

A LABOR HISTORY OF THE NIAGARA FRONTIER
(1846-1917)

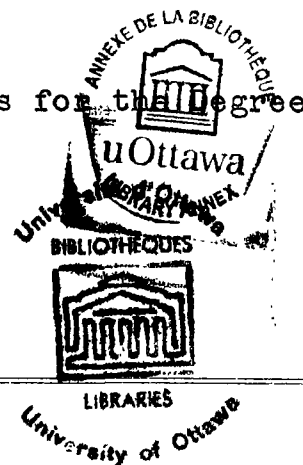
Containing an Introduction Consisting of Conditions
Prior to 1846

by
Charles F. Marlak
June 1947

A Thesis
Presented to the Graduate
Department
University of Ottawa

*Approved
Feb. 27, 1947
Probation*

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy



UMI Number: DC53340

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform DC53340
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Approval Sheet

Acknowledgment

is gratefully made of the
assistance of the workers
of the Grosvenor Library, and
of the Buffalo Historical Society
for their co-operation in making
old newspaper files available.

Preface

The value of a Labor history that concerns itself with a single area such as the Niagara Frontier, in New York, has been a tremendous project. I justify my selection and demonstrate how this investigation is in conformity by establishing four norms.

(1) "To satisfy a personal interest or curiosity." The study of labor has become one of my recent interests. I chose to write on Buffalo labor because our local history has not been done, and I was curious to discover whether our area had an important labor past. Moreover, I believe that we have been sacrificing our local history in our haste to acquire knowledge of national and international historical problems.

(2) "To furnish a basis for confirming some earlier study, or a basis for future study." With

-
1. Almack, John C., Research and Thesis Writing, N. Y., 1930, pp. 35-36

the forepart of this tenet we are not concerned, but certainly a knowledge of Buffalo's Niagara Frontier past labor history should be conducive to comprehending her present labor problems. If for example we are cognizant of the fact that Buffalo workers have in the past been reasonably conservative, we might logically anticipate, under conditions like those in the past, a rather speedy demise for any radical society that may be spreading its new dogma in 1950. This brings us to the third principle.

(3) "To meet a social need." Labor today is a social, and economic, and political problem which, if we are to solve it requires that men have a knowledge of the problem as it was rooted and blossomed in past local history: Historians like to find a guide in the past for issues of the present." 1. If we find a solution by our knowledge we may triumphantly assert the satisfaction of the fourth rule; namely, (4) "To serve a utilitarian purpose."

As a further panoply against possible charges of futility of choice let me cite Mary Ritter Beard who, although referring to the national labor movement, writes apropos of the labor movement of Buffalo or of any other large city.

Says Mrs. Beard:

The labor movement is more than
an economic enterprise...It
draws men and women together
in a great cooperative undertaking

-
1. Dr. Paul Conroy, Canisius Radio Hour, WEBR
Oct. 1, 1938

which grows in strength day and night and develops ideals of peace and will being in society as well as in practical contests of force..Even though it may always remain a minority movement in point of membership among the workers, it will exercise the power a minority always exercises in proportion to its clearness of purpose, efficiency of organization, and the integrity of its members.

...Anything so fundamental, so impressive, so fraught with possibilities for the future surely deserves an intensive study by those outside the labor movement as well as by those who work within it. 1.

No specific books have been written on Buffalo Niagara Frontier labor. Buffalo's general histories contain few labor facts. One might think that labor leaders could give information. However, the few Buffalo leaders contacted who were aged enough to know the past had either forgotten, or affably pled ignorance so as not to be associated with what was sometimes a riotous labor past.

The sole source remaining then was newspapers, not always an authentic source for the press may be prejudiced, sensational, and uncritical, and even inefficient. As Allen Johnson writes:

The reporter arrives late on the scene after the traces have been removed and the participants dispersed...may hit upon a true statement of the facts,

1. Beard, Mary Ritter, A Short History of the American Labor Movement, N.Y., 1935 P. 9

but he can rise no higher than the source from which he draws his information. If it is faulty, his account will in all probability be partial and defective. He must remain a secondary authority. 1.

Mr. Johnson's criticisms must be admitted. But newspapers are the only source available, and after all, Bancraft's great American history was to a large extent based on newspapers. Today much of our research has been with the daily papers of the past. "The newspapers has become a familiar historical source." 2. But Buffalo has had one hundred papers and periodicals. Many may be passed over because they do not treat of labor, while many were in print for so short a time that they present no information. This leaves only the major papers to consider.

Of these, the Buffalo Evening News and the Buffalo Evening Times began rather late, and the issues have not always been preserved. If these papers were used continuity would be difficult. The Courier was originally printed as a partisan of labor and might be prejudiced, and when it later became the instrument of one Buffalo man who was famous for his "finky" (strike breaking) activities, it was still likely to

1. Johnson, Allen, The Historian and Historical Evidence, N. Y. 1934, p. 2

2. Solmon, Lucy Maynard, The Newspaper and the Historian, N. Y. 1923 p. XXX VIII (Introduction)

be unreliable. 1. Moreover, the Courier was not always available. Finally the Buffalo Morning Express was determined upon as qualified to present the past: it began in 1846 and served Buffalo without interruption until its amalgamation with the Courier; the opinion of it at the Buffalo Historical Society was that the Express was a very reliable paper." Moreover past issues were easily available. Using then the Express for direction, I have supplemented by consultation of other papers and a considerable number of books. Of course, when necessary, books will be cited in footnotes, but the constant repetition of the Express in the thesis footnotes would be unnecessary. Thus unless otherwise stated the stated source will be the Buffalo Morning Express. The reader should also note that unless otherwise stated the dates herein contained are those of the issue of the paper in which the information is found, not the date of the event. Since the Express was a morning paper, the event reported will be of the day previous.

We should remember that Buffalo workers would naturally be influenced by conditions in the rest of the United States, and that the local labor movement would to some extent be in imitation of the national movement. Any such influence or imitation will be noted in the paper in three ways:

1. William J. Connors was frequently called "finky" which means a strike breaker. For W. J. Connors labor activity cf. below pp. 204 223-224 Chapter IV

by summaries at the end of chapters, by including one chapter that will summarize the national labor movement, and, thirdly, when possible the point of national influence or imitation will be made at the point of the thesis where the Buffalo incident is described.

Before getting into Buffalo's labor history in the Frontier let me explain that the span of the thesis (1846-1917) is because of a natural division: before 1846 there were few significant labor occurrences, and from a time more remote than mine so as to insure accuracy while the period after the world War until today is so abounding with activity it could be covered adequately only by a separate paper. Moreover, prior to 1846 the few papers existing carried no labor news. Local labor was as yet unorganized: there were no great federations; no strikes, boycotts, lockouts; labor injunctions were as yet unknown. But in the Express columns of 1846 we find the beginning of a transition which became fact after the Civil War. And yet, preceding the movement in Buffalo there were some few incidents, more interesting than important which, I think, need recording for completion's sake, if for no other reason.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	
Introduction	1
Part I	
Labor Grows - 1846 to the Civil War	15
Chapter 1	
Working Conditions and Work Problems (1846)	
Chapter 2	
Attempts of Organization (1848)	19
Part II	
From the Civil War to the Railroad Strikes (1861 - 1873)	31
Chapter 1	
The War for Union and the Workers	
Part III	
The Great Railroad Strikes (1874 - 1892)	54
Chapter 1	
Economic Crisis Forces Labor to Revolt	
Chapter 2	
Labor Difficulties of Buffalo Dock Hands	105

Part IV

The Polish Workers of Buffalo and Their Socialistic Tendencies (1893)	122
--	-----

Chapter 1 An Attempt to Socialize Polish Labor	
---	--

Part V

From the Railroad Strikes of 1892 to the Turn of the Century	132
---	-----

Chapter 1 The Unification of Labor Groups	
--	--

Chapter 2 The Development of the United Trades and Labor Council in the Niagara Frontier	158
--	-----

Part VI

From the Turn of the Century to the World War	170
---	-----

Chapter 1 The Aims of Labor Unions Presented to Employers	
---	--

Chapter 2 The Working Conditions of Child Labor	179
--	-----

Chapter 3 The Growth and Development of the United Trades and Labor Council	183
---	-----

Chapter 4 The Rise of Socialism in the Niagara Frontier	213
---	-----

Part VII

A Summary of the American Labor Movement 231

Chapter 1

A Comparison of the Niagara Frontier
Labor Movement with that of the National
Movement

Chapter 2

The Rise and Fall of the Knights of Labor 241

Part VIII

A Conclusion of the Labor History of the
Niagara Frontier 249

Chapter 1

Labor Movements in the Niagara Frontier
Imitate National Movements

Bibliography 254

Appendix 261

INTRODUCTION

Earliest Times

Before Buffalo was settled, labor troubles had their genesis in the area, if we are to believe what one local history records about LaSalle and his "Griffon". It is related that LaSalle's crew of thirty-two were hindered in their labors by the Indians, a kind of frustration for those who "demand the right to work." Later LaSalle had trouble with his crew of workers when he found them to be perfidious and dishonest. 1. But these tribulations contained little of the elements of class struggle. As late as the period of 1700-1820 we have a peaceful era so far as the general labor movement is concerned. The first recognized strike within the nation was not until 1799, 2. and this, as those that followed for sometime were peaceful and orderly. Still a country of unexcelled opportunity, labor conflicts were not necessary and, according to Selig Perlman, what few unions did exist were opposed by the masters only because of the imposition of working rules, such as the limitation of the number of apprentices, minimum wage, closed shop. Not so much because of wages." 3. According to the same historian trade unions were few as late as 1807-1821 because after Jefferson's

1. Buffalo Evening News, A History of the City of Buffalo - Buffalo, 1908 p. 9

2. Of below, p 246

3. Perlman, Selig, A History of Trade Unionism in the United States, N. Y. , 1922, p 6

famous Embargo, American markets were flooded from Europe and American industries were stagnant.

During the early part of the period just considered, (1700-1830) Buffalo did not exist; the land which was to be the settlement was not sold until 1788, and not surveyed by one Joseph Ellicott until ten years later. About 1796 the area had three white settlers, 1. and the area didn't receive its present name until 1808. From then on growth was rapid. By 1816 Buffalo had a labor system.

According to R. W. Bingham, writing of working conditions of the period 1816-1819,

indentured apprentices were not uncommon in the village. These young men were bound by a written contract to serve for a specified period to the master to whom they were apprenticed and he in turn contracted to teach them his trade.

The author tells us that apprentices frequently fled, but if caught were returned. Nor were such young men to be trusted. They were not criminal in their act of

1. Bingham, Robert W., The Cradel of the Queen City, Buffalo, 1931, pp 371. For apprentice system see also Cf pp 7, 13, 48-50

runaway? These young men could, however, continues Mr. Bingham, have bought their freedom had they been fortunate to possess the money. Millard Filmore, who was the president of the United States later did purchase his freedom. 1. Once an apprentice became a worker, he could average three to five dollars a week, perhaps, rarely getting more.

Small as this amount may seem, it was better than that of permanent apprenticeship, slavery, which was abolished in Buffalo in 1818. Buffalo citizens while never having more than ten to fifteen slaves, were very careful about retaining them prior to 1818. One of them ran away in 1813 and consequently was given this notice in the Buffalo Gazette:

100 dollars reward: ran away from this place, on night of 20 instant, a certain Negro Man Slave, named Harry. 2.

Then follows a thorough description of the slave.

By 1816 few people would have been optimistic about Buffalo's future had it not been for the possibility of the Erie Canal terminating in the village. When the canal was begun in 1817, Buffalo was assured of some trade which was badly needed.

1. Ibid pp 371-373

2. Fosdick, Myrtilla Constantine, When Buffalo was Young, Buffalo, (no date) p 95.

Crops had failed and the soldiers who had stimulated trade, had been withdrawn. These were the two causes of Buffalo's first depression. In the same depression, in 1818 the Buffalo Gazette carried a notice which today might have been considered a "Make work plan," but which was actually spiritually motivated; namely, no one should labor on Sunday. 2.

Perhaps for being such a spiritual city, Buffalo was blessed. The depression was weakened by 1822 when the Buffalo harbor was completed in 221 days. This project had been motivated by the anticipation that the Erie Canal would be finished at the Buffalo end, and with a great harbor, and a great canal terminating in it, Buffalonians hoped Buffalo would become a great place.

Let us now look at the types of workers found in Buffalo in the years 1812-1825. In 1812 the Gazette stated that two or three tailors, one shoemaker, three or four hatters; two or three blacksmiths were wanted. 3. We also find the following list of Buffalo employers and employees for the year of 1825: three printers,

-
1. United Trade and Labor Council, op. cit pp 75-109
 2. Buffalo Evening News, op. cit p 15
 3. Smith, Perry H., Editor, History of Buffalo and Erie County, Syracuse, 1884, Vol. 1, p 120

two book binders, four goldsmiths, three tin and coppersmiths, three wheelwrights and coach builders, two chair makers, one cooper, three hatters, two tanners, four tailors, one maker of tobacco, fifty-one carpenters and joiners, nineteen masons and stone cutters, one brush maker. 1. This list, apprentices not included, represented a population of 2412 people.

Less skilled than the workers just listed were two chimney sweeps who were unable to speak English. Because of this condition, orders for their services were left with one James Miller. John Kuecker supplied the two sweeps with a cart. 2.

In Buffalo as in the rest of the country, the masters had early organization. Buffalo formed the Mechanical Society as early as March 26, 1812. John Bull was chosen president. 3. This society was an organization of masters or employers organized to improve business conditions. This Buffalo organization acted as a "trade court, credit, mutual loan, and benevolent association."

-
1. Ibid. Vol II p 98
 2. Bingham, op. cit., pp 455-456
 3. Smith, Perry H. op. cit. Vol. II p 51

Of the workers listed the tailors were the chief interest to us. Men like J. R. Commons and Selig Perlman have been highly concerned about this period of Buffalo's history, for an event occurred in 1824 that is important to a labor historian.

At this time several Buffalo tailors were convicted in court of engaging in an illegal activity which we today term a strike. The importance of the case is the attitude which it shows was held toward strikes, and labor historians might well cite the tailor case as one that reflects the spirit of the times. Unfortunately no court papers have been found regarding the case, 2. and therefore it cannot be used as documentary evidence, nor can we be certain of the circumstances. But we do know that a striker in this period was unpopular. In fact, so unpopular that in 1829 it became a law in New York State that anyone engaged in a strike that injured trade or commerce was acting illegally. 3.

One of Buffalo's major interests from 1800-1830 was not the labor problem. When the older cities were having their troubles Buffalo was not born, and in the early growing years (1812-1832) Buffalo's problems were other than the conflict over the

1. Commons, J. R., History of Labor in the United States, N. Y. 1919, Vol. 1, p 80 For Masters' Organizations Cf. pp 247-248

2. Obid p. 165

3. For other anti-labor laws Cf. pp 32-34, 174

questions of work, hours, and pay. Under these fortunate circumstances

Conditions were ripe for concerted action. The workers were divided among themselves. Each one worked separately with his hands and brain. The skill of the worker was his only means of bettering conditions. 1.

Evidently the Buffalo workers of the 1830's felt that some kind of organization would enable them to increase this skill, for on February 22, 1833 the Buffalo Apprentice Society was formed. Boys working as apprentices were to participate in such endeavors as debating, they were to have social functions, and physical development through a sports program. 2.

While other workers in other cities were unrestful, we find that the Buffalo workers were relatively quiet. Up until 1846 Buffalo had only two strikes; that of the tailors, and that of the carpenters who went on strike for higher wages. 3. This strike does not indicate, that Buffalo workers were becoming slightly initiative of their brothers in larger and more sophisticated places, for in striking

1. Bimba, Anthony, The History of the American Working Class N. Y., 1927, p 36

2. Welch, Samuel M. Home History and Recollections of Buffalo, 1830-1840 Buffalo 1891, p. 209. For Apprentice Societies Cf. pp. 48-50

3. Commons, op. cit., Vol II p. 483

the carpenters were doing as seventy other groups in other cities were doing. Commons listed seventy-one strikes for the year of 1836. 1. He also listed another fact which was not found in the Buffalo papers. In writing of the spread of local trades' unions in the period of 1833-1837 Commons says:

From the Atlantic Coast the movement spread westward including the budding industrial town of Buffalo. In Buffalo the journeymen builders' association in 1836 included all the building trades. 2.

Incorporated as a city in 1832 with a population of ten thousand, this increased to 15,661 by 1835, the city had sufficient workers to be assertive if need be. Moreover, labor's power increased because of the existence of some forty manufacturing establishments now dependent on labor. 3. Nevertheless, Buffalo was to be frustrated by the misconduct of a local financier whose acts caused Buffalo to suffer a panic and thus make labor's demands futile.

One Benjamin Ruthbun, the local tycoon, belied appearances, and in 1836 was discovered as having dealt with spurious money. Thus the national panic was felt badly in Buffalo because of this additional

1. Loc. cit.

2. Ibid. p. 352

3. Smith, Perry H., op. cit. Vol. II p. 106

catastrophe. Work stopped; workmen clamored for their pay, and almost broke into mob violence. 1. This somewhat pugnacious attitude was justified, for in addition to the skullduggery of Ruthbun, the Buffalo workers were plagued with rising prices as were other cities in the United States. Strikes were made when workers' pay had not risen sufficiently to enable them to make purchases. 2.

Regarding this proportion between wages and prices in 1836 Commons writes:

...in 1836, when prices of food stuff had more than doubled what they were in 1833, those who worked by day struck with the avowed purpose of raising rather than regulating wages. 3.

Quoting a speaker at a union meeting in New York City, Commons continues:

that for several years past, such has been the enormous rise in the price of all the necessaries of life, that it is morally impossible for an honest mechanic or laborer to support himself and family. 4.

-
1. Ibid. pp. 226-227
 2. Bimba, Op. cit p. 101
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I p. 396
 4. Ibid. p. 396

We have seen how Buffalo carpenters struck for higher wages, no doubt influenced by the proportion of low wages and high prices.

The attitude of the Buffalo workers, however, does not warrant placing Buffalo in the national history of labor. However, if we turn to a book entitled The History of Trade Union Organization in Canada, by H. A. Logan we find that Buffalo had prior to 1846 an international significance, if not a national one. 1. We find in this book that in 1845, one Peter Brown of the United States published, in Toronto, Canada, on a non union basis, a paper called the Banner. The union printer of Toronto communicated with the printers of Buffalo. According to Mr. Logan:

The secretary was instructed to communicate to the society of Buffalo the actual state of things at the Banner office. How much they succeeded in damaging the enemy is not known. 2.

The author continues that it is probable that at all periods of Canadian labor history, especially in Toronto and St. Catherines, Canadian unions were influenced by American unions probably through Buffalo. 3.

-
1. For printers' union cf. below pp 169-170
 2. Logan, Harold A., The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada, Chicago, 1928 pp. 12-13
 3. For influence of Buffalo unions in Canada also cf. p. 28

According to Mr. Logan, a printers' Society existed in Buffalo in 1845. These various typographical societies existed in New York State from 1794. These societies were well organized and eager to extend their activities to other cities.

Here in Buffalo, as in other large cities, the foreigner was dreaded, because he was competition. If Buffalo workers lost their power to Canadian workers many of them might enter the American domain to benefit from union privileges. J. R. Commons writes that most of the early unions were organized so as to keep out other workers and thus protect the jobs of the resident workers. 1. To conclude that this was also the situation in Buffalo is reasonable if we consider Samuel M. Welch's testimony only that Buffalo was a great immigration town, thus causing, we assume, Buffalo workers to

1. Commons, Op. cit. Vol. I pp. 412-417, Also cf below

fear for their jobs from this competition. Of the period of 1830-1840 Mr. Welch writes:

Large bodies of immigrants, landing from canal boats were assailed by individuals of this class (solicitors) trying to get immigrants to prefer one steamer for another. 1.

It is likely that the Buffalo workers wished the boat lines the best of success.

The immigrant was not to be the only cause of labor unions. Buffalo had come far from the day of Asa Ransom who, in 1776 was the areas only silver-smith and mechanic. He had made rude ornaments of every description for the Indians, and he obtained great influence over them. 2.

In 1845, however, with a population of 29,775 men, did not have a great working opportunity as formerly. The labor events of the years 1800-1846 foreshadowed more momentous events which would require the efforts of men, women, children, courts, police, soldiers, radicals; all to no permanent avail for our local struggle, as our national struggle, is not yet complete.

1. Welch, op. cit. pp 155. For Immigration also cf. below pp.114-115, 256

2. Elstner Publishing Company, The Industries of Buffalo Buffalo, 1887, p.10

Let us now briefly consider how certain circumstances and incidents in the national labor movement related to Buffalo in the period 1800-1846. Previous to 1827 there was no American labor movement:

We place the beginning of American labour movements in the year of 1827 at Philadelphia. In that year American wage earners for the first time joined together as a class, regardless of trade lines in contest with employers. 1.

The so called early strikes before 1827 were for the most part protests of master's organizations, such as the mechanical society of Buffalo, 2, against city governments.

In the city of New York, in 1821, there was a movement similar to the Buffalo Apprentices of 1833. 3. The society of New York mechanics amended its "articles of incorporation so that they might appropriate a part of their funds to the support of a school" for the use of the apprentices" 4. The Buffalo apprentices had taken a similar step for themselves when they provided for education of members of the Buffalo Apprentice Society.

During this period, throughout the nation, the workers were urging increased educational opportunity. This movement had its inception in the years 1827-1833.

1. Commons, op. cit Vol. 1, p. 25

2. Cf p. 5

3. For educational endeavor in Buffalo cf. above pp. 7

4. Commons, op cit. Vol. 1 p. 77

The first awakening of American wage earners did not occur until the late twenties; the working men of this period rallied. First was the demand for leisure...Work from "sun to sun" was held incompatible with citizenship for it did not afford...leisure for the consideration of public questions and therefore condemned him (worker) to an inferior position in the state. Second was the demand for public educational.

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. 1, pp. 169-170
For eight-hour movement cf. below pp. 42-45, 61, 87, 91-92, 97, 107, 1-8, 139, 156, 158, 173-174

Part I

Labor Grows-1846 to the Civil War

Chapter I

Working Conditions and Work Problems 1846

1846 The columns of the Buffalo Express picture the Buffalo of 1846 as a somewhat optimistic city, one quite proud of its industrial status. Messrs. Topley had just opened up a new carpet factory "on the site of the place destroyed by fire...and when the factory is in full operation it will employ sixty hands and work up more than 200 lbs. of wool per week". 1. The same item stated that the city expected to produce carpets as good as Lowell. Such optimism was justified, for was not Buffalo a city of trade and commerce, a city comparing favorably with New York, a city with an exchange, a board of trade, a population of thirty thousand, and such diversified industries as glass, ink, painting of boats, and foundaries?

Such as Buffalo in the period 1825-1850, when many in the United States were trying to introduce various social, economic and political reforms. Such reforms were frequently intended to benefit the worker. Robert Owen began his famous colony at New Harmony, Indiana, to attempt to prove that socialism was a panacea. Men like Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley believed that

the wage earners and all classes were suffering from pernicious effects of free competition...The remedy must be sought in more effective methods of production. Society must be reorganized

1. Express. January 15, 1846

into "groups", "series", and "sacred legions", having as a basis men's passions or desires. Production would then become dignified and attractive as soon as men could do what they like and work with whom they like. 1.

Brisbane and Greeley had supporters for reform in men such as John G. Whittier, the three Channings, Charles A. Dana, Henry James, George Ripley, to mention only a few. 2.

1846 Another who took up the cause of the worker was Orestes A. Brownson, writer lecturer, scholar, and thinker. Brownson wrote of the effects of the factory system on girls:

The great mass wear out their health, spirits and morals without becoming one whit better off than when they commenced labor. The bills of mortality in these factory villages are not striking, we admit, for the poor girls when they can toil no longer go home to die. We know sadder sight on earth than one of our factory villages presents, when the bell at the break of day, or at the hour of breakfast or dinner, calls out its hundreds or thousands of operatives. 3

As Brownson wrote of the girls in New England so did one write of the girls in Buffalo.

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I pp. 498-499
 2. For further discription of below pp. 254-255
 3. Ibid p. 495

The Express of 1846 carried the following plea entitled "A Problem for Sentimental Young Ladies";

It is said that there are 20,628 stitches in a single shirt. While you are moving down the giddy dance to the voluptuous strain of music, thousands of your sex and sisters are making shirts at nine cents apiece and the nights are cold, and long and there is such a thing as frost in the hovels of the poor, and hunger that eats through stone walls, and preys upon the hearts of women. 1.

The author continues that if winsome young ladies were to ponder such circumstances they would acquire sentiment much more proper than the kind acquired by reading novels. So someone pleaded for the stitchers; following shortly afterward was the complaint of a worker forwarded to the great crusader Horace Greeley, editor of the New York Tribune, which was published in Buffalo on February 26.

Poverty, yes sir, poverty alone, is the cause and why so poor? I labor constantly, so constantly that I have not felt this winter the cheering influence of the suns' rays except on the Sabbath. I don't drink, visit places of amusement of any kind and yet after laboring with all my strength sixty-six hours per week, I can not afford nine cents per week for a newspaper. 2.

-
1. Express, February 5, 1846
 2. Express, February 26, 1846

So cried one frustrated soul, but not all tailors were writing to distant New York; some were acting.

1846 A report of a workers meeting in regard to the coming State Constitutional Convention tells of three demands being drafted and presented by the workers:

- (1) a cheaper judiciary system so workers may use the courts,
- (2) an increase in the number of courts of equity,
- (3) a plea for more equal taxes so as to relieve the poor worker. A statement was also made that laws were drawn to favor corporations. 1. Certainly the workers of Buffalo were not too well off: After September 1, sailors had to be taken care of by Federal aid and the Yuletide was preceded by many pleas for charitable donations to care for the poor this coming winter. Long were these entreaties recorded in the Buffalo papers for the city had no organized charity system until 1876. 2.

1847 The year of 1846 was not important for any specific labor movement; aside from letters and requests, the year was uneventful. The following year was much the same. Aside from the invitation of the Whigs for the workers to eradicate the depression by voting the Whig ticket, and thus defeating Loco-Focoism, 3. there was only one other

1. Express March 20, 1846 For labor and the courts
cf. above pp. 6 Below pp. 32-34, 274

2. For charity organizations cf. Below pp. 26, 62-65, 95

3. "The Loco-Foco group" were a radical group of the New York State Democratic Party - Morrison, S. E. The Growth of the American Republic N.Y. 1937, Vol. I p. 403

event pertaining to labor. This was an announcement that Mr. Allan of Boston was to lecture at McArthur's Gardens on the "Organization of Labor, Industrial Rights of the People, and Limitation of Land Monopoly".¹

Chapter II

Attempt of Organization (1848)

1848 Although all Buffalonians were not engaged satisfactorily as workers, Buffalo must have had means of attracting people, because by 1848 Buffalo's population grew to 40,520. It was reported on March 3, that an organization known as the "Working Man's Party" desired to utilize Politics to benefit the worker. The Express, a Whig paper, rejected such a move because then Whig Labor candidates would lose the worker's vote: moreover the press said such a move was not necessary because the city council of 1845 had eight mechanics and workers to one banker and farmer; the council of 1846 had six mechanics out of ten members, while that of 1848 had four mechanics. But a decline from eight to four, in the council when only ten constitute the total, may have been viewed by Niagara

1. Express. September 15, 1847

Frontier labor as a serious loss, and may well have been just the reason for a working man's party. It can be said here, however, that the workers never were successful as a political party. As a matter of fact most of the labor leaders refused to allow the workers to form a party: they preferred to bargain and give the vote to the part contributing most to the labor cause.

1848 That the workers in the Niagara Frontier failed to form a political party in 1848 and have never thereafter formed such a party may be attributed to causes that prevented the organization of similar parties in other parts of United States. Morrison and Comager explain these causes as follows:

There have always been two great obstacles to political labor parties in the United States: social democracy and Federal government. Opportunity for social betterment prevented the worker from becoming class conscious. Westward pioneering was in the back of his mind in 1825, as is the new car today. The Federal form of government made it both impossible and useless for the workers to gain control of Congress, which then claimed no power to enact social legislation. It was to the state governments that labor looked for the laws they wanted. Yet no party organized for purely state purposes could hope to survive as an independent unit, since "voting the straight ticket" for the same party in national, state, and municipal elections was becoming a fixed habit. 1.

1. Morison, S. E., Comager H. S. op. cit. p. 403

1848 There are other reasons why American labor parties have failed. A number of these are listed by Commons. He points out that when a period of depression is followed by prosperity the worker turns from politics to trade-unionism as a means of bettering his condition. Another reason may be that of dissension among the workers because of a lack of a common objective. Another cause of dissension is the political of the regular who foments dissension among the workers so as to control or break up the worker's party "before it becomes a menace". 1. "A fourth reason is that the regular parties sometimes take up the demands advocated by the worker. Finally there is the inexperience of the legitimate leaders in the matter of selecting candidates and, in general, of running a political party." 2.

The attempt to form a worker's party in the Niagara Frontier may be associated with the existence of the earlier Working Men's Party of the states of Pennsylvania and then spread to New York. By 1830, the working men of New York State were meeting in many towns throughout the state. The Niagara Frontier as well as Buffalo were probably one of these. "No definite information has been secured to meetings in

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 36
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. For a further description cf below pp. 251

Buffalo, but a paper called the Working Man's Bulletin was published there." 1. This state wide party failed, the suggested local party of 1848 was never permanently formed.

1850 Had the suggested party been formed, it probably would have had the support of the Erie Canal workers. These, especially those working for canal contractors, previous to 1850, were never certain of receiving their pay, sometimes waiting for weeks and occasionally not being paid at all. Protest had been effective and a bill had been introduced by one Honorable O'Allan of the New York State Assembly requiring contractors to take a bond to pay in full at least once a month, all laborers employed by them that were under contract. The bill also provided that laborers be allowed to bring suit against contractors who had not paid them. 2. This bill became a law April 10, 1850, but it should be observed that is applied only to laborers under contract.

This was a step, and fortunately for the workers they had some legal support, for the Express reflects an attitude not any too favorable toward their activities. "Strikes should be deemed a conspiracy, and punished vigorously." 3. This was in regard to a strike on the Buffalo Erie Canal which the paper

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I p. 263, footnote 57
 2. Express, February 26, 1850
 3. Express, March 25, 1850

explained as being caused by "some kind of tampering", which must be stopped or "there will be no safety to the state or individuals." 1. Here is no consideration that the cause might be just, and it is hard to conceive wherein there is "safety" when the city in the Niagara Frontier had four hundred families on relief totaling eighteen hundred individuals.

1850 The attitude of the Buffalo paper was common enough in the United States. Men were not even to join a union, much less strike. As early as 1836 the master tailors of New York City declared that they would "not receive into their employee any man who is a member of a Union." 2. Previous to the Civil War there at least fourteen major legal cases wherein workers were accused of conspiracy because of their actions. 3. These actions were for the most part attempts to organize unions, and to declare strikes, which activities are accepted today.

Those on relief in Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier were cared for by the Buffalo Association for the Relief of the Poor which was allowed to expend \$1,944.62 in the year of 1853. As a matter of fact, it might seem that the immigrant was better cared for than the local unfortunates. Mr. Patrick Short, agent of the immigration commission, report that \$6,712.33

-
1. Loc. cit.
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 403
 3. For labor accused of conspiracy cf above pp. below pp. 32-34; 174

was spent to lodge, relieve, ship and care for immigrants in 1854, and what is worse, (shades of 1939) it was rumored that many of those foreigners refused to work in the canal when offered an opportunity.

1855 Nor were all the citizen workers willing to work. In rapid succession, the ship carpenters, and caulkers, and sailors went on strike. On April 18, 1855, the Express notified the public that "carpenters and caulkers" were out in full force yesterday parading the streets." 1. This was because the men had not been paid in cash since January, and were also striking for more than five dollars a week. 2. As if such belligerency were contagious, a report of seven days later was of the sailors striking for one dollar a day, and refusing the owners offer of twenty dollars per month. A crowd of three or four hundred strikers and sympathizers successfully resisted the police when they attempted to arrest a member of the crowd. The difficulty was finally settled on May 4. As a protection for the workers, it was suggested in 1855 that New York State change its usury laws because the

1. Express, April 18, 1855

2. The press has not always given the termination of all the strikes. Hence in this paper the success or failure of a strike cannot always be recorded. when the settlement is not given, it is to be understood that it was not carried in the press. For labor's attitude toward the press. cf below p. 190

present laws made it possible to cheat the needy worker. 1. This suggestion was in a letter which had been sent to the Express denounced an "aristocratic women" for looking upon a child and saying scornfully: "Only a laborer's child." 2.

1856-7 All Niagara Frontier workers were not so serious minded as to be strike conscious, for in June, 1856, the workers on St. Paul's Church acted somewhat facetiously when they threw mortar on pedestrians so as to relieve the tedium of their toil. Other employees had a more subtle method of getting entertainment, if we are to believe the Express of February 2, 1857: "Young men spend twelve to fifteen hundred a year on an income of four to five hundred." 3. An investigation so informed the paper, showed that the employees were plundering their employers, and the paper exhorted the employer to supervise the employees more carefully. Moreover, according to the Express, Buffalo was too crowded with young men who desired to be clerks, salesmen, who desired to work at various kinds of lighter labor. More young men were urged to enter the mechanical trades. 4. Further advise was offered by the paper just prior to Christmas, when those caring for the poor were told that since the canal at Medina and Lockport required laborers who would receive "cash or equivalent," all relief clients should be sent to these localities for work.

-
1. Express, January 29, 1855
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Express, February 2, 1857
 4. Express, April 1, 1857

1858 If the hands of some destitute souls were idle, not so those of at least some of the children. On October 8, 1853, the Buffalo Industrial Association and School had been formed by two energetic ladies with a membership of twenty-five children. Under direction, the children remodeled worn garments. The organization developed quickly to a membership of 185 children in 1854 and one year later the group had increased to three hundred. Five hundred children constituted the organization by 1858, and these were supervised by fifty ladies. In addition the treasury had a balance of \$108.00. The society by its work intended to clothe the children of those who had no work, take children from the streets, and supervise the children at home by arranging for the teacher to make home visits. Most of these children were of pauper families, and as an explanation of their condition the Express of March 12, 1858 cited the following as causes of paupery: lameness, intemperance, debauchery, and lack of labor. 1. Evidently some ship carpenters felt that the amount of pay might also be a cause of future paupery, for on March 31, they struck for two dollars a day. The Express claimed that a pay increase was at present impossible, and more over, the \$1.50 a day they were receiving was more than they were receiving a year ago.

1. For charitable organizations cf. above p. 18
below pp. 62-65, 93

1858 Many were unemployed by 1858. A group of five hundred unemployed demanded work or bread from Mayor Lockwood. 1. The mayor resorted to the old army game of "passing the buck," saying he knew of no way to satisfy demands, but would ask Council. The weather too, was a ready excuse for the hard pressed mayor, for it was blamed for unemployment because it hindered navigation. When unemployment continued, the Express suggested that women be put to work in stores, and then men could get the more remunerative factory employment. Today we are asking women to go back to the home.

The Express was none too tolerant of the unemployed and those who struck for higher pay. Its attitude was: "A laboring man who is willing need not go a single day without employment." 2. The paper argued that although wages were reduced to seventy-five cents and one dollar a day, a worker was as well off as when he received \$1.50 or \$1.75 because prices had declined.

1859 And so the plight of the unemployed worker continued on into 1859. A report of April 14 showed that 1,414 families, out of a population of 75,000 were given relief. In the month of May "Two hundred men were thrown out of employment, either directly or

-
1. Express, June 15, 1858
 2. Express, June 15, 1858

by refusing to accept a largely reduced compensation for services." 1. A month later, another report accentuated conditions by relating that the Poor House had four hundred members, 130 of which were children. Finally, in the early fall we are given the picture of three sailors being discharged, and of their trying to frustrate other sailors in their work. These three men were arrested for their efforts. This last indicates a remonstrance against conditions that became worse instead of better.

1860 In rapid succession during the final half of 1860, we have noted three strikes. The ship carpenters on August 28 for higher pay; a day later, the sailors struck for one dollar per day instead of eighteen dollars per month. Finally, on September 24, several tailors went on strike protesting that even with the help of their wives they were unable to earn more than three or four dollars a week. Again in this year the Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier participated in international labor affairs.

Among the typographical unions the beginnings of co-operation preceded the advent of the international. Hamilton, Toronto, and Buffalo were keeping each other posted with regard to "rat" offices in their respective cities as early as 1860. 2.

In this period just completed, (1846-1860) the Buffalo Press contained no notices of the formation of labor unions, probably because the unions were not strong

1. Express, May 6, 1859

2. Logan, op. cit. p. 23. For printers' unions also cf. above p. 10-11, below pp. 169-70. For influence in Canada cf. above p. 10-11

enough to get attention, and also because the labor movement was not popular in the early days of the United States. Some local unions were formed, however, according to Commons during this time:

From circulars issued in 1858 it is known that at that time locals in Washington, D. C., Hastings-on-the-Hudson, New York, Detroit, Buffalo. 1.

were formed. However, concerning all such early unions "our information was meager." 2. Nor were all the attempts at organization successful, so that the real period of nationalization began in the years following the Civil War." 3.

Preceding the Civil War labor concerned itself with purely local problems. Occasionally the unions of our city co-operated with the unions of another city, but such co-operation was haphazard. The unions had no central authority binding them altogether to work in a united way toward a common objective. Before the Civil War, local unions within a city combined to form trade assemblies: "first came the locals, then the city central." 4. With the exception of one attempt, national unions were as yet things of the future. The exception was in 1834 when the National

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 623

2. Ibid, p. 662

3. Ibid, p. 663 For nationalization of labor cf. below pp. 57-59, 255-256

4. Ibid, p. 424

Trades Union was formed. This union disappeared in 1837 when the panic of that year destroyed many unions.

1. No evidence was found that the Niagara Frontier workers had participated in the activities of this National Trades Union.

1. For a more detailed description of the national labor movement previous to the Civil War cf. below Chapter IX

Part II

From the Civil War to the Railroad Strikes (1861-1873)

Chapter I

The War for Union and the Workers

1861-62 The War for Union aroused the workers and they organized a company in April of 1861. Also, a Committee of Relief for the families of volunteers was formed, and the merchants were asked on May 7 to allow their employees time off to practice drilling.

The altruism aroused by patriotism did not, however, cause the workers to neglect their interests. 1. They continued to struggle during the war to improve their conditions. On March 27, 1862, the Niagara Frontier Machinists of Buffalo struck for a pay increase of twenty-five cents a day for those receiving less than two dollars a day, claiming that high war prices necessitated such a demand. And on April 10, outside sympathy developed when the ship carpenters stated:

We, the Ship-Carpenters' and Caulkers' Union deem the demand of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union a fair and just demand, and we will assist them by all honorable means. 2.

There were 135 of these machinists on strike and they were chiefly against the Sheppard Company. They were receiving at that time, \$1.50 per day.

-
1. Cf. below p. 58
 2. Express, April 10, 1862

1863 So far we have seen a few sporadic strikes, but there has been no notice of the formation of unions. True the printers had formed a union in 1852, 1. but we have yet no information of their activity. And even if we did, such information would not be typical labor news for the printers were the aristocrats of labor of their time and they did not represent the general labor movement. However, the germ of unionism was in the Buffalo area, for the Express of February 25, 1863, carried a letter urging the workers to join unions so as to be informed of workers activities. In regard to the unions of this time G. G. Groat writes:

In those early days the various labor unions of the state were forming and strengthening their local organizations necessarily with a considerable degree of secrecy, because of the restrictive laws then in force. 2.

While it is true that labor was restricted to some extent by certain laws, many of the restrictions on labor were not because of positive laws, but rather because of the absence of laws. 3.

In the category of positive laws that inflicted hardship on the working class was the one making imprisonment the penalty for not paying one's debts. Labor agitated for a long time to have this law repealed. Labor also agitated about the possibility

1. Express, March 29, 1852. For a possible earlier union cf above p. 9.

2. Groat, George Gorham, Trade Unions and the Laws in New York, N. Y., 1905, p. 16

3. For labor and restrictive laws cf. below pp. 174

of war. Movements were started in Louisville, Philadelphia, Reading, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other cities "to decide what concerted action should be taken to avert the crises." 1. These workers laid the blame for the crises upon the politicians of both sides, affirming that working men had no real or vital interest in the mere abstract questions used to divide the masses." 2. At a national convention of workingmen held in Philadelphia, in February, 1861, it was resolved to "invoke" Congress to remove slavery by an amendment to the Constitution. The workingmen insisted that the American government could never be sustained by "bloodshed, we are therefore utterly opposed to any measures that will evoke civil war" 3. However, after Fort Sumter was fired upon on April 12, 1861 the majority of workers abandoned their opposition to the war and, as in Buffalo, 4. began to furnish volunteers.

1865 Following the war the customary problem of finding work for the returned soldiers developed. Some soldiers not employed and yet mechanically inclined might have joined the Mechanics Institute, and in their spare time used the institutes library, or attended its classes in drawing; all of which features were

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 10
 2. Ibid. P. 10
 3. Ibid. P. 10
 4. For company formed by mechanics cf. above p. 31
For labor and the Civil War cf. below pp. 255

begun in 1865. The Institute was founded by employers, and was incorporated in 1869. Its purposes were:

the mental improvement and cultivation of its members, the general promotion and advancement of mechanical interests, and the establishment of more intimate relations between employer and employee. 1.

1865 Perhaps some of the soldiers who had been sailors returned to the water front because, on May 6, 1865 the stevedores refused to unload ships unless paid forty-five cents and hour, and the owners put on extra men to do the work and break the strike.

On July 14 about two thousand railroad workers paraded in protests against the Erie and New York Central Railroads for continuing to pay \$1.75 a day when two dollars had been promised. The newspaper sympathized with the laborers, and said the promise had been made, while the railroads denied such an agreement, adding that the Buffalo pay was the highest and that the unions urged the increase so the workers could pay their dues. The workers accused the railroads of distributing guns among its employees to be used against the protesting workers.

The labor activity of 1865 ended with a strike in October when a few sailors struck for \$3.50 instead of the three dollars a day. Some of the sailors gained the raise, probably because many were not employed as the shipping season drew to a close and the few

1. Smith, Perry H. op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 539-540

retained could be raised at the expense of those discharged.

In May 1865, the trades' assembly of Buffalo issued the following invitation. 1.

A "Trades' Congress", to meet in Buffalo, to be composed of delegates from the various Local Unions of every branch of industry," the object being to "preserve the many interests of the laboring classes of the continent and establish out just rights through legislative action. 2.

There is no evidence however as to the accomplishments of this Congress.

1866 On September 7, 1866 members of the Buffalo Niagara Trade Frontier assembly met at Union Hall, at the corner of Pearl and Court Streets, to ratify the proceedings of the National Labor Congress. This Congress met in Baltimore on August 20, 1866. Seventy seven delegates from thirteen states attended. 3. The convention adopted the following resolutions which the Buffalo workers were meeting to ratify: (1) the formation of unions are essential if workers are to improve conditions; (2) International organizations should be organized; (3) Apprentice system should be more rigidly enforced; (4) Arbitration should be substituted for strikes; An eight hour day must be

-
1. For Trades assembly cf. above p. 34
cf. below pp. 83-84, 141-144, 255
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 94-95
 3. Found no evidence of any delegates from Buffalo Niagara Frontier

effected: (6) Workers should strive for beneficial legislation (7) Male workers should support female workers.

This meeting of ratification was the only important labor activity in Buffalo Niagara Frontier area in 1866. The Press of 1866 devoted most of its news to the Fenian affairs. 1.

1867 On January 6, 1867, the Exoress carried a notice that the Mechanics Institute was increasing its facilities by buying books for its library: donations from patrons made this improvement possible. One week later two conventions were held in the city: the Type founders and the Painters. J. A. Burke of the Painters Convention said "I regret that they have not continued their old association for their protection and mutual benefit." 2. This statement was of the sort that the Buffalo Niagara Frontier Painters' union had dissolved and a plea for its resurrection was thus made.

Then on February 20, so as to show their strength three hundred members of the Peddlers' Union of the Frontier Area marched in a parade. This advertisement preceded by ten days on investigation of corrupt conditions at the Erie County Poor House where it was believed that the bodies of the dead **were** being sold. Not so sordid was the notice that the **Mechanics** Institute.

1. The Fenians was a brotherhood of Irishmen formed in 1857 to secure the independence of Ireland. In 1866 and 1870 they attempted to invade Canada, and much of their activity was along the Niagara Frontier.

2. Express, January 12, 1867

was now offering debates. A timely topic would be the eighth hour movement, since agitation for the eighth hour movement was prominent.

1867 The demand of the American worker for a shorter working day has been, and still is, an important issue. In the Niagara Frontier of Buffalo a worker had written Horace Greeley as early as 1867 about his long working hours. 1. As early as 1822, the millwrights and machine workers of Philadelphia agitated for a working day of ten hours, instead of the day from "sunrise to sunset" In 1825 the Boston carpenters struck for a ten hour day and gained their objective. 2. Of course the masters denounced such demands.

They considered such a combination "frought with numerous and pernicious evils", especially to the journeymen themselves, as they might expect soon to become masters and they were entailing themselves "inconveniences" when they should have attained that situation. 3.

It was also argued by the masters that young apprentices would have too much free time, and might "fall into temptation." 4.

Agitation for a ten hour day continued. In the period of 1835-1836 there were twenty strikes for a ten hour day. By the forties and fifties the workers' constant pressure was bringing results. In 1845 New

1. Cf. above p. 17

2. For arguments of workers for a shorter day cf. below pp. 174

3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 159

4. Ibid, p. 160

Hampshire became the first state to pass a ten hour law. In 1852 a ten hour law was passed in New York State for workers not under contract and engaged in public work. Pennsylvania passed a ten hour law in 1855, as did Connecticut. "By 1849 the building trades obtained a sixty hour week in most of the United States and shorter hours in some of the others." 1. The workers argued now for shorter hours not so much on the basis of the need of greater leisure, but on the basis of increasing the number of jobs. When jobs became still more scarce it was a natural attempt to demand and eight-hour day.

1867 By 1866 the unions were asking for an eight hour day. In 1868 Congress enacted a law limiting government employees to a working day of eight hours. However, many department heads ignored the law, while some lowered wages. Thus in 1872 a presidential proclamation was required to bring about strict observance of the law. In the same year

Congress enacted a law which provided for the restitution to all workmen employed by the government of such sums as had been withheld from them because of the reduction of hours of labour. 2.

Labor persisted with its "make work" argument as a reason for shortening the hours of labor. In 1887 Samuel Gampers declared that "so long as there is one man who seeks employment and can not obtain it, the

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 97
 2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 125

hours of labor are too long." 1. By 1890 the ten hour day had been established in most industries and occupations; the demand for eight hours continued.

The eight hour day did not come prevalent until after World War I. For example, in the steel industry the accepted rule was a twelve hour day until 1923. But even by 1947 the demand for shorter hours is not dead. Now as in the past

thousands of labor disputes have centered around the hours issue. It has been as important a cause of controversy as wages. Its discussion has been entangled with wages, machinery, speed, and efficiency; with health, fatigue and accidents; with restriction of output, unemployment, and business depressions. 2.

1867 In regard to demand for shorter hours the Express carried a statement on May 4 expressing the approval of the workers in the Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier who were not as yet violent in their demands for an eight hour day. The paper approved of the eight hour day. However, the paper's praise of peaceful methods meant nothing to some workers at the Paris Tool Factory at Georgia and Sixth Street. The other workers refused support so the twenty-five workers took to drink, some returning to riot only to disperse when the police came in the area.

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 98

2. Ibid. p. 97 For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15 cf. Below pp. 61, 87, 91-92, 97, 107-108, 139, 156, 158, 173-174, 244

1867 A meeting of the Eight-Hour League was held at Union Hall on the corner of Pearl and Court Streets. The report of the meeting was that it was well attended, and that the speeches were "moderate and sensible." All of the workers were not agreed on reduced hours because, while all desired the easier way, they were also afraid of having wages reduced so as to correspond with the hours. 1. But the battle was on, and it is to these men of the past that we owe our decent working day of today.

Contemporaneous with this innovation was another which is still widely contemplated in our day; namely, the cooperative system.

On July 13, a strike was anticipated in the ship yards because of pay decreases. The workers planned not to be idle: They would form a cooperative system to get work unloading ships during which time they would perfect their organization by forming a strong union. Thus the dominant water front unions which are to be a feature of our later history, had their inception. 2. And here, eighty years ago, the cooperative system was nearly a reality. The planned strike did not materialize.

When prices had risen in 1862 because of the war, groups of workers at once attempted to eliminate the profits of the middlemen by establishing co-operative stores, meat markets, and coal yards. In Philadelphia

-
1. Express, May 30, 1867
 2. For waterfront unions cf. chapter IV

the Union Cooperative Association was formed in 1862.

Letters of inquiry poured in upon the editor (Finchers Review--a business magazine) from all parts of America, and before 1863 notices of the organization of similar co-operative grocery stores had been received from Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier. During 1864 the stores were opened in Providence, Albany, Troy, Cincinnati and Detroit, 1 to mention only a few cities.

In the same year of 1867 we find an act that we today might classify as the "tyranny of labor." On July 28 a laborer unloading a boat was fired for being intoxicated. His associates struck in protest. The agitation was short lived and the men returned to work.

In 1866 the American National Stove Manufacturers' and Iron Founders' Association had been founded for the purpose of destroying the molders' National union which had been formed in 1859. The employers' Association extended its operations in 1866 to "Ironton, Covington, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Richmond, Buffalo, and St. Louis." 2. However, the employers failed to destroy the molders' union, chiefly because of a lack of cooperation among employers. An example of this lack of cooperation occurred in Buffalo: "The Buffalo and St. Louis founders withdrew and reached an agreement with their workmen....." 3.

1. Commons op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 40-41

2. Ibid. P. 51

3. Ibid. P. 51

1868 The New Year of 1868 was anything but propitious for twelve hundred families of the Buffalo Niagara Frontier area, for lack of employment placed them on public charity, according to the Express of February 6th.

Six weeks later the paper complimented the Niagara Frontier workers when it wrote about the railroad strikes at Albany and Rochester. The paper said:

The machinists of this area have seen the folly of all strikes, and are resolved that their actions shall be governed by common sense.

Of course, the paucity of strikes might be explained by the fact that twelve hundred families were on relief.

The Express was unduly optimistic about the railroad machinists, for the most belligerent strikes were to be of the railroads.

The plaudits of the Express were only four days past when eighty workers of Habbell's Stove Works struck for a ten per cent increase in pay. While many looked askance on strikes there were three boys who probably yearned for the right to strike as a means of protest. We quote the Express of June 23, 1868:

James Carroll a boy of 14 years old, was brought to justice Lake's office late Saturday afternoon on complaint of Thomas Carter, Superintendent of the Walstenboen File Works, charging him with refusal to work, by being a

1. Express, March 18, 1868

legally bound apprentice. The justice being absent the boy had the choice of going to work or going to jail, and he wisely preferred the former alternative. Warrants are out for the apprehension of two other boys for a similar behavior. 1.

At least for young boys the freedom to work or not to work, was not a choice in 1868.

Apprentice-ship existed in the very earliest days of the Buffalo Niagara Frontier's history. 2. This system of training young men for a trade was nation wide from the early times. For example, in 1860, a law was enacted in New York City "declaring that coopers must serve five years' apprentice-ship before they could set up an independent business." 3.

The system of apprentice-ship originated because some system of training young men for a trade was necessary. Later apprentices were employed to do the simple work at a low rate of wages, and thus became a means of cheap labor production. The workers themselves approved of the apprentices at first because the system removed women, children and unskilled workers from competition with the skilled workers.

However, as the system spread problems developed. All too frequently apprentices were required to work three to seven years learning a trade that could easily be mastered in much less time. This was especially true after the division of labor divided one

-
1. Express, September 17, 1868
 2. For apprentice system cf. above pp. 2-3, 7, 13
cf. below pp. 55
 3. Commons op. cit. Vol. I, p. 56

trade into several trades, the parts being mastered very easily. Sometimes the apprentices ran away before their period of education was completed and they became competitors for jobs with the more skilled workers. Another evil was that the skilled workers taught their apprentices only enough to make them good apprentices, and not enough to master their trade. Thus the labor market was supplied with poorly prepared workman. Another great evil, especially in the printing shops, was the practise of employing as many young boys as possible and very few skilled workers. This created unemployment and caused a cheap finished product. Because of such abuses and evils some kind of regulation of the apprentice system was deemed necessary.

Previous to 1850 the trades themselves made little effort toward such regulation, but between 1850-1854 certain rules of regulation were established by certain unions. In general these rules were as follows: (1) The number of apprentices allotted to each journey man was limited; (2) Apprentices must serve an established number of years, the term varied with the type of trade; (3) The number of apprentices allowed each employer was limited; (4) Wages were regulated; (5) No employer could take an apprentice from another employer without good cause; (6) The apprentice was to be taught the entire trade.

After the Civil War the greater markets resulting from increased railway transportation forced the employer to consider his "functions as a merchant and decreased the amount of time which he was able to

devote to his duties as the instructor of his apprentices." 1. Hence the training of apprentices suffered. Moreover, since competition among employers increased by the shipping of outside goods into the local area some employers dismissed their journeymen and hired boys "whom they styled apprentices." 2. The unions attempted to stop such practices by arranging with employers to observe the rules as listed above. Some unions succeeded; the majority did not. This regulation established in 1850-1853 was weakened. As late as 1881 we find the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of United States and Canada asking for uniform apprentice laws. 3. No such uniformity ever came to exist. "The decay of apprenticeship was inevitable when the machine process made possible the use of mass child labor, and when the division of occupation into detailed tasks no longer demanded a careful industrial training for each worker." 4. The apprentice system destroyed, agitation of the schools to train workers became prevalent about 1900, and as a result of this agitation we have the vocational, cooperative and continuation schools of today. 5.

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 81
 2. Ibid. p. 81
 3. For Federation cf. below pp. 77-80, 259-263
 4. Commons, op. cit. Vol. III, pp. 271-272
 5. For vocational school in Buffalo cf. below p. 188-189

The unions of the Niagara Frontier were not aware of the evils of the apprentice-ship system as a speech of O. B. Dailey at the Mechanics' Convention attests. Mr. Dailey stated that the union would begin a system of registration so as to place workers, and would not require members to have a certain number of apprentices thereby making it possible for more youths to be learning a trade. 1. On the next day of the convention it was suggested that the Mechanics' Union insure its members. The innovation was accepted after a thorough debate, there being much opposition because some feared that the insurance division might supersede the union.

We have seen that the year of 1868 was one of novel introductions advocating labor changes which we today accept as common-place. The year closed with the workers taking the initiative for a change that was for those days considerable.

A mass meeting on December 27 was held with Mayor Rogers presiding. The purpose was to discuss the abrogation of convict labor in state prisons. 2. The meeting was not well attended, nor were those present talkative because a Mr. Webb had to urge those present to speak up and give their views. Evidently only two or three did speak up. The Express reported that "there were only two or three talkative fellows in the house." 1.

-
1. Express, September 17, 1868
 2. For convict labor cf. below pp. 51-53, 61, 74, 76, 173

On the 28th a formal protest was issued: Convict labor caused unfair competition and lessened wages. Moreover, convict labor is of no advantage to a community.

The use of convict labor in the United States was a wide spread practice in earlier times. Convicts were supposed to work hard while incarcerated, but much of their work was unproductive. When the merchant-capitalists had to lessen production costs he applied for the use of prison labor. His application was accepted because now prisoners would be engaged in productive work, and income would be assured the prison. Such income was usually used as prison up-keep money. The New York State prison at Auburn inaugurated this practice in 1816. Other prisons and other states soon followed the Auburn policy.

Labor naturally opposed the use of convict labor because "it could not help but exercise a deteriorating influence on the bargaining powers of free labourers." 3. In addition, articles manufactured in prisons are sold from 40 to 60 per cent below what the lowest mechanic can afford them for. 4. In 1830 Utica and Brooklyn complained of prison labor. .In 1834 an

-
1. Express, December 9, 1868
 2. For merchant-capitalist cf. above p. 5
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 344
 4. Ibid. p. 347

anti-prison labor convention was held in Utica, as was such a meeting held in New York in 1853. At the meetings it was planned to exert pressure on the New York State legislature.

1869 We have seen the insurance act of the Mechanics' Union. This was followed in 1869 by a similar project of the New York Central workers. They had organized an association for the benefit of relatives of deceased members. This imitation of the medieval guilds was made possible by contributions of the newly accepted members who paid two dollars upon admission, half of which went for union expenses, and half for the benefit fund. At each death a further assessment of one dollar was made to meet the next death. 1.

Such was the progress made on the New York Central; not so on the Erie Railroad where the workers were striking against the great Gould and Fiske for a fixed pay day. This altercation was not all local. It was found on all divisions of the road. In this the railroad workers were aided by that great union, the Cigar-Makers. 2. Finally, an agreement was made whereby the employees were to be paid on the fifteenth of each month if it were possible, and never later than the twenty-fifth. 3.

-
1. Express, August 17, 1869 For benevolent Associations cf. below p. 249
 2. For Cigar-Makers' Union cf. below pp. 77-78, 89, 96, 100, 170, 258-259
 3. Express, October 19, 23, 28, 1896

1870 Evidently the settlement was merely temporizing because a report of April 12, 1870 was that the Erie workers were again demanding an established pay-day, as well as an increase in rate from \$1.25 per day to \$1.50. An increase of 7 cents was granted, but a report of June 9 stated an Erie strike to be a week old, and the issue again was the pay day. To break the strike four or five car loads of men were imported, but they too became dissatisfied with the pay offered, so the scabs returned East.

In this same year an intellectual group, the teachers, asked for more pay, but Dr. Lathrop, Superintendent of schools, said no raise was forthcoming. 1. At the meeting of the Teachers' Institute one satisfied teacher had what was probably considered the effrontery to say that the teachers earned their money easily. The teachers did nothing.

In contrast to the calm teachers were the dock workers who were disgruntled over the pay given by A. W. Horton and Company for unloading boats. Some two hundred men appeared before the company office, broke some windows, and then departed, satisfied with this type of retaliation.

1871 In so far as activity was concerned, 1871 was a dull labor year. Boss Tweed and the Chicago fire competed for news space. Only one labor item deserved notice, a speech of Anna Dickenson 2. reported in the Express of November 29, and entitled "Demagogues and

-
1. For teachers and pay increases cf. below pp. 215-218
 2. American author and lecturer on reform.

Workingmen." The lecturer presented the skilled artisan as the most aggrieved of all workers. America's labor received five times the European salaries, but unions are making criminals by making it hard for youngsters to get employment, because of the limitation made upon apprentices. 1. Even in prison, continued the lecturer, the youthful criminal learned no trade because opposition to prison labor prevented prison trades; finally, union labor was tyrannical for it gained all the advantages it could, and gave none; unions were not free, no democratic unions would not allow distressed humans of other nations to enter America. The good lecturer neglected to consider that she was really justifying the unions to themselves for they would say that these practices made it possible for the speaker to quote America's salary rate as being five times that of Europe. Of course, she and the employers would explain the salary as due to generosity and equality of opportunity.

1872 More and more labor in the Niagara Frontier became social minded. The carpenters and joiners, in June of 1872, forming a benevolent association, and the brass finishers likewise intended to form such an association. These notices plus two about the bellicose sailors constituted the labor news of 1872. A report of October 16, 1872 is as follows:

1. For apprentice system cf. above pp. 2-3, 7, 13, 48-50

Shortly before five o'clock last evening, as the J. G. Master was about to cast her lines for a trip to Chicago about 50 sailors jumped aboard and demanded that the crew should go ashore, which they refused to do. 1.

When the police were sent for, the rioters fled. These sailors had rioted because they demanded three dollars a day while the men on the boats were working for two-fifty. Fourteen days later the Express quotes:

It has been a noticeable circumstance during this past season that whenever a large fleet of vessels arrived in this part a number of sailors would get together and demand the price paid from Chicago which is four dollars a day, while from this part owners will pay only three dollars a day. 2.

Many ships had been boarded as the J. G. Master, and constant vigilance by the police was necessary to disperse the intruders.

1873 Buffalo was like other American cities plagued by the depression of 1873, and many business employers worked their employees only seven and eight hours a day because the proprietors "say it is difficult to get currency since the late financial crash; therefore, rather than discharge men, they reduced the number of hours." 3. Thus with lessened hours and consequent small pay the worker of 1873 was probably a none too happy individual.

-
1. Express, October 15, 1872
 2. Express, October 29, 1872
 3. Express, October 4, 1873

The business depression of 1873 to 1879 was a critical period in the American labour movement. The old national trade unions either went to pieces, or retained a merely nominal existence. Employers sought to free themselves from the restrictions that the trade unions had imposed upon them during the years preceding the crisis. They consequently added a systematic policy of strikeouts, of black lists, and of legal prosecution to the already crushing weight of hard times and unemployment. 1.

Having completed our history from the Civil War to the railroad strikes (1861-1873) let us now briefly consider national conditions during this period.

As pointed out at the end of the last chapter this was the period of "nationalization" of labor; various local unions of different cities joined together under one leadership to form one big national union. This movement ultimately resulted in the existence of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. 2. The beginning of the national labor movement was during the Civil War and Reconstruction, the American labour movement developed, almost unnoticed, its characteristic features." 3.

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 195. For effect of depression on unions cf. below pp. 1-72, 249-250
 2. For Knights and A. F. of L. cf. below pp. 79-80, 259-263
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 3

The fifties had been years of great railway construction, and this construction was continued during the war to some extent. After the Civil War such construction boomed. The development of railroads made it no longer necessary for the consumer to purchase from his local merchant, competition increased, the middleman came into existence. These developments were partial cause of labor nationalization. 1.

The Civil War itself had direct effects upon the American working class. The period of the war was one in which prices increased together with the cost of living. In 1862 the government issued \$150,000,000 of greenback currency; during the war \$431,000,000 was issued. This additional supply raised prices, stimulated industry, and created employment. Moreover, the demands of the army stimulated industry and employment. With one exception, all classes of Americans prospered.

The only class which suffered rather than benefited from the wave of prosperity was the wage earning class. It is true that opportunities for employment increased and by that much the wage earner was a direct beneficiary of the high prices. But on the other hand the cost of living was rapidly increasing while wages were lagging approximately six months behind. The unequal pace of the two movements inevitably led the wage earners to organize along trade union lines in order to protect the standard of living. 2.

By 1865 sixty-one different trades had organized with about three hundred unions. Local unions soon became national unions in the United States.

-
1. For further causes of nationalization Cf. below pp. 255-256, above p. 29
 2. Commons op. cit. Vol. II, p. 15

Part III

The Great Railroad Strikes (1874-1893)

Chapter 1

Economic Crisis Forces Labor to Revolt

Buffalo had in 1855 a population of 74,414, and by the '70's was well on its way to 245,000 which it was to attain by 1887. Simultaneous with this great growth was the entrance of railroads within the city, which had begun as early as the Civil War. It was on these great traction lines that two of Buffalo's most violent strikes were to occur.

1874 The year of 1874 began with a social service movement with the Young Men's Christian Association. On Lincoln's birthday, 1874, this organization announced an employment service, the use of which was gratis. Names of the unemployed were to be taken by the organization and from time to time lists published so that employers could fill positions. The first list consisted of nine workers: three clerks, an iron worker, a carpenter, a book-keeper, a labourer, a salesman, and a mechanic.

Contemporaneous with the "Y" movement was the difficulty on the Erie Railroad when the switchmen and brakemen struck because the company refused to employ four brakemen on each train crew as had been the practice. Thus in February of 1874 the crew law of 1938 was anticipated. The strike lasting a single day ending on February 27th, with the company stating that brakemen would receive two dollars a day instead of the previous $\$1.87\frac{1}{2}$, but the number of brakemen was not increased; trackmen were to receive one dollar and sixty cents a day whereas the pay had been $\$1.25$; yard-

men were increased from \$1.50 to \$2.00. The Buffalo men were fortunate in their gains, and in having to strike for only one day. They had not presented a strong front but other localities had, and thus only the mail trains had been able to operate: stronger resistance elsewhere had benefited the local workers. It would appear that the report of the Express was premature. The settlement appeared to be only a company statement, since in early March the men met at Clinton Hall with Mr. Nichols Oliver as chairman.

1874 It appeared that the men had not been deceived by the company's statement concerning pay increases and had been striking for over a week. At the meeting the workers were praised for their orderly conduct. The workers appeared carefree and happy, despite the knowledge that the company intended to dismiss three hundred of them. The workers believed that the two months' pay which they had just received would keep them until spring when they could get new positions. On March 12, the strikers were reported tampering with switches which resulted in an engine being derailed. Special police were sent into the yards and six men were arrested. Fortunately for the men their appearance led Judge Nash to believe not to be the type to tamper with switches, and they were freed. The strike ended the next day with the men gaining little, but it was a miniature of the masterpiece of 1877 when all sections of the Erie were in turmoil. Buffalo's first massive strike was not far in the offing.

The remaining news of 1874 is quiet news, chiefly of meetings. A report of May 19 was of the working men adopting several principles: equal laws for capital and labor, a fixed pay day of at least once a month, terminating of convict labor, 1. and a demand for the eight-hour day. 2. These principles had been adopted by a meeting of labor delegates called the Industrial Congress held in Cleveland in 1873. At the meeting in Buffalo one Mr. Louis Wilcox chose to be a poor clairvoyant when he said the day of strikes was past, and that the worker must now resort to ballot.

1876 The year of 1875 was without event, but the following year was interesting. In early January some two hundred workers went before the Common Council requesting that unemployment be relieved by beginning work on the Bird Avenue sewer. Class antagonisms became evident when the crowd further demanded that they be given employment in preference to the Polish who were hired because they worked for less wages. Since the police were present there was no disturbance. 3.

It might be remarked that such class animosities were one of the many causes that made the progress of labor slow. 4.

1. For Convict Labor cf. above pp. 51-53
below pp. 76, 173

2. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45
below pp. 87, 91-92, 97, 107-108, 139, 156, 158,
173-174, 244

3. Express, January 18, 1876

4. For other examples of class animosity cf. above
pp. 36-37; below pp. 83, 112-115

1876 The march of the hungry was followed three days later by the announcement of the Ladies Centennial Relief Association. There was to be an appointment of some "reliable person" to be known as a visitor to investigate the needy, some of whom had been protesting in the crowd to the Common Council. The visitor was to receive one-fifty a day and a bookkeeper was to be hired. But better news to the unemployed was the announcement on Washington's birthday.

Twenty thousand dollars was to be spent at the rate of one dollar per day per person to employ the needy in the Park's department. Conditions were bad. With a population of about 140,000 Buffalo Niagara Frontier had fourteen thousand unemployed with twenty-three hundred families dependent. Eleven thousand were receiving relief at a cost of twenty thousand dollars a month. 1. Is it any wonder then that some civic and socially minded people acted and the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo was formed.

Unemployment, hundreds street begging, the absence of a trained and interested group of social workers, were the motivation for a meeting at Mr. G. P. Sawyer's home. Let us hear the witness, Ansley Wilcox:

I, a boy of 20 years, living during my first winter in Buffalo in the house of my sister and brother, Mr. and Mrs. Sawyer, was allowed to sit and listen, drinking in the thoughts and plans of that resolute group of men. 2.

-
1. Express, March 5, 1876
 2. Published by Friend of Society, Fifty Years of Social Work (1877-1927), Buffalo, 1927

These men in addition to the host were T. Guilford Smith, the Reverend Gurteen, Mr. Dormer, Mr. Edwin T. Evans, and Mr. Sheldon T. Viele.

1876 The sponsor of the movement was the Reverend Gurteen of Saint Paul's Church. He reported:

perhaps in no city of the United States were the evils attendant upon indiscriminate alms-giving, and the overlapping of charity with the consequent pauperization of the poor more marked than in the city of Buffalo. 1.

As a result of this meeting the first charity organization of the Niagara Frontier came into existence in Buffalo.

In 1877 leading citizens urged on by six proponents of the plan, drew up a proposition to have the state legislature give the right to the city to have a Commissioner of Charity. This failed, but by July the Common Council passed an ordinance allowing for police investigation of those believed needing relief. Then in December came the culmination of many dreams when the Charity Society was organized at a public meeting, and in January of the next year the dream became a reality when the society's first case was attended.

Responsible more than any other for this happy achievement was the Reverend Gurteen who had no doubt begun the movement because of his realistic knowledge gained as an associate rector in charge of relief at his church. Untiringly this minister had drawn up a

1. Ibid, p. 16

plan and had urged its adoption by a series of five lectures which were printed in the Courier on five successive Mondays beginning with November 6, 1877.

The Society was modeled after that of London, England:

not to give actual relief, but to aid the worthy to become self supporting, and by a system of registration and thorough investigation to discover and exterminate fraud in begging. 1.

The Society conducted two offices, a medical dispensary, hospital, and a wood-yard where some of the needy were employed. Every department was to be completely severed from all questions of religious belief, politics, and nationality. Nor was any member to proselyte in any way.

1876 Let us now review briefly some of the charitable activities. The charity balls of 1880 and 1881 netted \$1389.63 and \$993.31, respectively. In the winter of 1893 and 1894 some 9,661 cases were investigated. In another instance \$65,000 was raised to employ men at a dollar a day. These were only a few of the Societies' contributions to better living. Well might the Society say:

The main work of our Society has always concentrated in the effort to build up individual and family life, to mend broken human beings and ruptured family ties, to find and remove the causes of disease and misery and poverty and to put human beings again on their feet, and especially to give children a fair chance to grow into healthy and

1. Elstner Publishing Co., The Industries of Buffalo, Buffalo, 1887, p. 21

intelligent and useful citizens, and so to carry on for the next generation.1.

1876 The tragedy was that the Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier had let so many years pass before realizing this need. Fraternal organizations had done their part, but a part entirely too small. 2.

If others were dependent upon this society the members of the Butchers' Union were not, since this union in celebrating its seventh anniversary in the spring of 1876 announced an income of \$3,549.90 of which only \$1,756.20 constituted expenditures.

More depressing was the next news. Railroad brake and switchmen had struck because of a cut from forty-five to forty dollars a month. A few trains were interrupted, a watchman was beaten, and some strikers had trifled with switches. Finally after the strikers had boarded trains, police also boarded them with loaded revolvers. The companies ended the strike by firing all the strikers. 3.

From the summer through the fall and into early winter all was quiet. But two days after Christmas a meeting that foreshadowed coming radicalism was held at Kehr's Building on Genesee Street. Here four or five hundred Germans convened, conversing in their own language. Irwin Schott called the meeting to order. The paper gave a rather terrible description of the men

-
1. Fifty Years of Family Social Work, op. cit. p. 9
 2. For charitable organizations cf. above pp. 26
 3. Express, June 17, 1876

present as being hairy, unkept brutes. A man with a name fitting the paper's description, one Mundhenk, said that the workers were as down trodden as in the middle ages. Charles Langa, a taylor, and a "ranting Communist" 1. spoke next. The reporter said that the men present were not responsive.

1877 The last week of July 1877 saw the workers at the Haines Lumber Yard in the Tonawanda area of the Niagara Frontier engaged in a rather wild melee when strikers strove to drive out workers who refused to strike. Also at the Daker's Coal Yard there occurred a similar affair. The Express wrote that the strikers were "ignorant," didn't know what they wanted, and had "strike fever." 2. Perhaps, the strikers were ignorant, but all employers were not wise, or there would not have been riots; after all a worker in these days had few educational opportunities in the Niagara Frontier area. In stating that the strikers didn't know what they wanted, the paper was incorrect; it was not lack of knowledge of an end, but rather a lack of knowledge as to the proper means of achieving that end. The period of effective labor organizations was not yet at hand. Labor, then as now, was at odds with itself, as was attested when one Philip McDonnell beat up a striker who tried to stop him working, and then offered to take on others. Nevertheless, this picayune scuffling was not always typical because upon occasion the workers could combine, and then as a class they struggled

-
1. Express, December 27, 1876
 2. Express, July 26, 1877

against the master class. Such a division was exemplified by the railroad strike of July 21 to July 28, 1877. 1.

1877 At Hornelsville and Port Jervis men were striking against the Erie Railroad on July 21, but the Buffalo area of the Frontier was quiet and no trouble was anticipated. Within two days, however, the city was uneasy: "It was unknown as to what extremes the mob might proceed." 2. Within two days there had developed many demonstrations, and soldiers were on guard as a precaution; strikers from other roads were about to join those of the Erie. A stock train could not move because

the crowd took possession, took the fireman and brakeman from the train and removed the coupling pins. Consequently the stock had to be unloaded and returned to the yards. 3.

On the evening of the twenty-third, at nine-thirty o'clock strikers moved to the Lake Shore Round House armed with clubs and stones and forced all employees there to cease work. Following the mob's departure three regiments of troops were moved into the building. Moving on to the Erie Machine Shop in the Buffalo area, the strikers were confronted by soldiers who were on guard. This did not hinder the strikers who pushed on in and forced the employees to cease work. The strikers also forced the workers on the New York Central to remain idle on the next day.

-
1. Express, Issues of July 24-28, 1877
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Loc. cit.

1877 Why had not the soldiers barricaded the mob? According to one strike leader: "We were determined to get into that shop and would have gone no matter what happened." 1. This despite the threat of the soldiers to fire on the crowd if they did not retreat. The leader speaks:

Says I, Captain, if you fire, you can kill only a few of us, and after that your life won't be worth a cent. You can fire only one volley before these men behind me will have your muskets. 2.

To this daring logic the good Captain, possibly himself sympathetic, capitulated saying: "All right, go ahead, but do not damage any property." 3.

The strikers next took to stopping trains although wisely ignoring those of the mail, and each time they succeeded were roundly applauded by the watching throngs. And not beneath a nice gesture the strikers threatened to thrash anyone who molested a train of the Jamestown Road because this tiny line had not reduced pay as had its more mature associates.

Conditions became worse. As a precaution to maintain law and order Mayor Becker of Buffalo called a meeting of citizens. The strikers had become more daring. When the strikers stopped a Lake Shore and Michigan train bearing militia they were fired upon. The strikers retaliated by pelting the militia with stones and clubs. Michael Lyons, a spectator, eighteen

1. Loc. cit.

2. Loc. cit.

3. Loc. cit.

years old, was killed, and five or six seriously wounded. As if this episode quenched their extreme wrath the strikers then became docile. By the twenty-seventh the strike waned and a day later it was quiet. The workers accepted a ten per cent reduction, the cause of the strike. On the last day of July Justice King studied the cases of the several rioters in custody: Hugh O'Melia, Michael Dondon, Jacob Seckler, were discharged by the court; John Donis, William Burtiss, and William Quirk were held for trial, and were later given light punishments in fines.

1877 This strike received other than local newspaper recognition. J. A. Dacus in his Annals of the Great Strikes in the United States has a vivid account. 1. Apropos of the stoppage of the Lake Shore train Dacus mentions the place as Tift Street of Buffalo, and tells that the soldiers were disarmed by the strikers and forced to flee. He explains that nearly all trains in the Niagara Frontier were stopped because two thousand strikers were well divided over the railroad beds in the Frontier area. Against these were only seven hundred soldiers consisting chiefly of the 64th and 65th regiments, led by General Rogers. There were also 1000 police and deputized citizens. 2. In one company seventeen were wounded or missing. From Dacus we get the information that the strike organizer was B. J. Donahue.

1. Dacus, J. A. Annals of the Great Strikes in the United States, Chicago, 1877, Chapters, XIII, XVI

2. Buffalo Evening News, History of Buffalo, Buffalo, 1908, p. 33

1877 An amusing incident is presented by the author, Dacus. Some Niagara Frontier firemen "pilfered" a locomotive and ran it out to the junction of the Niagara Falls branch of the road at East Buffalo so as to blockade incoming trains.

The strikers' side as being opposed to pay cuts is partly presented by Dacus in a letter from a Buffalo fireman. According to the letter they received \$1.47 for a hundred mile run. Breakfast cost a quarter as did dinner, and supper and lodging. The residue being forty-six cents, the fireman at the end of the month had saved twelve dollars, but one can easily see how only most penurious individual could save since other necessary costs, such as proper laundry, clothes, etc., would require more than twelve dollars. This fireman was willing to swear to the validity of his letter in court.

The contribution of Dacus is complete with his pointing out that the Niagara Frontier strike was centered in Buffalo because the Erie trains were located here.

Another historian who writes of this strike of 1877 is Samuel Yellen in his American Labor Struggles. He writes:

The strike on the Erie had infected both the New York Central and the Lake Shore in the Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier where many factory laborers quit work in sympathy. 1.

1. Yellen, Samuel, American Labor Struggles, New York, 1936, p. 23

Yellen gives an interesting slant. The strikes had placed an "embargo" only on freight trains but wished the passengers and mail to run as usual. But here the railroads resorted to a ruse:

the scheme of trying to start mixed trains of passengers, mail and freight. In order to disconnect the freight, the strikers were forced to stop the entire train and thus became liable to punishment for hindering the passage of mails. 1.

The violence of this strike no doubt brought much approbium upon the workers, although much of such violence probably was not caused by the strikers. In such an affair it is always difficult to discern the legitimate striker from the rabble hoodlum.

1877 The Niagara Frontier strike was only a phase of nation-wide strikes. Commons writes of the Great Strikes of 1877...

The depression reached its lowest point in that year. This led to further reductions in wages in the majority of industries. But in no other industries did these reductions cause so much bitterness and resentment as on the railroads. In the first place the railroads were the largest employers in the country, and a cut in the railroad wages simultaneously affected large numbers of people; and, second, the general feeling in the community against railroad corporations made the grievances of the men appear especially huge. 2.

-
1. Yellen, Samuel, loc. cit.
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 185

When the depression began in 1873 the railroads had cut wages ten per cent. Another reduction of ten per cent took effect in 1877. Moreover, the depression threatened the existence of the railway unions, and the companies further endangered the unions by attempting to destroy all the privileges gained by the unions previous to 1873. 1.

1877 When the second wage cut took place in 1877, the trainmen began resistance by organizing the Trainmen's Union at Pittsburgh and Allegheny City. The organizer was a young brakeman, Robert A. Ammon, whose intention it was to bring all trainmen to strike simultaneously on June 27, 1877. This plan was not carried out because

dissension occurred...This caused the whole movement to collapse. The organized attempts at resistance thus failed, but the employees' accumulated feeling of resentment against the railroads was sufficiently strong to cause a spontaneous and unorganized outbreak at the least provocation. 1.

The first trouble was on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Martinsburg, West Virginia, on July 17, the day after the ten per cent wage reduction had gone into effect. The strikers were in control for two days, up until two hundred troops arrived.

The strikers gained absolute control at Cumberland and Baltimore, Maryland, and retained control Federal troops dispersed them.

1. For effect of depression of 1873 on unions cf. above pp. 56-57 cf. below pp. 249-250

2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 187

1877 Trouble started in Pittsburgh on July 19, and continued until July 21. Twenty-six had been killed by troops that had been called in from Philadelphia, but the troops finally retreated from the city leaving "the mob the unhintered master of the situation, free to burn, destroy, and to loot." 1. The damage to railroad property in Pittsburgh amounted to five million dollars.

Other disturbances occurred at Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Altoona, Scranton, Hornelsville, New York, Toledo, Louisville, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco. All major railroads of the United States were involved. In every case the strikes failed, but the effects were enormous. For the first time there had been a nation-wide strike, and the labor problem became one of national interest. The long time required by the soldiers to arrive and quell riots led to the construction of armories in all large cities. Legislatures passed laws in many states against labor activities.

The effect upon the workers was great. The spirit of labor solidarity was strengthened and made national. This was the first time that troops were called out in time of peace to suppress strikes. The feeling of resentment engendered thereby began to assume a political aspect, and during the next two years the territory covered by the strike wave became a most promising field for labor parties of all kinds and descriptions. 2.

1. Ibid. p. 184

2. Ibid. p. 185

Many of these labor parties were soon influenced by the Greenback party. 1. This party was at first a farmers' party. It demanded that the government increase prices by increasing the supply of money; that is, by printing greenback notes. The Greenback party was formed in 1875. By 1887 various workers' parties were also arguing that an increase in the supply of money would benefit them. Thus in many places, particularly places in the West, the workers united with farmers and formed the Greenback Labor Party. Although active in the Niagara Frontier of Buffalo in 1887, the party was not powerful. The vote in New York

was drawn mainly from the southern "tier" counties. Elmira, Oswego, and Hornelsville, the chief scene of the railroad troubles, were the centers of activity. Rochester and Albany were other important centers. The vote in New York and Buffalo was small. 2.

One might think the spleen of labor to be all spilled by the pouring of 1877, especially since nothing tangible was gained. This was not so, however, as labor incidents continued in 1878.

1878 Still protesting convict labor the Prison Reform Association was formed in late winter. 3. Convicts were let out to contractors at fifty cents a day, and since this practice created unemployment, and since the convicts couldn't spend their money, and thus help

-
1. For Greenback labor party also cf. below p. 95
 2. Ibid. p. 236. For other labor parties cf. above pp. 19-20 cf. below pp. 101, 251
 3. For prison labor cf. above pp. 46-47, 56 below pp. 169

business, the institution of the Reform Association seems valid enough. Then in May, the Erie County Industrial Society announced its intention of educating the workers. Students were to be drawn from all unions.

1878 But down on the docks the men were as wavering as the waves beside which they worked. On June 18 six hundred grain shovelers were on strike for higher wages, and for eradication of the system that allowed rebates to favored customers, since the rebate was made up by deductions from the workers' pay. This difficulty terminated two days from its beginning when rebates were abrogated and wages compromised.

Yet, dockmen could be obnoxious, for no sooner one settlement than something else was demanded. On the twenty-second, laborers at the freight-houses (ship and rail) asked for twenty instead of fifteen cents an hour. The men were amenable, and turned to work the next day when the company explained that business prevented a pay increase.

The next event of significance was a meeting of the German section of the Socialist Party at Kehr's Hall. 1. In these days the Germans while belonging to parent associations frequently met in separate sections because many did not speak the English language fluently. The meeting was well attended, and there was "much earnestness." Independent political activity was recommended in the coming election and a decision to have a complete ticket was made. Also a thirteen point

1. For socialism cf. Chapter V and below pp. 100, 159, 199, 208, 217, 219-222, 229, 236, 238

program was adopted. (1) An eight-hour day, (2) Sanitary inspection of factory conditions, (3) Prohibition of prison labor, (4) Prohibition of child labor (under 14), (5) Compulsory education for those under 14, (6) Limitation on women working, (7) State laws make employers liable, (8) Weekly pay day and pay in American money, (9) Repeal of law against strikes, (10) Substitution of income tax for indirect taxes, (11) Banking and insurance conducted by the government, (12) Direct popular legislation, (13) Use of recall.

1878 It is interesting to note that New York State by 1939 had adopted points one, two, five, six, seven, nine, and ten completely: three, four, and eight have been partially adopted, and while other states have accepted twelve and thirteen, we have not. Point eleven is still pretty much of a private enterprise everywhere. At any rate, by this test we are somewhat more socialistically inclined than Americans would admit.

German workers were important in the Niagara Frontier labor movement as well as in the national movement. Many of the socialistic attitudes found among the American workers were introduced by Germans. In 1853, Joseph Weydemeger, a close friend of Carl Marx, organized the General Workingmen's Alliance based on Marx's principle of the class struggle. In 1857 the German Workingmen's Alliance "aimed to bring about a cooperative social order through an appeal to all without distinction of classes." 1. In the same year, 1858, the New York Communist Club was formed by Germans, the

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 204

club's organization being based on the Communist Manifesto. By 1867 several such clubs united to form the Social Party of New York and the Niagara Frontier area.¹ This group as well as the others in Chicago, affiliated with Carl Marx's International Workingmen's Association, after 1870. ² The German groups in America held that

while in Europe only a general revolution can form the means of uplifting the working people, in America the educating of the masses will install them with a degree of self confidence that is indispensable for the effective and intelligent use of the ballot, and will eventually lead to the emancipation of the working people from the yoke of capital. ³

1879 Let us now introduce that paramount union of Gomer's fame, the Cigar Makers' Union. According to the Express, Mr. Jacob Drews, President of Union No. 2, had been requested by New York to call a mass meeting against the tenement system of making cigars in the metropolis. The paper explains the system:

A manufacturer rents a tenement block which he sublets to families of cigar makers. The landlord charges a rent sufficient to net him a good profit on

-
1. For Social Party cf. below p. 137-138
 2. For International cf. below p. 86, 137-138, above p. 70
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 207-208

his investment. This block he calls his factory and on it he pays a U.S. license of ten dollars. These, families male and female members, take so much tobacco and agree to make it for a certain sum. 1.

1879 Hence, the landlord and the employer, not operating his establishment as a factory, saved a larger license fee, had work done cheaply, and thus destroyed competition. Moreover, the families were not on any government restrictions. This system was not prevalent in the Niagara Frontier area of the state, but it was in New York, and the New Yorkers felt that since the Buffalo Niagara Frontier was flooded with cheap products that the city should be interested.

The next event of importance foreshadowed the long series of longshoremen's difficulties which will be treated in a special chapter. At this time they ask for twenty cents an hour instead of fifteen. An association was formed by the strikers, and the employers retaliated by hiring strike-breakers by the month. Some of these were pummeled by the strikers who forced their way into the boarding houses of the "scabs." This practice was soon stopped by the police, and the strikers resorted to strategy. The ship Montana was being unloaded, and the strikers who were watching pretended to be quarreling among themselves, which of course caused the police to rush in, at which juncture, strikers who were hiding, by a prearranged plan, rushed out and on the Montana, and forcibly ejected the

1. Express, February 18, 1879. For Cigar Makers' Union cf. below pp. 83, 90, 94, 163, 252-253

"scabs." 1. After collecting their wits, the police succeeded in getting order. 2.

1880 The two important strikes of the relatively quiet year of 1880 were those of two radically different groups, the puddlers and the freight laborers. On March 13 some twenty puddlers of the Union Iron Works struck because they said their families were destitute because of low pay. One German scab was beaten by five or six strikers. On September 2nd the freight handlers of the Erie and New York Central Railroad went for higher wages. Before the strike was called a committee of grievances had been sent to the companies by the strikers. Within two days the Erie gave in, but not the Central.

It was in this same year that there originated in the Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier an institution known as a Creche, which was established for the day nursing of working women's children. 3.

1881 Even more quiet than its predecessor was the year of 1881. The Niagara Frontier did participate in the first convention of the American Federation of Labor 4. (then called the Federation of Trades and

1. The word "scab" was in use as early as 1806. An overzealous union man took occasion, without invitation from the court, to publicly define the term. He defined it in the following picturesque language: "A scab is a shelter for lice." Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 113 ft. note 20

2. Express, May 28, 1879

3. Charity Organization, op. cit. p. 29

4. For A. F. of L. and Federation for Organized Trades and Labor Unions cf. below pp. 251-257, above pp. 46, 51

Labor Unions of the United States and Canada) when it sent four delegates: Michael J. Byrne of the Plasterers' Union, John Kelly of the Unions' Assembly, Fred J. Klocke of the Seamen's Union, and William Moore of the Boot and Shoemakers' Union. 1.

1882 Of more importance to the people of the Niagara Frontier than this convention was one held in Buffalo in the following year. Forty-six delegates, twenty-six of them from Buffalo, met at Turn Hall as a State Convention of Laboring Men, to protest the inactivity of the state legislature in failing to enact laws desired by labor. The theme of the convention was how to unite labor, and to make it effective at the polls. This of course roused the question of the advisability of separate political action.

At this convention ten specific demands were made (1) abolishment of the practice of convict labor, (2) abolishment of tenement cigar factories, (3) a ten-hour day, inspection of factories, and abolishment of child labor, (4) establishment of a state bureau of labor statistics, (5) repeal of the penal code preventing workers to assemble, (6) establishment of a state printing press, instead of having state printing done by contract, (7) make employers liable for accident, (8) a law giving mechanics and laborers the right to get the first lien on jobs for which they were not paid, (9) establishment of a weekly pay day, (10) the elevation of the judiciary to a higher plane.

1. American Federation of Labor Encyclopedia and Reference Book, Washington, 1919, Vol. I, p. 60

1882 The demand for a state bureau of labor statistics was satisfied by 1883. In this year the New York Bureau of Labor was instituted. The bureau collected, assorted, and arranged details relating to all departments of labor. This information was published in reports.

Early in 1882 Thomas Powderly of Scranton spoke at Turn Hall in Buffalo on his organization, the Knights of Labor. He characterized his organization as having no special interest, and as wishing to making a union among all men. Strikes were to be a last resort. The Knights of Labor would organize all workers, regardless of trade unions: that is, plumbers joined a plumbers' union, while brick layers joined a brick layers' union.¹

Powderly could not have been very convincing for immediately after his speech a committee, previously appointed by various unions to investigate the need, pointed out the necessity of a central labor council so as to give consolidation to the Niagara Frontier area of labor, which consolidation had not been brought by the Knights as anticipated. Nor, reported the committee, did the Knights inspire confidence. A number of delegates from leading unions then met to discuss the formation of a Buffalo Central Labor Council. The

1. For a detailed description of these organizations cf. pp. 251-257

resolution of organization was not opposed and it was determined that each union would send three representatives to form a grand council before which any member of any union could have the floor. Each union was to pay an entry fee of one dollar and a monthly fee of fifty cents. 1. Although scheduling regular semi-monthly meetings, this body did little more than function as a discussion club. Between 1882 and 1884, many timely talks were given to both workers and the public.

1883 In July of 1883 the Western Union Telegraph operators went on strike for a moral reason. On July 18, 1883 they announced:

Believing that man's religious and moral welfare requires that at least one day in seven be accorded him for rest and recreation, and we demand the total abolition of Sunday work as compulsory duty, unless compensated as extra service. 2.

So were prefaced demands for no pay delays, pay increases, and equal pay for men and women. It appeared that to the telegraphers compensation was a substitute for religious and moral welfare; that if compensated they would work and forget religious and moral scruples. At any rate the strike prolonged itself into the second week of August. Considerable was the inconvenience to the grain brokers. The railroad operators

1. Express, February 19, 1882. For Trades' Assembly cf. above 34, 40, below pp. 135-138, 249

2. Express, July 18, 1883

offered sympathy, but refused to strike, and finally in the middle of the month the Western Union men returned to work because of a lack of funds.

On October 9 a group of workers had a meeting to protest against the "alien" owned Buffalo Creek Railroad tearing down cottages of its citizens, 1. so as to make room for its road bed.

1884 We are now at the point of the organization of a real labor council in the Niagara Frontier. Our authority for the following information is the Illustrated Buffalo Herald. In May, 1884 the Buffalo Central Labor Council was formally founded. Previously a trades assembly met once a month. 2. This was succeeded by the Knights of Labor, which in turn was succeeded in 1881 by a Workingmen's Political League, which was not successful, and which was maribund by 1883. The Central Labor Union began:

there was great discontent all over the country - strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and other indications of clashing interests between employers and employees; between industrial millions and millionaires; between consorting labor and centralized capital. Buffalo was a hot bed of discontent in those days. Wages were lower here in nearly every branch of industry than in any other city of

-
1. Express, October 9, 1883
 2. For trades assembly cf. above pp. 34, 40 cf. below pp. 135-138, 249

the country of similar size or importance, and a demand was made all along the line for an increase in wages. 1.

This organization had no president, vice president, nor secretary. Each meeting was conducted by a chairman chosen for that meeting. Thus began the organization that became so important in Niagara Frontier's labor history.

1884 Preceding this organization an interesting pay day occurred. Eight or nine hundred laborers were paid their wages from a pay car in Alabama Street in Buffalo. There was fear of violence but only complaints developed when some of the men found they were to receive no pay. This was because they already withdrew their pay with the use of credit. One worker said: "It's a danked shame that those as have lots of money, can't pay what they owe to them who don't have none." 2 (sic)

On April 23, the Sherman S. Jewett Company, manufacturer of stoves, cut the wages of its workers. The moulders sent a committee to the bosses to discuss the wage cut and other grievances such as having to use boys as helpers, and not having regular work. The employers ignored the committee and the pay cuts were finally accepted by the workers.

-
1. Illustrated Buffalo Herald, September 2, 1896
 2. Express, February 9, 1884

On May 26 the brick layers and the stone masons went on strike for higher pay. When the strike continued until June the Express wrote in regard to the strike preventing building construction: "Here's a thing to think of. Here's a nice state of affairs for a city that is stretching herself and trying to wake up and be somebody; for a city that has set her heart on growing big and rich and handsome." 1. The strike soon ended and no pay increases were granted.

Animosity toward the Courier was again evident on July 23 when five hundred trade unionists met at Turn Hall in Buffalo under the auspices of the Typographical Union No. 9 to denounce Mr. McCune, proprietor of the Courier, for his refusal to use union workmen. 2. At the same meeting Governor Cleveland was denounced as being antagonistic toward labor. The workers said moreover that Governor Cleveland was a friend of Mr. McCune and that workers should not vote for the Governor.

1885 Since the files of no Niagara Frontier paper of the last half of the year of 1885 are available our report of that year is incomplete. The only available newspaper information is in regard to a debate on the subject "Has the Invention of Machinery Benefited the Workingmen?" This affair was under the auspices of the Central Labor Union.

-
1. Express, June 5, 1884
 2. For printers' unions cf. above pp. 10
cf. below pp. 163-164

One of the participants, Mr. John Franey, said "No," since machines threw men out of work; Mr. Fred Schnell said goods were made better by machines, and that machines saved labor and time.

The year 1886 was throughout the United States an active labor year. Everywhere men were organizing, chiefly for the purpose of getting an eight-hour day. So great was the advance made by the workers of the United States that Commons speaks of the year 1886 as the "throbbing year of 1886, the memorable year." 1.

1886 The first labor incident of the Buffalo area of the Frontier in 1886 was on March 1, when it was indicated that one group of workers intended to advertise their union. The Buffalo Lodge No. 12 of Locomotive Firemen met and announced that future meetings would be held so as to allow "the public to obtain greater knowledge of the objects and benefits of the order." 2. This brotherhood had been organized by eleven firemen twelve years earlier, and had now grown to a membership of fifteen thousand. The Buffalo Union had begun with twelve members and now had three hundred. The Buffalo Lodge dated back to 1873 when it had been organized in a wash room at the Erie Railroad Station on Exchange Street.

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 521
 2. Express, March 1, 1886

1886 Somewhat similar was the action of the bricklayers and stone masons who in desiring to strengthen their union advertised an offer to accept back as members the "scabs" who had left the union.

The discussion of this period was chiefly as to the shorter working day, and the time approaches when many strikes are to be called because of this desire. Niagara Frontier workers were as interested in achieving the eight-hour day as were labor groups in other areas. On April 12 the Central Labor Council held a mass meeting to discuss the eight-hour day. 1. It is interesting to note that the eight-hour day was to relieve unemployment; today after sixty-one years a six-hour day is the panacea.

A threat of strike by the plumbers on May 1, 1886, became an actuality four days later, and within five days the men received their pay increases. In the same period we find the bakers considering a boycott of those places that refused to use the union stamp. Quickly following this was a tale of woe from the street car operators who ask for more pay, and average working day of twelve hours (short hours came late to the car-men). Thirty minutes for meals, pay for overtime was also demanded. 2. By vote the men decided against a strike. All of these troubles were of early May.

1. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45, 55 cf. below pp. 85-86, 91, 101-106, 139, 150-156, 167-168, 238

2. For streetcar employees cf. below pp. 84, 103, 149, 195, 221-227, 235

1886 By May 24 the Central Labor Union had decreed September 1 as Labor Day, and by the following month the bakers had passed the period of consideration and went on strike for a twelve-hour day, closed shop and choice of boarding houses - a matter previously in the hands of masters. About 180 bakers went out but no bread shortage existed, said the owners. Finally, three owners signed an agreement with their help, but a further report tells of other "bossess" making their own bread while the journeymen were still on strike. The bossess baked cooperatively at the Vienna Bakery, and closed all other establishments. The strike ended on June 10 without terms of settlement being given. Unfortunately for labor, it was not so cooperative as the master bakers for we find the Central Labor Union of the Niagara Frontier denouncing a man, "No. 14," who had spoken at a meeting as a "Socialist and Anarchist."¹.

By August 6 the carpenters had become self-conscious and slightly ashamed of their organization for at the Buffalo Convention they stated one of their objects to be

to revive our trade from the low level to which it has fallen, and by mutual effort to place ourselves on a foundation sufficiently strong to prevent further encroachments. 2.

The carpenters also went on record as opposed to piece-work, and as favorable to the apprentice system.

-
1. Express, June 7, 1886
 2. Express, August 6, 1886

1886 Some Buffalo women became energetic in the Niagara Frontier labor movement. In August the young women's Society of St. John's Church organized, not as a trade union, but as a group to remonstrate "gently" for better wages. Some fifty members belonged, and they disavowed any political intentions. The young ladies did much to pretty up the models and the floats of the Niagara Frontier's first Labor Day parade in which fifteen hundred men marched. The parade was followed by a picnic which was attended by ten thousand people at Germania Park.

In the last week of September there was an arrest of a labor leader. John Doyle, President of the Cigar Makers Union 1., Number 16, was accused of conspiracy to violate the boycott law. The circumstances were that Mr. Fredrick Hill had once employed only union men, but had fallen out with the union and he had become a non-union employer. In retribution the union had published circulars condemning Hill and urging the public to refuse his products. For this the union head was brought to court.

At last the cigar makers could get attention. Not so the anarchists who at one of their meetings, September 27, had only "seven or eight" in attendance.

Then in early October the men met in Buffalo to form "The American Labor Lyceum" for the purpose of educating its members and discussing labor problems.

1. For cigar makers' union cf. above pp. 71-72
cf. below pp. 90, 94, 163, 252-253

1887 From a barbers' publication we do know that the barbers of the Niagara Frontier organized a union in Buffalo in 1887.

On December 5, 1887 on the invitation of Toledo, Ohio, local unions, five men representing organization of journeymen barbers from New York City, Muskegon, Detroit, Buffalo, and Toledo met in Buffalo and organized the Journeymen Barbers' International Union of America. 1.

Going back to the early part of this year of 1887 we find the Central Labor Union protesting bad working conditions for the charwomen at the City Hall. Then the house-painters met to form a union on January 15. In the middle of June the horseshoers struck quietly and received a pay increase. July began a complaint of street-car employees. 2. It seems their hours had been cut to ten hours a day, but the workers complained the law making this cut was nullified by the Buffalo Street Railway Company for when the men insisted on ten hours their pay was cut. Moreover, the company never hesitated to make the men work overtime, thus simply ignoring law.

Rougher than this was the charge of ten or twelve sailors against non-union men with the idea of clubbing them. These ruffians were shot at by the mate of the ship and they retreated.

1. Hall, Scott W., The Journeymen Barbers, Baltimore, 1936, p. 14. For barbers cf. below p. 187

2. For street car employees cf. above pp. 81 cf. below pp. 103, 149, 195, 221-227, 235

On August 17 two hundred flour barrel coopers struck for pay at the rate of ten cents a barrel instead of eight cents. The coopers were given the increase the next day.

1887 At the Lies Lithographic Company of Buffalo a strike of men belonging to the Typographical Union No. 9 was called on September 3rd. The company hired women to replace the strikers. The Typographical Union No. 9 then offered the women five dollars a week not to work. Following rapidly then was the demand of two hundred fifty stone cutters for a nine-hour day, and the demands of Union No. 9 of the carpenters and joiners for a raise in pay. The latter did not advocate a strike. Then on October 15 the anarchists met to protest against the execution of the Chicago anarchists so famous in labor history. The Chicago affair was spoken of as follows:

The wholesale murder desired by the capitalistic class...Arise, ye working millions and call a halt to your avaricious rulers and tools. 1.

So terminated the year of 1887.

The Chicago anarchists referred to were those involved in the bombing episode at Haymarket Square, Chicago, in 1886. This tragedy happened in the period when labor was struggling as never before to gain the eight-hour day. 2.

1. Express, October 15, 1887

2. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45, 56, 81 cf. below pp. 97, 101-102, 133, 150, 152, 167-178, 238

In Chicago

the movement assumed larger proportions than elsewhere and the outcome would probably have been proportionately successful, had it not been for the tragic event on the fourth of the month. (May) 1.

1887 On May 3, 1886, a fight between strikers and "scabs" had occurred at the McCormick Reaper Works. The police succeeded in breaking up the fight, but in doing so killed four. On the following day three thousand workers met on Haymarket Square, Chicago, to protest against the deaths caused by the police. A rain had dispersed the crowd, and only a few hundred had remained listening to the speakers, when 180 policemen advanced upon the crowd as if to disperse it. Suddenly a bomb was thrown, killing a patrolman, M. J. Degan. The fighting which ensued resulted in eleven additional deaths.

Eight labor leaders were arrested and found guilty of murder. Although all eight claimed to have had no part in the throwing of the bomb, many people believed them guilty because they were members of Max's International, 2. and had publicly urged labor to resort to violence in its struggle with capital. However, many other people, even today, believe these men to have been innocent.

At any rate, in 1887, labor organizations throughout the United States pleaded for the accused murderers, all to no avail. Four of the eight were hanged, two were given life imprisonment, while one received

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 392
 2. For International cf. above p. 70-71

fifteen years. The other of the eight, Lingg, committed suicide. As for the effect of the affair, Samuel Gompers said: "The effect of that bomb was that it not only killed the policeman, but it killed our eight-hour movement for that year and a few years after, notwithstanding that we had no connection with these people." 1.

1888 In 1888 the population in the Buffalo Frontier of the Niagara area was according to the police 230,284. Some of these people were so poor that they became subjects of charitable institutions. The newest charitable institution was the Catholic Protectory.

The Catholic Protectory is maintained by the society for the Protection of Destitute Children, in the area of West Seneca. Its objects are the protection of destitute and homeless children and the correction of truant and wayward children, and the teaching of some useful trade. 2.

Some 180 children were care in this way.

This year was somewhat quiet. In May the brewers boycotted all non-union breweries, especially Langs and Beck's, unless their union, number 7, was recognized and trade agreements were made. This boycott was part of a national boycott which began in 1888.

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 386

2. Local Charity Committee, The City of Buffalo and Its Charitable and Correctional Institutions, Buffalo, 1888, p. 20. For other charitable institutions cf. above p. 18, 26, 56-59

In that year employers had locked out members of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America. The union retaliated by a nation wide boycott, which lasted fourteen years.

On July 10, one William Tippish, a socialist, committed suicide, probably because of "being out of work!" 1.

1888 Then on September 3 we find that labor officials were corrupt. Michael Manly, a boss grain shoveler, was accused of withholding money from his men. A meeting of consideration was held at Walsh Hall where partisans of Patrick Kune, the new boss, set on Manly's brother and "half killed him." 2.

The formation of a telegraphers' union, which prevented the teaching of the trade without the consent of the union officials, was followed by an investigation by Patrick Lyons of the United States government secret service department. It was claimed that Americans were violating the anti-labor statute of 1885 by employing Canadians who still resided in that country.

The year closed with a report of November 28 that nine telephone operators were on strike. This number constituted one-half of the force, and they felt that they were being over-worked since they now had one hundred wires to watch whereas the number had formerly been fifty.

-
1. Express, July 10, 1888
 2. Express, September 3, 1888

Today it is common to find labor using the courts to gain its ends. This was not common in the past chiefly because the courts were usually on the side of the employers and interpreted the law to favor the employer. At any rate, labor thought of the courts as an enemy. In 1806, the *Aurora*, a labor paper, wrote in regard to a certain court:

never did we hear a charge to a jury delivered in a more prejudiced and partial manner - from such courts, recorders, and juries, good lord deliver us. 1.

This antagonistic attitude of the courts existed for a long time all through the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. Writing in regard to the period of 1890-1896 Commons says:

The labor organizations were taught two important lessons...and second, that the employers had obtained a formidable ally in the courts. 2.

This history plainly indicates that so far in early Niagara Frontier history, courts played only a small part. In the Buffalo area as in other cities of the United States, the early courts were anything but friendly to labor; it has been only in modern times that the workers have achieved equality in the courts. However, occasionally in our research we found labor in the courts. Such an instance was in 1889.

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 152. Also cf. below pp. 95-96 cf. above pp. 6, 32-34

2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 503

1889 In this particular case justice Bradley decided that the Blue Label on cigars was a trade mark. In this case cigar makers were arranged against George T. Fischer. 1. Fischer had lost the case in the lower courts and it had been appealed by him. Justice King had found Fischer guilty of affixing an imitation label. The official label, now a trade mark because of the court's decision, read:

This certifies that cigars contained in this box have been made by a first class workman, a member of Cigar Makers International Union of America, an organization opposed to inferior rat shop, coolie, prison or filthy tenement house workmanship. Therefore, we recommend these cigars to all smokers throughout the world. All infringements upon this label will be punished according to law. 2.

In this same year, 1889, that a state law was passed allowing unions to use such labels.

Six days later we find "scabs" being employed on the Nickel Plate Railroad when switchmen struck because they did not want one Milton Cross as yard master. Three cars were derailed because a switch had been tampered with by strikers. The strikers succeeded in inducing the strike breakers to quit work. Shortly after this Cross and his brother resigned their positions. The strikers returned to work after the obnoxious yard master was no longer employed.

-
1. For union label cf. below p. 157
 2. Express, January 20, 1889

1889 Strikes now developed rapidly. As the Express remarked in regard to a joiners' strike: "Strikes are about as contagious at this time of year (spring) as black eyes in a scrimmage." 1. The joiners of the Lee Holland Company wanted a nine-hour day. As yet they had formed no union.

Then the Erie switchmen tampered with switches while striking, but no damage resulted. However, Nicholas White was arrested for attempting personal damage against Dennis McMahon: White had tried to throw McMahon, a non-union man, from the top of a car. Another striker, one Edroll, was arrested for pulling coupling pins.

Happier than these incidents was that of the recognition of the painters' union. The painters had struck demanding such recognition. Typographical Union, No. 9, had contributed five hundred dollars to the painters' cause and the pressmen and the Central Labor Union also gave assistance.

In the meantime the Central Labor Union had been publishing its pamphlet Economic and Social Importance of the Eight-Hour Day. 2. The Council was attempting to shorten the hours of work in the stores. When unsuccessful, the Council threatened to call a strike.

-
1. Express, April 5, 1889
 2. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45, 55, 81, 85-86 cf. below pp. 101-102, 133, 150, 152, 167-168

The joiners wanted nine hours a day and so did the iron molders. These men had an organization, but were struggling to strengthen it. These men complained that while pay for their trade in other cities was three to three-fifty a day, Niagara Frontier employers paid only one seventy-five to two dollars a day.

Unions organized in this year were those of the joiners, paper hangers, harness makers, cabinet makers, and hackmen.

1890 A rather droll affair occurred in January of 1890. On the night of January 9 the Sixty-Fifth Regiment was forced to have a full dress battalion drill without music because the musicians were striking for one dollar more as pay for their music at this drill.

Five days later there were angry scenes in Buffalo area when the newsboys called a strike because they were required to pay sixty instead of fifty cents a hundred for afternoon newspapers.

Armed with clubs and sticks, and in gangs they hung around downtown corners and mercilessly set on any boy who had accepted the new terms. Papers were taken away and torn. 1.

The leader was an Italian, although named Mike Murphy.

A report of March 22 is of a charitable employer. The Union Bridge Works was to shut down, but still required some workers so as to finish its schedule. In return for cooperation in completing its contracts, the company gave a month's pay to each worker.

1. Express, January 14, 1890

Two unions were organized in 1890; one by the steam engineers, and one by the brewers of the Lang Company.

1891 The foregoing record indicates that labor was slowly organizing. Sometimes their efforts seemed somewhat clumsy as in the case of the German Socialists who formed a body of fifty members in January of 1891. This Socialist group was the third in the Buffalo area of the Frontier, and it would seem that the Socialists could have been stronger by consolidating into one large formidable group. 1.

During the next month the Central Labor Council voted in favor of "free silver," and thus indicated its cognizance of national issues. Further a member of this Council pointed out that the cigar makers have had an eight-hour day since 1886 because of their well organized union. 2. The stone cutters were recently successful because of the same reason. He continued that Buffalo and the Frontier area compared unfavorably with smaller cities so far as hour and wages were concerned, that Buffalo and its surrounding area were cheap labor area. As an example the leader cited the hod carriers as receiving \$1.25 here, while in the New York City area they received \$2.75. Moreover, men in New York "won't" work for such low wages. They dress better, eat better, are better housed, in short live better. 3. He continued that wages were low because men tolerated

1. For socialism cf. above p. 75 below pp. 153, 193, 202, 211, 213-216, 223, 230, 232

2. For Cigar Makers' Union cf. below pp. 114, 252-253 above pp. 47, 71-72, 83, 90

3. Express, April 14, 1891

low standard of living and not because of supply and demand. Finally the speaker said that the Buffalo area of Niagara Frontier considering its size, was very weak in labor organizations.

1891 The Central Labor Council voted in favor of "free silver." The "free silver" movement was an outgrowth of the Greenback Labor Party of 1877, 1. which had reached its zenith in 1878, and which had declined thereafter. Workers and farmers advocated the "free and unlimited coinage of silver" believing that they would benefit as a result of the increase in the supply of money. The advocates of "free silver" formed the National Peoples' Party, commonly known as the Populists, in 1892. The Populists achieved their greatest success in the West under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan. 2. After 1896 the party declined.

Buffalo's first major newspapers strike took place when the printers on the Buffalo Demokrat and Freie Press, German papers, struck to have their union recognized. The Demokrat recognized the union, but I found no result as to the Freie Press. Perhaps it was in these same papers that a member of the Central Labor Union read that American Glucose Company declared a dividend of sixty to seventy per cent. He thought something should be done about a company that could pay such a dividend and yet pay only \$6.75 for sixty hours of work per week.

-
1. For Greenback party cf. above p. 68
 2. For Bryan in Buffalo cf. below p. 204

1891 But if the newspapers had their troubles, so did the theatre. The musicians were angry at manager Jacobs of the Court Street Theatre, and of the Corinne Lyceum for importing musicians. Somewhat similar was the case at the George H. Lunstan Company which had "imported" girls into the plant to do minor jobs. The Lithographers struck in protest and were immediately replaced by men from New York City.

As early as 1891 we find people in the Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier responding to a fear somewhat prevalent in more recent years; that is, Canadians were taking too many positions in the city of Buffalo. In this earlier period some members of the Central Labor Council said that Canada did not remonstrate about our workers working over in Canada.

Also active at this time was the union that has been the butt of so many jokes. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) was trying to improve working conditions, and was giving entertainments, and meetings to "interchange ideas." 1.

We are now at the point where this period, which was characterized by its two great railroad strikes, closes. A bitter struggle completes the act in 1892.

1892 The Express ran the switchmen's strike on August 21 as a "Special Feature": part of which feature consisted of many interesting pictures of the strike. The strike had begun eight days earlier when two hundred switchmen quit on the Erie and Lehigh Valley Roads when

1. Express, September 28, 1891

so ordered by Mr. Frank Sweeney, Grand Master of Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America. In its early stages the strike was violent. A number of coal cars were uncoupled and allowed to speed down the track and crash into ten or fifteen other cars, smashing a stand pipe used for watering engines. Fire in the yards increased hazards; a Lehigh passenger engine was derailed, and as soon as cars were coupled strikers uncoupled them. Seventy deputies were sworn in, but refused to perform their duties because of intimidation, and so the National Guard, consisting of the Sixty-fifth and the Seventy-fourth Regiments, was called out. Later fourteen companies of troops entered the struggle as did 125 workers of the New York Central Railroad, who joined the strikers. The total number of soldiers now present was two thousand, but opposed to them were three-fourths of all the railroad workers, the majority being members of well organized unions.

On August 15 a train bringing in "scabs" was attacked. "As the pickets came through the train a man named Henry Schroder, one of the passengers, was marked as one of the victims." 1. The passenger realizing his danger started running through the train. He ran through one car, and then at the front door, he was either knocked down or fell. "Down upon him three or four of the pickets fell and kicked and bruised him

1. Express, August 15, 1892

considerably." 1. By three-fifteen in the afternoon 150 cars were on fire, having been set on both ends and allowed to burn toward the center, and perched high on box cars they (strikers) were mocking and jeering at the railroad men who were working at the blazing wrecks.² The strikers also scoured the yards questioning all unknown men so as to keep out "scabs."

1892 By now the situation was so serious that the State Board of Arbitration attempted intercession. Attempts at arbitration were being made from the board from the Brazel House. Established in 1886 this board had at first only the power to arbitrate, but by 1887 had been given the power to also make its own investigations. The Board may:

proceed to the locality of such strike or lockout and put themselves in communication with the parties to the controversy and endeavor to effect an amicable settlement. 3.

Mr. Sweeney reported to the Board that the state law requiring only ten hours work on railroads was nullified when the roads had put men on an hourly basis, and demanded eleven hours. This was the major cause of the strike. As an example Sweeney told of one man who started to work "at four in the morning and had to work until five at night before he could eat." 4.

-
1. Loc. cit.
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Loc. cit.
 4. Loc. cit.

But the arbitrators were helpless, since the railroads refused to cooperate, taking the stand that the men had left the employment of the companies and, moreover, were no longer needed. The roads thus argued that they could not arbitrate about men who were not employees. The roads could so argue because seven thousand troops were on hand; and part of their job was to protect "scabs." The troops likewise protected the trains and made operation possible. The strikers were now reduced to passive resistance, and consequently they requested the withdrawal of troops on August 23, suggesting that four hundred deputized strikers would protect property. Of course this was refused.

1892 On the next day, a striker, Thomas Monaker, was shot on Ganson Street in Buffalo. At this place strikers were awaiting a train, and when a non-union man attempted to handle the switch he was attacked by strikers. "When ordered to desist all did so except Monaker who consequently was shot." 1. By this time the switchmen of the Lackawanna Railroad were also on strike.

By August 25 Mr. Sweeney had called the strike off admitting failure because other railroad unions would not assist the switchmen. Some of these unions excused themselves by saying that their rules did not allow a sympathetic strike.

1. Express, August 24, 1892

By the next day dissension was rife among the strikers. The men knew that many of them would not be rehired and felt that they must win. Some of the strikers held Sweeney culpable for calling off the strike without consulting them. It was even suggested that Sweeney sold out the men and so, as retribution, one switchman knocked Sweeney down at a strikers' meeting.

On the same day that Sweeney "fell," a soldier shot down a boy who was throwing rocks at a passing train. Other boys had stopped, when ordered, except Broderick who had run up Louisiana Street in Buffalo, and thus was shot while being chased. A woman said that the boy was shot while "lying bleeding." 1. Still another tragedy occurred on October 3rd. John F. Newman, one of the strikers in the switchmen's affair had gone insane. Only twenty-seven, this man had been brooding because of no work. He had previously attacked his wife and tried suicide.

1892 As the railroad strike of 1877 received national attention so did the Buffalo phase of the strike of 1892. Morris Hillquit writes that: The New York Legislature had passed a law limiting the work time of railway employees to ten hours a day, but a "rider" made it possible for employers:

1. Express, August 26, 1892

to exact from their employees overtime work for an extra compensation. The companies reduced the wages of an employee more than sufficiently to allow for the extra compensation for overtime, and as a result of the wages of the railroad workers had had somewhat decreased while their hours of labor remained unchanged. 1.

Hillquit reports that switchmen frequently worked thirty-six successive hours. He further states that the public sympathized with the switchmen, but that the presence of "eight thousand militia" nullified this sympathy.

1892 Commons writes that "at first the strikers had the upper hand. The proximity of the November election made the authorities reluctant to take energetic action."² When troops were called in and picketing was made impossible the switchmen's union asked the other railroad brotherhoods to assist them with a sympathy strike. The sympathy strike did not occur, since "the engineers refused and the other organizations, though willing to help the switchmen, could not decide to act without the engineers. On August 24, the strike was consequently called off." 3.

Three big strikes occurred in the same year as the switchmen's strike. These three strikes were for shorter hours. 4. They were the Homestead strike, the strike of the miners in Tennessee, and the miners' strike in

1. Hillquit, Morris, History of Socialism in the United States, New York, 1903, pp. 310-311

2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 498

3. Ibid. p. 498

4. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45, 55, 81, 85-86, below pp. 133, 150, 152, 167-168, 238

the Coeur d' alene district, Idaho. Typical of these strikes, all violent, was the Homestead Strike. On the very first day, July 5, of the strike six were killed. The state militia (Pennsylvania) was called out in July 12 and remained until November when most of the strikers returned to work as non-union men. The strike had been called against the Carnegie Steel Company because wages had been reduced, and because the company refused to recognize the union.

1892 The strikes of 1892 had very definite results. (1) They demonstrated the fighting strength of great corporations, (2) Demonstrated that labor had a powerful control over government (in the Niagara Frontier strikers were not at first molested because of nearness of elections). (3) The strike stimulated the formation of unions, and also stimulated the federation of unions. This stimulation of unions was probably because the strikers in each of the four cases were powerful because they were organized, and yet were not sufficiently organized to win an outright victory.

The railroad strike was an event of short duration, and was not successful. As we shall see in the next chapter the longshoremen were active, in the year, but over a longer period of time, and were far more effective because of their constant efforts. However, as important as these two strikes were, they did not completely overshadow other events of the same year.

1892 About the middle of April, the Niagara Frontier Railway of Buffalo employees found themselves short in pay, and some of these electrical railroaders were suspicious enough to believe that the "light envelope" was because of deliberate deduction on the part of the company, for man's pay had been short three different times in amounts varying from sixty to eighty cents. This amount was considerable since it represented about one-third of the entire day's pay. By April 21 the men were highly dissatisfied over short pay and a meeting of protest was attended by three hundred car employees who thereupon decided to select seven men to confer with the company about pay, a twelve-hour day, and continuous hours. The demand on pay was for twenty cents an hour. Within six days the men had formed a union and received pay increases (amount not given). The union, however, was not recognized. For two days previous to this concession some four or five hundred men had been on strike, and while they were temporarily appeased it was plain that the trolley men were still a threat to the Buffalo Niagara Frontier's industrial peace. 1

Of less significance to the area was the newsboys' boycott, of August 13, against the Buffalo Evening News. Under their leader, "Big Ike," forty or fifty boys paraded the streets until the News came out, whereupon the boys tore the "sheet" into strips and threw these to the wind. Eight were arrested and paroled.

1. For street car employees cf. below pp. 155, 201, 227-233, 241 cf. above pp. 87, 90

So ended the threat to current event erudition.

Unions organized in 1892 were those of the shoe-cobblers, harness makers, book binders, boiler makers, and press feeders.

The period covered by this chapter (1874-1892) was a period in which, throughout the United States, there were attempts to form a national federation of labor. At the end of the last chapter we saw how trade unionism was weakened by the depression of 1873 and the tactics of employers. Weakness, however, was not destruction, and after numerous failures, a national federation finally came into existence; at first, the weak organization of the Knights of Labor; ultimately, the stronger organization, the American Federation of Labor. 1.

1. For the development of the national federation, the Knights of Labor and the A.F. of L. cf. below pp. 251-257

Chapter 2

Labor Difficulties of Buffalo Dock Hands

The labor difficulties of the Buffalo dock hands in the Niagara Frontier area covers a long period, before they were finally compromised in 1900. 1. Outstanding among these struggles of the dock hands for better working conditions were those of the grain scoopers. It was the scoopers who taught what persistence could accomplish, and it was these men who taught that strikes need not be violent to be successful. The success of these men taught that cooperation, wise leadership, and acceptance of arbitration, made strikes less violent and more profitable. By always acting sanely, the scoopers gained the approval and assistance of men like Bishop Quigley, a Catholic Bishop, who advised the scoopers, and acted as their mediator.

Like many other groups the longshoremen had at times been violent. The incident of the Irish chasing the Negroes in the early sixties 2. and that of the Montana 3. in 1879 were typical. This period of violence was to be expected under the conditions of non-organization, and continues into the eighties, by which time the struggle for existence had become more strenuous because of lessened opportunity. An early cause of dissension among the longshoremen was because certain groups chose to work for wages lower than the majority demanded. An instance of such dissension was on April 1, 1884.

-
1. Cf. above p. 43
 2. Cf. above pp. 36-37
 3. Cf. above pp. 72-73

1884 There had been trouble brewing among the higher paid longshoremen and the lower salaried Italian gangs which had been hired by the Union Steamship Company to shift freight. Gates had been set up to protect the Italians from the vituperative longshoremen. Since these gates were on city of Buffalo property, the steamship company was ordered to remove them. This the company refused to do and there is no evidence that they did observe the order. 1.

Race antagonism was prolonged until May 2 when many men gathered at the union company dock to witness what might happen when Italian gangs quit work. It had become the practice to inflict beatings on the foreigners whenever possible. Apparently nothing happened on this evening, but the Express of the following day accused some of the inhabitants of the famous Canal Street section of not only inciting riots, but of also advocating the murders of Mayor Scoville, and a Mr. Washington Bullard of the Union Steamship Company. The paper charged that the instigators were certain saloon keepers who directed the workers for political as well as business reasons. On May 22 an ordinance was passed which required 115 saloons in the Canal Street vicinity to close at seven o'clock in the evening. Many of the workers agreed that the Italians were not to blame because they were ignorant, frequently not even knowing

1. That the longshoremen succeeded in getting the support of the city may be explained by the fact that they were very active in the political affairs of the old First Ward. This was an important ward for a politician to control.

the English language. Thus the workers placed all blame on the Union Company, and were easily incited against its officials.

1884 Some workers, however, felt that the Italians must be intimidated, and so they resorted to the throwing of stones at the Italians. On May 22 a scow full of Italian workmen was passing in the Canal at the foot of Main Street in Buffalo. The Italians were hidden beneath a canvas covering, but occasionally one would stick out his head, whereupon the Irish would throw stones from the shores. 1. The Italians then fired a few revolver shots at the Irish.

Since the workers involved in labor affairs of this chapter worked on the Niagara Frontier water front and the Erie Canal let us consider a description of life on the Erie Canal boats.

The Erie Canal had a life of its own. In the forecastle, at the front end of the boat lived the wives and children of the drovers, cooking, washing, and stretching their clothes-lines along the docks. The men on the tow path with revolting profanity, urged their mules and horses to pull their heavily laden boats. To say a woman had been a cook on a canal boat barred her from service in any decent family. 2.

The "Canal Street vicinity" mentioned above was inhabited by twenty thousand Italians, and was not only the center of antiquity as described by the Express, but was also the center of Buffalo's tenement house district.

1. For other examples of class animosity cf. above pp. 36-37, 55, 77

2. Wolcott, F.A., *Heritage of Years*, 1932, p. 16

The old hotels, warehouses, and ships have been converted into tenement houses, some new tenement houses built, and there the Italians have increased and multiplied until they now number about 20,000. In this locality is situated Canal Street, which is the resort of the worst and lowest order of prostitutes, together with a motley assortment of sailors, vagrants, and dive keepers, with whom the tenement population came constantly in contact. 1.

1884 Preceding the ordinance which regulated the saloons was a parade on April 24 of some five thousand workers at the lower terrace of the Buffalo area. These and others carried signs of "Boycott the Courier" and "Rats preferred at the Courier" in protests against the non-union policy of this paper. 2.

The streets through which the procession passed were thronged with people all eager to see the greatest labor demonstration ever made in Buffalo. Doorways, stairways and windows were all thronged, and at times especially on Main Street, there was barely room for the organization to pass. The scene was a brilliant one. The glare of torches, lanterns, etc., combined to make the procession a grand sight. 3.

The March was to the Music Hall for a meeting called by Mr. Thomas Gawley of the Typographical Union to protest: (1) Use of imported pauper labor to replace longshoremen, (2) The action of the Courier and Evening Republic

1. De Forest, R. Veiller, L., Editors, The Tenement Houses Problem, Vol. I, p. 122

2. Cf. above p. 79

3. Express, April 24, 1884

for discharging union printers. At a meeting of the Honorable Martin A. Foran berated "pauper labor" policies and suggested that the workers use the ballot box as a remedy. 1. It was from this same meeting that is dated the beginning of the longshoremen's union, for steps toward this end were here begun. By August 17 the longshoremen had advanced considerably, for the Express reported their organization as a means of combatting low pay and bad living conditions. Other waterfront unions were formed and the consolidation of the workers proved effective because not until 1892 do these men need to rise again.

1892 It was on May 19 that we learn of fifty stevedores meeting at Schuabl's Hall to sign up for a proposed union. These men as did other dock workers, worked in gangs under a boss who was a company man, or else an individual employer, and consequently not popular. At this meeting one of these bosses was in attendance, but upon being recognized he was quickly ousted by the workers. These men were paid for unloading boats according to the number of tons they handled. They claim they have no way of determining the weight they had handled, and the boss paid what he wished. The men stated that the bosses said: "Here, you've earned so much," and then, "if we ask to see the bills of lading so as to see how many tons we handle, they tell us to quit and get a job somewhere else." 2.

1. For restrictions on immigrant labor cf. above pp. 36-37, 55, 77

2. Express, May 18, 1892

Another protestation was that some of the pay was in "chips" which could be cashed only in the saloon owned by the boss. Pay was about \$1.40 for ten hours. The saloon system was charged chiefly against "Finky" Connors. 1. Then men desired pay by the hour at the rate of twenty-five cents.

1892 Following by eleven days the action of the stevedores was the strike of the Polish dock hands, who claimed that their pay for unloading maritime freight was low because certain favored men were on high monthly salaries. These men struck for one day, and made no gains. Here was more evidence of racial bitterness, for the Irish held aloof and would not join the Poles.

The Irish had been passive; not so the union lumber shovelers who attacked the "scabs" who were on the lumber piles and lumber ships at the foot of Genesee Street in Buffalo, at eleven o'clock, on July 7. As reported by the Express of the next day, a large group of unionists badly beat up the non-union men. Searching for some of the unionists, Captain Regan entered a suspected boarding house, and became suspicious when a lady said: "You can't go in there, there is a woman dressing." 3. However, the virile captain barged in, not to find an embarrassed female among her bits of

-
1. Express, May 18, 1893
 2. For W. J. Connors cf. above p. v below pp. 217-218
 3. Express, July 8, 1892

feminine apparel, but two robust men under the bed. The men were huddled on the floor, awaiting developments with great interest no doubt." 1. These and nine others were arrested and locked up because they had participated in the attack which had resulted in one dozen injuries.

1892 The lumber shovelers had struck against three companies because of the companies' refusal to allow the union workmen to contract for its own work. The three companies said that seasonal contracts for unloading their lumber had been made, and, therefore, new contracts could not be made with the union. Moreover, the companies stated that the union demanded such high wages for unloading that the contracts were not profitable if the union men were employed. Thus the companies hired non-union men.

Again, on July 9, the union men attacked the non-union men. This time the non-unionists protected themselves by firing two shots at their attackers. The non-unionists stated that permit or no permit they were arming themselves for protection. This enmity among the lumber shovelers was not ignored by the State Board of Arbitration, which attempted to arbitrate.

On the same day of the shooting we hear of a benevolent judge. When several rioters were arraigned before Judge King, he said that he was "opposed to having any Carnegie here and forcing starvation wages on

1. Loc. cit.

the working men." 1. The judge exhorted the lumber shovelers to desist from violence. When Judge King mentioned "Carnegie," he probably referred to the tactics used by Carnegie Brothers and Company in the steel strike at Homestead, Pennsylvania.

1892 Returning to the stevedores, we find similar troubles. On July 21 the non-union stevedores put their handling rates down to twenty-five cents per thousand pounds, so as to get the better of the unionists whose price was thirty cents. The latter were still given most of the work, however, because the men in the union were the most experienced. The union stevedores were not only getting most of the work, but succeeded in gaining the right to have their union negotiate contracts with ship employers for the unloading of boats. Previous to this a boss stevedore had made the contracts, then contracted to unload boats for a price of thirty-two to thirty-five cents per thousand pounds. He would then pay his men twenty-two to twenty-five cents. Under the new contract system the union contracted to supply a boss, hire stevedores, and pay the wages.

-
1. Express, July 8, 1892
 2. For Homestead Strike cf. above p. 101-102

1892 Somewhat similar were the desires of the lumber shovelers, but these still had the fight of getting union recognition. The stevedores were recognized as a union, but felt their union was of little practical force when its members had to work under individual bosses who had individual jobs and therefore had varied contracts for labor.

1894 As we move through 1894 we discover that another dock group had been formed, for on September 18, President O'Connell of the grain shovelers' union had been prevented from acting in that capacity by an injunction. Just what the difficulty was cannot be stated definitely. It seems that the grain shovelers were factions for in the second week of March, 1895, the O'Connell "faction" was accused of attempting to control Buffalo docks in the frontier.

1899 All was quiet until 1899 when in the first week of May the dock men threatened a strike that would tie up all the lake business in the Niagara Frontier. The threatened strike centered about the grain shovelers, or scoopers, who had not been able to gain their demands. The scoopers demanded an end of the "boss saloon" system. This system required the workers to receive part of their pay in "chips," or tokens, which could be redeemed only in the saloon of the boss. Moreover, the scoopers demanded more pay and the end of the contract system as conducted by James Kennedy and W. J. Connors. 1.

1. For W.J. Connors, cf. below pp. 217-218, cf. above p. v

1899 Prior to this system the independent boss shovelers engaged, handled, and paid men, and made their own profit. However, in the year mentioned the Lake Carriers Association awarded contracts to James Kennedy who agreed to handle all grain for \$3.35 per thousand bushels. Two dollars of this sum went to the shovelers. But according to the men they really received less than this amount, for dummies were placed on the payroll, and when the money was divided among so many the pay of each was less. In 1899 Kennedy and Connors became partners and offered the men twenty-five cents an hour, also requiring the men to await the arrival of vessels without pay. The shovelers' union was No. 51 and was led by P. T. McMahon.

When the strike became an actuality on May 5, the contractors immediately gathered together 150 men in New York City to break the strike. Of the total number only twenty-one reached Buffalo area, as many dropped off along the way upon receiving expense money. The twenty-one were offered \$2.50 a day in Buffalo, but the union succeeded in getting half of them to join up, and others wouldn't work. Strike breakers were not always dependable because they were often brought in under false pretenses, and frequently such men refused to cooperate when they discovered they were being used as "scabs."

1899 We have seen that the Express opposed the "saloon system," and it is reasonable to assume that the system was disliked by the public at large. The complaints against the system were just. Such a system was an indecent one for a civilized community and all decent men saw it so. Thus prominent citizens took the side of the strikers. One such citizen was the Catholic Bishop, Quigley. Bishop Quigley had a conference with the grain scoopers which resulted in the decision that the Bishop and the men were to select a superintendent who would direct the workers, protect their interests, and guard their rights. With such guidance the scoopers no doubt felt their strength, and twenty-five hundred of them paraded on May 9 to show this strength.

It was reported on the next day that the abrogation of the saloon system had been effected, but that the contract system was still intact. The democratic Bishop went to St. Bridget's Hall to commend the strikers on their excellent behavior and to compliment them on their fight. Because of respect and appreciation the men made a line which the Bishop passed down while the men stood with doffed hats. At this same meeting Father Patrick Cronin defended himself against the charges of inciting riot which had been made by Connors. Father Cronin stigmatized the "saloon system" as slavery. Also present was Daniel Keefe, president of all the combined Longshoremen's Unions of the Great Lakes.

1899 By May 13 the Lake Carriers Association was willing to deal with the men. This association had been formed in Buffalo on May 21, 1885 so as:

to consider and take action upon all general questions relating to the navigation and carrying on business of the Great Lakes and the waters tributary thereto with the intent to prove the character of the service rendered to the public, to protect common interests of Lake carriers, and to promote their general welfare. 1.

If the Carriers were to fulfill these services, then certainly it had to be on good terms with the longshoremen. To effect this, the Association had allowed Bishop Quigley to appoint an inspector (superintendent of the conference discussed above) who would see that Connors treated the men decently. But Connors was obstinate, and denied the right of the association to act for him. By now seven hundred coal heavers, ore handlers, firemen, and engineers were out in sympathy. Thus the strike involved between two and three thousand men. Negroes number 150 had been brought up from Cincinnati to handle freight.

On May 15 the scoopers and Carriers reached an agreement: (1) \$1.85 per thousand bushels was to be paid to the men who would work in gangs under a foreman, (2) Each gang was to have a time keeper, and an inspector, (3) No bar bill or other accounts were to be deducted from the men's pay, (4) No boss or pay master could be interested in a saloon, (5) Bishop Quigley was to act as arbitrator in future disputes.

1. Hougland, H. E., Wage Bargaining on the Vessels of the Great Lakes, New York, 1915, p. 19.

1899 Since all was apparently settled, the men went back to work on the sixteenth to find that the reconciliation meant nothing to the contractors, Kennedy and Connors. As soon as the Association's representatives had left town, these men acted on their own, and refused to take back the strikers. This required renewed action.

On May 18 Bishop Quigley instructed all the dockmen to join one large longshoremen's union. He promised them protection. Some of the men appeared discontented with their struggle which had gained so little, and suggested that the Bishop be ignored. However, by May 25, Union No. 51 became No. 109 with one thousand members. The president was P. J. McMahon. Three days previous to this the Carrier's contract had been accepted, and a committee had been formed to determine the status of the men who had joined the union, but who were still working for Connors.

No sooner was No. 109 organized than it was confronted with the problem of a sympathy strike. For the first time in some years all was well with the longshoremen, when on June 1 the freight handlers requested assistance in their strike which had been called because their trucks were too heavily loaded. Mr. McMahon immediately said that a sympathy strike of No. 109 would not be just until the cause of the freight handlers seemed hopeless. This was wise, for the handlers' loads were decreased on June 2.

1899 The success of the men of No. 109 did not mean success to other unassociated dock men. On June 15 one John Maylik was shot in the hold of the whole-back ship Mother. Some thirty or forty stevedores and freight handlers had fired on sixty ore handlers who were "scabbing." Three had been shot. This violence was because of the freight handlers' strike which had been renewed. In another instance three Poles had been shot. On June 28 the freight handlers went back to work without gaining any concessions. Union No. 109 had not struck in sympathy because they felt the causes of the freight handlers' strike were too trivial.

Supposedly abolished, the obnoxious saloon system still plagued the water front. On July 7 Bishop Quigley accused fourteen bosses of engaging in the saloon business. Before referee Gorham six of these fourteen were found guilty of influencing the workers' vote, but not of being involved in saloons.

No longer would Connors be bete-noire of the long-shoremen. 1. Connors and his associate, James Kennedy, were never again to receive grain contracts from Lake Carriers Association, since the grain contracts now passed on the contractor, and the superintendent system was nearly a reality.

1900 Early in January, 1900, the grain scoopers began investigation of those men that might make good superintendents. A man who had no special interest in the docks was desired. The scoopers finally submitted eight names to the Carriers. Connors claimed that he

1. For W.J. Connors cf. below pp. 217-218

didn't want the contract anyway because it was "going the right way." 1. If it did go the wrong way, he would bid. At any rate Connors was in Detroit, on January 17, when he issued this statement, and Detroit was the headquarters of the Carriers. By "going the right way," Connors probably expected his brother-in-law, W. J. Hurley, to receive the contract.

1900 On May 1, Thomas Kennedy, Superintendent of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, was chosen as superintendent. It now made little difference as to whom should receive the contract because the superintendent would be paid to protect the worker against the contractor. Moreover, the superintendent was backed by the Lake Carriers Association.

Thomas Kennedy was far from a unanimous choice for superintendent because he was the brother of James Kennedy, the associate of Connors. On March 14, it was pointed out that Thomas had always hired union labor, and that he had at once fired his brother when he found that he was engaged in the saloon system. Finally the workers were convinced that Thomas, upon being assured of his position, would not give the real work of superintendent to James.

1. Express, January 17, 1900

1900 On March 17 the final agreement was made: (1) The union would furnish enough men to unload ships, (2) Kennedy and McMahon would appoint the foreman who might be discharged by Kennedy, (3) Mr. Keefe was to act as referee, (4) Foremen were to act as time keepers and would receive five dollars extra for this, (5) The men would receive two dollars per one thousand bushels with an increase for handling wet grain and working in emergencies, (6) Kennedy was to receive five thousand a year from the Association and expense money, (7) The Association was to establish a permanent committee to study details.

As had been reckoned the success of No. 109 led other groups to desire the superintendent system, but since these were lesser activities on the water front we leave our discussion of them to the point when they fit our chronological arrangement.

The success of the Buffalo longshoremen followed a strike of longshoremen in New York City and in the New York area of New Jersey. On January 1, 1887 eighty-five coal handlers of New Jersey ports which supplied New York City with coal struck because their pay had been reduced. On the same day two hundred longshoremen struck for the same reason.

Both strikes soon widened out through a series of sympathy strikes of related trades and finally became united into one. The longshoremen joined the boatmen in refusing to handle coal, and the shovelers followed. Then the grain handlers on elevators refused to load ships with grain on which there was "scab coal." 1.

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 420-421

By the last week in January the strikers in the New York City area numbered 18,000.

1900 This strike was not so successful as the one in Buffalo. The companies restored the pay of the eighty-five coal handlers and also of the two hundred longshoremen, which groups had started the strike. This action of the companies ended the strike.

District Assembly 49 of the Niagara Frontier felt impelled to accept such a trivial settlement for two reasons. The coal strike which drove up the price of coal to the consumer was very unpopular, and the strike itself had begun to weaken when the brewers and stationary engineers had refused to come out. The situation was unchanged, as far as the coal handlers employed by other companies, the longshoremen, and the many thousands of men who went out on a sympathetic strike, were concerned. 1.

1. Ibid, p. 421

Part IV

The Polish Workers of Buffalo
and Their Socialistic Tendencies
1893

Chapter 1

An Attempt to Socialize Polish Labor

The history of the Polish people of Buffalo, especially if done by a Polish student who could easily translate their papers and interpret their ways, would be a worthy addition to those works already written about the area's past. This nationality was and is an important element in the Niagara Frontier area, not merely in numbers but in influence:

They were an honest, hard-working race, with an intense passion to own their own homes. The large European element gives a foreign flavor to the Buffalo area. The women toiling in the sub-urban fields, the retail market crowded with women wearing shawls remind the traveler of sights abroad. 1.

The conditions described in the above passage are pleasant. The discontent and unhappiness among the Polish workers is not described. It was discontent with their condition that caused the Polish people of the Buffalo area of the frontier to act rather violently.

1893 On August 25, 1893 the Express reported wild scenes at the Broadway Market. Then as now the market was the center of the Polish district, and on this day it was the scene of a great riot. The exact cause was not certain: Some explained the riot as being caused

1. Shephard, F.J., The City of Buffalo, Pamphlet

by the presence of that nationally-known agitator, Emma Goldman. 1. However, no one could prove her presence. Others advanced the theory that the Poles had rioted because Police Captain Koebler had refused them the privilege of holding a labor meeting, which they had requested. A third explanation was that the Poles were hungry, and rioted to get food. Five thousand of them were unemployed.

1893 Those who attributed the riot to hunger said they saw a Jewish huckster let the tail board of his wagon down, whereupon the loitering Poles took and ate his fruit that rolled out, and then rioted when the Jews went to the police. Another group said the riot started when a Polish woman was short-changed by a Jewish huckster. Still another version was that the Jews refused to contribute to the Sisters of Charity, and this angered the Poles. Whatever the impetus, the fracas began at ten in the morning, and became so violent that the market was necessarily closed at one o'clock. The press remarked that the Polish were susceptible to riots because many of them were recently from Europe, and had European ideas of anarchy and socialism.

1. Emma Goldman (b. 1869) was a Russian Jewish agitator. Highly educated in European universities. Came to America in 1886. Acquired notoriety in the Haymarket riots in Chicago (cf. above pp. 91-92). Imprisoned in 1917 for conspiracy against the Draft Law. Deported to Russia in 1919. Put out of Russia by Bolshevist leaders. Re-visited United States in 1934. Has written essays on anarchism, also a work on modern drama.

It should also be remembered that there was an ancient animosity between the Poles and Jews of Poland.

1893 Three days later a mass meeting of the unemployed of the East Side of Buffalo was planned. Dr. Anna Reinstein said that the rich didn't believe conditions to be so bad, but:

There are many thousands unemployed working men on the East Side. Their families are in unspeakable misery and children suffer for want of bread. Yesterday a man cut his throat. A mass demonstration would show the plain truth and immediate help would result. 1.

A mass demonstration was held, and was reported by the Express as being one of a socialist group "with a taste of pure anarchy thrown in." 2. The meeting was not too well attended, nor was there much enthusiasm:

Each meeting was held from a wagon. On either side of the seat wagon poles were erected. There were torches, which furnished a dull red glare and plenty of dirty, bad, smelling smoke ...the picture was most weird. 3.

The most prominent speakers were Dr. Anna Reinstein, a Mr. Sakman, and a Walter Webb.

Dr. Reinstein, a small dark woman with hair smoothly combed, and neatly brimmed, said:

The government must help the Polish as they help the government by their

-
1. Express, August 28, 1893
 2. Express, September 16, 1893
 3. Loc. cit.

industry and hard work. Laborers you must organize into unions and stand ready to resist the Czars. Work for the Socialist Party. Elect a Polish mayor. 1.

At the same meeting a pamphlet was issued which said:

Wage war against private property, against the state and against the church. A war having for its object their utter annihilation. We repudiate the institution of private property, because its history is the history of all private suffering. So long as there is private property there will be rich and poor, and the latter dependent on the former.

The church is the condensation of the most enormous swindle ever perpetuated upon humanity. It controls several millions crafty scoundrels (churchmen) who are let loose upon the people that they may hand them over to the exploitation of the capitalistic class and the State. 2.

1893 This attack on the Church and Churchmen may seem to be justified to some people because of the indecorous action of Bishop Coxe of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Bishop Coxe had been invited by Reverend Satali to be on a committee to investigate the condition of the Poles. Bishop Coxe refused to participate in the committee's work and in writing his refusal included the following:

-
1. Loc. cit.
 2. Loc. cit.

the servile and illiterate Italians, Polacks, Hungarians and such like are educated only so far as the ox that knoweth its owner, and they will furnish votes by the thousand to any purchaser who contracts with the Vice-Pope (Satalli) for supply. 1.

1893 To this the Poles retaliated by calling a meeting at a St. Stanislaw Hall in Buffalo. The Poles were "quiet and dignified, but they appeared very determined."² One speaker said:

He (Coxe) may call us oxen, and perhaps from one point of view we deserve the name, for we work like oxen to live honestly, but I considering this metaphor, could call him an ass."³

At the meeting the Poles pointed out that they were very important part of the Niagara Frontier in Buffalo area, that they numbered about sixty thousand out of a population of 250,000, and that their contributions to the city's life could not be ignored.

The Buffalo Poles might well have acted independently for they certainly numbered enough to form a formidable group. It appears they did not do so, for they disappeared from the daily-news columns as suddenly as they appeared. This chapter contains their history as it pertains to labor, and although brief, I believe the conditions among the Poles, their reactions, and attitudes justify emphasis. As for independent action, they probably acted wisely by allowing themselves to be assimilated into the militant labor movement of the city, since in the way their nationalistic differences would

-
1. Express, December 9, 1893
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Loc. cit.

not be so noticeable, and they would not be so discriminated against. They would gain the good will of the union men, and they themselves would benefit by learning American ways.

The Polish people of Buffalo were not the only people that were urged to "work for the Socialist Party." For some time previous to 1893, many people had urged the adoption of socialism as a panacea for the working men. As early as the 1840's, certain intellectuals had attempted to establish socialistic communities and socialistic principles. 2. We have seen that in 1857 Joseph Weydemeger had organized a Socialistic group in New York City. 3. In New York, as in Buffalo, it was the foreign element to which socialism appealed.

It was not until after the Civil War, however, that "socialism emerged for the first time from the narrow circle of refugees from Europe, extended its organizations and made its appeal to the American work-ingman." 4. In 1868 the Social Party of New York and vicinity was formed. 5. This party participated in the New York City elections of 1868, after which "there can be found no further trace of the party's existence." 6.

-
1. Cf. above p. 131
 2. For Socialistic communities cf. above pp. 15-16
cf. below pp. 248-249
 3. Cf. above pp. 70-71
 4. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 196
 5. For Social party cf. above p. 70
 6. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 208-209

Other socialistic groups soon replaced the Social Party of New York. By 1871 there were in the New York area eight socialist organizations consisting of 193 members, mostly foreigners. However, there was a group of American intellectuals "among whom socialistic sentiments had lingered from the forties." 1. These formed an organization called the New Democracy. Among these various new organizations there was considerable strife over leadership methods and aims so that no permanent combination of all groups into one organization took place.

The strife within the International (the big socialist organization to which the sections belonged) during 1873-1874 prevented it from taking a leading part in the labour movement which grew out of the financial panic of September, 1873. 2.

In 1874 the Social Democratic Party was founded, and in 1875 attempts were made to unify the various socialistic groups. Roughly these groups were divided into factions: (1) Those who desired to form trade unions which would belong to an international organization, and which would protect the workers from the competition of cheap labor, (2) Those who desire a national organization, and wanted to improve working conditions by political action, 3. At the National Labor Convention held in Pittsburgh in 1876 neither Socialist faction won recognition. The convention refused to endorse Socialism.

1. Ibid, p. 204

2. Ibid. p. 285

3. For socialist workers' party cf. above pp. 70-71, 88

The strikes of 1877, especially those of the railroads, had the effect of placing the political faction of the Socialists in power. 1. The National Committee ordered mass meetings held to offer resolutions for an eight-hour day, abolition of conspiracy laws against labor, and government ownership of railroads and telegraph lines.

At the party convention at Newark in 1877 the Socialists named their party the Socialists Labor Party, and "affirmed that political action was the main function of the party.

.....that the party should maintain friendly relations with the trade unions and should promote their formation upon socialistic principles. 2. The party had won some voting success in various cities in the election of 1877. The various voting success was as follows: Chicago, 7000; Cincinnati, 9000; Buffalo, 6000; Milwaukee, 1500; New York, 1800; Brooklyn, 1200; New Haven, 1600, Detroit, 800. As the figures indicate the west was now the center of socialism rather than New York.

The political gains were lost by 1880 because of "good times" and dissension among the socialists. "The election of 1880 brought the political strength of socialism back to the point where it was prior to the political upheaval of 1877." 3.

-
1. For reasons cf. above pp. 67-78
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 272-279
 3. Ibid. p. 284

Within the Socialist party there had always been a radical element that advocated the use of force. It was this radicalism that had prevented Socialism from gaining much success with the American workers. After the failure of the Socialists in the political field, this radical wing acquired the dominant position in the socialist movement. Although the Socialist Labor Party continued its existence and continued to agitate for political action,

we find all the earmarks of present day syndicalism...in 1885 a craving for a "free society" of which the trade union is to be the formation cell, a distrust of centralized authority and of leadership, a condemnation of political action, and an advocacy of direct action instead...add to this the idea of the general strike...and of sabotage. 1.

However, this advocacy of violent methods soon collapsed. After the Haymarket tragedy 2. the workingmen withdrew from Socialistic organizations and the "organization shrank to a mere handful of intellectuals." 3.

After this repulse the Socialists tried new tactics. From 1886-1888 the Socialists cooperated with various labor parties "primarily as a means of winning the trade unions to socialism." 4. Finally under the leadership of Eugene Debbs, 5. the socialists formed a

-
1. Ibid, p. 292
 2. Cf. above pp. 85-87
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 394
 4. Ibid. p. 514
 5. For Debbs cf. below pp. 142, 148-153, 202, 213, 214

political party in 1897, known as the Social Democracy of America.

Since 1900 socialism has made rapid progress in the labour ranks...has acquired a considerable following also among the native born educated classes, and has gained some noted converts among the rising class of American "publicists," which in certain respects, enables it to exercise an influence in the community, which is not be measured only by its pulling strength. 1.

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 532-533

Part V

From the Railroad Strikes of 1892 to the
Turn of the Century

Chapter 1

The Unification of Labor Groups

We now return to our chronological order. We ended this arrangement with the railroad strike of the year 1892, and inserted the chapters on the "Longshoremen" and the "Polish workers." This was necessary, especially with the "Longshoremen" because their affairs were extended over a long period, and for the sake of unity and emphasis had to be brought together. It should be noted that many of the following incidents are contemporaneous with the dock strike, and that the success of these longshoremen no doubt influenced other groups.

1893 Way back in 1893 we find the unpleasant charge of relief "chiseling":

In Buffalo in 1893 a widely advertised relief fund of \$63,000 brought non-residents and fakirs, and out of 3,450 of the earlier applicants, 2006 did not live at the address given. 1.

On January 2 of the same year, we find eight German Unions meeting at Katzenberger's Hall, 681 Michigan Avenue in Buffalo, for the purpose of forming a Central Body of German Workmen which would be similar to the Central Labor Union. 2. The explanation for such action was that the Germans found it difficult to understand and to be understood at the meetings of the parent

-
1. Report of City Committee on Unemployment, 1920-21, p. 4
 2. For German workers cf. above pp. 70-71

organization. The German group was strong, and by the end of February they refused to recognize the Central Labor Union, unless it became the "subordinate." The Central characterized the excuse of "understanding" as without foundation, and suggested the German union was motivated by politicians. At any rate the German's success was at best an early one, and was not prolonged. News of it quickly disappeared, while news about the Central was long forthcoming.

1893 In addition to its combat with the Germans, the Central Labor Union had difficulties with the city administration. The city charter according to section 504 carried the following provisions:

In contracting for any work required to be done for the city...contractors shall not discriminate as to workmen or wages against members of a labor organization, or to accept any more than eight hours as a day's work, to be performed within nine consecutive hours. 1.

The union claimed that this provision was constantly violated by the men in the Streets and Water Department who worked more than eight hours. This complaint was made time and time again, and occasionally a hap-hazard investigation took place. No serious investigation of the violation of the eight-hour provision was to be made until 1912. 2.

1. Hubbell, Mark S. (Compiler) The Charter of the City of Buffalo, Buffalo, 1896, p. 300

2. For investigation cf. below pp. 219-221
For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 44, 55, 81, 85-86, 97, 107, cf. below 156, 158, 173, 244

1893 Such local affairs were not, however, the only interests to Buffalo workers. On March 26 the Buffalo Socialists celebrated the twenty-second anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1871. 1. The language used by the speakers was German.

On the next day the moulders complained that the stone makers would not hire union men, and in anticipation of trouble the stone polishers formed a union. Three weeks later the union plasterers struck for three-fifty instead of three dollars a day. No information as to strike settlement could be found. Unlike this was the bakers' strike of May 20, for the purpose of obtaining better working conditions and the use of a union label. The strike was reported as successful on July 9 with all demands being met.

These four events were minute compared with the railroad strike which closed the year of 1893. On November 21 only passenger trains were running in and out of Buffalo on the Lehigh because of strikes on other points of the road. By the next day the strike had spread to the Niagara Frontier with the Buffalo engineers, foremen, conductors and trainmen participating.

1. In 1871 when the French republic was threatened destruction by its enemies, the people revolted and instituted the Commune, by which each local unit of government would govern itself freely. The Commune of Paris made changes in the Constitution and established a Commission form of government for Paris.

The road issued an ultimatum that all men who did not report at noon on November 22 could no longer be considered with the company. Edward Feeney of the State Arbitration Board was hustling from the strikers to the employers and from the employers to the strikers, without much success, since the workers would not admit him to their meetings, and he couldn't get the Lehigh officials to go to the strikers to discuss the problems. As it later developed there were probably no problems in the Buffalo area, for it seems that the Buffalo strike was purely one of sympathy, since the local workers already had the privileges and pay for which other divisions were striking. In the Buffalo area the company had granted hearings to its workers, but it had not done so in other places. These hearings were on the seniority rights of workers. Seniority rights were granted on December 8, but pay cuts resulted (not in Buffalo area). It was stated by the press that the strike was remarkable in that "organized employees of the road went out at the same time." 1. The papers were quick to notice that cooperation among the workers was unusual. 2.

1894 Perhaps some of the Buffalo area workers believed the source of disruption in their ranks was in the old Central Labor Council which had existed from 1884. 3. In some respects this belief was justified

-
1. Express, December 8, 1893
 2. For Switchmen's strike cf. below pp. 146-147
 3. For Central Labor Council, cf. above pp. 77-78

for friction had always existed between the Council and the Germans who were an important labor group. Moreover, the Building Trades had never been closely associated with the Council. Therefore, in 1894

the gigantic combination of capital opened the eyes of the workmen and showed that if they wished to hold their own against the great monopolies which were springing into existence, they would only do it to more closely consolidating and concentrating their force into one grand combination of men. 1.

The new labor combination was known as the United Trades and Labor Council of the Niagara Frontier. The officers were: President, W. J. Toggart of the Carpenters and Joiners Union; Vice-president, A. E. Russell of the Bricklayers, and Z. Amblow of the Knights of Labor; Recording Secretary, J. M. O'Malley of the Moulders; Financial Secretary, August Farron of the Stone Cutters; Treasurer, John Coleman of the Carpenters. 2.

1894 The Council represented the various trades which sent delegates to the Council. The number of delegates sent was in proportion to the size of the trade. The Council itself was divided into five sections so as to centralize the problems of each trade. The five sections were: Building Trades, Iron Trades,

1. Published by U. T. and L. C., Illustrated History of the United Trades and Labor Council of the Niagara Frontier, Buffalo, 1897, pp. 234-237

2. Loc. cit.

Allied Printing Trades, German Trades (those who do business in German language), Miscellaneous Section (all those not affiliated with any other section). If any trades' representative was absent at three successive meetings, he lost his seat at the Councils. 1.

1894 This new Council had an interesting Preamble:

In view of the fact that Capitalism and corporate greed is fast driving the toiling masses to pauperism, aided unfortunately by the dis-united condition of organized labor, imperative necessity demands, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that the alarming development and aggressive-ness of great capitalists and corporations shall be prevented. To accomplish this much desired object it is necessary that all those "who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow" shall come together and act in one harmonious whole. Therefore, we have formed this United Trades and Labor Council. 2.

After the organization the Council did not hesitate to announce the political aspirations:

It is a source of gratification to notice that workingmen today are beginning to study the social questions of the hour, and if the workingmen will only take possession of the primaries and send their own class to represent them in all branches of the legislature, the evils of which they are complaining will soon disappear. 3.

-
1. Loc. cit.
 2. Ibid. p. 504
 3. Ibid. p. 236

1894 The fact that such an organization was formed, and the tenor of its utterance, would indicate that a new era in Niagara Frontier Labor history had begun. It would seem that the mistakes of past experience had finally brought the workers to conclude that they were their own frustrations because of their own dissensions, and because of their aimless, leaderless ways. Perhaps the successes of Bishop Quigley and his men had taught him a lesson. The last quotation would also indicate that the agitation of the socialists for political action had some influence in the Buffalo area of the frontier. 1.

The organization of the Council was no doubt motivated to a large extent by the depression conditions of 1894. Early in the year some of the unemployed had to be put to work in stone yards and the laying of water mains. On January 6 five thousand registered as needing relief, and it was reported that the relief fund collected from citizens by the Express was dwindling. The estimation was that one hundred thousand dollars was needed, and that only sixty thousand was on hand. Workers receiving aid were to be paid ten cents an hour, and would be allowed seven hours work a day. An exception to this were those men who worked for contractors who had city work. These were to receive fifteen cents an hour. The U. T. L. C. offered

1. For Socialists and political action cf. below pp. 127-131

its remedy which consisted of the formulation of a bill to restrict foreign labor. The county also gave assistance by placing men at the work of repairing county roads.

1894 By January 26 some of the relief workers were in a rather dangerous mood because they had not been paid for a month. One hundred men so complained, but "every official in the City Hall denies the responsibility." 1. These workers were building a bridge for the city and unless they were paid they were threatening to blow it up. The contractor, Mr. Greene, claimed inability to pay.

Despite bad conditions the painters had on the following day asked for thirty cents an hour and an eight-hour day. They were refused. The painters had five unions comprising three hundred and sixty men. A strike was not anticipated.

Nor was a May Day demonstration for an eight-hour day to be expected, since in the second week of March the delegates of the U. T. L. C. voted the suggestion as unpopular. Seven days later, May 19, we find echoes of the Polish riots 2., when Louis Gerstman, a Hebrew, was threatened with lynching by the Polish friends of Bernard Remonski, whom the Jew had shot. Then in the first week of April the Poles did actually riot at the Barber Asphalt Company when new labor-saving machinery was installed. Eleven Poles were arrested and fined three to fifteen dollars a man.

-
1. Express, January 26, 1894
 2. Cf. above Part IV, Chapter 1

1894 Nine days previous to this difficulty, a Mr. Norwood, one of the delegates, pointed out to the U.T. L.C. that its boycotts 1., evidently were not well conceived since they were never effective.

The depression which had begun in 1893 caused drastic wage reduction, so drastic that the Niagara Frontier furniture workers, who had complained the least of all working groups in the past, now felt the need for organizing for protection. About twelve hundred of these were involved. In their case wages had been reduced twenty per cent. 2.

The depression of 1893 did not cause the usual decline in the labor movement of the United States. By 1893 labor was so well organized that Samuel Gompers was able to report as follows:

It is noteworthy, that while in every previous industrial crisis the trade unions were literally mowed down and swept out of existence, the unions now in existence have manifested, not only the powers of resistance, but of stability and permanency. 3.

Gompers assigned as the most prominent cause for this union strength the system of high dues and benefits which had come into vogue in a large number of trade unions: "membership is maintained, the organization remains intact during dull periods in history, and is

-
1. For boycotts, cf. below pp. 155-156
 2. Express, May 21, 1894
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 501

prepared to take advantage of the first sign of industrial revival." 1.

1894 The next difficulty in the Niagara Frontier was one involving hotel employees in the Buffalo area. In the first week of June, Mr. Cary, of the Genessee Hotel, told his employees that upon going and coming into the lobby they should doff their hats. Because the workers felt this offended their dignity, a strike was called.

That work was scarce in the Buffalo area was indicated by the fact that local men were leaving the city for Chicago so as to work on the railroads there, which were strike bound. A sympathy strike had been planned in Buffalo by the American Railway Union, 2. and in anticipation police had already been assigned their duties. However, the Buffalo strike did not become an actuality.

The Pullman strike in Chicago was the cause of some men leaving the frontier to find work on the strike-bound railroads. The Pullman strike was also the cause of Buffalo workers considering a sympathetic strike.

One of the most prominent strikes in United States labor history, the Pullman strike, began on May 11, 1894, in Pullman, Illinois. The workers struck for restoration of pay cuts. The Pullman works had voted to join the American Railway Union, so this union refused to handle Pullman cars unless the company "would consent

1. Ibid. p. 501

2. For American Railway Union cf. below pp. 147, 165

to arbitrate." 1. This the company refused to do, and on June 26 the American Railway Union called a sympathetic strike. Other unions joined in and soon all the Chicago area was strike-bound. The lawless element took advantage of the strike and destroyed much property: loss of property and business losses to the country amounted to eighty million dollars. The strike ended in the middle of July, after the leaders, one of whom was Eugene Debs, 2. were arrested, and after President Cleveland sent in Federal troops.

1894 At the organization of the U.T.L.C. it had been remarked that "workingmen today are beginning to study the social questions of the hour." 3. One Niagara Frontier resident had thought rather deeply on the struggle between capital and labor, and offered a solution. Mr. A. M. Hines, a lumber dealer, in Buffalo suggested: Have all labor unions incorporated, and have all labor disputes settled in court immediately upon their inception. Thus labor would be made responsible. Mr. Hines would let the unions sue, and would have them liable to suit, believing that such an arrangement would eliminate trivial strikes, lessen property damage, and create a better class of unionists. 4.

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 502
 2. For Debs cf. pp. 137 cf. below pp. 146-148, 206, 213-214
 3. Cf. above p. 137
 4. Express, July 16, 1894

1894 The next incident demonstrated the need of improving the morality of some of the working class. On September 6, David James was charged with operating an employment agency for the purpose of "fleecing" unwary workers. Mr. Canfield had applied to the agency and in return for a three dollar fee was given a job, but so as to receive the job contract he was sent to another office where he was again asked for three dollars. At this Mr. Canfield "smelled a mouse," and made his complaint which brought the arrest of James.

Another bad practice, according to the Buffalo view, was that Canadians were working in the city for twenty-five per cent less wages than local folk felt they could accept. This fact as given by Commissioner McSweeney of the Immigration Investigation Committee, was certain to develop the debate in the state assembly over the Lockwood Bill which was intended to stop this practice.

On September 17 one hundred and fifty Knights of Labor convened in Buffalo. Secretary McGuire spoke of his order as a religious one which made people better. His argument was that all sin was traceable to poverty, and that since his organization would remove poverty it would remove sin. Thus his organization was doing religious work. McGuire advocated a workingmen's party.

Labor affairs for the year 1894 closed with the report of the U.T.L.C. that many shops continued to use the left-over labels after becoming open shops, and that other shops schemed to get union labels although not union shops. 1.

1. Express, September 24, 1894

The year of 1894 was the year in which Coxey's famous "army" marched to Washington. The Niagara Frontier sent a group to join Coxey's army in Washington. Conditions were bad in 1894 because of the depression in 1893. It was these depressive conditions that led to "Coxey's army." During the depression "General" Jacob S. Coxey led an "army" of unemployed from Ohio to Washington to demand a public works program. The suffering of all classes was widespread. 1.

1895 The year just completed was an active labor year as well as a discursive one. The year 1895 was comparatively quiet.

The first affair as reported by the press was that of the iron workers on March 15. They were working on the Mooney-Brisbane Building in Buffalo and asked for shorter hours, and the employment of union men only. The strike was called by the Building Trades Council (German Section). The men were receiving seventeen cents to twenty-three cents per hour. They now demanded twenty-five cents and a nine-hour day. Mr. Mooney sided in with the men against the Indianapolis contractors, Brown and Ketchum. The strike was only one day's duration.

1. Hamm, W.A., The American People, New York, 1938, p. 690

1895 No doubt, on March 28, certain Niagara Frontier contractors wished that a certain outside union would concern itself solely with its home affairs. The boiler makers of Cleveland were on strike and requested the Buffalo men to go out in sympathy. The press saw little possibility of this on the twenty-eighth, but on the next day when the men requested work other than that on unfinished boilers intended for Cleveland, and when they were refused by Manager Hammond of the Hammond Boiler Works, they went on strike. About twenty men struck. Not all were union men; some intended to join the union. The strike lasted nine days. Not all of the strikers were taken back after the strike ended.

One month later the Socialist Labor Party met, and at the meeting Professor De Leon of Syracuse said that many of the workers of the United States were in slavery. He argued as follows: the early slave earned twenty dollars, thirteen of which went to the master, seven going for food; and today the worker earned twenty dollars and gave up fifteen on ordinary expenses. 1. The remaining five was easily absorbed by other expenses.

In the previous year men had left the Niagara Frontier to work the railroads of strike-bound Chicago; in 1895 outside plumbers were entering the city of Buffalo because the local plumbers were striking for an eight-hour day. The strike started on June 6. The local workers threatened the strike-breakers and thus

1. Express, May 7, 1895

the presence of special police was required.

Three days after the plumbers began their strike the moulders of the American Radiator Company struck for a twenty-five per cent increase in wages.

On July 29 the Buffalo Niagara Frontier area was reported as an area that had many "sweat shops." It was said that workers in these shops received eighteen cents for making a vest, and thirty-five cents for making a coat. United States Inspector Frank U. Coe was investigating these reports.

1896 On January 9, 1896 a strike held up the construction of the Real Estate Exchange Building in Buffalo. Union men protested the employment of non-union men, and demanded that these be dismissed unless they would agree to join the union. The union men also claimed that construction company paid higher wages to the non-union men. The strike was settled in the White Building in Buffalo; the strikers did not know this meeting was being held, but accepted the decision that ended the strike.

One week later the socialists, Eugene Debs, appeared in Buffalo. It was only three years previous that a Buffalo strike had influenced Debs to break with the brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen:

For many years Debs had been Grand Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and had grown steadily more discontented with the exclusiveness, the jealousies, and animosities of the four railway brotherhoods. After a switchmen's strike in Buffalo in 1893, 1. when the Brotherhoods failed to help, Debs resigned this position, and devoted himself to the

1. Cf. above pp. 134-135

organization of a new federation of railway workers that would include unskilled labor as well as craft unions. 1.

The American Railway Union was formed in 1893. 2.

1896 Debs and his union became quite famous, and the man received considerable attention when he appeared in Buffalo to give a talk.

Whatever may be thought of the principles (Socialistic) advocated by Eugene V. Debs one who heard his speech at the Music Hall could not fail to be convinced of the honesty of the man's convictions and impressed with his sincerity. 3.

So wrote the Express as an introduction to the report of Debs' speech, part of which follows:

We have millionaires by the thousands and mendicants by the millions. A land where wealth accumulates and men decay. 4.

Debs continued that "accumulated wealth" in this country "dominated the government, and menaced the very safety of the public." 5. However, he did not approve of all strikes, because labor was not infallible and sometimes declared unwarranted strikes. In spite of such mistakes, continued the speaker, labor organizations had improved conditions.

1. Yellen, Samuel, American Labor Struggles, New York, p. 109

2. For American Railway Union cf. above p. 147 below pp. 165-166

3. Express, January 16, 1896

4. Loc. cit.

5. Loc. cit.

Debs said that it was only logical for the workers to organize when the employers did. Then the speaker mentioned what he considered unfair practices by the employers: an unjust use of the injunction, the employment of "thugs" and "ex-convicts" as deputy marshals, and having create trouble and destroy property, which sabotage was then blamed on the strikers. Another wrong cited was that the courts inflicted unfair terms on the strikers when convicted of minor offenses. Debs closed with a plea for woman suffrage:

Women have more honor than men. They have more intelligence. You can't buy a woman's vote with a drink of whiskey. Every magnificent man has a magnificent mother. Almost anybody will do for a father. 1.

1896 On the following day, January 17, Debs again spoke. He spoke of his desire to have intelligent unions; "Railroad men don't try to improve themselves. They would rather sit in the round house and tell of impossible stories of runs that never will be made." 2.

The Buffalo area of the frontier was not to be without its educational associations for workers. On January 22 the National Educational and Economic League had been formed for the benefit of all workers. This organization had originated three months before in Boston. The local division had been instituted by Mr. Henry Lloyd.

1. Loc. cit.

2. Express, January 17, 1896

1896 On February 14 Buffalo had another strike on the Ellicott Square Building when W. J. Taggart gave the order from the United Trades and Labor Council. No one seemed able to give a clear reason as to the cause for the strike. Some eight hundred men were involved, and these met Superintendent Kibly, without Taggart being present, and offered to go back to work. On February 17, however, the men changed their minds, and decided against returning to work. But on the next day the workers agreed to take up their old jobs, when they saw strike-breakers being brought on the job.

On the last day of March the Buffalo Street Railway employees claimed that some of their members were fired for attending the meetings of the United Trades and Labor Council. The men said that the company had a "spotter" who watched the activities of the men. Sixteen were discharged at this time, and eighteen had been previously discharged. Many of these former employees were the higher paid men; the workers charged the company with firing the men so as to save money. The men said that the company had used the excuse of their attending labor meetings. 1. The men met to organize a union, but anticipated no strike.

On April 22 the U.T.L.C. had planned to call a general strike on May 1, but the secret had been "let out," and hence the "force" of the strike was lost, and the strike plans were abandoned. 2.

1. For street car employees cf. above pp. 81, 84, 103, cf. below pp. 195, 221-227, 235

2. Express, May 1, 1896

1896 The employment of non-union men by the Mathews Northup Printing Company caused the union employees of the company to strike on May 14. This was followed the next day by the demand of two thousand carpenters for an eight-hour day. 1. By June 2 a few contractors had given in, but a majority of carpenters returned with their demands realized; a few were locked out.

The year 1896 closed with forty switchmen of the Nickel Plate Railroad striking for a few hours. When some of their associates were fired, they had locked the switches, and thus setting the signal lights had quit work. They returned to work within a few hours. The discharged men were not taken back.

Before leaving 1896 let us read what an American literary man visioned about the Buffalo area.

Theodore Dreiser had reason to remember the Buffalo of this year 1896 because in this year he had come to the city from Cleveland to find work, but "could not make a permanent connection with any Buffalo paper." 2. Perhaps Dreiser thought of this earlier experience when he wrote:

How would it be if any one could say
of Buffalo that in 2316 A.D. 400 years
later after the writing of this - there
was a great labor leader who having
endured many injuries was tired of the

1. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45, 56, 81, 85-86, 91, 101-102, 133
below pp. 152, 167-178, 238

2. Dreiser, Theodore, A Hoosier Holiday, New York, 1916, p. 170

exactions of money barons and securing a large following seized the city and administered cooperatively until he had been routed by some capitalistic force and hanged from the highest building, his followers also being put to death. 1.

This was Dreiser's reflection while coming from East Aurora into Buffalo in 1916.

1897 Since the workers of the Buffalo Cycle Works were ordered to work overtime for pay which they thought was not sufficient, some of them struck on March 17. One man had been fired when he refused to work, and seven men struck in protest. These planned to waylay Superintendent Rowe, but he suspected this, and had himself protected by the police. Many of the non-strikers admitted that their working conditions were bad, and that Rowe was a tyrant.

A year of little activity, the next event in 1897 was not until September when the printers were reported as having withdrawn from the U.T.L.C. Their action was believed to weaken the Council. The explanation of the withdrawal was that the Council had ordered the printers' band to cease playing in front of the office of the Buffalo Evening News because of a boycott of that paper. The printers said that the boycott was not official, it was not listed as official, and refused to stop playing. The considered the Council's order an "insult," and

1. Ibid, p. 163-173

when their dignity was not appeased, they had withdrawn.¹

On December 3 the City Council of Buffalo gave orders that all contractors engaged in city work were to employ their men only eight hours a day.²

1898 This was as its predecessor a quiet year with only significant events taking place. On April 4, the new era of labor was formed. This organization sought reform by bringing about cooperation between capital and labor. The organization was to be made up of both laborers and capitalists, and all members must agree to not strike in any way. Enterprisers might be established in business by the organization, but these must agree to obey rules of fair treatment for employees. The leading organizer of the New Era of Labor was Dr. M. F. Jordan.

The Third Annual Convention of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada was held at Buffalo on July 6, at Fillmore Hall, Broadway and Fillmore Streets. Martha Moore Avery, one of the speakers, said of the Socialist movement:

It is a class conflict that admits no truce, no compromise. The producing class must rule and the

1. Express, September 10, 1897

2. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45, 55, 81, 85-86, 97, 107-108, 139
below pp. 152, 167-168, 238

capitalist obey. 1.

The speaker further stated that taking from the wealthy was not stealing, but simply a means of paying for stunted bodies, spirits, etc.

1899 As we have seen the longshoremen were closing their cases in 1899. Aside from the water front strikes there were only two other important incidents, the second being rather amusing.

On February 20 the Butchers' Union at Danahy's struck because the force had been reduced during the Lenten season. Most of the discharged men were of the union, while non-union men were retained. The men in the union demanded that their members be given the place of the non-union employees. This was refused. Danahy said he did not let the union men go because they were union men, but that it just so happened the men let go were union members. Danahy said that the men had secretly joined the union, and he had no way of determining which of his workers were members.

The amusing incident was the speech of the leader of the Western Union messenger boys who were on strike.

Youse fellows know I ain't no Clancy Dupoo. I didn't lay t' be d' leader of dis push, but I guess I'm it. Now it's 'soll off at d' bug house if

1. Express, July 6, 1898. For socialism cf. above Part IV, Chapter 1, pp. 69, 94
Cf. below pp. 193, 202, 211, 213-216, 223, 230, 232

youse fellers don't strike. It'll be down d' bank widd us for fair. D' stiff at'n d' office tinks he's d' main mast, d' hull fleet, 'n shore batteries. 1.

The speaker was one Pete Gunning who had the backing of the "hoodlum gangs" so dreaded by the police. The hoodlums would intimidate the strike breakers who usually were frightened in joining the strikers. The strike was reported as ended on August 11.

In this chapter we have seen that there was some discussion in the Buffalo area of the boycott, injunction, woman suffrage, and the union label. As these played an important part in labor affairs let us briefly consider their history.

The boycott was first used in 1794 when the Philadelphia shoemakers refused to eat at the same boarding house where non-union men ate. As yet boycotting of goods was unknown. By 1863 trade assemblies had resorted to the boycott.

Each member of all societies is then under obligation to refuse to patronize the shop so refusing to pay the established rates, and to counsel their friends to do the same. In this way we expect to bring an influence that no proprietor can ignore. 2.

However, before 1884 the boycott was not widely used. After 1884 its use became popular. In 1885 there were 196 boycotts, excluding forty-one against the Chinese. 3. Nearly all of these were conducted by the knights of

-
1. Express, August 7, 1899
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 23
 3. Ibid. p. 365

Labor. Up until our own day the boycott has remained a popular weapon of the worker.

To protect themselves against the boycott the employers used the injunction. "Injunctions were an old remedy, but not until the eighties did they figure in the struggles between labor and capital." 1. It is not known when the first labor injunction was used in the United States, but it is known after 1886 that the injunction was "used extensively." 2. The cause for the increase in the use of the injunction was the boycott. Workers couldn't be haled into court for "destroying property" when they boycotted an employer, but they could be accused of "destroying business," and could be ordered to stop. To get this order, the "employer turned to the courts for protection. The latter responded by developing for its weapon the injunction, proceeded to outlaw the boycott." 3. Labor agitated against the use of the injunction and finally in 1914 the Clayton Anti-Trust Act "Prohibited the injunction unless it appeared necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property rights for which there was no remedy at law." 4.

Although women did not gain the privilege of voting throughout United States until 1920, agitation for this privilege was very old. A Scotch woman, Francis Wright, who was associated with the early Workingmen's Party, 5. urged that her sex be given equal political rights.

1. Ibid. p. 504

2. Ibid. p. 504

3. Ibid. p. 530

4. Hamm, W. A., The American People, New York, 1938, p. 855

5. For Workingmen's Party cf. above pp. 19-22
cf. below pp. 245-256

In 1868 the woman suffrage movement became closely associated with the labor movement. In 1868 a labor convention was held in New York City, and four prominent suffragists attended: Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Mary Kellogg, Mrs. Mary McDonald, and Elizabeth Cody Stanton. "A heated debate arose on the ground that the suffrage organization was not a labor organization as stipulated in the by-laws." 1. After considerable discussion, the women were finally allowed to participate in the discussion at the convention. From this time on the cause of woman suffrage was closely associated with the labor movement. The socialist groups, especially, urged woman suffrage.

The first use of the union label to specify union-made goods in 1869 in San Francisco. In this year a carpenters' eight-hour league supplied a stamp to all lumber mills operating on an eight-hour plan. It was also in San Francisco that the label on cigars was first used. This was used to distinguish cigars made by white labor and those made by Chinese labor. In 1866 the Knights of Labor adopted a white stamp as their label. The white label of the Knights and the blue label of the Cigar Makers' Union played an important part in the struggle between these two organizations. 2.

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 129
 2. For struggle cf. below pp. 251-257

Labels were used by the unions "to promote a greater demand for the use of products bearing the union label and of labor performed by union workers;...to carry into effect methods for the advertisement of union label products." 1.

1. U.S. Printing Office, Handbook of American Trade Unions, 1929 Edition, p. 14. For union labels cf. above pp. 81, 90, 143-144, cf. below pp. 252-253

Chapter 2

The Development of the United Trades and Labor Council in the Niagara Frontier

Since most of the important Niagara Frontier unions were formed by 1900, and since many of these unions were important in the labor activity of the Niagara Frontier from 1900 until World War I, this chapter has been included to describe briefly the origin and nature of these unions. The information in this chapter is from the Illustrated History of the United Trades and Labor Council of Erie County in the Niagara Frontier. 1.

Building Trades Section

The U.T.L.C. building trades section consisted of sixteen unions. The oldest union in this section was the Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' Union, No. 36, which had been established in Buffalo in 1860. The union consisted mostly of German workers. The time came when the workers thought the union was no longer necessary, and many discontinued their membership. Thus many benefits that had been gained were lost. Because of this No. 36 was reorganized in 1880, but the union now included all nationalities. By 1897 No. 36 had 370 members.

The second oldest union in the building trades was the stone cutters, organized in 1863. In 1870 the stone cutters affiliated with the Knights of Labor.

1. Illustrated History of the United Trades and Labor Council of Erie County, Buffalo, 1897, pp. 239-275

Through the years of 1865-1878 the plasterers had tried to form a permanent union. They were not successful until 1879, when they formed the Operative Plasterers' Union, No. 9. In 1889 this group gained the eight-hour day.

Two years after the plasterers organized, 1881, the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 9, was established. The national organization had been established in 1860. The national society

was conceived by a few brave men who had seen their local unions rendered useless by the lack of funds and active opposition of employers. They hoped to form a union that would teach workmen practical lessons of self-reliance to provide during times of prosperity for the hour of need and to effect by combination that which the individual is powerless to accomplish. 1.

In 1882 the Buffalo Society withdrew from the national organization and acted independently until 1884, when it rejoined the national body.

Because of the distance to town where meetings of No. 9 were held, the carpenters and joiners organized their own union in the outskirts of Buffalo in 1887. The union was called the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, No. 374, and consisted of eleven members.

1. Ibid. p. 233

The Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters' Helpers Union, No. 36, was organized in 1890. In 1895 it struck for an eight-hour day, and a pay of three dollars a day. The strike was a failure, although it extended over a sixteen-week period and cost \$12,000. It was in the same year as the strike that the steam and gas fitters separated from No. 36, and formed the Steam Fitters Protective Association, No. 30.

Union No. 71, the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, was organized in 1891 with fifteen members. By 1897 the union consisted of two hundred members. The sheet metal workers were affiliated with the national organization.

In 1892 the Buffalo electrical workers organized a union and affiliated with the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America. The National Brotherhood had been organized in 1891.

In 1892 the Housesmiths and Bridgebuilders Protective Union, No. 6, was formed. The bridgebuilders did not officially join the union until 1893.

In 1887 the District Council of Painters and Decorators, No. 42, had been formed. In 1893 the Council appointed a committee to organize a new local union, since the national body demanded at least two unions in one city. The result of the committee's work was the formation of two unions in one city. Union No. 112 was organized in East Buffalo area, consisting mostly of German workers who conducted the affairs of the union in the German language. Union No. 152 was organized in Northeast Buffalo. The District Council acted as an advisory board.

The unions of the building trades section so far considered were unions of skilled workmen. In 1895 the unskilled workmen engaged in the building trades organized the Buffalo Builders' Laborers' International, No. 7. The union consisted of pick and shovel men who were chiefly Polish and Italians. The unions received a charter in the International Laborers Union of America in 1896. By 1897 the union had five hundred members.

The last union in the building trades section was the Junior Steamfitters Protective Association, No. 35, organized in 1896.

Irontrades Section

The irontrades section had fewer unions than the building trades section. The unions that constituted the irontrades of the U.T.L.C. were formed for the most part, later than the unions that constituted the building trades section.

Machinists' Union, No. 245, was organized in 1892 with eighty-six members. This was the English-speaking section. In the same year the German-speaking section had been formed. This union was No. 330, and had at the time of formation twenty-seven members. In 1893 the German section consisted of about three hundred members.

Contemporaneous with the two machinists' unions was the union of the pattern makers. It was in 1892 that the Pattern Makers' Association of Buffalo was formed.

Three years later, 1895, Coremakers' Union, No. 6570 was organized. The Coremakers were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In 1896 nearly all Coremakers of Buffalo as well as those in the Niagara Frontier belonged to the union.

Probably the most influential union of the irontrades section was that of molders. The molders had formed Union No. 84 as early as 1860. Reorganization was necessary in 1881 after

the members allowed personal feeling and discord to take the place of unselfishness and unity together with opposition of unscrupulous employers, who denied the right of their workmen to organize for their own protection. 1.

After this reorganization molders doing special work organized unions for their special trade. Thus the bench molders organized No. 99 in 1894; the stove place molders organized No. 13 in the same year; the iron molders formed Union No. 100. Another molders' union was No. 260.

To coordinate their activity these various unions, Nos. 13, 84, 99, 100, 260, formed in 1896 the Conference Board of Iron Molders' Union of Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier. The Board claimed that it was friendly to all employers to whom it was concerned except the Washington Iron Works on Washington and Pratt Streets in Buffalo. The enmity of the Board toward the company was because

1. Ibid. p. 255

this firm has discriminated against members of the unions, and deterring its members from joining, and so antagonized organized labor in general. Their error of judgment may be discovered too late, for that desire for freedom in the molders of this city can not be suppressed, for in the end they will succeed in elevating their craft to that status in the industrial world which belongs to them, and above the degrading position where unfair firms like this one would like to unshackle them. 1.

Printing Trades Section

Of all the unions affiliated with the U.T.L.C. the oldest was the Typographical Union, No. 9, which had been organized in 1853 by six printers. By 1887 No. 9 had five hundred members.

A printers' union had many ups and downs, was the German Typographical Union which was organized in 1873. An unsuccessful strike in 1876 against the Buffalo Democrat so weakened the union that it had no influence until 1887, when it was reorganized. 2. After 1891 the union again declined so that reorganization was necessary a second time in 1895.

In 1886 the Buffalo Printing Pressmen's Union, No. 27 was organized and affiliated with the International Typographical Union. Three years later in 1889, the local union changed its affiliation to the International Pressmen's Union.

1. Loc. cit.

2. The Express contained no information about this strike.

The last union of the printing trades section was the Lithograph Artists' and Engravers' Protective and Insurance Association. This was organized in 1892.

Miscellaneous Trades Section

All those unions that were not classified under the other three sections were in this fourth section of the U.T.L.C.

In this section the oldest union was the Cigar Makers' Union No. 2, an affiliate of the well-known Cigar Makers International Workers of America. Union No. 2 had been organized in 1878. 1. This union resorted to arbitration rather than strikes. This union in the Niagara Frontier as in other areas, the union that did most to bring about the use of the union label.

Bakers' Union No. 16 was organized in 1885 with twenty-five members. A strike by this union failed in 1886, but a strike in 1890 was successful.

One year later, in 1886, Brewers' Union, No. 7, was formed. The Brewers' Union affiliated with the national union. By 1888 there were several brewers' unions, and in this year the unions all joined into one union and became known as No. 4.

1. For Cigar Makers' Union cf. above pp. 47, 71-72, 83, 90, 94 cf. below pp. 252-253

A kindred union, Mulsters' Union, No. 59, was organized in 1887. This was not a powerful union. Another Mulsters' Union, No. 4, was organized in 1891. The two combined in 1893 and became known as No. 59.

In 1889 three musicians' unions combined together to form the Buffalo Musicians' Protective Association.

It was also in 1889 that Beer Barrel Coopers' Union, No. 93, was organized.

The Beer Drivers', Helpers' and Stablemen's Unions, No. 16, was organized in 1892, as was the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, No. 13. In the same year the Buffalo Theatrical Union, No. 10, was organized.

In the next year, 1893, the American Railway Union was organized in Chicago. In the very same year a Buffalo union was organized. The local union affiliated with the Chicago union. 1.

The Buffalo hucksters formed the Licensed Hucksters' Union in 1896. This union had two objectives: to exclude from Buffalo hucksters from out of town, and

to have restored to us our God given rights, in having the privilege to peddle our produce all day, that privilege having been taken away from us by the Common Council in 1892 and denied by the Council of 1897....This is the way the poor are treated by those gentlemen who run our civil affairs. 2.

-
1. Illustrated History of the U.T.L.C., op. cit. p. 265
 2. For American Railway Union cf. above pp. 141, 147

The hucksters paid an annual license fee of twenty-five dollars. They were not allowed to peddle before one o'clock in the afternoon, although they had the privilege of selling at the market in the forenoon. For each day at the market a fifteen-cent fee was charged. Thus the hucksters claimed with the daily fee and the annual license they were contributing \$71.50 a year to the city.

The youngest union in the miscellaneous section was No. 6649 of Stationary and Hoisting Engineers. No. 6649 was organized in 1896 with seven members.

The U.T.L.C. urged the workers to organize unions because unions could do a great deal for the workers. The U.T.L.C. claimed that unions performed these five functions: (1) Increased employment, (2) increased wages, (3) settled labor disputes, (4) shortened hours of labor, (5) enforced the system of training apprentices. The U.T.L.C. held that to form a union was good "business"; 1. unions were not organizations of "sentiment and charity." 2. It was good "business" to organize a union

1. Ibid. p. 505

2. Loc. cit.

because such organization was the only means by which the worker could protect himself. The U.T.L.C. advised the workers not to depend upon classes other than their own, for help, and characterized some of these classes as follows: professional men are men of "bottled opinions, luke warm followers, not leaders"; 1. the landlords and bankers "exploit us"; 2. the lawyers are the "tool of patronage." 3.

The demands of the U.T.L.C. and its affiliated unions were much like the demands of similar organizations throughout the United States. The demands as stated by the Buffalo organization numbered eleven: (1) compulsory education, (2) eight hour day, 4. (3) use of direct legislation as referendum, initiative, and recall, (4) sanitary inspection of shops, mines, and homes, (5) employer liability for injury, (6) abolition of "sweat shops," (8) municipal ownership of street cars, gas and electric plants, (9) national ownership of telegraphs, telephones, railroads, and mines, (10) control by the people of production and distribution, (11) abolishment of convict labor. 5.

The eight hour day was probably the objective most desired by the unions at this time. The U.T.L.C. said

-
1. Loc. cit.
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Loc. cit.
 4. For eight-hour day cf. above pp. 14-15, 42-45, 55, 81, 85-86, 91, 101-102, 133, 150, 152 cf. below p. 232
 5. For convict labor cf. above pp. 45-47, 55, 68, 70

that an eight-hour day would increase employment, the number of consumers, wages, and would remove poverty and ignorance.

To demonstrate its influence the U.T.L.C. claimed that it and its predecessor, the Buffalo Labor Council, had succeeded in influencing the legislature of New York State to pass six laws that were beneficial to workmen. The first of these was a law passed in 1887 making it unlawful for employers to compel their employees to agree not to join labor organizations. Two years later, in 1889, the use of union labels was made lawful. In 1890 the placing of political devices in pay envelopes was made unlawful, and workers were allowed to take time to vote at elections without loss of pay. The eight-hour day was made legal, except for those engaged in farming, and domestic work, in 1894. Two laws were passed in 1895. The first allowed labor organizations to be incorporated; the second permitted workers to take liens on jobs for which they had not been paid.

We close this chapter on the U.T.L.C. with a brief consideration of two colorful men who were associated with the organization. The men were Martin F. Murphy and his son, Daniel. Martin Murphy was "one of the best champions of organized labor in the Niagara Frontier."¹ Murphy had been born in Massachusetts, but had left home at an early age to "see the country." Murphy had

1. For Buffalo Labor Council, cf. above pp. 77-78, 136-138

2. Illustrated History, op. cit. p. 265

learned to be an iron molder, and so when he came to Buffalo he was able to join the Iron Molders' Union No. 84. Murphy became recording secretary for this organization, as well as delegate to the U.T.L.C. Murphy organized many local unions. After some years Murphy purchased a saloon in Buffalo, and named it Council Hall. Council Hall soon became a labor headquarters, and it was here that much labor strategy was planned.

Daniel Murphy was the oldest son of Martin, and like his father was influential in Buffalo labor affairs. The workmen of Buffalo who frequented Council Hall called Daniel "Labor Day" Dan because the boy was born on Labor Day.

Part VI

From the Turn of the Century to the World War

Chapter 1

The Aims of Labor Unions Presented to Employers

Before we begin on our chronological consideration of labor events in Buffalo, let us state the view held by the Chamber of Commerce of Buffalo. The Chamber's statement was made sometime between 1900-1905.

Labor conditions in Buffalo are highly satisfactory to both worker and employer. A rich agricultural area given over to much gardening, dairying, and fruit culture keeps the area low. Rents for workingmen range from \$10.00 to \$22.00 a month. A larger percentage of our laborers own their own homes. Both skilled and unskilled labor can be secured without difficulty. 1.

1900 One of the major projects of Buffalo in 1900 was the construction of the Pan-American buildings. That this work might be hindered by labor disputes was indicated as early as January 3, when the A. F. of L., meeting at Detroit, resolved to boycott the Pan-American Exposition. This boycott had been introduced by a Buffalonian, Mr. Coleman of the U.T.L.C.

Justice Childs of the Supreme Court decided three days later that labor unions were not to deprive a worker of employment because he was not a union man. The case involved one Edward Wunch and the Buffalo Evening News. The printers had threatened a strike when

1. Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, published by The Fact Book of Buffalo (pam.) no date, pp. 40-42

Wunch had refused to join their union. The News discharged Wunch so as to prevent the strike. Wunch was a machinist and was a member of the Machinists' Union, and so no reason to belong to another. Wunch took his case to court, and the justice decided that he should be re-employed, and given \$650 in back pay. 1.

1900 In the same week the coal handlers complained that the saloon system was still in vogue, 2. and that to retain their positions they had to patronize certain saloons. At the same time the coal handlers asked why, since they were often idle during the week, they could not have Sunday as their free day?

By the end of March and throughout April Buffalo labor was rapidly pushing its cause: on March 20 the Seamen's Union was formed; on April 2 the freight handlers decided to end the contract system, 3. and on the same day some two hundred teamsters struck for pay increases. These latter were successful, being given increases on April 5. Drivers of one horse now received nine dollars a week; drivers of two horses received ten, and drivers of three were to receive twelve. On the day of the teamsters' success the carpenters and joiners met to improve their organization. On the same

-
1. Express, January 6, 1900
 2. For saloon system cf. above Part III, Chapter 2
 3. For contract system cf. above Part III, Chapter 2

day the freight handlers and coal shovelers met with their employers to discuss labor problems.

1900 Labor had continued its agitation into the latter part of April, and was equally as ardent on into May. The Polish freight handlers had formed a new union, No. 115, with five hundred members on April 25. Before, the Poles had belonged to the regular union. Three days later the journeymen brewers threatened a strike unless they were conceded a nine-hour day with ten-hour wages. The companies accused the union of violating the contract made in 1898 which called for a status quo of three years, but the workers argued that the contract was not enforceable, since it never had been sanctioned by union members. The brewers gained their object by May 2.

A strike against the American Radiator Company was three weeks old on April 13. This strike had started when the company had discharged some union men. Four strikers had been arrested for assaulting non-union workers.

An act of revenge took place on May 2. One Snyder found his valuable Perchon horse ill of a stomach ailment. It seemed that a teamster who had been discharged by Snyder had loosened the horse so as to let the animal eat oats to its "heart's desire." The horse had done so, and had ruined itself by overeating. On the same day the linemen on the New York Telephone Company went on strike.

1900 A report on May 7 was that several women's unions had been formed: waitresses, laundresses, and seamstresses. All of these affiliated with the U.T. L.C.

Throughout May various railroad groups had asked for wage increases. A report of June 4 was that most of the workers received such increases. On April 27 the employees of the New York Central had struck for higher wages. Higher wages were given on May 2, but lesser agitation on either roads had not been successful until June.

It was also on May 2 that striking Pan-American workers threw dirt and stones at those who refused to strike, and attacked a policeman who had knocked down a striker with a hose. The strikers wanted an eight-hour day with ten-hour pay. The strikers failed because they lacked leadership. Reported on the same day was a strike by the cobmen for uniform wages, and a lockout of tailors pending the settlement of the strike of fifteen coatmakers. This strike was not three weeks old.

In the middle of June a man was stabbed as the result of a labor argument. The injured man was Michael Joyce, president of the freight handlers' union. The Express reported on April 15 that Joyce was sitting in his saloon the night before, at nine o'clock, arguing over labor problems with a man named Fisher. Fisher insulted Joyce, and as Joyce sprang to attack Fisher, the latter stabbed Joyce.

1900 July and August were quiet months. September was active. Buffalo had a "Labor Parade three miles" long! in celebration of Labor Day. It was reported that twenty thousand were in line, although the weather was bad.

On the same day four hundred butchers at Dold's struck because the company would not dismiss two men to please the union. It was reported that the union desired this since the two men had not paid their union dues. The strike was extended the next day to the packing houses of Sahlem Bros., Michael Danahy, C. Klinck, Klinck Bros., and the Buffalo Packing Company. The unionists numbered seven hundred and were led by F. C. Letts, president of the union. Mr. Letts said that he would contribute one hundred dollars to charity if it was proved that he had asked the discharge of the two union men; Mr. Letts' explanation of the strike was that the companies had not lived up to their agreement to use only union men. These two men said Mr. Letts had no union cards. Finally Michael Donnelly of the International Butchers' Union ordered the cessation of the butchers' strike, and by October 1 only the Dold Company was strike bound.

Three hundred and fifty workers of the Buffalo Storage and Carting Company were discharged on September 7 for talking too much about going on strike,

as a protest about dismissing a driver. The difficulty was settled the next day, but the drivers were not taken back.

1901 The Taylor Signal Company of 32 Wells Street, makers of Railway Signals, had discharged several employees. The machinists protested about this on January 19, and sent a representative to discuss the situation with the company. The company refused to meet the representative whereupon seventy-five machinists struck.

Working conditions at the Pan-American Exposition grounds had not been satisfactory to a large number of the workers. The complaints were usually of low wages. As a result there had been constant striking. These strikes brought no benefits to the workers chiefly because the men had struck in small groups and at different times. On February 21 the U.T.L.C. ordered such petty strikes stopped: no officer or business agent of an individual union could call a strike simply because he felt his minority group had been offended. From now on the complaint had to be brought to the U.T.L.C., and this body would pass on the propriety of the strike. However, this rule was not always observed after its adoption.

That some workers were working over twelve hours a day in 1901 was demonstrated by the teamsters' strike of April 2 for a twelve-hour day. It seemed that the teamsters had to actually work twelve hours, and then care for their horses and equipment. They were now demanding a day of ten hours of actual work, with the other two being allowed for attention to the horses and equipment.

1901 On the same day as the teamsters' strike some six hundred union lumber mill hands struck for forty instead of thirty-six cents an hour.

The machinists on the New York Central had struck for a ten per cent increase in pay on May 27. They returned to work on June 8 without the raise.

Several months later Longshoremen's Union No. 1092 refused to unload the ships of the Anchor Line because the longshoremen were in sympathy with the striking sailors who worked for this company.

A report of September 3 was that Samuel Gompers had attended the Pan-American Exposition where he said: "Organized labor stands for nothing that is wrong or unjust. Labor is striving for the up-lifting, the betterment of those who toil." 1. The same issue reported that on Labor Day ten thousand workers had participated in the Labor Day parade.

1902 By 1902 the Longshoremen had become a powerful group: the Longshoremen's Association now represented all the dock workers of the city. 2.

-
1. Express, September 3, 1901
 2. Express, January 3, 1902 - cf. above Part III, Chapter 2

1902 Another important factor in Buffalo Labor affairs was the Labor Lyceum (probably organized in 1891) which met every Sunday to discuss the workers' problems. At one of these meetings the speaker said that the worker did not coordinate mind with muscle, and that the workers might well use their time to study. One man asked how he could study when he worked sixteen hours a day. 1.

A report of April 25 was that the St. Vincent de Paul Society was now giving help to the poor. The early part of May was an active season for those Buffalo workers engaged in the building trades. In late April the carpenters had asked thirty-seven instead of thirty cents an hour from the contractors. They struck on May 7 with the number involved varying from four hundred to seven hundred. By June 6 the carpenters voted whether to accept the offer of thirty cents from the contractors.

Simultaneous with the carpenters' strike was that of the plumbers. Five hundred of these demanded \$3.50 for an eight-hour day. They were receiving three dollars.

The car workers of the New York Central were threatening a strike on May 15. These workers said the company had not lived up to its agreement to pay sixteen cents an hour for nine hours work. The car men said this agreement had been made in 1900. The workers now demanded seventeen and one-half cents an hour.

1. Express, February 10, 1902

Out in Lackawanna there was also the possibility of a strike, on October 11, unless the trouble of the boilermakers was settled. These men were angry because the Lackawanna Steel Company had dismissed the boilermakers who made up the grievance committee. The men had started a strike, but had to give up, when they saw that the company was successfully replacing them.

1903 On January 9, 1903, Samuel Gompers returned to the city to speak before the Independent Club. Gompers claimed strikes would end when employers and employees were so strongly organized that one would respect the strength of the other. Gompers said that he did not favor strikes, but that he could not denounce them. The leader continued that labor could not be considered as a mere commodity because the human element had to be considered. He insisted upon the need of workers to organize, since one man acting alone against industrial corporations was helpless because the corporations could easily dispense with one man. Gompers concluded by citing the need of the minimum wage. 1.

1. Express, January 9, 1903
For minimum wage cf. below p. 236

Chapter 2

The Working Conditions of Child Labor

1903 Several months later a Buffalo judge spoke of "Labor Organizations" as follows:

Labor organizations are all right when they act within the limit of the law. But when as in this case it is charged and practically not denied, a labor organization, at the instigation of some of its officers who have a personal grievance against a man, conspire to destroy that man's business, it is another matter. 1.

This criticism was in reference to the justices continuance of the injunction against unions No. 13 and 116 of the United Garment Workers. The case arose out of the following circumstances as reported by the Express: 2 Charles V. Francis, a tailor, of 638 Jefferson Street, sued the United Garment Workers for five thousand dollars claiming that amount of damage to his business. The unionists wanted Monday fixed as their regular pay day. Francis had not agreed, and in his wrath had put out some of the unionists from his shop by threatening them with a hot iron. The union then called out all of the employees and Francis had no workers, nor was he allowed to use union labels. 3.

In the year of 1903 an interesting little pamphlet 4 was published in Buffalo, the purpose of which was to

1. Express, June 25, 1903

2. Loc. cit.

3. Express, June 25, 1903

4. Adams, Myron E., Adams, Brewster n., editors, The Buffalo Newsboy and the Street Trades Bill, pam., Buffalo, 1903

present the working conditions of the newsboys so that the public would become interested in the passage of the Street Trades Bill. This bill was passed later in 1903, and it restricted young children from engaging in street trades. By the bill boys under nine years were not to work on the streets, and boys from ten to thirteen years were not to work after ten p.m. Boys of fourteen and fifteen were not covered by the bill. The frontispiece was a picture of two sleeping boys under which were the words: "From ten to twenty boys of all ages sleep on the tables of this room until 3 a.m. when they go out to sell papers. The gunny sack is drawn up to keep the boys' legs warm." 1.

The information contained in the pamphlet was acquired as the result of questioning 328 newsboys of the ages of five to fifteen. These boys earned ten to thirty-seven cents a day, and averaged four to four and one-half hours work a day.

The 84 boys, 9 years old or less earn an average of \$.11 a day and work an average of three hours. A five or six year old boy makes more than those a little older because people buy from pity. If you buy from such a boy you only increase his slavery. 2.

The 189 boys from ten to thirteen years earned an average of twenty cents for four hours' work, while the fifty-five boys of fourteen and fifteen years earned an average of thirty-seven cents for five hours' work.

1. Ibid. Frontispiece

2. Ibid. p. 2

The Charity organization felt that

ten years is young enough to put a child in harness. The pennies he can earn are dearly paid for later. In fact the State and Charity Organization Society pay the bill in the end, when stunted bodies and lessons in street vice breed pauperism and crime. 1.

Buffalo had in these days seven hundred newsboys, eighty-three per cent which were under school age (14) and twenty-five per cent were under ten years of age. Of the forty-nine boys under nine years of age none were orphans. Most of the younger boys were Italians. The investigators were of the opinion that in only a few cases was it necessary for these children to be working. To illustrate this point the pamphlet contained a cartoon reproduced from the New York Herald of February 28, 1903. Under the caption, "One Reason for the Child Labor Problem," 2., four children were straining to pull a large cart with a hoggish man and a hoggish woman sitting on it drinking whiskey. The investigators found a boy of six selling papers at Seneca Street at three-thirty p.m. on March 18. At nine-thirty p.m. of this same day the boy was found "leaning against the window of the old depot at Michigan and Seneca streets." 3. Investigation showed that the boy's father owned a grocery, and it was not at all necessary that the boy sell papers or engage in any street trade.

-
1. Ibid. p. 4
 2. Ibid. p. 7
 3. Ibid. p. 8

1903 The Charity Organization opposed children engaging in street trades because by such work children tended to become irregular, unstable, truants from school, and demoralized. The pamphlet portrayed a case:

T.P., a boy of seven, was a well known character down town in Buffalo. He used to sing in saloons and concert halls, and in the summer on excursion boats to Crystal Beach. His repertoire ranged from Holy City to Dolly Grey, and his strong childish voice and cunning manner earned him many dollars. He had already become a degenerate if that term could be applied to a boy of only 7. The things that he had not seen and did not stand ready to talk about were few. 1.

This boy was not an orphan, but after coming under the surveillance of the Charity Organization he had asked to be "adopted." He was then sent to Father Baker's where he was reported to be improving.

1904 It was in this year of 1904 that the Buffalo system of vocational education had its beginning. Early in January, 2., Daniel Upton, City Director of Manual Training, sent a letter to the Manufacturers' Club suggesting that trade schools be started. It had long been admitted that opportunities for young boys to learn trades were inadequate in Buffalo, and the idea was well accepted. The employers were to urge their young employees to take the trade courses offered. Before Mr. Upton had made his suggestion, the Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Emerson, had outfitted School No. 11 on Elm Street, so as to use it as a vocational training center.

1. Ibid. p. 8

2. Express, January 7, 1904. For trades school cf. above p. 44

Chapter 3

The Growth and Development of the
United Trades and Labor Council

1904 It was inability at a trade that was the cause of the next labor difficulty. On January 9 the contractors said that it was difficult to get good electricians from the union, since many of the city's most desirable electricians were not union men. Consequently the contractors said that their customers were critical of much of their electrical work. To make matters worse, said the contractors, Union No. 41 requested higher wages, and thereby violating a contract made in 1902. This contract was to run into 1904, and by it electricians were not to seek higher wages. This they had done, calling a strike.

When the strike was prolonged to February 25, Mr. Schelling, an officer in the Iroquois Brewing Company, attempted arbitration because the strike was delaying the construction of a new brewery. Although this construction was delayed, the contractors had succeeded in keeping most jobs going. The strikers were receiving six dollars a week from the union while on strike.

By the year of 1904 Buffalo labor was deemed important enough to receive special attention from the Express: on March 14 the paper announced the commencement of a labor column conducted by John R. DeBarry, who had previously been a labor inspector, and who was well qualified to present labor's needs and complaints. The column was to be of service not only to wage workers, but to employers. 4. In regard to this innovation a

-
1. Express, March 14, 1904
 2. Express, Loc. cit. cf. above p. 68 footnote 1
 3. Express, March 18, 1904
 4. Express, March 14, 1904

local labor said:

Some of our newspapers have labor columns. You will read about a strike of ice cutters in New Zealand, but you never read about an increase in wages. Labor organizations are distrustful of reporters for the capitalistic press: they regard them as their natural enemies, and utterly refuse to believe that they could obtain justice at their demands. 1.

1904 Simultaneous about the report concerning labor columns was the one about the U.T.L.C. The U.T.L.C. now consisted of 150 unions in the Niagara Frontier, and they sent 470 delegates to discuss labor's problems. It represented fifty thousand men and its president was "Archie" Grant.

In spite of such importance there was one labor group in the Frontier that ignored the U.T.L.C. The lithographers acted independently. On March 12 the employers asked the lithographers to sign an agreement to arbitrate all labor problems independently: The lithographers refused to sign because they were afraid that once this concession was made their wages would be lowered, and they would have lost the power to strike. When the men took this attitude the employers locked-out eight hundred of them on March 18. John R. DeBarry reported that the lithographers were calm, but determined. There was no sign of "bravado." 2. The conditions in Buffalo were paralleled in other cities since the dispute

-
1. Express, loc. cit. cf. above p. 68 footnote 1
 2. Express, March 18, 1904

was a national one, involving 35,000 employees.

1904 On March the 22 the employers accused the leaders of the lithographers of deception, saying that the leaders had not assured the men of the employers' promise of not to lower the wages after the agreement of arbitration about any "change," while the workers were willing to arbitrate only "changes of mutual advantage." 1. The lithographers argued that the employer plan of arbitration was only a ruse; that the employers had known a strike was imminent and had utilized the arbitration plan to frustrate it. 2. Any rate the lithographers finally agreed to adopt the employers' plan, and they returned to work on April 22. The Express remarked that the lithographers probably suffered by not belonging to the U.T.L.C., thus not having the benefit of experience. 3.

Previous to the lockout of March 18, delegates from all the lithographers' unions of the United States met in Buffalo at a convention held February 1, 1904. At the convention it was decided that the unions would "support each other in any difficulty which might arise with the employers and to refuse to sign any agreement

-
1. Express, March 22, 1904
 2. Express, March 17, 1904
 3. Express, March 22, 1904

which deprived the unions of the right to strike. 1.

1904 Previous to this resolution the lithographic employers had joined together and demanded that all labor disputes be solved by arbitration. The reason for this demand was that for some time the employers were not organized, and consequently the employees dictated labor conditions by calling numerous strikes to gain their demands. In Buffalo the dispute between employers and employees lasted from March 18 to April 22, a little less than five weeks. In numerous other cities the dispute lasted nearly four years before the unions finally agreed to arbitration.

While the lithographers were determining upon their policy, the electricians were successfully formulating a contract with their employers. Adopted March 17, 1904, the agreement was to hold until January 1, 1905. The terms were: payment of three dollars for an eight-hour day; non-union men would be allowed to continue working. By March 29 this latter provision was causing dissatisfaction, when the unionists charged that the better jobs were given to non-unionists. Moreover, the employment of non-union men was keeping one-half of the union men idle. The union men said that the agreement would never have been signed if it had not been for the fact that at the time of signing most of the men employed were unionists. However, this matter did not cause a strike; it was arbitrated because by the agreement all such matters were to be submitted to the board

1. Hoagland, H. E., Collective Bargaining in Lithographic Industry, New York, 1917, p. 54

of arbitration made up of two members from the union and two representing the employers.

1904 We must now consider Union No. 357 which was the barbers' organization. 1. On March 25 the barbers requested that shops close on Saturdays at eleven-thirty p.m. instead of at twelve, and that shops be closed on Christmas and New Year's Day. Finally, they wanted prices increased so that pay could be increased from eleven to twelve dollars a week. The shop owners said that they were hesitant to raise prices because then the cut rate shops would thrive. This consideration could not have been very important, for when the agreement was signed on April 30 it provided for the wage increase, but not for a change in hours. Out of four hundred barbers three hundred and fifty accepted the new terms.

The year 1904 was characterized by its "agreements."
2. In no other single year do we find the employee and employer so frequently arranging working terms by use of the written contract. Of course such a system was commendable for it made both parties responsible and it obliterated strikes. Perhaps this year appears to have such a number of trade agreements because of the labor columns of Mr. DeBarry, for in this column the agreements were certain to be given notice, whereas under the previous system such contracts were frequently not published.

-
1. For Barbers also cf. above p. 90
 2. For trade agreements cf. below pp. 237-238

1904 Typical was the agreement of April 8 made by the carpenters and joiners with their employers: business agents of the unions would not be allowed to enter shops during working hours, but one of the men might act as a steward to collect dues and hand these over to a business agent. The trade agreements made in Buffalo were a part of Labor's effort to effect such agreements throughout the nation.

As early as 1866 various groups of iron and steel workers throughout the United States had succeeded in making trade agreements with their employers. Other groups of workers had attempted to do the same, but without much success; "trade agreements, were where they were entered into were held no more sacred by employers than by rank and file of the "Knights." 1. Beginning with 1887 "trade agreements multiplied" 2. most of which obligated the employer to submit to arbitration when a disagreement developed with his employees. In spite of this beginning, however, strikes and lockouts still remained the favorite weapons of the employer and employee. It was not until after 1910 that the "trade agreements had made rapid progress." 3.

We now shall consider the mason trades. The stone masons asked for a five cent increase for all men, but were refused by the employers who desired to pay different wages for different men according to their

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 415
 2. Ibid. p. 416
 3. Ibid. p. 526

efficiency. Thus a strike was called on May 2 and continued until May 24 according to a report of that date. On June 3 the masons and the bricklayers were locked out when they would accept the wage scale of the employers. The bricklayers were locked out because they struck in sympathy with the stone masons. Both groups returned to work on June 24 when the workers asked for employment. They returned to work for forty-five cents an hour instead of fifty.

1904 The labor column of Mr. DeBarry was to be of "service not only to wage workers, but to employers." 1. The tile and mantel dealers now made use of the column so as to explain their predicament to the public. 2. They stated that: (1) workers strike at any time, (2) workers limit the number of helpers, thus limiting the number learning the trade and making such trades men scarce, (3) workers won't guarantee work, (4) want full days even if they work only a part of it. The workers also utilize the labor column to respond that: 3. (1) sympathy strikes strengthen unionism, (2) helpers were plentiful enough, (3) demand for full pay just, because they had to "hang around" a long time before going on a job. These workers had been out for about fifteen weeks, returned to work on July 19.

-
1. Cf. above pp. 183-184
 2. Express, July 2, 1904
 3. Loc. cit.

1904 Two days later the horse shoers had returned to work. These had struck on July 1 for higher pay. James J. Sexton, national organizer, had come to Buffalo to settle the strike. On July 21 the horse shoers returned to work at \$2.50 for a nine-hour day. These were the old terms before the strike, but pay increases were promised for a later date.

On August the 8 we have an instance of a union vigorously enforcing its order upon its members. Union No. 3 of the Shipwrights, Carpenters and Joiners fined eight members fifty dollars when these men returned to work for the Buffalo Dry Dock on the old wage scale, against which the union had been striking.

Then on September 16 another agreement was signed. The window glass workers on this date met their employers at the Iroquois Hotel to arrange to sign a scale of wages for the coming year. Not so pleasant was a report the same day that the Art glass workers were called out because every four employees did not have a helper. These men were called out by a New York organizer. They returned to work on December 8 without any change in their status.

Like other Buffalo workers the garment workers were interested in a working agreement, but could not agree on one because the employers considered one of the union officers "obnoxious." 1. This officer was the union business agent, Sol Stone, and the employers accused

1. Express, October 18, 1904

him of restricting the workers' output. Mr. Stone resigned his position, and an agreement was signed on October 31 as follows: (1) The notice of a loss of a job, or of a worker quitting his job need not be given a week in advance, but may be given on a Saturday at the end of a week, (2) no wage reductions, (3) workers won't ask for wage increases, (4) Union will furnish competent men within twenty-four hours. This agreement, as were many others, was effected by John Coleman, business agent of the U.T.L.C.

Not in keeping with the view of the schoolmen was a view of a union carpenter that the trade schools didn't adequately prepare their graduates. Moreover, said the carpenter, these students were frequently used to replace strikers. 1.

We close the year of 1904 with an incident as depicted by Samuel Gompers. "One day a strike broke out in the Hanna Furnaces in the Buffalo area." 2. Senator Hannah had asked to see Gompers in regard to the strike:

He complained very strongly about the men striking in the Buffalo area Blast Furnaces. He said that if the fires went out it would mean that the molten metal would solidify, and then neither the furnaces nor the metal would be of any further use. 3.

-
1. Express, December 23, 1904
 2. Gompers, Samuel, Seventy Years of Life and Labor, New York, 1925, pp. 107-108
 3. Loc. cit.

Gompers continued by explaining that the strike was caused because the superintendent and the foreman were forcing the men to pay ten to fifty dollars to get a job, and then after paying were frequently discharged. When Hannah learned this as the cause he immediately dismissed the culprits and the strike ended.

1905 The spirit of organization was rife in Buffalo. Even the bootblacks were enthused. On January 5, 1905, sixty bootblacks were given a charter in the A.F. of L. No. 11292.

The head of the A.F. of L., Samuel Gompers, spoke in Buffalo on January 19. Gompers spoke before the U.F. L.C., where he said: "Buffalo has too many non-union men." 1.

Then on February 22 the cap makers demanded an open shop because the quarrels within the unions could not be reconciled. On the same day the boiler makers went on a strike for a ten-hour day at the Hammond Boiler Works.

Next time we find the Socialists organizing under August Klenke. This was on March 6, and several weeks later a socialist convert, Dan A. White, a former iron molder, spoke in defense of socialism. He said in effect: socialism is indifferent to religion; it is an economic movement. Socialists are free to worship any God. Socialism is only concerned against the fight of the capitalistic system, not with individuals. White concluded by stating that unionism could not cope with

1. Express, January 19, 1905

the present conditions. 1. Sympathetic with the Socialists were the brewers, but not openly, because such sympathy might lead to the loss of their charter with the A.F. of L. 2.

Not all Niagara Frontier workers were militant, if we consider a report of August 16. On this day it was announced by the U.T.L.C. that the unions would fine their members two to five dollars if they did not participate in the labor day parade. It was expected that twenty-two thousand men would march.

The year of 1905 terminated with a report that the Industrial Workers of the World were quietly working in Buffalo, but without much success. The Express said that the I.W.W. tried to enter where many crafts were in a confused state. 3.

1906 The year of 1905 was a quiet year in the Niagara Frontier. Its successor was somewhat more active. On January 10 the Boiler Makers went on strike in every shop in the Niagara Frontier. The men demanded thirty-eight cents an hour instead of the thirty-five now received, and a nine-hour day, with eight hours when engaged in work for the city government. This city work, however, would be paid for at the rate of a nine-hour day. The boiler makers were still out on January 27, when the employers requested that a committee of workers meet them to attempt arbitration.

-
1. Express, March 27, 1905
 2. Express, March 30, 1905 For Socialism cf. above pp. 69, cf. below pp. 202, 211, 213, 216, 223, 230, 232
 3. Express, November 2, 1905

1906 And now the proud U.T.L.C. was to be investigated. W.D. McMahon, President of Amalgamated Great Railway Workers, was acting as judge. The reason for the investigation was because two delegates, John R. O'Brien had charged the Council with corruption. O'Brien had run for the presidency of the council, and attributed his defeat to the said corruption. O'Brien's charges had been supported by Klincke so both had been discharged. The investigation was motivated by the request of these individuals to be re-instated. The investigation was made by the A.F. of L. The inquiry terminated in April 25 with the decision that O'Brien and Klincke were justifiably excluded from the Council. O'Brien had opposed the "Old Guard," and a split in the U.T.L.C. was feared because he had about ten thousand followers.

In 1905 we saw that the I.W.W. was attempting organization. By February 6th the organization had gained some success for at this time one hundred tailors had left Union No. 116 and joined I.W.W. This secession was led by Mr. Shopiro. And on February 15 we find that the pressers of the garment workers union leaving that organization for the I.W.W. The I.W.W. considered itself sufficiently strong to call a strike on March 6 against the English Woolen Mills when a worker, who was affiliated with the A.F. of L. protested the employment of an I.W.W. member. The I.W.W. member was discharged. The strike resulted in eighty-five men being called out. On March 17 the workers asked that they be taken back

since the strike had been ineffective. The U.T.L.C. said that the strikers who had joined the I.W.W. could rejoin the Council by paying back their back dues. However, when the Council said that the leaders of the I.W.W. would be deprived of union membership for two years, the rank and file of strikers decided against re-admission.

1906 The Industrial Workers of the World, commonly known as the I.W.W., 1. had been organized in 1905 by the Socialists. The organization consisted chiefly of non-skilled workers who did not belong to the skilled workers' organization, the A.F. of L. To off-set this threat to its existence, the American Federation of Labor began to organize the unskilled workers. This was successful, so that the I.W.W. never became very powerful. The organization never numbered over 60,000 members.

Again in 1906 the employees of the Buffalo Street Railway Company were in the news, this time because of a novel idea. Their union contemplated purchasing of autos to be used in strikes so that the strikers could get around the strategic points more easily. Someone also suggested that the autos might be used in those streets where there were no street cars to transport Buffalo citizens, and that the union would thus have a new and profitable source of income. 2.

1. For I.W.W. cf. below p. 243

2. Express, April 13, 1906 For street car employees pp. 81, 84, 109, 149 cf. below pp. 221-227

1906 The core workers and iron molders, 1., then went on strike on May 3 in thirty-four shops asking three dollars instead of \$2.75 per day. The employers desired a sliding scale of wages so as to pay according to ability. By May 27, about one thousand men of these two trades were out. By June 3, about four hundred had returned to work, not considering the seven dollars paid by the union to the strikers, as a sufficient substitute for their pay.

A somewhat lesser cause of labor disputes in Buffalo was the dissension of open and closed shops. This dispute plagued John Miller who conducted a cap making shop. His cap makers went on strike when he fired two unionists for criticising the quality of Miller made caps. Miller then declared that his shop would in the future be an open shop, since he had so much trouble holding the union to contracts. 2.

The campaign for a closed shop was fought earnestly by the unions in the period of 1885-1893. Many trade agreements provided for a closed shop. Many such closed agreements were threatened with abrogation with the development of the trust. This was so for two reasons. First, the trust became the only employer of labor in an industry, and thus destroyed competition among employers for labor. Second, the trust had great power to hold out against a strike. Thus when "trustification" destroyed every bargaining advantage which labor ever enjoyed" 3. the employer could destroy restrictions

1. The workers that made the "internal mold which forms hollow in the casting of metals" - Webster.

2. Express, July 4, 1906

3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 526. For trusts cf. below pp. 201-202

placed on him by labor. One such restriction was the "closed shop" policy of the unions. Accordingly the "open shop" movement endeavored during 1902-1902 to undo much that had been accomplished during 1900-1905." 1.

Two other strikes of this year of 1906 were those of the sheet metal workers and the lithographers. The sheet metal workers struck on May 23 for an increase in pay of seven and one-half cents an hour. Continuing in theory if not in practice, until November 4, the strike officially ended because the union could not keep the men from working whenever they had the opportunity. As for the lithographers, they asked for an eight-hour day and a closed shop on August 3. This strike continued on into 1907.

1907 The expulsion of O'Brien and Klincke 2. did not end the dissatisfaction against the "Old Guard" of the U.T.L.C. For years the Council had been dominated by this older element; and its candidates for election were not opposed by other factions. O'Brien had been the first to contest an election. A report of January 13, 1907 was that the reforming group was intending to have candidates in opposition to the "Old Guard."

1. Ibid. p. 526

2. Cf. above p. 188

1907 While the U.P.L.C. was involved in its factional quarrels, W. J. Connors was settling a quarrel that existed between him and his men. 1. The freight handlers at the Central Freight House had been striking for twenty cents an hour. About five hundred men had struck, and while at times they had appeared uneasy, there had been only one serious disturbance. The police had watched the strikers carefully. The disturbance had occurred upon the arrival of a car load of strike breakers. This car had arrived before the police assigned to protect it had appeared. The Polish strike-breakers were immediately attacked by Italian strikers, and the only policeman on hand, Larkin, went to stop the trouble. When his orders to desist were disobeyed, Larkin found it necessary to shoot a man. The strike **began** on May 24 and ended two days later when Connors agreed to pay the freight handlers twenty cents an hour.

More discouraging to unionists was the news of August 8, when it became evident that union officers could not always be trusted. On this date it was made known that one Burdick, treasurer of Carpenters' Union No. 9, had run off with four thousand dollars of the Union money. Since the treasurer's books had been examined every three months, it was believed that he had padded them.

1. For W. J. Connors cf. above Part III, Chapter 2
cf. below p. 217-218

1907 Likewise on August 8, was the disruption of the plans of the workers on the Lackawanna Railroad to strike. Their plans came to naught because the road stopped the strike by getting an injunction 1. against the strikers. As late as December 6 the injunction was questioned in court. The union argued ~~that~~ the injunction bound only the individual workers and not the union. After several hearings, Judge Hazel dissolved the injunction on December 14, deciding that the Lackawanna Railroad had failed to prove that the Switchmen's Union had intended to call an unlawful strike. Judge Hazel was of the opinion that a vote taken to determine the workers' attitude toward calling a strike was not incitement. The court said that a union officer might advise men to strike, without being held as acting illegally. 2. The vote taken had resulted in ninety-eight per cent of the men voting in favor of a strike, but no strike had taken place.

On the last day of the year 1907 the Buffalo Dry Dock Company posted the following bulletin:

Owing to prosperous conditions and the increased cost of living, as well as the appreciation on the part of the company of the willingness of the employees to give a fair day's work, it has been determined to increase wages. 3.

-
1. For injunction cf. above pp. 155-156
 2. Express, December 14, 1907
 3. Express, December 31, 1907

All men earning less than \$2.25 per day were to receive a ten per cent increase; those earning over \$2.25 were to be given a five per cent increase.

1907 Reverting to the press of September we noticed the headlines "Two Strikers Killed." 1. For some time various dock workers had been striking against the Lake Carriers Association. On September 1 union pickets had attacked strike breakers which were being escorted to the boats, by a private detective employed by the Carriers. The detective, Nicolai, belonged to the Watt's Detective Agency which furnished police protection to the Carriers. Nicolai had shot Matthew Dyer, an oiler, and George Houghten, a fireman. The killing was on a beach, Nicolai claimed he was assaulted by strikers, and shot in self-defense. According to the Express, 2. the strikers stood over the two dead men and swore vengeance. Nicolai was jailed pending investigation of his deed.

The inquest was held three days after the shooting, on September 4. The first called were John Moddy and Aloy Hasselhorn, the strike breakers who were being escorted by Nicolai. These told how two strikers accosted them and the detective, asking where they were going. After this one of the strikers said: "You will get yours farther down." 3. As Nicolai proceeded on with his charges, three men began to assault them with

-
1. Express, September 1, 1907
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Express, September 4, 1907

a club, according to Moody and Hasselhorn. Also at the inquest was a child of eleven who said Nicolai shot one man, ran, turned, and shot another man who was standing still. 1.

The investigation ended on September 11. The testimony showed that Houghton was the first shot, and was shot at close range, and that Dyer was shot while walking away. Several witnesses swore that Nicolai had advanced on Dyer after he shot Houghton. Dyer was unarmed. Judge Nash ordered Nicolai held for grand jury on a charge of first degree manslaughter. 2.

1908 Early in January of this year Dan J. Keefe came to Buffalo from Detroit to advise the longshoremen that they might have difficulty renewing their working agreements, and that wages might be reduced because of the financial depression. 3. Keefe, president of the Longshoremen's Association, was heard by only three hundred men, although Buffalo had about 4700 longshoremen. This threat to the Longshoremen's agreement was due because of the development of the trust company, the effect of which we have already seen. 4. In discussing the effect of trusts on trade agreements Commons mentions the Longshoremen's agreement with the Lake Carriers' Association. Commons writes:

-
1. Loc. cit.
 2. I did not find Nicolai's fate recorded in the Express.
 3. Express, February 7, 1908
 4. For trusts cf. above p. 196

In 1907, soon after the Steel Trusts had become the dominant influence in the carrying trade on the Great Lakes, the agreement on the Lake Carriers' Association and the Longshoremen came to an end. 1.

1908 One month later the building trades went on record as opposed to the use of what was now becoming a popular material in the construction of buildings; namely, concrete. These tradesmen argued that the use of concrete would destroy their craft, because skilled workers were not needed to handle it.

A report of the same day by the Express was that public talks on Socialism were becoming numerous. The paper gave an instance of one Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of New York, "looking like a school girl," 2. talking on the subject of Socialism at the Bethol Club. There was a large audience and as a precaution several policemen were placed on the stage. Another Socialist speaker was Eugene Debs 3. who appeared on October 2 to plead for Socialism and attack capitalism. About three thousand attended Debs' speech, paying ten to twenty-five cents for admission. Thus about seven hundred dollars was collected for the cause of Socialism.

We have seen that the Lackawanna Railroad men were very uneasy, ninety-eight per cent of them favoring a strike. 4. On April 29 the road was still having its

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 526
 2. Express, February 6, 1908
 3. For Debs, cf. above p. 125, 136, 140-142, below 213-214
 4. For Socialism cf. above pp. 69, 94, 153, cf. below pp. 211, 213-216, 223, 230, 232

labor troubles, for it was reported from Scranton that a strike might be called. The reason for the threatened strike was to be found in Buffalo: here two men had been fined for not obeying orders, which consisted of doing extra work in the yards when the foreman there was short-handed. The Switchmen's Union asked for their reinstatement, but the company refused, stating that it was determined to "maintain discipline." 1. Nevertheless, a strike did not develop at this time, although the bitterness between employee and employer continued throughout the summer.

1908 No longer were the Labor Day parades the colorful pageants of earlier years. Instead of a marching group of twenty thousand or even more, the parade of 1908 had only six thousand in line. The parade was not "lively" nor were there many "uniforms." 2.

The following month Samuel Gompers spoke at the Convention Hall. He was well received. Gompers spoke of the injunction as an invasion of human liberty, because he said that as it was now used it did not give the laborer equal rights before the law. 3. This speech

-
1. Express, April 29, 1908
 2. Express, September 7, 1908
 3. Express, October 13, 1908. For injunction cf. above pp. 146, 194

was followed by a rally the next night in the Seventeenth Ward Republican Club. At the rally Mr. Campbell, former vice president of the New York Federation of Workingmen, and a member of the typographical Union, refused "to be dictated to in my religion and my politics." 1. Campbell referred to Gompers' request that the workers vote for William Jennings Bryan for president of the United States. 2. Campbell said further that the injunction was used to protect the public.

1908 The Buffalo press did not know of all of the labor activity of the city. To complete the year of 1908 we must refer to a book of a famous detective. 3. The destruction of Buffalo was cited by W. J. Burns so as to build up his case against the McNamara brothers, famous because of their participation in the well known exploding of a Los Angeles newspaper. 4. W. J. Burns writes that on July 1, 1908, the McClintic Marshall Construction Company was building a bridge in Buffalo for the Lehigh Valley Railroad. On this day the bridge was rocked by two charges of dynamite which destroyed several bridge girders. 5. A passenger train was stopped two hundred feet from the explosion. Burns attributed the destruction to the fact that the bridge

-
1. Express, October 14, 1908
 2. For Bryan cf. above p. 101
 3. Burns, W. J., The Masked War, New York, 1913
 4. For McNamara brothers cf. below pp. 208-209
 5. Op. cit. list of dynamitings pp. 33-39

construction was not using union labor, and such was the cause used by the International Union of Bridges and Structural Workers, headed by the McNamaras. Similar were the circumstances when a bridge of the McCain Construction Company was dynamited in 1909, 1. and the destruction of a derrick car and railroad tracks in the same year. 2. According to Burns the man who planted the dynamite for the bridge jobs was Ortie McManigal:

There was quite a lapse between this job at Clinton and the next one I did which was at Buffalo, New York; a railroad bridge which spanned some other railroad tracks. I was supposed to get \$200 and expenses. 3.

Ortie McManigal was a dynamiter employed by the International Union of Bridge and Structural Workers (also called Iron Workers' International Union) to dynamite the construction jobs of employers who were antagonistic to the union. It was Ortie McManigal's confession that afforded much of the evidence against the McNamaras in the Los Angeles Times bomb case. 4. John McNamara, secretary-treasurer of the Iron Workers' Union, and his brother James, directed the dynamiting jobs. These men believed in force: "In their minds dynamiting for the union was not a sin."

-
1. Loc. cit.
 2. Loc. cit.
 3. Burns, op. cit. p. 152
 4. For bombing cf. below pp. 208-214

The McNamaras thought themselves soldiers in the cause of labor." 1. The iron workers dynamited about 150 buildings and bridges in the United States and Canada. Louis Adamic writes that "the Iron workers resorted to dynamite in extreme desperation, in a life and death struggle, to save the men's jobs, to save the union, on which the men depended for their jobs, and the improvement of conditions." 2.

1909 On 1909 the boiler-makers struck when their employers refused to renew their old trade agreement which provided for a nine-hour day at thirty-four cents an hour. Ten days later four shops had renewed the agreement and about 150 men had returned to work. These shops had much work and could not afford a strike at this time.

While the boiler-makers were striking to force renewal of their trade agreement, the Mason Builders' Association of Buffalo and Bricklayers' Union No. 45, formed a trade agreement. By the agreement a board of arbitration, consisting of three members from each side, was formed. Any labor dispute that developed had to be taken before the board for arbitration, within twenty-four hours. The board's decision was binding both on the union and employer. 3. This agreement was typical of trade agreements agreed to in the years 1900-1917 by the carriage, wagon, and auto workers, by the dredgemen,

-
1. Adamic, Louis, Dynamite, New York, 1931, p. 192
 2. Ibid., p. 185
 3. N. Y. State Dept. of Labor Annual Report, Vol. I, 1911, p. 583

elevator workers, granite cutters, horseshoers, photo-engravers, plasterers, and rock drillers, to mention only a few.

1909 The day after the formation of this trade agreement 250 plumbers struck for a pay increase of fifty cents a day. They were receiving four dollars for an eight-hour day. In addition, they demanded the removal of several "obnoxious" rules. The rules were:

- (1) All iron pipe, two inches or under must be cut, treated and placed in position by members of this association.
- (2) No journeyman shall be held responsible for breakages or alteration or complaints when said journeyman upon completion of work has called the attention of the owner or tenant to same. 1.

A hard strike was anticipated. Single men would receive five dollars while not working, and married men seven dollars. By April 8 the plumbers wanted to compromise, and this was effected by May 22. Until September 1 plumbers' pay would be \$3.73 a day with an increase to four dollars after September 1. The policy of closed shop would exist, and the rules would still hold.

Preceding this compromise was the Lake Strike. The Express announced the beginning of this affair by a headline: "Lake Strike Is Now On." 2. This had been

-
1. Express, March 31, 1909
 2. Express, April 16, 1909

anticipated for some time because of the workers' demand that the Lake Carriers Association recognize the various seamen's unions, and operate a closed shop. Although not in itself a cause of the strike, the workers protested against being required to carry a book in which "bad marks" were recorded. These marks made it difficult for workers to receive work later on. The strike was called in places other than Buffalo, and it involved about fifteen thousand men, from dock hands to engineers. The strike began on the day before the beginning of the lake shipping season.

1909 On April 22 the seamen voted on whether or not to call a general strike and the tabulation showed an affirmative vote. A few boats succeeded in leaving the Buffalo port, but there were very few such attempts as the ice had not cleared away as yet. On May 8, strike leaders and employees were coming to Buffalo to consider the strike problem. The strike was becoming more serious than expected. There was even some violence taking place, for example, the beating of Mr. Hilgen of the Mitchell when he refused to strike. It was the attitude of men like Hilgen that prevented the lake strike from becoming effective, and lake traffic although inconvenienced was not seriously hindered.

1910 It is interesting to read a Buffalo Chamber of Commerce item for this period.

Buffalo had good labor, both skilled and unskilled being obtainable, due to the large percentage of German and Polish

population. The city has been free from labor troubles. 1.

1910 Many would not believe the above statement, although Buffalo had less upheavals than some other cities. 2. Buffalo, nevertheless, had "labor troubles."

On March 17, Captain William McMurray of the Niagara River Ferry was discharged for insubordination. McMurray was a union man, and he was replaced by a non-union man. The Tugmen's Union said that the punishment was too drastic, and so they went on strike.

More drastic action was taken by a group of Italians against some Polish strike-breakers. The Poles were being escorted by the police to unload some ships which were strike bound, when, at the Terrace, they were attacked. The police shot in the air so as to frighten the attackers. Six men and one woman were arrested. This was on June 10.

On the same day a group of women gathered at the City Hall to ask that their poverty be alleviated. The police were sent to disperse them, whereupon one woman picked up a piece of board fence, and struck the policeman with it.

We now will consider a formation of a union made up of professional people: seven hundred Buffalo teachers organized and joined the A.F. of L. for the purpose of getting better treatment from the city administration. 3. There was much criticism of this

-
1. Chamber of Commerce, Pam. Buffalo, 1910
 2. See Appendix 1
 3. For teachers cf. above p. 48

as unbecoming a professional group, and so the teachers answered: "Teachers are laborers. The word professional sounds well and looks well in print, but the fact remains that the teaching profession works for a living wage." 1. The union took the title of Educational League. The president was Mary L. Morgan, and the secretary was W. Anna Stark. The teachers immediately began to work for minimum pay of six hundred dollars a year, with a maximum of twelve hundred. School Superintendent Emerson announced that he approved such a salary agreement, but there were not sufficient funds to make it possible. The teachers pointed out that under the present system they received \$1800 in a five-year period, while a switchboard operator received \$2288, in the same period. 2.

1910 The teachers called a mass meeting on June 25 to consider the question of pay increases. It was pointed out that in other cities the teachers were receiving five hundred a year, and a hundred dollar increment each year until a thousand was reached. At the same meeting the teachers decided not to take part in the Labor Day parade as a body.

The teachers' fight for pay increases was well supported by the public, 3. and the press featured the battle. Yet there were other events. On June 15 the tailors and cutters at the M. Wide and Company at Swan

-
1. Express, June 11, 1910
 2. Express, June 15, 1910
 3. Exopress, June 15, 1910

Street struck so violently that the police were called. Two were arrested. The tailors wanted a ten per cent pay increase and less hours. The company broke the strike by hiring strike breakers, and by keeping them right in the plants not working. Thus the strike breakers would not be intimidated. Another event which was considered more serious than the teachers' demands was the announcement of Mr. Coleman, business agent of the U.F.L.C., that labor would not take part in the fall elections. This was a denial in the rumor that the U.F.L.C. would support the Socialistic ticket. Coleman said that there was no sentiment in Buffalo for the Socialists. 1.

1911 The teachers were successful in the year of 1911. On February 7, Mayor Fuhrman approved pay increases for all the teachers. The new schedule became effective September 1. While not receiving the desired maximum of \$1200, the teachers (the teachers had lowered this to one thousand) were to receive nine hundred, and nine hundred and fifty for the two highest grades. The maximum would be reached by yearly increases of eighty dollars for the first year, and fifty dollars for the successive years. The minimum was to be five hundred dollars. To defray these new expenses the budget was

1. Express, October 21, 1910. For Socialism cf. above pp. 69, 94, 153, 193, 202 cf. below 213-216, 223, 230, 232

increased \$200,000. Speaking of the teachers' success, Miss O'Connor, president, said:

The attempt of the enemy in the long contested "battle of brains" to appear in the eyes of the public as being "friendly" toward the teachers who have won out against every subtle attempt at ambush recalls to mind the Battle of Orleans as it appeared in the British Press:

"We did not wish any harm to the Americans, as we felt assured that peace would be proclaimed, and we have a friendly feeling toward them." The real report of the battle gives 8 Americans killed, and 2600 British. 1.

1911 Previous to the teachers' success the workers at the Mirrow Company, glass manufacturers, struck because of the introduction of women workers in one department. The women replaced all of the men. This strike was reported on January 3, 1911, although it had begun the latter part of 1910.

John Coleman of the U.T.L.C. was now actively organizing women workers. On April 19 he called a meeting of the girls. The girls had been striking for a fifty-four hour week with sixty-hour pay.

Five days later John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers spoke to the workers assembled at Shen's Theater. Mitchell urged the Workers to fight against tuberculosis. He urged the construction of a hospital. It was estimated that 584 Buffalonians had died of this disease in 1910. 2.

-
1. Express, February 7, 1911
 2. Express, April 24, 1911

Chapter IV

The Rise of Socialism in Niagara Frontier

1911 Because so many immigrants were in Buffalo in 1911 seeking work, a group of citizens began to act on May 5 toward the establishment of a branch office of the Bureau of Farm Labor in the city. It was believed that the Bureau could direct immigrants toward the farms, and thus lessen unemployment, raise wages, and lower taxes.

The Socialistic ticket which the U.T.L.C. refused to support pulled their largest vote in Buffalo history. The Socialist vote was 4,345. In 1910 the vote had been 2,407; in 1908 the vote was 776. 1.

Before the election Eugene Debs 2. had been in Buffalo to deliver a Socialistic campaign speech. The meeting was held in Convention Hall, and was attended by 3500. Debs gave a fiery speech on Socialism, flaying the corporations, attacking the capitalist class, protesting against the alleged kidnapping of the McNamara brothers. 3. Debs declared that he would return to Buffalo next year to celebrate a party victory. The Express characterized Debs as "a forceful speaker appealing to the passions of the multitude rendered impressionable by his sophistry." 4. Debs belittled President Theodore Roosevelt:

1. For socialism cf. above pp. 69, 94, 153, 193, 202, cf. below pp. 213-216, 223, 230, 232

2. For Debs cf. above pp. 131, 142, 146-148, 202

3. Express, October 11, 1911

4. Loc. cit.

This hero of the people. Oh, how he has shriveled...He is now reduced to the rank of a village freak. 1.

Debs called Roosevelt the "chief political clerk" of J. P. Morgan. Debs continued:

When we present a solid front there is nothing that can stand between us and victory. We ask no quarter, we grant none; we ask no compromise and we become stronger with defeat and when we are placed in jail we merely expand to our natural proportions. I have been in jail five times and I am willing to go there three times fifty if necessary. 2.

The Express said that Debs promised to confiscate railroad property, transfer titles to the proletariat, and give the workingman everything he can desire. Debs concluded:

We shall have an industrial democracy where there will neither be slaves nor masters, where women will have equal rights with men. Until this age arrives we cannot lay claims to living in a civilized world. Then we will begin the onward march of divine civilization. 3.

1911 In his speech Debs protested against the "alleged kidnapping of the McNamara Brothers." 4. These two men were the central figures in one of the most interesting incidents in the entire labor history of the United States. In October, 1910, the antiunion paper of General Harrison Grey Otis, the Los Angeles Times, was bombed. Twenty were killed, and many more injured.

1. Loc. cit.

2. Loc. cit.

3. For McNamara Brothers cf. above pp. 204-205

John McNamara, secretary-treasurer of the Iron Workers International Union, and his brother James McNamara, were accused of the crime. The kidnapping incident of which Debs spoke of was as follows: McNamara was arrested in Detroit, while his brother John was arrested in Indianapolis.

There were legal difficulties in extraditing them to California, where John Doe warrants were out for them for the Times explosion. The prisoners were too great a prize for Burns (the detective) to jeopardize on legal technicalities, so he "kidnapped" them illegally, took them to California.

Labor thought of the McNamaras as "symbols of Labor's Struggle, Martyrs - Victims of Capitalistic Greed. The case became a National Issue." 2. The confession of guilt by the McNamaras, (the cause for this confession was yet not clear) was a "blow to trade unionism." 3.

1911 While the daily press poked fun at the Socialists a few thinking men saw the potential power of the movement. One of these was Josephus Nelson Larned. Larned was a successful bookkeeper, newspaper reporter, Express editor, superintendent of education in Buffalo, a leader in the Buffalo Historical Society, and a writer. His view of Socialism published under the title "Prepare for Socialism" was:

Indifference to the modern socialistic movement is fast becoming an impossible attitude of mind. The movement has now gained a momentous out-come of change in the economic organization of society.

-
1. Adamic, op. cit. p. 209
 2. Ibid. p. 209
 3. Ibid. p. 235

All the wage workers of the world are possible recruits to be won for Socialism, and they out-number all other divisions of civilized mankind. It is a movement of such nature, in fact it seems likely to break suddenly, some day into avalanches and floods. Its possibilities of good to a society are in a socialistic scheme, and they are obviously dependent upon the discretion, the honesty, the social sincerity and good faith with which it is carried into effect. 1.

1912 We have seen several instances of the use of the injunction against striking workers. In spite of labor's protests against the injunction, 2. it was used again in 1912. A report of April 30 was that Judge Hazel had called Union No. 84 of the Molders to show why an injunction should not be issued to restrain union pickets from molesting workers at the Aluminum Castings Company on Elmwood Avenue. This strike had been on for three weeks. Another report as late as August 6, was that one thousand Molders were out on strike demanding a nine-hour instead of a ten-hour day and daily increase in pay of twenty-five cents. According to the same press notice there was a strike of the core-makers for three dollars a day instead of \$2.75. The core-makers and molders claimed they were the lowest paid in the country. 3.

-
1. Severance, Frank, Editor, Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Vol. XIX, 1915, pp. 107-112
 2. For injunction cf. above pp. 155, 199, 204
 3. Express, August 6, 1912

1912 The hotel employees of Buffalo had been an unobtrusive group. With the exception of the strike at the Genesee Hotel in 1894, 1. the press contained no news of these workers. Now, however, according to the Express of October 9, these employees were to attempt to improve their condition. Mr. Michael Dumas, hotel union organizer from New York City, had come to Buffalo for the purpose of organizing the hotel employees. Dumas declared that the Buffalo hotels required a fifteen-hour day, overtime without pay, and the payment of fines for minor offenses such as dropping table things. Dumas said that such fines left the workers an average of pay amounting to eighty-three cents a day. 2. The organizer was successful because when a strike was called on November 1, the Lafayette and Iroquois Hotels, and several smaller hotels, signed the following agreement: (1) The workers would have clean, sanitary conditions, (2) The workers might buy uniforms where they wished, (3) Fines were abolished, (4) Pay increases were granted, (5) Union help would be given preference, and there would be no discrimination against unionists.

Shortly before the hotel agreement had been signed the City Council investigated the charge made by union teamsters that the contractors on Technical High School were working their men more than eight hours a day, and

-
1. For Genesee Hotel cf. above p139
 2. Express, October 9, 1912

thus violating the law prescribing eight hours work on public works. The investigation began on May 16. October 16 the investigation committee reported that, with a few occasional exceptions, contractors obeyed the eight-hour law. 1.

1913 The Buffalo Street Railway Employees went on strike because of past grievances. 2. There were no serious disorders but there was constant discontent which came to a head in 1913. On April 7, some five hundred street car men, mostly conductors and motormen, met to consider their problems. The men met in their uniforms, but removed their numbers so as to prevent identification. The street railway men had always acted secretly, because they charged that the company used detectives as "spies" 3., who reported on the men if they joined a union, or criticized the company. In the Express article of April 7, the men's complaints were listed: (1) A man must work nine hours for the company before he is paid twenty-eight cents an hour, (2) Buffalo street railway employees were the lowest paid in the state of New York, (3) Some employees had to work as low as eighteen hours for a pay of \$1.80, (4) Men demanded better "runs," and time and one-half for overtime, (5) The men want the right to preserve grievances. In regard to the "runs," the workers complained that they would operate a car for a few hours, and then would be forced to "hang around" a few hours before taking another car.

-
1. Express, October 16, 1912
 2. For Street Railway Employees cf. above p. 81, 84, 103, 149, 195
 3. Express, April 7, 1913

The protest meeting of April 7 was called by two leaders, William B. Fitzgerald and John Tharpe. The meeting began on April 7, and by midnight the workers reached a decision to call a strike. Strike plans, the formation of a union were then discussed until daybreak. The men decided to ask for a flat rate of thirty cents an hour, and decided to unionize under the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees.

1913 The determination to call a strike so hurriedly was because of the company's policy of discharging union men as soon as the fact was known that such men were union men. Unless all of the employees cooperated and acted suddenly their cause would be lost.

When the company intended to run cars on Tuesday, **April 8**, the strikers interfered by pulling trolley-poles, smashing windows, and putting hindrances on the tracks. To break the strike President Connette of the Railway Company began to bring in strike-breakers from Philadelphia. President Connette had to contend with seventeen hundred unionists, mostly motormen and conductors. The Express of April 8 reported that the problem of patrolling three hundred miles of track had Police Chief Regan worried. The paper reported that the strikers were damaging company property, and that eighteen men were taken before Judge Keeler charged with

interfering with street railway traffic by throwing stones and cutting trolley wires. A patrolman, John Kingston, had been blinded in one eye when hit with a brick.

1913 The Socialists had been accused of fomenting the strike. John Pelon, Chairman of the Socialist Party, said that the Socialists sympathized with the strikers, and would assist them, but he denied that his group had brought on the strike. 1.

The Express described the strike of the second day as follows:

Crowds gathered on Main Street...the crowd was made up largely of the idly curious out to see, rather than take part. Fathers and mothers regardless of their own safety or their children's safety brought them out in baby buggies or toted them along by the hand, and young girls in groups of five or six mingled with the crowds in which there were dozens of young hoodlums who passed insulting remarks and acted in a way that ought to have been sufficient to drive decent people off the streets. 2.

The biggest crowds were at Cold Spring barns where the streets were roped off so as to prevent damage to buildings.

-
1. Express, April 8, 1913
 2. Socialism cf. above p. 69, 94, 153, 193, 202, 211, 213-216
 3. Express, April 8, 1913

On April 9, W. B. Fitzgerald of the strikers wired Governor Sulzer:

The street railway men of Buffalo have been forced to strike to secure their American rights to organize for a living wage and human treatment. We have just been informed that the State troopers have been ordered out this morning. If this is true it is for the sole purpose of aiding this arrogant company and to intimidate these working men. We have been and still are willing to submit our contentions to arbitration. The company has refused this. In the name of labor we appeal to you against unfair and unwarranted discrimination. 1.

Governor Sulzer was told by W. B. Fitzgerald of the willingness to arbitrate. Mayor Furham had asked the company to do likewise, but this company refused to do, unless the men returned to work. President Connette then asked Governor Sulzer for troops, saying that the local police were not able to give local police adequate protection. 2. Mayor Furham opposed this as did other city officials, but Connette went to Justice Charles Brown who had issued the order for state troopers. The troops called out were the Seventy-fifth and Sixty-Fifth of Buffalo. A Rochester division also went to Buffalo. Buffalo now had twenty-three hundred troops on hand.

Mayor Furham was irked at calling out the troops:

-
1. Express, April 10, 1913
 2. Express, April 10, 1913

I regard the action as entirely unwarranted by the situation. When I asked the president of the railway company to join in an effort to promote for peace between the company and the men in the interest of the public his reply was a demand for the calling out of the national guard. I declined to ask the governor for the services of the armed troops to police this city until it was clearly shown that our own police system was helpless. I intend to proceed with the idea to bring about orderly and normal conditions in this city and trust that the officials of the street railway company will consent to cooperate in that end. 1.

1913 The men returned to work on April 12. The troops were withdrawn, and it was planned to begin arbitration within five days. The trolley company then presented a bill for damages to the county, and the county announced the contesting of its liability in the courts.

It appeared at first that arbitration might not be necessary, that the company might agree to meet the men's demands half way. However, this did not develop for a report of May 13 was that the employees would not agree to accept the company's offer of an increase of one cent an hour. At a meeting conducted by Clarence

-
1. Express, April 10, 1913

Conroy, president of the Street Railway Employees Union, No. 623, two thousand employees voted to accept the work of the arbitrators. The agreement was to run for three years, and called for increases of one to three cents an hour for motor men and conductors; shop and barn men were to receive from one to four cents an hour. All workers were to receive one day off out of seven, and the working day was to be eleven hours.

1913 We might vote that the street car strike stimulated witty advertising, for example: "Street Car Strike! --You should worry, you can buy a Frontier Bicycle"; and another ran: "Street Car Strike!--But you should worry and wear out your soles. Get a bicycle." 1.

Imitating their more aristocratic brothers, the laborers of the Street Railway Company went on strike for an increase in pay. They marched upon other street laborers to force them to strike and the police made them scatter.

On the next day the Socialists caused a strike among the clerks. 2. Some of the clerks ignored the strike and went to work. Enough were loyal, however, to

-
1. Express, April 11, 1913
 2. Cf. above p. 221

prolong the strike to August 18 when it ended. On May 13, P. J. Downey of the State Arbitration Board started to make attempts to arbitrate. Male clerks were now to receive twelve dollars a week; female clerks would receive six. Stores would close on Saturday nights and on holidays, and the clerks would get a week's vacation with pay. The terms were accepted by the department stores.

1913 Included under the agreement were the drivers of the delivery vehicles. These were to receive fifteen dollars a week as well as the benefits of the other concessions. These drivers had not struck with the clerks, but with another group; the teamsters and truck and ice drivers. 1. Three hundred police were ordered out because of possible violence. On May 8 it was estimated that the drivers union was six to seven hundred strong. The drivers demanded fifteen dollars a week instead of the eight received.

As the clerks were instigated by the Socialists so were the drivers, and the U.T.L.C. thought it wise to warn the drivers against "Radicalism." 1.

1. Express, May 8, 1913

1914 As usual there was much winter grain stored in Buffalo in this year. Preparations to unload this grain were halted because of a strike involving twelve elevators. The strike was against the policy of requiring the men to put in overtime. The strike occurred on March 25. The men had been given time off to attend a union meeting; they did not return to work after the union meeting.

The decline of the U.T.L.C. continued into 1914. On July 22 it was announced that Coleman had been expelled, and that eleven building trade unions had left the U.T.L.C. and joined the Central Labor Union. This development was believed to have "broken the backbone" 1. of the U.T.L.C.

The building trades called a general strike on October 6. After two strikes were called on the Masten Park and Hutchinson High Schools. Some twenty-five hundred men were out. The strikes at the high schools were called because workers had been locked out at schools No. Thirteen and Forty-two. The general strike became ineffective by October 19 because individual unions were ignoring the strike.

1. Express, July 22, 1914

1915 We have a report of the unemployment conditions in the Buffalo area of the Frontier in the period of 1914-1915.

In Buffalo in 1914-1915 no public work was given except snow shoveling. The number sleeping on the floor in police stations rose to 500. This stopped on January 9, 1915 when the city opened quarters for 200 men at the Broadway Auditorium, with bath and meals, and on February 6 there was room for 500 more on Lloyd Street, where men slept on the floor but had two meals. Public work is less debasing and without more cost. Men of the better sort want work, not relief and the relief societies are not organized to supply. 1.

1916 On February 9, six thousand machinists voted to strike for an eight-hour day, and a minimum wage scale. Buffalo had about twelve thousand machinists during this period. The day following the strike, two hundred machinists at the Pierce Arrow Plant caused the unemployment of five thousand men. Conditions caused Jake Reppler, of the International Machinists, to come to Buffalo to settle the strike. The machinists of each plant came to terms.

In anticipation of a strike the New York Central had quietly brought in and trained two hundred strike breakers. Thus, when on May 4, the telegraphers, towermen, and signalmen of the New York Central threatened a strike the railroad was not worried. The threat ended

1. City Committee on Unemployment, report, 1920-1921

after negotiations.

Again in 1916 the Buffalo Street Car Employees were in the news; this time, however, the news was pleasant. ¹ On May 11, twenty-three hundred street car employees met to consider a new wage scale drawn up by an arbitration board. The men wanted a flat thirty-eight cents an hour. They were receiving twenty-three to thirty cents an hour. The company plan provided for a sliding scale of wages, which would provide for a flat rate maximum of thirty-four cents an hour. The union under the direction of Clarence Conroy agreed to the company plan on May 20 by a vote of 1530 to 384. The wage plan was as follows:

1 yr. man	.25 an hour	maximum .26
2 yr. man	.26 an hour	maximum .27
3 yr. man	.28 an hour	maximum .30
4 yr. man	.30 an hour	maximum .32
5 yr. man	.32 an hour	maximum .34
6 yr. man	.33 an hour	maximum .34

A survey was made in 1916, and published in 1917, described an industrial hazard which Buffalo workers must be protected against. The survey indicated an influence of the World War I on Buffalo labor.

1. For street car employees cf. above pp. 81, 84, 103, 146, 194, 218-222

1917 In the period 1900-1917 labor developed into a large and powerful organization. Increased membership into the A.F. of L. is indicative of labor's development during this period. In 1904 this organization had 1,676,000 members; by 1917 the membership was 2,371,434. In addition there were numerous unions organized during this period that did not affiliate with the A.F. of L. If we include these in our count, "the average increase in union membership would be about 131,000 per year for seventeen years." 1. For the most part these organized workers were the skilled workers, although when the I.W.W. attempted to organize the unskilled workers the A.F. of L. did likewise. 2.

These organized workers were powerful. They had

strength which showed in a most powerful manner when they prevented large reductions in wages during the hard times following the financial panic of 1907. But even more striking proof of their progress is found in

1. Commons op. cit. Vol. II, p. 522

2. For I.W.W. cf. above p. 195

the remarkable number of trade agreements. 1.

It was in the period of 1900-1917 that the American public came to recognize the labor movement as the normal part of American life. Such recognition was due to the defense of labor's rights by such men as President Theodore Roosevelt. Probably the greatest influence in bringing the labor movement to the attention of the American public was the "recurring threats of railway strikes in connection with demands made by the brotherhoods of railway employees upon the companies." 2. The public desired these strikes averted because they not only caused hardship but they also caused violence and destruction. Because of public demand Federal legislation provided for mediation and conciliation of railway disputes. On at least one occasion the government settled a dispute not with conciliation or mediation, but by simply passing a law. This was in 1916 when a general railroad strike was threatened if an eight-hour day was not granted engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen. 3. To prevent this strike, "Congress enacted, upon the recommendation of President Wilson, the legal eight-hour day for engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen." 4. Labor's influence on

-
1. Ibid. p. 524
 2. Ibid. p. 528
 3. Cf. above pp. 187-188
 4. Ibid. p. 528

government may also be partially explained by its political power. Labor now controlled many votes, and could gain some of its objectives by giving its vote to the party that passed favorable legislation.

Part VII

A Summary of the American Labor Movement

Chapter 1

A Comparison of the Niagara Frontier Labor Movement
with that of the National Movement

This chapter has been included so as to furnish a background for the Buffalo labor movement. This chapter will permit a general comparison between the labor movement of the Niagara Frontier and the national labor movement. In general it will be found that the events of the national movement will have their parallel to that of the Frontier. That the labor movement in Buffalo and the Frontier followed the national labor movement as it developed in cities like Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Baltimore is easily understood, if we remember that the city of Buffalo became important after Baltimore, New York, Boston, Philadelphia. Thus in 1799, when Buffalo was a mere outpost the Journeymen Cordwainers of Philadelphia "conducted the first organized strike, which lasted ten weeks." 1. Buffalo had no recognized strikes until that of the tailors in 1824, 2. and that of carpenters in 1836. 3.

In the year of 1790, when the first census of United States was taken the population totaled about 3,900,000 people. In 1790 there were five cities which boasted of a population of about ten thousand; namely, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore. Such a small population in such a large country

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 109
 2. Cf. above p. 6
 3. Cf. above p. 7

made it possible for every American to have opportunity to work. Most men were their own bosses. Men who were not their own bosses and who were irked by their circumstances could pack up and move to places where there was an abundance of free land. It was only when the population increased and when land became scarce that the American labor movement began. "Between these dates, 1786 and 1827, there were sporadic strikes and isolated unions, but no labor movement." 1.

Labor was scarce in the early days of the United States, and good laborers were in great demand, especially when they possessed their own tools. When towns developed laborers opened up their own shops. In time with the increase of business the shop owner had to employ workers. As more shops opened competition increased, and it became necessary to establish rules of fair competition. Thus the masters formed trade organizations. In addition to regulating competition these masters' organizations educated apprentices, gave financial aid to young mechanics, and acted as trade courts and benevolent associations. 2. The Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier had such an organization as early as 1812. 2.

Masters' organizations increased rapidly during the years 1790 to 1816, and succeeded well enough so long as the local market was able to supply a profit.

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 25

2. For masters' organizations, cf. above pp. 5-6

However, there was the foreign importer who also supplied the American market, and

domestic manufacturers could not hope to compete with foreign importers for the new markets of the South and West. The importers were long established in business, had necessary capital with which to finance it, and they could buy their stock on credit. 1.

Thus we find masters and organizing groups to supply capital and to market the products. Such organizations were succeeded by banks, which increased from three to 246 in number in the years 1791-1816. 2.

The merchant now had new problems. When he began to deal with banks and marketing associations he had to pay for these services, and he also had to take care that sufficient profit remained for himself. According to Commons this profit was taken out of the worker:

There was yet no method of reducing labor cost of production by the use of labor saving machinery. Their profits came solely out of wages and work. Their profits were "sweated" out of labor, their shop was the "sweatshop," they the "sweaters." 3.

As immigration 4. increased, the labor supply became more plentiful and "sweatshops" were more easily

1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 90

2. Ibid. p. 95

3. Ibid. p. 96-97

4. For restrictions on immigrant labor cf. above p. 11-12, 108-109 below p. 250

established. Against these "sweatshop" working conditions the journeymen protested by forming unions. "Since the skilled mechanics were the first to feel this pressure, it was quite natural that they should be the founders of the early labor organizations." 1. The first to organize were the shoemakers of Philadelphia in 1892. In the same city two years later the Typographical Society was formed; the carpenters of Philadelphia also organized in this year, 1794. 2. Early organizations such as these drew up a scale of prices, and had their members agree not to work for an employer who did not observe the scale. After 1799 the workers' societies sometimes resorted to strikes.

In Colonial days as well as now a depression was detrimental to the welfare of the unions. Depressions cause the unions to lose members, and some unions were thus destroyed. Under depression conditions the better unions

shift from economic action to insurance benefits. The societies that showed greatest permanency almost invariably had well established benefit funds. In all probability this feature was the chief incentive for maintaining the organization during the depression. 3.

This was the method resorted to by the Typographical Society during the depression of 1816 to 1820.

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 107
 2. These two groups were important in the Buffalo labor movement. Cf. above pp. 7, 10
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 136 cf. above p. 49-51

After this depression as after all depressions labor attempted further organization. Strikes became more numerous: in 1824 the Buffalo tailors, the Philadelphia ship carpenters, the New York house painters, to mention a few prominent groups, struck for higher wages. By the late twenties we have the "first awakening of American wage earners as a class." 2. In the early thirties

the public was suddenly awakened, and a new term, "trades union," appeared signifying a union of trades, where formerly there had been only societies of journeymen, or guild like "associations" of masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The fore-mark of this period is the first appearance in the history of modern nations of wage earners as a class exercising the privilege of suffrage. 3.

Workers were becoming class conscious. Many were thrown together in the rapidly growing cities, and in mingling they found that generally they were poorly educated, lived in the same bad conditions, and were subjected to the same penalties such as imprisonment for debt. Thus in Philadelphia in 1827 the carpenters demanded shorter hours of labor and more public education. The carpenters were instrumental in forming the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations in Philadelphia in 1827. This union was the first of organized workmen in any city." 4. This union advocated political action which

-
1. Cf. above p. 6
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 169
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 12
 4. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 189

was apropos of the recent development of extending the suffrage to all men. By 1852 the suffrage had been extended in all states save Rhode Island. Grasping this opportunity the working men organized the Working Men's Party in Philadelphia. By 1830 the Party had spread to New York State and won some elections.

The platform of this pioneer party had nothing to do with wages, everything to do with status: free public education, mechanics' lien laws to protect wage earners from contractors and abolition of imprisonment for debt. 1.

Meetings were held everywhere: in New York, Albany, Lansingburgh, Palmyra, Buffalo. Before the time for the autumn elections in 1830 in the state of New York

organizations of farmers, mechanics, and workmen who had declared their independence of the old political parties and their determination to enter the political field in their interest were scattered over the State. 2.

However, the Working Men's Party was not of long duration, nor did it gain any immediate results. The party did however, force its platform into public attention, "and eventually all of the specific evils of which it complained were abolished and all its constructive measures were passed." 3.

1. Morison, S.E., and Commager, H.S., The Growth of the American Republic, New York, 1937, Vol. I, p. 403

2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 263
For workmen's party cf. above 19-22, 161
For other workers' parties cf. above pp. 76-77, 101, 133-137

3. Ibid. p. 331

Following upon the decline of the Workingmen's Party was the development of trades' unions. The development of roads and canals started competition between masters of different communities. To meet this competition the masters had to lessen the cost of production, and to do so they frequently went so far as to use prison labor. 1. Another method was the principle known as the "division of labor." That is laborers were given only one job to do so that they could do it rapidly and well. Thus where one trade existed there were now several. Another means of lessening the cost of production was to hire apprentices, pay them little and hold them for five or six years at a trade which was frequently mastered in much less time. 2. The employment of women was likewise resorted to so as to decrease production costs. To defend themselves against such innovations more and more workers formed trades' unions.

A further impetus to trades unions was given by President Jackson's distribution of the funds of the United States Bank among his "pet" state banks. This increase in the supply of money raised the cost of living; moreover once the paper money craze began, workers were often paid in paper notes

of different or suspected banks. It was the advance in the cost of living and other hardships that paper money imposed on the workmen that stimulated

1. For prison labor in Buffalo and nation cf. above pp. 45-47, 55, 68, 167

2. For apprentice system in Buffalo and nation cf. above pp. 2-3, 7, 13-42, 46, 49

them to action. 1.

The new type of organization had to be different from the old types, since the old benevolent associations lacked the power of pressure and the political organizations had failed. Moreover, the division of labor had now increased the number of trades in types. Hence the trade unions plan of organization was to form all the workers of one trade into one union. This type of organization was similar to the very first type of "trade societies."

It was soon found that trade unions did not adequately protect the workers because the workers of one trade were not in sufficient number to cope with the employer. Hence, central bodies were formed to which trades unions sent delegates. 2. Many unions thus combined under one central authority to act together during the period of 1833-1840 when necessary strikes were called; in the years of 1833 to 1837 inclusive 173 strikes have been counted." 3.

Developed from the local trades' union and the local central union was the National Trades' Union which was organized in 1834 and which lasted until 1837. It was argued that a national union consisting of a number of different local unions would be capable of exerting a great influence on employers:

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 349-350
 2. For Central Labor Unions in Buffalo cf. above pp. 77-78, 136-138
 3. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 381

The right of each individual would then be sustained by every working man in the country, whose aggregate wealth and power would be able to resist the most formidable oppression. 1.

This national union intended to educate the worker, promote local unions, and unite the workers. The national union agitated and advised; it failed because it could not deal with all the problems of the separate trades' union. It did, however, establish a precedent: local unions became national unions such as the cordwainers, printers, and carpenters.

The National Trade Union and its affiliates were hindered in their development by the depression of 1837 which continued practically until the gold discoveries of 1849.

During these years the field was occupied by philanthropy and schemes of speculative reform. 2. This was the period when men like Brisbane and Greeley tried to bring social reform. 3. This was the period of new agrarianism, a doctrine that held as follows:

man's right to life is the source of all other rights. Since he lives he has the right to be. This implies the right to use the materials of nature necessary for being. These are light, air, water, and soil. These are man's natural material rights. All others such as liberty, labor, capital, and education are acquired or derived. 4.

1. Ibid. n. 425

2. Ibid. p. 487

3. For Brisbane and Greeley cf. above pp. 15-17

4. Commons, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 523

The new agrarianism was brought forth to combat the socialistic doctrines of the humanitarians. It did not, as the old agrarianism, advocate equal division of all property.

By 1850 trade unionism was again popular, but this time all national considerations were ignored, and the skilled workers exerted themselves simply to raise their pay in the local community. The movement ignored the unskilled worker. During the same period the movement for the closed shop began. 1.

It was during the Civil War that the "American Labor Movement developed for the first time, almost unnoticed, its characteristic of national features." 2. Dating from the Civil War we have the period of the nationalization of labor. At first the Civil War paralyzed business and labor was demoralized, but when greenbacks were issued prosperity came for many classes. However, the working class was not one of the classes that benefited. 3. "The cost of living was rapidly increasing while wages were lagging six months behind." 4. To increase their wages laborers organized unions which at first were local unions. These local unions sometimes formed a trades' assembly to which various unions sent delegates. 5. Between 1860 and 1865 several cities sent delegates to national trades' assembly which did not become permanent.

-
1. For closed shop cf. above pp. 196-197
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 3
 3. For labor and the Civil War cf. above pp. 37-38
 4. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 15
 5. Trades assembly in Buffalo cf. above pp. 34, 40, 77, 135-138

Chapter 2

The Rise and Fall of the Knights of Labor

The local labor movement became a national labor movement immediately after the Civil War because of four reasons. 1.

The first was the competition of the products of different localities side by side in the same market. In order that union conditions should be maintained even in the best organized centers, it then became necessary to equalize competitive conditions in the various localities. That led to a well lit national organization to control working conditions, trade rules and strikes. 2.

The second cause of nationalization was

competition for employment between migratory out-of-town journeymen and the locally organized mechanics. 3.

The unions regulated the working of migratory workers who came to compete for jobs in the local community. The third cause was the organization of the employers' association, "The next logical step was to combine in a national union." 4. The final cause was the "application of machinery and the introduction of the division of labor, which split up the old established trades and laid industry open to invasion by "green hands." 5.

-
1. For nationalization also cf. above pp. 29, 51-52
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 44. For restrictions on immigrant labor cf. above pp. 11-12, 108-109
 3. Ibid, p. 44
 4. Ibid. p. 44
 5. Ibid. p. 44

The first direct evidence that the American labor movement was becoming a national movement after the Civil War was found in 1866 when a national labor congress met in Baltimore. This congress represented thirteen states. 1. These congresses were held at intervals through 1873, until they were finally replaced by the Knights of Labor.

The labor organization known as the Knights of Labor was originally formed in 1869 by Uriah Smith Stevens, a tailor. The organization became important after 1873. The nucleus of the knights of Labor was a secret organization of garment workers of Philadelphia. This organization was also founded by Stevens. The garment workers' union had accepted all types of workers regardless of trade. This principle was carried over into the organization of the Knights of Labor which consisted mostly of workers who were not members of a national union and needed unification. The Knights of Labor intended to improve labor conditions by education and legislation. 2. Stevens' success in Philadelphia led to the organization of a national union in 1876 which welcomed unskilled workers as members.

Soon after 1870 the Knights began to charge an initiation fee so as to raise a strike fund, but when the fund grew to important proportions some members insisted that it be used for cooperation, benefits, and education instead of strikes. It was finally decided to let the local assemblies decide for themselves as to the use of their funds, and as to whether or not they would engage in political action, whether or not to

-
1. For Labor Congress of 1866 cf. above n. 40
 2. For Knights of Labor in Buffalo and nation cf. above pp. 72-73

resort to the use of strikes.

In 1866 the Knights of Labor had a membership of 700,000 and the trades unions had about 250,000. The members constituting the Knights were largely unskilled workers, and their leaders realized that

mere numbers were not sufficient to defeat the employers and that control over the skilled, and consequently more strategic occupations, was required before the unskilled and semi-skilled could expect to march to victory. 1.

Hence, the Knights attempted to absorb the trades unions. This the skilled workers resented: they wanted the right to use their "advantage of skilled and efficient organization in order to rest the maximum amount of concessions for themselves." 2. The Knights were aggressive and deliberately attempted to induce skilled workers to join the order. Many of these attempts were successful. The struggle became intense in February, 1866, when the International Cigar Makers' Union 3. instituted a boycott on all cigars that did not bear the label of the International Cigar Makers' Union. 4. This of course included the cigars made by the cigar makers that were affiliated with the Knights of Labor.

This thrust against the Knights was instigated by Samuel Gompers, head of the International Cigar Makers'

-
1. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 396
 2. Ibid. pp. 396-397
 3. For Cigar Makers' Union in Buffalo and nation cf. above pp. 47, 71-72, 83, 90, 94, 164
 4. For struggle over label cf. above pp. 81, 90, 143-144, 157

Union. Gompers had for some time advocated for a closer federation of all skilled trades unions. A step toward closer federation had taken place in 1881 when the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions had been established. 1. Gompers was prominent in organizing this federation. However, since so many skilled workers were affiliated with the Knights, the complete unification of all trade unionists under the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was not yet a reality. Thus Gompers was successful in getting a general trade conference called in Philadelphia on May, 1886, for the purpose of improving the unification of the skilled workers. At the conference this statement was issued:

We do not deem it advisable for any trade union to be controlled by or join the Knights of Labor in a body believing that trades unions are best qualified to regulate their own internal affairs. To protect the skilled workers of America from being reduced to beggary, and to sustain the standard of American workmanship and skill, the trades unions of America have been established. 2.

However, the trades conference hoped for reconciliation with the Knights so that a serious split in the labor movement would not develop. Hence, a "treaty of peace" was drawn up which, it was hoped, the Knights would.

-
1. For Federation cf. above pp. 44, 73-74
 2. Commons, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 404

This "treaty of peace" if accepted by the Knights would prevent that group of attempting to organize the skilled workers. The two groups negotiated, but to no avail. It finally became evident that the Knights would never accept the treaty. This was made clear by the resolution of Clarence V. Powderely, General Master Workman of the Knights. This resolution as adopted by the Knights ordered

all members of the order (Knights of Labor) who were also members of the Cigar Makers International Union to withdraw from the latter organization; failure to comply with said order meant forfeiture of membership in the Knights of Labor. Powderely was unequivocally with anti-unionists. The General Master Workman desired unity and harmony in the order, and he permitted himself to be deceived into the belief that harmony could be secured by killing the influence of the trades unionists who were Knights. 1.

Since this resolution was definitely anti-unionists, there was no reason for unionists affiliating with the Knights of Labor; an impetus was given to the trades unionists to form their own organization. To effect this a conference of union officials was held in Columbus, Ohio, in December 1886. This conference resulted in formation of the American Federation of Labor.

On the second day "having effected a permanent organization, the conference declared itself as the first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. 2.

1. Ibid. p. 409

2. Ibid. p. 410

The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions joined with the American Federation of Labor. Under this new organization the national or international trade union was the basic unit. Local unions were permitted independence only when no national or international union existed. The Federation had a president, two vice presidents, a secretary and a treasurer, together forming an executive council which had the following duties: (1) to watch legislation, (2) to organize new, local and national unions, (3) to unify all labor organizations, (4) to pass upon boycotts begun by affiliated unions, (5) to give advice and financial aid, after observation, to affiliated unions that were locked out or that were on strike.

With the advent of the American Federation of Labor, there began the decline of the Knights of Labor. The disintegration of the Knights began early in 1887 shortly after Columbus conference when the Federation was formed. In addition to the inability of the Knights to absorb the skilled workers, other factors were also influential in causing the order's destruction. The Knights' failure was partially because of its membership being made up of large masses of workers which lacked experience in labor activities:

The danger is that in the excess of joy our members may imagine themselves invincible and attempt to force measures that result in injury to the cause. 1.

1. Ibid. p. 375

Although some of the strikes of the Knights were successful, the majority were failures, and these failures were also instrumental in the decline of the knights. Another cause of the disintegration of the Knights was that the employers were aroused by the great heights the Knights had achieved by labor in the eighties, and so they organized against labor using the boycott and other methods of discrimination. A final cause was that the Knights were identified in the public mind with violence, anarchy, bloodshed, and destruction. The public's attitude to a large extent was conditioned by the Haymarket Square riot. 1. The Knights had participated in the meeting that immediately preceded the riot, as well as in the strike that led to the disastrous meeting.

From the decline of the Knights of Labor until the recent rise of the Congress (formerly the Committee) of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation had little opposition from other organizations. The Federation has not been a political organization, although it has tried to secure elections of "favorable" candidates. It has endorsed both Democratic and Republican candidates. In general the Federation has been a conservative organization. Some claimed that Gompers secretly approved of violence whenever necessary, although Gompers always proclaimed publicly against violent methods. It was under the direction of Gompers that the American Federation of Labor gained many objectives desired by the workers. Of course it should be remembered that many

1. Cf. above pp. 95-97, 130

workers fought for these objectives long before the time of Gompers, and that his success was due to some extent to these early efforts. The outstanding achievements of organized labor up until the World War I may be listed as follows: (1) limitation of the hours of work, (2) limitation of hours of work for women and children, (3) the enforced installation of safety devices in factories and other places where required, (4) workmen's compensation and employers' liability for accident, (5) the abolishment of sweat-shops, (6) the establishment of government employment agencies, (7) the provisions for free education and compulsory school attendance, (8) the creation of a department of Labor.

Part VIII

A Conclusion of the Labor History of the
Niagara Frontier

Chapter 1

Labor Movements in the Niagara Frontier
Imitate National Movements

In every respect the Niagara Frontier labor movement was an imitation of the national labor movement. An imitation because the event in the Buffalo area usually occurred after the similar event had taken place in the older cities. All of the important, and most of the lesser features of the national labor movement have their parallels in the Niagara Frontier movement. In this chapter we shall briefly consider the similarity of the local and the national labor movements.

Previous to 1827 there was no organized labor movement in the United States. 1. Before this time, however, there were strikes as that of the Philadelphia Cordwainers. 2. While Buffalo did not become a city until 1833, and did not have an organized labor movement until much later, individual workers would go on strike, as workers in other cities did. Thus in 1824 the famous tailors' strike took place in Buffalo. 3. There was enough significance to this early strike because such students of labor affairs as J. R. Commons and Selig Perlman studied it thoroughly at the time. Likewise, Commons considered the Buffalo Carpenters' strike of 1836 to be significant, 4. for in showing how labor policy of

-
1. Cf. above pp. 13, 235
 2. Cf. above p. 234
 3. Cf. above p. 6
 4. Cf. above p. 7

striking had developed after 1827 Commons lists seventy-one important strikes for the year of 1836. The carpenters' strike for higher wages is listed.

In the early days of Buffalo we find that some of the workers of the city were powerful enough to have influence on the labor affairs of Canada. We find that in 1845 certain Buffalo printers were asked to act against the use of non-union printers by an establishment in Toronto, Canada. 1.

As the workers in other cities of the United States began a movement for a shorter working day so as to increase the amount of leisure time and opportunity for education and employment, we also find the workers of Buffalo area urging these reforms. Throughout the labor history the Niagara Frontier we find a constant demand for shorter hours, more leisure time and greater educational opportunities. 2.

The demand for these reforms was typical of similar demands for other reforms. Niagara Frontier labor participated in all important labor reform movements. It was the Frontier labor group which demanded the abrogation of convict labor in New York State, 3. Later when the Greenback party sought certain reforms, partisans of the party were found in Buffalo. 4. Likewise

1. Cf. above p. 10

2. Cf. above pp. 14-15, 44-45, 55, 81, 85-86, 91, 101-102

3. Cf. above pp. 33, 45, 55, 68, 71, 169

4. Cf. above pp. 68, 95

Buffalo has supporters of the free silver party. 1. Even the wild parade of Coxe's army had participants from Buffalo. 2.

As the years passed the realization that strikes were frequently uselessly violent, and often futile in so far as gaining objectives was concerned, led certain groups of American workers and employers to advocate mediation, arbitration, and the making of trade agreements. No better example of this can be found than in the affairs of the Buffalo longshoremen. The longshoremen with the guidance of Bishop Quigley demonstrated that the injustices could be removed by non-violent methods. 3. The success of the longshoremen's strike, their willingness to arbitrate, and to sign and remain loyal to trade agreements, set an example for the improvement of relations between employer and employee.

Some American workers advocated that the best way to gain their demands was by the organization of political parties. Such organizations were attempted at different times. In all such attempts, whether that of the Workingmen's Party, 4. or an attempt by the Socialists, 5. Buffalo workers participated.

Individual unions developed trades' assemblies, and central labor councils. Individual unions became

1. Cf. above p. 94

2. Cf. above p. 146

3. Cf. above part V, Chapter 1

4. Cf. above pp. 19-22, 155, 239

5. Cf. above pp. 69, 94, 153, 193, 211-214, 220, 225-226

affiliated with the Knights of Labor, and then with the American Federation of Labor. The Trades' Assembly, 1. the central labor council, 2. the Knights of Labor, 3. and the American Federation of Labor, 4. all had their organizations in Buffalo. Even the International Workers of the World (I.W.W.) had unions in Buffalo. 5. The German workers that were socialistically inclined and who were leaders of the socialistic movements had organizations in Buffalo. 6. As great national unions, such as the Cigar Makers' Union, 7. even organized an associate union in Buffalo. 8.

Great strikes sometimes had their repercussions in the Buffalo area of the Frontier. In the railroad strikes of 1877 and 1892 the Buffalo phases were in themselves so prominent that they gained the attention of students of labor. 9. Events as the Pullman strike 10. and the Haymarket Square Riot 11. aroused more than

-
1. Cf. above pp. 34, 40, 76, 135-138, 243
 2. Cf. above pp. 76-77, 136-137
 3. Cf. above pp. 104, 245-251
 4. Cf. above pp. 104, 245-252
 5. Cf. above pp. 195, 231
 6. Cf. above pp. 69, 94, 153, 193, 202, 211, 213-216
 7. Cf. above pp. 47, 71-72, 83, 90, 94, 164
 8. Cf. above pp. Part VI, Chapter 1
 9. Cf. above pp. 62-68, 100-101
 10. Cf. above pp. 141-142
 11. Cf. above pp. 85-87

unusual interest in the Buffalo area of the Niagara Frontier.

No great American Labor Leader ignored the Buffalo area of the Frontier. Most of them visited the city upon one occasion or another, or at least had some contact with the city. 1. Even men like the McNamara brothers, whose activity was frequently as remote as California, had their influence on Niagara Frontier labor affairs. 2.

The Niagara Frontier labor movement was a miniature of the national labor movement. In our conclusion it is not possible to write that this or that event, movement, or reform was original in the Niagara Frontier. The significance of the Niagara Frontier labor movement is in every detail similar to the national labor movement.

-
1. Cf. above pp. 143, 145-146, 202
 2. Cf. above pp. 204-206, 215-217

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I Original Sources

A. Newspapers

Buffalo Morning Express - all issues from 1846-1917.

The Express is a valuable source since all of the issues of this paper have been preserved both at the Grosvenor Library and at the Buffalo Historical Society. This is the only Buffalo paper that had all the issues available.

Illustrated Buffalo Herald - issue of September 2, 1896.

This single issue is available at the Buffalo Historical Society. This issue is valuable because of the history of the organization of the Buffalo Central Labor Council, of 1884.

II Secondary Sources

A. Books

Adamic, Louis, Dynamite, Viking Press, New York, 1931

A story of the violence between labor and capital in the United States. Done in popular style without citations of authority.

Almack, John C., Research and Thesis Writing, Houghton Mifflin Co., New York, 1930

A plainly written and easily understood book for those who wish to learn about thesis writing.

Barry, F. B. and Elmes, R. W., editors, Buffalo's Text Book, Ind. Ed., R. W. Elmes and Co., Buffalo, 1927

A book written to advertise Buffalo. It contains favorable facts and ignores the unpleasant.

Beard, Mary Ritter, A Short History of the American Labor Movement, Macmillan Co., New York, 1935

One of the best short histories. The author tends to show that the American Labor Movement has a "great spiritual significance," as well as an economic significance.

Bimba, Anthony, The History of the American Working Class, International Publishers, New York, 1927

An excellent summary of the history of American workers. He omits the viewpoint of the capitalist. This book shows prejudice in favor of the worker.

Bingham, Robert W., The Cradle of the Queen City, Baker, James, Hausauer, Inc., Buffalo, 1931

The first volume of a history of Buffalo that is intended to bring the history of Buffalo up-to-date. Most city histories are dull but this one is very interesting. This book may be enjoyed by the scholar or popular reader.

Dreiser, Theodore, A Hoosier Holiday, John Lane Co., New York, 1916

Dreiser took an auto trip from New York to Indiana. This book is a description of his trip and contains one reference to Buffalo wherein the author broods over the possibility of a struggle in Buffalo between capital and labor.

Elg, Richard, The Labor Movement in America, Macmillan Co., New York, 1905

One of the best labor histories especially as to the economic significance.

Fifty Years of Family Social Work (1877-1927), published by a friend, Buffalo, 1927

The only complete history available as to the origin and growth of the organized charity movement in Buffalo.

Fite, Emerson David, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War, Macmillan Co., New York, 1910

The only good book I know on this specialized subject. Others have treated it with a general aspect; Fite devotes his entire book to it.

Fosdick, Myrtila Constantine, When Buffalo Was Young, Otto Ulbrich Co., Buffalo, 1925

This book contains many quaint and interesting descriptions of early Buffalo.

Gompers, Samuel, Seventy Years of Life and Labor, E. P. Dutton and Company, New York, 1925

The reminiscences of a labor leader who tells only what is appropriate to the cause of labor. It is interesting but does not tell all of the story.

Hall, Scott W., The Journeymen Barbers, John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1936

A thorough description of the Barbers' union in the United States.

Hamm, W. A., The American People, D. C. Heath and Co., New York, 1938

One of the most thorough and up to date texts available in American History on a high school level.

Hillquit, Morris, The History of Socialism in the United States, Funk and Wagnalls Co., New York, 1930

A history that favors socialism. Complete.

Johnson, Allan, The Historian and Historical Evidence, C. Scribners' Sons, New York, 1926

The author explains how one should go about learning historical truth. Author is somewhat skeptical about the possibility of such an attainment.

Logan, Harold R., The History of the Trade-Union Organization in Canada, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928

A learned work that includes several instances of Niagara Frontier workers influencing the labor movement of Canada.

Morrison, E. M., and Commager, H. S., The Growth of the American Republic, 2nd Ed., Oxford University Press, 2 vols., 1937

Probably the best American history.

Perlmutter, Selig, A History of Trade Unionism in the United States, Macmillan Co., New York, 1922

A short but complete work by an authority on the subject.

Prepared and published by authority of the 1916-1917 Convention, American Federation of Labor Encyclopedia and Reference Book, American Federation of Labor Printing Office, Washington, 1919

Contains considerable data for anyone investigating a labor problem.

Salman, Lucy Maynard, The Newspaper and the Historian, Oxford University Press, New York, 1923

An excellent treatment showing the value of the newspaper to the historian.

Severance, Frank, editor, Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, 30 vols., printed from time to time

Contains important labor history of the years 1894-1897. Valuable for its history of labor unions in the Niagara Frontier.

Welch, Samuel M., Home History and Recollections of Buffalo, 1830-1840, Peter Paul and Bros., Buffalo, 1891

Interesting descriptions of old Buffalo.

Welcott, F. A., Heritage of Years, 1851-1889, Minton, Balch and Co., New York, 1932

A former Buffalonian looks back and recalls his days in early Buffalo.

Yellen, Samuel, American Labor Struggles, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1936

A modern book looking back at labor struggles.

B. Pamphlets

Adams, Myron E., The Newsboys and the Street Trades Bill, Publisher ?, 1903

Groat, George Gorham, Trade Unions and the Law in New York, Columbia University Press, New York, 1905

A history of the limitations placed upon trade unions by the law in New York State.

Shephard, F. J., The City of Buffalo, Reprint, from New England Magazine, Vol. 8, No. 2 (April 1893)

An enthusiastic description of Buffalo calling the area a near "paradise."

The Fact Book of Buffalo, published by Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo, 1911

The Chamber published this book to induce business to settle in Buffalo.

The Industries of Buffalo, Elstner Publishing Co., Buffalo, 1887

A short account of the rise of Buffalo industries.

C. Reports

Berry, Gordon E., Eye Hazards in Industrial Occupations: A report to New York National Committee for prevention of blindness, 1917.

Fourth Report of Factory Investigation Commission, 4 vols., 1915

Report of Chamber of Commerce, Buffalo, 1910

Report of City Committee on Unemployment, 1920-1921

Report of New York State Department of Labor, 1911

D. Miscellaneous

Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 54, United States Printing Office, Washington, 1904

Handbook of American Trade Unions, 1929 Ed., United States Printing Office, Washington, 1929

Hubble, Mark S., compiler, The Charter of the City of Buffalo, 1890

APPENDIX

I A list of the Niagara Frontier Strikes as contained in this thesis.

This is not a list of all strikes, since there was no information available on some strikes.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
1. Tailors	1824
2. Carpenters	1836
3. Erie Canal Workers	1850
4. Ship Carpenters and Caulkers	1855
5. Sailors	1855
6. Ship Carpenters	1860
7. Sailors	1860
8. Tailors	1860
9. Machinists	1862
10. Coopers	1863
11. Laborers on Erie and New York Central Railroad	1863
12. Stevedores	1864
13. Laborers on Erie and New York Central Railroad	1865
14. Sailors	1865
15. Workers of Paris Tool Factory	1867
16. Dock Workers	1867
17. Workers of Hubbel Stove Works	1868
18. Workers of Erie Railroad	1869
19. Workers of Erie Railroad	1870
20. Dock Workers	1870
21. Sailors	1872
22. Workers on Erie Railroad	1874
23. Switchmen (all roads)	1876

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
24. Workers of Haines Lumber Co.	1877
25. Railroad Strike	1877
26. Grain Shovelers	1878
27. Freight House Laborers	1878
28. Longshoremen	1879
29. Puddlers	1879
30. Freight House Laborers	1880
31. Telegraph Operators	1883
32. Longshoremen	1884
33. Bricklayers and Stonemasons	1884
34. Plumbers	1886
35. Bakers	1886
36. Horseshoers	1887
37. Lithographers	1887
38. Stonecutters	1887
39. Switchmen (Nickel Plate R. R.)	1889
40. Joiners	1889
41. Switchmen	1889
42. Painters	1889
43. Molders	1889
44. Musicians	1890
45. Newsboys	1890
46. Mill Hands	1890
47. Stonecutters	1890
48. Newspaper	1891

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
49. Musicians	1891
50. Lithographers	1891
51. Switchmen (all roads)	1892
52. Newsboys (boycott)	1892
53. Polish Dock Workers	1892
54. Lumber Workers (dock)	1892
55. Grain Shovelers	1892
56. Stevedores	1892
57. Plasterers	1892
58. Workers of Lehigh Valley Railroad	1893
59. Workers of Genesee Hotel	1894
60. Iron Workers	1895
61. Boiler Makers	1895
62. Plumbers	1895
63. Building Trades	1896
64. Building Trades	1896
65. Printers	1896
66. Carpenters	1896
67. Switchmen (Nickel Plate R. R.)	1896
68. Bicycle Workers	1897
69. Butchers	1899
70. Messenger Boys (Western Union)	1899
71. Freight Handlers	1899
72. Longshoremen	1899

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
73. Teamsters	1900
74. Brewers	1900
75. Employees of N. Y. Central Railroad	1900
76. Workers of Pan American Exposition	1900
77. Cabmen	1900
78. Tailors	1900
79. Butchers	1900
80. Machinists	1901
81. Teamsters	1901
82. Lumber Mill Hands	1901
83. Stonemasons	1901
84. Sailors	1901
85. Carpenters	1902
86. Plumbers	1902
87. Boilermakers	1902
88. Tailors	1903
89. Electricians	1904
90. Lithographers	1904
91. Stonemasons	1904
92. Bricklayers	1904
93. Horseshoers	1904
94. Tile Workers	1904
95. Glass Workers	1904
96. Steel Workers	1904
97. Boilermakers	1905
98. Boilermakers	1906

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
99. Garment Workers	1906
100. Coremakers	1906
101. Ironmakers	1906
102. Cap-makers	1906
103. Sheetmetal Workers	1906
104. Lithographers	1906
105. Dock Workers	1907
106. Polish freight handlers	1907
107. Boilermakers	1909
108. Plumbers	1909
109. Lake strike	1909
110. Tugmen	1910
111. Italian dock workers	1910
112. Tailors and cutters	1910
113. Glass workers	1911
114. Molders	1912
115. Coremakers	1912
116. Freight handlers	1912
117. Hotel employees	1912
118. Street car laborers	1913
119. Carworkers (Lehigh Valley R.R.)	1913
120. Street car laborers	1913
121. Store clerks	1913
122. Delivery drivers	1913
123. Teamsters	1913
124. Truck drivers	1913

<u>Group</u>	<u>Year</u>
125. Icemen	1913
126. Railway Express Workers	1913
127. School Children	1913
128. Machinists	1913
129. Taxi-drivers	1913
130. Baggage helpers	1913
131. Grain elevator workers	1914
132. Building trades	1914
133. Iron workers	1915
134. Machinists	1916
135. Machinists	1916
136. Laborers	1916
137. Ashmen and garbagemen	1917
138. Milkmen	1917

In regard to strikes in Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier, let us consider the following quotation:

The elements which determine the excellence of Buffalo's labor conditions are contented labor. The outstanding feature of labor conditions in the Frontier area is the absence of radical labor disturbances as evidenced in the very low percentage of strikes. 1.

This statement contains much truth. In the above list there are 138 strikes listed. While this list may not include all strikes, it does include the greater majority

1. Barry, J. F., and Elmes, R. W., Editors, Buffalo's Text Book, 1927, p. 60

of them, and it includes all of the important strikes. According to this list, figuring from 1824 to the early part of 1917, the Frontier had an average of less than two strikes a year. This is a conservative average.

II According to Bulletin No. 54, 1904, of the United States Labor Bureau strikes did not become a prominent feature of the United States Labor Movement until after 1880. According to this bulletin there were only 678 strikes during the entire period previous to 1880. The following figures will show the rapid increase in strikes immediately after 1880.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Strikes</u>	<u>Average Duration</u>
1881	471	12.8 days
1885	645	30.1 "
1890	1883	24.2 "
1895	1215	20.5 "
1900	1779	23.1 "

III A list of national unions that existed in 1917. 1. Also a list of Niagara Frontier unions that were affiliated with these national unions by 1917. The year the unions originated in the Frontier is also given.

1. United States Department of Labor, Handbook of American Trade Unions, Washington

<u>National Union</u>	<u>City Where Founded</u>	<u>Year Founded</u>	<u>Year Niagara Frontier Union Founded</u>
-----------------------	---------------------------	---------------------	--

Building Trades' Unions

Bricklayers	Baltimore	1866	1860
Bridge Workers	Pittsburgh	1896	1892
Carpenters and Joiners	Chicago	1881	1881
Common Laborers (bldg. trades)	Washington	1903	1895
Engineers (stationary)	St. Louis	1896	1896
Electrical Workers	St. Louis	1891	1892
Painters	Baltimore	1887	1887
Paper Hangers	Baltimore	1887	1890
Plasterers	---	1864	1879
Plumbers	Washington	1889	1886
Steam Fitters	Washington	1887	1890
Stonecutters	---	1837	1863
Stonemasons	---	1881	1860
Tile Workers	Detroit	1901	1904

Metals and Machinery Trade Unions

Blacksmiths	Atlanta	1889	1861
-------------	---------	------	------

<u>National Union</u>	<u>City Where Founded</u>	<u>Year Founded</u>	<u>Year Niagara Frontier Union Founded</u>
Boilermakers	Chicago	1880	1892
Engravers	New York	1900	1892
Iron Workers	Pittsburgh	1876	1895
Machinists	Atlanta	1888	1861
Sheet Metal Workers	Toledo	1888	1891
Molders	Philadelphia	1859	1860
Pattern Makers	Philadelphia	1887	1892
Polishers	Syracuse	1896	1893
Stove Mounters	Quincy, Ill.	1892	1892

Transportation Unions

American Railway Union*	Chicago	1894	1894
Carmen*	Pueblo, Col.	1891	1891
Engineers*	---	1863	1863
Firemen*	Port Jervis, N. Y.	1873	1873
Maintenance of Way Employees*	LaPorte City, Iowa	1886	1885
Railroad Workers*	Buffalo	1901	1901
Signalmen*	Altoona, Pa.	1901	1900
Switchmen*	Kansas City, Mo.	1894	1889

* Railroad Unions

<u>National Union</u>	<u>City Where Founded</u>	<u>Year Founded</u>	<u>Year Niagara Frontier Union Founded</u>
Trainmen*	Oneonta, N.Y.	1883	1881
Engineers (marine)	---	1864	1864
Freight Handlers	Sedalia, Mo.	1898	1900
Longshoremen	Detroit	1892	1892
Pilots and Mates	New York	1887	----
Seamen's Union	Chicago	1892	1881
Stablemen	Chicago	1889	1892
Street Electrical Employees	Indianapolis	1892	1892
Teamsters	Chicago	1901	1913
Telegraphers	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	1886	1888

Paper, Printing, Bookbinding Unions

Book-binders	Philadelphia	1892	1892
Lithographers	New York	1882	1891
Pressmen	New York	1889	1886
Printers and Engravers	Boston	1892	----
Typographical Union	Philadelphia	1852	1852

<u>National Union</u>	<u>City Where Founded</u>	<u>Year Founded</u>	<u>Year Niagara Frontier Union Founded</u>
-----------------------	---------------------------	---------------------	--

Wood Working Unions

Coopers	Titusville, Pa.	1890	1890
Upholsterers	Chicago	1892	1894

Clothing Unions

Boot and Shoe	Boston	1895	1881
Garment Workers	New York	1891	1903
Hat and Cap Workers	New York	1901	1906
Tailors	Philadelphia	1883	1900

Food and Liquor Unions

Bakers	Pittsburgh	1886	1885
Brewery	Baltimore	1886	1886
Cigar Makers	New York	1864	1878
Hotel and Restau- rant Employees	Detroit	1890	1894
Meat Cutters and Butchers	---	1897	1869

Miscellaneous Unions

Barbers	Buffalo	1887	1887
Clerks	Detroit	1890	1904

<u>National Union</u>	<u>City Where Founded</u>	<u>Year Founded</u>	<u>Year Niagara Frontier Union Founded</u>
Glass Workers	Pittsburgh	1887	1904
Horseshoers	---	1874	1904
Musicians	Indianapolis	1896	1889
Teachers	Chicago	1916	1870

IV Year of origin of other unions in the Niagara Frontier which existed much earlier than the unions in the above list. Many of the following may not be unions as we understand them today, but merely organized groups.

<u>Union</u>	<u>Year</u>
Beer Drivers	1889
Beer Barrel Coopers	1889
Bootblacks	1905
Cabmen	1900
Cabinet Makers	1890
Carpenters	1836
Carpenters (ship) and ship caulkers	1862
Carpenters and joiners	1872
Core Makers	1892
Conductors	1893
Delivery trucks	1913
Express workers (railway)	1913
Furniture workers	1894

<u>Union</u>	<u>Year</u>
Grain Shovelers	1864
Hackmen	1890
Harness Makers	1892
Hucksters	1896
Joiners	1890
Lumber Shovelers	1870
Mulsters	1886
Mechanics	1867
Mill Hands	1890
N. Y. Central Employees	1869
Painters	1867
Printers	1845
Press Feeders	1892
Puddlers	1867
Steam Engineers	1890
Stevedores	1863
Theatrical Union	1892
Truck drivers	1913
Truck men and cart men	1913
Tugmen	1910