



BOON'S IMMORTAL SOUTH AFRICA.

—◆— CHAPTER XVII.

WHILE in King Willliam's Town, the usual Circuit Court was being held, and it was truly painful to note the outcome of hard times, and the want of a proper work supply. It never seemed to strike the Parliamentary "wise fools" that the want of work, and the impossibility of selling the natural products and the imported articles, was one main cause why so many found refuge in wrong-doing; and not until public works are established, and the raising of crops and other material, and the selling of the same facilitated, will it be possible to show to all, that it is an advantage to be straightforward, and that, in very truth, "Honesty is the best Policy." As at present arranged, *dishonesty* is the best policy to many, so long as they are not found out, and even then, owing to the sympathy of those who live by the same trickeries, the offender will oftentimes escape, if he has secured means that he is willing to divide among such other rascals. It is not possible to conceive, other than in a world of demons, that any man desires to be outside the pale of his fellow man if the equal chances were always before him. The whole of our jurisprudence, so called, must undergo an

alteration. Justice, not *Law* and precedent, must guide all Courts of Justice, as at present nick-named. Justice should not be blind, even if the eyes must be bandaged. "My Lud," so called, the aping of the English mode of so calling anyone who sits upon the "Sentence Seat," who, either by prejudice, or the *want*, or the having *had* a surfeit of wine at dinner, and being more or less unpossessed of their five senses after, at such times pass sentences that are most outrageous, must be discontinued. As might be expected, a whole host of human vultures, who, being branded by the legal trade union, are warranted fit to rob and plunder in the name of the law, follow in the wake of the judges, in the full hope that some poor human wretch in want of their professional services, and in despair, will raise all the funds possible ; but, alas ! only to hope in vain ; for these men in South Africa are like their brethren in England and elsewhere, quite willing to take the money of the distressed, and then, with all insolence, impudence and neglect, forget in any way, to defend or to help them out of a Slough of Despond. There are times when a man in some political or civil difficulty, the outcome of spite, passion or prejudice, although perhaps unseen, is so overwhelmed by a charge made against him, that his very innocence unmans him to that extent that he is powerless to act for himself, and feels like a sheep led to the slaughter. I often thought that had the Roman law admitted a remand, or had time been given, no populace, other than a Jewish one, would have cried out, "away with him, away with him," as they did of Jesus, when before the Roman Governor, and who, in very innocence, was dumb, and crucified when overwhelmed. Fancy the awful situation of an innocent man, tried before nine, or perhaps twelve men, who are not able fairly to discriminate ; or before a well-known incapable judge, who may be given to drinking, and who is not reminded of his duty by the counsel paid to defend, probably owing to the counsel himself imbibing too much at luncheon. That man would undergo a torture perfectly hellish. The Cape Colony Records give several instances of these drunken Judge Jeffries. Such a case was witnessed by myself sometime before, when an innocent man, on the word

of *one raw Kaffir*, was sentenced, for a made-up political offence, to twelve months' confinement and £100 fine, entirely owing to the fact that his counsel—now a judge—who was well paid, and who afterwards admitted to the solicitor who engaged him to defend the unfortunate man, that he did not defend the case as he ought to have done, from the fact that he was the worse for his champagne. For want of a proper defence, the mouth of the prisoner being shut according to the etiquette of the court, sentence was passed in a moment of passion, to satisfy the temporary demands of a Sprigg Government, to find a victim, and it came upon the man with such horror and power that he was simply dumb-founded. Of course the pride and jealousy of the legal powers would not allow them to rectify matters, and such was the injustice of the times, that although time after time his fellow citizens asked for his release in a petition signed by most of the jury, as well as the most prominent merchants of the town, and wherein the jurymen stated that had they but known the cruel sentence that would be passed, even though the man was guilty, they would not have convicted him, as they considered justice would have been satisfied by the imposition of a small fine. No prisoner was safe while "the Spriggites" were on the war-path. They would not admit the wrong, and do the right, and the sufferer of this outrage would not beg his release, although urged to admit his guilt, and then, perhaps, in mercy they might hear his cry. Although they could outrage, they could not degrade the man; and rather than pay the fine he stopped in seclusion two months over the time, in the hope that the fine might be remitted; but no! He appealed to men who were bent on destroying the black, and wanted the money; and what to them was the sufferings or death of one innocent white man, if it gave them vantage ground to prosecute their war of extermination. Here we have to notice the advantage of the French code, in which the scale of punishment is known, and juries can at times decide as well as judges, what would satisfy the particular case. In mercy, at last, the fine was paid to end the torture, and fortunately the victim was saved the worst of calamities, for his simple imprisonment never

brought him into contact with the worst of convicts, who had committed murder and other crimes against society. The one consolation all through that horrid time, was the opportunity given in the open air, owing to illness, of seeing his family and friends at all times, and the ever-dwelling fact with him of his innocence, and that he suffered isolation on the bare word of a blanket Kaffir, in opposition to that of an Englishman. It is a strange fact, but nevertheless true, that in the Cape Colony a Kaffir is often believed in preference to the white man, owing in many cases, to the magistrate being connected with the missionary party. Nothing can be conceived worse than the convict stations of South Africa. Time after time, some of the judges, and notably Judge Smith have drawn attention to the large room, where on a plank-board, a white man sleeps between Kaffirs, all ages indiscriminately mixed ; the prison reeking with all kinds of foulness, only counteracted by the ozone of the sea. No member thinks it his place to call in and report about nasty things, for fear of local and Government loss of funds; so that it still remains for a South African Howard to have a self-supporting prison system, that will give all the prisoners a chance to gather together, as in America, a fund with which to once more make a start in life. It is something so cruel, that only under a Christian country could it be possible to treat prisoners of any class in the cruel way practised in the Cape Colony, and in England. The machinery in England may be perfect for health ; but in the Colony there is no desire to save life, and the wretched system in Africa is only made tolerable by the tongue liberty and constant intercourse one with another, in opposition to the cruel inhuman silent system in England. To some extent, in the case just referred to, the Judge was passive ; and it was generally admitted that had the man had the opportunity of defending himself, he would have told the truth in that simple manner that would have convinced all of his innocence ; but relying upon a sham counsellor, who took his client's good money, and who in not doing his duty, robbed him for the time being of his good name, which was, and is priceless, but not of the belief he had in the full truth and right yet to cover the earth as a garment, and which with

all the false teachings, acts and cruelties of the age, he has not even yet lost faith in. It was at this very Circuit, and through this very counsellor and judge, that a coloured man was sentenced to fifteen years hard labour, for some accidental irregularity in his Volunteer Corps, which resulted in death to a native. This sentence was so unexpected, and considered to be so outrageous a punishment for a mere mistake, which a small fine would have amply met, that the Town rose as one man and immediately telegraphed to the Government at Cape Town ; and so overwhelming was the justice of this movement that the man was immediately released, and the judge took the rebuke and ate the leek, and passed away as a man for whom no one had the slightest respect. Time after time complaints were made of the general conduct of such judges, but influence and interest won the day, in opposition to the right. We are told we must not judge these judges, and one man on the jury who admitted he was afraid of the judge, afterwards said, "let such infamous sentences pass,"—I may say this came from a mixed blooded man, who not having a particle of the blood of a Hampden, or a Cromwell in his composition was only fit to be a slave all his life, and that he was a low character whom no one felt any delight in knowing. The rural German element in the jury was incapable of judging, and they but followed in the wake of those who thought a fine sufficient, showing that even a trial by jury may be an injustice and a farce ; but to let such infamous sentences pass without a protest in the name of justice, would be acting as a silent partner in such legal crimes ; and to subject men in the future to unknown tortures, who perhaps, for some simple unexpected accident, are entitled to severe monetary punishment, but whose fault is not of sufficient gravity to compel them to herd with the vilest and ever-after to be taunted with the same. In the name of common sense I protest against such incapables, in a solemn manner on a solemn seat, and in a solemn place, bringing contempt upon the sacred names of justice and equity.

If judges were capable of feeling, they would, indeed, hesitate before passing sentences, consigning men to living hells. What a year in prison, even to the guilty man, must

be, is horrible to contemplate ; but in the case of an innocent man, nothing can repay for the constant physical and mental torture and insult heaped upon him.

Could juries and judges think what a year in prison means ; the isolation from a man's family that cuts out a year from a man's life ; a year from a man's work ; a year from a man's tongue ; is a penalty so terrible that if madness or suicide ensues no one need wonder. When will it be understood that half, if not more, of our man-made laws are man-made crimes, that only indicate the savage nature of one portion of society to the other. May the time arrive when, nature's laws being recognised and carried out, there will be no need of judges or prisons, and then no future " Howard " will find the work of visiting prisons needful.

Once more having realised the want of an *alter ego*, or second self, I left my garden in disgust, that I could not procure a young active man, willing and able to take advantage of the opportunity offered to secure a supply of water, and thus in irrigating to show to the world in Africa what water, combined with skill, industry and science was capable of effecting. Having arranged as I hoped for a high pressure water supply, I bid adieu to my agent, and passed on to the town to bid good-bye to my old and valued friends there, who had so nobly helped me to get out of a cruel position brought about by my enemies, who could not bear the truth that was in me, and who would even now stone me if they dared for speaking and writing the truth. I do not wish to forget any ; let it suffice that my heartfelt hate for the one, and my deep gratitude to the other, for their efforts on my behalf, in the dark never to be forgotten past is not obliterated from my recollection ; so with a hearty good-bye, on their now improved market square which to some extent I had the credit for, while a member of their Town Council, I passed on to my hotel, preparatory to leaving King William's Town, the pious city of five hills of the Eastern province, if the number of its churches, chapels and schools are indicative of the condition of its inhabitants. Having settled up with the proprietor of the Barkly Hotel—the well-beloved, and his good wife and sons, in whom I was well pleased—I passed on to the railway,

once more to reach Kei Road, the residence of my family, and then afterwards to proceed to East London, on my way to Natal. It is not my desire to be always moralising, or finding fault ; but I felt that numbers of the Anti-Christs dare not, or cannot draw attention to the evils and remedies for things patent to all. I, being out of the recognised Holy Orders, do not shout out, even to suit my friend Duncan, who calls me "the elaborate man;" but with all my fulness of detail and cures for all, cannot shout out thus saith the preacher ; but I feel, though I run the risk of being called "conceited, the egotist, and the elaborate," I must not hesitate even with all dogmatism, for without it I cannot urge my views to help fallen humanity, through the silly laws burdening all classes. While travelling I met an *apparently quiet man*, who informed me it was his business to dispense medicines at the hospital, and at times, I presume, for the benefit of his patients, poison ; but I ventured to tell him that the poisons, in the shape of his filthy language and songs, was an outrage upon his fellow-travellers ; and being continued, in opposition to other, as well as my remonstrance, I was compelled to remind him that he was born of woman, and to ask what kind of a wife he could have had to have allowed him to utter such filth, and seemingly to rejoice while so doing. Good gracious ! Is it not possible for our youth to be taught the dignity of manhood, and the cruelty of imposing upon others in public vehicles, who are too nervous of themselves to oppose such foul-mouthed levity and lecherous language ? If not, it is time for the Press to state the truth and facts, and demand some alteration, and even punishment, if continued in our railway cars. Unfortunately, since the punishment of a prominent Grahamstown minister for polygamy, and the foul, filthy scandal of a D.D., who attempted to take advantage of a school girl while under his care, although accompanied with his wife and family, it is almost dangerous to protest in such company, for, with all the lewdness possible, you are asked if you are any relation to such. If so, and if not, you are told "to shut up," for you are no better than you look. Now, I will admit of necessity, I am a good being when asleep, still I cannot allow such

abominations to be carried on without intimating in the clearest manner that the evil must be stopped. The best plan I know of is to alter our ways of teaching, and, instead of preaching so much of the hereafter, and a belief in the unknown ; preachers should teach the advantage of cleanliness and purity for this life, and a nearer living to Nature in all her demands for both sexes. With pleasure I arrived at the station, which freed me from this moral leper, and with joy once more reached my abode of love, where I spent the next few days in contemplating the many happy hours of the past, and indulging in the hope of many in the future wherever I may roam. Man may propose, but some power outside disposes, when we least expect an interference with our leisure. A well-known political giant of Kei Road was determined to give me no rest, and knowing the interest I took in Irish matters, was persuaded to commence a tug of war on this and other questions ; and I, for the life of me could not resist responding. I had in years gone bye written and taught about the Irish question and—thanks to the determination of the Irish to solve in a natural way the Irish Land Question, afterwards to be carried out in England, Irish politics were the talk of the day. O'Connell oftentimes said it had pleased the English to forget Ireland's history and her wrongs. Strictly speaking, this was not true, for sad to relate, very few ever read the true history of Ireland, and therefore could not forget. Such is the exact position of all since O'Connell's time. I am bold to say, and shall prove it, when I write my " History of England and the United Kingdom," that not one boy or man out of every hundred knows the important passages in England's History, and it may be safely said that very few Englishmen care to know much about Ireland's history. Now this state of things is most lamentable, but fortunately it will have its cure ; for since every city is getting its little Ireland, where Englishmen, when no Irish Sea divides, are compelled to think that it is possible for the Irish to have had a history for the last seven hundred years, since the Pope gave Peter's hairs and his blessing to Henry the Second, and the Strong-bow party liberty to conquer by force the Irish, so long as full and regular payment of Peter's Pence was kept up. From that

time, right on through the constant forward and backward movement in the reigns of the Kings and Queens, and afterwards with the city undertakers of later time, whose business it was to bury the Irish, and take possession of Irishmen's effects, and which is still kept up as a practice to-day, and with all the later cruelties and impositions forced upon the people by Hanoverian soldiers and other mercenaries down to the present time. The pressure was, in a small way got rid of by the removal of an alien church, but which is in another way secured in the shape of interest and the tithes, which still remain as a burden upon the Irish, though not collected in the name of the Irish Church, until pressure and want, brought about by eviction and a cruel rack-renting, which cannot be denied, since an English Act of Parliament had to be passed to stand between what may be called in reality the landlord highwaymen and their tenantry, and such commission to regulate, from a land-owning point of view, what they thought a fair rent, but which the Irish have yet to settle upon a National basis, when with land debenture bonds they have bought out all landlords, both English and Irish, and put up their lands for public competition. Now while one cannot advocate all the measures of the Fenian "no rent" party and others, that to us Englishmen may appear wild schemes, still the Irish must work out their own salvation as they think best. It is for them to secure free land; and although the victims now of England's aristocracy, the time will come when the workers for a higher governmental system will be considered patriots; and when Englishmen understand the true position between life and death that the Irish stand in, they too will not allow the aristocracy to fleece and bleed poor Ireland ever after; and let the land question once be settled right in Ireland, it will also be settled in England, to the exclusion of all hereditary peers, that now plunder in England likewise. In this work, space is wanting to go into a full History of Ireland; but all this was brought out by the awful, and yet just retribution first made known by the telegraph. I am not a filibuster of an American Saint George the Fifth, who would take possession without restitution of past payments, but even that drastic process

would be tolerated if such crimes to Irishmen could be prevented. My system of buying up land described in my *Home Colonisation*, will meet the spirit of equity in every Englishman. The doctrine of taking who can, has been exemplified too often in America, without finding a lodgment in England, even when advocated by one unable to make his own American countrymen who are landless to see "eye to eye" with him. The "outs" must get the "ins" out, on some positive base of indisputable justice, and then no fear of a renewal of taking possession of Nature to the detriment of future generations. The force principle is old, and must now become obsolete. Free trade in land is the need of all who desire to till mother earth. Free trade in money is the need of all who must exchange the growth of one nation with another; and then goodwill and peace will stand a chance of a home among all peoples, to the glory of this and all after Ages, world without end.

The assassination of James Carey on the *Melrose* was a tragic conclusion to one of the most awful misfortunes recorded in the history of Ireland. I say misfortune; for how, and to what extent, the "invincibles" might have looked upon Burke as the head and front of all offending, there can be no doubt that for Lord Cavendish, it was an accident that he was there, and for such a man there must have been a perfect indifference. So far as his last act is concerned, that of running away, instead of standing by to assist his friend for the time being, one can only have a bitter feeling of contempt. Had he received the blows in the front, and in defence of his friend, one could have admired as well as pitied him, but the cowardly running away to call assistance instead of helping in such a moment of need is so contemptible that all sympathy for the man is deadened. Much has been said of his ability; how, in all probability, he would have become a statesman, and from the fact of his being the son of a peer, it was generally assumed that it was possible; but no greater mistake could be made than that of supposing that hereditary genius is a constant quantity, and we protest against the system of putting my Lord Tom Noddy in a responsible position because he is the son of his father. For Burke, although it

is said he was a gentlemen, it cannot be forgotten, that as permanent secretary, he *could* and *did* use his influence to the detriment of the Irish people. Who ever heard, during his long official career, of his ever protesting against the wrongs done by the English aristocracy? He was a silent, but an active enemy to all Irish interests, and thus a most objectionable official. Length of service and the age of an official are no justification for a tyrant, whatever capacity he may fill; and for many years past Dublin Castle has not been noted for its sense of justice, and unfortunately, it is not likely to repent of its ways. It is all very well to talk of all that England has done for Ireland, the last few years. It is simply absurd. Dare all Englishmen forget what has been done to her in the name of England in the past, and that no amelioration was ever given, if the Irish did not become violent and what is termed revolutionary? The history of Ireland is so bad a one, that the wonder is not that they revolt, but they have not risen as one man to rush out the intruder, long, long ago.

Being an agricultural country, the Irishmen depend upon the soil, while a commercial people like the English don't feel pressure to the same extent, and, therefore, cannot comprehend the bitter hate of the Irish for the Saxon so-called, and, as he thinks, but in reality the Norman ruler and his descendants. To think that there existed the need of a Carey is so horrible, that one can only desire to forget such a creature was born, and that a government with a Saxon-Celt like Gladstone at its head, should have to use such a wretched cowardly thing, is disgusting, and when used, at last the alternative was offered to him to emigrate, or go out without protection. Carey *did* emigrate, and he was murdered. The lesson should be one for cowardly assassins in the future to take to heart, and they will probably prefer to be hanged, to being shot down as traitors. We can quite understand that in England, where there is such a bitter contempt for the informer, that a large section of the English population would receive the news of Carey's fate with joy, and that the murderer of such a man would not meet with that condemnation which at first notice the cir-

cumstances seemed to warrant. An informer is looked upon by those he benefits as below the brute beasts, while those who suffer from the acts of such are instantly converted into martyrs, and their misfortunes have a halo of romance thrown over them. The whole civilized world has under certain circumstances been benefited from riot run rampant. This was notably the case with the French revolution of 1789—1795. The people of France were groaning under the tyranny of Feudalism to that extent that blood, and blood only, could give them liberty. History teaches us how, when the tyrants resumed power, religion, virtue, and all that makes a nation great, were swept away. History, however, taught more than this; it imparted the valuable lesson that those in power must rule with equity, and that a people are not to be down-trodden by autocratic rule, no matter what form that rule assumes. These are facts easily understood, although they were then enforced in a very aggravated form. Men and women, when their passions were once aroused, would not be stopped in their work, and from the King on his throne, to the sucking babe of the bloated aristocrat, all were doomed to destruction. Those who inaugurated and those who carried out this wholesale slaughter, acted the part of men. They did not slink behind the hedges; gunpowder mines, infernal machines, and surgeons' knives were not the implements used! They boldly faced the soldiery, fought them like men, were slaughtered in hundreds, and in their turn they massacred by thousands. As the outcome of this war was to give the people liberty, we can forget the means used. With the Invincibles, Nihilists, and others of their kind, sympathy is out of the question. We have only to instance the case on account of which Carey has lost his life. The Invincibles doomed Mr. Burke to death, and in the carrying out of this vile plot Lord Frederick Cavendish was murdered through his having been accidentally walking with Burke. The Clerkenwell outrage is another instance. Here the innocent residents of a whole street were nearly immolated to secure the escape from prison of one man. In Russia the same thing prevails; hundreds of lives are placed in jeopardy to secure the assassination of one man. And these

crimes are perpetrated in the name of liberty! What kind of liberty can be the outcome of assassination and murder? Is it possible to found a nation upon the death shrieks of innocent men, women, and children? Is liberty such a bauble that those who wish to clutch it can only do so by midnight murders and assassinations? No liberty so gained is worth having, and, if acquired by these means, can never be retained. Those who to-day in cold blood, order the murder of their oppressors, will to-morrow, in their turn, be murdered; and Carey's case is an instance of this fact. We regret that the *Cape Argus* was so ill-advised as to put the blood-hounds on the track of Carey. As regards O'Donnell, he has had to pay the penalty of his crime with his life, and thus another sacrifice was made to that fetish, which, with surgeons' knives and dynamite, is sought to be converted into the most precious of all our gifts—liberty. Legislation through the conviction of the mind must alter all tyrannies.

In a review of European politics, by Senor Castelar, the following passages, referring to Ireland and Carey's death, occur :—

"No one is ignorant that the assassins of Cavendish would never have been discovered but for the infamous denunciation made by one Carey, who, from accomplice and accused, became Crown witness, or accuser—and paid accuser. Such treason brought to the scaffold various patriots, who are to-day adored as saints and martyrs by the simple faith of a people determined to recover their country's ancient independence. And if the people adore as saints these martyrs, imagine how they must abhor the denouncers."

After stating that all the might of England failed to protect Carey from the execution of the verdict of the Irish nation, Senor Castelar continues :—

"On the morning when the criminal was least prepared the executioner shot him dead—an exceptional punishment of an exceptional crime. A race of such determination, we must admit, is invincible."

For Senor Castelar the Irish are a nation of Maccabes, and, by inference, England is an Antiochus Epiphanes.

POLITICAL CRIMES.

But what is a political crime? The obvious definition of a political crime is, one that is free from motives of private interest or personal aims. Thus, if the murderer of President Garfield had escaped to this country, he would no doubt have been given up; for, though he professed to have been moved by the public interest, there were facts showing that he had personal, though foolish expectations from the new President elected by his bullet. On the other hand, if the assassin of President Lincoln had reached English territory, it is difficult to see how he could have been legally surrendered, even while the civilized world was shuddering at his deed. He might have been surrendered, but far-seeing men might have said it were better even he should escape than that the English asylum, which had protected in Canada, the fugitive slave Anderson (who had slain his pursuer), should be impaired by any precedent.—MONCURE D. CONWAY, in *Newcastle Chronicle*.

Thus we see that some of the most clear-headed men can see far ahead, so that while renewing our demand for liberty and free speech, we can but mourn over the fact, and draw attention to the grievances of Ireland, that move men to commit such deeds; and while my deep sympathy is with the Irish nation, it behoves all Reformers the world over to step to the extreme verge of natural right to proclaim Truth and Justice to all, and surrender their own liberty and lives, if need be, rather than hurt a hair of the enemy, other than in self defence. The bloody weapon is out of date: the mind must be the harbinger of all reform, and the outcome of a nation's unanimous desire.

I feel here at this stage, that I cannot do better than let two prominent men—Parnell and Davitt—speak for their country. It affords me untold delight to find that they are true followers of their old countryman Bronté O'Brien, who for so many years nobly advocated "The Land for the People," but at the same time, I experience a deep feeling of regret that they comprehend nothing of the great financial aspect of the question which he so truthfully and persistently

drew attention to. As one unworthy to wear the mantle, he dropped, I do trust that some noble son of Erin will yet be as a father to the Irish nation to come, on this question, for I am persuaded that without a thorough knowledge that appertains to finance, no man is qualified to call himself a legislator.

"Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather yesterday, a meeting, which was very largely attended, was held at Carppamore, County Limerick. Messrs. Davitt, O'Brien, M.P., and Harrington, M.P., were the chief speakers, and resolutions were passed in reference to the labourers, the Land Act, self government, and Parliamentary representation. They characterised the condition of the labourers as deplorable and disgraceful, and demanded that pending a more complete and comprehensive measure, those engaged in the administration of the Land Act should give effect to its beneficial provisions, if any, in favour of the labourers, and that no settlement of the land question would be regarded as final which did not make provision for that suffering class. With respect to Home Rule, they declared that no measure of reform coming from a foreign Legislature short of self-government would satisfy the Irish race at home and abroad, and they pledged themselves to agitation till they had the making of their own laws on their own soil. They declared the Land Act to be very imperfect in design and administered unfairly towards the tenants, that leaseholders were unjustly excluded, and that the Act failed to protect the property of the tenant in his improvements. The true solution of the question was the conversion within reasonable time and on reasonable terms of the occupiers into owners, subject to the requirements of the public and of the nation. They condemned the present representation of the county, demanding that its members should support Mr. Parnell; they advocated the payment of members in order to obtain representatives from the ranks of the people, and condemned the policy of emigration. Mr. Davitt, in the course of his speech, praised the labourers for the active part they had taken in every national movement and expressed a hope that the farmers and all other classes who had been benefitted by their help would do

their duty towards the agricultural labourers, and give effect to the measure obtained last session from an alien Legislature by Mr. Parnell and his party. He observed that now while excitement was dying down in the country, the popular movement was assuming a practical shape. The old enemy of Ireland was at his congenial task of unroofing the homesteads of the people. (Groans). During the year ending in the month of June no fewer than 434 families, or 2,000 men, women, and children, were evicted in the Province of Leinster (groans), and three times the number would about comprise all the men, women, and children who had been deprived of shelter and their homes during the same period of Irish landlordism. Now, was it not reasonable to suppose that these outrages upon the hearthstones of the people of Ireland would drive men to think of desperate action ; that these outrages upon the part of landlordism might beget outrages of another kind which they and all Ireland deplored ? He thought, therefore, they ought to raise no uncertain voice in condemnation of these acts of impolitic injustice, to speak mildly, which had been recently carried out at the behests of Irish landlordism. (Cheers). How many of these people—the poor people turned out on the roadside—had been rack-rented in the past to such an extent that all the money they had paid would purchase the fee-simple of their holdings ; how many of those cabins out of which the people had been thrown had been erected by the landlords of Ireland ? ("None.") If then, God made the land for the people and the people built the cabin for themselves, he denounced their eviction as an act of inhumanity which would be punished as criminal if the law in Ireland were administered in accordance with the dictates of religion, reason, or humanity. (Cheers.) However, all those cases but showed the imperative necessity of concentrating all their energies, all their talents, all their purposes, and all their powers in accomplishing the final and complete abolition of that system, and as the day was coming when the system must go, he thought the farmers of Ireland and the whole community should at once face the question of compensation, which must be discussed before that system was disestab-

lished. (Cheers.) Now, the landlords themselves and that hereditary obstructive Chamber, the House of Lords, had laid down a doctrine of compensation, which he trusted would be applied to themselves when the time came for finally dispossessing Ireland of them. (Hear, hear.) They introduced a clause into the Land Act which practically nullified the operation of the clause known as the Healy clause. (Cheers for Healy.) They declared that the length of enjoyment which the farmer had had, constituted an equitable compensation for such improvements. Very well; if the enjoyment by the farmer of the improvements he himself had made in his holding was adequate compensation, what must be the compensation due to the landlords who had enjoyed the improvements made by the tenant-farmers for the last generation? Surely, if the man who had not created those improvements enjoyed them, he was less entitled to compensation for them than the farmer, whose skill, anxiety, toil and labour had called them into existence. Since the passage of the Act of Union the landlords of Ireland had taken £1,200,000,000 out of that country. This wealth had been created, not by them, not by superintendence or anxiety or outlay on their part, but by the labour of the farmers and industrial classes. He thought that length of enjoyment of that wealth constituted a more equitable compensation for them, than the length of enjoyment by the farmer of the improvement which he had made in his own holding. (Cheers.) The men of Limerick and Tipperary had got to keep these truths before them, and the demand should be that inscribed on the banner then before them. They demanded full justice. If justice were done to the landlords of Ireland to-morrow they would not receive their fares from Kingstown to Holyhead. They must then keep this question of the complete abolition of Irish landlordism before them. The Land Act, which Mr. Gladstone fondly imagined would bolster up Irish landlords, if not a complete failure, was rapidly becoming so. Not one out of six tenant-farmers in Ireland had yet had his rent fixed by the Land Court. The enormous expense wasted upon the working of the machinery, and the litigation between tenant-farmers and the lawyers, showed that these artificial

efforts to sustain a doomed system were of no avail, and that landlordism must go where every other exploded monstrosity had gone before it. (Loud cheers.) Let them not, then, be tempted by temporary expedients. Economy, force, and the spirit of progress were all battling against landlordism, and destiny had written its doom. Finally, he would ask them to be still and resolute; to be calm and self-composed; to be united and avoid the mistakes of the past; to be true to be political faith handed down to them from the past; and victory would soon crown their efforts with a garland of success. (Loud cheers.)

" Mr. Parnell said—I come now to my last example of this most pernicious and extraordinary Government—the suppression of the northern meetings. Mr. Trevelyan may be able across the water to hoodwink the simple people of Galashiels, but he is not going to throw dust into the eyes of any section of the Irish people. Neither Irish Orangemen nor Irish Nationalists will believe that Mr. Trevelyan does himself the honour of believing what he has told the people of Galashiels. All through his speech there, it is easy to detect the self-satisfied chuckle of the man who exaggerates, for his own purpose, the danger likely to arise from the action of a few wretched Orangemen (hear, hear), and who deliberately applies for the same purposes, the resources for mischief at the disposal of the landlords who hire them. He admits the illegality of their proceeding from top to bottom. He describes them in most forcible language, while he enormously magnifies the results likely to arise from it. And what is his excuse for the action of the Government?—an action, you must remember, exactly in accord with the wishes and demands of the transgressors and law-breakers. His excuse was that it would take 1,000 infantry and cavalry to protect the right of public meeting, and to enable those seeking an alteration in the laws to do what they had a legal right to do. (Cheers.) Nationalists meet together for the purpose of obtaining an Amendment of the Land Act, or an alteration in any Act of Parliament. If the Lord Mayor goes up to Derry to deliver a lecture on the extension of the franchise to Ireland, the excuse for proclaiming the meeting

in the one case, and for winking at proceedings of the assassins who fired at him (cheers), is that it would take 1,000 infantry and cavalry to do anything else. Did the Government hesitate to protect the Lough Mask expedition in 1880 because it took 1,000 infantry and cavalry to protect them? (Cheers). Did they ever refuse protection to any landlord engaged in the extermination of his tenants—to any engaged in forestalling the Land Act by selling out the interest of the tenants? (Cheers). Was the English Government ever known to refuse all the men, all the arms, and all the money that might be necessary for such protection? ("Never.") Did the Government shrink from holding 1,000 untried men in prison for 12 long months in 1881 and 1882, lest any impediment should be offered to the legal rights of the landlord class? (Cheers). No; all our experience of English force in Ireland results in this conclusion—that they are always willing to employ that force to the fullest extent, and at every risk, to the masses of the people, where it is a question of protecting the so-called rights of the minority against the majority (cheers); but when it comes to extending the protection of the law—the forces at the disposal of the law—to the majority against the minority in the assertion of their legal rights, then we find abundant excuses, and abundant reasons, in the minds of our English rulers, for evading their legal and their just obligations. (Loud cheers.) The proceedings in the north teach once more the oft-taught lesson, that the law in Ireland is only powerful where the minority appeals to its protection. It is then quick to strike vengefully and unmercifully. (Loud cheers.) But where it may happen that a statute survives, a statute of beneficial import to the people of Ireland—survives even in a mutilated condition—the two Houses of Parliament find that the operation of the law in putting in force that statute is slow and ineffectual. (Hear, hear.) And until English statesmen learn, English Liberals and English Radicals learn, the first lesson of their political creed—that every nation, that every country, has a right to be governed according to the law of the majority of that country (cheers)—they will fail, as they have always failed, in their task of governing the Irish people.

Gentlemen, we are told about the franchise ; that the Liberal party is going to be great and generous, and going to extend the franchise to Ireland. I am very much inclined to think, that, were it not for the fact that there exists in the House of Commons a solid band of forty men, who would vote steadily against any extension of the suffrage in England, if Ireland were left out, we should see very little of the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill. (Cheers.) We can survey these questions and contests of English parties with perfect equanimity. Our position is a strong and a winning one in any case. Whether they extend the franchise or whether they do not, we shall return between 70 and 80 members in the next election. (Loud cheers.) Our cause is undoubtedly a winning cause (" Hear, hear "), and though the progress we may be making at present, and in the face of coercion, must be slow, yet still we are making progress. We are making up the force, and adding to the impetus which was given to the Irish national cause in the days of the great Land League movement (cheers) ; and although it is hard—although our blood often boils in witnessing the indignities, the sufferings, and the persecutions which many of the people of this country are obliged to submit to by day and by night (" Hear, hear ")—we must be patient. We have every reason to be patient. We shall win if we are patient. The miserable character of the shifts and evasions which the Irish Executive has daily resorted to, shows that we are winning ; coercion cannot last for ever. (Cries of " No.") This Coercion Act is running out, and we are living it down. There is one thing that it is very well for us to remember and to remind the English people of—that if there be one fact more certain than another ; it is, that if we are to be coerced again, if the present Coercion Act or any part of it is to be renewed, if the Constitution is to be restored to us, these things shall be done by a Tory Government, and not by a Liberal Government (cheers), and shall carry with them, in the shape of increased taxes and foreign wars, penalties in excess of those inflicted upon us. Beyond a shadow of doubt it will be for the Irish people in England—separated, isolated as they are--and for your independent Irish members to determine at the next general

election, whether a Tory or a Liberal Ministry shall rule England. (Cheers.) This is a great force and a great power. If we cannot rule ourselves, we can at least cause them to be ruled as we choose. (Great laughter and cheering). This force has already gained for Ireland inclusion in the coming Franchise Bill. We have reason to be proud, hopeful and energetic—determined that this generation shall not pass away, until it has bequeathed to those who come after us, the great birthright of national independence and prosperity. (Great cheering, amid which the hon. gentleman sat down).

The trial of O'Donnell came about in due time, and as every one expected, his conviction and execution followed. The one great fault I have to find with the man is, that after all, he should set up a lie as a defence. Far better would it have been, if he had boldly asserted that he looked upon such a man and informer as unworthy to live, and he felt justified in acting as his executioner, even if, in the end, his own life was forfeited for it, for they who are bold enough to act, must not expect to get out of the consequences. The judge who tried and passed sentence upon O'Donnell could but admit that Carey was a hypocritical and abominably wicked man; but no law could allow one individual to take the life of another, because he was a wicked, abominable man. Of course, it was not the place of the judge to tell the world how such as Carey had been created and fostered by the late Tory and land-robbing class; and it is to be feared, while the injustice continues in Ireland, that independent of any writing, men will feel that it is no wrong to take the life of such men, while they abominate their wicked deeds; but to take life without due trial is contrary to all State or natural law, and in violation of every right principle; and it is certain that it cannot be permitted in any civilised country. We can all forgive the awfully tragic ending, when, at the close of the death sentence, O'Donnell drew himself up, and with a tempest of hate in heart and brain could shout "To Hell with the British Crown, and three cheers for Ireland, his native land, and "three cheers for America," a startling and painful ending to an awful death sentence, seeming to point to the fact that, say what people may, America is the hope of all free

liberty-loving people, and destined to work out the salvation of the struggling classes in England. But what a fearful thing to contemplate ; that all the sufferings of the Irish, is due to the base government and mismanagement of the past centuries, and that there is but one hope, as herein expressed by the home paper, which I now print, that the time is not far distant when all Governments will rule in equity, and thus remove all cause of violence and wrong-doing.

RIGHT OR DYNAMITE.—We may denounce dynamite with righteous indignation, but we must acknowledge the revolution it is effecting in the arts of offence and defence. As gunpowder, rifled cannon and railroads changed the former methods of war, so this new agent has shifted again the balance of power, reducing still further the supremacy of brute force and mere numbers. Great armies, vast cities, are indeed a source of weakness in dynamite warfare furnishing as they must, the most vulnerable points of attack for its wholesale destructive power. A barren rock in the secret mountains of Switzerland, with its dynamite laboratory, and convoys by air or land, may set at naught all the standing armies of the proud German Empire, and drop annihilation upon its walled cities at any hour by night or day. A single wayfarer, with dynamite in his pocket, throws the cities of England into greater terror, than would an army of a hundred thousand men landing at Dover, with only the ordinary weapons of guns and sabres. A handful of hunted, homeless Nihilists are able to terrorise all Russia, forcing its Emperor to live the life of a fugitive, and making his very coronation a problem of chance. Jupiter, with his lightnings, was scarcely more a master of the ancient world, than is the mob with its bomb of dynamite, the avenging Fate of modern monarchies. At the first glance, dynamite seems an implement of fiends, but a closer view discovers in it a potent minister of good. All triumphs of science and invention work inevitably, in the end, for the people. It is these scientific victories which have made the populace of to-day, other than the slaves and chattels of the ancient civilisations. But for these, "the divine right of kings" would still dominate the world, and the great mass would be but cheap material to build the

tombs of the Pharaohs. Every advance in science has given the people an additional hold of the sceptre of power. Sometimes by an increase of the general wealth, as in the case of the steam engine, the loom, the sewing-machine; sometimes by a general multiplication of the means of destruction, as in the invention of gun-powder, cannon and firearms, making a single man often more formidable than a phalanx of ancient swordsmen. Every increase in the destructiveness of the weapons of war, has brought increased respect and importance for the individual warmaker. Thus, to-day, the poorest Nihilist, with his dynamite, is an object of more consideration from the Czar and his nobles, than would be forty thousand serfs of the olden-time, armed simply with staves and forks. As a direct consequence, the case of these poor malcontents will be more heeded than it has been heretofore. Not even proud England can escape the alternative. She may resist for a time, and try laws of excessive rigour; but at last she will come to respect this hidden force, and find it wiser and cheaper to cultivate the Irishman's good-will than his ill-will. Thus it will be found, when the first mad outburst of murder and destruction has cleared away, that there will follow throughout the world, a more ready disposition on the part of governments, to listen to the petition of the humblest classes of the community, and to see that no burdens of unjust laws madden them to revolt. The consequence will be an era of comparative peace and good-will, greater stability, less frequent revolutions in governments, and the eventual abolition of standing armies. This consummation can evidently be achieved, most directly, by some agency like the perfected dynamite bomb and electrical battery, which will make great armies useless, and mere targets for destruction *en masse*, instead of reserves of strength. In the future, little corps of engineers with telescope, batteries, and balloons, will take the place of the lumbering armies of the past, and finish in a few days, perhaps hours, what in olden times would have been a thirty-years' war. These effects will be observed wherever the dynamite wave reaches; horror, and attempts at repression, at first; then the better counsels of discretion and humanity; and at last a genuine recognition of the brother-

hood of the despised classes ; a sincere purpose to relieve their estate, and remove from them all unjust discriminations. We say unjust discriminations ; for it is incredible that all this discontent, this unanimity of outcry, should appear through all Europe without some serious justification in bad laws. It is not human nature to wince without pain. In all ages, the common people have been more ready to accept and endure impositions, than to rebel without cause against fair institutions. It is weakness in all governments, to favor the rich at the expense of the poor. Monarchies are avowedly governments of privileges for the few ; but Republics do not counteract the tendency of power to gravitate to the powerful. Here in New York, which has been a hundred years perfecting its system of free institutions, how many of its laws discriminate against the poor in plain defiance of principle ; the discriminations are irritating to the classes discriminated against, and tend to alienate them from the State, which they should look up to as a sure protector, and love as a second father. Without such regard from the humblest, from the great mass of the people, no Government can stand in entire security. It will be well for our legislators to heed the warning that comes to us from Europe, to give due diligence to hunting out from our statute-books all traces of vicious, partial, superfluous laws, especially such as tend to keep up the old antagonisms between poor and rich.—*Home Journal, America.*

LATEST TELEGRAM.

LONDON IN A STATE OF SIEGE.

Two thousand men of the British Infantry have been ordered to protect public buildings in London. The Coldstream Guards are guarding the Houses of Parliament and Buckingham Palace.

The above is an evidence that besieged and garrisoned Ireland has come home to roost with a vengeance. All evil brings its punishment, and, unfortunately, the innocent suffer for the guilty ; and thus it happens that the time has arrived when Big England is in a state of siege by Little Ireland,

and each avenue of this Little Ireland may contain the elements of a force more formidable than all the Life Guards, if rushed to any given spot ; in fact, they may even outrun the rush of Old Senacherib's Army, go to sleep as Life Guards, and be found in the morning nowhere. If a few drops of the new European fire, that has superseded the old Greek fire is utilised, truly in these days Jove and his darts of lighting, are small matters compared to the modern appliance, and all to be traced to making agitation in Ireland an outrage. The Tories, if they had the power would stop every utterance that criticised their Government forms. Mr. Chamberlain, we are told, maintained that " The Land League was, in his opinion, a legitimate and useful organisation, because it exercised pressure on Parliament to pass the Land Bill," so we see the hope of the future. Once let it be understood how to nationalize Ireland for Irishmen, by the plan of buying out with land debenture bonds all the old landholders and in each county letting it out by public competition to all Irish comers, then each and every Irishman will feel it his imperative duty to uphold the land law conditions at all times. Lord Salisbury speaks of " lawless plunder by conspiracies." Does the man ever consider his words ? What in the past history of Ireland, have we but conspiracies by *his* order to rob, with and without the law, the whole of the Irish nation of their hard-gotten wealth ? Why the whole history, as practised by the Salisbury class, is one huge conspiracy against the Irish people ; and it is from a sense of this huge theft of the past, that the Irish will no longer tolerate, even if they have in a semi lawful way to proclaim, without being summoned by the Queen, a " Law of Exile" to all present landlords. The no-rent cry is not likely to be hushed by any land law passed by Whig exorcised by Tory influence for their future advantage, irrespectively of the fact that the land tiller is entitled to all the income of soil wrought by his hands. Then he will be most willing to give and pay his part towards good government ; but to still supply the means to keep men in idleness, never, never, not even if you yet double dragoon poor Ireland,—the fact is now known, that each man is entitled to the result of his toil, without an idle participator, and this fact cannot now be hid.

In the future there will be no room in Ireland or England for the landlord ; he must be relegated to the past, and if he still desires to live on the soil, must take his equal chance as a tiller in the usual competitive way, if not, pass on to happier toiling or hunting grounds, at his own expense. The French have been the forerunners of European liberties. The present force pressure by bayonet and ball will not always last, and it may be said that Ireland is the main factor to settle the land question of the United English Commonwealth. It is no use rushing prominent men into prisons, calling them by the name of suspects, and treating them like felons, to the eternal disgrace of England ; nor is it tolerable that the trial by jury of a man's countryman should be suspended, or that juries should be packed. You may suppress for a time, but you cannot crush out ; there will be a rebound of some kind that will simply move off by some sharp processs, not to be divulged until the supreme moment arrives. The hanging process by order of the foreign judges, carried out by the horde of foreign occupiers, is a clumsy and a cruel form of death, aggravated by the mental torture before the final spasm is given. The French are more humane in the mode ; for after condemnation they give no notice of the death-hour, and from the time of condemnation to the one of execution, allow the victim free liberty of enjoyment with friends. The future will give not even this, if Ireland is not freed from the nationality obliterations, for in the twinkling of an eye a nation will arise, and with flashes of lightning remove their oppressors. Science in these days is no monopoly, and when the time arrives, it will be found that the oppressed in their National Assembly will, in their legal form, demand the final exile and expatriation of all the foreigners. Before, and during the twentieth century, will be a time of purification for Europe, that will indeed bring the end of the world to many, a little too soon, and quite unexpectedly. Nationalities cannot always be crushed out, and tyrants exist and flourish for ever.

Since it is not the product of human effort, but a gift of nature, all titles to own land, beyond the cost of improvements, are morally void. One has no more right to sell land

than to sell his mother; for what is earth but the nursing parent of us all? The two main factors in productive enterprise are land and labour; if control of the first is usurped, the vassalage and spoilation of the second is inevitable. To possess and use land, is as clearly a natural right, as to use air and light. In abolishingt he fraud of ownership in land, we shall affirm the natural right to hold it in and for use; emancipate farmers, and enable working women and men generally, not only to "read their title clear to mansions in the skies," but ground to stand on and a roof to live under here below.

YOURS OR MINE.

BETTER THINGS.

Better things shall come to pass—

When the reign of pride shall cease throughout the world,
When the rule of selfishness is downward hurled,
When the light of knowledge shines in every heart,
And the clouds of prejudice, thrown back, depart—
That men may look up again
And behold as in a glass,
This inspiring truth revealed,
Better things have come to pass.

Better things shall come to pass—

When to man his fellow-man shall kindly turn,
When the flame of mutual love shall brightly burn,
When might's fetter, by its light, shall be riven,
And the mind debased becomes more like heaven.
Then may men look up again, &c.

Better things shall come to pass—

When the weak become the strong—aye, strong in truth,
When wisdom guides old age, and glory youth,
When the wilful blind shall see, each face to face,
And the bitterest foes are clasped in fond embrace—
Then men may look up again, &c.

Better things shall come to pass—

When the happiness of all, and not the few,
Shall lead the rich ones of the earth to think and do,
When our prisons vainly wait to strengthen crime,
And the last in workhouse walls has spent his time—
Then may men look up again, &c.

Better things shall come to pass—
When the law of love prevails o'er all the earth,
When justice and forbearance spring to birth,
When men shall strive together, and contend
O'er power, scorn, fear, to gain life's noblest end—
Then may men look up again, &c.





CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM my impassioned defence of the Irish, and my strong expressions in the cause of reform, I was chaffed as an upholder of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," and a division of all property among the people. It is astonishing how glibly men will talk of the desire of the reformer to share and share alike of property in existence, who know nothing of the three cardinal principles and rights, as represented in "Equality, Liberty and Fraternity. A respecter of individual ownership of property produced by his or her labour, never yet advocated an equal division of property ; but they demand that there be no monopoly of nature in her raw state ; and that labour desiring to have the use of the same, should have the liberty of using her on an equality with all others, thus producing a fraternity, from the right of liberty and equality, at all times, to be equally recognised among all producers. As the time is now coming for great changes for the better, it will not be out of place to take a glance backwards at the view the ancients had, and which will strengthen our views and actions in the future. I do not claim, as some may, to have an insight into all matters, neither do I think I can express my thoughts so ably as many, and I therefore give here the views of Mr. Burke, who has so fully described "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," and to whom I feel indebted as a brother worker for the right in South Africa.

Labour.—"Labour, of all things perhaps, esteemed the most tiresome and commonplace, is replete with meaning and crowned with joy. It is the great channel of human progress and the means of civilization ; it disciplines the faculties, promotes health, and develops energy, industry, perseverance,

and a host of qualities necessary to human happiness. Without it the family, society, government—everything which now forms our safety and comfort—would be impossible. How then can it ever appear commonplace? Only by losing sight of these grand results, and dwelling wholly on the burdens or injuries caused by an excessive amount of labour pressing unduly on certain individuals, or by pursuing it from compulsion alone, in a mechanical and unintelligent manner."

To many, Socialism is like a red flag to a bull, and the socialist is looked upon as an outcast and a fire-brand by a large section of society, and it is at present necessary to combat this silly idea, before people look into the real aims of the true socialist. The gospel of socialism is becoming a factor in all our future legislation. Now there is a silent growth; bye and bye a more rapid one. It is felt to be in the air. Nobody in the upper circles talks loudly about it, but it is very much thought of. Evidence of how deeply the popular mind is stirred, among the thoughtful working classes, is continually cropping up; and the socialists of London—of whom there are more than is generally supposed—have just issued an address, stating that Governments, no matter of what party, are but the instruments of the aristocratic and capitalist classes, who under different disguises, as judges and police officials, priests and hangmen, &c, use their strength and energies to support the monopolies and privileges of the exploiters. Believe me, that there is indeed a something, not only in the air, but in the hearts of the men who understand the full meaning of these words, as defined in their manifesto. Their objects are understood to be to overthrow the present competitive state of society, and to establish a new *régime*, based upon the principles of equality, liberty, and justice. That there will be a good deal of commotion before this is effected, all must admit; but that a change for the better must come, is being silently felt in all countries. There is hope now that the thinking, working reformer can defeat the humbugs that belong to the Tory, Whig or Radical wing. If the men in Parliament, who ask to be there as independent men, must be there only to assist in carrying out the wishes of mere outsiders, I say we have had

too much of such independence for the interests of the people, which are sacrificed to the selfish interest of the Parliament sitters. Their impudence in stating that they do not go there as delegates, must be punished by refusing to send such impostors at all. They who cannot go into Parliament as the honoured servants of the people, are welcome to sit in their own homes; but they are not fit to occupy a seat in the assembly of the people. Socialists know full well that the existing Parliament is made up of men of the military interest numbering 168, the aristocratic interest 272, the landed interest 267, the law interests 122, the official interest 113, the railway interest 113, the trading, manufacturing and commercial interest 155, the liquor, money, literary, professional and scientific interests, constituting the remainder, with the exception of the labour interest, which is represented by *two members only*. Most of these are known to be members of the highway-exploiter class, who think it no sin to rob and plunder in the name of the law, and at times without the name of the law. It is time this house of thieves had notice to quit, or the time may come when writs, without and within the United Kingdom, may run without the assistance of the Queen's name. The socialist of the day, who believes in the dignity of labour, and the preservation of the products of that labour, is not a Luddite of the past. It has long ceased to be the case, that the intelligent workman is the only person who is grievously discontented with the anarchy of our modern competitive system; and in the struggle which is impending, there are not a few who are ready to renounce their class for the sake of justice. In these days, the workmen know it is not the machine that is their enemy, but the manner in which it is employed. It is by no means the invention and employment of labour-saving machinery that Socialists denounce; but it is the system, through which all the inventions, and all the machinery, have failed to lighten the day's toil of a single labouring man; and now, instead of breaking the machines, it is the aim of every Socialist to teach his fellow-workmen of all countries to take control of the machine, and ensure its use in the interests of the whole of society, and not in the special interests of one class alone. The statement

of a Mr. Hyndman is well worth a notice here. He says :—“The workman repays the wages of his day's labour in the first quarter of his day's work. Therefore every employer finding work for a thousand hands at an average wage of thirty shillings, would make a profit of about a quarter of a million a year.” Does Mr. Hyndman believe this to be a correct representation of the fact? “Of course not; it being the most complete possible misrepresentation of his argument, which is, not that each labourer gives three-quarters of his time for nothing to the particular person who employs him, but that the labourers, as a class, give away that amount of unpaid “surplus value” to the classes above them, who divide the spoil among each other as best they may. And this remains true, even though particular employers of labour fail to secure any of the spoil for themselves, and, consequently, are reduced to bankruptcy. The name of the non-producing classes is legion, and every-one of them takes his tithe of the wealth which the workers produce. The share of the actual employer may be little or nothing, but none the less does the lender of capital secure interest on his loan; the broker exact his brokerage; the lawyer make off with his fee; the middleman of every description pocket his profit, and the landlord make sure of his rent. Nor does even this exhaust the list of people who fatten upon the wealth which others produce; for besides the profit which is cleared by the middleman on every transaction, and besides the rent that goes to the landlord of the concern, we have also to reckon up the rents that go to the various landlords of the different middlemen themselves, and finally the rates that are paid away to support the paupers who have been thrown out of work by the introduction of the last machine. All these numerous persons, whether willing or unwilling to work productively, are ultimately supplied with food or clothing, luxuries and necessaries, by those who actually do work. When this multitude of sharers of the surplus value of the labourer has to be reckoned with, it is small wonder that the prey is not always enough to satisfy the plunderers, and that some employers are ruined while others grow rich. Employers and labourers are plunged into destitution alike,

when any great and sudden improvement in machinery unexpectedly reduces to a large extent the social labour-value of the articles which they produce. Imagine, what is perfectly possible at any moment, the invention of a cheap method of storing electricity, which would render our coal supplies superfluous to-morrow. Under any reasonable organization of society, such a discovery would be a blessing to the whole human race, and would reduce their necessary toil by half. But what would be the result under the capitalist system? Thousands of wage-slaves would be driven to the workhouse, whither hundreds of employers would speedily follow them, and the capital of a few millionaires would roll up fifty times as rapidly as before. The relative amount of surplus value has risen with the cheapening of the necessaries of life, and it is made to pay tithe to half-a-dozen different capitalists to-day, for each one that it formerly was obliged to support. And the number increases, as time goes on, from the very fact that some of the producers recruit the roll of the non-producers by rising into their ranks —a fact which is quoted by some as a proof of the excellence of the system.

The future will believe in the dignity and equality of labour, and that feeling of contempt will then be felt for the man who lives upon his fellow-man, which is now felt for the vast quantity of human labour that loaf upon the tender-hearted who give when solicited. Every man is dishonest that lives upon the unpaid-in-full labour of another, whether he be the occupant of a throne, a dweller in a mansion, or the owner of a cottage. All men should be labourers in the great hive of industry, and share the toil of keeping in order the vast and diversified machinery of existence. The old idea that the fall of man brought in the curse of labour is false. The truth is, that the curse is not in the labour, but in its unequal distribution, one portion of mankind having to toil to keep another set in idleness and luxury. The result of this injustice is to be seen in the emaciated form of the overworked artizan and peasant, and in the useless and unproductive life of the indolent peer. This anomaly in our present barbarous social condition will be remedied when

each man shall do his part in his own special work in contributing to the wants of society, and building up the grandeur and stability of the general commonwealth. In these days of nationalised or socialistic arrangement, with our Postal systems, Telegraphs, &c., no one need be alarmed ; and when the political history of the century comes to be written, it is very probable indeed that the Session of 1885 will be regarded as the starting point of a new development in the national career.

Assuredly it will be regarded as marking the beginning of a new era in the biography of the Liberal party ; for it has seen the promulgation, by the most Radical Government that ever existed in England, of a doctrine of State duty, which the Radicals of a few years ago declared to be obsolete, and the acceptance of that doctrine by both Houses of Parliament. For many years Liberalism seemed to be drifting into individualism. Nothing was the business of the State except to keep order. The best laws were no laws at all. The highest symbol of sovereignty was the policeman's truncheon. The State had nothing to do with the health of the people, except the people cared to be healthy ; nor with the habits of the people, so long as they wished them to be nasty. There was to be free trade in everything, even in disease. A political philosophy has been founded upon this convenient theory ; and the political philosophers avoided all difficulties by proclaiming that no doubtful questions were within the duty of the Government ; just as certain theological philosophers get rid of all difficulties about existence by labelling the subjects in dispute "insoluble problems." A very systematic theory is obtained by this process of excluding all disturbing elements ; but it has the effect of not satisfying for long anybody save its inventor. The Session of 1883-4 has seen an end put to this mutilated political notion. Advanced English politicians have been drinking of the waters of Socialism, and that potion having cured them of many illusions, we have now begun a new career.

So far did it seem at first that politics were going over to Mr. Peter Taylor, that the dread of "grandmotherly legislation" seemed to be the controlling motive in politics. But

it is the author of that phrase who is now most cordial in promising liquor legislation, in providing against drunkenness on polling days, in supporting bills for putting down cruelty, and in upholding measures of health. He believes even in those Acts which his colleagues helped to set aside, and in the right of the people, as a whole, to act for the general good. All our legislation for the Session is full of this interference. It was hardly the function of Government to exist, according to the old theory; now it is Mr. Chamberlain who takes the control of bankrupt's estates, under a Government department. The Agricultural Holdings Bill puts an end to freedom of contract; and Lord Wemyss and Lord Bramwell alone are left to comfort one another with sympathetic tears. Why should not people shoot pigeons if they like? Yet a bill is, we hope, practically passed to prevent them so doing. The idea that Government might undertake the making of railways was regarded as too monstrous; but here is the Government giving £2,000,000 to Ireland for tramways. The Government has become the common carrier. When Lord Beaconsfield bought the Suez Canal shares he was going against all philosophy; but our Government was ready to lend eight millions for another canal across the Isthmus of Suez. There is hardly a bill introduced by Her Majesty's Government which does not show signs that the larger idea of the functions of the State has laid hold of statesmen. The State is already the banker of the people, insures their lives, arranges their telegrams, carries their parcels, takes care of their estates, advances money to increase their prosperity, lends money for useful public works, and is about to regulate all matters of common weal. The doctrine with which the United Kingdom Alliance was met by the believers in the philosophy of mutilation has disappeared. We are almost ripe for sanitary measures, which would at one time have seemed like the denial of liberty.

It is upon this advance of the State into all realms of the national life that our safety will depend. If we take enough of the doctrines of socialism to satisfy the growing demands of the people, we should avoid those disastrous experiments

which are born of excitement, and destroy more—much more—than they save. Freedom of contract, where one side holds a monopoly, and the other needs soil upon which to live, is a phrase; and property itself will be saved by State regulation. Just as that most socialistic of all creations—the English Poor Law—has warded off many a revolution, so will many other concessions to the same doctrine ward off Socialism itself. Prince Bismarck is trying it in Germany, other nations must follow suit; but we shall still be ahead of them all. Nor do we really think that State regulation is likely to destroy self-reliance among a people so free as ourselves. The State, after all, is ourselves; and whatever the State does must depend upon the enterprise of individuals as much as though it were done by private management. It takes as much personal energy and determination, organisation and persistence, to get a reasonable concession out of the Post Office as it does to form a public company; only when the Post Office does move the work is more cheaply and generally better done. The only thing we have to take care of is that we do not strangle infant enterprises in their cradle by red tape. If we avoid that danger we shall gain only good from the acceptance of the larger doctrine of State duty.

As a preliminary to many, and all reforms, we might accept the following of Mr. Labouchere:—

THE ENGLISH RADICAL PROGRAMME.

Mr. Labouchere, M.P., has set forth with startling plainness, and with the vigorous language of which he is a master, the programme of the Radicals, which he terms “a message of peace and good-will to many millions of suffering and toiling human beings.”

ELECTORAL REFORMS.—In the ensuing session the Radicals will accept all that they can get, as an instalment. We shall not rest satisfied until we have manhood suffrage, electoral districts, and payment of members.

THE THRONE.—We think that the Crown and the Crown's family cost too much. We are not prepared to expend more than £50,000 per annum, as a maximum, upon Royalty.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—We propose to abolish the House of Lords.

IRELAND.—We are not prepared to assent to a separation. But we admit the right of Ireland to be her own mistress in everything which locally regards her.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT.—In every county there must be an assembly elected by all persons residing within its limits, and who have a vote for the election of members to the Imperial Parliament. The unpaid Magistracy will be relieved of their functions. Our object will be to transfer all local government from the landowners to the people.

LAND.—We shall legislate to reduce the landlords to the position of ground landlords. The occupiers of agricultural land will have fixity of tenure at a fair ground rent. Either they or the State will benefit by the unearned increment. The occupier, on the other hand, will be required to provide cottages, with an acre or two attached to them, for those whom he employs. No entail nor settlement of estates will be allowed. A landowner who does not cultivate, or cause to be cultivated, any portion of his estate, will lose his right to that portion. Our aim will be to break up and destroy all great territorial domains. In cities we shall allow every person who pleases to buy the freehold of his house of the landlord at its actual, and not at its prospective value, and we shall throw the burden of local taxation mainly on those persons who own property which they do not occupy.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.—This will be disestablished and disendowed. All living incumbents will be permitted to retain their incumbencies during their lifetime. When they die they will have no successors. The nation will re-enter into its property, and will probably devote the income derived from it to educational purposes.

EDUCATION.—We shall not only have free primary, but free secondary and technical schools.

EXPENDITURE.—Our national expenditure might be reduced by at least twenty millions. At the same time we should freely make use of the ability of the State to procure money at low interest. We should borrow this money and expend it in renumerative works, and in those calculated to benefit

trade and commerce, and to improve the position of the poorer classes.

TAXATION.—The indirect taxes would be abolished. We should levy a small poll-tax on all able-bodied adults, say 1d. per week. With the exception of this tax, taxation would only commence where the requirements to live in decent comfort end. The cost of government would, in the main, be met by a progressive income tax, and a progressive legacy duty. An important distinction would, however, be made between incomes derived from the profits of trade, or the exercise of a profession, and those accruing from the public funds and other securities. The latter would pay a higher income tax than the former. Personally, I think it would be desirable to prevent hereditary accumulations, by forbidding anyone to leave more than a specified sum to any one individual. I am not, however, certain whether all Radicals are ripe for this restriction.

I prefer the programme of the old Land and Labour League, of which I had the honour of being a co-founder, Secretary, and Treasurer, and to which I still adhere; but the good of all, and the co-operation of all, is so necessary, that we must assist in all movements, and help men to bring about the right as soon as possible. In my early years, I was much impressed with many of the views of the Positivists, the followers of Comte, the founder of the religion of humanity; and although I do not agree with all he and they maintain, still I cordially endorse their social views and aims; and I here print, for the guidance of others, the opinion of Mr. Fred. R. Harrison, as a further proof that an active movement has now set in for the amelioration of humanity. With me it is not a question *who* assists, so long as the object is achieved. All I feel is, the sooner, the better for all.

Mr. F. Harrison then said:—"They saw how completely Positivism was in line with the central movements of the time in the minor questions which stir them in thought, politics, or religion. International morality was the very basis of all Positivist teaching in politics—a principle for which they had contended in England for twenty years. So,

too, in respect of all forms of national union, for Home Rule in its widest and not in any special sense, for local self-government, for regard for local and national sentiment—principles which lay at the bottom of half the agitations of our time—these again were principles for which Positivism had contended from the moment that it raised its voice in England. The republican spirit of government, the admission of the masses to the fullest advantages of citizenship, the duty of the State to concentrate its care on the great labouring community—all this was the foundation of Positivist politics. It was in this spirit that they had fought the battles of the trades unions, of the workmen's societies, of their political enfranchisement, that they had offered them and claimed for them the privileges and honours of equal citizenship. They were Republicans—as they used to say in Paris—on the eve, Republicans before it was the fashion, and social reformers before princes and marquises took Socialism under their patronage. Socialism, they were now told, was the coming force of our age. If Socialism meant the substitution of the State or the community for personal responsibility in the management of wealth, the removal of social suffering by the direct interference of the State—then they were assuredly not Socialists. But as far as Socialism meant the entire regeneration of our social and industrial life, the diversion of all wealth and all social forces from personal ends to public and social ends, in the interest and enjoyment of all and not of privileged owners—then they were Socialists, and more than Socialists."

But much as I admire the noble efforts of the Positivists in the past, I am convinced that all their industrial and collective efforts will prove a failure, unless they fully and thoroughly comprehend the monetary exchange laws, and the need for either co-operative or individual producers, to be able to sell upon a standard value as easily for an exchange legal tender money as it now is to buy with the gold money in use. *Land and Money*, as well as all raw material, must be free, if all the industrial conditions are to work satisfactorily at all times, and for all men.

The grand principles of a Bronterre O'Brien and a Robert

Owen might, with the skill of a William Grey, be worked out on a small or a gigantic scale, and under good heads of industry, a total change could be effected for the advantage of struggling humanity. The time has come for the industrial captains and generals to take charge of our productive concerns, and instead of in the future 4,000,000 of men eating off the heads of other men, they will show how to increase the supply, so that want will not be known upon the earth ever after. It is man's fault if the poor remain with us still. Nature is libelled if she is charged with such a cruelty. The lie to such a statement will be given in the future, when man marries nature in all her arrangements. Thoughtful people who watch the times in England, and the other nations of Europe, are all agreed in the conclusion that serious and important changes are likely to take part in the present forms of government, and in the existing systems of society before the present (and next century into which we hope to live) has reached its end. In plain words, the next revolution is not so unlikely, and not so far off, as it pleases the higher and the wealthier classes among the European populations to suppose. I am, like many others, who believe that the coming convulsion will take the form this time of a social revolution, and that the man at the head of it will not be a military or a political man—but a great citizen—sprung, as all great reformers ever have from the people, and devoted heart and soul to the people's cause—all that I attempt to do, is to point out some of the causes which are paving the way for a coming change in the social and political conditions of the country, and to satisfy, if possible, all who read this book of the trustworthy nature of the remedies for existing abuses and evils in our midst, so concisely drawn attention to by some of our most prominent Radical leaders. There is more hope now that theology is dead. It is only a fight now among Churchmen and Dissenters for the tithes, the loaves and fishes to be gathered up from the weak or the credulous. Take a rapid glance at our religious systems first. What is the public aspect of the thing called Christianity in this England of ours and her colonies! A hundred different sects, all at variance with

each other. An "Established Church" living like thieves and cadgers on the best, at the producer's expense—rent in every direction by incessant wrangling—disputes about black gowns or white, about having candlesticks on tables or off tables, about bowing to the east or bowing to the west, about which doctrine collects the most respectable support, and the largest sum of money; the doctrine in my church or the doctrine in your church, or the doctrine in the church over the way. Look up from the incessant squabbling among the rank and file to the high regions in which the Lord Bishops in *their* God sit apart from the Lords who are of the God of this world. Are they Christians according to the Book? Show us the Bishop who dare assert in the House of Lords, when the ministry of the day happens to see its advantage in engaging in a war—the sinfulness of such a course. Where is that Bishop and his supporters to oppose that, or any other wrong, or uphold any right for the people? The conduct of the dignitaries and the officials of the no longer Church of England is so outrageous that it is mercy even to suggest that their benefices should be theirs during their lives, and revert to the State at their deaths. Pure and simple justice would at once remove them. So long as men and women are held in bondage by the superstitions in the Church, and offered up as victims on the altars of their fears, so long will be the need of destruction. If theologians will keep up a senseless imposition, we shall render society a service in exposing such frauds and deception. Well did Froude exclaim, referring to those who, in the name of God the Highest, strive to mislead and degrade man, "What do such impostors and dressed-up charlatans deserve but to be denied, exposed, insulted, trampled under foot, danced upon, if nothing else will serve, till the very geese take courage, and venture to their shame and derision."

If the Christianity of the New Testament is to make men true, humane, honest, gentle, modest, strictly scrupulous, and strictly considerate in their dealings with their neighbours—does the Christianity of all the churches and chapels, and the sects produce these results? Look at the occupation which employs the largest number of Englishmen of all

degrees and classes. Look at our commerce. What is its social aspect, judged by morality? Let the organised systems of imposture and fraud, trading under the disguise of banks and companies, answer. It is known at times that supposed respectable names are associated as decoy birds, year after year, with the shameless falsification of accounts, and the merciless ruin of thousands upon thousands of victims. It is now known how the poor Indian customer finds his cotton print dress—a sham that falls to pieces. How the half-starved needle-woman, who buys her reel of cotton, finds printed on the label a false statement of the number of yards that she buys; and it is known that in the markets of Europe foreign goods are fast taking the place of English goods; because the foreigner is the more honest of the two, or is not so heavily burdened by rent or interest on money; and it is also known, which is worse than all, that these cruel and wicked deceptions, and many more like them are regarded, in the highest commercial circles as "forms of competition," or as it is called the "soul of business" and justifiable proceedings in trade. Who can believe in the honour of such men, who hold such views, and accumulate wealth by such impostures as these. Is there any brighter and purer prospect when we look down upon the man, who deceives in the great scale, than upon the man who deceives us upon the small? Everything we eat, drink or wear, is more or less an adulterated commodity, and that very adulteration is sold to us by the exchangers at such outrageous prices, that we are obliged to protect ourselves on the socialistic principle, by setting up co-operative shops and stores, and which, through their eagerness for big dividends and profits, become another class of public impostors; and therefore the present aspect of morals, religion and politics, presents one wide field of corruption and abuse, and reveals a callous and shocking insensibility on the part of the nation at large—to the spectacle of its own demoralisation and disgrace—and we have to admit that in our own eyes, we see that the present system of Government does not supply any reform of the abuses mentioned, not forgetting that other

enormous abuse, represented by our intolerable national expenditure, increased as it has been, year after year, until it has reached very nearly to 100,000,000 annually! It is not worth while wasting too much time in discussing the House of Lords for three good reasons. That assembly of fools, in their dotage, not being elected by the people, has no right of existence in a really free country. Out of its large number, one half more or less directly profit by the expenditure of the public money, and are always struggling to secure, either for themselves or their friends, the salaried conditions in connection with the Government. If the assembly of the people—the House of Commons—has in it the will, as well as the capacity, to lead the way in the needful reforms, the assembly of the Lords has no alternative but to follow, to avoid the revolution which it escaped only some forty odd years ago. Well, can the House of Commons help us to get better and cheaper government by a lawful and sufficient process of reform? That assembly, it must not be forgotten, has the power, if it has the will. But is it so constituted at present as to have the will? Without the slightest doubt one can say it is not. The number of members is a little over six hundred and fifty, and not even the Peer-poet Tennyson would think of them as a "Noble Six Hundred, ready to do or die." Out of this number how many represent the trading interest of the country? As for the numbers charged with the interests of the working classes they are easily counted, not by the fingers of a man, but by each hand. It might be asked in earth's name and the people thereof, whose interest does the majority in the People's House represent? There is but one answer—the military and aristocratic, land and money interest. In these days of the decay of representative institutions, the House of Commons has become a complete misnomer. The Commons are not represented. Modern members belong to a class of the community which has no interest in providing for popular needs, and lightening popular burdens. In one word, there is no sort of hope for us in the present House of Commons. But it may be asked whose fault is this? and we can all answer with shame and sorrow, it is the people's

fault, emphatically the fault of the people, and it is now seen plainly that it is to the disgrace and the peril of England, that the people themselves have not had the power of electing the representative assembly to legislate for the people's wants. The voters in town and country must have every conceivable freedom secured to them to exercise the sacred trust of giving their vote to elect their representatives in the future Houses of Commons, and thus prove that they know thoroughly what they are entitled to, and knowing, see that they come into possession of all the rights and conditions of an Englishman. Monopoly in land and monopoly in money have produced monopoly in voting, and thus it happens to-day, that the proud Englishman that sings with all his heart and soul—"Britannia rules the waves," and that they—the Britons—never, no never, by G—d, "never shall be slaves," are landless, money-less, vote-less slaves at the present time in the land of their birth, and that without a speedy alteration, this will be the condition of their children. So confident am I of these truths, that I care not what may be said of my extreme views. With our narrow representative system, who are worthy to uphold the privileges struggled and fought for from the time of England's giant among giants, the Saxon Cromwell? Who are they that uphold the great trust of the liberties of the people? There is the highly educated class that despairs, because, although highly educated, it knows not what liberty and justice mean, and therefore holds aloof. There is the class beneath—the middle class of England, the bourgeois of France, without self-respect, therefore without public spirit, which can be bribed indirectly by the gift of a place, by the concession of a lease, even by an invitation to a party of a great house, which includes the wives and the daughters; and there is, thanks to the action of the aristocracy and the other plunderers, a lower class still,—mercenary, corrupt and shameless to the marrow of their bones, which sells itself, and its individual and collective liberties for money and drink. I wish to be an alarmist, for if there is not the capacity in this England of ours for a peaceful revolution, there will be, as the alternative, a bloody one. History warns us that in all countries there

are social and political corruptions, which strike their roots in a nation so deep, that no force but the force of a revolution can tear them out ; and it is generally admitted, by older and wiser men than myself, that the corruptions and monopolies that I have hinted at, are fast extending themselves in England and Europe, beyond that lawful and bloodless reform which has guided us in the past. I trust that a *mind* revolution will yet bring us all the changes necessary, and that the future will prove I am right, when I say the remedies on which a permanent, complete and final reform can be built, whether it prevents a convulsion or follows a revolution, are to be found within the covers of this book—one of the social, political, financial bibles of the English, and the inhabitants of our mother earth. Are these the wild words of an enthusiast ! Is it the dream of an earthly paradise, that, as Bright states, is to give us not a new heaven, but a new earth. Is it folly so to believe ? I think not, and I am constrained to say, that with a full reverence for nature and its proper use, in, and under all conditions, and with perfect love for your neighbour, which will bring as its outcome perfect love for one's self, will bring happiness to all in the present and future.

A day or two ago, news came from Spain that there had been some military turmoil at Badajos. In this morning's papers the intelligence published already wears a much more serious aspect, and I have just seen some private telegrams which imply that a general revolution is apprehended, if not actually in progress. Nobody ever knows anything about political movements in Spain, but we have had various hints for some months past, that the Republican and Socialist parties have been making head. If there is to be a great social upheaval in Spain, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the news. Germany, France, Russia and Italy, contain unknown forces, in the way of Socialism, and in short, there is no knowing how far the infection may spread. I am well aware that no subject is more engrossing the attention of intelligent mechanics in the North of England, than what may be described as the social revolution.

MADRID, JAN. 14.—In Congress to-day: Senor Castelar began his speech, which has been nearly one month in preparation. The anxiety to hear him was such that at five o'clock this morning some eighty persons had congregated in front of the entrance to the public tribunes, one enthusiast having brought his mattress with him in order to pass the night comfortably.

Senor Castelar's address—at least the part delivered to-day—was academic and historical, and contained some brilliant periods.

He began by stating that he intended to deal with the question of the honour of the nation, and to defend the substance of the principles which he advocated, namely, the conciliation of Liberal parties. He said that Spain was a democracy, and therefore her constitution should be democratic. He warned the Chamber that it must proceed prudently. If not, the democracy, which for the moment might organise itself under a Monarchy, would organise itself under a Republic. He desired the Constitution of 1860, in its entirety, and asserted that the present Constitutional party only represented the Conservatives.

JAN. 15, 1884.—The diplomatic tribune to-day was crowded with representatives of nearly all the Powers—there being an exception in the case of France—to hear Senor Castelar's attack on the King's visit to Germany, upon the German Emperor and the Germans; and his defence of France and the French Republic. The speech in its innumerable, brilliant periods, evidently carefully committed to memory, was a great oratorical effort. Excepting, however, when his impassioned eulogiums of the Latin race, and especially of Spain and the Spaniards, and a most marvellous philippic against the originators of the Paris scandal, excited applause in the Tribunes. It appeared to be instinctively felt that the speech was that of a statesman who aspired to occupy an important post in his country's service.

France, for Senor Castelar, is the representative of reason and justice in the world. Germany, practically, of the Uhlan uniform, and he asserted that the German Emperor, in giving King Alfonso a colonelship of Uhlan, only sought a pretext

for war against his neighbours. He continued his eulogy of the Latin races, which were first in the world at nearly all points, which should join with England and America to impose their will upon the Empires and Monarchies of Central Europe. The plutocratic classes in England have been solemnly warned of the fearful perils seething around their luxury, and unless they strive to abate the pervading misery and desolation of the masses, they may suddenly be confronted with the demon of a desperate democracy—akin to that of the days of Danton and Desmoulines.

The next Liberal premier in the House of Commons will mark a new departure in politics. It must be one of two men—Mr. Chamberlain or Sir Charles Dilke; and both are politicians of a class which has never yet arrived at the highest honours of the Treasury bench: in other words, they are both Radicals.

Here I conclude, in the full hope that some Radical premier will have the hearty support of all the Reformers and Radicals to help on the work of the future. I feel that with the aristocratic connexions of a Gladstone, who is not a Glad-stone in our need, reforms are impossible, and there is no room for me in *his* Cabinet; but with a Chamberlain of the people in its truest sense—one to guard the people's chamber, and the people likewise, I would have no objection to hold the portfolio of Public Works, upon the understanding that my system of "How to Construct the same by means of Public Legal Tender Notes," is to be adopted, and thus, in so doing, without Bonds, Mortgages, Loans, or the Burden of Interest, and then, indeed, one might expect the long prayed and hoped for

MILLENIUM.





CHAPTER XIX.

FINDING that time and tide would not wait, even for me, a Boon, any more for than any other man, and the steamer being advertised to start punctually from East London, I, with heaviness at my heart, at last bade my family farewell, perhaps for ever, for ought I knew. But there, it is no use repining, all friends must part, and take their last farewell. The thought and fact may be hard from the circumstances, but how soon we part none can tell. At the station I bade farewell to the hard-worked Minister of Kei-road and his happy-looking wife, who, although poor, seemed to me to be one who could understand the real idea of Moore, the Irish poet, who exclaims :—

O ! what was love made for, if 'tis not same,
Through joy and through torment, through glory and shame,
I know not, I ask not, if there is guilt in that heart,
I but know that I love thee, whatever thou art.

Though it may be a matter of dispute, as to whether or not men can be happy without material wealth, no one will for a moment assert that they can be happy without those energies or faculties which are used in procuring wealth. The man who can become rich through patience, including self-control, temperance, economy, foresight, and judgment, may retain a good degree of serenity, if misfortune rob him of his riches ; but if he should be devoid of these desirable characteristics, no one can sufficiently picture his desolation and future misery. No unhappiness in life is equal to unhappiness at home. All other personal miseries can be better borne than the terrible misfortune of domestic disunion, and none so completely demoralises the nature. The anguish of disease itself is modified, ameliorated, even rendered blessed, by the tender

touch, the dear presence of the sympathetic beloved ; and loss of fortune is not loss of happiness where family love is left. But the want of that love is not to be supplied by anything else on earth. Health, fortune, success, nothing has its full savour, when the home is unhappy ; and the greatest triumphs out of doors are of no avail to cheer the sinking heart when the misery within has to be encountered. Life is warfare, and those who climb steep paths, and go through dangerous enterprises, are the brave men and leaders ; but to rest basely at the cost of others labours is to be a coward ; safe, although despised.

Girls, whose parents can afford to keep servants, get the impression sometimes that it is " quite out of the question " to engage in any kind of household work, some even leaving the care of their own room to that of hired help. Such girls are the embodiment of laziness. There is no reason why every girl should not understand the running of the household machinery, so that, if at any time her mother were sick, and unable to oversee the usual arrangements, she might be able to take her place and manage satisfactorily.

It may be laid down as an uncontrovertible principle, that no family can be happy without employment—regular, diversified, continually recurring employment. There may be the possession of wealth, there may be an ample and beautiful domain, there may be everything externally to enjoy ; but unless there be appropriate and varied employment to occupy the body, engross the mind, and awaken the energies, there cannot be happiness. It is the active, industrious, persevering family that is the truly happy family, not the idle, the slothful, the useless—not the family that has no definite plan, no fixed and important object, no personal and collective energy.

Although he was poor, I could not but advise this hard-worked minister and schoolmaster, not to allow his patrons to insist that his wife should neglect her family ties and duties away from her home, while they imposed upon them so much. Better would it be for him to grow potatoes as an independent man. A wife with a family has no business to supplement income by out-door labour ; but if it was still his aim and delight to " teach the young idea how to shoot," to do his

utmost to teach the boys and girls the love of truth and honesty, as any education that forgot these two items, was most demoralising.

And so with a farewell to my heavy-hearted friends and family, I jumped on to the car of civilisation, bid good-bye to Mount Pleasant, and steamed away to East London, and, at the usual time, once more found myself at the Phoenix Hotel, which truly had risen out of the ashes of its dead self, since I knew it twelve months before. Singular to relate, I met there an old friend—one who had done her best to help on reforms in old England. Although she was not satisfied with all the movements of the leaders of the "Army of Martyrs" for the benefit of the people, still she had full faith that their efforts for the right would prove successful, and that she would, old as she was, still help them on in the old land when once she made up her mind for a journey over the "herring pond" to take her part in humanity's struggles, in opposition to the many human sharks that are eating up the vitals of the people. East London had completed its public works, and laid out its botanical garden to the delight of all the nursery maids and their would-be wooers, who freely took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded of love-making. The only thing wanted to make this gem city perfect, was the laying on of water, which with sound municipal heads, as "fathers of the city," and a perfect knowledge of finance, could be accomplished. All that was needed was a knowledge of finance, and I put my views on the subject in the form of a letter to the heads of the Twin town, on the banks of the Buffalo. Panmure is the out and inlet right up to the vast interior, and, therefore, must advance, and all her improvements and public works must be in proportion to her future wants and requirements.

"How to Construct Railways, Tramways, Breakwaters, Harbours of Refuge, and other Public Works throughout Cape Colony *without the burden of interest or taxation.*

To the Mayor, Council and Citizens of East London.

Gentlemen,—Having the pleasure of passing through Panmure, I am informed by your fellow-townsmen that you sadly need a much better and larger supply of pure water,

and that if arrangements could be made for making an aqueduct to supply the town with water, as well as the construction of a breakwater and docks, much advantage would accrue to your town and to the colony generally. Many persons have drawn attention to the inadequate supply of water in your town, also to the want of a properly constructed breakwater and docks for the port, and have at various times urged upon the public to demand that such works be carried out. True it is, that a large sum of money has been spent both in water-works and for a breakwater; but after all the outlay the quality and quantity of the water is not equal to the demand.

Many schemes have been propounded, and plans submitted to the public, in the hope that something would have been done ere this. Plans have been submitted to bring water from the Buffalo river and other places, where it was known that large quantities of water could be procured; and, undoubtedly, one of these plans would have been carried out but for the want of means.

Allow me to suggest that the following plan be adopted:— Supposing the estimated cost of the breakwater, docks, and water-works to be five or six millions of pounds; let an application be made to Parliament during the next Session for the loan of the same in Colonial notes of £1, free of all interest, such notes to be issued and marked for the express purpose of building and making your public works. The notes so issued to be *legal tender* for all taxes and payments in the colony, just as the present Colonial notes are used. The notes so advanced to be paid away to the men who now own the present water-works, breakwater, and land that would be required to enlarge and complete the same; also to the men who would make the bricks, the ironwork, the wood-work, and in fact to all, for material and labour used in such works. It is not for want of material or men that the works are not done. We know that there are millions of tons of clay, sand and chalk ready to be made into bricks; millions of tons of iron and wood ready to be used for such purposes; and as regards men, your every-day knowledge can testify that there are hundreds of surveyors, brickmakers, bricklayers, car-

penters, ironworkers, excavators and others wanting and asking for work, who would be only too glad to assist in the building of public works that would add to the comfort of your town. When the whole of the notes so advanced were paid away, and you in possession of the water-works, docks and break-water, you would be enabled to charge for water supplied, and the use of the docks at the rate of five per cent. over and above the cost of wear ; and then with this five per cent. call in one twentieth of the notes so advanced, so that in the course of twenty years, the whole of the notes would be redeemed out of the income of the works. After the redemption you could reduce the charges, or continue the same, and thus provide an income for local purposes, instead of the present charges levied on the town. These works must be made, and, as representative men of East London, I beg you to take the matter in hand, for the advantage of the people and the reduction of local taxation. Let there be no delay. Prove, by your actions, that you are the wise men of the Eastern Province, elected for your business-like qualities, and your desire to serve your fellow-citizens. You now have an opportunity to carry out a great work, and thus add to the comfort and happiness of your town, and to immortalise your names as benefactors of the human race. Let the future prove you are the men equal to the task, and— .

In our requirements with legal tenders chase—
All fear of want from Labour's hardy race ;
Bid aqueducts be formed to bring the rills
Of purest water from the neighbouring hills ;
Bid lakes expand where youth may safely float ;
Bid deepened streams the health of towns promote ;
Bid harbours open, public works and ways extend ;
Bid temples worthy of art and science ascend ;
Bid the broad arch the dangerous flood contain ;
The mole projected break the roaring main—
Back to her bounds the subject sea command,
And roll obedient rivers through the land.
Lastly, let Government such wages give
On public works that all may toil and live ;
Then all who toil will find life pass along,
Happier, sustained by labour than by wrong ;

Then will our honest workers be better fed—
No workhouse test nor destitution dread—
And all around them rising in the scale
Of comfort, show that humanity's laws prevail.

At this time the question of Free Trade was occupying the attention of the frontier men, and of the colony, and as an out and out Free Trader, I feel it incumbent on me to give not only my own views, but the statements of others, which definitely settles the whole question, as I believe, in favour of Free Trade principles. "Protection" for an individual or individuals has been the curse of all time. Free Trade in land; Free Trade in money; Free Trade in exchanges; a National Corn Standard of Value; Cost the limit of Price, is all we want to make our land and mechanical producers men, not as now, slaves and wage-receivers from the monopolists and protectors of old vested interests, in opposition to modern *rights of men*. To enable all to fully understand the question, I here append the views of the colonists, and to strengthen the hands of Englishmen, the views *and facts* of England's Saxon giant, John Bright. While substantially agreeing with all that he maintains up to a certain time, we now require not only the support of Free Traders for corn, but a new race of reformers; Free Traders that can start from the point where Bright and his Manchester school left off; who, instead of merely working to help the spinners of Lancashire, will help the whole nation, and then Free Trade will be a wide-world principle for all, giving a full opportunity to all men to start from the lowest rung in the ladder of life. The cry must now be, freedom to all—away with all monopoly.

See the marvellous outcome of freedom in land, as in America; think what can be effected with freedom in money.

RESOURCES AND GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Rev. F. Barham Zindee, who has lately returned from a visit to the United States, has delivered a lecture intended to express his views of the resources of that country, and the prospective growth of the population. And although we must take his estimate with a large degree of modification, yet the

facts he presents are sufficiently surprising to justify great anticipations of the future of that great country. The lecturer stated that the population of the Union, now amounted to over 50,000,000, and that it doubled every twenty-five years. If it continued at that rate, in one hundred years time the population would number 800,000,000. But what would become of this vast number of people? He ventured to say that they would cross the plateau of Mexico, and soon swamp the whole of South America. It was computed that at the present time 36,000,000 persons were engaged in cultivating the soil on the 4,500,000 farms in the States, and 85 per cent. of the whole of the produce was grown by the hand of the farmer and his family. It is, of course, not at all likely that the prediction that in 1983, the population of the United States will reach eight hundred millions, as there is no doubt that checks, and adverse circumstances will arise, that will prevent such a congestion of inhabitants as the lecturer anticipated; but it is nevertheless true, that the rapid progress of the American nation is one of the most wonderful phenomena not only of the present, but of all times. We acquiesce in the opinion of the lecturer, that when the population of the Northern Continent greatly increases, it will overflow its boundaries, colonise Mexico, and swamp the whole of South America.

At the same time, the military aspect of the case should not attract exclusive attention, and it should not be forgotten that every mile of road laid down in the vast region now under discussion will promote trade, and will help to take the cereals of Russia to the markets of the consumer. Transportation in Russia is notoriously imperfect, and very many grain regions under the jurisdiction of the Czar cannot reach the market for want of railroads. It is possible that the Russian roads now building or projected will carry soldiers to the field of battle and destruction; but it is certain that they will carry wheat and rye to the consumer, and that, in a remote way, they will compete with the American grain-carrying roads. It is proper not to forget the fact that Russia alone is amply able to produce all the wheat needed by Europe, and that it will surely produce more than it does now.

when it has more railroads and better systems of agriculture. Russia has many thousands of square miles of virgin land fit for wheat culture, and if Russia were inhabited by Americans, these lands would be opened to trade by nothing else than railroads. But the roads would not be called "strategic lines."

The countries most in need of foreign cereals are the United Kingdom, France and Germany. Time will show whether they will be supplied by Russia or America—two countries wonderfully alike as grain producers. America used to rely on its prairies; Russia matches them by her "black earth," which extends throughout her central and southern Governments. America boasts of its extreme West; Russia possesses a great East, which can supply all Europe with food. And even American mines of precious metals seem to have a competitor in Russia. Nominally, Russia opens this wealth for military purposes; in reality, the strategic lines of the Czar's empire will carry to the best markets of the world, wheat, rye, meats, gold and silver, and a few years will suffice to make this competition quite formidable.

HUMANITY.

Far from the cares or glories that await
 The pomp of courts, the pageantry of state;
 Far from the bar, the senate, and the throne,
 Where shines the scholar, and where sleeps the drone;
 Where wealthy dulness and unlettered pride,
 Ambition's wiles pursue with hasty stride—
 Dwelt, in a calm recess, sacred to truth,
 And peace-clad virtue, in the bloom of youth,
 Humanity—Heaven's fairest, favourite child,
 Of manners gentle and affections mild.
 Thou gracious maid! Heaven's own peculiar care,
 Its bright original—as good, as fair,
 Congenial Nature formed, then sent thee forth
 In all the majesty of native worth.
 'Tis thine, meek goddess of the tearful eye!
 To teach the labouring breast to heave the sigh;
 'Tis thine to teach kind pity to express
 The tenderest language when she views distress,
 To touch with sympathy the rugged soul,
 Melt with affection, and with love control.