

# DIVIDING UP IRELAND

By Robert Hunter.

How often one hears the old chestnut; "you're a Socialist, Eh? A Socialist? Oh, ho, you want to divide up all wealth."

Protest as you will against that statement the enemy keeps repeating it.

Two ends are achieved by this clever statement, first, it alarms a great many thrifty working men and small property owners; second, the absurdity of any attempt to divide up is self evident.

Besides this statement saves our statesmen, our editors, our financiers the trouble of finding out what Socialism is and of honestly combating it.

And so they say; "Divide up wealth and within a generation there will exist the same inequality of possession that now exists." And as that is evidently true it proves the absurdity of dividing up wealth.

We shall not attempt to answer this attack by saying that we are dividing up wealth and giving the capitalist most of it.

Nor shall we answer this attack by asking for the name of ONE Socialist who has ever advocated dividing up wealth.

There is no such Socialist, but curiously enough there are capitalists who advocate dividing up. This is astonishing, but it is true. The recent policy of England in trying to solve the Irish land question is an example in point.

The land of Ireland has been, for many centuries owned by great land lords, most of whom prefer to live anywhere except in Ireland.

Gross evils have already arisen as a result of this private monopoly in land.

After a century of royal commissions sent out to study the ruin of the Irish people through land monopoly the English government was forced to act.

The people of Ireland are troublesome, and the English government spends millions a year to maintain enough police to keep the Irish down.

The workhouses are full, the people unproductive and Ireland is in a state of chronic bankruptcy.

It is not therefore as profitable a dependency as a country of its size and productivity should be.

The English Government at last realized that if it were to deal successfully with Ireland it must cut out the cancer of land monopoly.

It made several feeble attempts to that end and at last it established The Estates Commissioners for the purpose of buying up the entire land of IRELAND and DIVIDING IT AMONG THE PEASANTS.

It established a Congested Districts Board to which it gave great compulsory powers.

This Board buys great estates and, by use of agricultural experts, puts them in first rate condition. It then divides the estates into small parcels and allots them to Irish peasants.

The cost of buying all the land of Ireland and of dividing it in this manner among the tenants will amount in the end to about one billion dollars.

The scheme is to buy the land and pay the landlords cash for it. The peasants then pay back in small payments over a period of from forty-five to sixty years, the money to the government.

At the end of that period it is expected that each peasant will have a small farm entirely his own.

Now that is one way to divide up wealth.

Of course no Socialist ever suggested that. The Capitalists thought that out and put it into practice.

It is the exclusive product of the brain of the foremost English statesmen.

These English statesmen are fighting Socialism because they say it intends to divide up wealth and then to be consistent they set out to buy up the land of Ireland and to divide it up.

And they advocate dividing up the land of Ireland because they claim it will do away with landlords and solve the land question.

And now comes the joke. The only opposition to dividing up the land of Ireland comes from the Socialists.

They say this dividing up will solve nothing and that in a few generations conditions will be just as bad in Ireland as they are now. (Sounds familiar doesn't it?)

They say the holdings are too small to be farmed economically and that individual ownership on a small scale cannot survive.

The peasants will be forced to sell or mortgage this land and pawnbrokers, "gombeen men" and money lenders will own it all within a very few years.

Small holdings will again give way to big landlordism and finally to what approximates monopoly.

But the capitalists insist on dividing up; they will not nationalize nor municipalize the land.

They refuse to establish a co-operative method of working the land or of owning the land and so they DIVIDE UP the land in order NOT TO BECOME SOCIALISTS.

It is an interesting example of capitalist statesmanship.

It proves the insincerity of capitalist statesmen when they say that Socialists want to divide up wealth.

An intolerable situation existed in Ireland. Something had to be done. It was a choice between dividing up the land or of socializing the land and the capitalists divided up the land.

And so, dear friends, be wary of what the capitalists say.

They really believe in dividing up so that they will get the entire outfit.

They believe in solving our social problems in such a way as to make them worse, if possible, after they are solved than they were before.

And I fear, dear friends, they fight Socialism as a tyranny because they desire to conceal their own tyranny, and they fight Socialism as robbery to veil their own robbery.

And I fear, I say I fear, they fight Socialism as confiscation to conceal what they have confiscated, and "heer at dividing up in order to conceal the present unequal division.

And when it becomes necessary "to solve" the land question they love to divide up on a paying basis so that in the first division they make a profit and when they take back the parcels they divided they make a profit on them also.

And they say, "Divide up wealth and within a generation there will exist the same inequality of possession as exists now."

So I suppose that's why they favor, "dividing up" the land of Ireland instead of socializing it.

The convicts in the Ohio penitentiary have been granted the eight hour day. Capitalism makes the class war penetrate prison walls.

Japan's budget for next year provides for an increase in the naval expenditure. The increase is \$40,000,000 payable in six years. The Japanese Socialists preach peace and are jailed while the government prepares instruments of war.

It looks as though a new bank will be started the beginning of next year. This is the Weyburn Security Bank, with headquarters at Weyburn, Sask. The bank-graft is a juicy one and another institution wants to get the graft.

"To secure each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government," said Abraham Lincoln in 1847. Now in 1910 Laurier and his gang are doing their best to give to the parasites as much as possible of the product of the toil of wage slaves.

Joseph Ainey, Controller of Montreal, is going to try and raise the pay of the firemen of Montreal. As long as capitalism is dominant wages will hang round the bare cost of existence. It is only through Socialism that the workers will get all that is coming to them.

The Portuguese revolution was caused by capitalism. The councillors of the king were planning to place heavy additional taxation upon the commercial companies exploiting the Portuguese colonies. The capitalists thereupon engineered the revolution. The Portuguese republicans will fight Socialism. For Socialism spells the downfall of the capitalists who are profiting by the revolution.

A juvenile court is established in Montreal. Capitalism forces children into such conditions that they become criminal. The Socialists say, "remove the causes which force children into crime." The capitalists say, "That is anarchy. Let us take care of the poor little dears when they have become criminalized. Let us give them a separate judge. In this way we can still rob the workers and get a reputation for being philanthropic among the ignorant."

The idea of competition is outworn. It is even being thrust aside in science. Kropotkin in his "Mutual Aid" showed that those species of animals which had learned to work together for mutual benefit grew and multiplied, while those species which competed with each other in the struggle for existence grew numerically weak. The Napoleonic wars cost the lives of three million men, more than half of them Frenchmen. Those wars reduced the French from a race of comparative giants to comparative dwarfs. Yet there are fool writers who tell us that struggle and stress is good for people and that it would be disastrous for the race if food, clothing and shelter were provided for all according to the necessity of each. Men become blinded to the truth by the clouds of ignorance flowing from their own pens.

# Socialism and Child Labor in the Cotton Trade

MacDougal Hay, B. A., Ottawa.

I wonder if any of your readers are acquainted with "English Socialism of Today," by the Rt. Hon. T. O. Arnold-Forster, M. P.? If they are, they will find in it one of the most glaring expressions of utter selfishness and hardheartedness that it has ever been my sorrow to meet with. This Rt. hon. is writing (chap. 9) about child-labor in the Lancashire cotton mills, and he takes as his text the pronouncement of the S. D. F. on the prohibition of child-labor: "no child to be employed in any trade until 16 years of age; and imprisonment for employers, parents and guardians who enforce this law." I would like to lay before you the sort of argument which he produces in his desperation against this proposal.

"There are few thinking people in this country who do not in principle, at any rate, agree with this view." It seems to me that "agree in principle" is a weak way of putting it. Every thinking person must agree that the whole thing is absolutely wrong, in principle and practice: premature labor means premature age and premature death: it is a sort of slow murder. And are principles not to be carried into business? I should hate to work for these "thinking people" who say, while they are in their luxurious homes, that child-labor is wrong in principle, but who, when they come down to the factory, say that it is right in practice.

"Every person who has the means does, as a matter of fact, keep his children from work as long as possible. It is evident that want of means and opportunity alone compel poorer people to adopt a different course. Children are not sent to work at twelve years of age for their own good, but because the necessities of the parents govern the situation. It would undoubtedly be a very good thing if the opportunities of the well-to-do could be extended to all classes." By this he means that he wishes that every child could have the opportunities that are at the disposal of the rich, and furnishes another proof of the weakness of his position. How is it that the children of the rich have a chance? As you will see below, it is because the children of the poor have no chance. It is because every coat, every book, every hour of leisure, every mouthful of food which the child of the well-to-do in Lancashire enjoys depends upon the horrible truth that the children of the poor have to do without coat, and book, and leisure, and food. The whole wretched system is carried on the backs of the poor children. It is not "the necessities of the parents" that governs the situation, but the selfishness of the employers. The parents are not free from responsibility, but the chief blame does not rest upon them. The employers do not receive these 12-year old children into their factories for the children's good, but for their own profit.

"There must always be exceptions, but, allowing for such exceptions, there is no reason why we should not look forward to the day when no child will be employed in any factory or in any regular monotonous occupation." Here we have the snobbish British aristocrat of lesser rank posing as prophet. How grateful ought all children in factories to be to know that "some day" they will have a chance—when the rich have got enough out of them, and when all desire for a chance has been ground out of them. Yes, thank you, we ARE looking forward to a day when the well-to-do shall no longer build their houses with the bones of their slaves.

"But, while frankly admitting the excellence of the Socialist idea in this particular case, we must still ask whether, if this 'boon' were conferred tomorrow, it would prove much more acceptable to the people of England than the other and much more doubtful benefits which they are promised." Probably it would not, for two reasons at least. First, because of the large number of other industries as well as the cotton trade which are built upon this same basis—the backs of the children: because of the close inter-relation and interdependence of these and other industries. Second, because human nature has a mysterious power of adapting itself and of suffering in almost any environment, however torturing. The emancipation proclamation did not prove acceptable to all the negroes, it was too sudden a change: it is only now beginning to prove a benefit to them, under the guidance of men like Booker Washington and women like Miss Berry. Even when Hebrew slaves were led out of Egypt towards the Land of promise, they murmured and rebelled, and wanted to return to their slavery. But it is not a question of conferring this 'boon' (as he condescendingly and heartlessly calls it) "tomorrow": it is a question of eliminating the whole system which makes such iniquity possible. "Tomorrow" will not see it: those children who

are this very day grinding out their lives and loves and hopes in mills and factories may not see it; but their day of freedom is coming. And it will prove acceptable to the "people" of England, though perhaps not to the employers and the rich.

"It is curious to note that in this, as in many other instances, men are ardent Socialists until Socialism, to use a vulgar expression, 'comes to their own lane.' The great cotton industry of Lancashire, the wool and worsted industry of Yorkshire, and many other industries in a less degree are at the present time dependent upon child-labor. It is interesting to observe that as lately as the summer of 1907 a deputation waited upon the responsible Minister to urge upon him the desirability of raising the age of half-timers from 12 to 13. The desirability of the change was not denied, but it was not considered possible to give effect to it. Those who have any acquaintance with the cotton trade are well aware that that great industry, employing as it does no less than half a million persons, is conducted upon the most minute margins of profit and loss. The rate book of the cotton trade, in which wages of every kind of work are calculated out to the tenth of a penny, is a miracle of painstaking and intelligent computation. These fine calculations are absolutely necessary. Both employers and employees know perfectly well that the trade is, so to speak, balanced on a knife-edge; and any sudden increase of cost, whatever may be its cause, is likely to upset the balance and turn the hardly-won profit, out of which operators as well as employers obtain their livings, into a loss. The fierce competition of the world, especially of those countries in which child labor and long hours are prevalent, has to be met, and the persons principally concerned are only too well aware of the fact." I know well that the problem is one of immense difficulty, but the world's history shows that others just as great have been successfully met and solved. The solution may for a generation cause much suffering, the dislocation of great financial interests and a wide-spread and painful readjustment of the lives and plans both of employers and employees: but out of that travail will be born a new era for the poor. I deny utterly that "the fierce competition of the world must be met." There is nothing in the laws of God or of man to impose this obligation. I know there was a time in England when the Druids claimed that human sacrifices were indispensable for the welfare or success of the community: doubtless this was sincerely believed and faithfully practised: and the whole world over traces more or less distinct of the same creed can be found. But who believes it now? And if today every vestige of the cotton trade, and every plant and instrument connected with it were dropped in the sea, where then would be this "fierce competition?" How readily we could do without cotton even as we now do without the moon and other inaccessible things! Suppose every "well-to-do person" in England could have a gold cup, on condition that 47,360 children, after a certain allotted portion of starvation, rags and vice, should be slaughtered—would it be worth while? Would "fierce competition" for a gold cup then "have to be met?" I guess it is true that this trade is balanced on a knife-edge: and against the knife-edge are the hearts of the little children.

"It would be curious and interesting to know whether the representatives of the cotton workers in Lancashire, experienced men, such as Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Gill, would really regard the compulsory adoption of the Socialist reform as a 'boon.' It is probable that they would not so regard it, and that at most they would look upon the proposal as an ideal to be aimed at, and not as a change to be imposed on Lancashire without delay, and with the full terrors of the criminal law and the jail behind it. The moral of all which seems to be that even a good thing may become evil and mischievous if it is forced upon the community without thought and consideration, and that in this, as in so many matters, the Socialists have failed to understand the true temper and the real aspirations of the people on whose behalf they assume to speak, and for whose benefit they are so anxious to play the part of a special providence." This then is the conclusion of his argument, and it hardly needs comment. He has distorted the proposal of the S. D. F., and has argued against the distortion. Thinking of that sort is not the kind to keep back the golden age of equal chances for all men.

It is conceded on all sides that England is the premier cotton manufacturing country of the world. Mr. John Smethurst, of St. Anne's, a well-known authority, as quoted in the Montreal Witness of Jan. 11, 1910, says: "In the parliamentary borough of Oldham there are as many spindles as there were in the whole of France and Germany put together, and three times as many as in the whole of India." And the Witness in the same issue says that this premier position of Britain is due to "free trade, the cheapest possible transportation and production, and the fact that the channels of her business are worn deep and smooth." But in the Toronto Globe of Jan. 12, 1910, a special correspondent gives the other side of the picture of this same Oldham, but I have not space to quote it here. Tamerlane is not the only tyrant this world has seen building his pyramid of human skulls; and Herod is not the only one who has found the "fierce competition" of his business necessitated the slaughter of the innocents.

At Brantford, Ont., practically the entire staff of the John H. Stratford Hospital walked out on strike. The hospital was crowded with sixty-two typhoid patients and the nurses declared they were overworked. The hospital authorities looked up the nurses who had graduated from the hospital and claim that all the places of the strikers are satisfactorily filled. This is one of the advantages that flow from technical education for the employers. There is a ready supply of well trained unemployed on hand to do seab work. The incident shows up the capitalist system. A dirty city creates a typhoid epidemic. Wage slaves are overworked taking care of the sick, and when they demand better conditions of labor, their jobs are taken by members from the army of the unemployed.

In the garrison cities of Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, and other towns of Spain, where "advanced Republicans" are numerous, they are daringly carrying on a campaign for republicanism among the soldiers. President Canalejas had to admit that agitators are seducing the soldiers away from the monarchy. In the U. S. the Appeal to Reason has been carrying on a campaign among the soldiers. In Germany, the authorities dared not employ the soldiers in the recent riots in Berlin, because the soldiers have been permeated with Socialism. In France an active campaign has been carried on for years to educate the soldiers not to fight. In Great Britain the Independent Labor Party is conducting an anti-militarist campaign. Thus reaction depends upon an obedient army and everywhere the obedience of the wage slave butchers is being undermined.

The Toronto Mail and Empire declares that the Laurier tour through the west was staged from Ottawa. It appears that a car was filled with bunting and mottoes and shipped on ahead to the place where Laurier was to speak. These would be quickly strung up along the streets. Then Laurier would come along and would declare that he was surprised and deeply touched at the signs of welcome that had been prepared for him. He would meet the same bunting and mottoes time after time, and they would always surprise and touch him. In Montreal there was a staged reception for him. The torch bearers were paid. And it is said that the reception committee thought twenty-five cents was sufficient to pay the torch bearers for parading and shouting themselves hoarse for Laurier until the torch bearers struck. When you read of the big reception Laurier gets, just remember these incidents.

The prisons of Minnesota turn out binder twine and Mackenzie of Manitoba declares that this is not hurting free labor. This is what the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane has to say on this subject. "What are you doing with that strong binder twine? You are binding burdens grievous and heavy to be borne upon the backs of worse than widowed women. You are binding the hands of little children to tools of labor in your factories, when they ought to be in the schools and public playgrounds of your state. You are weaving snares for the feet of the convict's daughter thrust out unprotected upon the slippery pathway of life; and you are breeding contempt and anarchy in the hearts of these convicts that will wreak itself in new crimes when the law sets them free. 'Building a new prison.' I am told. Oh, you will never cease building new prisons!"

The Pullman Car company last year cleared \$18,000,000 on the work of its wage slaves. That is the unpaid labor appropriated by the non-producers. Socialism would give to the producers the full value of their labor. If the wage slaves want to be robbed, let them uphold capitalism.

## 14 Books for \$1.00

Send to Cotton's Book Department for the Banner-Advance Box of Books. Fourteen splendid propaganda books, in which are included such well known books as Merrie England, What's So and What Isn't, Parable of the Water Tank, The Socialists, Communist Manifesto, Value, Price and Profit and other leaders. A big dollar's worth. Sent postpaid for \$1.00.

# STOP YAWNING

The Sub List made up its mind to go forward a little this week.

It did not make up its mind to go forward until it saw the very few offs.

Then it crawled forward seventy-eight notches.

The lazy thing.

To watch its slow motions on the upward road is enough to make the staff yawn and go to sleep.

Is it because the slave workers of Canada have not enough energy to fight for their own freedom that the Sub List moseys around so aimlessly?

Or is it because the slave drivers have used up all the energy of the slaves that the exploiters may live in luxury?

Or is it the Sub List just yawning and stretching itself before giving the plutes of Canada the allfredest chase they ever had in all their lives?

I think that it is the latter solution.

But I do wish the Sub List would not take so long to yawn before it starts.

Hey! Sub List. Stop your yawning and stretch your legs.

## Circulation Statement

Following is the statement of circulation for the issue of October 27th.

	OFF	ON	TOTAL
Ontario	19	85	4314
British Columbia	25	61	1370
Alberta	49	32	1190
Nova Scotia	19	23	1178
Prov. of Quebec	45	28	658
Manitoba	22	23	571
New Brunswick	9	16	535
Elsewhere	6	0	188
Yukon Territory	0	0	40
Newfoundland	0	1	14
Prince Ed. Island	3	1	12
Total	108	276	10,099

## Gain for week 78

Total issue last week was 10,900

Our Canadian Provinces are going in for prison labor. Following the recent investigation showing that many Texas convicts died from whippings and cruel treatment on the convict farm, the penitentiary board announces that the State would clear \$1,000,000 on its sugar cane, corn and cotton crops on the convict farms this year. With \$350,000 bonds will be redeemed, all indebtedness for new lands purchased will be paid and still there will be \$100,000 surplus. There are 3,640 convicts on the farms. These statistics make our provincial plute governments jealous. If Texas convicts can be made profitable why not set the Canadian jail birds at work? One great thing about prison labor that the exploiters like is that the prisoners cannot go on strike.

The plute papers are declaring that the prisoners of Canada are just asking to get to work to make profits for the labor skimmers. Dr. R. F. Quinton, late medical officer of Holloway prison, England, has written a book in which he declares that the prisoners frequently maimed themselves in order that they would be unfit for work. This effectually disposes of the plute arguments that the prisoners want work. It is the master class who want the profits. Therefore the henchmen of the master class declare that the prisoners want work.

Courtenay Bay, N. B., is being prepared for the terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific. Capitalism is getting a stronger hold in N. B. and the Socialist revolt is also growing. For capitalism means slavery to the workers and the workers must of necessity revolt.

That there are 12,000 tuberculosis prisoners in the state, federal and local prisons and jails of the United States, with less than twenty-five special institutions and hardly 800 beds for their treatment, are some of the charges made by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis.

The United States Steel Corporation for the first six months of the present year had a net income over all expenses of \$77,000,000. The robbery of the workers is very profitable to the parasites. Those \$77,000,000 under Socialism will go to the producers instead of to the non-producers.

Canada has a warship, the Niobe. Others are to come. The annual maintenance of these ships will cost four million dollars. Were Socialism here these funds would be used, not for purposes of war, but for the benefit of conserving human life. Capitalism leads to death and misery, Socialism to life and happiness.

## SUB CARDS

Five yearly sub cards sent anywhere in Canada or England for \$2.00. Cash in advance or after cards are sold. Sub cards are printed government postals. Fill out and drop in mail.

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