CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Editor LABOR ADVOCATE

I was glad to see that you condemned in fitting terms the course of the City Council in acting down the proposal to confer the suffrage upon married women possessing the qualifications now requisite for municipal electors. It is impossible for men to gain their freedom while their sisters remain politically enslaved as the disfranchisement of women is one great cause why they remain at the mercy of capital and are compelled to accept low wages. But I did not set out to argue the question of women suffrage but to ask you to publish the names of those aldermen who voted for and against the resolution, as a guide to the women now possessing the suffrage and others favorably to the cause when the municipal election comes round again

A WOMAN VOTER

[The division list of the vote in the City Council on the proposition to extend the municipal suffrage to married women is given below. Those interested—as every Labor Reformer ought to be—in extending female suffrage, should cut it out and preserve it for reference

For	Against.
Allen.	The Mayor,
Bailey.	Atkinson,
Farquhar,	Bell,
Foster.	Burns,
Hill,	Gibbs,
Jolliffe,	Leslie,
Graham,	Macdonald,
Hall,	Maloney,
Lucas,	McDougall,
Park,	McMurrich,
Phillips,	Orr,
Rose,	Pape,
Stanley—13	Saunders,
	Score,
	Small,
	Stewart,
	George Verral—17

NATIONAL INSURANCE.

Editor LABOR ADVOCATE

From time to time the question of State or National Insurance is discussed by the press of this and other civilized countries notably by the English press—but, so far as I can ascertain, no government has as yet adopted any such a plan. For reasons not difficult to know Canada is not troubled with poverty to the same extent as Great Britain but the fact remains that in proportion to population there is too much of it among us. Old people who have never been convicted of crime but whose too feeble to work are sent by police magistrates and justices of the peace to jail, not from any feeling of compassion for them, but simply because a scandal would be created, and society would be shocked if they were allowed to starve on the streets or in their miserable garrets. Others are provided for by professional charity-mongers, who give as little as they can and that little in a haughty patronizing manner, their object, that of seeing their good works paraded in print, being just as well achieved by flinging down a dime as by parting with a dollar. Others again are cared for in county workhouses, houses of industry, houses of providence, etc, where boards of management and nasty old women of both sexes dole out temporal comfort in homepathic drops and spiritual admonitions in huge chunks. The whole system of providing for the wants of those who, whether from negligence, physical disability on their own part in earlier years has left them paupers in their old age, is wrong from beginning to end.

It may be stated as a fact, at least the exceptions are so few as to be not worth considering, that every young man, free from disease and physically strong, at some time in his life earns more per week than he actually needs for his weekly support. This is especially true in the case of young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty eight years and before marriage There are thousands of them who, between the ages mentioned, have no claims upon them but those they create themselves and every one of them could well afford to save up a very moderate sum each week as a fund to be used in the future. Take the case of a young mechanic earning only $8 a week and out of that amount he could readily lay by five cents a week and in ten years that would amount to $26. Not enough to support him should misfortune and poverty overtake him in old age! Certainly not, but if every young man, for a certain time was compelled by the State to make this saving, and such savings were taken by the national government in the course of a few years an immense sum would be created, far in excess of what would be necessary, and from out of that sum every indigent person after a certain age would be entitled to his support, not as a charity but as a right inasmuch as he contributed to it in his earlier years The number of those applying for support from this fund would be small. Many of those who contributed to it, would die before old age overtook them; others by their industry and ability would never require any help beyond that by lapses and other causes the amount necessary to support those who did apply would be far in excess of the demand

It is only adopting on a national scale the system of creating a superannuation fund which now obtains in different branches of the civil service. All the charitable organizations which exist for the benefit of old people do more harm than good no matter how admirable their intention. They cure no evil but by misdirected energy intensify those they set out to cure. Individual effort can never cure social misery, but national socialism can cure individual misery and can do so without humbling the individual or presenting him with charity. We are told that charity is the chief of virtues. A greater lie, a larger fallacy was never uttered Charity is only the application of a quack medicine that should be unknown and unheard of in a really civilized progressive country. Remove the cause that has created charity is what thinking men should set themselves to do; and this can only be done by society at large and not by individual effort—in other words by the State and not by individualism

WORKMAN

LABOR AND POLITICS

This letter, to which reference was made editorially in last week's issue, ought to have appeared in that paper, but was omitted by mistake Ed.]

Editor LABOR ADVOCATE:

IN THE ADVOCATE of February 27th, the following extract appears in an editorial on "The Elections"

"The issues between the Grit and Tory parties have no bearing whatever upon the really important questions in which Labor Reformers are interested, so whichever way it goes we do not regard the result as the slightest practical consequence."

Before commenting on the above, allow me to state that I am neither a Liberal nor a Conservative, but a non resident, and I have, for two years, been an impartial student of Canadian politics. I believe in the land tax, and I hope to see the day when the principle "That which is produced by the individual rightfully belongs to the individual, will be literally carried out.

Mr. Editor, if the Grit party had been successful at the last election, it is certain that, irrespective of the action of the United States, the Dominion, within a year, would have free oil and sugar. Remove the tariff from petroleum, and American oil, which now retails at 30 and 35 cents, would be sold for 12 cents by the single gallon, and in five gallon lots for 10 cents. It would then be generally used for fuel An improved stove, which will do the work of a coal or wood stove of four covers, can, with oil at 10 cents a gallon, be run at an average cost of 25 cents a week. This is cheaper than No. 1 hard wood at $3 a cord, or anthracite coal at $2 50 a ton

Canada produces annually less than 600,000 barrels of crude oil, a little more than half the consumption. This oil is no better than Ohio oil, which is worth about 20 cents a barrel, while Lambton county oil sells for $1 35. There are not 2,500 men actually employed in the Canadian oil industry. To give this number work, which is the defence of the tariff, costs the Dominion millions of dollars, and the burden falls on those who are the least able to bear it.

Kerosene, from 10 to 12 cents a gallon, will do the cooking for a family of five, at a cost of $10 a year. The wood or coal in Toronto or Hamilton will cost $35. The saving in the single item of fuel would be $20. An average family will burn for illuminating purposes twenty-five gallons a year; on this 10 cents a year would be saved, making $2.50. The total savings, were the duty abolished, would be $22.50.

What it now costs to buy twelve pounds of sugar would buy twenty pounds were it free. Molasses that costs 50 cents and syrup that costs 80 cents could then be bought for 29 and 45 cents respectively. The average workingman's family would save on these two articles at least $8 a year Those who cannot now afford to can fruit in its season on account of the price of sugar, could afford to were it 80 per cent. cheaper. This would give thousands of families a wholesome necessary which they are now obliged to go without.

Adding together the cost of the oil and sugar tax, we have the sum of $30, call it $25. It then costs the man who has a family of five, $25 more a year to live than it would, if oil and sugar were free.

Mr. Editor, do you regard this result of no importance whatever! Will it pay a laborer to "spoil his ballot" when he can choose *the one* of two evils which will add from 6 to 10 per cent, to his income? The oil and sugar tax is twelve or three times as large as the parliamentary tax that caused the colonies to rebel, and it is every whit as onerous, for it is taxing the many for the benefit of the few.

If we are to succeed in emancipating labor, advantage must be taken of every opportunity—it is a fight by inches. African slavery would not have been abolished if the contest had been deferred until the question of a total extinction had been submitted. Reforms do not come in this way. But it was opposed at every point. The help of men and parties that would only go part way was gratefully accepted. The Missouri compromise, the Kansas and Nebraska struggle, the Fugitive Slave law and the Dual Scott decision were the skirmishes which preceded the final battle, and made victory possible. So it must be in the contest for industrial liberty—between two parties there is always one which is more favorable to reforms than the other, and this is the one to support. A single step forward is a gain, and a gain is never lost. Looking at the situation, unswayed by partisan feelings, I saw clearly the duty of the hour, but the Canadian workingmen did not see it; they were blinded by party zeal, deceived by politicians and intimidated by capitalists.

J. Y. SMITH.

HAMILTON, *April 7, 1891*

A RESIDENT of Toccoa, Ga., owns a mule forty five years of age. The mule is white, about half the size of ordinary mules, and sports the name of Jesse. He is as sprightly as a spring chicken, can unlatch a gate, lay down a fence, and dismount the best of riders.

MAJOR GRANT has objected to the play "Thou Shalt Not," at the Union Square Theatre, on the ground that it is immoral, and the play has been withdrawn. Hesitate! Think of a Tammany politician being shocked by the assistance of immorality.—*Twentieth Century.*

WHAT IS CAPITAL?

THE DESPOTIC POWER CONFERRED BY THE CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION

Capital is the Taskmaster Instead of the Servant of Labor A Great Day of Reckoning at Hand.

WHAT is capital? Capital is wealth used to assist labor in the production of further wealth. Wealth is the necessaries and conveniences of life—the results of former labor. Let us take an illustration that can be verified every day A Maori goes into the bush and catches a wild pig. That portion which he does not immediately broil and eat is its capital necessary for him at any other work he purposes to do. When he has in this manner accumulated sufficient food to last him some time, we will suppose he sets about the manufacture of a canoe from a kauri log. When the canoe is completed it in its turn becomes further capital to be used in promoting the production of more wealth. He will possibly use it for fishing or trading. He is thus "started in business," and the surplus of one day's exertion becomes his capital for use next day All the produces is his own, for there is neither landlord or capitalist to divide with As long as the sea and land remain open to him, he can, by three or four days' exertion, supply the needs of a week. Our surrounding social environment is, in every respect, a higher developed copy of primitive society. This simple fact is slightly obscured by the complications inherent in the organizations of large masses of men for the interchange of labor products.

Should, how ever, the sea and the land—the meat, the fish and the canoe—ever pass into the possession of the Maori's dead if every producer received in wages the full value of his product there would be nothing left to pay interest, rent, dividends or land value The producing workman would be enabled to combine with his fellows in providing from their wages a common fund to be their united capital, for use in all future industrial enterprise.

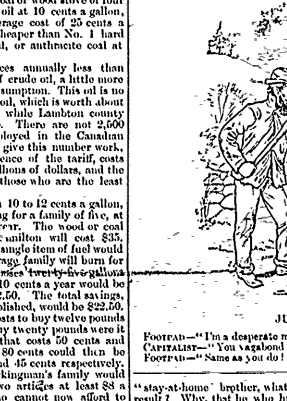
The reason why hands of workmen are unable to do this under present circumstances is because they are deprived of a large portion of their just wages, and what is left to them in money wages is barely sufficient to provide the necessaries of life It is an undeniable truism that if the laborer received full value for the work done, the non labor class would soon become as extinct as the moa and the mastodon As a class they would be as helpless as a turret ship in mid-ocean with a broken shaft

It must therefore be clearly understood that the keystone of the economic arch is that capital is stored labor, and raw material

THE PROPERTY OF ALL

The underlying cause of all this destructive internecine warfare is that the capital and the land have passed out of the possession of those to whom they rightfully belong. The intellect of the world revolts against this state of things, and mankind only requires the advent of a leader to sweep it away for ever. Men must return to first principles and give up hypocrisy, pretence and fraud, but it is an old truth and a great one that abstractions can never advance except borne forward by real men.

Cæsar, when sailing along the Punic shore, fell asleep and dreamt a dream. He saw a vast multitude of men, women and children, marching along and weeping in bitter agony. Suddenly, without warning, they all raised their heads and stretched out their arms toward him, crying with a heart-rending voice: "We want our city!" The ruler of the world



JUST ABOUT THE SAME

FOOTPAD—"I'm a desperate man, and I want yer money!"
CAPITALIST—"You vagabond! Why don't you work for your money, the same as I do?"
FOOTPAD—"Same as you do! Well, ain't I tryin' to?"

"stay-at-home" brother, what then is the result? Why, that he who hunts, fishes or tills the ground becomes the servant of him who owns both tools and raw material. He who owns the capital owns the tools of production, and he who is deprived of both tools and land (by some mysterious social alchemy) must consequently remain in virtual servitude.

This is the actual position at the present moment. Our lands, our forests, our mines, the profit of labor machinery, ships, tools and railways, have somehow become the possession of a small non-labor class. The consequence is that those who actually labor are reduced to a state of world-wide vassalage that has no parallel in the pages of the past.

The just wages of labor is the whole of the workers' product, and as long as one iota of that product is appropriated by another, then to that extent is the laborer economically defrauded. "Earn thy bread by the sweat of thy brow." Such is the command of Him who sees through human hearts. They

WHO LIVE WITHOUT LABOR

upon the profits of others' exertion, and defying that command. If they do not change in thought and deed, punishment will assuredly overtake them, and may steal upon them when, in their banqueting halls, they least expect it. Surely the experiences of ages ought to be a warning to those leaders of modern commercialism whose highest ideal of statesmanship seems to be the piling up of weights on the safety-valve. The hollow throb of a sulfed Vesuvius may be felt beneath our feet, and the social atmosphere is like a voltaic pile. Dark and menacing clouds are whirling by, charged with the positive and negative force of power and poverty. If immediate reforms are not carried out—if wealth uses its gold to negative the ballot box—these clouds may crash together with a shock that will make this old earth tremble to its centre. The eyes of the disappointed will the distinkered flash forth fire, and there are warnings and a menace in their

SULLEN UNVOICED MURMURINGS.

Instead of being the laborer's greatest help, capital has been turned into his cruel taskmaster. But in the days that are to come, "that of matchless glories him," all this must be changed, and organized labor (after breaking its bonds) will provide its own capital from the funded surplus of its own exertion. The vast sums that are now legally the property of the private individuals have all been made in one shape or another out of the laborer's sweat and muscles It represents the unpaid wages of millions of men—both the living and the

woke up with a start, horrified and conscience struck. He opened his tablets and wrote "They want their city, let Carthage be rebuilt."

But in these days of heartless mammonism there is no mighty Cæsar to listen—no potent here to make the reply; there is no ruler to wake up from his dream and write in deeds on the tablets of time "Urbem Orant"—"Give them their own"—*Arthur Desmond.*

PICTURES OF POVERTY.

JACOB A. RIIS recently gave an illustrated lecture upon "How the Other Half Live" before the Unitarian club of Boston, in which the evils resulting from our present system were portrayed. He said that less than 100 years ago there was not a tenement-house in the whole of New York, while now no less than 1,250,000 of the city's inhabitants live in these houses, and this number does not include an army of 10,000 tramps, who lodge wherever fortune provides a place for them. From the last reports of the bureau of vital statistics, it was shown that one in ten of the deaths in the city were of those persons whose bodies found their way to Potter's field, while one in five either died in a correctional institution or the lunatic asylum. The lecturer doubted whether destitution causes more unkenness than drunkenness causes destitution; but was inclined to the belief that destitution was responsible for the greater share of the intoxication that existed among the tenement-house occupants. One picture exhibited showed twelve people sleeping in a room only thirteen feet square. The price of a "spot" in one of the cheap lodging houses was five cents. In the tenth ward there was a population of 333,000 to the square mile, which was greater than any similar area in the world.

A MEMPHIS man, who apparently does not lack confidence in himself, published a card in the local papers advertising newspaper articles of all kinds written. Letters, essays, reports, circulars, etc., written or arranged for publication. Speeches prepared, descriptive articles, advertisements, local notices, any kind of articles, from a love letter to a challenge, or from a church to a theatre party, written All communications strictly confidential."

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