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TORONTO, DECEMBER 18th, 1903.

MUNICIPAL COMMENTS

There is evidently a decided inclination upon the part of a certain section of the Conservative party to make the forthcoming municipal fight a party one. This is evidenced by the expressions of certain Conservatives to make the aldermen line up behind any candidate that is brought out against Mayor Urquhart. It is unfortunate that such a move is contemplated, because it will of necessity only end in disaster. If any alderman wishes to hurt his chances of election he will pursue this course. Those who are at present helping to bring it about are only hurting their chances of re-election.

* * *

The city was well served last year by the present Mayor and Board of Control, and there is no reason why they, as well as the Mayor, should not be given another year in preference to any material that has so far presented itself. There is no doubt that many different persons may have as many different kicks coming at some one or other of the board, but even this granted, it is still impossible to get any set of men against whom something might not be said.

* * *

Among the workingmen the present board are, with the exception of one, very well thought of, and in this one instance it is a clear case, so the members of the building trades say, of going back upon a definite promise made to a deputation which waited upon him in order to get his support for their cause, when all the trouble occurred at the Exhibition grounds. It is but fair in this instance to state that this controller was F. H. Richardson, and so that no man may be unjustly dealt with we publish this account given us by the workers interested as the cause of the determined opposition upon their part to this controller. Every man should have the opportunity of defending himself from unjust attacks, and we are quite sure that if Controller Richardson can give a clear exposition of his side of this case it may serve to better his chances for re-election with the rest of the board. We give the controller this opportunity because of the fact that upon other occasions he has fought for the interests of the workers when others of his colleagues were against them.

* * *

Ald. Noble may know of several men who would like to oppose Mayor Urquhart, but the trouble is that they are all very timid about taking chances.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

The Labor Department of the Dominion has increased the usefulness of its monthly publication, the Labor Gazette, by adding to its already comprehensive list of subjects dealt with a monthly table of industrial accidents. These will be duly classified as to the locality, the industry and the nature and cause of the accident, and every care willl be exercised to ensure the fulness and correctness of the list. The utility and value of such an undertaking is at once apparent. By this means data will be accumulated showing which occupations are most exposed to danger to life and limb and what defects in machinery or arrangements are most urgently in need of being rectified in order to reduce the risk in dangerous callings to a minimum.

Representations are frequently made by deputations representing organized labor to governments, as to the crying need of greater safeguards in connection with hazardous occupations. But as the necessary appliances for the protection of workers often entail considerable expense to employers, such legislation is generally strongly opposed. Considerations of profit usually overshadow in the minds of capitalists those of justice and humanity, and mine and factory owners have never shown themselves willing to take even the most obviously required precautions against the slaughter and maiming of employees until forced to do so. Their influence is brought to bear to resist the demand, and their advocates do their best to pooh, pooh! the statements made as to the extent of the losses and dangers incurred as not warranted by the facts. The cause of humanity has often suffered defeat just for the want of such statistics as will be gathered by the Department under this head, and with official figures before them in black and white showing the risks to which employes are needlessly exposed in order to swell the dividends of wealthy corporations, it will be much easier for the representatives of organized labor to press their claims for adequate safeguards upon the Government.

This action on the part of the Department is an additional evidence of its alertness in fulfilling the purpose for which it was created, and its practical utility as a means of giving publicity to the actual conditions of industry, and placing trustworthy data in the hands of public men as a guide to legislative action. It has more than justified its existence in the work performed in establishing and carrying out a system of fair wages in Government contracts, and procuring the settlement of many labor disputes with as little delay or friction as possible. It is to be regretted that it seems to be the settled policy of the Manufacturers' Association to belittle and antagonize the Department. At the recent convention of the Association a dead set was made upon it: its officials were accused of being partisans and it and the labor organizations were made the targets for wholesale abuse and misrepresentation. No doubt there are some respects in which its work, carried on as it is under great difficulties, could be improved, but it hardly lies in the mouths of the Manufacturers' Association to criticize its shortcomings, when it is borne in mind that the principal reason why it has in any way fallen short of its ideal is the narrow minded conduct of some of the members of the Association in antagonizing its work from the outset, and refusing to co-operate with its officials in any way. They have ostentatiously refused to supply information asked for, and time and again when appealed to to allow the Deputy Minister to act as conciliator in labor disputes, have rejected any intervention. The Department has always shown itself anxious to do all in its power to settle labor difficulties as speedily and satisfactorily as possible, but where failure has attended these efforts the obstacle in the way has generally been the haughty and domineering attitude of employers, who, following the tactics of the Association, will be satisfied with nothing short of the absolute submission of labor to their terms.

The value of the work of the Department of Labor, hampered as it has been, is fully recognized by organized labor, and the members of trade unions have always shown a disposition to appreciate and co-operate with it. That it has not been even more successful is mainly, if not entirely, due to the unfriendly and short-sighted course of the Manufacturers' Association in opposing and thwarting its efforts to bring about a better understanding between employers and employed.

CORRESPONDENCE

What shall be done to the man that refuses to use modern implements? He'll stick in the mud, grow green in the bog, and see the Progressives march past him.

So our friends the Socialists are going to run candidates for the Board of Education. Well, I suppose they have a right to. It is a free country; but what will be the result to the Labor Party? It will strain it, maybe defeat it. I have known elections lost for want of two or three votes. We may well ask ourselves, "Are we stuck?" For with a united labor vote we would have thought ourselves lucky if we could have carried four seats on the board. But now, with four additional candidates in the field—one of them, perhaps, the strongest labor leader in Toronto, and all four having a strong pull on a large section in our union, it renders our success much more doubtful.

Are we stuck? No, not at all, but our machine is. We have accepted with some glee the cumulative system of voting given to us by the Ontario Government. It is a great improvement on the old system. Our unions have kicked at having the Technical School included in the jurisdiction of the Board of Education, but no fault has been found with the mode of voting. Edward Tyson and other true friends of labor told us to agitate for the Hare-Spence system of voting, that the cumulative system of voting was a crude, clumsy machine that would often clog up. I used it twenty-five years ago at the first election of the London School Board, and piled my seven votes on one candidate. However, we would not listen to Edward Tyson. Nothing like a good, genuine trades unionist for pig-headed obstinacy. There is some brain about the Hare-Spence system of voting, some lovely shades of expression. It doesn't choke you off and throttle the intellectual purpose of the nation. No! It unfetters and lets loose the intelligence, the inventiveness of deep thinkers like Ruskin, Spencer, Henry George or Bellamy, to grapple with and conquer the greedy cunning of Morgan, Rockefeller or Vanderbilt. If forty Socialists had come out, it would have wrought no evil under the Hare-Spence system. See how we are boxed up now. The total mayoralty vote polled last year was 24,400. Suppose that labor and its friends can rally 8,500 voters to the polls. Suppose one-quarter of labor and its friends go Socialist, that will be 2,125 votes, leaving 6,375 votes for the Labor Party; and how they will share them up nobody knows. Some trades unionists who are foo indifferent to master and advocate the Hare-Spence system of voting have called it a Chinese puzzle and say that Edward Tyson is the only man that understands it; but it will be a ten times greater puzzle how the votes will go under the cumulative system of voting. The twelve who poll the highest number of votes will be elected, but as there will be about 300,000 crosses marked, one man may be elected with 100,000 votes and another with 15,000 votes. Our clumsy machine having spoiled the sitting, we can count our addled eggs for the rest of the year. Now, under the Hare-Spence system the names of the four Socialists would have gone on the ballot with the rest of the aspirants. Admirers of James Simpson could have marked him No. 1, or if preferring the Labor Party to the Socialist Party, could have marked our four candidates 1, 2, 3, 4, in their order of preference and the four Socialist candidates 5, 6, 7, 8, also in their order of preference. Not one Labor vote would have been wasted. Any of our eight candidates who failed to reach the quota the returning officer would take their votes and apply them according to the wishes of the voter indicated by his figures, beginning with the candidate who polled the smallest number of votes. Any of our candidates who polled more than the quota (2,000), the returning officer would take their surplus votes and apply them according to the indicated preferences of the voters. He would deal with the surpluses before dealing with the minorities. The final result would be that Labor would not injure Socialism, nor Socialism Labor. Not many votes would be wasted. The peculiar notions of every voter would be accurately recorded. The full strength of our combined progressiveness would find its place on the Board of Education, and Labor and Socialism would stand side by side, as it ought to, on every elective body. Remember this, brothers, when you go to mark your ballots. You go to battle with a system that has produced our strikes with all their loss of last summer; it has produced such monstrosities as Morgan, Rockefeller and Schwab; it has produced the corner in the cotton market, costing our brothers in Lancashire one and a half million pounds loss in wages. We are fighting this system with a weapon twenty-five years old. Our opponents use no such antiquated tools in their factories. They don't make millions and corrupt legislatures that way, and if we want to win comfortable and enjoyable lives, and deliver our legislatures from corruption, we had better secure the best tools we can get. The matter is now in the hands of the unions. Send on your resolutions and petitions to the District Trades Council. Win or lose, keep the fight up. Keep clear brains to the front. Stuck! No, we are not stuck, but the machine was never planned for the job.

J.H.B.

UNIONISM AND "BARNACLES."

Editor The Toiler: I note in a recent issue of Mr. McD.'s advice to throw away the writings of Henry George and study economics from the standpoint of a trades unionist. I trust Mr. McD. is not a lawyer, as I do not wish to pay for the advice, but am grateful for same in grains.

I can assure Mr. McD. there are no people who understand better than the Single Taxers the great factor the trades unions of to-day are in the solution of the twentieth century riddle. We see in them a great public educator. We feel that when the trades unions as a body recognize the power of just taxation to break their chains, and the power of direct legislation to retain their rights, they will be an irresistable political force. When they appreciate what benefits are to be derived from the adoption of these two principles, they will establish the only natural union, the union of land and labor. This is the union that will give to every man his full earnings and guarantee freedom of contract.

Trades unions are a working example of good from evil. The evil principle of private property in land for speculative purposes has resulted in the separation of labor from the source of wealth and base of employment. Throughout the rural districts of our country the land corporations own title deeds (mortgages) to the major portion of the farming land in use, and deeds to the timber land out of use. In our cities we have but to watch the moving-vans each fall and spring to draw a conclusion as to what proportion of the population are homeless tenants at will. Under these conditions trades unionism formed on the defensive that the under dog may get some kind of a show in the unnatural struggle for existence against the monopolistic greed of the "Barnacles" of society.

Mr. McD. claims to be perfectly satisfied with the popular defining of terms; it is therefore a waste of time to further discuss that point.

To illustrate wherein the popular definition of wealth errs, when including land: We will take the case of an owner of a vacant lot in the heart of this city. As a piece of ground of a certain surface area and extending to the centre of the earth, that vacant property will not produce a cent's worth of weath till the end of time, if labor is not applied. Consequently, capital being the portion of wealth used in reproduction, neither does it produce capital. Such lot (owned or unowned) will have what Mr. McD. calls a social value. Single Taxers call it rental value, and say it rises and falls according to the amount the community is willing to pay for the use of the lot. Now, this rental or social value would accrue to the land without ownership and can hardly be called wealth or capital. It would seem more nearly correct if we term the holders of such values "Barnacles," rather than men of wealth or capitalists.

The facts remain, and it appears to the writer that the bringing into the discussion as capital and wealth of "social values" is somewhat after the manner of the parsons when requested to deliver a sermon on the establishment of righteousness on earth. It is sometimes pleasant for the individual who rides the back of the toiling masses, or expects to do so in the future, to feel that so long as they remain in ignorance of simple economics his graft may not be exposed. Occasionally we meet men who denounce the Snigle Tax for no other reason than that they have bought a property from a loan company at a speculative value and do not wish that value taxed out of existence. Such men do not realize that their little, narrow, short-sighted self-interest will stand between their children and freedom. They wish to hand to the next generation an inheritance of slavery growing deeper, darker and more tyrannous as land values increase in the hands of a few. They have yet to learn that under present conditions, to turn a young man out into the world with plenty of money and no economic knowledge is to make him a fool; to give knowledge without capital is to make him realize his serfdom. But let the coming generation face the world with the best obtainable education and equal natural opportunities, and every man may be a king.

So long as the people do not recognize the truths taught by the philosophy of Henry George, so long they will not recognize their rights. They will, like the slaves of the South, be numerically strong enough to take their liberty, but ignorance will preclude advance.

I would therefore reciprocate Mr. McD.'s advice, and request him to again read "Progress and Poverty" with the same concentration of attention that a man would read his mother-in-law's will. If he will do this, I think he will conclude that the question for this generation to answer is, "Will the people own the land, or the landlords own the people?"

G. C.

Editor The Toiler: "McD.," writing in your issue of the 27th ult., displays a fundamental error of thought that leads him into numerous difficulties in his subsequent logic. He appears to recognize the fact that only such things as are produced by labor can form part of capital, and in order to include land in his definition of capital, he brings forward the theory that it is the value of an article and not the article itself that is the capital.

Though a business man may, as he says, use the expression, "I have fifty thousand dollars capital," that is not what he means. The correct statement would be, "I have fifty thousand dollars' worth of capital," or the value of his capital is equal to fifty thousand dollars. Capital certainly is an aid to production, and it is not the value of a spade but the spade itself that a man uses to dig with. Therefore it is not the value of machinery, buildings, merchandise, etc., that is capital, but the actual tangible articles themselves.

"McD." can therefore see that land, *not* being produced by labor, cannot form a part of capital, nor of wealth of which capital is only a part. Now, he may say that this distinction is of no importance. On the contrary it is of the most vital importance. There are only three factors in production—land, labor and capital. The produce must therefore be divided among these three. That portion which the landlord receives is paid him not for any service he renders but simply for the privilege of using the land that God in His wisdom put here for the support of all mankind.

On the other hand, the capitalist by his labor has produced something which enables you to produce a greater quantity than you otherwise could, and therein he renders you a service. Consequently you pay him interest. If the capital is your own, you must calculate that your business will yield you sufficient to pay yourself a salary equal to what you could draw elsewhere; to pay you the same rate of interest as you could draw on your capital invested elsewhere, and to pay the rent for the use of the land.

Now, land being a fixed quantity, is necessarily a monopoly, so that rents are continually rising and consequently wages and interest are declining.

The solution of the difficulty, then, is to take from the few their privilege of charging others for the use of God's earth.

This can be done by taxation. Let the taxes upon the land equal its rental value annually, and then the monopolist will pay into the public treasury all the returns he gets from his special privilege, and the taxes to-day imposed upon labor can be remitted. Under such conditions every man would get what he produced, but no more.

WALTER H. ROEBUCK.

Toronto, Dec. 10, 1903.

THE ISLAND PARK.

The Island Association, believing that it has a duty to perform in keeping the citizens advised of what it has been attempting to do in relation to Island Park and Island affairs, takes this opportunity of informing the citizens at the time of year that they are most concerned in their affairs because of the near approach of the annual elections.

The association has had its largest work in endeavoring to preserve the park to the citizens, not but that all the citizens are animated by this same desire, but it would seem as if a lack of knowledge regarding the proper disposition of park lands would lead city officials at times into a wrong use of them. This association takes credit for having originated the Civic Island Committee, and one of the early efforts was to secure at a very moderate cost the co-operation of Mr. Olmstead, the celebrated landscape gardener, in an effort to procure an up-to-date plan of the island, along which future action should lie. Notwithstanding the earnest endeavors of this association to keep the expense down and to have Mr. Olmstead appointed, the Council on several occasions voted down the proposition, and instead, instructed Mr. John Chambers, park commissioner, to report and prepare a plan for the purpose, and it will astonish most of the citizens to learn that although Mr. Chambers was appointed early in 1902, and at considerable expense in the autumn visited some of the American parks to enable him to report, that so far no report has been made.

A determined effort was made by the association to preserve the park lands this year, having even a resort to law in a desire to restrain the assessment commissioner and the Council from disposing of park lands, and the reason given at the time was that the city had too much park lands. Notwithstanding this, a great deal of credit has been taken recently for the addition of the Lighthouse reservation to the park lands, and even this credit has not altogether been earned, because it would seem as if a determined effort was being made to dredge this fine piece of property through for the purpose of filling in some marshy land which could easily be filled otherwise.

The association feels that Aldermen Wm. Burns, Wood, Spence, Curry, Richardson, McGee, Ramsden and Bell did wrong in voting against the contentions of this association that the park lands belonged to the citizens, and that the Council had no right to give them away or lease them.

The association has made a determined attempt to remove the campers to a more suitable spot at Hanlan's Point with a view to having the land there, known as Heber's, converted into a desirable spot for the citizens. It is hoped that something will be done with this this coming year.

In closing, the association would like to say that it does not by any means feel that it has done its full duty; it can only become useful by having the citizens secure a more thorough knowledge of their beautiful asset in Toronto Island. The drainage, cleaning out of the lagoons, stringent rules against congested districts, erection of inside dockage and the placing on the lagoons of handy launches, the installation of a permanent lighting plant in conjunction with the waterworks, thus saving double staff and all the expense that this means, and the placing of two or three permanent firemen to look after the valuable property. These and many other points will occur to those who are well informed, but in none of these things can action be taken in advance of the knowledge and wishes of the citizens. This association feels that whatever it may attempt must be with the full assurance that it has the great mass of the citizens at its back in preserving one of the most beautiful possessions which ever belonged to any city.

The approaching election will give citizens and ratepayers who are interested an opportunity of impressing on all aldermanic candidates the importance of giving Island matters their most earnest attention.

J. A. Quinn has always been a patron of this paper and we would recommend our friends to give him a call when purchasing Christmas presents.

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For which purpose the co-operation of the Labor Organizations and others interested in the general prosperity of the Province is invited.

F. R. LATCHFORD,
Commissioner of Public Works.
ROBT. GLOCKLING,
Secretary The Labor Bureau.

Ontario Trades Disputes
Amendment Act, 1897

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