

STATE SOCIALISM

AND

LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN ANTI-
PODEAN BRITAIN.BY THE RIGHT HON. EARL ONSLOW,
G. C. M. G., ETC.

(Continued from last issue.)

THE BALLOT-BOX PREFERRED TO IN-
DUSTRIAL WAR.

The defeat sustained by the Labour party in the strike caused the leaders to see plainly that strikes are a mistake, and a waste of force and of resources; that the ballot-box gave them better opportunities of success than industrial warfare. The energy thus displayed was the result of new hopes inspiring a defeated but not dejected party: a party who learned that—

"When you organise a strike, it is war you organise;
But to organise our labour were the labour of the wise."

Up to that time no election had been fought in New Zealand on strictly party lines as understood in this country, but the election of 1891 was distinctly a fight between the party of Labour and the party of Capital, and the Labour party won.

According to the analysis of one of its members, the newly elected Parliament consisted of lawyers, merchants, farmers, and landowners, each ten: of six journalists, four Maories, two brewers, two mine agents, and two bootmakers; while each of the following classes had one representative: a major, a captain, a doctor, a pensioner, a shipping agent, a contractor, a builder, a painter, a tailor, a stonemason, a carpenter, and a lamplighter. There is on record a resolution of the Town Council of the borough represented by lamplighter, which runs "that leave of absence be given to the borough turncock and lamplighter during the Session of Parliament, and that his son be accepted as his substitute." To these may be added four nondescripts included as "gentlemen." Even then there were only seven mechanics to 80,000 wage-earners in the Colony, while the 3,000 professional men were better represented than the 40,000 farmers.

Although among the new Ministry there was not to be found any who was at the time of the formation of the Government working for wages, several at an earlier period of life would have been described as working-men. Not one of the Ministers belonged to the squatter or landowning class, or was among the larger employers of labour.

The labour party was strong in the new House, and with the exception of one or two free lances, chiefly men disappointed of place, accepted the new Liberalism and presented an undivided front to the Capitalist opposition.

LABOUR LEADERS IN NEW ZEALAND
AND NEW SOUTH WALES.

In New South Wales the influence of the Trade Unions at the election was not less marked. About thirty members were sent to the Legislature of that Colony at an extraordinary small expenditure of money. Though there was an abundance of candidates the discipline of the Labour party checked individual ambition. Nominations were unlimited, but the candidate was chosen by ballot, and the decision of the ballot scrupulously respected. Nowhere did Labour candidates run against each other.

Unlike their brethren of New Zealand they did not, however, choose a leader outside their ranks from among those possessing parliamentary experience, nor were they able to select one man from their own body. Under a divided leadership they endeavoured by holding themselves aloof from both parties to wield the balance of power. Coalitions between sections of the other parties in Parliament, however, foiled them in this attempt, and they have never succeeded in imposing their will upon any Government in New South Wales.

THE NEW ZEALAND HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the New Zealand Upper House, as might be supposed, the new Ministry did not find a large following. The Prime Minister assured the Governor that in a House of thirty-four members he could rely on the support at all times of but four or five "peers."

In Colonial Upper Chambers it is the practice to vote, not in accordance with strict party proclivities, but in accordance with the duty of a nominated Upper House towards the decisions of the people's representatives. The result was that during the Session of 1892 the Minister who leads in the Upper House was supported in fifty-three divisions by an average of within a fraction of eight independent

members, while the Governor reports to the Secretary of State that out of thirty-seven Government measures all were carried save two; that if the Government had been reinforced by the twelve new Councillors which the Governor had been advised but hesitated to appoint, they would have been victorious in every division save one; always supposing, of course, that the Government nominees supported the Government—an hypothesis which I shall presently show to have been somewhat prematurely assumed.

After a contest with the Governor, decided by the Secretary of State in favour of the Ministry, twelve "peers" selected from the party in power were added to the Legislative Council. Of these four were working men, two compositors, a storeman, and a boiler-maker. The story goes that when the telegram announcing His Excellency's appointment of the latter gentleman arrived the new Councillor was at work inside a boiler. At first he disbelieved the voice of the messenger announcing the delivery of so unusual a missive as a telegram, but on becoming convinced of its reality said, "Well, shove it through the hole at the top," and it was under such circumstances that he became aware that in future he would be entitled to the distinction of "Honourable" throughout the British Empire.

The reception of these gentlemen and their attitude after taking their seats is worthy of a moment's notice, as bearing on the influence which Second Chambers appear to exercise on the English mind, whether the recipient of a call thither be a Whig of the English squirearchy or a Trades Unionist of the New Zealand working men.

It was agreed by the older members of the Council that before the opening of Parliament certain of their body should assemble at the door to greet the newly elevated "peers," to make them welcome and acquaint them with the ins and outs of the building.

One of the oldest Councillors, Sir George Whitmore, elevated to his present position for the gallant manner in which he had led our troops to victory against the Maories, said on the opening day:—

"We are here as members of the revising Chamber of the Parliament of New Zealand, and we none of us represent either classes or localities. Whatever we may do we must do it for the general good of the Colony, and I hope we shall not hear anything about 'Labour Members' of this Council."

Parliament had been but little more than a month in Session before a Bill to take Public Parks out of the care of specially elected Boards and to hand them over to the ordinary Local Authority was introduced by the Government through the mouth of Sir Patrick Buckley, the Colonial Secretary, upon which Mr. Bolt, one of the newly created Labour "peers," rose to say that he would like in a few words to express his disapproval of the whole Bill, and on a division on the motion to go into Committee it was seen that the Council was equally divided, while three out of the four Labor Councillors were to be found in the Opposition lobby. Later, on the second reading of a Government measure involving the most important changes in the electorate, to admit a new class of voters almost equal in number to those already exercising the franchise, Mr. Jenkinson (the boiler maker) said:—

"We are told that our duty was to come here and vote for the proposals of the Government, and that that was the only reason why we are here. Now what preposterous nonsense! We have voted against those measures which we did not think good measures and shall do so again, and we find that some intend to vote against this measure."

Of the twelve persons appointed by the Government to the Legislative Council not less than half voted against this Ministerial proposal. So the Prime Minister of England is not the only Prime Minister who has found his measures opposed, and that very soon after favours conferred, by those to whom he has himself given the power to do so.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

As an illustration of how a democracy is apt to be led astray by a craving for equality, I should like to call attention to the attitude assumed towards the Civil Service.

The salaries paid to officers of the Civil Service are markedly lower in New Zealand than in England, though I doubt whether either in ability, in single-hearted desire to serve the State, or in loyalty to the political chief of the hour would they yield the palm to our own Civil Servants. Yet members of the Democratic party never ceased to

attack the qualifications, the ability, and even the honour of these men upon every occasion when Parliament was called upon to vote their salaries.

The democracy seem only to have perceived the difference between the remuneration of the brain worker and of the hand worker. They appear to have been consumed with an envious desire to exchange the fustian for the black cloth coat, forgetting that if the State is to discharge these new duties and to minister to the wants of the people the officers of the State must be the most competent that can be, and maintained in such a position of comfort as will place them above the constant and serious temptations which are the greatest danger to the successful development of State Socialism.

When the spirit of economy was abroad the first to whom the pruning-knife of retrenchment is applied are the servants of the State, from whose salaries 10 per cent. is knocked off all round by one stroke of the pen.

It is reported that a retrenching Minister was travelling in the government lighthouse steamer to address a meeting of constituents fixed for a particular hour. He urged the captain, one of the oldest officers of the new Zealand Service, to accelerate the pace of the vessel, with the remark, "She doesn't seem to me to travel as fast as she used to." "No," replied the skipper, "I don't think she does, sir, since you took 10 per cent. off the screw."

EXPERIMENTS IN STATE SOCIALISM.

The State in New Zealand has undertaken, in addition to such duties as the Postal service, many functions which are new to us, and some of which I will briefly describe.

English municipalities, recognising their duty in the direction of promoting the health and cleanliness of the people, have for many years been entrusted with the supply of water for those purposes, but in New Zealand the Government supplies water to enable workers to earn their living in the business of gold-mining.

Gold-mining, especially in the Antipodes, is connected in most men's minds with rapid accretion of fortunes at comparatively little trouble. Those days have passed away and the alluvial gold-mining in New Zealand yields to the careful and industrious miner who is fortunate enough to possess a claim, an average earning of 30s. a week—a rate of remuneration not higher than ordinary wages. Every particle of earth on a man's claim has to be carefully washed so that the gold dust may be "panned" out of the soil. For this purpose it is necessary to have a copious supply of water at a high pressure. In privately owned mines dams are constructed, hose laid on, and tail-races to carry off the waste and debris washed away, are provided at an expenditure of capital wholly beyond the means of the working miner.

Here the State in New Zealand steps in. In 1877 the Government bought up the existing water rights at a place called Kumara and constructed a water-race from a reservoir at a high elevation at a cost of £37,367. To carry off the tailings it was necessary to construct a sluice channel in 1884 at a further cost of £17,000. At that date it was estimated that the profit on the undertaking for seven and a half years had been at the rate of 3 per cent. on the capital invested, but that, taking into consideration the amount received for gold duty and for miner's rights, with the estimated contribution of the miner to the general taxation, it was calculated the Government had received at the rate of £9,966 per annum, equal to 43 per cent. on the total outlay.

Last year the sales of water amounted to £6,645 and the expenses were £1,584, leaving a profit of £5,061; 172 men used the race, and produced 739,932 worth of gold.

Unfortunately constant alterations are required to the sluice channel, as it from time to time gets filled up at the outfall by the enormous quantity of debris coming down. These alterations are carried out by the miners on the spot, and are paid for by the Government, not in cash, but by subsidy, allowing to the miners a supply of water up to the amount of the subsidy after the channel has been constructed.

(To be continued)

PRESENTATION.

The second annual social of the Britannic lodge No. 113, took place Tuesday evening, Jan. 23, in the Orange hall, Montreal. A pleasing part of the programme was the presentation of a past president's jewels to past president Bro. J. Croston and secretary Bro. H. Smith.

Read Bryson, Graham & Co's. on first page.

A CRIMEAN WAR INCIDENT.

A LOST RUSSIAN BABY RECEIVED BY
MEANS OF A FLAG OF TRUCE.

A mandate had gone forth to the effect that a certain suburb of Sebastopol should be raided by a select body of English. The attack was to take place at midday when the enemy were at dinner. The venture was so quickly executed that it was completely successful. The occupants of the cottages had fled, leaving their dinners untouched on the tables and the canaries in their cages. In one cottage was found a baby six months old, clothed, and asleep in its cradle. An officer carried away the little one as a prisoner of war, and sent the news of his capture to headquarters. Word came at once from Lord Raglan ordering that a flag of truce be sent out next morning and that all possible search and inquiry should be made for the mother of the child. Some of the officers were amused that so much trouble should be taken for a stray baby, but the chief's orders had to be obeyed. No mother was forthcoming, however, to acknowledge the lost waif. But there was a woman in the rifle brigade who had a baby a few weeks old, who was willing to undertake the double duty.

About three weeks elapsed, and then Raglan, the good, sent another message to his staff, who had forgotten all about the adopted child, directing that inquiry be made after "the mother and her twins." Word came back that the two children were thriving admirably,

but that the mother herself looked worn and tired. "How many cows are there?" asked Raglan. "One, sir," was the reply. "Then," said the self-denying chief, send the woman down a bottle of milk every morning." After this the little army protegee became very popular. A chaplain christened her Alma, and at the end of the war the queen adopted her and gave her a liberal education.

SHAVING COMPETITION.

The latest addition to the attractions at the Royal Aquarium is of a novel character, consisting of a shaving contest, which is to be continued day by day until the 18th inst. The competitors are "Teddy" Wick, of Chelsea, and William Lloyd, who is trying to wrest the "championship" from Wick. The latter has never been defeated during the last 16 years in shaving contests, and performs many curious feats. The contest began on Monday in the Imperial Theatre, the annexe to the Aquarium, and was preceded by a display given by Wick's little daughter, a child of tender years, who shaved five men in 6 min. 42 sec.; the fourth man, with one hand behind her back, in a minute and a half. In the contest which followed the conditions imposed were silence, expedition, and cleanliness. A distinction was laid down between the cutting of pimples and gashes. There were plenty of candidates for shaving. At the conclusion of the first stage of the contest, it was announced that Wick had shaved 40 men and Lloyd 31. Two men who were cut were deducted from Lloyd's score, and one who was badly shaved from that of Wick's.—Times.

READ A LETTER FROM MOTHER

Speaking in warm terms of how

E. J. LE DAIN'S

Ready Made Clothing is wearing the Boys, likewise the Caps and Boots. Mother writes that all the neighbours have bought from Oak Hall, 332 Wellington street, cor. Wellington and Lyon streets, (cars stop at the door.) In every case the Father's and Mother's have been delighted in the way the clothing wear, also the Overcoats bought from him two years ago. Not so the

BOYS FOR THEM THEY WEAR TOO LONG.

Since the War with the South there has seldom been such value in Clothing and Boots as E. J. Le Dain is giving. The beauty of Oak Hall's Clothing is: it is all made by Union Hands, and as a man must be an artist to belong to the Union, it is needless to say the fit, finish and workmanship is all any critic can desire, and the principal item. The prices are low. We will not be beaten in price and cannot. We are on top of the Mountain and intend remaining there and you will find we can please you and will try.

Overcoats that were \$10.00 for \$8.00; those that were \$8.00 \$6.25; those that were \$6.00 for \$4.50. Suits, Pants, Underwear, Caps, etc., all at reduced prices. Boots, Shoes, Rubbers, Gum-shoes, Overshoes, etc., all at much reduced prices.

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Yours faithfully,

H. F. ATWELL.

The Travellers' Safe-Guard.

AMAGAUDUS POND, N.S., Jan. 27, '90.
W. H. COMSTOCK, Brockville, Ont.
DEAR SIR,—For many years, I have been a firm believer in your "Dr. Morse's Indian Root Pills." Not with a blind faith, but a confidence wrought by an actual personal experience of their value and merit. My business is such that I spend much of my time away from home, and I would not consider my travelling outfit complete without a box of Morse's Pills.

Yours, &c.,

M. R. MCINNIS.

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BORACHOIS HARBOR, N.S., Jan. 13, '90.
W. H. COMSTOCK, Brockville, Ont.
DEAR SIR,—This is to certify that I deal in Patent Medicines, including various kinds of Pills. I sell more of the Dr. Morse's Indian Root Pills than of all the others combined. Their sales I find are still increasing.

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