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CLEAR THE WAY FOR THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

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A NEW CATHEDRAL

The paid preachers of the Anglican Church in Toronto are aching for a larger Cathedral. The dim twilight and the expensive pillars and the mystic nave and symbols that will awe the ignorant are exceedingly wanted by the priests in authority.

Canon McNab preached a powerful sermon (all sermons are powerful when preached by anybody over a curate) on the benefits of the Cathedral. He took for his text Joshua XXIV., 27. Verses 26 and 27 read as follows:

"And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone and set it up there under an oak, that was by the sanctuary of the Lord."

And Joshua said unto all the people. Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord, which he spake unto us; it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God."

From these words and actions, the good Canon concludes that the people of Toronto should build his Bishop a Cathedral. Let us look at the circumstances.

Joshua had called the people together and asked them whether they had chosen to serve their God Yahweh. They said they had. Then Joshua told them to stick to their bargain and as witness of the bargain he picked up a stone that had heard the answer of the Israelites and put it under an oak tree and told the people that the stone had heard their answer and would be a witness to the contract.

From these circumstances, reasoning from analogy, the good Canon should call his congregation together and ask them if they wanted to serve God. If they said yes, he should tell them to put away the strange capitalist Gods that inhabit their heart and he should take a stone and put it up somewhere so that they could see the stone and be reminded of their promise.

But the good Canon does not argue like that. The new school of philosophy, led by Bergson and Henry James, declares that logic does not apply to the deeper reaches of philosophy. The good Canon argues like a Bergsonian. He has one Cathedral. He wants it greatly enlarged. Joshua set up a monolith, a sort of peaceful Bunker Hill Monument. The good Canon wants a whole half million dollar, or million dollar building. The monument was the evidence of a contract. The Cathedral would be a sort of larger studio for the artistic prayers of the priests.

In ancient Greece there were sophists. These sophists had certain ideas which they wanted to expound. They would ask their audience for questions. No matter what question was put the sophist would twist it so that he could get off his favorite idea.

The good Canon is like the old sophists. He can wrench a report of what a primitive leader of an ancient nomad tribe did into a command of the Divine Being for the people of Toronto the Good to build its Bishop a Cathedral. The good Canon is reputed to be a follower of a man who had not where to lay his head, who went about healing the sick, who delighted not in temples made with hands, who gave the good priests of his day who wanted money for their building one of the most terrible tongue lashings known to history.

Is it any wonder that many socialists on the Sabbath day prefer to wander through the fields than to listen to the text wranglings of illogical and building hungry priests.

MATERIAL IDEALISM

The word material is shunned by many persons. A whole host of horrible ideas is conveyed by this word to some unclear thinkers. A materialist is a man who is gross and podgy and atheistic, one to whom all the finer senses are lacking. This is the idea conveyed to some by the term.

Yet materialism is triumphing more and more. The idealist who does not base himself on material things is apt to be a sentimental visionary. The idealism that counts is based on material things.

The doctor who wants to cure a

patient, the surgeon who wants to remove pain, must depend on material things. It is through the care of the material body that health is obtained. Idealism is founded on materialism.

Sanitary inspectors are not discussing so much altruistic truths as the care of drains. The inventor does not attempt to fly except by the control of delicate but strong machinery. The gardener does not attempt to raise beautiful flowers except on soil fitted for the plant life and men and women are coming to see that children must have the proper material environment to develop wholesomely.

Socialists are idealists. But they know that the only true way to bring about an ideal state is to lay a firm foundation of society according to the laws nature has laid down for our guidance.

When Tolstoy was a little boy he wanted to fly. So he spread his arms and stepped out of a window and fell. The immaterial idealists have been doing the same thing for centuries. They have just asserted that idealism would triumph if it were only preached long enough.

After the natural laws have been followed and we have conquered the material existence for all the people and removed worry. When we have removed want and hunger and poverty and misery caused by the lack of the material necessities for the body, then we can build the tower of the soul. Then we can build the superstructure of aerial idealisms in actual practice.

But our duty lies with the nearest thing to do. We must be materialists now because we are in material bondage and we must take material means to free us from that slavery. The first step first.

CIVIL SERVANTS

Civil servants of the various countries are realizing that they are a part of the working class and as such have little to look for from the capitalists. Until recently in France the state employees kept themselves apart from the labor movement. They considered themselves a superior type of creatures. The way the Clemenceau government handled the postoffice employees have convinced them that their interest lies with that of the workers.

At Ottawa, recently, the workers in the various departments had their hours of labor lengthened. Many grumbles were heard because some of the employees had taken summer cottages and the lengthened hours seriously interrupted their enjoyment of evening and morning country life. These workers will realize that they are in the class of the workers.

President Taft is using the pruning knife. He is cutting down expenses. The first official cut he makes is among the U. S. wage slaves. He takes them off the salaried list and puts them on wages. This means that they are paid by the day and not by the month. If slack times come and they are not employed for two or three days they get no pay. Moreover the service can be speeded up and more work can be got out of fewer men.

In the cities an attempt is now on to do away with democracy. The idea advocated by the capitalist press is government by commission. A business government where the workers will be exploited is what the business men want. This kind of a government is being strenuously urged for Montreal. The civic employees are having too nice a time of it to think the business men when they consider the way they make their own slaves hustle.

France has taught the lesson to its employees, Canada, the U. S. and the governments of the various cities are also teaching their employees that their interest lies in fighting the system that speeds up and exploits.

Russell Wallace has worked out a scheme whereby free bread can be given to all the people of England, rich and poor, noble and commoner. The bread is to be free to the recipient, being paid for by taxation. This would not pauperize the people as both the rich and the poor share and shiftless people any more than does free water.

THE TIME DRAWETH NIGH

WILLIAM RESTELLE SHIER

"Yes, Socialism is all right, but it won't be in our time."

Familiar words, these. There is not a socialist agitator in any part of the word who does not hear them spoken at least a dozen times a week, and by persons, mind you, inside as well as outside the Socialist Party.

Now, whenever anyone makes such an assertion, you are pretty safe in betting your tongue that he is not well grounded in economics, for if he were he would know that all the ethical, political and economic forces of the age are conspiring to bring about great changes in the near future.

In the first place, we already have socialism in production, that is, co-operation in the manufacture and distribution of commodities. The little shops and factories of a century ago, employing at most half a dozen workers, have been absorbed by the colossal establishments of today in which there is minute division of labor and thousands of people working under one roof. The foundation for the co-operative commonwealth is already laid.

Again, individual ownership of the instruments of production with its corollary, supervision of the plant by its immediate owner, is no longer a fact of much importance in Europe and America. To-day capital is collectively controlled through means of joint-stock companies, the shareholders of which probably know nothing of the industry in which their money is invested, much less work in the mines and ships and factories from which they derive dividends. These industries are conducted by salaried managers, and if all the shareholders should die at once, or if their claims should be transferred to the state not a wheel would cease whirling nor a fire go out.

The rate at which industry is being organized by the trusts is amazing. Between 1899 and 1900 the trust movement flashed upon the country like a meteor in the sky, but, unlike the meteor, it has not vanished from sight. Instead, it is gathering body like a comet and becoming more conspicuous as the months roll by. And this, too, notwithstanding Mr. Roosevelt's "big stick" and the piteous outcries of the middle class. If anyone doubts this, let him but consider the following facts which, let me say, did not originate in the heated mind of some crack-brained fanatic, but which are culled from the blue-books of the United States government.

The Census of Manufacturers, published by the Department of Commerce and Labor, informs us that, in 1904, 11.2 per cent of the manufacturing establishments controlled 81.5 per cent of all capital invested in manufacture in the United States, and supplied 79.3 per cent of all products. Thirty-eight per cent of the total values were produced by about 1900 establishments—less than one per cent of the whole. From the same source we learn that in seven of the principle industries the trusts do from 75 to 90 per cent of the business, while in ten other industries from 40 to 75 per cent of the business is in their grip.

How do those facts impress you? Here are some more.

According to John Moody, author of "The Truth about the Trusts," the total wealth of the United States exceeds \$120,000,000,000, and of this amount fifty billion dollars is held in corporate form. Thus, over one-fourth of the national wealth has already become trustified. And the bulk of this wealth is owned by a score or two of families.

In the railway industry, for example a group of seven men, consisting of Morgan, Harriman, Vanderbilt, Frick, Hill and the Moore brothers, are credited with controlling 75 per cent of the country's railway mileage and 85 per cent of the earnings. Nor are their holdings confined to rolling stock; they extend into every department of industry, into street railways, gas and electric light plants, telegraphs and telephones, oil, steel, copper, asbestos, tobacco, rubber, sugar, insurance and many other interests.

Yet in spite of these facts there are many people who declare that the world is not yet ripe for socialism. They are

mistaken. It is not the socialists who are in advance of the times, but the non-socialists who are behind them.

Again, the only thing which has kept capitalism going in the past has been the fact that surplus population could overflow into new territory, surplus capital be invested in new undertakings, surplus produce be disposed of in new markets. But the world has now been pretty well conquered by king capital. The era of expansion has been superseded by the era of consolidation. The wilderness of the west has been brought under cultivation, industrial development has reached the age of maturity, and foreign market countries, such as Japan and China, which have hitherto absorbed our surplus produce, are learning to supply their own wants.

Now, unlike the industrial system which preceded it, capitalism depends for its life upon growth. It cannot stand still like the social orders of antiquity and the middle ages. It must grow, grow, grow. It must have room and lots of it in which to expand. But unfortunately for it the globe cannot be dilated beyond its present dimensions, nor is it very likely that communication will be established with Mars or Venus or the planets off in space. True, South America, Africa and Asia have not yet been brought under intense exploitation, but these countries will have a rapid development and provide only a temporary outlet for the pent-up energies of Europe and America. Capitalism is swiftly nearing the end of its tether.

Now, the consolidation of industry into trusts, the curtailment of foreign markets, the narrowing of new fields for exploitation, the doubling of population every thirty years in the United States and all the tendencies of capitalist development are intensifying every evil which now afflicts the body politic. The people are losing their homes; the farmers are losing their land; the unemployed army is growing in size, and wages are not keeping pace with the rise in the cost of living. Social conditions are becoming worse. And with what result? Simply that the masses are being forced into revolt against a system which holds out to them nothing but increasing misery. They are beginning to listen to socialist agitators. They are starting to vote the Socialist ticket. They are studying economics and organizing into a great political party of their own. They are clamoring for emancipation and all signs point to their attaining it in the not far distant future.

The C. P. R. Company have given \$2,500 to educate the son of a constable killed while defending the Company's property. The wage slaves of the C. P. R. can save their lives away and will get fired for their pains. But the man with the gun, the man who will fight, the man who is ready to lay down his life to hold the property down for the C. P. R., that is the man the Company likes. It simply shows the capitalist outlook. Produce wealth for the company and be despised. Hold the wealth for the company and be rewarded. The workers are dead easy.

The troops were rushed to Glacier Bay in quick order. The capitalists know a good thing when they see it. They are giving their wage slaves two weeks with full pay if they will spend the time in the militia. You see what they want their wage slaves to do? They want them to work for the bosses at the terms dictated by the bosses and to be ready, if necessary, to shoot down those workers who object too strenuously to being wage slaves.

King Edward is declaring that the prosperity of Great Britain depends on scientific technical training. This is good. But unless the people get enough money to buy the services produced by the activities of technical experts of what benefit will the training be to Great Britain?

A man in London, Ont., was fined seven dollars for sleeping with hogs in a railway car. The hogs of the farmer can sleep in peace but the son of man hath not where to lay his head.

ENVIRONMENT AND ORIGINAL SIN

G. DESMOND

That a lie may be told and retold so often that it finally comes to be accepted as the truth, is an old and very true saying.

On this ground we are prepared to admit that the average paid preacher of Bourgeois religion, who endeavors to inculcate into his congregation the ideas of original sin and inherent human depravity, may believe it himself. Certainly, if the constant repetition of a statement could make said statement true, the aforementioned preachers, who seldom lose an opportunity of thundering forth this doctrine, would have humanity vile to the last degree ere now. As it is, however, they have not done so. It is true that in the past most people accepted the idea. But at the present time we find a change manifesting itself. An increasing number of persons are rebelling against church and ecclesiastical domination. They are beginning to think for themselves. People are beginning to realize that man is not a creature inherently bad, any more than he is a creature inherently good, but simply a living thing controlled and made and moulded to a certain scale and shape like all other living organisms by his environment.

The human infant for instance has very little inherent tendencies which cannot be overcome. It is simply full of almost unlimited possibilities. Its mind, the controlling part, is a blank and can be developed for good or bad, just as its body can be developed for sickness or health. It is all a matter of environment. With a good environment, the possibilities for good are developed and become the dominating part of the individual's nature. With a bad environment the opposite is the case. These facts are becoming apparent to all thinkers.

We are beginning to realize, that society can be, to the human unite, either a God or a Devil as it likes, developing the best or the worst side of the nature at will. Capitalism in its last stage certainly tends to the development of the worst side of the human nature. Capitalism, however, is on its last legs and, if the signs of the times can be depended upon, must soon fall from its own weight. When the era of socialism dawns society will recognize its duty to the individual and there will be no need for paid preachers to apologize on its behalf for the suppression of the best possibilities in human nature and the development of the worst by preaching, as they do now, the doctrine of original sin and the unborn depravity of the human being.

INDIVIDUALISM

The capitalists are all for individual initiative. Their long homilies are poured forth in tedious manner upon the benefits arising to civilization from individual initiative. They are against all socialistic activity for the benefit of the workers. Their newspapers and paid preachers and bonused politicians all shout the same tune.

Yet the capitalist is the last one to practice what he preaches. He does not want to stand on his own feet. Every time the toes of capitalism are stepped on the capitalist goes whining to the government for relief and protection. Your gentlemanly, stiff colored capitalist is the greatest whiner in the world.

He whines to the government and gets protection. He whines to the government and the government gives him a railway system. Strathcona and his gang would today be piking the streets as tramps had they not whined to the government for bonuses. The Dominion Steel Company has whiners at its head. They whined and got bonuses on pig iron and steel. The government of Canada gives these gentlemen a bonus for doing business. They can't stand on their own feet. They talk about individual activity and how they have prospered. But their grandiloquent speeches are prevarications. They are all whiners for government pap.

The capitalists whine to the government and get an Industrial Disputes act. They whine and get a bonus on

lead. They whine and troops are hurried at the expense of the people to protect for them the property the government has given them. They get themselves into a mess by mismanagement and the people's purse is open to them to right themselves again.

They whine and broad acres of the people's domain are given to them. They whine and the flunky press mouth against the workers.

When the capitalists talk to the workers they cannot talk like one man to another. They hector. They whine. They declare that workers are attacking law and order. They declare that the lazy shiftless drones want to live at government expense. Of course workers should not approach the government for any assistance. They should recognize that government assistance is reserved solely for capitalists.

The capitalists make the laws and they make them so that the workers are shut out from the benefits of the law. Then they tell the workers to stand on their own feet and rely for justice on a hostile law.

The capitalists, as far as law and individual initiative are concerned, are hypocritical whining humbugs. The workers are seeing through their shams and are going to vote their own men into power in order that the laws may be made in the interests of humanity and energy. Until recently they thought they did themselves proud if they voted for the whining capitalists and in return got a handshake from a capitalist flunky politician.

THE LONDON SITUATION

It is declared that London, England, is a hard place for Socialism. If there is a place where poverty is more grinding and where the wealthy are more corrupt it is not known.

The socialists have a hard time to convert the East end Londoner to socialism. The agitator will tell the poor devils of their corrupt and soulless landlords and he will be believed. But he cannot entuse the voter. The Londoner has got into the way of thinking that things cannot be made better. He has grown hopeless and all he hopes to get is bread and circuses. Therefore he votes imperialism because it will give him spectacles to look at. He likes the king because around the king a sort of circus like performance is kept up.

When the spirit of the worker becomes too broken then they will be broken reeds and will be the danger spot of democracy. The spirit in the worker must still be good and whole or else he will be a fit instrument in the hands of the reactionaries to stifle the spread of democracy in politics as well as in industry.

When the people are oppressed too much then they will become diseased and degenerate and it will become impossible to raise them. Or else the people will revolt in a blind way as they did during the French Revolution.

There must be organization and strength and intellect among the workers. The revolution will not be so much a quick action affair. It is more a long drawn out civil war. We are in it now.

That being the case, anything that will strengthen the men who work and make for them the betterment of their conditions will make for them the betterment of socialism.

Capitalism is dying. The death throes are on it. In its writhings it is injuring workmen the world over. It is up to the workers to kill the thing outright. Trades unions, strikes, boycotts, Labor Councils, are all the means taken to protect labor from the agonies thrust upon them by capitalism. These things are good to keep the worker from becoming dead wood as they become in the slums of London. The civil war between capital and labor could be ended tomorrow did the workers but realize their strength. Until they do the labor unions and the fight for better conditions will keep the spirit in the workers for a hope for better things.

Curzon protests against the dolorous chorus of England's leading men. The leading financiers and lordly racketeers need not consider that because they are being taxed a penny or two the country is going to perdition.