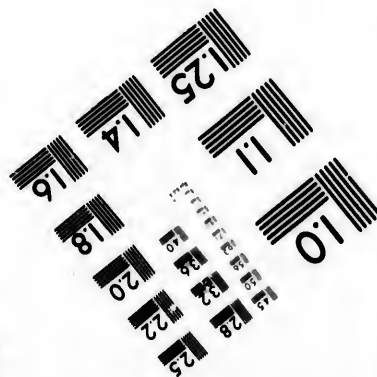
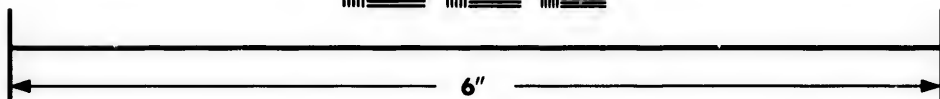
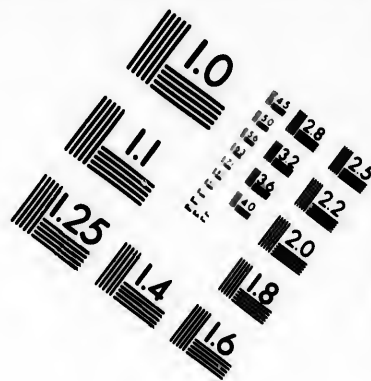




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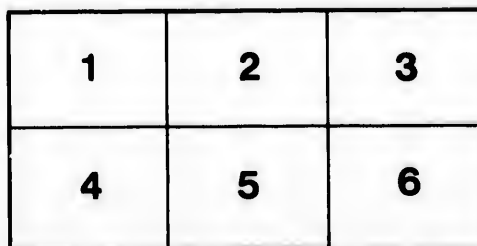
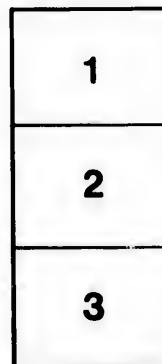
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THE

CONDITIONS OF LABOUR

AND

MODERN CIVILIZATION.

By JOHN McCORMICK.



TORONTO :
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THE CONDITIONS OF LABOUR AND MODERN CIVILIZATION.

"Two things have I required of Thee ; deny them not before I die :
"Remove far from me vanity and lies ; give me neither poverty nor riches ; feed me with food convenient for me :
"Lest I be full, and deny Thee, and say, Who is the Lord ? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain."

SOLOMON'S PROVERBS, 30th chapter, 7th, 8th, and 9th verses.

These are the two points of Agur's prayer. He looks upon riches and poverty as two extremes in civil life that are not only not desirable, but are to be deprecated, as being positively hurtful, and giving birth to vice and crime in society. Everyone can see for himself, what each day passes under his notice, that both poverty and riches are unnatural in every sense, and are the fruitful source of most of the vice, crime and ignorance which demoralizes society, and mars the progress and happiness of the human race.

In conjunction with these ethics in Proverbs, there is another pronouncement that I wish to place prominently before your notice, because it is a fundamental law of human life. In it we may be said to live, and move, and have our being. It is this :

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," ("till thou return unto the ground ; for out of it wast thou taken : for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.")

GENESIS, 3rd chapter, 19th verse.

This is very specific language ; it is also very democratic. It is addressed to all ; it equally applies to all, and is equally imperative upon all. There are to be no exemptions, no evasions of this law.

Man's work was to reclaim the wilderness, and make the earth to yield abundance for all the wants of mankind. By labour, "the wilderness and the solitary places shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." In executing this work every man was to find his greatest peace, contentment and happiness. No honest man ever sought to evade this law. At the same time, every honest man contends that there should be no idlers, or exemptionists, or evaders.

In the wants of the human race this law finds its origin. When the labour law was promulgated at first there was nothing said about a territorial landocracy, or a class of men that we know by the name of "Aristocracy." The civilization of universal labour, wherein each worker received the full benefit of his toil, or work, was just and righteous, and must have produced plenty, and contentment, and happiness to all.

This was a state of civilization in which neither of the extremes that we call riches and poverty had any existence. Under it there were neither paupers, poor laws, nor poor law bastiles; nor yet was there a pampered, privileged, idle, luxurious and good-for-nothing rich class, such as we have in our rotten, unnatural and fictitious modern civilization.

In our attempt to describe the conditions of labour and modern civilization as they at present exist, we shall in no wise be afraid to designate things by their right names.

There is nothing more palpable than this: that labour is the foundation and superstructure of all wealth. It is equally plain that, on the principles of justice and equity, the worker—whether of brain or muscle, or both combined—is entitled to the full fruition of his labour. But what do we find? We find that the results of labour or production, except an infinitesimal portion, is not distributed to the worker—to him that produces—but that it inures to the benefit and aggrandizement of a few. Hence we have riches and poverty. Society, as it at present exists, is very fitly described as a race, or scramble,

"Of every one for himself,
And the devil take the hindmost."

In the struggle, every kindly and noble sentiment of the brotherhood of man is lost sight of; every sentiment of honour, and every principle of truth and justice is ignored. In this miserable scramble, recourse is had to lying, cheating, defrauding, adulterating, manipulating, circumventing, perjury, and every species of low cunning—everything, in fact, that debases manhood and withers the soul. A sordid, vulgar and villainous greed and selfishness absorbs every attribute of manhood; man ceases to be man, and he becomes a——What? a mere grub-worm or devil fish?

Is this an overdrawn picture of the conditions of labour and our modern civilization? If it is not, is it any wonder that we are in heart and soul Mammon worshippers? Is it any wonder that the pure system of morals that the Founder of Christianity taught is mocked and scoffed at?

The sublime doctrine of "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," is condemned as impracticable, and held of no

account. If acted upon—if this principle governed—man would present himself as the noble and generous being he ought to be, and will yet be, when our present vicious civilization is swept away, and a new and nobler civilization is instituted instead.

When God made this planet, light, air, land and water, these elements were essentially requisite for the subsistence of man. He made a superabundance of all these elements for every creature that He formed or fashioned to dwell upon it. We are sometimes told that some parts of the earth are over populated, and that some Islands of the sea contains a surplus population. It is a barefaced lie. There never yet was, nor is it likely there ever will be, any portion of this beautiful and fruitful planet that contained half the populations such portions could sustain in plenty. That is, if things were ordered right.

Our Malthusian philosophers, if we dignify them by such a name, erred, either ignorantly or knowingly; if ignorantly, we will pass them by; if knowingly, then we say, that they impiously maligned God, and said to Him, in effect, that He had botched His work; for if otherwise, He never would have brought creatures upon this earth that would have multiplied to such a degree; that their members would outgrow the means of subsistence that this earth could give. To say such a thing is blasphemous, for it means that nature or nature's God had disproportioned the works of nature. Such a thing never was, or ever can be. Let us then hear no more about this vile and vulgar Malthusian doctrine.

Well then, when God made this beautiful planet, and that there was a superabundance of every element of material subsistence for the maintenance and happiness of all living creatures that were to live upon it, whence comes it that poverty, misery, wretchedness, famine and crime, are in such appalling proportions in the world? Yes, whence comes it?

In order to understand correctly the labour problem, and account for the miserable state of things that obtains under our so-called modern civilization, we must go back to the ages of conquest, when society was based upon

“The good old plan
For him to keep who's got the power,
And him to get who can.”

The civilization then in the ascendant, was founded upon the barbarous and robber dogma, that

“Might makes right.”

The age of conquest has left its impress upon the present age, and it is because our present civilization comes down to us weighted with much

that distinguished the age of conquest that we now find ourselves in the position we are in, and this accounts for the volume of poverty, ignorance, and crime that surrounds us.

The age of conquest is to a great extent exploded. Not altogether, however, for we find what we call civilized nations, *par excellence*, going forward to conquer other tribes and nations, and annexing their territory; and we see other lesser civilized nations coveting the lands of other nations, and lying in wait for their prey. All these are still governed to a greater or lesser extent by the same old robber dogma, that

"Might makes right."

Still, however, it may be said that we have entered upon the industrial age, and in so far as we have developed upon this path, we are laying the foundations of a brighter and better civilization.

When we look to Europe, we may well commiserate the hapless condition of the hundreds of millions of our toiling brothers held in thralldom by merciless tyrants and taskmasters.

We are accustomed to think of Great Britain and Ireland as favoured spots; certainly they are the fairest Islands of the sea, and they are peopled with noble races of men; but even there, what is the condition of the toiling masses?

Eight hundred years ago the Norman robbers set sail from Port St. Valery in France, and they landed upon the shores of England, clad in their coats of mail. In a short time they overrun the country, and by torch and sword wasted, massacred, and conquered the inhabitants, then they disinherited them, and the people are now wholly divorced from their own lands and remain disinherited to this day.

When they, the conquerors, had accomplished their murderous work, killing 70,000 Englishmen, the chiefs of this marauding host gave themselves titles of nobility! The chief robber was called King, and the lesser satellites that revolved around this luminary were called Dukes, Earls, Marquises, Lords and Barons.

The King parcelled out the lands of the English in vast territories to a few families of these Nobles! (robbers).

They said to all men, know that henceforth and forever these are our lands.

God said the land is mine, and I freely give it for the use and benefit of all men; but these land robbers said, No, God is a liar; for these lands are ours, and shall so remain to the end of time; witness our so-called "laws" of primogeniture and entail.

We care for none of God's laws, but assume that our "laws," founded upon the dogma that

"Might makes right,"

are supreme and everlasting.

One hundred years after this, King Henry II. and a section of the same precious horde, came over to Ireland, with a Bull of Pope Adrian's in his pocket; and for the good of their souls, (!) he carried out the same programme that they had accomplished in England—by the same diabolical and ferocious means. They thus forced upon the people of both England and Ireland their infernal system of feudal land laws, a land system that remains in all its entirety and hoary iniquity up to the present hour.

These lords of the soil would not allow the people to come upon the land to cultivate it unless the cultivators pay rent or tribute to them. The people then became what is called tenants, on the lands that God made for the use and benefit of all. We hold, that wherever this state of land tenure exists, it is slavery; feudalism is slavery. When a man, a tenant, has to pay a landlord a rent for leave to cultivate the land, then that tenant is a tenant slave, or an agrarian slave. When these tenant slaves are called upon by the landlord to pay over to him fifteen shillings, out of every twenty shillings' worth that they have produced by their labour on the land, then they are not only tenant slaves, but tortured tenant slaves. For these lords to arrogate to themselves absolute property in or ownership of the lands, from the bowels of the earth to the sky—as their Lord-Godships have done, and still continue to do—is a position which no mortal man should be allowed to take up. Because such a man is not only a blasphemer and usurper before heaven and earth, but he holds the arbitrament of life and death over his fellow-man. Subsistence is life; all food and subsistence must come out of our mother earth. These landlords say that whole islands of this planet—of this mother earth—is their absolute property, to do with and to dispose of as they shall think fit; therefore the lives of millions and myriads of God's creatures are absolutely at their will and caprice.

When one looks into this state of things carefully, he naturally asks, "Can this be so?" Yes, it is so. Up to this day of this boasted nineteenth century, this is the foundation upon which rests the superstructure of the civilization of that nation which vehemently asserts before all the world that they are the most civilized of all the nations of the earth.

Aristotle, the most learned and cultured of the Greeks, says that slavery is right; that it is necessary, for the Greeks, especially, to have

slaves, because, said he, "the Greeks are next to the gods." This was Aristotle's idea of Greek civilization. Now, what is the difference between Aristotle's Greek slavery-civilization and English landlordism or tenant-slavery-civilization? All the difference that I can see is this: that Aristotle called slaves, *slaves*, and said they were necessary to the Greeks, but the landlords say that their English agrarian slaves are *free men*. Aristotle is manly, for he disguises nothing and tells the truth; whereas the landlord and the landlord press suppress and disguise the truth, do not face the world with honest statements, but cowardly assert a lie.

The land tenant has freedom only in one thing: he is free to pass from one place to any other place; but what benefit is this to him on his native soil of England or Ireland? None; for, go where he will there, the same conditions stare him in the face.

In depicting European despotism and civilization, we might go into endless details, but we shall not weary you by doing anything of the kind. Suffice it to say, that there are hundreds of millions for armaments, and only units for education. Why is this so? Why, it is said, "the guilty conscience seeks no accuser;" no, for it is ever within; hence the despots are always uneasy. They never feel safe without the bloated armaments and the most improved and death-dealing engines of destruction. To destroy whom? Why, none but the people of their own despotism, or the people of some neighbouring despotism. But why are they afraid of the people? Why, because the people are groaning and writhing beneath their several despotisms, and are waiting for the opportunity to shake them off, that they might enjoy freedom.

Shelley defines freedom thus:

"What art thou, Freedom? Oh! could slaves
Answer from their living graves—
This demand—tyrants would flee
Like a dream's dim imagery.

"Thou art not, as impostors say,
A shadow, soon to pass away;
A superstition and a name
Echoing from the cave of fame.

"For the labourer thou art bread,
And a comely table spread,
From his daily labour come,
In a neat and happy home."

When we come to take a survey of modern civilization as it exists in this New World, we find a brighter picture and a better state of things than what obtains in Europe; still, we think there is great room for reform. It is true that our forefathers on this continent fought and shed their blood for the principle that there should be no taxation without

adequate representation ; it is true that they battled for and triumphantly declared " that all men are created free and equal ; " it is true that they inscribed upon their banners the inspiring truth that " life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is the inalienable right of mankind ; " it is true that universal suffrage at the ballot-box was extended as the basis of the political freedom of every citizen, and also that popular education was to be the birthright of every child in the republic. For these achievements won by our fathers we shall ever hold them in the highest veneration, and keep their memories green in our love and everlasting remembrance. They laid the foundations of the temple of freedom well and truly, according to the light that was in them.

But, after all, we find that they only penetrated into the portals of freedom, and that the inner circles are still in possession of the few.

It is not so much what was done as what they left undone, that leaves their work imperfect.

The men of free and independent thought on this continent have the great task before them of taking up the glorious work which our fathers began, and carrying it to completion.

In the republic there is no titled, hereditary nobility, but in these latter years there has grown up a Jonah-gourd plutocracy, which if not put a stop to, if it is allowed to grow and develop itself into the gigantic proportions it bids fair to assume, it will, in a short time, roll back liberty and true civilization on this continent and destroy the republic.

Every thoughtful man knows full well that plutocracy, or moneyocracy, is the meanest, most exacting, sordid, grinding, heartless, soulless, and most hateful of all despotisms of which we have any knowledge.

This is the danger before us, and if due and stringent safe-guards are not speedily adopted by and for the safety of the body politic, this vulgar and all-devouring monster rising in our midst will swallow us up.

Monopolies have grown up in America already, that for wealth, audacity, and concentrated organized power are almost inconceivable, and certainly have no parallel in the annals of the world. We have railroad kings, coal kings, bonanza kings, bank potentates, and every species of corporate monsters. Just let us enumerate a few of them, giving some figures.

The railroad kings control the highways of the nation to this extent: Scott, of the Pennsylvania, controls roads of the value of \$659,000,000 ; Gould, of the Pacific and Black Friday, controls \$565,000,000 ; Vanderbilt controls \$564,000,000 ; Huntingdon, of the Pacific, \$321,000,000 ; Jewitt, \$317,000,000 ; Garrett, \$194,000,000.

Stephen D. Dillaye, one of the most lucid and eloquent writers of our time, in speaking of the railroad legislation of Congress, says : "That knaves have legislated the American people into slaves to corporate kings and corporate tyrants.

"The Pacific Railroad swindlers have been the pets of Congress. Mr. Morgan, of Alabama, has just introduced in the Senate a resolution to enquire into the failures of railroad corporations to comply with the conditions on which 124,813,593 acres, or the immense territory of 195,902 square miles of our public domain was granted. The robbers have notoriously failed to comply with their own terms, and public sentiment demands that every acre should be reclaimed, and that the American people set themselves to work to elect the kind of men to Congress who can see the propriety of dividing our public lands into homesteads instead of dukedoms, and who will understand the philosophy and the justice of aiding 7,500,000 inhabitants into occupiers of homesteads, developers of our resources, creators of wealth, and defenders of our territory, rather than the policy of making enormous grants of land to railroad kings, and enormous loans to gambling corporations to enable them to become tyrants of our highways and monopolizers of transportation."

"These men control, too, the 195,902 square miles of our public domain. The people have been robbed, cheated, and legislated out of their sovereignty and their own lands, and when they ask for an honest distribution and such legislation as shall secure homesteads to the people, and such loans as shall make it possible to enjoy them, amply secured,—the *New York Tribune* says : No, none but idiots legislate for the people."

Thus you see the same process of concentrating the lands of this continent into the possession of greedy and grasping speculators and circumventing rogues is going on, (only after another fashion), as that which was accomplished in Normandized England and Ireland.

One of the prominent features of modern civilization consists in rings of individuals boldly demanding from Parliaments and Congresses charters or parchments, which are called "laws," and which enables them "legally" to swindle and rob the public by their delusions and snares.

Almost, if not all, of our chartered companies are rings of this nature. Such as Life Insurance Co.'s, Building and Loan Co.'s, Land and Loan Co.'s, Savings and Investment Co.'s, &c., &c.

The spirit which actuates, the animus which directs our modern legislatures or law-making machinery, is how to make the rich man richer ; and doing this, the inevitable consequence is to make the poor man poorer. Hitherto they have been entirely successful, and we must also say that it is congenial work for our legislators to perform.

Our American legislators are popularly supposed to be the representatives of the people ; but the people never entertained a greater fallacy.

It is true we are called upon to elect them, and we do elect them ; by universal suffrage and vote by ballot. Ostensibly they are sent to our legislative halls to represent us, to defend our interests and to make laws for our benefit. But do they do so ? Once they are elected they generally go in for representing themselves and a clique of their friends, and they manipulate things with this end invariably before them. When we reflect, however, upon the whole matter, we see that it can rarely be otherwise. For instance, the candidates that are put forward to be elected are generally the favourites of some coterie of wire-pullers, and the people literally have no choice or voice in the selection of candidates.

From out of our chartered rings, or the legally constructed corporations, spring our legal plunderers ; this is the source which breeds our modern millionaires.

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." But who ever knew of a millionaire accumulating his millions by his honest industry and frugality ? If so, his accumulations cannot be gainsaid ; he has a right to them. A man's righteous share of the wealth of this world is just what he has created by his own industry, and no more, nor no less.

I say, then, without fear of successful contradiction, that never since creation's dawn did a man become a millionaire by his own individual industry and frugality—never. Millionaires are the outcome of our modern civilization ; and a very unwholesome outcome they are, because their millions in some way must have been filched from the labour of others, and for the millionaire to have become so financially bloated thousands must have been impoverished and made financial skeletons. Millionaires are monomaniacs who have piled up pyramids of gold that they can never either use or utilize, and they have accomplished their achievement by appropriating the labour of their fellow-men, for from no other source could their wealth have come. Labour is the source, the *alpha* and the *omega* of all wealth.

Millionaires are therefore robbers of the most dangerous kind, because they come upon their fellow-men and spoil them "legally," for you know he does everything "lawfully." All his scheming, and plotting, and circumventing, and speculating was done upon the lines of law and order. In fact, all through he was a genuine legalized plunderer of the labour of others, and hence a criminal more to be feared by far than any vulgar, brutal highwayman ; because the latter opens upon you boldly with brute force, and there is some chance of your being able to

defend yourself by force of arms and possibly foiling him ; but in the other case you are borne down by all the subtle forms of "law," and there is no possible chance of escaping from the fangs of the spoiler.

In our modern civilization there is nothing more apparent than the ready disposition manifested by every one to get down on their knees and worship the golden calf. The possessor of wealth may have got it by the most dishonourable and infamous means ; but that does not matter in the least. Homage is paid to him and his ill-gotten wealth. He is called a smart man, a deuced clever man, a very successful man, etc. He may be reeking with moral filth ; he may be covered over with the leprous sores that mark an ignorant, illiterate, pestiferous spoliator ; but if he has wealth he is fawned upon, courted, and as much deference is paid to him as if he was a demi-god.

We were told lately that a leprous creature, designated the Duke of Portland, died worth one hundred millions of pounds sterling, or \$500,000,000. He went to his account ; his carcase was deposited in the inevitable six feet by two of mother earth ; but not a *centime* of his millions could he take with him beyond the "bourne from whence no traveller returns." But in order that this wretch might die worth this pyramid of gold, who could sum up the suffering, the pinching poverty, privations and tortures that thousands of his tenant slaves and labouring helots may have had to encounter and pass through ?

This modern brood of millionaires are crowding upon us in America. There are now hundreds of men each of whom are worth from one million up to hundreds of millions—a money oligarchy that is moving forward to destroy republican simplicity and true freedom.

The financial legislation of the Republic during the last twenty years has called into being a dangerous class of monopolists, known as the rings composing the National Bank system. These men control the finances of the country, and manipulate the money of the people, under legislation dictated by the banks.

These bank syndicates and bondholders, together with the whole tribe of Wall-street gamblers in stocks—Shylocks and usurers of every type and degree—altogether form such powerful moneyed corporations that they actually defy Congress or any law of Congress. Entrenched behind the ramparts of their money-bags, they are defiant.

There is certain to come in the near future a collision between the rights of the American people and the privileges vested in the Bank potentates by previous wrongful legislation of Congress.

When the banks say that their financial organization is so compact and strong, that they defy the people and congress alike, it means this, that the American people must either submit to be subjugated to the dictation of the banks, or the banks must yield to, and go down before, the sovereign will of the American people. The banks have a surplus of \$195,000,000 in their coffers, and with this, they foolishly think, that they can corruptly buy up the votes of 45,000,000 of people. We shall see which will conquer.

We do not hesitate to aver, that the plutocracy and shoddy aristocracy, which has arisen in America since the slave owners' rebellion, comprise within their unholy confines the only really dangerous and criminal class on American soil.

This criminal class howl for a "strong government," and the man on horseback at its head.

This criminal class demands a standing army of 200,000 men, man-killers, with arms of precision and bayonets of steel. For what purpose? Why, to massacre the people. These corporate vampires and monopolizing rogues, are conscious that they have robbed the people, and that their pyramids of gold and riches have been stolen, plundered from the people, under the guise of "law." Hence they are uneasy, and afraid that they should be made to disgorge, and their system of plundering stopped and finally brought to an end. Hence they see in their victims, —the toilers of the nation, an outraged people, an army of communists or legions of socialists upon whom they look with scowling hatred, as they would upon so many mad dogs, which it would be well to shoot down and exterminate.

This is the aspect of our modern civilization in America.

We have a Republic here in America ; and here in America, too, we have Pittsburg Riots and Land Grabbers, and Usurers, and Slow Starvation, and tramps, and shootings in the streets of the big cities, and judicial murders in the mines of Pennsylvania, and the man on horseback, and the call for a standing army to keep labour down in that "Bread-and-Water" condition where it has pleased the advocates of our atrocious profit-taking system to put it.

A hundred years ago our fathers merely "severed the *political* connection" that bound the colonies to England. All the villianies that nestled in the *English Economic System* were left undisturbed, and today our diseased body politic is suffering tortures from the unpurged poison.

New England now is almost socially as bad as Old England is.

Any attempt to give a thorough portrayal of our modern civilization would be very incomplete, indeed, without exposing to view in all its native deformity the devilish invention known and practised as Usury. I have given days, and nights, and years to study and find out the workings of this infernal system, and the more I investigate the more am I convinced that it is the deadliest enemy of labor and humanity. Everywhere in the sacred writings usury is denounced in all its moods and tenses, and yet our preachers of the gospel in these days never open their mouths against it ; no, they either defend usury or else are silent, and ignore it altogether.

Now, of all the systems that were ever invented by the evil genius of wickedness, we believe firmly that usury is at once the most plausible, the most subtle, the most destructive, insidious, and death-dealing of all others, that were ever inflicted upon the human race. Pagan philosophers denounce it, the early Christian teachers denounce it, the Old and the New Testament denounce it, and all moral philosophers abhor it. When the ancients were asked what is usury ? they answered by asking what is murder ? And a very proper answer it was, because its effects are murder, both moral and physical.

Usury enters as a thief into every nook and corner of social and civil life. It permeates every fibre, vein and artery of living humanity with the virus of its deadly poison. It places industry, labor, the worker, between the upper and nether millstones of selfishness and greed, and grinds them to powder. The usurer is an idle schemer and robber of labor, and never earned an honest dollar, never.

God says as the fundamental condition of labor that all men were to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow—by honest labor.

The usurer says: Nonsense, I know better than that ; that may do for ignorant boors and fools. I have only to practice usury and not only live without working, but become rich, yes, immensely rich, from the labour of others.

Lately, I came across the following *morceau* in the course of my investigations on usury :

“THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.

“A KIND OF PROGRESSION NOT DOWN IN THE ARITHMETICS.

“There are three kinds of Progression : Arithmetical Progression, which is 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, etc. ; Geometrical Progression, which is 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, etc. ; and *Infernal Progression*. Since the boys do not find this

latter kind in the school books, allow me to present the following example of Infernal Progression under full headway :

"One dollar loaned one hundred years at—

1 per cent., would amount to....\$	2 75.
3 per cent.....	19 25.
6 per cent.....	340 00.
10 per cent.....	13,809 00.
12 per cent.....	84,675 00. .
15 per cent.....	1,174,405 00.
18 per cent.....	15,145,007 00.
24 per cent.....	2,551,799,404 00."

There, now, you have here a sample of how usury works. These figures are more eloquent and far more convincing than any word-picture can be. Here you can see clearly how it is that we have constantly increasing riches and constantly increasing poverty. Here you see how the silent process goes on night and day, ceaselessly grinding the struggling masses of humanity that we may have a plutocracy of gold specie-basis monomaniacs of the stamp of James Gordon Bennetts, Jay Goulds, Tom Scotts, Astors, Fields, Vanderbilts, Sharons, Hiltons, and all others of a like kidney. This is the goal of our modern civilization.

The Rev. Uriel Graves, D.D., of Baltimore, sums it up thus:—"To-day our two great parties are facing each other—the one tending to monarchy, and the other to nullification—and both are likely to end in the ruin of our common country. But another evil, more formidable than both these we have mentioned, stares us in the face ; it is the question of government finance. The gold and silver heresy, together with *that hell-begotten sin of usury—or, as it is called to-day, interest on money—* is doing for this land a work which will require rivers of tears and seas of blood to wipe out."

At the present hour we have Nihilism in Russia, Socialism *Démocratique* in Germany, Communism in France, strikes and trade unionism in England, agrarian agitation in Ireland, and here in America it may be said that we have deep rumblings of discontent on the part of the working masses.

Now, what is the reason of all this discontent, this disquietude, this fearful and fierce struggle that is going on everywhere, and that is daily gaining strength, and will culminate one day, before long, in the bloodiest upheaval in the book of time?

There is an axiom that is as true as any in Euclid ; it is this : that there is no effect without a cause ; or, to put it in another way, effect is

the sequence of cause. This axiom is as true in the moral world as it is in the physical. We ask then, again, what is the cause of the profound agitation and discontent that is now stirring the passions of the masses of mankind to their very depths? I answer in one word, OPPRESSION. If there were no autocracy in Russia there would be no Nihilism. If there were no bloody and brutal Bismarck, no divine-right Kaiser, no blood and iron military despotism that make the two former possible, then, we say, there would be no social Democrats in Germany. If there were a true and not a sham republic in France (a republic in name, but a monarchy in acts and deeds), then there would be no Communism in France. The French people are the most acute reasoners—the most logical, perhaps, in the world; it is not very likely, then, that they will be satisfied with a sham republic instead of a true one. Just think of a republic where they suppress the expression of men's free thoughts by a gagging press law. If there were no feudalism; if the people were not disinherited of their own lands, and these lands in the possession of a few thousand landlords; if there were no legislative chicanery, or fixing of things which they call "laws," which has built up on the one side some thousands of immensely rich aristocrats and plutocrats, and on the other side millions of degraded, debased, and starving and pauperized white wage-slaves, with an impassable social gulf between—then there would be no strikes or trade unions in England. If there was no infernal land system in Ireland which hangs like a millstone around the necks of the people—a system which has forced artificial famines periodically upon one of the most fruitful, and beautiful, and healthful islands on the face of this planet, and which has, coupled with the most malignant and diabolical English-made coercive and penal-code of hell-born Acts of Parliament which they call "laws," robbed, plundered and confiscated their lands; degraded, debased, made ignorant and pauperized their intellects, and decimated and murdered the bodies of millions upon millions (during seven centuries of torture) of as gallant, brave, generous, patriotic and virtuous a race as ever trod this earth—we say that if there had been none of all this, then there would have been no landlord shootings and agrarian agitation in Ireland. The fierce discussions and rumbling noises of discord, discontent and class hatreds which we hear and see in America are produced by the introduction of a spice of all the foregoing evils into this virgin continent.

Effects, then, follow causes; and all this false civilization may be expressed in one word, OPPRESSION.

Eighteen hundred and seventy-nine years have rolled their rounds

since the Christian era dawned upon the world, and still, after all its propagandism through all these centuries, this world may be fitly designated, morally speaking, as a valley of dry bones. When Christianity was first propounded it addressed itself to the down-trodden of the earth; it came like a balm to the poor, toil-worn slave, and underneath its wings the poor, the destitute, and the enslaved and persecuted of every clime and color, found a refuge. To all such its teachers and propagandists became the fast friends, the counsellors, the defenders, and staunch supporters; hence its wonderful achievements. The stand it took, on the side of the oppressed, won the hearts and affections of men everywhere. It went on conquering, and to conquer, during the first centuries of its career, up to the time when Constantine the Great became a convert, and took the leaders of the new faith by the hand and raised them to worldly emoluments and high seats of worldly honor. From that time Christianity began to decay, become corrupt and lose its power over the hearts of men. Everything in it became changed, it lost its pristine simplicity and honesty, and its true spirit and genius departed from it.

What do we see to-day? Churches are rich and gaudy, fashionable, selfish, self-seeking, and what the world calls "respectable." It is now the most conservative of all the world's heartless oppressors. Its sympathies are all with the tyrants, emperors, kings, and oligarchs of the earth.

The Professors of Colleges and Doctors of Divinity now take rank with the rich, the great, and the titled nobles of the land. The ecclesiastics, and hierarchs and dignitaries of all the churches of all the persuasions are alike in this respect. We exempt none. They have caught up the spirit of mammon, the god of this world. They are all seeking after fame, honor, wealth, and grandeur. They vie with each other as to which of their denominations shall have the grandest and most costly churches and cathedrals; and to find the money for their schemes they will have recourse to bazaars, lotteries, &c., held within the very walls of their sacred temples.

The founder of Christianity went about doing good; he mixed with the poor and the outcast, and the despised and the fallen, that he might save them and lift them up. His mission was to bind up and heal the wounds of afflicted and oppressed humanity. He tells us more than once how difficult a thing it was for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. The Christianity of the churches of these times has changed all that. Now it is the rich that is wanted in the churches, and the rich only, the man that can subscribe large sums. And the man is now

estimated on the church rolls precisely according to the length of his purse.

Go into the churches of to-day, with their red velvet and luxurious cushioned and upholstered pews, and you will see that there is no room for the poor there. If the poor man glances in at the grandeur and the fashionably dressed congregation, he instinctively draws back and says: This is none of my house. Neither it is; it is the rich man's house, and the rich hire the exclusive use of the pews for themselves, because they do not want any poor in their church, and they take the most effectual plan to drive them out and keep them out. It is true, we have plenty of churches, but is equally true that Christianity has gone out of them, and Christianity, as it is presented to the world to-day, has lost its power, its influence, its hold on the affections and hearts of men.

Our modern civilization makes men poor and miserable and consequently discontented, and the rich churchman exclaims: Ah! the wretches, it is all their own fault. They are branded as being lazy, drunken, profligate and worthless vagabonds, and they are dismissed from their thoughts as being wholly outside the boundaries of salvation. Or otherwise the rich of the churches, which are themselves the product of modern civilization, will say to the wretches: Be patient and content with your lot—quoting one or two passages of scripture to help them out in their *ipse dixit*—remember there is a heaven before you in the next world to compensate you for all the toil and sorrow and misery that you have endured and are still enduring in this. But there is one thing as certain as death, and that is this, that there is a civilization coming, (it is now making rapid headway in the minds of men), that will insist, that will demand, that man's lot in this world shall be made as happy and comfortable as his labor under the rule and administration of justice and equity can make it.

There is another fallacy propagated by modern civilization which we wish to nail to the counter like another false coin, and that is, that almsgiving is charity. But almsgiving is one thing, and charity is a totally different thing.

The reason that we want to define this clearly is that rich men imagine that by giving large sums as alms to charitable objects, they thereby buy their way to the mansions of the just in heaven, while in the meantime their subscriptions act as a good advertisement to themselves as men, and also for their business, if they have one.

Modern civilization enables men to legally rob their brothers, and they become rich by so doing.

In the process, however, the toiling masses are made poor (as they are in Ireland to-day) by the iniquity ; then the rich come to the relief of their starving brethren by giving large subscriptions,—after making them paupers by the system that obtains they want to get credit from the world for their great deeds of charity.

A very great profanity very generally obtains in the theory that charity and alms-giving are synonymous.

If this is so, revealed religion is wonderfully simplified, as taking St. Paul's formulation of the Christian virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, and his unmistakable avowal that "the greatest of these is Charity ;" and construing charity as alms-giving, it logically results that every usury extortioner, every national bank robber, every land-grabber, and every other member of our subversive and dangerous classes, after a whole year of spoliative deviltry may make his peace with God and balance the scales of justice with his fellowman by donating a few geese and turkeys to his victims about Christmas or any other time when it suits his convenience.

That such is the general but blasphemous definition of the crowning virtue is exhaustively demonstrated every week by reference in the daily papers to the magnificent putative charities of our so-called merchant princes and princely bankers ; but such was not its portraiture by its ablest delineator, eloquent eulogist and most loving apostle.

St. Paul, with singularly logical acumen, begins his definition of charity, not by delineating what it is, but what it is not; and it is beyond the power of human brain to conceive, or human hand to write, a more clearly defined contrast between almsgiving and charity than that which he presents. He clearly and unequivocally shows, beyond the possibility of refutation, not only that they are not synonymous, but that they are antithesis of each other. His words are these (1 Corinthians, xiii. 3):—"If I should distribute *all* my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and *have not* charity, it profiteth me nothing."

The ancient poet tells us that it is possible to conciliate the hungry watch-dogs who guard the gates of hell by "sops" of food, but modern philologists and peddlers of popular religion more blasphemously teach that the eyes of Divine Justice can be blinded by feeding to the needy, as if they were dogs, the crumbs which fall from the overburdened tables of their robbers.

It is quite possible that similar misapprehensions of the nature and mission of charity obtained in Corinth in the days of St. Paul as now

permeates our society in the days of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher and Rev. Joseph Cooke. Corinth, to whose church the above quotation was addressed, like New York city and Brooklyn, never was distinguished for decency and production, but for profligacy and commerce.

The Temple of Venus was attended by one thousand female slaves, thus giving nearly, if not quite, as ample scope for licentiousness as is furnished by our modern shrines of paganism, miscalled Christianity. Two statues of the God Mercury were erected in that small city, whose attributes among the Greeks were fraud and perjury, and among the Romans about the same; but more politely called commerce and diplomacy.

Every age has been more or less pharisaically blatant in its assumptions of superiority of the past, and certainly this era, so distinguished by utilizing hitherto unknown forces, so fertile in the productions of every variety of genius, so prolific of philosophies and pseudo statesmanship, has apparently some cause for self gratulation; but when we compare the modern votaries of lust and licentiousness, of fraud and perjury, plutatively worshipping at the shrine of the God of love, and purity, and justice; it is impossible not to somewhat reverence the greater candor of the earlier sinners of pagan times who erected especial altars to devil-worship, and thus kept purer shrines unpolluted.

But of all blasphemous presentations at the devil's altar of the present age, none is more sacrilegiously disgusting, more profanely lying, more odiously desecrating, than to offer to the Almighty boluses of pharisaical alms-giving, and insult His teachings and intelligence by labelling them charity."

Charity is not alms-giving, but the brotherhood of man exemplified in practical operation in a civilization based upon the eternal principles of justice and equity.

We cannot express ourselves more clearly on this, than in the language: "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

THE NATIONAL CURRENCY QUESTION.

I cannot formulate the result of my reading and thinking on this most important subject, better than by giving here my ideas on the Currency question and usury, (for you cannot disunite the two), as they were

enunciated a short time ago in the form of a dialogue, and published in the columns of the *Irish Canadian*, in four separate issues of that journal :

DIALOGUE ON USURY vs. LABOUR.

No. 1.

PLACE—Back parlor of Usurer's Counting-house.

PARTIES.

Usurer/himself—Shylock, for Gold or Hard Money.

Labour-man—Worker, for Greenbacks or Soft Money.

SHYLOCK—Good evening, Mr. Worker. I see you are on time according to agreement, to have a friendly talk over those all important matters that we took in hand to discuss.

WORKER—Yes ; I think they require more ventilation, and that the public want more light upon them. A good cause never suffers for discussion. These financial questions affect workers too closely that they should not be thoroughly understood.

SHYLOCK—I suppose the long-protracted hard times have had some thing to do in causing the working classes of Canada to take such an intense interest, lately, in financial questions ?

WORKER—Most undoubtedly ; we have been searching for the cause of these long-protracted hard times ; we know that there is nothing without an adequate cause, and we are now convinced that the Hard Money system, combined with usury, is the fundamental cause of all our depression, want of work, low wages, business decay and shrinkage of values ; and unless the proper legislative remedies be applied, and that soon, the country will collapse into the arms of complete stagnation and ruin.

SHYLOCK—You draw a dark picture. Don't you know that Hard Money is the money of the world, and that all business, trade, manufactures and commerce are regulated by the laws of supply and demand ? There have always been periodical crises and depression.

WORKER—I think the picture I have drawn has been fully borne out by the experience of the last five or six years. As to Hard Money being the money of the world, it is not so. Paper money is the chief money of the modern commercial world ; and you know that the volume of business could not be carried on by any other medium in those days. As for the laws, as you call them, of supply and demand, how do they apply ? No one at present has a cent to supply any demand with—except our food, and the rent. The people for years past have been wearing their old clothes, but they will wear out to rags. We know that Adam Smith, a

Scotchman, who wrote his book, called the "Wealth of Nations," held a *sinecure* from the Government; and probably only for that fact we might not have heard so many platitudes about "supply and demand," buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest," and such puerile phrases that Usurers and Hard Money men are so fond of quoting as gems of wisdom.

SHYLOCK—I think you are trying to discuss these matters in a fair spirit; but it seems to me that you have not proved much.

WORKER—As yet, perhaps; but give me time, and I think you will find that I have proved more than you reckoned on. All wealth is the product of the labour of workers, either of brain or muscle, or both combined. Money of itself alone is not wealth, or the chief good. A starving man, if he had a pyramid of gold and could not get food, would still be a poor man. One loaf of bread to that man, in such a case, would be of more value to him than all his gold. Money is only of value when taken as the representative or measure of so much labour done. Any thing is dear when it is scarce. At present money is scarce, as the phrase goes; and labour is cheap and plenty. This condition need not necessarily be. Ages of persistent legislation, in favor of Gold-bags and Usurers, have made it so; just the condition of things they want, until Rothschilds and Usurers of every degree are able to control all the money and dictate their terms to labour. Vast masses of property and money are exempt from taxation; and hoarders rejoice, but labour mourns in sack-cloth and ashes. Legislation can and must reverse this order of things.

SHYLOCK—I see you are growing quite eloquent and philosophic about these matters; but how will you legislate to cause the changes you desire? Methinks things must just take their course.

WORKER—By no means, Mr. Shylock. There is an underground swell of public opinion going on that ere long will rise to the surface, and burst the bands that are now strapped around labour, and effect the changes that I have indicated. The United States, in her straits, found certain relief by an issue of two thousand millions of Greenbacks, and prospered, notwithstanding her gigantic civil war, in a way that she never did before; and it was only when she *contracted* this non-interest bearing money down to about three hundred millions, or about one-seventh of what was previously in circulation among the people, and issued instead the vast volume into interest, bearing non-taxable bonds, that misery without computation came with ever-increasing force upon the people. This iniquitous legislation was the work of Hard Money men and Usurers; but it will be reversed at no distant day. Justice will triumph and labour

be relieved from thralldom worse than the old slavery of the South. This *contraction* of the people's money accounts for the long-protracted depression. Again, later still, we have in the case of France another lesson how untold misery may be averted by wise financial legislation. She was down in the very slough of degradation and misery, when patriotic statesmen issued fifteen hundred millions of French Greenbacks; set every wheel of industry instantly in motion, and in a short time her workers produced every kind of work that very quickly brought back to her the gold indemnity she had to pay Germany, of one thousand millions of dollars. And the process is still going forward of her enrichment. Had the statesmen of the United States pursued a similar line of patriotic action, and not been governed so much by their propensities of cupidity and greed the country would have continued to prosper; there would have been no depression, and in the end the Shylocks themselves would have been better off.

SHYLOCK—We will now close, but again shortly resume this interesting discussion.

No. II.

SHYLOCK—I am glad to meet you again, Mr. Worker, to continue our talk upon the most important topic, in my estimation, that could possibly engage our attention. Truth is a jewel, and well worth searching after. Usury has been engrafted upon our Hard-money system for so many ages that it now permeates every business transaction; and the ambition of men is to accumulate a fortune, then retire from the struggles of a business life into quietude, and live the remainder of their days on the interest of their accumulations. I think you will find it hard to persuade the world to give up the practice of usury.

WORKER—I have not the slightest objection that the ambition you have pointed out should be amply enjoyed, provided that the accumulations be arrived at without hurting anyone. Every man has a right to enjoy *all* that he *honestly* laboured for; but honesty and labour never hurt; usury does. Usury is the absorption of labour; it robs labour of that which it honestly worked for, and appropriates in its insatiate maw that for which it never gave one hour's honest toil. You talk of the long time that usury has been practised; the antiquity of anything does not prove its righteousness. Man has found out many plans by which he can over-reach his fellow-man, but of them all usury is at once the most plausible and the worst. The Old and New Testaments denounce usury

wherever it is spoken of in their pages ; it is classed with wickedness of the first magnitude, and as a thing accursed ; and to practice it leads to sure ruin. All the experience of mankind and all history, both Pagan and Christian, cry out against it.

SHYLOCK—You are waxing warm ; keep cool.

WORKER—My language may be emphatic, but it is plain. I mean what I say.

SHYLOCK—Yes, but you have given us no facts, no statistics, no quotations from the Scriptures, or other approved authorities, to prove your positions.

WORKER—You shall have them ; my only want will be time and space to set them out ; it will not be for lack of the material that you call for. I have not forgot my ciphering. A farmer bought a farm, say in 1868, at \$10,000 :

Paid half cost in cash.....	\$5,000
Eleven years' interest at 8 per cent.....	4,400
Interest on last note.....	400
Showing loss of 11 years' labour.....	\$9,800
You received the.....	\$5,000
And eleven years' interest, <i>compounded</i>	7,500
Interest on cash and mortgage, <i>compounded</i>	7,500
Usurer pocketed in 1879.....	\$20,000

And you, Mr. Shylock, still own the farm. This is the way it permeates and mixes with the Hard-Money system of finance. In the name of Jehosophat, who can stand that except the usurer ? I should think this ought to satisfy you on the head of statistics. If not I will give you more.

SHYLOCK—That will do on statistics at present.

WORKER—Well then, I will go on to facts. Is it not a fact sustained by computations in arithmetic and mathematics that if *one dollar* had been started on its journey of usury—compound interest—on the morning that the Saviour of mankind was born, it would, in the year 2,000, have rolled up 35 golden balls, each of them the size of this planet ? It would have done this ; but in its course how many—ah ! what myriads of mankind would have been crushed beneath its Juggernaut wheels ? God says, by the sweat of his brow man shall earn his bread. The usurer says, that applies to every one but me ; for I have invented a plan whereby—without working—I can command the work and sweat of workers. 'Tis true,

it is only a man-made invention, and acquiesced in only by its golden baits and allurements. The laws of man, I know, look at it with a squint ; but still they allow it, and call it legal ; and it is my potent and favorite engine, which will not only gratify my love of gold, but the way it works gratifies also my ambition and love of power, by subjugating labour and making men my bond-slaves. Again, is it not a fact that the usurer has been hated and despised by all humanity since the flood ? And why ? Is it not a fact, that Shakespeare—the most profound judge of the world, humanity and the springs of human conduct that has perhaps ever lived—has gibbeted the usurer and usury to the execration of the world for all time ?

SHYLOCK—I perceive you know and understand a little of the sublime mysteries of our craft. You may scorn usury and our beloved Hard-Money system of finance even as Shakespeare did ; but what will you introduce or substitute in its place ?

WORKER—Allow me, sir ; there will be ample time to answer that question, but at present I am concerned about giving a few more facts to sustain my positions ; I want to let in more light. Is it not a fact, that usury and the Hard-Money system have at the present hour got possession, through mortgages, of most of the farms, mills, factories, water-falls, lumber and houses, including vast property in cities, towns, villages and hamlets of this Canada that we so fondly called ours ? Yes ; not only Canada, but does not this astounding fact apply also to the United States—to the Continent ; Usury is King—the keystone of the arch of modern civilization—glorious civilization !

SHYLOCK—Your array of facts are indisputable so far ; it may, therefore, be as well to pass on to the elucidation of the further branches of the subject.

WORKER—Very well. I will now give some quotations on the merits, or demerits, of usury from the Sacred Book :

“If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury.” (Exodus, chap. xxii., v. 25.) “And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him : Yea though he be a stranger, or a sojourner, that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him, or increase : but fear thy God ; that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him victuals for increase.” (Leviticus xxv. chap., v. 35, 36, 37.) “Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother ; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury.” (Deut.

xxiii. chap. v. 19.) "And there was a great cry of the people, and of their wives, against their brethren the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons and our daughters, are many; therefore we take up corn for them that we may eat and live. Some also there were that said, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards and houses, that we might buy corn, because of the dearth. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the kings tribute (taxes), and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already; neither is it in our power to redeem them, for other men have our lands and vineyards. And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words. Then I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them." (Nehemiah, chap. v., v. 1 to 7 inclusive.) "He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved." (Psalms, chap. xv., v. 4.) "In thee have they taken gifts to shed blood; thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God." (Ezek., chap. xxii., v. 12.)

SHYLOCK—We will drop the subject at present, but I would like to hear your views upon the system of finance you would introduce to supersede the present one.

WORKER—I will give you a short sketch of them when next we meet.

No. III.

SHYLOCK—I am happy to meet you again, Mr. Worker, to hear your definitions regarding the financial problems that are so deeply stirring the public mind, and which, in my opinion, will only gather strength until it becomes *the question* of the day. There is much in what you said before on this subject that would be hard to refute; in fact, I believe positively irrefutable. I wait now to hear your propositions, and how you would finally adjust and dispose of these most important matters.

WORKER—Your opinion that the financial question is bound to become *the question* of the times will turn out to be correct; like Aaron's rod, it will swallow up all the rest. It is the greater question, and the greater includes the less. Before I lay down the planks of the financial

platform, which I believe the people will adopt and ere long stand upon, I wish to throw out a few skirmishing observations to clear the way. First then, the leading idea that presents itself is this: that the phase of civilization upon which the world has entered, and is now travelling upon, is the *industrial*. The age that we are now leaving immediately behind us was the age of *war and conquest*, when might prevailed, when the strong, crafty and skilled leader led his armed host to conquest. Then the conqueror appropriated everything that belonged to the conquered. The leading idea of that state of civilization was that *might was right*. Thank God, the world has travelled a long way beyond that phase of civilization; although Froude, one of England's historians, hankers after it, sees beauties in it, and defends it vigorously. And within the citadel of English power this idea still rules, else there never could be such wars now-a-days as Zulu and Affghan Wars—wars perfectly indefensible on any other grounds than the doctrine that *might makes right*. There is not another civilized power; yea, there is not perhaps a barbarous power, that in the present day, would project and carry into execution such wars, except England. Russia, that we affect to look down upon as semi-barbarous, only unsheathed the sword at the despairing cry of murdered humanity, that lay massacred and bleeding beneath the hands and feet of the brutal Turk. There exists to-day a fellow-feeling between the Sultan, the pashas and the bashaws of Turkey and the aristocratic rulers and landocracy of England, on the anti-Christian and anti-human doctrine that *might makes right*. Rob Roy and Robin Hood, on a small scale, personified this doctrine; but it was the grim monster, whom they dignify in history by the name of "William the Conqueror," that erected the barbarous dogma into the superstructure, which took the form or the phase of the civilization which is now happily leaving the world's stage for ever; and in its stead there is arising in grand proportions the *industrial*.

The industrial means an end to all wars—a stop to all human bloodshedding. It is carrying out God's behest, that in the sweat of man's brow he shall earn his bread. The former meant the strongest first, and thence gave rise to Aristocracy, which system is inimical to the greatest good of the greatest number. The latter is Democratic.

Industrialism—the present phase of civilization as opposed to the former—is only in its infancy. The first serious fall it gave its old foe in Europe was the revolution in France, beginning 1789. This glorious continent of America was won for labor and the rights of man—under God—by our revolutionary fathers.

The condition of things, made good on this continent, is slowly but surely undermining the despotism, the dynasties, the oligarchies, the aristocracies, and the junkerisms of the old world. Their overthrow is assured. Babylon is falling—falling to rise no more.

Industrialism, hitherto, has never had fair play—nothing like it. It has been bestriden and weighted down with the ideas and dogmas and regulations arising out of the former state of things. One of the first of these was that labour in itself was dishonourable. To be a worker was to be a menial, a slave, a serf, an industrial helot; and the remains of this barbarous idea still lingers in the world. Another was usury for the use of money—a crafty mode of appropriating the results of man's labour. Another was delegating to a few the power to issue money and to exact tribute from the people for such issue of the people's money.

From these and a host of other malignant burthens labour, or industry, is now groaning, and is seeking to be relieved. Labour is asking nothing but *justice*, and nothing less will satisfy her. The old doctrine that might made right is exploded. Don't invest in it; it is bankrupt.

We may add, also, that labour does not want any soothing-syrup, such as gifts and alms, soup-kitchen and poor-house quarters, *et hoc genus omne*, doled out by the rich and would-be-thought benevolent. Oh no; away with them! Labour only asks her own, what she has toiled for; but she must have it *minus* Shylock's usury, and every other crafty condition that takes a slice out of her earnings. Industrialism wants nothing but her own; and that is justice—the equal balance.

SHYLOCK—Why, thou almost persuadest me to be a Christian.

WORKER—Industrialism, freed from her shackles, would introduce some sunshine into the hearts of men. At present greed grows upon what it is fed upon. The present condition of labour is such that it tends to destroy within the heart of man the last remnants of humanity. Look at those monomaniacs they call millionaires. In their greed of more millions they attempt to buy up all the wheat on this continent. If they could get it all within their clutches they could create an artificial famine; and it would never cost their devil-besotted brains one thought if millions of mankind should fall victims to their hellish avarice. Another crazy lunatic of the millionaire type wants a monopoly of all the railroads on this continent; and if he could only effect his purpose he would stop all the volume of trade and travel of the continent until his imperious demands were complied with. Watch mankind at this devil-take-the-hind-most race, how they will lie, cheat, defraud, extort, adulterate articles of food and drink, poison, burglarize, and even murder, to satisfy their insatiable greed of

gold. The scoundrel that is most deft and successful is patted on the back, if he only comes out first in the race and keeps out of jail; he is the smart man, the white-headed boy. Those who either will not enter upon the race, or who do, and come out hindmost, are subjected to nothing but taunts, jeers and scoffs. Does any, or could any Christianity exist in such an atmosphere? Then again it is out of this chaos that our periodical panics, and crises, and long-protracted depression arise, leading to want of employment, deaths from starvation, crimes, suicides and murders. And yet the press and the pulpit and the rostrum are either mute or they stand by privilege on the old order and conditions of a former civilization. They are dumbfounded, non-plussed, and can see no way out of the wood.

SHYLOCK—Your portrayal of the present state of industrial civilization makes me tremble all over. It is shocking, and the worst of it is, that it is too true; but I am waiting for your remedy, Mr. Worker. Now for your panacea, your platform of principles, to be legislated upon. The time, yea, the set time, I am convinced, has come for legislation to step in and unravel and straighten up the tangled web of the industrial system.

WORKER—Much as I am anxious to do so, I find that time and space forbid me to go farther at present. At our next meeting the new industrial platform will be erected.

No. IV.

SHYLOCK—Although, Mr. Worker, we differ in our opinions on the questions we have been discussing, I am glad to admit that I respect your independence of thought. In these days of so much hedging and dodging, it is always refreshing to meet people that have the courage of their convictions.

WORKER—I am happy to hear you say that much. Mammon-worship too often seals up the tongue and pen of thinkers, lest they might give utterance to thoughts, sentiments or principles that would array against them the potent influence of the plutocracy—the money lords—and thus bar the way to their worldly prosperity and social advancement. This conduct is called worldly wisdom; but I think it is more nearly allied to mercenary posing and mental cowardice. Right here I wish to give thanks to the *Irish Canadian* for the moral courage and courtesy displayed in opening its columns to give voice to our thoughts on these very important questions; as I can tell you that the partisan press proper would not allow their columns to be occupied with a discussion such as ours. With them it is *party first*—the country and welfare of the people afterwards.

SHYLOCK—Your allegations on these points are quite true ; but it is altogether attributable to the inherent selfishness of human nature.

WORKER—Yes ; and therefore it is all the more necessary for workers to institute the proper legislative guards against rampant rapacity, so that justice may not suffer. Burns, one of nature's poets, said :

“ Man's inhumanity to man,
Makes countless thousands mourn.”

Humanity is made to mourn by nothing so much as the selfish greed and making haste to be rich—inordinately rich—propensities that have taken possession of the “society” of the present age. It must be curbed, held in check, and kept within due bounds by legislation, or it will end in complete slavery for the masses, and practical heathenism. Indeed, the social life of the people is rapidly tending to that deplorable consummation.

I will now proceed to notice two points that must be made clear and prominent. The first is that, according to indisputable statistics from the best informed sources, it has been clearly ascertained that the most industrious nations can only make progress in their national wealth, from every source of labour and production, at the rate of about *two and a half per cent. per annum*. That in the best of times, the annual addition to the wealth of the most advanced nations will not exceed *three per cent*. In other words, that the capital or value added to nations annually is about two and a half or three per cent. This being so, how long will it be until the capitalists, or moneyed class, who demand usury at the rate of 8, 10, 12 and even 24 per cent. for the use of their money, have the entire property of the nation in their possession, in their clutches, and all the rest of God's children disinherited? Why, a school boy may reckon it up ; and this is precisely the process that is going on every hour, whether we are sleeping or waking. The usurer, like a vampire, calmly looks on at his table of decimal fractions, and can anticipate with certainty when he will gobble up your house, your farm, your factory, or whatever else you have thought was yours. At least, whatever portion was rightfully yours, having been won by your labour and industry, will soon be yours no longer.

In the second place. I want to show the falsity of mammon-worshippers, when they assert that our long, protracted, dreary hard times have been caused by *over-production*. This assertion is a cunning, brazen, consummate lie. Our long, protracted depression proves the lie. The very reverse is the cause, namely, under-consumption. We have successive years of hard times because the fifty or sixty millions of the working

people of the United States and Canada have had no means to purchase the goods of every kind they have been and are so sadly in need of. If the masses of the people had the money to supply their wants, the warehouses and the stores of all America would be emptied to-morrow, and their contents would be found to fall infinitely short of the quantity wanted. Over-production, as a cause of our five or six years' misery and depression, is exploded. As the vulgar slang has it, it is too thin. There never was such a thing in the world as over-production—never, since Noah built the ark to this day. Had justice ruled on this planet, the consumption would at all times have equalled the production, if it did not run ahead of it.

Our money-grabbers, the whole tribe of Shylocks and profit-mongers, know these things well; hence they manufacture false cries and throw dust in the people's eyes to blind them to the enormity of the false civilization that now dominates—a vicious system of industrial and social economy.

We have year after year of bad times, because usury and false legislation in a hundred other ways have thrown burdens upon workers that they are unable to bear, and have caused money to systematically flow into the hands of a few, such as bank rings, railroad rings, land rings, insurance rings, building society rings, and the whole accursed brood of monopolists and Shylocks.

I will now proceed to lay down a platform of principles that, if adopted by the people, and legislated into active operation in the body social and politic, would mend things in favor of humanity :

First : Stop all accumulation of National debt; not another cent to be borrowed from the London Jews and money-lenders. The burden heaped upon us already is heavy enough in all conscience. We mean to be free men in this Dominion, and will never allow the products of our own labour, and the labour of our posterity, to be annually gathered up and shipped away to a foreign country, to satisfy the demands of usurers.

Second : Create our own money; and for us Canadians it will be the best money in the world. It will be based on the property of the Nation. The lands, forests, mines, fisheries, inland and ocean, water-falls, ships, buildings, railways, &c., &c., of the Dominion of Canada are worth \$10,000,000,000.

Third : On this basis let us issue, by our Federal Government, \$200,000,000 Canadian Greenbacks, which will be held as legal and lawful tender for all debts, both private and governmental, and for all purchases of goods and products of every kind.

Fourth: This will give us a money circulation from Halifax to Vancouver of \$50 *per capita* in addition, and will help to do away with the money famine from which we have been and are suffering.

Fifth: This money of the people (not Shylock's money) to be issued to the people through our National Treasury without interest, except to pay Government expense of issue, say $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 per cent. Offices of issue to be located in all centres of population for the benefit of the whole people.

Sixth: Satisfactory security to be given for all advances.

Seventh: The power given to private Joint Stock Banks of issuing their promises to pay to be stopped. No money to be issued except the National Greenbacks—which are not promises to pay, but every dollar of them sovereign money of the whole people, and backed by the entire property of the Nation. Then we will never be afraid of Bank smashes, of losing our money by cunning manipulators and grabbing thieves. Except taking away from the present banks their present monopoly of issuing all the paper money in circulation (except the Dominion notes), I would not further interfere with them; but the power they now have, should rest in the Government only. The present system is false, and goes to build up a rich moneyocracy, which is incompatible with freedom on the free soil of America. We want no ocracies in America but workocracy; workers first, protected by legislation based upon the eternal principles of justice and freedom.

Eighth: If \$200,000,000 is found to be insufficient for the business wants of Canada, then let further issues be made until every wheel of industry is fairly in motion and the resources of the Nation in a fair way of development. With the people's non-interest bearing money in circulation, and our present tariff of protection to native industries in force, we will in a short time bid farewell to hard times, want of work, poverty, and money-famine.

THE LAND QUESTION.

Until recently the love of freedom—the consciousness that anything belonged to him but the labour of his body—did not inspire the agricultural labourers of England. The lord duke, or puke, claimed the land, and the farmer paid him tribute for it. The labourer never had his thought lifted above his average two dollars a week, and lived and laboured and died—used as a mere human machine. He had not to

plan ; he had to act. . He had not to think ; he had to suffer. In him the god-like qualities of his nature were not stunted ; they were withered in the germ.

Now, with the holder of the land, however small in area, the worker of it on his own resource, the case was exactly reversed. He did not receive any pay at the end of the week. When his oats were shorn, or his potatoes dug, he looked over the field with a critical eye. Experience had taught him something of its capabilities—what it could and what it could not produce. That hollow to be drained, and the subsoil scattered over the surface. Limestone is within reach. The summer has been dry, and the turf is plentiful. The neighbours in the townland have joined and built a small lime-kiln. He has his part in it ; and two or three kilns of lime will make a fertilizing mixture with the low moss. To be sure, the land blasphemer stands guard over both the limestone and the moss ; and the very fact that he does so leads our friend of the frieze jacket to *think* ! He is further prompted to thought when the blasphemer comes in the fall, and exclaims : “ What a crop you have ! What fine land this is ! It is worth a great deal more rent than you are paying for it ! ” So the valuator is sent around, the rent raised, and the industrious man throws down his spade in despair, and grasps his hid-away rifle in vengeance.

And all this has kept thought from stagnating in Ireland, and now, at last, it is up and crying out very strongly and very sensibly, “ The land-thief must go ! ”

IRELAND WANTS JUSTICE, NOT ALMS.

That in Ireland there is distress of the direst kind, no one denies. The English Government acknowledge it ; the Irish landlords confess it. From no quarter comes a denial that the gaunt form of famine is again casting its shadow over a land that has already so often suffered from this terrible visitor.

Ireland to-day presents to the world the anomaly of a country threatened with famine, whilst there is within its borders enough, and more than enough, to feed its inhabitants. During the year just closed the Irish people, by their labour, have won from the soil a sufficiency to amply support them, if they were not prevented by the workings of the Landlord System from reaping the fruits of their toil.

The realized results of the labour of the Irish farmers are in Ireland ; but landlordism, like one of the evil spirits that of old were supposed to stand guardians over hidden treasures, keep watch and ward over the

potatoes, the corn, the butter and the cattle that the starving Irish have raised, and tell these starving men: "You may die, but you must not touch this food, every bit of which belongs to the non-producing landlords."

That to-day is the situation in Ireland. It was the same in 1847, in 1822, in 1750, in 1722, and still further back; and it will be the same for all time to come if landlordism, which is at the bottom of all this suffering, be allowed to remain undisturbed.

The question then for Ireland to settle is, not altogether how to deal with the famine that is now threatening her, but how to remove the cause of this and every other famine that she has suffered from.

MR. PARNELL and his associates profess to have solved the problem of how to prevent these ever recurring Irish famines. They tell us that landlordism is the cause of them, and they propose a plan by which the term landlord will, in a few years, be as obsolete in Ireland as slaveholder is to-day in the southern States.

To unfold this plan to the American public is the mission that MR. PARNELL has undertaken to perform. The New York *Herald*, and one or two other capitalistic papers, have raised against him the cry that if he had the real interest of the Irish people at heart, he would cease to agitate the Land Question and devote himself to the task of collecting alms for his starving countrymen; that is, they want him to refrain from making any effort to remove the cause of Ireland's misery, and confine himself to the attempt of alleviating the symptoms of the misery.

Suppose MR. PARNELL should take the advice of the *Herald*, and further suppose that the purses of Americans having been liberally opened in response to appeals for assistance, he obtains in the United States the large sum necessary to stave off famine in Ireland, what then?

Are the people of America always to be taxed whenever the robberies of the Irish landlords bring the Irish farmer to the verge of famine?

What assurance have we that next year the same demand will not be made on American sympathy?

If landlordism is to continue, the recurrence in a few years of the necessity of helping to keep the Irish from starvation can be predicted with as much certainty as the astronomer can foretell the appearance of a comet.

Irish famines are the effect. Irish landlordism is the cause. Continue the latter and you are sure to have the former.

But no, says the New York *Herald*, let landlordism remain untouched. Let the Americans lavish their alms on the starving Irish,

but don't let them lift one finger to assist them in getting rid of the cause that prevents starving people from living on the products of their toil.

Free land lies at the foundation of the new civilization that is coming.

On the 16th of last December I contributed the following letter to the columns of the *Toronto Mail*. My object was to help to create public opinion in this section, favourable to a proper settlement of this burning question:—

To the Editor of the Mail.

SIR,—As your great organ of public opinion is the only one we have in Toronto that would open its columns to give expression to independent thought upon the land question, or on any other question that affects the welfare of humanity, I request that you will give me space to express a few thoughts on the land question that is now up for discussion in the British Isles, but is particularly agitating the minds of my fellow-countrymen in Ireland. The question, then, is this—Is the present land system that obtains in Ireland, England and Scotland, founded upon just and equitable principles? Is it free from oppression? Does it tend to bring forth from the soil the greatest amount of produce or food for the benefit of all? Is it a land system that confers upon the thirty-three millions of people inhabiting Great Britain and Ireland the greatest amount of happiness and contentment that the land of these countries is capable of yielding? I have no hesitation in affirming that each of these questions must be answered in the negative. Nine-tenths of the landlords themselves would answer these questions in the negative. Recollect it is the system I am speaking of, not the men. The landlords are just like other men; some of them are generous, some the reverse. In general terms, it may be said that some of them are good, and others bad. What I say is, that the land system of the British Isles confers upon landlords powers, privileges and immunities that no man should possess, and the possession of which is antagonistic if not destructive of the progress, happiness and peace of the whole people. Is this so, or is it not? If this land system is iniquitous, and works oppressively upon humanity, then it must be changed. It will not do to cry "Communist," "infidel" and "mad dog," at those who demand this change. It will not do to say that this land system is an ancient one, and that to upturn it would involve a social revolution. The system of human slavery was an ancient system and the world is not yet quite relieved of its hateful presence. The landlord system is only another phase of human slavery, and is possessed of most of its objectionable features. Our greatest thinkers and writers, Spencer, Mill, and a host of others, have thoroughly examined this land system,

and their conclusion is, that it is wholly indefensible, and that it is ruinous to the rights, liberty and happiness of mankind wherever it exists.

When the architect of the universe had finished his work, we are told "that God saw everything that He had made and, behold, it was very good." This beautiful planet, light, air, land and water was made for the use and benefit of all his creatures that he made to live upon it. All these elements of nature are absolutely necessary for the subsistence of man upon this planet, and they are in superabundance for the use and happiness of all. To say that famines come by the hand of God, we think is nothing short of blasphemy. Famines will occur where land monopoly exists, aggravated as it is by the conditions and accompanying circumstances that obtain in Ireland. Light and air are too subtle elements to be successfully monopolized, else, we have no doubt, they would be manipulated without compunction by greedy speculators, who make it a study to circumvent and appropriate the rights and labour of mankind. The only attempt that I know of whereby the light of heaven was to be shut off from the use of the people was, when a window tax was decreed by the British Government. Many to avoid the barbarous impost built up their windows and retired into midnight darkness. I have also read of an English lady who made a visit to Dublin, and when there called upon Dean Swift. In the course of conversation she dilated upon the healthy climate and balmy air of Ireland. The Dean interrupted her, and said, "for God sake, madam, do not say that when you go home to England." "Why not?" said she. "Because if you do," said the Dean, "they'll tax it." A land system that allows a few men to fence about large tracts of land and proclaim that they are the owners thereof, from the bowels of the earth to the sky, and the very seaweed thrown on the beach by the ocean waves, is a system of feudalism that ill consorts with the spirit and progress of an age, when men can catch the lightning in their hand and control its mighty forces for the use of mankind.

Eight hundred years ago the Normans, by the sword, laid the foundation of this land system; but is that any reason why it should remain in force to day? The landlords themselves admit that they have no other right or title to these lands than that of conquest, and the laws they themselves have made. They do not pretend to argue their case on the grounds of right and justice. Well, then, is the indisputable rights of man to the enjoyment of his own labour to be for ever denied, because of this conquest by the sword eight centuries ago? I think not. I believe, this feudalistic land system has been obtruded as far into this age as it will be permitted by public opinion. This question affects the well-being, physi-

cally, and morally, of the whole people; the labourer, the artisan, the miner, the shopkeeper, the manufacturer, and the farmer, every one and everything, even the legitimate rights of the landlord himself, and it will not down until it is settled upon just and economical principles.

I may be told that its settlement involves great difficulties. Well, so did the settlement of human slavery. The puny efforts of the *London Times* and the *New York Herald*, to sneer it down, will not avail. The cry, "the land for the people," has gone forth, and it echoes and re-echoes in Ireland, from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear, and from the Hill of Howth to Bantry Bay. It is caught up by the people of England and Scotland, and sent reverberating through the British Isles. The Irish people are a unit upon it, as well they may, for to them it is a life or death question; they seek no insurrection, but liberty to live upon and cultivate the soil for their own benefit. Their struggle is not only for themselves, but a struggle for humanity everywhere; and they have the whole-souled sympathy of the Canadian people, as of the people of Europe and the United States of America—of all America.

Yours, &c.,

J. McCORMICK.

Toronto, 15th Dec.

LANDLORDISM IN IRELAND MUST GO.

ARREST OF DAVITT, KILLEN AND DALY—THE FAMINE IN '47 AND THE EXODUS—THEIR CONSEQUENCES IN IRELAND AND AMERICA.

"One thing we have made up our minds to here, and that is, there will never be another exodus, never another famine."—*Parnell interviewed in Ireland by a New York "Herald" reporter.*

The Almighty God permitted one famine in Ireland, and one exodus therefrom. Will he ever permit another? We think not. The blood of the martyrs has in all the ages been the seed of the Church. In like manner, the blood of the immortal martyrs of Ireland (one million) which was shed in 1847 may have been the seed of the political freedom, of not only Ireland herself, but of all the other helots of the world.

The exodus had the effect of consolidating Republican power on this Continent, of maintaining the Union, and of bursting the shackles from the limbs of four millions of slaves. In the war for the maintenance

of the Union of the United States of America, the English aristocracy saw a grand opportunity of splitting into fragments that great confederacy of freemen, and thereby dissolving, as they thought forever, their wonderful and growing power. This was the desirable consummation the oligarchs wished for. The exodus, however, made it impossible for them to achieve what they desired and worked for.

The aristocrats threw themselves into the scale with the slave owners (why should they not, brothers all?) to perpetuate and extend slavery, and also to sever the Union—good and holy objects in their eyes. To defeat their aims was the highest aspiration of the expatriated sons of Ireland; and to assure their defeat on American soil they freely shed their blood on many a hard-fought field. This was the meaning of the green flag, ever in the front, in the post of greatest danger and greatest glory.

This war was the turning point for either ultimate slavery or freedom for both hemispheres. If the Union and freedom won, then slavery of every hue was ultimately and forever doomed. Who will say that but for the exodus, and for the forces it vehemently threw into the scale for freedom, the slave owners of the South, combined with their brothers the oligarchy of England, might not have been victorious? If they had come out of this contest victorious, then the consequences to freedom, in both the Old and New World, would have been incalculable.

Previous to this momentous contest there was always within the Union a strong antagonistic feeling against the aristocracy of England. This feeling animated the minds of the vast majority, indeed, one might say of the whole population. It came down to them since the revolution as an heir-loom, by tradition, education and the genius of their institutions. But the exodus intensified this feeling a thousandfold. In the case of the old element the antagonism may have been only in their heads; but in the case of the new, the antagonism was not only in their heads but in the very depths of their hearts. If one of the chief factors that stirs the heart of the Mussulman be hatred of the infidel, there is no mistake that one of the chief factors in the hearts of the expatriated sons of Ireland is hatred of the landlords of Ireland, and their brothers the aristocracy of England. The Anglo-Saxon glorification that sometimes found expression on American platforms will not now be listened to. The exodus killed it as dead as a door nail. The exodus then consolidated Republican power on this continent, and concentrated and intensified an almost religious hatred of British power, wherever the Star Spangled Banner waves over this glorious and mighty Continent.

How different would things have been in America, aye, and in Europe too, if the slaveholders had won. Why, England's aristocracy would have had another Slave Empire on this Western hemisphere, as she already had one in the East; and the Western one would have speedily obliterated all the land marks of freedom on this continent. Then indeed the black man and the white man would both alike have become inevitably the chattels of human slavery to their inhuman and blasphemous taskmasters.

The exodus not only solidified and wonderfully multiplied the political power of the Republic, but it brought about an extraordinary expansion of the illimitable agricultural and other resources of this Continent. And here is just where the oligarchy of England is beginning to feel the shoe pinching them. This agricultural expansion of America is only in its infancy; but what an alarming giant does it appear already to John Bull's gaze? It will go on, however, until it will show the territorial lords of Ireland, England and Scotland that their lands are valuable, worth nothing to any one but the families who till the soil—because rents will be an impossibility. The agricultural expansion of America will abolish landlordism forever, and emancipate the tenant serfs and rent tribute-payers from the leave to dig and toil, from a bondage worse than Egyptian.

The Omnipotent God brought the children of Israel up from Egypt to the promised land. The toilers of Great Britain and Ireland will be also delivered. Their promised land is not far off. Ever-glorious America! in thy history we can divine why God raised up a Washington, peopled the land with determined lovers of freedom and determined haters of tyranny; and how among these settlers there should have been such a strong Irish element. We can divine how the struggle for freedom closed in triumph for liberty against such gigantic odds, and how the eagle clutched in his talons the shriveled form of tyranny, and flung his hated carcass from off this Continent for ever. We can divine, also, why martyred Ireland should have been selected by the Infinite—by means of the exodus—to maintain liberty and crush slavery in America; and afterwards, in its far-reaching power, to make it possible for sons of the exodus to emancipate their brethren in Ireland.

Ireland is again in the throes of another crisis; but "there never will be another famine, never another exodus." The power of the blasphemous usurpers whose presence there makes the conditions such that famines are at all possible, will soon be broken. Their weakness is disclosed to us in the arrests of Davitt, Killen and Daly. These men spoke not a word of sedition, not a word outside the lines of the English Con-

stitution. But Ireland is under no Constitution ; the landlord's arbitrary will and cowardly caprice is the only Constitution that Irishmen know of in Ireland. A famine is staring the people in the face—death by hunger, the cruel destroyer, is creeping upon them ; and Parnell, Davitt, Killen, Daly and hosts of others are trying to direct the people what best to do to avert it. Like genuine men, as they are, they tell the people to look to their own lives and the lives of their families first ; to place them before the landlords' rent. Is this not right ? Will this not square with all laws human and divine ? " No," says the landlord ; " what signify your lives to me ? My rent I must have, dead or alive."

These arrests are only a repetition of their old tactics. If the Irishman will not be a silent, willing and submissive slave, they will soon find means to make him feel and know that he must be so. He must even die the cruel death of hunger, and make no effort to save his life ; but pay his rent first ; and if he dies of hunger afterwards, it will be a good ridance, in the eyes of the landlord. In the estimation of the landlords, Davitt, Killen, Daly, Parnell and others had started what to them was a mischievous and dangerous agitation ; and it must be nipped in the bud by casting them into prison. To these landlords famine is nothing, life is nothing, death is nothing ; but their rents is everything. This landlord system is an inhuman system ; it shrivels them up, heart and soul, into a dry rot, and to their tenant serfs they become inhuman monsters and incarnate demons. By their decrees they have the people totally disarmed, and therefore powerless ; they know this, and they think it is safe to be both insolent and cowardly by arresting and throwing those men into dungeons. But they may discover before long their error, and feel that their programme is not a safe one.

This rent question is a question of life and death to a whole nation ; yes, three nations. It will not down. The landlords themselves, if they were not blind and infatuated, might easily see that the dungeon for these men will in no wise help landlordism, but only bring nearer the final solution, which will be—must be—that the *landlord and rent paying system must go*.

When the people of Ireland were famishing, perishing with hunger in tens of thousands in '47, there was at the very same moment being shipped out of Ireland more cattle, sheep, pork and grain than would have fed the whole people three times over. Good God ! And why were not the people fed with this food, and saved alive ? Why ? Because, first, the landlord must have his rent. The landlord government issued their ukase that the channels of trade must flow on, in the usual way—which meant

that while a whole people were perishing with hunger the usual process must go on, of shipping the produce of the country over to England, that the cash might be raised to pay the landlord's rent.

No Irishman can think over these things with calmness. While I am writing this, alas, too true statement, my blood seethes through my veins in a boiling flood of wrath and indignation. One would think that men calling themselves Christians, enlightened and college-bred gentlemen, who had the lives of these poor people in their hands, would have stepped to the front and said: Seeing that some mysterious blight has totally destroyed the potatoes, your usual food, we will forego our demand for this year's rent; and that you may be saved alive from starvation, you may keep and eat the cattle, sheep, pork and grain that in ordinary years were shipped to England to pay our rent. Did they do that? No; they clutched their rent, and let the people perish. We have no parallel to this episode in all history since the creation to the present hour. There will not be another famine because the Irish people themselves have made up their minds never to allow a repetition of 1847; and also because we believe the rest of the world would not permit another such catastrophe to take place. Byron describes the ocean as being boundless, fathomless, alone; and in these same words we might fitly describe the greed and inhumanity of Irish landlordism.

The Government of England, which is a government of and for landlords and plutocrats, have always shown a greed for land and gold that has ever been inexplicable to the rest of the world. Watch, for instance her latest contortions in swallowing Zululand. Next she will pass round and swallow the Transvaal, Boers and all. Then she will have pretty much all of South Africa; and bye and bye she will absorb the whole African Continent—for this is settled upon. It is amazing the way she goes on conquering the barbarous tribes of earth with Gatling guns and cannon balls; and she calls it "civilizing" them. Watch her, again, astride what is called the roof or ridge of the world in the Hindoo Koosh. Beaconsfield says he has discovered a "scientific frontier" away up there. It is a dangerous place, however. Once before they got astride there, and they fell through the rifts and passes in this roof; and "what a fall was there!" An army of many thousands, horse, foot and artillery, well appointed and wanting for nothing, fell there; and but one—only one—man escaped to tell the tale. They do not emblazon this tale very much in their school histories; and even their penny-a-liners do not ventilate it.

Alexander wept because he had not other worlds to conquer. Were it possible for the oligarchy of England to scoop up this whole planet—

land, gold, everything—we are confident that to the inhuman monsters who caused the massacre of one million of people, made victims by their landlord system in Ireland, it would by no means satiate their omnivorous greed. No; they would gnash their teeth because they could not annex Jupiter, or Saturn with her seven rings.

The New York *Irish World* wants to take Ireland off the begging list once for all, and every right thinking man will agree that in this they are right. Here are its views on the land question; they are not only pointed and well put, but go to the foundation, and place it where it ought to be, and where it will yet be.

THE LAND THIEF'S CLAIM.

TILLER OF THE SOIL—"Your land? I deny it is your land. Did your omnipotence create it? Has your labor cultivated it?"

LAND THIEF—"Ha! I see you have been listening to those Communists and Agitators; but—"

TILLER OF THE SOIL—"Never mind the Communists and the Agitators; I've begun to do a little thinking on my own account now. When and how, I ask, did this become *your* land?"

LAND THIEF—"Why, my great-great-great, big, big grandfather got it from CROMWELL."

TILLER OF THE SOIL—"And who gave it to Cromwell?"

LAND THIEF—"He conquered it.—He got it by the sword."

TILLER OF THE SOIL—"Is that his only title?"

LAND THIEF—"Why what better title could you ask?"

TILLER OF THE SOIL—"His title, to be worth anything, must come from God!"

LAND THIEF—"Ha! ha! ha! From God, eh? ha! ha! ha! Why, my dear fellow, we have long since learned to do business in this world without God."

TILLER OF THE SOIL—"I know we have, and I think it's about time we returned to His law."

LAND THIEF—"You are talking to me in a language I don't understand. I strongly suspect—in fact I know now—you must be a Communist. But I am losing time. Pay me rent for my land, or *out you go!*"

TILLER OF THE SOIL—"I tell you I don't recognize this to be your land. I look upon myself as a child of the Heavenly Father. I believe I am entitled to my share in His grand estate; and, until you can show

me a decree from Him disinheriting me, I shall not recognize your right to take tribute from me, for allowing me to work for my living, or to evict me for refusing to pay you that tribute."

SOCIALISM OR SOCIOLOGY.

"Man is man and who is more!"

To get further insight into the conditions of labor, and to show what the apostles and disciples of labor reform are struggling for, or the platform of principles that they are taking their stand upon and are fully determined to have crystallized into law by legislation in Congress, I cannot do better than subjoin the following :—

SOCIALISTIC-LABOR CONVENTION.

TEXT OF THE PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES ADOPTED AT THE RECENT SESSION.

The International Conference of the Socialistic-Labor Party of the United States at Alleghany, Pa., finally adjourned at midnight, Jan. 2, after first re-electing Philip Van Patten, of Cincinnati, Secretary for the ensuing two years; fixing Detroit as the seat of the National Executive Committee, and Chicago as the seat of the Board of Supervision; and adopting the following platform of principles:—

THE PLATFORM.

We hereby declare that labor, being the creator of all wealth, through and by it alone organized society and civilization is possible. It rightfully follows that those who labor and create all wealth are the most important part of society, and hence should enjoy the full results of their toil; and we

Declare that a just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labor is utterly impossible under the present system of society. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, who are in a state of destitution and degrading dependence in the midst of their own productions. While the hardest and most disagreeable work brings to the worker only the bare necessities of life, others who labor not at all, riot in labor's production and everything that wealth can purchase; and we

Declare that the present industrial system of competitions intensifies this inequality by concentrating into the hands of a few all means of production, distribution and the results of labor, thus creating gigantic monopolies dangerous to the people's liberties; and we further

Declare that these monster monopolies and these extremes of rich and poor are the natural outgrowths of the industrial system supported by class legislation, and are subversive of all democracy, injurious to the National interests and destructive of all truth and morality. As this state of affairs is against the will and welfare of the people, and is continued and upheld by the ruling political parties, and as the emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves, it now becomes their duty to unite as a powerful Labor party to free themselves from all forms of tyranny and unjust legislation.

For these reasons the Socialistic-Labor party has been founded.

First—We declare the material condition of the working people in all civilized countries is identical and results from the same causes, consequently the struggle for the emancipation of Labor is international and naturally co-operative and mutual.

Second—We declare that the wages system has become destructive to the highest interests of mankind, and to abolish this system, with a view to establish co-operative production and to secure equitable distribution, we demand that the resources of life, the means of production, public transportation and exchange, become as fast as practicable the public property of the people under administration of the Government.

In order to ameliorate the condition of the working people under the present system, we, the Socialistic-Labor party, present the following platform :—

First—Entire revision of the United States Constitution so as to institute direct popular legislation and enable the people to propose or reject any law at their will, and thus secure self-government.

Second—The right of suffrage shall in no wise be abridged.

Third—Political equality before the law of all citizens without regard to creed, race or sex.

Fourth—All conspiracy laws operating against the rights of workmen must be repealed.

Fifth—Congress shall provide for the immediate creation of a national bureau of labor statistics.

Sixth—We demand the rigid enforcement of the eight-hour law in all national public works.

Seventh—All uncultivated lands shall be taxed equally with cultivated lands in the same locality.

Eighth—The Government alone should issue all money, and such right should not be delegated to any banking or private corporation.

Ninth—All election days shall be legal holidays. All ballots to be printed by town and city governments. Ballots containing the names of all candidates for public office to be sent to all voters two days before each election.

Tenth—All property, whether religious or secular, to bear its just proportion of taxation.

The Socialistic Labor party struggles to carry out the following measures in those States where they are not now law.

First—State Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Second—Eight hours as a legal working day, and strict punishment of all violators.

Third—Abolition of the system of hiring out by contract convict labor in prisons and reformatory institutions.

Fourth—Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence, to the injury of their employees.

Fifth—Entire legal restriction of the labor of children under fourteen years of age.

Sixth—Universal compulsory education; all schooling material to be furnished at public expense.

Seventh—Factory, mine and workshop inspectors, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

Eighth—All wages shall be paid in the Legal tender of the land, and violations of the law must be punished.

RESOLUTIONS.

First—Resolved, We favor the organization of National and International Trade and Labor Unions for the protection of workingmen, and advise our members to assist and join them, and that in resisting aggressive Capital we give to Labor, exploited under whatever form, our full sympathy, and, according to our means, our material support.

Second—Resolved, All so-called tramp laws punishing unemployed workingmen as tramps are unconstitutional and inhuman, as poverty is thereby made a crime, therefore we demand their repeal.

Third—We demand amendment of the Constitution of the United States declaring eight hours as a legal working day in all industrial employments.

SPECIAL RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS, Twenty-two different railroad corporations have failed to comply with the conditions under which they have received land grants aggregating 124,813,593 acres, comprising an area of territory larger than the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, North Carolina, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Delaware and Rhode Island ; and

WHEREAS, Millions of citizens of the United States are struggling for a bare existence, unable to procure homes and a competence, and

WHEREAS, Said railroad land grants would furnish farms of fifty acres to over five millions of our citizens, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, We call upon the representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States to revoke the charters of these railroad corporations and reclaim the land granted under them for the exclusive use, benefit, and occupancy of the people.

THE SOUTHERN QUESTION.

WHEREAS, The so-called Democrats (landlords) of the South have joined hands with the so-called Republicans (capitalists) of the North ; and

WHEREAS, This combination of the wealthy men, both North and South, is made for the sole purpose of destroying the liberties of the common people of both sections of our country ; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the working people of the South, regardless of color, to unite with their brothers of the North against the attempts of the ruling class to further impoverish and again enslave them by depriving them of the possession and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor.

In the evening the convention assembled in executive session, and at a late hour adjourned finally.

Thus far we have endeavored to give a true picture of the "Conditions of Labor and Modern Civilization." We freely admit that our efforts are far from being exhaustive of the subject, nevertheless, we think that we have struck down to the roots of some of the giant evils that toiling humanity is laboring under.

To point to the wrongs of labor and the rights of man has been my chief aim in these pages. If I have succeeded, in any degree, in awakening men to do more thinking and more study on the subjects I have touched upon, then my object has been accomplished.

I consider it a greater honor to be an humble contributor to the growing literature of labor than to be poet laureate to an Emperor or an Empress.

To cement the brotherhood of man, to help to raise mankind in the social scale, and to assist in inaugurating and building up a purer, truer, and a more just and equitable civilization, should be the endeavor of every lover of his species.

No one that has eyes to see, or ears to hear, can doubt that there is now going forward all over the world an intense and earnest struggle to found a new civilization, that shall have the conditions within its scope of making men freer, better and happier, as they journey through life on this planet.

When the voice went forth after Cain had killed his brother, and demanded from him,—“Cain, where is thy brother Abel?” Cain responded gruffly and defiantly and said, “I know not; am I my brother’s keeper?” If Cain was well himself he did not care what became of his poor murdered brother. It is much the same to-day. Our present civilization hardens the heart and petrifies the feelings, and man cares not for his brother. It is the same now as when Dives, clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day, could without any compunction see Lazarus laid at his gate and allow the dogs of his kennel to lick his sores. Our modern rich men are of the same stamp as Dives. The same want of human sympathy and callous indifference to human wants and woes characterizes them, and the same futurity no doubt awaits them. Their heaven is in this world, and they are no doubt content to take the chances of their fate in the next.

We are told that men cannot be made moral, just and good by act of Parliament. However this may be, we do know that legislation can and does make men poor and keeps them poor, and also that legislation can make the conditions which operate to make men rich and keep them rich. The how and the why and the wherefore of all this every intelligent person can tell.

In the struggle for man’s natural rights we have to educate. This work of enlightenment and education must be done by ourselves, and it must be thoroughly done. The evangelism of labor,—the gospel of light, is going forward, the common people are being instructed in labor literature, statistics are being gathered, scientific truth is coming to their aid, foundation principles are sought for, expediency is discarded, and the scientific doctrines of sociology are laid down that teaches man his true

status on this planet as a MAN. When the common people have completely mastered this practical education then they shall reign.

Then the new civilization will have been inaugurated and the human race will have entered upon and taken possession of their rightful inheritance in this world.

We are fully aware that the masses move slowly. Labour is a giant that does not yet know its full strength. Organization, combination, concentration and all the other forces are becoming better understood and are being used. When the original, true and scientific forces are all utilized then the giant, labor, will gather a momentum that will crush all opposing forces as if they were pigmies, as indeed all false, fictitious, rotten and iniquitous systems are.

The civilization of the ages stamps its image or likeness upon the people of those respective ages. Our posterity, the succeeding generations, will truly estimate us and take the exact measure of our civilization. We are inclined to think that if we only knew their expression of that measure that we would not feel at all flattered at the exposition.

When our great great grandchildren turn over the fyles of our daily papers we think we hear them exclaim:—What childish and execrable bosh our fathers were satisfied to have placed before them each morning and evening! Men that lived and passed through life *content* to swallow such mental pabulum as that daily,—well, to be sure,—what a vulgar, puerile and depressed civilization it *must* have been in those days. Another means by which our descendants will estimate us and our doings will be by scanning over our Statute Books. These are mainly the work of our lawyers. They will say in reference to them: What a discordant mass of stuff! what a conglomeration of illogical crudities! These books are evidence of the narrow and befogged minds of legislators who were not only ignorant of the science of law-making, based upon the principles of truth and justice, but the language they make use of, and their manner or mode of constructing and construing their ideas, leaves everyone in the dark, and it is questionable if they, after completing their work, understood the meaning of it themselves.

There are clouds of words, repetitions and contradictions, conjunctions and disjunctions, phrases and redundancies, all intermixed and intertwined and overlapping each other. If their whole work was meant for a babel of confusion then they have succeeded beyond a doubt.

But it is not so much the manner as the matter of their handiwork that we of the present have to do.

When God made man, He made the highest and best of all His works. All the other works of creation were to be subservient to man.

Our law-makers, following the British plan, reverse this order, man and his rights are held to be secondary, and laws are framed upon the idea that *property* must rank first; thus inanimate matter, gold and houses and lands, are placed before man.

The Pharisees and Sadducees of property reverse the natural order and tell us that man's natural, political and social rights must stand to one side until they have first legislated upon the rights of property. When they have done this they will then talk upon man's natural rights, but when they have got through by placing upon the Statute Books their laws on vested rights and property rights, it is found that they have wholly destroyed and legislated out of existence the sacred rights of man.

The basic idea of British jurisprudence is what they call the rights of property, and its origin is found in the ancient robbers grabbing the land and then fencing themselves round with regulations sustaining them in the possession of what they have grabbed; these regulations they falsely call "laws."

Because laws that mankind is morally bound to obey must be founded upon the principles of justice and equity. Mankind will always cheerfully give in their adhesion and render obedience to such statutes, because such laws will never contravene or override man's natural rights.

All righteous jurisprudence must of necessity be, first, man's rights; second, property rights. Man is the greater, property is the lesser. This is both the natural order and the divine order.

THE PRESS.

The Press is one of the great forces of modern civilization. It could be utilized with wonderful effect for the benefit and lifting up of humanity, but it is not. Like all else that goes to make up "society," it is prostituted to the one all-absorbing object of money-getting that rules everything.

The newspapers of these days is supposed to be a vehicle through which we are supplied with the news of the world,—of what is transpir-

ing everywhere, and scraps of information about everything under the sun. It takes in hand too much, and it does nothing well. It would be much truer to say that newspapers are partisan organs and mere advertising mediums. The fortunes of party and the advertising constituency rule the paper. It is made to order and it is made to sell. It must therefore be made to please.

There are splendid writers on the newspaper press. Men of clear intellect, acute reasoners and fine moral susceptibilities, but they are not allowed to write the language of their souls, the depth of their convictions and the moral conclusions of an exalted humanity. Why are they not? Because if the pages or columns of the newspaper were filled by writing in that strain they would reflect too much of the sunlight of truth, and would upset the darling object of our modern civilization, which is to get gain and do homage to the golden calf.

Hence much that is contained in the newspapers bears the stamp of unreliability. The very best articles, on whatever subject, are cooked and made to subserve some underlying interest or purpose. You can see at once that the writer has been curbed, has not given scope to his own free thoughts, but has been writing as a mere hireling for his penny pay. Yet we are continually boasting of our free, enlightened and independent press.

In like manner the foreign despatches we get are all cooked. They do not present a true account of what is passing at foreign Courts and Countries. They are one and all dressed up to suit the tastes and carry out the desires of some despot, or some bully of some despotic government, who calls himself a leading statesman, a Bismarck for example. The advertisements are notoriously inflations and puffery and lies.

The modern newspaper taken as a whole, is therefore, a very fair representative and exponent of our modern civilization. It wants the world to look upon it as sound, and worthy, and reliable; but when you lift the veil and look upon it in its true aspect, you see it is nothing but a sham.

The press, to be a true force in favour of humanity, should in these days be more of a popular educator and propaganda of scientific truth than anything else.

Perhaps there should be three or four orders of newspapers: 1st.—The Educational Press; 2nd.—The Advertising Press; 3rd.—The purely News Press; 4th.—The purely Political Press. By combining all these in one, as is the present mode, you spoil the whole. By separating these

departments you might make each efficient and reliable ; by having them all in one mixed up cauldron you make efficiency an impossibility.

It reminds one of the seething cauldron at the witches' dance, the contents of which were :—

“ Eye of newt, and tongue of frog,
Wing of bat, and toe of dog,
Double, rubble, toil and trouble,
Witches dance, and cauldron bubble.”

In Darwin's theory of the evolution of man in an upward direction from the monkey to a higher state of being, it is said, that there is a missing link. This is a pity, for if there were a direct line of nice fitting links along the whole course of his evolution theory, it would be so much more convincing ; but be this as it may, I am certain that along the whole lines of our modern civilization there would be found no missing link in the evolution of man in a *backward* direction, down as low as degradation and retrogression can go.

The new state of things required to make this world a happy place to live in might be summed up in the answer of Solon on the question : “ Which is the most perfect popular government ? ” “ That,” says he, “ *Where the least injury done to the meanest individual is considered as an insult on the whole constitution.* ” And yet Solon was a heathen, who lived 500 years before the Christian era.



