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Twenty-three Men Control Canada

An industrial despotism exists which holds the slaves of Canada in the grip of a handful of men.

It is not often that Cotton's finds anything in Hansard (the verbatim reports of the speeches in the House of Commons) worth publishing. But on January 30th the Hon. H. R. Emmerson, M.P. for Westmoreland, N. B., drew back the curtain which hides the inner shrine of the capitalist system. For a few brief minutes he exposed a little of the centralization of capitalist control. We therefore quote a part of his speech word for word.

EMMERSON'S SPEECH

Do we realize how confined as to individuals are the forces which govern the financial institutions of this country? Have we stopped to think and to count the number of men in Canada who control not only the banking system, but the insurance companies, the loan companies, the trust companies and the mortgage companies of Canada? Has it been brought to the notice of this Parliament that Canada is today controlled, in so far as its financial interests are concerned, by less than fifty men? I was much interested recently in reading an article with respect to this condition of things. We all know that in the United States the number of men who control—I shall not say govern—the financial interests and the great corporations of the country, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Vanderbilts, the Goulds and a few others comprise the men who are the directive forces of all the great corporations in the United States. In elaborating that idea, I cannot do better than read some extracts from a book which was recently sent me by the president of one of our Canadian universities. The book has relation to the conditions which prevail in the United States; and points out the dangers of the money power, and the trend of legislation in that country, in regard to the control of its business and financial interests. I read it with interest, and I deem it to be sensible and to the point. I think I can afford to ask this House to listen to some brief extracts from the opening chapters of that book. The author, in speaking of the social order and the conditions which have prevailed in the United States for the past ten years, says:

Most of us were eager to get the better of our fellow citizens, and to get advantage which the rest could not get. Our vast continent offered untried chances for this great American game. But at last we have begun to realize that some have played the game according to the accepted rules, but with unexpected effectiveness. The natural resources of this country are passing into the control of a few men, and the increasing number of people are henceforth to live in a land owned by an ever decreasing number. The means of traffic are the arteries of the social body; every freight car is a blood corpuscle charged with life. We have allowed private persons to put their thumbs where they can constrict the life blood of the nation at will. The common people have financed the industry of the country with their savings, but the control of industry has passed out of their hands completely. The fruits of our common work are absorbed by a limited group; the mass of the people are permanently condemned to wage earning positions. The cost of living has been raised by unseen hands, until several millions of our people are unable to earn even the bare minimum which social science declares necessary for health and decency, and all families living on a fixed income have felt the mysterious and suffocating pressure.

The learned writer goes on to say: All this was the necessary outcome of our economic system; but it was a surprise to men of most of whom the process began to culminate and we saw the end of our own doings.

I have read that with the idea of emphasizing conditions which exist and which have existed for a long time in the United States, and with a view of pointing out that the operations which have resulted from the system prevailing in the United States are sufficient to demonstrate to us that the same forces, the same dominating influences in Canada are a menace to the great masses of the people. There is lurking in every section and paragraph of this Bill the conception of a money power. While those influences in the United States are limited to say ten men as controlling the great industries and estates of that country, we in Canada have the condition of practically twenty-three men controlling the great corporations, the insurance companies, the trust and loan companies of the country. These men do not own the stock; but they are the directing forces on the boards of directors; they are the influences that move and control at will the great body of the people who are in any way interested in those corporations, whether financial, industrial, or insurance. In the information, which was brought to my notice, and which I shall presume to impart to the House in order to have it placed on Hansard, I read that a certain gentleman, whose name is not important, compiled a list of the companies whose capitalization—bonds and stocks—reaches or exceeds \$500,000, including a few insurance companies of smaller capitalization, because of the magnitude of their funds available for investment; and he discovered that the directors who are common to

You wonder why the McBride government is so well supported by the press. The answer can be seen in the item of \$88,000 voted by the province of government for "advertising." \$88,000 if judiciously spent among the newspapers can do a lot in making them see the beneficence of the present government. To the average newspaper government advertising is like found money, and the average newspaper management will do some pretty low crawling to annex found money. The wage slaves of the funds. Their poor pay barely keeps them in the necessities of life. Hence the newspapers ignore them, snub them. For the management of these sheets know the workers will part with their money to buy the sheets—anyway. So the newspapers boom the government and the workers furnish their nickels to the papers and their votes to their masters.

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the 23 leading Canadian corporations sit down to forty-eight, all residents in Canada, with the single exception of Lord Strathcona. Of these 23 corporations, eight are operating outside of Canada. The 15 directors are on the boards of at least three companies of the 23. The same inquirer found further THAT AT THE BOTTOM OF THE WHOLE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN CANADA WERE 23 CAPITALIST DIRECTORS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF 30 OUT OF THE 40 TOTAL IN CORPORATIONS. IN OTHER WORDS, THESE TWENTY THREE MEN ARE THE DIRECTIVE FORCES IN PRACTICALLY ALL OF CANADA'S ECONOMIC LIFE. Out of the twenty three, nine reside in Toronto—Toronto the Good! thirteen in Montreal—Montreal the Bad! and one in England. It gave a table which shows the total number of directorships held by each one and the distribution of their directorships in different fields, transportation, industrial and financial, as well as the total capitalization and assets of the companies in which each is interested. This House at this moment is not interested in that table, and I will not encumber Hansard with the recital of what it contains. Reference is then made to a chart designed to illustrate the situation. Each group is represented by a circle, the size of which is said to be roughly determined by the capitalization of each. This chart shows that twenty-five or thirty large directors are common to each of the three classes, constituting the financial group; that only four are common to the four classes of the industrial, and that four also are common to both classes of the transportation group. The relation of each group to the others is shown by the interlocking of the circles which indicate that the financial and industrial groups, and the financial and transportation groups, are common to the financial and industrial groups, and the financial and transportation groups. But this interlocking of the circles is very interesting point, the number of directors common to the three groups, financial, industrial and transportation. This number is twenty-three, and has been stated before. It is represented in the chart which the writer gives, but which I do not presume to place before the House. But it shows that there is a Canadian financial triangle which is of enormous importance to the country, the great masses of the people of this country. In Canada, the concentration of capital has developed to a very large extent. This is in conformity with the world-wide movement of corporate activities, not, therefore, to be startled when we learn that the base of the economic structure of Canada is a triangle of three groups, financial, industrial and transportation, consisting of twenty-three capitalist financiers upon whom depend in a very large measure the type and direction of material prosperity.

WHAT YOU SHOULD WORK FOR

The industry of Canada is practically controlled by twenty-three men. These twenty-three sit at the heart of commerce, suck up the unearned revenues from the slave workers, and distribute the unearned wealth to the owners of capital.

When a bank or an institution does not please these gentlemen, they swing the weight of their concentrated financial power against that institution and crush it out of existence.

The system of rent, interest and profit produced these conditions. The abolition of the system of rent, interest and profit will remove the conditions. It is not possible to smash the trusts, to turn back to individual control of small industries. That would be putting us back in the primitive conditions under which our grandfathers lived. The remedy lies in the producing class seizing the political power in order to transform the ownership and control of these concentrated industries into the collective control of the working class. This is the aim of Socialism. If you are of the twenty-three, you will oppose Socialism. But if you are one of those who are bled by the dictatorship of capital, you will vote and work for the replacing of industrial despotism by industrial democracy, and capitalist robbery by co-operative justice.

CANADA'S MONEY KINGS

The twenty-three men referred to by Hon. Mr. Emmerson in his speech as controlling the financial, industrial and transportation interests of Canada are: Senator G. A. Cox, W. D. Matthews, Frederick Nicholls, Senator Mackay, Sir Henry M. Pellett, Sir William Mackenzie, Sir William VanHorne, Sir E. B. Osler, Sir A. L. A. Angus, C. R. Ross, H. M. Somers, Senator Forget, Lord Strathcona, Sir G. A. Drummond, H. M. Molson, Sir Rodolphe Forget, D. B. Hanna, E. B. Greenshields, Sir Donald Mann, Sir Thos. Shaughnessy, the late R. Meighen, W. Wainwright.

In discussing the question of compensation for injured workmen, F. W. Hindsdale, of Washington, speaking at Toronto, declared that employers' liability reduces the number of accidents yearly. For the tendency of the insurance companies to raise rates more regard for employees by employers. You workers are a question of dollars and cents. They figure up the cost and when it is cheap and killed, they let you suffer. When it is cheaper for them to put in devices than to let you get maimed and killed, the safety devices are installed. This is an admitted fact by their own experts. Are you not foolish to vote for any politician who represents the "business element" of the country?

Watch the barber shops in your town. Mr. Agitator. If there is a resting place for papers, see that Cotton's has a place.

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Labor unrest during 1913 in Britain threatens to be as bad, if not worse, than it was in 1911 and 1913. The new state is about ready to burst through the shell of the old.

Socialism is at present under the searchlight. We as Socialists welcome the light, for the precepts of Socialism can stand out in the glare of the strongest investigation. We use no dark room methods.

Socialists denounce capitalism—and they know what they are talking about. Capitalists hire barkers to denounce Socialism, and they bark, and bark, and bark—and they don't know what they are talking about.

The standard of excellence of mechanical work is daily becoming lower and lower. Competition is fierce. Speed is the cry. Speed is urged on the workmen. Machines are geared and belted to run faster. The result is a miserable output and a shorter life for the slaves who tend these profit making soul grinders.

Socialism will help only the worker. Your boss cannot be expected to welcome it with a smile, for under Socialism your master can make no more profits off your ingenuity. But why need you worry about your master? Long have the workers thought only of their masters' interests. It is time they looked out for their own. Socialism will help you—the worker and producer, and you only.

The King of England, the Prince of Wales, and other like gentlemen are being guarded by large squads of police and detectives to prevent their being assassinated by Italian agitators. Millions of Indians have died to pay rent, interest and profit to the British plunderbund. Assassination is the underdog reaction against tyranny. The assassin is the fruit of British rule in India.

F. D. Waitt, an elderly man, a Canadian by birth who for twenty years had lived in British Columbia, died in a Westminster hospital from exposure. He was penniless and had been wandering round the C. P. R. yards for eight days before being taken in by the police. The capitalist parasites report that unearned revenues from B. C. slave mines and industries are exceptionally good just at present.

You cringe for an accommodation at the banks, you cringe for credit at the stores for the necessities of life, you cringe to the coal dealer to keep you warm till your ship comes in, you cringe to the police for fear of arrest, you cringe to the doctor to save your little ones, you cringe to politicians, and royalty, you cringe to everyone who has any kind of a hold on you under the present foolish system. You have to, for you are only a worker, and the hundreds of useless parasites who are living off your efforts can shut your gas off in a moment. You workers are a horde of cringers.

The little retailer says, "Don't I work? Why, say, I put in more hours of toil than any of you workers. My work is never done." The storekeeper works; he has to work to keep his head above water. But his work is unnecessary labor. His pay for his toil comes from workers who buy his goods. He is not helping to build up a country. He is just another added unnecessary burden on the weary backs of the masses. His work is non-productive, and therefore useless. Socialism will do away with these little would-be financiers—if they get the chance. But the small shopkeeper may never see the era of Socialism from behind his counter, as the tentacles of big business have him now in their grasp, and he will soon be back among the useful producers, a victim of the greedy system he helps to support.

LEMIEUX ND FORGET

Lemieux and Forget have been at it hammer and tongs in the House of Commons at Ottawa.

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux is a Liberal. He was the white haired boy of the party in bygone days. He posed as a democrat and as the great friend of labor. So friendly was he to the poor workmen that he accepted the job of Minister of Labor at \$10,000 per year, and bludgeoned the workers over the head with the Lemieux Act.

Forget is the big capitalist. So successful has been in annexing millions of dollars to his own bank account, that his merit was recognized by the parasites and the king knighted him.

Lemieux, on January 27th, attacked Sir Rodolphe's financial schemes. He attacked Forget's flotation of the International Bank, his merger of the Quebec electric light and power companies, and his dealings with the Quebec and Saguenay Railway. How Lemieux railed and fumed. Canada's name was being smirched in the international money markets. Forget was betraying the poor French investors into bankrupt schemes, and the poor capitalists of France would not get any interest on their money, and perchance would lose the money itself. The tribune of the downtrodden receivers of rent, interest and profit was terribly concerned lest Forget was making Canada's name unsavory in the nostrils of the international financial vultures. "If we wish to have Socialism in Canada," he stormed, "the best way of bringing it about is by protecting the bank managers who..." etc. He

Keep the wheels of industry turning and grind out profits for the masters. They will then be able to keep the wheels of their motor boats and automobiles buzzing merrily.

Let us take time by the forelock, and make sure that the unearned increment of wealth shall belong to the people and not to private capitalists who happen to be the owners of the soil.—Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

Papers say Canadians are getting to be Americanized. Sure, we are Americanized, exploited, subsidized, Bordenized, Toryized, robberized—just about every "ized" but humanized. The Socialists are trying to teach the workers the danger of becoming acclimatized to these conditions.

Does a man stay poor on his own account? No; he is kept poor for a purpose. Capitalism keeps him poor and in subjection that they may the more easily bend his will to meet the demands they enforce upon him. He must not rise in the social scale. If he did his exploiters would have to step down.

If Borden's \$35,000,000 ante was used for the prevention of disease in Canada, this would soon be one of the cleanest countries on the map. Spending money in this manner would not help the particular bunch of parasites who are prompting Borden to build battleships. It would be of benefit to the whole people, and is therefore not popular with the politicians of the master class.

Your little boy goes to school till he secures education enough to fit him for the workshops of the masters. Then you are forced to take him from his studies and put him to work, and the masters have one more source from which they may draw to educate their sons and daughters so they may adorn the position in which you have placed them. Your son will follow in your footsteps, the plute's son will follow in his. He will become stronger, you will become weaker. This is the law of the capitalist system which you support by your vote.

The capitalist press refers to a creature who has carried out the infamous will of its masters, as follows: "Great Detective Wm. J. Burns, Guardian American Bankers' Association and Hero of the Los Angeles Times Building Explosion and San Francisco Draft Prosecution." The capitalist press dare not print what they know about this many sleuthhound. They know, and so do the majority of workers know, the depths of crookedness to which Burns and his reptile followers have sunk in order to railroad hundreds of workers to the pen. The efforts of all the detective agencies are directed toward the downfall of the worker, and he is innocent or guilty, he has a poor chance in their clutches.

The consummate cunning of some of our writers is worthy of note. A description of an automatic pistol is as follows: "As a pistol may have to be used where danger is continuous—where, for example, one police officer or deputy sheriff is standing off a mob—the number of shots and the ease and speed of putting in another loaded magazine become of vital importance." This is a straight appeal to the hired thugs and detectives to discard their revolvers and secure the deadly miniature machine gun advertised. How often do mobs attack police officers? Not often. The corn is on the other foot. Up in Porcupine half a dozen uniformed thugs attack one striker with clubs and revolvers. The attacking is all done by these "officers." Should they be called a mob? Horrors, no! A mob is composed of workers, and the word should never be associated with any other class.

flung the spectre of Socialism into the House of Commons as the result of Forget's shady transactions.

Sir Rodolphe Forget replied on January 29th. He defended his companies and said they would pay the interest and dividends on their bonds and stock, that not a penny would be wasted, unless through the fault of investors who kicked at the wise management of himself and associates. And Lemieux subsided amid Tory cheers.

Lemieux is one of the foremost Liberals of Canada. He is one who is supposed to be radical and friendly to the people, and he goes half mad in the House of Commons when he thinks he has stumbled on to a few cases where the parasites are being flimflammed out of their unearned revenues by a fellow parasite.

Lemieux is the measure of the Liberal party. The Liberals give fair words to labor, but let the capitalist class ride on the galled necks of the working class. They stand for the slavery of the working class, and for the enormous revenues of the master class. They hasten to the protection of the revenues of your exploiters, and feel crestfallen when they find their prey escapes. But they let the whole parasite crew fatten off. They let your little children suffer because you are robbed, and if you protest, they rush the soldiers into your community. They are tarred as badly with capitalist pitch as are the Tories.

The opposition of Liberal and Tory is a sham. Their political floundering and shouting are shams. You know these things are shams. Why do you have anything more at all to do with either party? Why not support your own party—the Social Democratic?

Siberian Conditions ... in Canada

By Sam Atkinson.

The situation in the Porcupine mining region beggars description. The Provincial Police are more despotic than the Cossacks in Russia. Chief Colbeck is a sycophant. He pretends to be a great friend of the strikers, but his friendship has not prevented him from swearing falsely and securing the conviction of innocent men who have been railroaded to jail. Magistrate Torrence ought to face a tribunal to account for his unfairness, and he ought to be compelled to account for all the whiskey he has confiscated. The miners are a body of men with real blood in their veins, but they are at the mercy of the master class unless a general strike is declared throughout the mining industries of Northern Ontario.

THE MASTERS IN COBALT ARE LAYING OFF MEN AND ATTEMPTING TO SEND THEM TO PORCUPINE TO SCAB UPON THEIR FELLOWS.

Many men are refusing to go, but there are some weak-kneed brothers who are falling into line. A mass meeting has been called by the Western Federation of Miners to pass a resolution to the effect that if any more men are sent to Porcupine the Cobalt men will come out in a sympathetic strike.

This will not meet the needs of the case. Working men must realize that nothing can be accomplished by resolutions.

There is a better means at hand, and this is the opportune time to carry it into effect.

If the Cobalt men could be induced to ignore the masters entirely they could strike a blow for freedom that would ensure the eight hour day. If they do not take advantage of their opportunity they may get the eight hour day, but they will have wages cut in proportion.

THE "PROPER" THING FOR THEM TO DO IS TO SHOW THE GOVERNMENT THAT THEY HAVE NO FAITH IN IT AS IT IS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED.

Early in February the government has promised to deal with the bill covering the eight hour law, which was laid on the table six months ago. If the Cobalt miners were to strike

Success under the capitalist system means these things: Robbery of the workers, upholding of crime, vice and prostitution, and all the ills with which the human family is today afflicted. The one who gains many dollars gains what is called success, and immense fortunes piled up by one man can be done so only at the expense of labor. These fortunes represent nothing else but so much of labor's efforts raked together in one heap. Labor must produce this wealth, or it would not be in existence. Under Socialism no one man could possibly control immense wealth, unless it was made by his own efforts. The money magnates of the world are not using their own wealth. They have never created any to use. What they flaunt before the masses has been filched from labor by the nefarious schemes used by the capitalists and supported by the workers at the polls.

Says the Toronto Mail and Empire, "The revival of trade in England, in harmony with the worldwide prosperity, has reduced non-employment to the lowest point in many years, yet last November 29, men applied to the London Labor Exchanges and 20,000 were left on the registers at the end of the month." We remember how the British Labor Exchanges were hailed by the masters as a great step in advance for the workers. The workers were going to be able to go and find out where jobs were to be found. In the most prosperous times, 20,000 out of 29,000 cannot find jobs because they are not to be had. Unemployment is chronic under capitalism. The unemployed worker clamoring for a job is the club used by the masters to keep the employed worker at his job for a bare living wage. This is the system the worker who votes anything but the Socialist ticket, keeps in existence by his foolishness.

In an interview between Premier Flemming of New Brunswick, and the Minister of Militia, Sam Hughes, an agreement was verbally concluded for the province to hand over a tract of 100,000 acres to the Dominion for military manoeuvres. The land is situated near the junction of the Transcontinental Railway and the Chatham branch of the Intercolonial. New Brunswick is having an industrial boom. The masters are calling for many wage slaves. It is a well-known characteristic of wage slaves to demand more pay and strike, and grow restive under robbery. Hence the political henchmen of the masters, Flemming and Hughes, make arrangements for the drilling of many troops to be prepared for the shooting of workmen on strike. This is what the working class get for voting Tory, and they got the same thing by voting Liberal.

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before that bill was introduced they would give the government a blow that would awaken the members of the Provincial House from their lethargy.

The time is now. Silver is selling for 65c. per oz. It has never reached such a price in the history of mining. There is a shortage of men. Agents of the mine owners are scouring the country for scabs, but cannot get men to come into this Arctic region at this time of the year. WORKINGMEN HAVE LOST ALL FAITH IN POLITICAL PROMISES. NOW IS THE TIME TO SHOW THE POLITICIANS THAT THEY MUST ACT.

If Cobalt took a step like the one suggested here the MINE OWNERS would be the first to squeal and demand that the eight hour law be passed. If the men wait to see the law passed they may wait another six months. Even if the law is passed their troubles will only be beginning, BECAUSE THE MINE OWNERS WILL REDUCE THE WAGES TO AN EIGHT HOUR SCALE, and thus the men will be no better off.

When will working men see that under the present system the capitalist class have the power to use one union against another, AND ALSO USE MEMBERS OF THE SAME UNION TO SCAB AGAINST THEIR OWN MEMBERSHIP?

As long as the miners of Cobalt are working they are furnishing the money for their masters to fight the men in Porcupine.

When I came to Canada people told me you did not need Socialism. After reading the above, digest the following figures: Last year 3,557 men drew \$2,638,617 for wages. THE SAME MINES PAID IN DIVIDENDS the sum of \$8,733,958.

If you consider the padded expense accounts, you will readily see that THE MINERS WHO PRODUCED THIS WEALTH received about one-fifth of the wealth produced, WHILE THE IDLERS RECEIVED FOUR TIMES AS MUCH.

And still intelligent working men tell me Canada does not need Socialism.

THE CASE OF GREAVES

The Dominion government is building the Hudson Bay Railway. This is a government enterprise, and we are told how much the people of Canada will benefit. Every wage slave in Canada is supposed to rejoice at the beneficent government now ruling.

Fred. Greaves, wage slave, was cook at Limestone Creek, 63 miles north of Le Pas, Man. To get to this job he had to ride to Le Pas and then hoof it 63 miles. Of course wage workers are not supposed to mind hoofing 63 miles if they smell a job at the end of the tramp, but many a fatbodied plute would wheeze and whine if they were forced to tramp six miles for the health of their surfeited bellies.

Greaves was allowed holidays at Christmas. On January 2nd he saw his superior officer in Winnipeg, and nothing was said of his discharge. When he left Limestone Creek nothing had been said of his discharge. When he arrived at Le Pas, he found his discharge awaiting him, dated December 28th. To the discharge was appended a despatch from Winnipeg about a man being frozen to death, and quoting Greaves as an authority.

A man had died in a neighboring camp to that of Limestone Creek, and the authorities asserted that his death was due to heart failure. When in Winnipeg, Greaves asserted that the wage slave had been frozen to death, and that his death was due to the fact that the construction camp stores had been closed, contrary to what the workers were led to believe, and he could not get supplies. Greaves had to walk 63 miles in a blizzard to Limestone Creek, to get his belongings, and had to walk 63 miles back to the railway station.

That is what government ownership and government operation mean to the wage slave. The capitalist thieves control the government, and drive the government employees like the private exploiters do. If a fellow slave is frozen to death working for the government, it must be kept a dead secret by his fellow slaves, or they are turned adrift and are not informed they have lost their jobs till it suits the convenience of the masters, which means when it is most inconvenient for the slave.

Go on voting for the Tory government, if you like. Mr. Workingman, but remember that every vote you give to the Conservative party is a dagger aimed at the heart of the working class.

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