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TORONTO, CANADA, MARCH 27, 1891

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL

THE capitalists are eating each other up with a remorseless rapidity which leaves nothing to be desired. Every day's news contains some item or other to show how steadily the process of absorbing and concentrating wealth in the hands of fewer and [illegible] holders is going on. Failures are thinning out the mercantile community, large businesses are absorbing or driving out of the field dozens of smaller concerns, and combines such as that of the wholesale grocers in this city are making it impossible for new beginners to enter business with a chance of success. While the defenders of the competitive system are prating about "individualism," the liberty of the subject, and the necessity of preserving freedom of contract and all the familiar cant of this sort by which they seek to justify the worst forms of spoliation, their masters, the capitalists, are by their actions showing the world how little stock they take in such exploded teachings. They are forming on all hands the closest of combinations and using the boycott against all recalcitrants of their own class with a unanimity and effectiveness never exceeded by a labor organization.

One of the latest instances of the intensity of the struggle for existence which is going on among the capitalist class is recorded in a recent cablegram which announced that no fewer than 200 members of the London Stock Exchange, the great money center of the world, are about to retire from the board being unable or unwilling to renew their subscriptions. In other words they have been crowded out. The big fish have eaten up the little ones. The larger and more pushing speculators—those with the biggest bank accounts and most influential connections have monopolized so much of the business that two hundred brokers previously of first class standing, find themselves "out of employment," just as though they were dockers, or bricklayers or tailors.

And so it goes throughout. Everywhere the stronger, wealthier and more cunning capitalists are entrenching themselves more firmly by the process of combination and concentration, and crushing the weaker down to the level of the proletariat. As this sort of thing goes on the power of resistance to the forces of progress

[illegible] the proportion as individual [illegible] from the ranks [illegible]

[illegible]

THE SINGLE TAX AND SOCIALISM

THE *World* [illegible] the Single Tax theory and its [illegible] [illegible] contains a good deal of truth. [illegible] to the case of [illegible] of Kingston and the [illegible] by the orthodox single taxers [illegible] small vote which he polled [illegible] the effect that his manifesto [illegible] anarchy rather than tax reform," the *World* goes on to say

The fact seems to be that once a man reasons himself into the single tax idea he is irresistibly carried to lengths of which at the outset he never dreamed. A very fine perception and powerful grip may save some but the current of reasoning floats the ordinary mind into the whirlpool of anarchy or at best into the less turbulent waters of communism.

The theory of single tax is captivating but the communist can charm the multitude with a tale that is more entrancing and the anarchist can follow with an [illegible] scheme for creating instant utopia. Single tax is a pretty infant whose intellectual head and ingenious [illegible] is well [illegible] but it must be carefully guarded from sinister influences, else it will develop into full blown communism and be finally gibbeted as anarchy

It is hardly to be expected of course that an ordinary partizan hack, whose reading no doubt has been mainly confined to the daily papers should know enough to distinguish between "communism," anarchy" and "socialism, or have any definite idea of the real program of those who, while accepting to the full the principle underlying Single Taxism regard landlordism as merely one of the most obnoxious of many *forms of monopoly*, [illegible] must be destroyed. But in his crude and blundering fashion the *World* writer has stumbled upon a truth that has for some time been apparent to those who have studied carefully the Single Tax movement from the inside. There [illegible] no logical finality in the theory. Once admit the premises upon which the whole scheme is based that no one is entitled to the wealth created by the community as distinguished from the product of his personal exertions—and there is no logical stopping place short of Socialism.

The Single Tax movement is the Unitarianism of political economy—a half way house where the investigator may find rest for a breathing spell, but not a permanent abode. In nine cases out of ten he will either go on thinking and apply to other social abuses, the arguments used by the Single Taxer as regards land monopoly, and so develop into a full blown all-round Socialist, or if his courage fails him at the prospect, he will be scared back to orthodoxy

The Single Tax movement is doing excellent work in breaking ground for Socialism, by causing people to think of the evils begotten by land monopoly and the way to remedy them. The mistake which some enthusiasts in the cause make, is in supposing that when a certain stage has been reached they can call a halt and prevent those whom they have influenced carrying the thinking process any further than they wish. The *World* writer seems to have an impression of this sort, as he heads his article, "Protect the Single Tax Theory," and talks of "carefully guarding it from sinister influences." He does not inform us how this is to be done. There is no tariff on ideas, nor any conceivable method by which those who have cut loose from conventional opinions so far as to realize that the landlord instead of being a social benefactor is a spoliator and a parasite, can be prevented from carrying the principle to its logical conclusion and condemning all forms of "unearned increment"

[illegible] the Socialists might [illegible] as has been done in the American Single Tax organizations but the only effect of such a course would be to cripple the Single Tax movement and strengthen Nationalism, which is [illegible] necessary to [illegible] the *World* [illegible] Socialism [illegible]

IS THIS YOUR SON, MY LORD?

A GOOD deal of excitement was [illegible] in religious and social circles last week by the appearance in the *Mail* of the story of the betrayal of the [illegible] daughter of a retired Methodist minister by the son of a brother [illegible]. The circumstances were [illegible] in the extreme, the action of the seducer being as infamous and [illegible] as could well be conceived, and the conduct of his father highly discreditable to any man making professions of ordinary respectability, not to speak of Christianity. No names were given except that of the unfortunate victim and no city paper except the *Mail*, had a whisper of the matter owing to the exertions made by the friends of the seducer and his influential family to hush up the affair. The activity of the correspondents of the outside press, however, frustrated the conspiracy of silence and gave a wide spread currency to the whole shameful story. We get the names from the New York *Herald* and Hamilton *Herald*, which publish full and, presumably, correct details. The victim was a girl named Edith Miller, who, having been sent to Canada by one of the numerous agencies for shipping orphans and waifs to the Dominion, was adopted by Rev. John Doel. He treated her in all respects as his own child, and gave her an excellent education. Last summer in an evil hour, she made the acquaintance of Edward Potts aged nineteen, son of Rev. Dr. Potts, and shortly afterwards the lecherous young cub accomplished her ruin. Not satisfied with this, he, as a crowning act of infamy, introduced her to a friend in order, if possible, to escape or lessen his own responsibility by subjecting her to further degradation. The wretched girl, soon to become a mother, attempted suicide by poison, but was cruelly rescued from a fate infinitely preferable to that in store for her. Her foster parents instead of, as might be supposed, insisting on justice and taking every possible means to secure the only reparation in the power of the seducer to make, yielded to social pressure, heartlessly cast off the child they have treated as their own for ten years, and in order to prevent scandal to religion send her and her child back to England. Meanwhile young Potts, with the connivance of his father, conveniently disappears for the time being, the pressure of influential persons connected with the church is brought to bear upon the newspapers, and the crime is as far as may be hushed up. And all in the name of religion and respectability, lest the interests of vital godliness should suffer from the publicity given to one of the blackest social crimes committed under the shadow of the sanctuary, and shielded by two preachers of the Gospel.

The action of Rev. John Doel in the matter was cowardly—the course of Rev. Dr. Potts was disgraceful. Holding, or at least *professing*, the very strongest views on the subject of social purity, he was in duty bound to insist upon his son marrying the cast-off victim of his brutal lusts. Instead of this what does this Boanerges of Methodism do but connive at his son's absence from town so as to avoid any prosecution under the Charlton Act; and, far from endeavoring to make the least reparation to the broken hearted girl he absolutely refuses to use his parental authority to bring about a marriage. The consequence is that owing to his action and that of the clique of influential and religious people who have been hard at work endeavoring, not to see that justice was done, but that scandal was avoided, the girl has become an outcast, and the villainous seducer goes unpunished.

If young Potts had been a poor boy he would have been at once arrested and held for trial under the Charlton Act and full publicity would have been given by the press to his rascality. The cowardice and venality of our daily journals, one and all, was never more plainly illustrated than by the manner in which they have shirked their duty to the public and conspired to shield a criminal from exposure because of the respectability of his family and the social and financial influence of his friends. The *Mail* while giving publicity to the name of the unfortunate victim of young Potts' perfidy, carefully refrained from revealing the identity either of the seducer or of the family who so cruelly cast off the girl because of her misplaced trust in a scoundrel. A more scandalous instance of newspaper toadyism and subserviency to class influence has never transpired even in this faction cursed, parson ridden city.

"GOING BACK TO FIRST PRINCIPLES"

THE way in which the ruling classes of different countries stand by each other is illustrated by the article on the New Orleans massacre which appeared in the London *Times* a day or two afterwards. The Thunderer, true to its capitalistic instinct, realized that the question involved was the right of the "better classes" to put themselves above the law whenever they see fit. Instead of going off at half cock in a paroxysm of indignation over Yankee lawlessness as did most of our Tory sheets, whose partyism got the better of their class feeling, it came out with an article justifying the lynchers on the ground that "when the courts are dominated by the criminals whom they exist to punish *nothing remains but to go back to first principles to effect their deliverance.*"

The argument is sound, but the *Times* and the plutocrats for whom it speaks would be the last to apply it in any ordinary case in which the law breakers were poor and uninfluential. If the American people had made a practice of "*going back to first principles*" in every case in which justice had been [illegible] owing to bribery or influence, half the millionaires of the country would have been hanged or shot long ago. The whole business ought to be an eye opener to those who retain a superstitious reverence for the laws made by the classes and the monopolists. If "going back to first principles" is in order, it is easy to find among the monopolists and exploiters of labor in every country men who deserve summary execution far more than any member of the alleged Mafia.

A MISLEADING ARGUMENT.

THE *Evening News* of this city in an article in exposition of the Single Tax, which it in some mysterious manner manages to reconcile with Toryism, has the following

> To show how radically unjust is the principle of taxing accumulated capital, look at the origin of capital. Capital is stored-up labor. So long as this capital, this stored up labor, is in the possession of the laborer who created it, Mr Gillees will agree with us that it would be a gross injustice to take any of it away in taxation, besides being a discouragement to thrift. Then if you ought not to tax capital under such circumstances, you ought not to tax it at all; for where and how can you draw the line? Capital pure and simple, under proper social conditions, is a beneficent helper of labor. It is the alliance of capital with monopoly that makes it a destructive oppressor of the poor

This contains a certain amount of truth stated, however, in a misleading manner. *The writer is either unable* to discriminate between capital and capitalism, or prefers to avoid making the distinction in order to confuse the minds of his readers. Capital is "stored-up labor," of course, but in ninety nine cases out of a hundred the storing up is done by one man and the labor by others. It is not by their own "thrift" that men become wealthy, but by compelling other people to exercise thrift

"Capital pure and simple under proper social conditions is a beneficent helper of labor." Granted. But capitalism, implying the controlling power over the labor of others conferred by the ownership of capital, instead of being a helper of labor is a plunderer of labor. Capital is money, land, tools, raw material and other things necessary to production, which ought to be controlled by labor. Capitalism is wholly unnecessary to labor and always works the lion's share of the product.

It is the alliance of capitalism with monopoly that makes it a destructive oppressor of the poor. [illegible] *But the only way to abolish these monopoly* is to bring capital into the position it should occupy as the servant not the master of labor, by doing away with the capitalist and making the community instead of individuals the directors of industry. The Single Tax will not of itself do this, even if carried to the full extent of confiscating to public uses the full yearly value of the land. It is aimed only at one form of monopoly. If landlordism were destroyed at one blow to-morrow capitalism remaining in possession of the money, the machinery, the whole mechanism of exchange and production, would still be able to dictate terms to the workers and compel them to labor for its profits

It is only by ignoring the vital distinction between capital—the wealth created by labor and used in further production—and capitalism—the power of individuals to use capital for the enslavement of the toiler—that the *advocates of usury and profit mongering* are able to make a show of argument

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THE LABOR ADVOCATE does not often agree with Prof Goldwin Smith but we do immensely admire the [illegible] and trenchant style in which he handles *that most contemptible of politicians* Sir Tupper, in an article in the New York *Independent*. The following is as neat and true a hit as has been made in Canadian political controversy for some time: "A member of Congress, Mr. Hitt, of Illinois expressed his surprise the other day that a certain Canadian baronet should have made use of a letter of his which had manifestly been stolen or obtained by dishonourable means. No Canadian would have been much surprised had the baronet been detected in abstracting the letter from Mr. Hitt's desk with his own hand. Nothing is less like the genuine British aristocrat of the better class than the colonist who apes him, and thinks that he makes himself aristocratic by parading contempt of Yankees—a habit, it may be observed, to which no Canadian Tories are more given than those who are themselves American by birth or by connection

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The Hamilton Herald says

At the meetings of the Toronto Ministerial Association the doors are thrown open to the reporters and the public as, indeed, why should they not be? In Hamilton the members of Ministerial Association appear to lock the doors, fasten down the windows and stuff up the stovepipe holes. But then the members of the Toronto association do not say things they are ashamed of having published. It is an unfortunate thing for any community when public men, and especially ministers, cultivate habits of speech which will not bear reproduction in type.

Now it seems to us that the Hamilton brethren are acting very sensibly by keeping their deliberations private; the public will never realize how [illegible] sense, intelligence and charity the average preacher brings to bear upon the questions under discussion. If they want to keep up the traditional reverence for the cloth they had better not give themselves away by admitting the press to their meetings.

THE proposal to amend the municipal law so as to have assessments on property once in three years instead of annually, as at present, is one which cannot be too severely condemned. By the adoption of this method the public would be robbed of the increase in taxation during the latter two years of the term, which they now obtain on the annual assessment plan, whenever the assessors are intelligent and honest enough to take note of the increasing value of the land. There are surely influences enough already at