



CESAR'S COLUMN.

By ELIZABETH DOWNEY

STOMP OF THE PROTESTING CHRISTIANS... THE scene of the strike had in New York in the year 1892. The strike, however, was not the first of the kind...

If he perished in the battle what would become of Estella, in a world torn by civil war...

On the other hand, she was powerless and dependent on the kindness of another. Her speech in that moment of terror might have expressed more than she could have said...

I fell asleep and dreamed that Estella and I were flying into space on the back of a dragon...

CHAPTER XX.

THE WORKMEN'S MEETING.

I have told you, my dear Heinrich, that I have lately attended, and even spoken at, a number of meetings of the working men of this city...

There were guards stationed at the door to give warning of the coming of the police. There were several thousand persons present. It was Saturday night...

workmen, unless very angry used in their discussions forms of speech common to all persons of their level...

Education was an extract that the educated man, without a trace, had to take the most inadequate pitance of civilization, and was so well of matter as the mechanic...

Here I interposed. "Universal education is right; it is necessary," said he, "but it is not sufficient. Education will not stop corruption or misgovernment...

maintain of justice and brotherhood no man will be disposed to treat his neighbor unjustly. But while this is true you must remember that the comparative trial, prepared us for another and a better world...

As the reverend gentleman had proceeded the murmurs and objections of the audience broke forth in a storm of loud and excited exclamations...

Here the speaker grew wild in his passion, and the audience also. He had been growing more and more excited...

"My dear friends! I said to you the men that have done you wrong, you must do as they do. You must do as they do. You must do as they do...

As the reverend gentleman had proceeded the murmurs and objections of the audience broke forth in a storm of loud and excited exclamations...

Estella had been informed of her danger, and a scheme devised for her rescue. A meeting of the working men of the city was called...

HE commander of the Demons and his escort withdrew. The president of the Brotherhood...

His eyes glowing and his whole frame dilated with excitement, he cried: "Brothers! here is the world in our hands at last. The day is near who has long toiled and yearned for it..."

"Death to the tyrant!" shouted another. "Down with the Oligarchy!" roared as a third.

"Come," said Maximilian, taking me by the arm. "He replaced the language over my eyes and led me out. For some time after I left the room, he embraced me, and called me the preserver of himself and his family..."

When he grew quieter I asked him what day the blow was to strike. He said, "It will be on the 15th of the month. The vice-president would arrange for a steamer to Europe with a citizen's committee..."

It had been my intention to return to Africa before the great outbreak took place. I could not remain and witness the work of mankind. But neither could I leave Estella behind me...

"BROTHERS, YOUR CALAMITIES ARE DUE, IN MY OPINION, TO THE LOSS OF RELIGION IN OUR WORLD."

The president of a labor organization had taken the chair before we came in. As I walked up the hall I was greeted with cheers, and invited to the platform...

A man in a blouse was speaking. He was discussing the destitution of England. His remarks aroused no enthusiasm; but all seemed familiar with the subject of his discourse...

He was followed by another workman, who spoke upon the subject of the wages of the employed. His remarks were modest and sensible. He was, however, somewhat unpopular with the proletariat...

The chairman said he had no doubt the audience would be glad to hear his views. He said, in a weak, thin voice: "I have listened, brethren, with a great interest and pleasure to the discourse of the first speaker..."

Here a rough-looking man, who, in English, was called a "bouncer," began to yell from the gentleman who had last spoken. (I noticed that these all are pure, and filled with the divine...

"friends by the ties of common virtues, brothers in liberty, that you do not permit the government to oppress the poor. Ours is a Republic that has no sides; and, for one, I should have been glad to hear what this advocate of the hour had to say for them. But since he has taken us back, I shall reply to him..."

"He tells us that his religion is the only thing which will save us; and that it is better for us to be miserable here than to be happy hereafter. If that religion drove the monarchs and tyrants out of the world, it would be a blessing to mankind..."

"When have your churches helped man to improve his condition? They are gorged with money and have no use for the poor. They are gorged with money and have no use for the poor. They are gorged with money and have no use for the poor..."

"They have preached heaven and helped to turn earth into hell. They have preached heaven and helped to turn earth into hell. They have preached heaven and helped to turn earth into hell..."

"They are thrusting us in the name of God, and are not to be repulsed. They are thrusting us in the name of God, and are not to be repulsed. They are thrusting us in the name of God, and are not to be repulsed..."

South Dakota, issue a paper giving the picture of those confined there and the items happening in the jail. It is issued every week, and is a full description piece is a half pound of tobacco...

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HOW LATE HOUSES IN SHIP'S CABIN... Theosophy... the occult... the laws of occultism...

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THE EMPIRE AND THE DEVIL

FROM TORONTO THIS PARTY (GRIT) HAS SENT AN EDITORIAL... THE EMPIRE AND THE DEVIL.

RECALL THEIR OPINIONS

FROM A. FROST, F.C., Teacher, Member County Board of Examiners, High School... Recall their opinions...

IN OCCULT THEOSOPHY

The keys which unlock the mystery of occultism... Theosophy... the occult... the laws of occultism...

PROFESSORS OF SOCIAL HERESY

In the present condition of things there is at least a poor opportunity for the transmission of evil Karma... Professors of social heresy...

THE RUSTLE OF HEREDITY

fluctuating and uncertain as it is in these laws of existence... The rustle of heredity...

DEFLATION OF IDEALS

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress... Deflation of ideals...

ALL MANKIND

THE CLERICAL STREET... ALL MANKIND... Theosophy... the occult... the laws of occultism...

STRUCK BY REMORSE

he made feeble attempts to reform, but in the midst of his unsteady efforts... Struck by remorse...

WHY NOT?

why not? Why should they not know the truth... Why not? Theosophy... the occult... the laws of occultism...

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# LABOR ADVOCATE

A WEEKLY  
LABOR REFORM NEWSPAPER

Endorsed by the Toronto Trades and Labor  
Council and D. A. 123, K. of L.

PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY

BY THE  
GRIP PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO.  
26 & 28 FRONT STREET WEST,  
TORONTO, CANADA.

J. O. WILSON  
President  
T. G. WILSON  
Manager

Yearly Subscription, \$1.50, in advance,  
Single Copies, 5 cents.

PHILIPS THOMSON, Editor

Mr. J. H. Sanderson and Capt. W. J. Cookham are authorized to take subscriptions for the Labor Advocate in this city and neighborhood.

Mr. R. H. Pettigrew is our daily authorized agent for the reception of subscriptions and advertisements in Hamilton.

TORONTO, CANADA, FEBRUARY 13, 1891.

## THAT IS WHAT HE'S PAID FOR.

AND now Prof. Ashley, of the Toronto University, has come out against the Single Tax. In a lecture delivered on Monday to the Political Science Club of '93, the professor propounded the view that the principal causes of social misery were as follows:—

(1) There is not enough produced in the world to satisfy the needs of and make everyone comfortable; (2) goods are not fairly divided between employers and the employed; and (3) there are moral defects in the human race.

The Single Tax, he asserted, would not remove any of these causes. What the learned professor terms "causes" are not causes at all, but effects. It is quite true that there is not enough now produced to satisfy the needs of all. But why? There is abundance of land lying idle, and armies of men unemployed because they can find no work.

Of course, the professor understands that the monopoly of the land, together with other forms of monopoly, prevent the workers from having access to the opportunities to produce, so bountifully provided by nature?

"Goods are not fairly divided between employers and employed." You are right, professor! But why? Is it not because the few who own or control land and capital can by virtue of such control force the men, who have only their labor to depend on to choose between low wages and no wages? Abolish land monopoly and one great cause of this inequity in distribution would be removed.

"There are moral defects in the human race." True again! But a just system, under which all had equal opportunities, would gradually lessen those moral defects, while a system like the present brings out and intensifies the worst traits of human nature. For instance, if Prof. Ashley were sure of a decent living in return for destroying his abilities and learning to the instruction of youth, he could afford to be intellectually honest, and to consider such questions from the standpoint of justice and truth. As things are, Prof. Ashley knows that his bread and butter depend upon his teaching such social doctrines as are in the interest of his paymasters, the privileged class. If he were to declare in favor of the Single Tax or Nationalism, he would probably lose his position, and he would find it very difficult to find another equally good one. He, like Principal Cull, assails the movement for social reform, simply because he cannot afford to do anything else.

Intellectual men in their position, hampered on every side by the pressure of class prejudice and conventional opinions, are to be pitied rather than blamed. They are as much the victims of unjust social conditions as the unemployed laborer or the over-worked seamstress. To a really high-minded man the mental bondage in which the modern professor or preacher, with few exceptions, finds himself, must be even more intolerable than wage slavery.

## REV. HUGH JOHNSTON ON STRIKES.

REV. HUGH JOHNSTON, of this city, has a long letter in Monday's Globe which explains in a very clear and satisfactory manner why the working people are ceasing to attend church. That, however, is not the professed object of the letter by any means, which is to set forth the reverend gentleman's views, or the views which he thinks will most commend themselves to the wealthy pew-holders who pay his salary, on the subject of strikes and labor troubles. Mr. Johnston says:—

"I regard strikes as coercion of the worst sort; demoralizing to the men themselves; raising barriers between the employers and the employed; interfering with the comfort of home, inflicting evils upon wives and children; in many cases utterly selfish and made from the workman's point of view; leading to intimidation and deeds of violence and hostile to public interests. An unsuccessful strike has in it nothing but evil, and when successful is of doubtful benefit."

Of course he attributes all labor troubles to "demagogues," and indulges in the usual cant of the comfortable and prosperous classes when speaking of the struggles of the poor to obtain a "let working-men of justice." "Very slight injustice," he says, "trust in the reasonableness of their cause, use fair assuasion instead of foremethods, employ conciliation and arbitration," etc. If Mr. Johnston knew half as much about the subject as his pretentious tone of his communication might lead the reader to infer, he must be aware that in nearly all extensive and protracted labor difficulties of late years the working men have been the first to propose a settlement by arbitration, while as a rule well-meaning efforts to bring about a settlement by this means are thwarted by the arrogant and dictatorial spirit of the capitalists. In nearly every instance the reply of the employer is a curt refusal to negotiate with the representatives of labor.

What would Mr. Johnston have men do who feel that they are systematically oppressed by being underpaid or over-worked, and whose representations to that effect are met with an intimation that if they don't like the terms they are free to go, or, as in some cases, by the peremptory discharge of those who venture to act as spokesmen for their fellows?

That strikes are sometimes injurious in their consequences to those who take part in them we freely admit. But this is a very narrow view to take of the question. Even an unsuccessful strike is often a wholesome lesson to arbitrary employers who, having no hearts or consciences, can only be reached through their pockets, and secure somewhat better treatment for their employees in the future. It teaches them that men cannot always be trampled upon with impunity. But the question is not whether a particular set of men have gained or lost by any single strike, but what would be the general condition of labor supposing that working men followed Mr. Johnston's advice, and never under any circumstances availed themselves of the right to strike? Knowing the aggressiveness of capitalism and its readiness to take advantage of the very necessities to secure labor at the very lowest possible price, it cannot be doubted that the no-resistance policy would very shortly reduce the masses of workers to a state of virtual serfdom. In the wretched past and long hours of these classes of workers who remain unorganized, and consequently do not strike, we see a sample of the condition to which all labor would be reduced under such circumstances.

Of course we do not for a moment imagine that as a permanent or satisfactory solution of the labor question can be reached by strikes or boycotts. That idea has long since been abandoned by all intelligent Labor Reformers. The strike is at best a defence against the injustice of employers, but it is better than none. It is no remedy at all for the real causes of industrial depression, which can only be removed by such a radical reorganization of industrial conditions as will abolish capital-

ism and with it the wage system, and substitute industrial co-operation, under state direction for competitive anarchy and social warfare.

Mr. Johnston has degraded his sacred calling by becoming the prophet of capitalist injustice, but probably that consideration will trouble him little, provided his championship of their interests increases his popularity and influence with the money class. Organized labor is accustomed to slurs from such quarters and prompted by such motives, and Mr. Johnston's onslaught will not do the cause any harm. His hypocritical affectation of sympathy with labor is vastly more irritating than his repudiation of the state and common-place twaddle in denunciation of strikes and demagogues, which has done duty for argument ever since the labor problem arose.

## POLITICAL CORRUPTION.

Now that the Dominion campaign is fairly opened the readers of the Grip press are being treated to the usual diatribes against Tory corruption. From now until election day the public will be defamed with the shrieks and protests of the Opposition against the boundless rascality of Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues and the shamelessness of their methods. The old scandals and jabs will be rehearsed and new ones ventilated. The mass of electors will read and listen unmoved, and the newspapers on March 6th will announce another victory for corruption and by corruption.

It is a strange thing that the Grits have not by this time discovered the utter futility of expecting to win elections by calling attention to the profligacy and rascality of their opponents. They may shout "corruption," "fraud" and "bribery" until the Day of Judgment without having the slightest effect upon the electorate, except to raise a good-humored laugh or the cry of "you're another." It is not that they believe it to be false. Making a reasonable discount for newspaper exaggeration, the general and specific acts of corruption charged by the Grip press against Sir John Macdonald and his government are true. Every elector of fair intelligence knows them to be true. But they excite no indignant response. Their recital arouses no popular upheaval against the perpetrators.

The fact is that the government maintains its hold upon the public, not merely in spite of its corruption but because of it. Public morality is at such a low ebb that the mass of the electors see no harm in buying up constituencies wholesale, obtaining party funds from monopolists in return for special privileges, or scattering boodle profusely among the voters to secure their suffrages. Though they make a great pretence of being shocked at such things when perpetrated by their opponents, they are always ready to excuse them when practised by the politicians on their own side. There is no reason to doubt that in point of political morality Sir John Macdonald very fairly represents the average public sentiment. His continued success as a political leader simply illustrates the doctrine of "survival of the fittest." He is in thorough harmony with his environment. As the most skillful and astute corruptionist he naturally and appropriately retains land and popularity in a thoroughly debauched community. The Canadian people sustain Sir John because, whatever they may say, they at least believe in and approve of corrupt methods of government.

There is nothing in this to be surprised at. A stream can rise no higher than the fountain-head. The corruption of politics, about which such an everlasting fuss is made, with little effect, is merely one phase of the general rottenness of society. Our public life is characterized by low ideals and villainous methods because exactly the same kind of ideas and methods prevail in ordinary business and social life. The wire-pulling, bribery, and vote-buying politician, ready to adopt any means, however

mean and with it the wage system, and substitute industrial co-operation, under state direction for competitive anarchy and social warfare. Mr. Johnston has degraded his sacred calling by becoming the prophet of capitalist injustice, but probably that consideration will trouble him little, provided his championship of their interests increases his popularity and influence with the money class. Organized labor is accustomed to slurs from such quarters and prompted by such motives, and Mr. Johnston's onslaught will not do the cause any harm. His hypocritical affectation of sympathy with labor is vastly more irritating than his repudiation of the state and common-place twaddle in denunciation of strikes and demagogues, which has done duty for argument ever since the labor problem arose.

The Grit outcry against Tory corruption is the shallowest kind of cant. It is the squeal of those who have been beaten at their own game, with the only weapons which is possible to employ successfully, so long as money-grabbing is the principal object in life of nine-tenths of the community. The injustice of government by bribery is no greater—in fact not a tenth part as great—as the injustice of the wholesale robbery of the workers by the idlers under the methods of capitalism. So long as the main motive of men in everyday life is to win the opportunity to live in idleness and luxury by robbery in the form of rent, interest or profit, what folly it is to imagine that the same people will be actuated by principles of justice and purity in their political course!

The only way to purify politics is to destroy capitalism and reorganize the social and industrial system on principles of justice.

## THE FARMERS AND THE TARIFF.

The action of the Central Farmers Institute on the 4th inst., in relation to the tariff question, is significant of the growth of a strong popular feeling in favor of an unconditional Free Trade and direct taxation. A resolution declaring for absolute Free Trade with England and the United States as "a great benefit and relief to the farmers of Ontario and the Dominion in their present serious straits," and urging voters to elect men to Parliament pledged to this policy, irrespective of their party proclivities, was carried by the overwhelming majority of eighty-one to seventeen, a coupling of compromise amendments favoring reciprocity being voted down. This is surely a very strong hint in this for the Grits. If, during the last four years, the opposition party instead of fooling with the humbugging Reciprocity notion, had boldly advocated absolute unconditional, immediate Free Trade and direct taxation the people would now have been ready for a change in that direction. But they have tried and dodged and paltered with the issue, in a manner which has alienated all those whose personal interests would not be injured by Reciprocity, without arousing any general enthusiasm or educating the masses out of their delusions in regard to matters of taxation. They have been anxious to face the question boldly, to denounce all customs duties as an imposition and an injustice, and to demand that they be wiped out forthwith without waiting for the action of our neighbors.

If the tariff is essentially a bad, expensive and oppressive means of taxation and the means of creating one of the worst forms of monopoly, why should we delay abolishing it until the Americans are ready to do the same? And if reciprocal Free Trade is just and right, how can we justify our action in keeping up the tariff against England which admits all our products duty free?

The Grit policy is narrow, self-contradictory and illogical, as it always has been. The people are realizing this experience—which is the only guide that is worth anything on such a question—that protection is a fraud so far as the producers are concerned. But

the Opposition are in no position to benefit by the popular change of sentiment. Tariff tinkering and revenue mongering are not Free Trade.

## DIRECT TAXATION

"AGAINST stupidity the gods themselves are powerless." That the Ottawa government have a firm and abiding faith in the stupidity of the Canadian voter was plainly shown at the great Tory gathering here last Friday, when Mr. Foster's most telling point against his opponents, was that under Unrestricted Reciprocity a loss of revenue amounting to some \$15,000,000 annually would have to be made up by Direct Taxation. His confidence in the worst than asinine stupidity of his auditors was fully justified by the way in which this claptrap was received. Evidently there are quite a number of people in Toronto who pass as fairly intelligent, who are under the delusion that they pay no taxes because the amount is taken out of their pockets in dribbles in paying for the articles they buy, instead of being paid down in a lump sum.

Indirect taxation is the most wasteful, costly and oppressive method of raising revenue, in addition to promoting extravagance by maintaining the popular delusion that somebody else than the consumer is finding the revenue. Direct taxation levied on land values, would be the best possible change in the fiscal system that could be made. If everybody knew just how much he was paying to support the government, the administration could not vote away millions in bonuses, pensions and all sorts of extravagant and unnecessary schemes as it now does. But it is unpopular on account of a senseless prejudice and the cowardice and timidity of those who ought to have boldly taken the bull by the horns and done their share to put the question in its true light before the public.

The Grits have just gone far enough to commit themselves to a scheme sure to entail direct taxation; but, as usual, they lack the courage to advocate it in a straight and above-board fashion. As a consequence they will be beaten out of sight. But the time is not far distant when the oppressive and fraudulent system which increases the people's burdens by raising the price of the necessities of life, will give place to the Single Tax.

"The whirligig of time brings its revenges." The way that poor Goldwin Smith is getting it hot and heavy just now from the truculent Orange faction with which he so warmly fraternized two or three years ago in their brutal onslaughts on Irish Nationalism, is a source of much quiet amusement to genuine radicals. When he was taking part in "loyal and patriotic" meetings and subscribing money in aid of Irish landlordism, the same men who are now hounding him down could not say enough in his praise. Now they are apparently ready to stone him through the streets as they did William O'Brien. By this time he ought to have a realizing sense of the bitter, intolerant spirit that animates his former allies.

The Tory party seem to consider that they can safely afford to despise the Labor Reform sentiment of Toronto, as a factor in politics, otherwise they would not have insulted organized labor by allowing Monopolist Frank Smith to speak at the big Tory gathering at the Auditorium on Friday last. If such members of labor organizations as were present had been anything but sneaks and lick-spittles they would either have then and there got up and walked out of the hall or stayed and made it impossible for the brutal oppressor to get a hearing. Evidently the politicians think that the workmen have forgotten all about the street railroad lock-out. And so far as the great majority are concerned they are probably not far wrong.

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THE LEGAL PARASITE

Editor Labor Advocate: The appearance of your paper is most opportune...

Editor Labor Advocate: I must confess that I am not a producer...

THE ROCHESTER SHOE-MAKERS' STRIKE

Editor Labor Advocate: I wish to contradict the reports that have been published in the papers...

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Why should one class of wage-earners have the right to work longer hours than another?

We understand that the Ontario Government have directed the strict enforcement of the provisions of the Factories Act, securing to women and children a full hour at noon for meals...

STREET RAILWAY ACCIDENT

Editor Labor Advocate: An incident and accident of a painful nature came under my notice a few days ago that appears to me not only for more than...

A HEARTLESS EMPLOYER

Editor Labor Advocate: EDWARD DEARBORN, 603 Gerrard street east, writes for the Advocate...

What 'servants of thy own' Mercifully, who came to see and save the heathen...

How low, O Lord! how low Shall such a proud lord learn truth away...

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FINANCIAL POSSIBILITIES

Editor Labor Advocate: It is not possible for any individual to do more than a certain amount of work...

FINANCIAL POSSIBILITIES

Editor Labor Advocate: Does anyone suppose that this money does not circulate within the limits of New York on a par with Government money?

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The work of Omals are going to...

...over a fatted calf killed for a... return? If, there were no...

...the age now to publish por-... and biographical sketches of the...

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...Mrs. Catherine Banville, of Wash-... D. C., has, since the death of her...

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...Not the hater of perished, but the mightiest... of ages,

...Not the hater of perished, but the mightiest... of ages,

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(1) If H.P.B. is a true messenger, oppo- sition to her is an opposition to the Mes- senger, she being their only channel to the Western World...

PANEGYRIC MIDDLE-AGED WOMAN. The fascinating Cleopatra was over thirty years of age when Antony fell for her spells...

Slavery's emancipation. Linger still the abject fetter, Adverser to the avastanc and the power...

What am I? and whence? and whither? Who the varied voice of wonder? Who would wrest a revelation from the un- veiled of earth?

It is I, a stately Teuton, I am a man of mysterious, And I speak for Celt, for Slav, and for Jew.

It is I, an early Aztec, I am a man of mysterious, And I speak for Celt, for Slav, and for Jew.

It is I, a Greek, an ancient; I, a Hebrew, son of Shem; I, a Chaldean, I, a Mongolian, I, a dymast Egyptian, from the storied land of Kheon.

What is man? and whence? and whither? Have the cranes been nesting, When the question was propounded by the venerated Part?

As we've seen a crowd awaiting, Till a tardy simple sexton turned a simple magic key.

Time himself, with huge complacence, Standing midway on a sidewalk, With a rolling globe beneath him and a scroll of years unfurled.

Playing ditto dilettante-by-gone tales for present work; Perusing the laurels of Plato, When we need a home in London; Setting forth the feasts of Judah, when we're hungry in New York.

Give us of your grain, O ancients! Give of immortal fables which I chaff and leave decayed?

Death, the gardener, is guarding Vestal groves and populations, Turning hope-lands and ambitions; and, with crucible making, Death, the alchemist, is busy Ever making earthly, golden.

Not a hero of his valor alone beyond his mortal pale! Not the hater of perished, but the mightiest of ages,

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(Give us, O ancients, stent! Still give me what you give me! I have all I bring for the folk!

And the fateful compensation he will receive with the gods! And exulting each Charybdis, He will be the stagnant ethia, As the eagle o'er the willow, as the ivy o'er oak.

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