad,
To those rejoicing and the sad,
Great Britain's mandate to fulfil,
Of peace to all—to you, goodwill.
Let happiness be then your dower,
At this our gleesome greeting hour.

AUSTRALIA—

Not with whiteness of snow,
Not with coldness of frost,
Do I welcome thee now,
As thy latest-born host.

Nor yet as one possessed of memories old,
Stained by unholy deeds of bigots bold.
I hail thee as doth virgin fair,
Of innocence and golden hair,
The love that is without a snare.

My brilliant sun and heavenly sky,
My azure waves that ever sigh,
My weirdlike gums and ferntree bowers,
My endless plains and bright-hued flowers,
My sons and daughters, one and all,
Responding, answer to my call,

Gleefully, joyfully,
With true Ausiralian cheer,
Merrily, cheerily,
With jocund voice so dear.

BRITANNIA AND AUSTRALIA—

By noble bonds of race,
By closer ties of blood,
That naught can e'er efface,
We Britishers have stood
Together in the past;
And in the future will
Our Greater Britain last,
Till Time himself stand still.

HAMILTON MACKINNON.

CONCLUSION.

NEW ZEALAND.—On returning to the "Sunny South" I have yet a few observations to make on the latter day progress of my subject, which historical sequence precluded from earlier notice. The great colony of New Zealand, the climate of which, from its geographical position, approximates more nearly to that of Great Britain than any of the other colonies of the Australasian group, now claims attention. Here in this free country was rocked the cradle of the Eight Hours System, before the mother colony of New South Wales had released her young brood of self-governing States to their own resources; before young Victoria had been honoured with the name of her august Sovereign; when South Australia was virgin soil; when from the Tweed to the tropics Queensland was a howling wilderness and Western Australia was still a dumping ground for the felonry of Great Britain.

Forty years after Mr. A. J. Burns—a grand-nephew of the Scottish Bard—had sustained the infant efforts of the Otago Pioneers to establish the Eight Hours' system in the land of the Maori, the ringing voice of another Burns thrilled the massed thousands of workers on the same subject in Hyde Park, London. Forty years, too, after D. S. Parnell waked the echoes of the movement into action in the province of Wellington, washed by the broad Pacific, another Parnell carried the great resolution for its universal adoption at a meeting in which diverse tongues cheered his outspoken demand, and in which he called upon his countrymen to assist the down-trodden workers of continental Europe to inhale the first breath of industrial freedom.

In those islands of the South, where less than a century ago a poor castaway mariner lived for years looking out upon the broad expanse of ocean around, "Monarch of all I survey," and was succeeded by a race of adventurous sealers and whalers of divers nationalities, and where each man was a law unto himself, is now the home of the most advanced Democracy on the face of the earth.

The Trades' Unions of New Zealand, from a variety of causes incidental to a new country, and among which the discovery of gold, as in the cases of Australia and California, operated against their institution at so early a period as in the older settled communities of the south amalgamations were unknown; and its first Congress, which took place in the month of January, 1885, was exclusively representative of the colony. The meeting of this Congress was held in the city of Dunedin—the nursery of the Eight Hours—and was presided over by Mr. C. J. Thorne, representing the Otago Trades' Council.

The President did not think it necessary, seated as he was in the city of its nativity, to refer in his opening address to the great Eight Hours' Question which was then agitating the world. From the report of the proceedings before me there does not seem to have been much interest excited by a resolution of Mr. Bradley, of Wellington, setting forth the necessity for its consolidation by legal enactment.

Indeed, Mr. Bradley's references to any current weaknesses in the system were only directed to its application to railway guards and porters. This anomaly, however, has since been corrected, and

although it would seem that further resolutions on the subject in Dunedin would be tantamount to "painting the lily," there is yet little to apprehend that from the large proportion of labour members occupying seats in the House of Representatives that the legal enactment of the measure is only a question of a little time.

Although the Amalgamated Engineers carried out an annual demonstration in Auckland in honor of the Eight Hours, this year (1885) was the first occasion on which a general celebration of the principle by the combined trades was inaugurated. During the sittings of the Congress the Premier, Sir Robert Stout, addressed the members assembled in an exhaustive speech on the labor question. Referring to the Eight Hours, he said:

> "He trusted that the working classes would ever keep in view the question of short hours. A Bill dealing with that matter was introduced to the legislature, but defeated, but he hoped it would be passed. Perhaps no legislature can absolutely fix the hours of work and punish those who work longer, but the mere fact of having it understood that when a man contracts to do work he contracts for Eight Hours' labor, unless otherwise expressed in writing, would be one step in advance in recognising the law of the land."

TASMANIA.—Leaving New Zealand, and steering in a direct westerly course against the rolling billows of the Southern Ocean, a few days' sail will land us on the island of Tasmania, better known perhaps to the few agitators who have outlived worse times, and preserve a memory of a darker period, as Van Diemen's Land. Here, however, in this "tight little island," regenerated and free, we meet with the same old Anglo-Saxon spirit which prevails over all the other greater portions of Australasia. Trades' Unions were established in 1874,

the shipwrights of Hobart being the pioneer society. The news of the acquisition of the Eight Hours on the mainland of Australia had early stirred the young islanders to action, and it is to the honor of the shipwrights of Hobart that not only were they the first industrial organisation on the banks of the Derwent, but they were the first to demand the reduction of the Ten Hours' Day which then prevailed to that of the Eight Hours' limit. The employers, however, declined the overture, and the usual result ensued—a strike. The wages at this time of shipwrights was 12/0 per day, and business was fairly brisk, but the men were determined, and rather than submit; with one accord, the whole body engaged as laborers on the public works of the colony at 6/0 per day, until the employers compromised by giving an advance of 1/0 per diem on their former rates and a Nine Hours' Day.

A few years later, on the formation of a general system of Trades' Unions, the Eight Hours became general throughout the Island of Tasmania. In 1889 an Intercolonial Congress was held in Hobart, and the presence of the older Unions of Australia at the session, contributed in a great measure to the solidarity of the island organisation.

The 26th of February, 1890, was gazetted a public holiday in honor of the inaugural celebration of the Eight Hours' System in the colony. Again was a National Banner of the Grand Movement unfurled for the first time, making the sixth emblem of the movement displayed to the breezes of the great South land. An imposing procession was headed by Mr. William McIntosh, of the Typographical Society, who was

accompanied by the President of the Trades' Hall Council of Melbourne, the late lamented Mr. John Hancock, M.L.A., and Mr. R. Wheeler, of the Trades' and Labor Council of South Australia.

Efforts were made the preceding year to legalise the system, when Colonel St. Hill, one of the members of the House of Assembly for North Hobart, introduced a Bill for that purpose. The honorable and gallant gentleman was not successful, through the most tantalising opposition of some who have since repented their obstinacy.

As I have previously intimated, I can only ascribe the indifference of the Australian legislatures to one or other—or perhaps all of three causes—namely: 1—The fact of the almost general adoption of the movement by voluntary Trades' Union effort. 2—The conservative instincts of our Legislative Councils (Upper Houses), dominated as they are by employers to preserve the rights of "*pwopetty*"; and finally, through the feeble efforts of a large number of working men, who are the representatives of their class in Parliament to force the measure, with almost the entire strength of public opinion in its favor to support them.

As a set-off against this "more lazy than fair" indifference, the Tasmanians, in the report of their proceedings on the 26th February, 1890, quoted a selection from "an eminent authority," who wrote:

> "From birth to death the State, even under present conditions, steps in at point after point to direct one's path. Within forty days of being born I am compelled by the State to be registered; within three months I am equally constrained to be vaccinated; from five years old to thir-

teen, with certain limitations, I have to be sent to school; and, should my parents be so sensible as to apprentice me to a trade, a fee has to be paid to the State for the indentures. When I marry it is at a State-licensed institution; when I die it is by a State-appointed officer that my decease is certified. And in the interval, the State prevents me from obtaining intoxicating liquor except from certain individuals and within specified hours; it compels me, if I am a house-owner, to effect my sanitary arrangements in a given way; and if I am a householder, to keep my pavement free from snow. From the highest details to the lowest, then, the State even now interferes; whether I fail to have my child vaccinated or my chimney swept, it steps in; and those who argue that Individualism is a theory so true that State interference should be abolished, have a number of fruits of that State interference to get rid of before they can claim the victory."

QUEENSLAND.—The great colony of Queensland celebrated last year (1899) their 34th anniversary of the Eight Hours' Movement. The district of Moreton Bay suffered like most others of the Australian group from the curse of convictism, and it was not until 1846 that the charming site on which the capital city of the colony now stands was cleared from the taint which so often has proved inimical to the growth of a free population. The wastes which were then occupied by these condemned bands, is now covered by the palatial structures of the city of Brisbane.

There is no doubt that free labor was largely employed in the erection of the city in the fifties, although it was laid out as early as 1841 by Governor Sir George Gipps, while this immense territory, comprising 668,200 square miles was still an adjunct of the mother colony of New South Wales.

It was not until 1859 that the territory lying north

of the 29th parallel of latitude was proclaimed a separate colony under the title of—Queensland. In 1858, while the free settlers were settling down to industrial pursuits, and probably the organisation of Trades' Unions, another of these scenes of wild excitement took place, which has so often disorganised the projects for the early establishment of Australian Unions.

A discovery of gold was reported to have taken place on the Fitzroy River, and again the exodus of all able-bodied workmen set in for the new El Dorado.

It turned out, however, to be what in digging parlance is designated "a shiser," and the Government was obliged to send round vessels to convey the too credulous gold-seekers back to their former occupations. Now commenced the settled conditions which prevailed under Queensland's first Governor, the late Sir G. F. Bowen. In 1866, the trades of Brisbane being well established, celebrated their inaugural festival of the Eight Hours, and from that forward the success of the Movement has been one line of unbroken success.

Last year, for the first time, the pioneers of the Movement in the northern colony took part in the procession. Their names are :

> "Messrs. Robert Cox, Charles Cumming, Robert Hodge, Robert Hood, John Hutcheon, E. Hutchins, John Murray, James Young, J. Walters, John Edwards, George Bell, James Gasteen, S. Phillips, James Ritchie. The majority of these were stonemasons."

The office-bearers were :

> "President, Mr. J. B. Henderson ; Vice-President, Mr. J. Mullen ; General Secretary, Mr. C. Williams ; Assistant-Secretary and Honorary Handicapper, Mr. W. Macfar-

lane; Treasurer, Mr. Geo. A. Barker; Trustees, Messrs. W. C. Home, W. Y. Millar, and Peter Henderson; Collector, Mr. H. E. Pizey."

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—It cannot fail to interest many home and foreign readers to observe from what small beginnings the greatest reforms have been achieved in these colonies. "*Concordia Parvae res Crescunt.*"

In 1850, just seventeen years from the settlement of the territory known as South Australia, a rush of the then limited population set in for the goldfields of the adjoining sister colony of Victoria. Up to that time the occupation of the people had been chiefly rural; a small measure of agriculture being pursued, but by far the greatest industry which prevailed was that of wool-growing. In the year named, however, all early conditions of settlement were flung to the winds. Thousands crossed the Glenelg River, taking the overland route to the goldfields, while others went by sea via Melbourne for the sake of expedition. This disturbance of the normal conditions of settlement delayed the formation of the early Unions of the mechanics, and it was not until twenty years had elapsed that building operations were sufficiently established to enable the new organisations to take the initiative of an Eight Hours' Day. For the report of the first movement, which I here present, I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. F. S. Wallis, the Secretary of the Adelaide Trades' Hall Committee.

THE EIGHT HOURS' MOVEMENT.

THE FIRST EIGHT HOURS' CELEBRATION IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

"To the building trade of Adelaide must the honor and credit be given for being the first to move in the matter of

an Eight Hours' Day, and it was they who brought it to a practical issue. The general body who worked for it must be for ever unknown. Only the leaders of the Movement can we now note, and of those we have a few with us in the flesh, viewing with pleasure the strides the cause has made. John Chapman, stonecutter; George Thompson, painter; Joe Williams, carpenter; and John Roberts (now deceased), were those who signed the first advertisement calling the meeting at White's Rooms. John Chapman was the first Chairman, and George Thompson Secretary of the affair. Before that they drew up a memorial in favor of the Eight Hours' System, and took it to Messrs. English and Brown, they being the chief contractors of that time in the building trade. They signed it, as also did all the other contractors of that period. The next most active in the movement were the coachbuilders, with the Government workshops, Adelaide. Then followed the other employers, representing the principal manufacturing and producing firms of the city and Port, and it was agreed that it should come into force on September 1, 1873. Then it was thought that the best way to celebrate the event was to have a banquet and concert. Accordingly at 6.30 on the 1st, at White's Assembly Rooms (now known as the Bijou Theatre), 600 men sat down to dinner. Mr. A. H. F. Bartels (Mayor of Adelaide) presided, supported by 45 employers, and in addition to these several gentlemen from the Port, and also Sir Henry Ayers, K.C.M.G., Mr. Rowland Rees, M.P., and Mr. W. Sandover. Mr. L. Grayson, then of the South Australian Railway Works, proposed the toast of the evening—'The health, happiness, and future prosperity of our invited guests (the employers).' He thanked them for having met them so fairly in their demands for a reduction in the hours of labor. Mr. William King, jun., of the firm of King, Blyth, & Co., responded on behalf of the employers. The room was cleared for the concert which followed, the Mayor in the chair. Sir Henry Ayers made a good speech on the advantages likely to accrue from the Eight Hours' System. Then followed Mr. Rees, in his most eloquent style, on the boon

they had secured without a strike. Mr. Quin, from the Port, also spoke. Mr John Clark, tailor, asked for help for the drapers' assistants. The whole affair was a great success. So closed the first chapter in the history of our Eight Hours' Movement."

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Only a few years ago I witnessed the closing of the final link in the circle of the Eight Hours' Movement on the Continent, by the inauguration of the system in Western Australia. This was the seventh star in the constellation of the great labor triumph. Until the goldfields of Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie, Menzies, Southern Cross, Cue, Kanowna, and Kimberley broke out, some nine or ten years ago, there was but little inducement for any but the hardy bushman or the hunter to venture by the long winding reaches of the Swan River.

Where now stands the important city of Perth was, only a quarter of a century ago, an undulating waste of low sand hammocks, the principal buildings which dotted its surface being the work of convict labor. Even within a much later period the "'tothersiders,"[2] whilst enjoying a walk in the clear moonlight, were not infrequently accosted by the patrol's stern demand, "Bond or Free."

It is only, therefore, within the closing decade of the 19th century that Trades' Unionism with its Eight Hours charter finally rested in the "Land of the Black Swan," having completed its circuit of the "Great South Land."

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[2]The name applied by Western Australian natives to persons arriving in W.A. from the other colonies of the Southern and Eastern seaboard.

Here, in Western Australia, at least, there was no necessity to interview employers, hold public meetings, or solicit the aid of the legislature.

From the peculiar nature of the gold formation, it was soon found impossible for any but the skilled miner —and of whom there were an abundance—to deal with the auriferous area.

Mechanics, however, found plenty of employment in the infant cities and towns of the West, which were being built up at high pressure speed. Trades' Unions —many branches of those already established in other colonies—were soon formed, and the first Eight Hours' procession of Western Australia moved through the streets of her capital on the 21st October, 1896.

With this consummation I must close my book. There are many other considerations which, from an economic point of view, I would have liked to dwell upon, such as the co-relative questions of profit-shaving and co-operation, did my space permit. A few words, however, may not be out of place here. As to the former, it is practically unknown to Australia. The latter has been more favored, but, notwithstanding its sound principles, it has hitherto only maintained moderate support, and, as a consequence, it experienced a somewhat chequered existence. Of late, however, Australian workmen are becoming more impressed with its advantages, and a more enlightened spirit is dictating to wage-earners that this form of association is a true solution of the many heartburnings which arise through depressions and disagreements between capital and labor. Co-operation has been tried in many forms in these colonies, and from whatever cause, it has not been

uniformly successful. Eight Hours' men in Australia are, as a rule, shrewd economists, and, notwithstanding this, they have so frequently been the dupes of capitalistic concerns that they have at last come to realise that the only true system of co-operation is that which is managed by their own class, and over which they exercise a direct controlling influence. After many failures, however, they have within the last few years started in the city of Melbourne a going concern under the title of the VICTORIAN LABOR FEDERATION. Beginning, like the Rochdale pioneers, in a small way, it has now grown to considerable proportions, embracing a central estabment in the city, with several branches throughout the adjacent suburbs. At present the articles most needed by workmen and their families—groceries, clothing, boots, etc.—are retailed at the several establishments of the Federation, the sole management being in the capable hands of Mr. George Elmslie, of the Masons' Society. If this grand old society, which has been the pioneer of the Eight Hours in every place where it has obtained an undisputed claim to be classed as a system, follows up by leading the other Unions in the advanced scheme of co-operation, it will deserve well of the workers, who already owe so much to its indomitable perseverance and foresight.

The Eight Hours having now become general throughout Australia, its consolidation by Act of Parliament should doubtless be the next important step on which to concentrate their energies; but coincident with that the newer question of co-operation is waiting development, and which, with the numerous examples from Europe of its beneficent operation to render the

only true assistance in those cases of need to which I have averted, there should be every hope of its ultimate success.

In Bendigo (Victoria) there has been a Co-operative Society doing well for many years, and which was started by a few poor men. Others are springing up in New South Wales and elsewhere in Australia; working men at length seeming to realise the wisdom so beautifully expressed by Robert Burns:

> "To catch Dame Fortune's golden smile
> Assiduous wait upon her;
> And gather gear by ev'ry wile
> That's justified by honour;
> Not for to hide it in a hedge,
> Nor for a train attendant;
> But for the glorious privilege
> Of being independent."

And now, dear Reader, Farewell!

I have told the story of the Eight Hours' Movement in many lands; and in so doing I freely acknowledge my own inefficiency to complete so important a task without the generous aid of the officers and members of the Eight Hours' Committees of 1896 and 1900. I have also to thank the officers of the Trades' Councils throughout Australia for much valuable assistance in my work.

The Great Federation of the Australian Colonies is at hand. Let us hope that it will be a prelude to that GREATER FEDERATION OF LABOR, when the day-star of the Eight Hours' System will shine resplendent over the emancipated workers of the Universe.

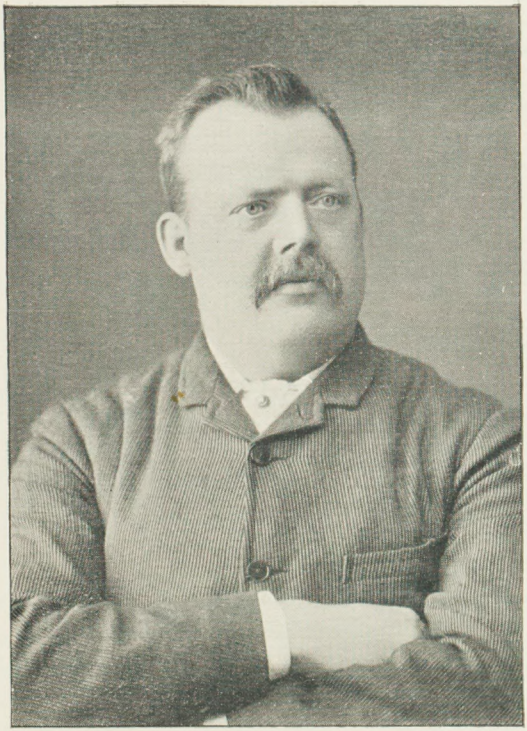
THE END.

APPENDIX.

TRADES' HALLS OF ANTIQUITY.—Carpenters' Hall, London, A.D. 1477—First Trades' Hall of Scotland, A.D. 1631—New Trades' Hall of Aberdeen, A.D 1846—MODERN TEMPLES OF LABOR — Trades' Hall, Melbourne, 1859—Trades' Hall, Sydney, 1888—Trades' Hall, Brisbane, 1891—Trades' Hall, Adelaide, 1895—Notes to Portraits—John Burns—The late John Hancock—James Robb—Charles Harris—Duncan McIver.

TRADES' HALLS OF ANTIQUITY.

CARPENTERS' HALL, LONDON.—On the 7th July, 1477, Edward IV. granted a charter to the Carpenters' Guild of London, and soon after Carpenters' Hall was erected. From *Jupp's Company of Carpenters* I extract the following: "The trading companies of London partook much, at the time of their formation, of the character of ecclesiastical institutions. Many, if not all, had a patron saint, usually chosen with reference either with some fancied connection with their craft, or to the name of the church where the company was accustomed to assemble. For example, the fishmongers selected St. Peter, the patron of fishermen; while the drapers chose the Virgin Mary, and the merchant tailors St. John the Baptist, the reason assigned being that the former was the Mother, the latter the Harbinger of 'the *Lamb*.' . . . . No express allusion is made in the charter or



THE LATE JOHN HANCOCK, M.L.A.

records of the Carpenters' Company to their patron saint, but it was probably the Blessed Virgin or, like the grocers, they may have invoked the protection of 'All Saints' since we find that they maintained lights both in the Church of St. Mary, Spital, and in that of 'All-Hallows,' otherwise 'All Saints,' which two churches were in the vicinity of Carpenters' Hall.

"The probability that the Blessed Virgin was their patroness is strengthened by the address to *Jesus and his Mother dear*, found at the beginning of their oldest account book, and by the statement in their charter that the brotherhood then founded was to be to the praise, glory and honour of the Omnipotent God, and of the glorious and undefiled Virgin Mary."

First Trades' Hall of Scotland.[1]—A.D. 1631. Dr. Guild, of Aberdeen, obtained possession by purchase of the ancient Monastery and Chapel of the *Holy Trinity*, which had been instituted in 1200 by Pope Innocent III. and in which King William the Lyon of Scotland in 1211 established a branch of the order called "Red Friars."

Dr. Guild, having purchased the property, obtained subscriptions from the seven "Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen" to assist in restoring the buildings which had been much damaged. The seven trades were *Hammermen*, *Bakers*, *Wrights*, *Coopers*, *Cordiners* (Cordwainers), *Weavers* and *Fleshers*. The contributions amounted to about £2,200. Dr. Guild handed over the buildings to the Incorporated Trades for the purposes of

[1] "History of the Seven Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen," by Ebenezer Bain.

an hospital and meeting house. The first master of the hospital was Thomas Gardive, a tailor. A.D. 1632. The old place (which was probably the first Scottish Trades' Hall) was removed about 1857 to make way for street improvements, consequent upon the extension of the railway to Aberdeen. Much of the old furniture of the monastery as used while occupied by the trades, including "Deacone Convenir's Chair," tables, documents, punchbowls, etc., are still preserved in the new Trades' Hall erected in 1846 at the south-east end of Union bridge—John Smith, architect. The main entrance is from Union Street, and on the first floor are the hall, 60ft. x 30ft., with open ornamental roof, two committee rooms, a common room, and retiring room. From the Denburn side, entrance is obtained to the school-room, used as a Trades' School down to 1878. In the upper portion of the building are the kitchen and housekeeper's apartments, and immediately above the school is the strong-room, in which are stored the books and papers belonging to the different incorporations.

Over the punchbowl the Scottish mechanics held their last meeting in the old monastery, on which occasion it would appear there was an election of officers, when one Deacon Alexander Robb, sung a song of his own to the tune of "Happy are we a' thegither."

MODERN TEMPLES OF LABOR.

Historical Epitome of Australian Trades' Halls.

Melbourne, Victoria.

Early in the year 1858 a deputation from the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee waited upon the O'Shannessay

Government, of which the Hon. Mr. (now Sir Charles Gavan) Duffy was Commissioner of Crown Lands and Survey, and preferred a request for the grant of a piece of land on which to erect a Trades' Hall and Literary Institute for the mechanics, operatives, and others of Melbourne.

The request was favorably entertained, and a few days after, the Commissioner, accompanied by the Surveyor-General, Mr. Ligar, and the representatives of the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee, visited the present site of the Trades' Hall—then a vacant block, bounded by Queensberry, Victoria, Drummond and Lygon Streets, Carlton,—when Mr. Duffy offered a grant of two acres on its northern boundary, or one acre on the south on the corner of Victoria and Lygon Streets. The latter was selected as the most eligible site, and was ordered to be temporarily reserved.

On the 4th March of the same year a public meeting was held in the Olympic Theatre (now defunct), at which the first trustees of the newly acquired land were elected. The Anniversary Committee and the trades now set themselves earnestly to work to obtain funds for the erection of the building, and on the 23rd March, 1859, a contract was entered into for its construction, the successful tenderers being Messrs. Smith and Hunter.

The formation of a Committee of Management for the proposed Institution was resolved upon at a meeting of the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee, held at the Belvidere Hotel, which had since 1856 been the chief rendezvous of the early Unions. On the evening in question, 25th March, 1859, Mr. Baillie moved, and Mr. Dewar seconded, "That a Sub-Committee be formed to take over

the control of the Trades' Hall buildings, such Sub-Committee to be constituted by one representative from each trade, numbering under one hundred, and two representatives from societies numbering over one hundred on their rolls; all representatives to be *good on the books of their respective societies.*" Thus was established the pioneer Committee of the Trades' Hall. The building being completed, the Queen's Birthday following was selected as the inaugural day when the first Australian Trades' Hall should open its doors to the mechanics, operatives, and others of Melbourne.

A soiree was held in honor of the occasion, and the temporary structure (built of pitch pine t. and g. flooring, which was intended to be used afterwards in the permanent buildings) was opened, and for fifteen years following remained as the home of Victorian Unionism.

Renewed efforts were now made to raise funds for the erection of the permanent buildings, and among other things a course of lectures was resolved upon, to take place on the platform of the new hall. Several gentlemen offered their services, the first being delivered by the Hon. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, entitled "Australia at the Bar of Public Opinion in England."

On the 26th January, 1874—the eighty-sixth anniversary of the day on which Capt. Arthur Phillip sailed into Botany Bay and planted the flag of Great Britain in the wild Australian bush,—the memorial stone of the first portion of the permanent buildings of the Trades' Hall was laid by John Curtain, Esq., at that time member for Carlton in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria.

A similar duty was performed on the 21st October,

1882, by Mr. Benjamin Douglass—then Chairman of the Trades' Hall Committee,—in the laying of the memorial stone of the northern extensions. This was the last official memory of the old Trades' Hall Committee, and as the subsequent proceedings by which that body merged into the more representative one now existing may interest my readers, I here give a summary of the proceedings thereon.

At a meeting of the Trades' Hall Committee held on the 10th February, 1882, Mr. Duncan McIver in the Chair, Mr. W. E. Murphy, the secretary, moved: "That it is expedient that the powers and privileges of the Trades' Hall Committee be extended, etc."

Voting: Ayes 15, Noes 14.

On the 6th May following, Mr. Duncan McIvor in the Chair, Mr. W. E. Murphy moved: "That a Sub-Committee be now appointed to revise the laws and standing orders of the Committee agreeable to the motion of the 10th February."

The motion was carried.

On 15th June, 1883, the final meeting of the Trades' Hall Committee, which had to this time existed for 24 years, was held.

On the evening named, Mr. W. E. Murphy moved, in pursuance of his former resolution, the preamble: "Whereas it is expedient that the rules enacted by the Trustees of the Trades' Hall and Literary Institute of Melbourne should be revised and amended, with a view to extend the powers and privileges of the Committee in dealing with the interests of the trades represented thereon and others, the said rules are hereby

repealed, and the following miscellaneous provisions, rules, and standing orders substituted in lieu thereof, provided always that nothing therein contained shall in any way infringe any right, title, interest, liability or obligation existing at the time that these provisions, rules, and standing orders shall come into force."

Mr. Henry Elmslie, of the Masons' Society, seconded the motion, and the TRADES' HALL COUNCIL OF MELBOURNE was thereupon established. The designs for the building were supplied by Messrs. Reed and Barnes, of Melbourne—the various sections and general supervision being the work of the new firm of Messrs. Reed, Smart and Tappin. The present officers of the Trades Hall Council are Mr. Charles Harris, President; Mr. Charles Rawlings, Treasurer; Mr. J. G. Barrett, Secretary; and Samuel Lemmon, hallkeeper.

TRADES' HALL AND LITERARY INSTITUTE OF SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

On the 14th December, 1883, Mr. J. E. West, representing the Hunter River Coal Miners' Association, presided over a meeting of Trades' delegates held in Sydney to initiate the movement for the erection of a Trades' Hall in the capital city of New South Wales. On 22nd July following, the Hon. Henry Copeland, M.P., now Agent General, carried a resolution in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales embodying an address to the Governor "praying that his Excellency will be pleased to cause to be placed on the supplementary estimates for the present year a sum not exceeding £6,000 for the purpose of covering the cost, either by resumption or purchase, of some

suitable block of land in the city of Sydney, to be vested in trustees to be appointed by the Governor and Executive Council, for the purpose of erecting thereon a Trades' Hall, the cost of such building to be defrayed by public subscription." Agreeable to this petition the first officers of the Sydney Trades' Hall Committee were appointed: Mr. J. E. West, Chairman; R. Mooney, Treasurer; W. Ferrier, Secretary; with Messrs. Sanders, Atkinson and Smith as Trustees. The site selected was a corner block having a frontage of 81 feet to Goulburn-street by a depth of 138 feet to Dixon-street, which was purchased for the sum of £5,950.

The foundation stone was laid on 28th January, 1888, by the Rt. Hon. Lord Carrington, P.C., G.C.M.G., Governor of New South Wales, the ceremony being attended by Lady Carrington, the Governors of Victoria and Western Australia, together with a large representative body of Ministers and members of the legislatures of the several colonies; the week being the centenary celebration of the foundation of the colony of New South Wales.

The coping stone of the tower was placed in position by the Hon. Henry Copeland in November 1894, and the building, which cost over £6,000, was finally opened by the Hon. Jacob Garrard, Minister of Labour and Education, on 26th January, 1895. The trustees of the property are: Hon. Henry Copeland, M.L.A., the Hon. Jacob Garrard, M.L A., J. E. West, J. R. Talbot, John Atkinson, R. Mooney, W. Ferrier, P. Hampson and Thos. Caddy, Hon. Secretary. The design of the building was supplied by Mr. John Smedley, architect,

but the working plans and general supervision was carried out by Mr. J. Kirkpatrick, architect, etc., the designer, Mr. Smedley, having left the colony.

The Executive officers at present are—J. E. West, Chairman; R. Mooney, Treasurer; and Geo. Rutter, Secretary. To the latter gentleman I am indebted for the foregoing information. The photo is by Messrs. Stratford and Smith, of Sydney.

TRADES' AND LABOR HALL, BRISBANE, QUEENSLAND.

The site of the handsome structure seen in the accompanying illustration, as the Trades' Hall, Brisbane, was also the gift of Government. In March, 1886, the Trades and Labour Council of Brisbane appointed two representatives, Messrs. Gilbert Casey and John McGregor, to wait on the various labour bodies with a view of vigorous action being taken to erect a Trades' Hall in the capital city of the Northern colony.

The foundation stone was laid on the 4th April, 1891, by Sir Charles Lilley, then Chief Justice of the colony.

The first Trustees appointed by the Government were Charles Seymour, Gilbert Stephen Casey, Charles Lancaster, James Ritchie, and Henry Johnson. The building, which is in the Italian Renaissance style of architecture, was designed by Mr. C. W. Chambers, architect, and carried out entirely by the committee under the day labour system, the supervision being entrusted to Mr. T. McGregor, as foreman of works. The purse strings were held by Mr. John McDonnell

secretary, who, with the concurrence of the Board, had full control, and was responsible for all expenditure.

The building was opened in the presence of a representative gathering on Saturday, 5th May, 1894. The opening ceremony was performed by Mr. James Hewitt, the President of the Board of Management, who was supported by the Vice-President, Mr. J. Beck; Treasurer, Mr. G. Cranston; and the Secretary, Mr. John M'Donnell; Sir Charles Lilley, who laid the foundation stone, being also present.

Some of the work of the Brisbane Technical College is carried out in the building, and in addition to accommodation for the several societies, the Board is able to find suitable rooms for the Brisbane Musical Union and a Quadrille Assembly.

The Board has also added during last year an excellent library and reading room to the institution.

The total cost of the building was £5,225, which with the land valued at £1,400 making a total of £6,625, is at once an investment and a monument worthy of the enterprise of the workers of Brisbane. The office-bearers for 1899 are: President, Mr. J. B. Henderson; Vice-President, Mr. J. Snell; Treasurer, Mr. Geo. Barker; with Mr. W. P. Colborne as Hon. Secretary.

The Trades' Hall, Adelaide, South Australia.

On March 5th, 1886, Mr. (now the Honorable) W. A. Robinson (then Secretary of the Trades and Labour Council of Adelaide), brought forward the question of a Trades' Hall for the beautiful city of Adelaide. Few men have done more for the workers in Australia than this gentleman. It is to his resource that the Unions of

Adelaide have been in the unique position of completing the splendid pile shown in the illustration, totally independent of a Government grant or subsidy of any sort from the legislature. The expense of purchase of a site, building, furnishing, etc., was undertaken by an energetic committee of the trades, and with the monetary aid granted by the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee, and the generous subscriptions of several leading gentlemen of the colony, the united trades were in a position to make a start with their new structure in 1895. On the 2nd September of that year the Foundation Stone was laid by Mrs. Kingston (wife of the Premier) amid great rejoicings. A large company of members of both branches of the legislature was present on the occasion, the Hon. W. A. Robinson being in the chair.

The opening ceremony took place on the 14th March, 1896, when the Chairman of the Building Committee, Mr. T. Price, M.P., formally handed over the keys of the building to the Chairman of the Committee of Management (the Hon. W. A. Robinson), and in so doing referred to the successful accomplishment of the operations, and paying a high tribute to the energy of the Secretary, Mr. J. A. Macpherson (since deceased) to whose hands the business transactions were confided, and so excellently carried out. The total cost of the land and building was as follows:

Land ..	£1,200	0	0			
Building ...	4,988	12	1½			
Furnishing ...	222	3	6			
Incidental ...	79	10	0			
				£6,490	5	7½
Extra land acquired				350	0	0
Total value of property ...				£6,840	5	7½

The present managing committee are: Robert Wheeler, Chairman; G. Brand, Vice-Chairman; T. Pearson, Chairman of Trustees; F. S. Wallis, Secretary of Committee and Trustees.

NOTES TO PORTRAITS.

JOHN BURNS, M.P.—The world-famed Labor leader of British Unions. Mr. Burns' connection with Australian Unionism dates from the great Dockers' Strike of London, 1889, and the great Maritime Strike in Australia, 1890. Mr. Burns is the representative of Battersea in the British House of Commons, and a member of the London County Council.

THE LATE JOHN HANCOCK, M.L.A.—A native of London, compositor; arrived in Melbourne 1884; joined the Melbourne Branch of the Typographical Union of Australasia; elected Secretary of the Branch, July, 1889; President Trades' Hall Council and Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee the same year (1889); on the decease of the late Hon. G. D. Langridge, was elected member for Collingwood in the Legislative Assembly; defeated at the general election following, but in 1894 was returned for the constituency of Footscray. Was Chairman of the Committee of Finance, and control of the great Maritime Strike, 1890. He died at Melbourne, 22nd November, 1899, while occupying the dual position of Secretary of the Typographical Society and a Member of Parliament.

JAMES ROBB.—President of the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee, 1900, and President of the Melbourne Progressive Society of Carpenters and Joiners, was born near Glasgow, Scotland, in 1853. Mr. Robb is the son

of a leading Trades' Unionist from the West of Scotland, and who, together with his family, arrived in Dunedin, New Zealand, in the yet early days of that settlement. From his father, Mr. Robb seems to have inherited those staunch principles of Unionism, which have made him a conspicuous figure in the natal city of the Eight Hours' (Dunedin), as he has also become in the city of the *unbroken chain* in its history. During his residence in Dunedin, our young carpenter, at the imminent risk of his own life, was instrumental in rescuing those of others from a disastrous conflagration, which took place in that city, and for which he received many tokens of public esteem. Mr. Robb visited England in 1875, from whence he made several trips to the United States, finally arriving in Victoria in 1899. Possessed of a winning style of address, combined with an easy fluency of speech, this new scion of the "old school" of Trades' Unionism, soon became a prominent character among the leaders of Victorian Unions, being elected to fill several responsible positions in a representative capacity, among which is the honorable office of Member of the Council of the Working Men's College, Melbourne. Occupying as he does the "Deacone Conviner's Chair" of the "South," as did his venerable namesake, Alexander Robb, in the "North" (Aberdeen), the Unions of Victoria are happy in the possession of a man who will always fill his position with honor, while he sings :

Happy are we a' thegither.

Charles Harris. — Secretary of the Melbourne Saddlers' Society, Secretary of the Eight Hours' Anniversary Committee, 1891-1900; Member of the Council of the Anti-Sweating League, Vice-President of the

Association for the promotion of Technical Education, President of the Trades' Hall Council, 1900, etc. (See vol. i.)

DUNCAN MCIVER.—A native of Ross-shire, Scotland; arrived at Melbourne 1856; was a representative of the Melbourne Tailors' Society on the Trades' Hall Committee and the Trades' Hall Council for many years; President of the Trades' Hall Committee, 1882; representative of the Trades' Hall Council on the Board of Management of the Working Men's College, Melbourne, and ex-President of the Tailoresses' Association of Victoria.

The Phases of Friendship.

In Memoriam.—JOHN HANCOCK.

I

There's a *pathos* in Friendship, which none know so well,
As the outcast a pitiless world has o'erthrown,
When 'mid ruin and havoc his grief may not tell,
One stands by his side, when false friends have flown.

II

There's a *solace* in Friendship when love is distraught
By visions which fade, and fonds hopes are blighted;
And the hearts which were won, but could never be bought,
Are by true friends preserved, till by Heaven united.

III

There's a *glory* in Friendship, when soldiers in arms
O'er the red field of war rush onward together;
Where the canon's loud roar, 'mid wild trumpets alarms,
Make the music of comrades, death only may sever.

IV

There's a *sadness* in Friendship, when muffled drums roll
For the brave who but yesterday fought by our side;
There's a sorrow deep—deep, when funereal bells toll
For a loved one and a lost one, cut off in *his* pride.

V

There's a *load-star* in Friendship, unchangeably bright,
Which illumines our path, let us roam where we will;
All-absorbing by day—translucent by night,
Through storm and through cloud 'twill shine o'er us still.

VI

'Twas thus, gen'rous soul, *thy* Friendship e'er shone,
Weaker nerves caught a flame from thy light winsome glee;
While sweet sympathy's shield o'er the friendless was thrown,
In their hour of despair—LOST HANCOCK—by thee.

VII

God rest thee! brave comrade, where Austral winds blow,
Whilst the dew-laden grass weeps in silence above;
Enshrin'd in our mem'ry thy dear spirit will glow,
And we'll love, while we mourn thee, and mourn while we love.

CHRONOLOGICAL ROLL of OFFICERS of the TRADES' HALL COMMITTEE of the City of Melbourne, in the Colony of Victoria, from its Establishment.

CHAIRMEN	Elected	Retired	TREASURERS	Elected	Retired	SECRETARIES	Elected	Retired
C. B. Hall	3/12/58	11/2/59	Geo. Ravenscroft ..	4/2/59	18/11/59	John Ivey .	3 12 58	18/11/59
Ben. Douglass (pro tem.)	11/2/59	18/2 59	James Stephens	18/11/59	11/5/60	Chas. Clarkson pro tem.) ..	18/11/59	9/12/59
E. A. Bowley ..	18/2/59	1/4/59	— Watson	11/5/60	9/11/60	T. W. Vine ..	9/12/59	17/8/60
Thos. Eaves .	8/4/59	16/9/59	Wm. Brown ..	9/11/60	6/12/60	Geo. Farley ..	17/8 60	9/11/64
J. A. Hay	16/9/59	13/1/60	Thos. McQualter	6/12/60	8/3/61	Geo. Farley ..		
W. Jackson	13/1/60	11/5/60	Wm. Wood	8/3/61	4/10/61	Geo. Farley		
J. Seccombe ..	11/5/60	16/11/60				Geo. Farley		
S. Whoms	16/11/60	4/1/61				Geo. Farley ..		
T. Simpson	4/1/61	3/5 61	Geo. Maybrick ..	4/10/61	5/7/62	Geo. Farley		
J. Seccombe ..	3/5/61	26/6/63	Wm. Little	5/7/62	10/7/63	Geo. Farley .. .		
Chas. Clarkson ..	26/6/63	16/10/63	G. Sallery	10/7/63	1/4 64	Geo. Farley .. .		
Chas. Rolf .. .	16/10/63	6/1/65	Jas. Campbell ..	1 4/64	28 4/65	Chas. Clarkson	9/11 64	25/9/68
Wm. Davis .. .	6/1/65	7/4/65	Geo. Ravenscroft	28/4/65	13/10/65	Chas. Clarkson ..		
Alex. Campbell ..	7/4/65	13/10/65	Jas. Campbell ..	13/10/65	5 1/66	Chas. Clarkson ..		
Robt. Beer	13/10/65	4/10/67	J. Seccombe .	5/1/66	4/10/67	Chas. Clarkson ..		
John Smart	4/10/67	31/12/68	Fred. Taylor ..	4/10/67	1/7/70	Chas. Toms ..	25/9/68	6/2/71
S. Lambert	1/1/69	26 5/69	Fred. Taylor ..			Chas. Toms		
D. Bennet (pro tem.)	26/5/69	2/7/69	Fred. Taylor ..			Chas. Toms ..		
Robt. Beer	2/7/69	30/7/69	Fred. Taylor ..			Chas. Toms ..		
Gavan White ..	30/7/69	1/10/69	Fred. Taylor .			Chas. Toms ..		
W. Morley . ..	1/10/69	5 11/69	Fred. Taylor ..			Chas. Toms ..		
J. Singleton	5/10/69	7/1/70	Fred. Taylor .			Chas. Toms ..		
Chas. Rolf	7/1/70	1/7/70	Wm. Taylor ..	7/1/70	1/7/70	Wm. Quinnell ..	7/1/70	
W. Dyker	1/7/70	7/10/70	Chas. Clarkson ..	1/7/70		Wm. Quinnell ..	7/1 70	
J. Bradford	7/10/70	6/1/71	Chas. Clarkson ..			Wm. Quinnell ..	7/1/70	
J. Gillespie	6/1/71	6/4/71	Chas. Clarkson ..		6/4/71	Wm. Quinnell ..	7/1/70	
G. Ravenscroft ..	6/4/71	7/7/71	R. Crichton	6/4/71		Wm. Quinnell ..	7/1/70	
A. G. Green ..	7/7/71	10/1/73	R. Crichton	6/4/71		Wm. Quinnell ..	7 1/70	4/4/73
— Richardson .	4/4/73	11/7/73	R. Crichton	6/4/71		G. White	4/4/73	
F. Manuel	11/7/73	3/4 74	R. Crichton	6/4/71		G. White .. .	4/4 73	
Chas. Rolf	3/4/74	2/10/74		6/4/71	2/10 74	G. White	4 4/73	2/10/74
J. Thomas	2/10/74	2/4/75	J. Smith	2/10/74	8/1/75	D. Bennet	2/10/74	
J. Gration	2/4/75		J. Davis	8/1/75		D. Bennet	2/10 74	

RECORDS HERE NOT OBTAINABLE.

Chas. H. Fuller ..	28/9/77	29 3/78	J. Davis			W. E. Murphy .	28/9 77	19/9/79
John Gration ..	29/3/78	17/3/80	A. Yewdall	49 3/78	17/3/80	W. E. Murphy ..		
F. Manuel	17/3/80	17/9/80	J. Nixon	17/3 80	25/3 81	W. E. Murphy		
C. A. Fuller ..	17/9/80	25/3/81	Jas. Hall	25 3/80		W. E. Murphy ..		
P. Mitchell	25/3 81	23/9/81	Jas. Hall			D. Bennet	19/9/79	17/3/80
C. A. Fuller . ..	23/9/81	24/3/82	Jas. Hall			W. E. Murphy ..	17/3/80	24/9/86
Duncan McIvor ..	24/3/82	22/9/82	Jas. Hall . ..			W. E. Murphy ..		

CHRONOLOGICAL ROLL of OFFICERS of the TRADES' HALL COUNCIL of the City of Melbourne, in the Colony of Victoria, from its Establishment.

PRESIDENTS	Elected	Retired	TREASURERS	Elected	Retired	SECRETARIES	Elected	Retired
Ben. Douglas ..	22/9/82	27/3 85	Jas. Hall		21 9 8	W. E. Murphy ..		
F. H. Bromley ..	27/3/85	1/4/86	A. Yewdall	21/9/83		W. E. Murphy ..		
W. A. Trenwith ..	1/4 86	31/3 87	A. Yewdall .. .		25/3/87	D. Bennet	24/9/86	7/4/93
H. A. Harwood ..	1/4/87	30/3/88	Jas. Baxter .. .	25/3/87	31/12 88	D. Bennet		
J. G. Barrett ..	1/7/88	30/6/89	Chas. Rawlings .	1/1/89		D. Bennet		
J. Hancock	1/7/89	30/6/90	Chas Rawlings .			D. Bennet		
J. Sitch	1/7/90	30/6/91	Chas. Rawlings .			D. Bennet		
J. Winter	1/7 91	30/6/92	Chas. Rawlings ..			D. Bennet .. .		
J. Graham	1/7/92	30/6/93	Chas. Rawlings ..			J. G. Barrett ..	7/4/93	
G. M. Prendergast	1/7/93	30/6/94	Chas. Rawlings ..			J. G. Barrett ..		
G. Sangster ..	1/7/94	30/6/95	Chas. Rawlings .			J. G. Barrett ..		
C. Bishop	1/7/95	30/6/96	Chas. Rawlings ..			J. G. Barrett ..		
E. Findley	1/7/96	30/6/97	Chas. Rawlings ..			J. G. Barrett ..		
S. Barker	1/7/97	30/6/98	Chas. Rawlings ..			J. G. Barrett ..		
J. Hyman	1/7/98	30/6/99	Chas. Rawlings ..			J. G. Barrett .		
C. Harris	1/7/00					J. G. Barrett ..		

Working Men's College,

MELBOURNE.

EVENING CLASSES.

I. Literary and Commercial Department.

Fees from 5s. to 20s.

Arithmetic, Book-keeping, English, Elocution, French, German, Latin, Shorthand, Typewriting, Writing, Correspondence, Telegraphy.

II. Department of Mathematics.

Fees from 6s. to 8s.

Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, Trigonometry.

III. Department of Engineering.

Fees from 6s. to 15s.

Practical Plane Geometry, Solid Geometry, Steam Engine, Surveying and Levelling, Applied Mechanics, Mechanical Drawing, Electrical Engineering.

IV. Department of Architecture.

Fees from 6s. to 20s.

Perspective, Practical Plane Geometry, Building Construction, Architecture.

V. Department of Music.

Fees from 7s. to 12s.

Singing and Violin.

VI. Department of Household Economy.

Fees from 5s. to 10s.

Cookery, Plain Needlework, Cutting out Underlinen, Dresscutting, Dressmaking, Art Needlework.

VII. Department of Art and Applied Art.

Fees from 6s. to 20s.

Practical Plane Geometry, Perspective, Freehand, Drawing, Painting, Modelling, Wood Carving, Photography, Graining and Marbling, Sign Writing.

VIII. Department of Mining and Metallurgy.

Fees from 7s. to £2.

Geology, Mining Geology, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Assaying, Metallurgy.

IX. Department of Agriculture and Rural Industries.

Fees from 10s. to 22s. 6d.

Botany, Veterinary Science, Wool Sorting.

X. The Trade Classes.

Fees from 8s. to 18s.

Carpentry, Manual Training, Coach Building Plumbing, Printing—Composing and Machining, Turning and Fitting, Tailor's Cutting.

DAY COURSES.

Preparatory Year.—Fee £3 per Term.

The Work of this Year is common to all the Courses. Subjects: Algebra, Geometry, Arithmetic, Mensuration, English, Physiography, Freehand Drawing, Mechanical Drawing, Wood Working, Blacksmithing.

First Year.—Fee £5 per Term.

I. Mechanical Engineering. II. Electrical Engineering. III. Mining Engineering.

Subjects: Algebra, Geometry, Mechanical Drawing, Applied Mechanics, Electricity and Magnetism, Chemistry, Fitting and Turning, Forge Work, Carpentry.

IV. METALLURGY.

Subjects: Same as Engineering, but Mineralogy takes place of Carpentry.

SECOND YEAR.—Fee £6 per Term.

I. MECHANICAL ENGINEERING. II. ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING. III. MINING ENGINEERING.

Subjects: Trigonometry, Engineering, Drawing, Graphics, Applied Mechanics, Applied Electricity, Surveying, Fitting and Turning, Pattern Making, Foundry Work.

IV. METALLURGY.

Subjects: Trigonometry, Engineering, Drawing, Applied Electricity, Chemistry, Foundry Work, Geology, Mineralogy, Assaying, Metallurgy.

THIRD YEAR.—Fee £8 per Term.

I. MECHANICAL ENGINEERING.

Subjects: Applied Mechanics, Engineering, Drawing and Design, Fitting and Turning (advanced), Applied Electricity.

II. ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING.

Subjects: Applied Mechanics, Engineering, Drawing and Design, Fitting and Turning (Electrical Machinery), Applied Electricity.

III. MINING ENGINEERING.

Subjects: Applied Mechanics, Engineering, Drawing and Design, Fitting and Turning (Mining Machinery), Applied Electricity, Mining Ore Dressing.

IV. METALLURGY.

Subjects: Mining Geology, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Assaying, Metallurgy. Mining Ore Dressing.