

THE LABOR ADVOCATE

A WEEKLY LABOR PAPER FOR THE WEST

Published by the Toronto Trades and Labor Council and No. 125 K. E. I.

Published Every Friday

GRIP PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO. 20 & 25 FRONT STREET WEST.

TORONTO, CANADA

Price per Annum \$1.00 in Advance

Yearly Subscription \$1.00 in Advance

Single Copies 2 CENTS

THOMAS DUNN, Editor

Mr. George A. Howell is the authorized agent of the LABOR ADVOCATE for receiving advertisements in this city and neighborhood.

Mr. T. H. Sanderson and Capt. W. J. Coulman are authorized to take subscriptions for the LABOR ADVOCATE in this city and neighborhood.

Mr. K. H. Patterson is our daily authorized agent for the reception of advertisements and advertisements in Hamilton.

The Grip Printing and Publishing Company guarantee, that in the event of the discontinuance of the LABOR ADVOCATE at any time, all money due to subscribers for the unexpired balances of their term of subscription will be refunded.

Unless subscribers, on removing, notify us of their change of address, we cannot be responsible for failure in the delivery of the paper.

TORONTO, CANADA, JUN 5, 1891.

SIR JOHN MACDONALD.

For some days past the death of Sir John Macdonald has been loudly expected. He has been pined up by the doctors, and in all probability the end is very near. Even should he recover from his present seizure he can never again take an active part in public life. With him dies the era of the one-man power in Canada politics, and the results of his disappearance from the political arena will be more far-reaching than anyone can at present conjecture.

The most immediate and obvious consequences will be the break-up of the Tory party. There is no living man who can hold together and animate with a common purpose the incongruous elements which make up the strength of the dominant faction. Even Sir John's powers of manipulating men and his wonderful personal magnetism have been sorely taxed of late in preserving the appearance of harmony and discipline among the various cliques and sections of widely differing views, sympathies and interests, who are ranged under the Conservative flag. Men of ability in political life are few—and such of them as wear the Conservative label are too closely identified with sectional interests to prove acceptable leaders. Tupper, who possesses some ability, is profoundly detested as a blustering bluff and self-seeker, and the Orange element, which constitutes the backbone of Ontario Toryism, will not for a moment tolerate the leadership of Sir John Thompson or Sir Hector Langevin. Neither would Dalton McCarthy, since his leadership in the Equari Rights Crusade, be more acceptable to the French Canadians. Mr. Meredith's name has been mentioned, and personally he is a man of excellent traits, but he lacks the calm and force of character necessary for successful leadership. The Tories will despair of being able to retain the ascendancy which has for years depended solely on the personal influence of Sir John Macdonald. He leaves behind him no successor.

As usual in such cases the newspapers are filled with extravagant eulogiums of the life and character of the departing leader. His consummate ability none can deny, and his personal geniality and kindness of heart have won him the friendship of many opposed to his views; but no good purpose can be served by weakly ignoring the fact that his influence on the public life of Canada has been demoralizing, and the methods by which he

sustained himself in power corrupt. Taking a broad view of the matter, it must, in justice, be remembered that Sir John, like other men, was mainly the product of his surroundings. The success of his methods of government show that the majority of the Canadian people have no sense of public morality and prefer to be governed by a system of wholesale bribery and appeals to class interests. The average Canadian voter sees nothing particularly wrong in buying votes subsidizing railway companies by enormous grants of the public funds or land, and building up huge monopolies whose support can be counted on at elections. So long as the public conscience does not revolt at these things, astute politicians will always be found to take advantage of the opportunities thus offered.

Let it be remembered, to Sir John's credit, that, in one important respect, he was in advance of public opinion. He was eminently a tolerant man and his influence was always in favor of reconciling the differences of race and creed instead of identifying them. Even government by corruption, had as its aim, is better than building up a party by appeal to sectarian hatred and race jealousies, and a short experience of the rule of fanatics and firebrands might make the methods of Sir John Macdonald seem admirable by comparison.

THE "EMPIRE" ON THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

ON Saturday last the Empire published a really sensible article, almost the first we have ever noticed in that paper, dealing with the labor question. It was in marked contrast to the usual waffle which the dailies utter whenever they treat of the subject, and it has however penned it evidently knows more about the labor problem than it would suit the Tory organ to publish. The article is entitled "Is it Peace or War?" and the noticeable thing about it is that it shows some appreciation of the gravity of the existing industrial situation and the revolution of thought that is taking place. Of course it is intended to suit the appetites of the Empire's capitalistic readers with the semblance of an argument and the justice of existing institutions and the dangers of the labor agitator. But, making all due allowance for this, the article displays a grasp of the situation, and an insight into the nature and scope of the great struggle now being waged which it is truly refreshing to find amid the dreary wash of political controversy and patriotic gush which constitute the usual editorial rubbish.

The following is an extract:— "The industrial world to-day is divided into two hostile camps, each armed to the teeth, and waiting to inflict the greatest injury in their power upon the other. The relationship between the rich and the poor was never more unsatisfactory. Never perhaps had the poor so little respect or affection for their wealthier neighbors, especially where it is understood to be advanced interests in respect to great social questions, and if one-half of what is said of the rich by persons who claim to represent the poor be true, never before had the rich so little sympathy with the poor. It is indeed, true that the rich are more highly taxed in the interest of the poor than they ever were before. But the very fact that they have wealth is thought to constitute them the natural enemies of the poor, and marks them out as the prey of the poor. The rich and the poor are less fortunate than themselves. Capital and labor are supposed to be inseparable, and the abolition of capital is held to be essential to the emancipation of labor. This is, indeed, an extreme view, and it is not true that all classes are not all educated up to this point, but, by 1. I question the whole tendency in this direction. Anarchism is the ultimate goal toward which the great labor movements of the time are tending.

The writer probably has not the distinction between Anarchism and Socialism very clearly in mind. If he had used the latter term he would have been correct, for nobody who has closely studied the question can doubt that the result will be the complete destruction of the competitive system, and the establishment in its place of some form of government or municipal control by which the community will be re-organized as the real employer. The writer's article concludes by deploring the fact that "as the discipline of the two opposing camps becomes more and more severe, the last vestige of personal

liberty and freedom of action is apparently likely to be crushed out between them."

This is the proper thing to say in the Empire of course, but the writer probably knows how little in the way of "personal liberty and freedom of action" the average workman or employee of any sort has to lose. Personal liberty has been practically crushed out already, if indeed it could ever be said to have existed for the mass of mankind. And even were it true—which it is not—that personal liberty would be more completely crushed out under Socialism than under the competitive system, most people would prefer the compensating advantage of a sure provision for themselves and families to such semblance of liberty as capitalism permits them to retain.

INGERSOLL'S INCONSISTENCY.

"THE most noteworthy feature of the North American Review for June is the discussion between Gen. Rush C. Hawkins and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, the noted Agnostic lecturer, on the social, moral and political condition of the United States. "Brutality and Avarice Triumphant" is the title of Mr. Hawkins' paper, in which he sets forth, in fittingly plain and emphatic language, the terrible social abuses and political degradation to which so much attention has latterly been directed. His indictment of present-day civilization is forcible and convincing one, but not more so than many of similar articles from the pens of social reformers, and the principal interest centres in Col. Ingersoll's reply, under the heading of "Is Avarice Triumphant?" in which the brilliant speech pleader makes out as good a case as possible for existing institutions.

With a great many people Col. Ingersoll passes for an advanced thinker, and a man thoroughly in sympathy with the popular movement. It must, therefore, be somewhat disappointing to such to find him posing as a champion of the very worst abuses and villanies of the age, and bringing his undoubted eloquence and argumentative power to justify the wholesale robbery of the people by railroad monopolies and the manifold inequalities of the competitive system. Like our Canadian Tories, Col. Ingersoll is driven to have recourse to the patriotic subterfuge as a means of shrinking disagreeable facts which he dare not face. He disingenuously charges his opponent with want of patriotism because his utterances revealing the social and moral rottenness of the community, and the infamies perpetrated in the name of the government may be quoted by the enemies of republican institutions. "No American," he says, "should ever write a line that can be sneeringly quoted by an enemy of the great republic." If this rule were rectified, for nobody could call attention to them without giving the enemy a chance to sneer. The Colonel indulges in an outburst of national glorification over the abolition of black slavery. He does not stop to consider that the early anti-slavery men were charged with disloyalty and want of patriotism.

Col. Ingersoll's paper exhibits its author in his true character as a spokesman of the privileged classes who are willing to hire out his pen or his tongue as lawyer, lecturer or writer to defend any abuse and justify the wrongs by which his patrons profit. We hope that it will disillusion some of the worshippers who have been deceived by the shallow generalities and ornamental phrases which form part of his stock-in-trade into believing him a genuine social reformer. He is a mere phrase-monger, who uses his wonderful gift of language to conceal the superficiality of his ideas which, stripped of their verbal garb, would attract no attention whatever. He makes great professions of liberalism, but somehow on every practical question he is always found in the alliance with the reactionary elements—the champion of the privileges of the wealthy and vested interests, whether as

campaign speaker, or magazine writer. Ingersoll has condemned unparagonably the abuses which have grown up in the church, and is especially severe upon clerical hypocrites who preach one thing and practice another. If we were to apply the same standard to his own conduct, and judge him by the way in which his practice contradicts his lofty and loud mouthed professions, he must be pronounced as thoroughgoing a hypocrite and fraud as any backsliding preacher, or defaulting Sunday school superintendent.

A FEW PLAIN WORDS WITH THE ALDERMEN.

FROM the activity of those interested in getting possession of the street railway franchise, and the attitude of the monopoly press, it is evident that great pressure is being brought to bear upon the aldermen to induce them to conclude a hasty bargain with one or other of the syndicates in the field, by which the road will be handed over to them for an altogether inadequate return. The people are just beginning to realize the value of the privilege which Smith has so long possessed for nothing, and to awake to the folly of allowing any set of capitalists to become millionaires in a few years by abouting the profits of a public enterprise. The results of the temporary management of the road in the turning over to the city treasury every day of an amount largely in excess of the running expenses is a practical objection which even the dullest can comprehend. The longer the city continues to hold the road the more decided will public opinion become in favor of its remaining a public enterprise.

It is not remarkable, then, that the would-be monopolists are above all things anxious for an immediate decision. If the road is not leased within a very short time from now it will be leased at all. The franchise grabbers know this and their object is to force an immediate decision and have the deal rushed through the Council before the people fairly know what is being done.

Now, we want to impress upon the aldermen that their action in the matter, individually and collectively, will be very closely scrutinized, and that the public will hold them to a more than ordinarily strict account in regard to their dealing with the street railway.

Should they hastily dispose of the franchise, without allowing sufficient time to elapse for the full consideration of the agreement in all its bearings, and the result show that the city has been placed at a disadvantage, they cannot in this case plead that they were motivated through inadvertence or a want of opportunity to familiarize themselves with the details of the arrangement. Such an excuse would be an aggravation of the main offence. They have no right to act hurriedly in such a matter. There is no need of doing anything at all at present. Every consideration of public interest points in favor of delay, of testing by practical experience the actual value and gaining materials on which to base an estimate of the probable future value of the franchise. To close with the first offer, which may appear somewhat ungenerous, is the one-sided bargain usually entered into between monopolists and municipalities would be unadvisable to sacrifice the public interest in response to an inordinate clamor raised by the purchased agent and camp-followers of monopoly.

The labor organizations have repeatedly put themselves on record in every possible way against the leasing of the road—at all events before the experience of city management has been fully tried. A very large proportion of the general community hold the same view and will support the position taken by the labor bodies. The aldermen must distinctly understand that in every thing, and took up his permanent residence in England.

WE trust that the workmen of this city, and all who sympathize with the organized labor, will not only read the important circular on the Street Railway question, issued by the representative labor bodies, which is no question now before the citizens, but will act upon it.

or likely soon to present itself, half as important as that of the disposition of the street railway, and no stone will be left unturned to defeat those members of the City Council who either weakly or corruptly yield to the pressure of the monopolistic hoodlums and betray the interests of their constituents.

"We never forget."

CANADA is supposed to have been honored in the process of making some person of the name of Herbert Gil lespit a knight on the Queen's Birthday. Now who the devil is Herbert Gil lespit anyway!

WHAT is the difference between a millionaire and a highway robber? Very little. The one robs the people legally and the other illegally.—Industrial Education.

Moreover, while the highway man robs on the highway, the millionaire steals the highway itself.

THE announcements of the Street Railway syndicates, who give their views publicly through the editorial columns of the Mail, does not wish the question of who shall operate the road decided in accordance with the views of "six Gen. Hawkins' paper, in which he sets forth, in fittingly plain and emphatic language, the terrible social abuses and political degradation to which so much attention has latterly been directed. His indictment of present-day civilization is forcible and convincing one, but not more so than many of similar articles from the pens of social reformers, and the principal interest centres in Col. Ingersoll's reply, under the heading of "Is Avarice Triumphant?" in which the brilliant speech pleader makes out as good a case as possible for existing institutions.

THE Globe of Wednesday has an article on "The Carnival of Boodle." But it does not throw any light upon the reason why the Globe, Mail and Empire are just now publishing articles after article insisting upon the Council immediately handling over the Street Railway to a monopoly. You can read "boodle" between the lines of every editorial which these three purchasable concerns have printed on the subject. The Globe needn't go all the way to Ottawa to find a carnival of boodle.

REV. SAM. SHALL in his sermon at the Auditorium last Sunday, attacked Mr. Sheppard of Saturday Night in a very unfair manner. Mr. Sheppard's views as to Sunday recreations are of course open to pulp criticism, but Mr. Small garbled the quotations, which he pretended to give from the paper, in a shamefully unjust way, and drew conclusions therefrom which were unwarranted by anything Mr. Sheppard had said, when taken with the context. Rev. Sam. is a thorough-going fakir, and apt to resort to the most disingenuous tricks.

A NOVELTY in savings bank management has been introduced in connection with the Traders' Bank of Canada. Each depositor who desires it is supplied with a "household savings bank," in which deposits may be placed as convenient, the key being in possession of the Bank. Once a month a collector will call to receive the deposits, and enter the amount on the depositor's pass book. This system will be a great encouragement to habits of saving and enable many who would otherwise spend their entire incomes, to put by something every month. An extended notice of the plan appears elsewhere.

SIR GEORGE STEPHENS has been created a peer of the realm, under the title of Lord Mount Stephen, ostensibly as a reward for his distinguished public services in undertaking a contract by which he realized nearly a million dollars. The truly loyal press of course, are it is needless to say, its recognition of Canadian merit, as represented by a very commonplace sort of boodler, who, after pocketing a fortune, which the stupid Canadian public voted to him out of their own hard earnings, at the first opportunity turned his back upon the country and people, to whom he owed every thing, and took up his permanent residence in England.

WE trust that the workmen of this city, and all who sympathize with the organized labor, will not only read the important circular on the Street Railway question, issued by the representative labor bodies, which is no question now before the citizens, but will act upon it.