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.

[illegible]

...of the rest of the people. [illegible] people ... nearly the whole of New York city with its 2,000,000 population. The entire bonded debt of the United States is held by 71,000 persons only, and over sixty per cent. of it is in the hands of 23,000 persons. A dozen of similar details might be furnished, but the situation may be summed up in one of the characteristic phrases of modern business as follows: Mainly within the last thirty years 100,000 Americans have succeeded in "freezing out" their 65,000,000 co-partners so far as more than half the assets of the concern, and at the same rate, within thirty years more will have secured the remainder.

This is the situation which has created the need for Nationalism. These are the facts which account for the rapidity of its spread among the people.

For the sake of clearness let us distinguish the evil effects of the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few as political, social and industrial. First, as to the political effects.

THE GREAT CORPORATIONS

and combinations of capital dwarf our municipalities, overtop our States, and are able to dictate to our National Legislature. The extent to which intimidation and bribery are employed to influence popular elections taints with the suspicion of fraud [illegible] all contests [illegible] when the majority is not large. Even in the grand appeal to the Nation the money power, by judicious concentration of corruption funds upon close States, is able to set at naught the will of the people. The titles of the Presidents of the Republic are no longer clear. What money cannot effect at the polls, by intimidation or by bribery, it does not hesitate to attempt by the corruption of individual legislators. Our municipal council chambers are too often mere auction rooms, where public franchises are sold to the highest bidder. The Legislatures of some of our greatest States are commonly said to be owned by particular corporations. The United States Senate is known as a rich men's club, and in the lower House of Congress the schemes of capital have only to meet the sham opposition of the demagogue.

Socially, the vast disparities of wealth afford on every side inhuman contrasts of cruel want and inordinate luxury. The dazzling illustrations of pomp and power which are the prizes of wealth, have lent to the pursuit of gain, at all times sufficiently keen, a feverish intensity and desperation never seen before in this or any other country. The moderate rewards of persistent industry seem contemptible in the midst of a universal speculative fever. In all directions the old ways of legitimate business and steady application are being abandoned for speculative projects, gambling operations and all manner of brigandage under forms of law. The spectacle presented in many instances of great riches, notoriously won by corrupt methods, has undermined the foundations of honesty. The epidemic of fraud and embezzlement, which to-day terrorizes wealth as no one else, results from the general recognition that the possession of property, though it may have a legal title, is very commonly without a moral one. This is the deplorable explanation of the cynical tolerance of fraud by public opinion. Property will not, in the long run, be respected which is without some reasonable basis in industry or desert, and it is justly believed that much of the wealth of to-day could not stand inquiry into the means of its getting.

The consequences of the appropriation of the Nation's wealth by a few, and its further concentration by means of corporations and syndicates, have made possible a policy of monopolizing the control and profits of the industries of the country never before even imagined as among the possible perils of society. Hitherto, when oligarchies have usurped the political control of nations they have left the conduct of business to the vulgar, but our would-be "nobility" is laying its foundations deeper by obtaining absolute mastery of the means of support of the people.

The effect of the concentration and combination of capital in the conduct of business has been directly to bring the wage earner more completely than ever under the thumb of the employer. A chief object of combination is to control prices by restricting production—that is to say, employment. While the

[illegible]

[illegible] ...which a Radical [illegible] ... Plutocracy is indeed fast has no place for [illegible] ... independent and patriotic spirit, as the [illegible] party of Radical Social Reform.

The agricultural interests of the country are passing under the yoke of the money power quite as rapidly as the other forms of industry. The farmers are becoming expropriated by the operation of something like a universal mortgage system, and unless this tendency shall be checked, the next generation of farmers will be a generation of tenants at will. The agrarian conditions of Ireland bid fair in no long time to be reproduced in portions of the West.

Such, fellow countrymen, is the condition of political corruption, of social rottenness, of moral degeneracy, of industrial oppression, confusion and impending ruin which has resulted from the overthrow of our republican equality by the money power. If you would learn how republics perish, shut up your musty histories of Greece and Rome and look about you.

In time the money power is bound to seek protection from the rising discontent of the masses in a stronger form of government, and then the republic, long before dead, will be put out of sight. Then it will be

TOO LATE TO REGAIN.

Now it is not too late. The republic is being taken from us, but it is still possible to bring it back. Soon it will be too late to do so, but to-day there is yet time, though there is none to waste.

The Nationalists of the United States ask the co-operation of their fellow countrymen to bring back the republic. To that end they propose a reorganization of the industrial system which shall restore the equality of the people and assure it by a perpetual guarantee.

In advocating a plan to secure equality, we propose to graft no new or strange principle upon the republican idea, but the exercise of a power implied in the very idea of republicanism as ultimately necessary to its preservation. A republic is a form of government based upon and guaranteeing to all citizens a common interest in the national concern. That interest can be common only in proportion as it is substantially an equality of interest. The time has now come in America as it has come sooner or later in the history of all republics, when by the increase of wealth and gross disparity in its distribution this equality in its three aspects, political, social and industrial—is threatened with complete subversion. In order, under the changed conditions, to make good the original pledge of the republic to its citizens, it has become necessary to re-establish and maintain by some deliberate plan that economic equality, the basis of all other sorts of equality, which, when the republic was established, existed to a substantial degree by nature. The question is not of assuming a new obligation, but whether the original ends and purposes of the republican compact shall be repudiated. We demand that the republic keep faith with the people, and propose a plan of industrial reorganization which seems to us the only possible means by which that faith can be kept. We are the true conservative party, because we are devoted to the maintenance of republican institutions against the revolution now being effected by the money power. We propose no revolution, but that the people shall resist a revolution. We oppose those who are overthrowing the republic. Let no mistake be made here. We are not revolutionists, but counter-revolutionists.

But while the guarantee of the equality of citizens is thus a measure amply justified and necessitated by merely patriotic and national considerations, without looking further for arguments, we do, in proposing this action, look both further and higher, to the ends of the earth indeed, and the ultimate destiny of the race.

While historic, political and economic conditions require that this movement should be conducted on national lines by each people for itself, we hold the economic equality of all men, a principle of universal application, having for its goal the eventual establishment of a brotherhood of humanity as wide as the world.

[illegible]

...upward.

The plan of [illegible] organization which Nationalists propose is the very simple and obvious one of placing the industrial duty of citizens on the ground on which their military duty already rests. All able-bodied citizens are held to fight for the nation, and, on the other hand, the nation [illegible] protect all citizens, whether they are able to fight or not. [illegible] Nationalism, [illegible] all industry [illegible] hold every able-bodied citizen bound to work for the nation, whether with hand or muscle, and on the other hand [illegible] the nation bound to guarantee the livelihood of every citizen, whether able to work or not. As in military matters the duty to fight is conditioned upon physical ability, while the right of protection is conditioned only upon citizenship, so would we condition the obligation to work upon the strength to work, but the right to support upon citizenship only.

The result would be to substitute for the present ceaseless industrial civil war, of which it would be hard to say whether it is more brutal or more wasteful, a partnership of all the people, a great joint stock company to carry on the business of the country for the benefit of all equally, women with men, sick with well, strong with weak. This plan of a national business partnership of equals, we hold not only to be demonstrably practicable, but to constitute as truly the only scientific plan for utilizing the energy of the people in wealth production, as it is the only basis for society consistent with justice, with the sentiment of brotherhood, with the teachings of the founder of Christianity, and, indeed, of the founders of all the great religions.

The realization of

THE PROPOSED PLAN OF INDUSTRY

requires, as the preliminary step, the acquisition by the nation through its government, National and municipal, of the present industrial machinery of the country. It follows, therefore, that the Nationalists' programme must begin with the progressive nationalization of the industries of the United States. In proposing this course we are animated by no sentiment of bitterness toward individuals or classes. In antagonizing the money power we antagonize not men but a system. We advocate no rash or violent measures, or such as will produce derangement of business or undue hardship to individuals. We aim to change the law by the law, and the Constitution, if necessary, by constitutional methods. As to the order in which industries should be nationalized, priority should naturally be given to those the great wealth of which renders them perilous to legislative independence, to those which deal extortionately with the public or oppressively with employees, to those which are highly systematized and centralized, and to those which can be readily assimilated by existing departments of government.

(To be Continued.)

SOLIDARITY.

The appeals that have been made from time to time to organized labor in this country for assistance in some important struggle have invariably brought very meagre results, showing that the spirit of solidarity in our working class is but skin-deep.

For weeks efforts have been made to collect funds for the assistance of the striking miners in Alabama, but after a great deal of squeezing only a few hundred dollars have been raised in New York. The collections for the Rochester shoemakers were not more successful. The unions generally grant a small sum from their treasury, but it is rarely seen that the members give something individually. If you get a man to sacrifice five or ten cents, he does it with a sour face, because he cannot avoid it; but a moment later the same man will spend half a dollar at the bar without hesitation. Look at our own organization; what trouble to collect a miserable assessment of twenty five cents for the defence of the members on trial [illegible]. The constitution is ransacked to find a section by which the payment may be avoided, protests are made, the officers, the organization and all existing [illegible] at. Just as though an unbearable tribute had been imposed on them by a foreign conqueror.

Such a working class is not yet capable of offering effective resistance to the growing power of capitalism. They will have to learn by defeats, that are sure to come, that their emancipation cannot be accomplished without sacrifices.

In this respect the workingmen of England and Australia are far more advanced than [illegible] trades unionists.

During the great dockers' strike in London immense sums were sent over by the Australian working people. Again, during their own recent strike, the Australian workers collected large sums for the support of their striking brothers, one bakers' union in Sydney alone contributing $3,200.

[illegible]

CORRESPONDENCE.

CURRENCY REFORM

[illegible]

[illegible] ...strongest planks in the platform that is destined to carry the true reformers into our legislative halls.

It must be an encouraging omen to witness an audience of over four hundred listening with marked attention to a lecture on the Currency question where there was an admission fee. But it is truly inspiring when they by unanimous vote carry a strong resolution in favor of carrying on the movement until a satisfactory ultimate is reached.

As the late contest found both political parties destitute of a platform worthy of support, let us construct one broad enough *to secure all the reform that justice can ask for, and all the justice that reform can give.*

G. S.

MOUNT FOREST, *March 23, 1891.*

ISLAND PARK

Editor Labor Advocate.

As the summer is very near I would urge on the members of the Parks and Gardens Committee of the City Council to make some better provision for the public comfort at Island Park. The shelter there as it is at present, is no shelter whatever, the wind and rain driving right through it. After a storm the floor of the building is often ankle deep in water. There is no supply of good drinking water and in many other respects there is great room for improvement. As the season is so short, from three to four months, the lessee of the refreshment stand, whoever he may be, can hardly be expected to make the necessary improvements, most of which would be permanent ones. Why not lease the privilege for a longer term than one season, say five seasons? If that was done there would be some inducement for responsible men to tender who would at their own expense make the better provision which is so urgently needed.

WORKING MAN.

"A LONG FELT WANT."

Editor Labor Advocate.

Why can't the LABOR ADVOCATE be published as a daily evening paper? All the reading workingmen read a daily paper and would assuredly buy the LABOR ADVOCATE if it contained the news of the day, and when it became known as a paper widely circulated among working people it would draw to itself that nourishment which is the life of a newspaper, the advertisements. There is a great need of a paper issued daily on the lines of the LABOR ADVOCATE, not fettered by conventionalities but open to discuss subjects on their merits, even though some ancient corns may be badly squeezed. Our newly made citizens require instruction in the way of sound reasoning instead of being left to the drift of old world prejudice and superstition in which many find their profit. "Rest and be thankful," say these, and truly they do rest, and have much to be thankful for, while the bulk of their fellow christians can't afford to rest, but are thankful for cause. The articles in the LABOR ADVOCATE are breezy and invigorating! May it continue in that healthful way, and all workingmen should do what workingmen can do to ensure its success.

DAILY TOILER.

TORONTO, *March 1, 1891.*

MORE VICTIMS TO CAPITALISM

An old woman, fifty years of age, named Mary Oswald, was found dead in a room off Chancery Lane. She had existed for some time by begging in the streets. No furniture, no clothes, no food; a verdict of natural death was returned by the jury.

Another victim was a woman named Wright found dead outside her cottage. Inside on an old bed lay her two daughters and a boy three years old. The boy was dead, the daughters dying, all from starvation. Natural death, forsooth! *Murder* is too moderate a word. When will people learn that it is better to be alive taking back part of the stored up wealth than dying like rats in the gutter from starvation?—*London Commonweal.*

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