NATIONALISM.

PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Edward Bellamy's Address at Tremont Temple, Boston, on the Nationalist Club's First Anniversary, December 19 1889.

(Continued from last issue.)

The following are some of the measures in the line of this policy for which the country appears to be quite ready.

First—The nationalization of the railroads, as other by-ways, throughout the United States perpetual receiver of all lines to manage, the same for the public interest, paying over to the present security-holders, pending the complete establishment of nationalism, such reasonable dividends on a just valuation of the property as may be earned, or by some other practicable method not involving hardship to individuals.

THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE RAILROADS

is advisable for reasons apart from the Nationalist programme proper. Firstly, the railroad corporations, by the corrupt use of their vast wealth to preserve and prevent legislation, are among the most formidable of the influences which are debauching our government. Secondly, the power they wield irresponsibly over the prosperity of cities, states and entire sections of the country, ought to be in the hands only of the general Government. Thirdly, the desperate rivalry of the rail roads, with its incidents of reckless extension, duplication and rate wars, has long been a chief waste of the National resources and a cause of periodical business crises. Fourthly, the financial management of a large portion of the railroad system, together with its use for speculative purposes, has rendered railroad financiering the most gigantic gambling and general swindling business ever carried on in any country. Fifthly, the convenience and safety of the travelling public demand a uniform and harmonious railroad system throughout the country, nor is it likely that anything less will bring to an end the cruel slaughter of railroad employees now carried on by the corporations.

A second measure for which the people are certainly quite ready is the nationalization of the telegraphic and telephone services, and their addition to the Post-Office, with which, as departments of transmission of intelligence, they should properly always have been connected.

Third—We propose that the express business of the country be assumed by the post-offices, according to the successful practice of other countries.

Fourth—We propose that the coal-mining business which at present is most rapaciously conducted as respects the public, and most oppressively as regards a great body of laborers, be nationalized, to the end that the mines may be continuously worked to their full capacity, coal furnished consumers at cost and the miners humanely dealt with. It is suggested that all mines hereafter discovered or opened shall be regarded as public property subject to just compensation for land.

Fifth—We propose that municipalities generally shall undertake lighting, heating, running of street-cars and such other municipal services as are now discharged by corporations to the end that such services may be more cheaply and effectually rendered; that a frequent source of political corruption be cut off and a large body of laborers be brought under humaner conditions of toil.

Pending the municipalization of all such services as have been referred to, Nationalists enters against protest against the grant to corporations of any further franchises whether relating to transit, light, heat, water or other public services.

It is to be understood that all national ized and municipalized businesses should be

CONDUCTED AT COST

for use and not for profit, the amount at present paid in taxes by such businesses, being for the present, charged upon them.

It is an essential feature of the method of Nationalism, that as fast as industries are nationalized or municipalized, the conditions of the workers in them shall be placed upon a wholly humane basis. The hours of labor should be made reasonable, the compensation adequate, the conditions safe and healthful. Support in sickness, with pensions for disabled and superannuated workers, should be guaranteed.

The question will be asked, "How is this great force of public employees to be placed beyond the power of politicians and administrations to use for partisan purposes?" Nationalists respond by proposing a plan for organizing and maintaining all businesses under public control, which shall absolutely deprive parties or politicians of any direct or arbitrary power over their membership, either as to appointment, promotion or removal.

In the first place, it is understood that upon the nationalization or municipalization of any business the existing force of employees and functionaries would be as a body retained. It is proposed that the service should be forthwith graded, and subsequently recruited exclusively by admissions to the lowest grade. All persons desiring to enter the service should be free to file applications at the proper bureau upon passing certain simple mental or physical tests, not competitive in character, strictly measured by the requirements of the position sought, and adapted only to insure a minimum grade of qualifications. Upon vacancies occurring in the force or a need of increase, the desired additions should be taken from the list of applicants on file, either in order of filed applications or, more perfectly to prevent fraud, by the drawing of the requisite number of names from a wheel containing the entire list of eligibles.

The chief of the department should be appointed at the discretion of the political executive, with the consent of the state senate in order that responsibility for the general management of the business may be fixed right home to an executive. But Nationalists believe that sooner or later further exceptions in some cases of the civil service of a few important subordinate branches of the service, all positions should be filled by promotion in order of merit as such promotion can be determined by superority of record and with certain requirements as to length of service. While the chief should have power of suspension or discharge from the service, he should take place as a by verdict of a court and expressly cite, for that purpose, before which all charges of fault or incompetence, whether by superiors or subordinates, by subordinates against superiors or by the outside public against against subordinates of the force, should be laid.

It is believed that such a plan of organization would absolutely prevent all immaterial coercion of members of the public service for partisan ends, and it is urgently recommended by Nationalists that it be immediately applied to the Post-Office and all other business departments of the general Government, to the employees and to the public works department of all municipalities.

The nationalization of the several great branches of public service and productions which have been enumerated as old directly affect, greatly for the better, the condition of a million and a half of workers.

Here truly we would be

A BULWARK AGAINST CAPITALISM

against corporate usurpation, against industrial oppression. Here would be a mighty nucleus for the coming industrial army. Here, too, would be a great body of consumers whose needs would suggest and whose demands would sustain the beginning of the coming National distributive and productive system based on cost, with a currency which should gradually take the place of money by virtue of a greater purchasing value.

A single industry organized on such a basis as described, and guaranteeing to its toilers security, health, safety, dignity and justice would be an object lesson of the advantage of Nationalism, even in its beginnings, which would greatly hasten the general adoption of the system. As a measure which cannot wait, seeing that at best, the consequences of its postponement must continue to be felt long after it is affected, we urge that such partial support as may be needful to enable them to attend school to the age of seventeen at least, be provided under proper guards by the State for those children of parents unable to maintain them without aid from their labor, and that with this provision the employment of children should be unconditionally forbidden, and their education made rigidly compulsory, to the end that equality of educational opportunities for all be established.

Seeing that it would be manifestly inconsistent to make the education of our children compulsory while permitting the unlimited importation of adult ignorance and vice, a necessary complement to any system of education would be such regulation of foreign immigration as, without prejudice to honest intelligent poverty, should prevent the importation of persons grossly illiterate in their own language, of the defective and of criminals, merely political offences not being considered crimes.

In reviewing the measures which have been mentioned as substantially representing, according to my belief, the present demands of Nationalists, it is observable that there is not one of them which is not demanded by considerations of humanity and public expediency quite without reference to Nationalism. A man has no need to be a Nationalist at all to advocate them. They have been freely and often favorably discussed by the press for years, and the leading political economists of this country and Europe are on record in favor of most if not all of them.

As to some of the most important of these propositions, it is altogether probable that a majority of the American people, if they could be polled to-day would favor them. Nationalists may be, as some say, a very extravagant and fantastical set of people, but there is certainly nothing fantastical about the plan of action which they propose. There is not even anything which can be said to be greatly in advance of public opinion. This moderation is not accidental, nor yet a result of policy, but a necessary consequence of the method of Nationalism, which is essentially

GRADUAL AND PROGRESSIVE

rather than abrupt or violent, the method of evolution as opposed to that of revolution.

As to the relation of Nationalism to certain political and social issues of the day, a few words may be pertinent.

First, as to the tariff question. When the nation conducts all businesses for all, the common interest in every improvement will create a far stronger motive than now exists for all sorts of experiments and improvement in home industry, but owing to the public control of the production, tariffs will no longer be necessary as now to encourage private persons to undertake such experiments. They will be tried as government experiments are at present tried, costing the country only the expense of the experimental stations, the Nation with out prejudice to the experiment, continuing, if expedient, to buy in the cheapest market till its own is the cheapest.

The sectional issues based upon industrial rivalry, which now make States and cities enemies of each other's prosperity, and create sentiments of division will disappear when a Nationalist pooling of interests shall interest all equally in the prosperity of all.

As to the race issue, the industrial discipline imposed by Nationalism, while of general benefit to the white population of the South in [illegible] that of the North, will [illegible] the pledging [illegible] country obtain [illegible] should be [illegible] National plan [illegible] association of [illegible] any other sort [illegible] gination.

As to the question of women's rights, Nationalism [illegible] every form of sexual slavery [illegible] dom and dignity [illegible] basis by making [illegible] men for the support [illegible] sider that by [illegible] women a right of equality with men be established [illegible] tained.

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIALISM

have their attractions to the brutal being contributed to among society, in the poverty of the masses that gives opportunity for their cunning and despair in the slavish dependence of women and children upon men, and in the interest of a large class of traders in the sale of intoxicants. If this be true then the abolition of poverty, the universality of the best education, the complete enfranchisement of women, with a system of distribution which will deserve all personal motive for stimulating the sale of intoxicants, constitute surely the most promising as well as the most radical line of true temperance reform.

While the nationalizing of land in such time and by such methods as shall involve least hardships to any is a part of Nationalism, and while the Nationalists mean while favor all practicable measures to prevent land monopoly and protect tenants and farmers, they are not persuaded that any measure applying to land alone would furnish a sufficient remedy for existing industrial and social troubles.

While sympathizing with all efforts of workers to obtain small, immediate improvements in their condition, Nationalists would leave them reflect that no great improvements can be gained, and if gained, can be secure, under the present industrial system, and that the only effectual and peaceable way of replacing that system by a better one is offered by Nationalism. It is only pointed out that the plan of Nationalism, by the humane and just conditions which will be secured to the employees of every industry, as it comes under the public control, offers not only the greatest ultimate results, but the speediest and surest way for immediately benefiting great bodies of workers, absolutely without risk of derangement to business.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO,

after immemorial years of repression, the human passion for liberty, for equality, for brotherhood burst forth, convulsing Europe and establishing America. There is at hand another and far mightier outburst of the same forces, the results of which will be more comprehensive, more far-reaching and more beneficent. Men now past middle age are likely to see in Europe—they last [illegible] fall, and in America the first complete and full-orbed republic arise, a republic at once political, industrial and social.

It is instructive for Americans to remember that there is scarcely any argument brought to-day against Nationalism which was not in substance brought against the experiment of political equality undertaken in this country a century ago, scarcely one which does not spring from the same low and suspicious estimate of human nature, the same distrust of the people, the same blind belief in personal and class leadership and authority, scarcely one which was not, as to principle, answered a hundred years ago by Madison, Hamilton and Jay in the *Federalist*. And, indeed, how could it be other wise? For what we propose is but the full development of the same republican experiment which the fathers undertook, a development now become necessary if we would preserve that experiment from ignominious failure.

In advocating equal rights for all as the only solution for the social and industrial problems of to-day, Nationalism follows the lines laid down by the founders of the Republic and proves itself the legitimate heir of the traditions and the spirit of 1776. Guided by those traditions, sustained by that spirit, we cannot fail.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR DURAND HITS BACK

Editor LABOR ADVOCATE.

SIR—One has sent me from your office a copy of your scurrilous paper of the 20th inst., with a marked paragraph slanderous and severely reflecting on me, condemning me for writing letters of a loyal kind. Whether the letter is sent by you or any one from your office I know not, as it does not alter the nature of the article. Your paper is one I never see unless by chance, but I would say that the paragraph in question is not only lying and false, but unprovoked and malicious, for which the owner of the paper ought to be punished criminally. It is untrue that I ever took up arms in the mutiny of W. L. McKenzie in 1837, or in any rebellion, or that I was then disloyal. I am a strong advocate for reform and responsible Government, such as we now have in the Dominion and all the Provinces, and we were then ruled by an oligarchical irresponsible men, who should be displaced from power by England, as England properly understood, position, and it was for my advocacy of this free state of things, being popular with the people, and at the same time, that I was prosecuted by a local junta, having the control of the Government. Without such reforms that advocated by me such men as you have, would not have the power to intrude on the loyal people of this country, and make them pay for your luxurious living, and your socialistic annotation and [illegible] and set them to work [illegible] scarlet paper [illegible] Now take [illegible] of the liberty of the press [illegible] wicked and [illegible] disease.

[illegible] well those who [illegible] any think [illegible] My [illegible] and [illegible] paper and [illegible] a socialist, [illegible] a liar [illegible] person [illegible] publish this letter [illegible] any paper of which you have control, and falsely belied me.

CHARLES DURAND

TORONTO, [illegible]

OUR WATER SUPPLY

Editor LABOR ADVOCATE.

WILL you kindly grant me space for a few remarks, in reference to the present water supply. There are at least 50 000 tons of filtered water poured into the shallow waters of the bay every day. This quantity is carried, and free, by the prevailing N W winds sending it out through the Eastern Gap, and East and N E winds sending it out through the western channel in both cases it as likely as not to be carried along the south shore of the Island and in direct contact with the intake pipe. It is only when the winds are in a southerly direction that we get the lake water at its best, and notwithstanding all that has been said in its favour, Lake Ontario (now) falls far short of a strictly first class water. To get a fair analysis, samples should be taken from the intake pipe from at least twenty days in succession, strict attention being paid to the direction and velocity of the wind. Sample bottles, should be chemically clean, and taken at variable depths, there should then be half a wine glass full poured out, then sealed and placed in a temperature of from 110 to 120, for 36 hours, then examined by the microscope which should have a multiple of 5,000.

REX

A SUGGESTION.

Editor LABOR ADVOCATE.

SIR,—I have read with pleasure and sorrow your editorial remarks last week under the heading "Is this your Son, my Lord?" with pleasure that there is at least one paper in pious Toronto independent and sturdy enough to tell the truth, the whole truth, and with sorrow that a clergyman should stoop to the infamous course which Rev. Dr. John Potts has adopted in this particular case. The action of that gentleman is as contemptible as is its dishonesty and how the members of his congregation can view his proceedings with anything but feelings of wonder and regret is a conundrum. The LABOR ADVOCATE has done well in exposing the scandal. And now I would suggest that a subscription be started to procure the necessary funds to bring the betrayed girl back to Toronto to prosecute her seducer. My mite will be forthcoming.

ANTI-CANT.

THOUGHTS FOR LABOR REFORMERS.

WHY the rich cease to use force to sustain their robbery of the poor, it will be time enough for the poor to stop using force to resist them.—*Cor. Twentieth Century.*

If the people put a saddle on their backs and invite the monopolist to get on and ride and he does not do it, he is a fool. If the monopolist puts a saddle on the people's backs and then attempts to get on and ride, and the people do not kick, they are fools. Which fool are you?—*Alliance Sentinel.*

BIGOTRY has no room in the labor movement, neither in regard to religion nor any other questions not directly involving the fundamental principles of the movement. The members of labor organizations have a right to their individual opinions, and it all becomes any one to assume superiority over others or to deal out illiberal anathemas against his equal fellow-workers.

ADVICE to Nationalists, Socialists, Knights of Labor, Federation of Labor, and all sorts of reform industrial and progressive bodies—get together. Prepare to act as a united on points on which you agree, reserving the right of private judgment as to points on which you do not agree. If your leader for schism motives try to keep up your dissensions, kick them out.—*New Nation.*

ORGANIZATION has practically eradicated the individual. The small manufacturer has almost disappeared. The small dealer has been absorbed. The small manufacturer has become a foreman; the small merchant an agent. Already a new feudalism has been developed, in which power is transmitted, not by blood, but by bequest, and which vassalage is secured, not by an oath of allegiance, but by dependence upon wages.—*Judge Barger.*

THE criminal is a pure individualist. His instincts are anti social and crime has been defined as simply the extreme anti-social instincts of human beings. Crime tends to the disorganization and disintegration of society. It will be seen then, how perverse is criminal in his nature must be to socialism, which seeks the welfare of the individual through the improvement and regeneration of society. If we would make real socialists out of criminals, they would cease to be criminals, for then they would seek their own well being in the promotion of the welfare of society.—*Rev. Ely.*

It is reported that in the last five years twenty-seven American girls have married Chinamen, and in only three cases have they lived with their yellow husbands beyond a few months.

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