

COTTON'S AGAIN IN PARLIAMENT

Shifty Lemieux Shifts Again

On May 3rd. Cotton's Weekly was again discussed in Parliament. The following are extracts from Hansard.

Mr. SPROULE. I have a letter from the owner of 'Cotton's Weekly,' who contradicts very flatly some of the Postmaster General's answers given to me a few weeks ago. On page 6032 of 'Hansard,' the Postmaster General, replying to my questions, said:

The case of Mr. Cotton is radically different. In the first place he has no subscribers, but he sends his papers to friends who distribute it.

I asked the question: how does it happen that papers like the Toronto 'World,' or 'Mail,' or 'Globe,' or 'News' can send extra numbers to news agents who have no subscription lists, but who sell them out over the counter? The reply of the Postmaster General was that they had a regular subscription list, but this paper had no subscription list. This man says that he is prepared to make an affidavit that he has a subscription list of over 6,000—that he has a list over 37 feet long of subscribers, and that whenever additional papers are sent out they are paid for before they are sent out from the office, and he is adding to his subscription list all the time as the result of canvassing. He says his paper stands in the front rank in the Dominion of Canada in the matter of subscription lists. If this is so, the Postmaster General has been misinformed, and is doing a great injustice to this man's paper.

Mr. LEMIEUX. If the case were as my hon. friend has stated, certainly the publisher would have a real grievance against the department. I may tell my hon. friend that I ask nothing better than to investigate the facts at once, and if they are as stated, the publisher will be given all the mailing privileges granted to others. But we had a very serious investigation since this agitation took place, and we found that that was not the case.

Mr. Sproule then refers to a letter received by him from a Comrade Huester of Berlin, as follows:

Mr. SPROULE. He says: I have before me a mailing list of Cotton's for Ontario, which, when put together, is 37 feet long, and hundreds have been added since I received this list from the publisher. I have personally taken and received payment for and sent in over 50 now.

He is operating in Berlin, Ontario, and he says he is prepared to make a solemn affidavit to the correctness of this statement.

Mr. LEMIEUX. If he does that and proves his statement, he is entitled to the regular mailing privileges granted to other papers. But the information of the department at the beginning of the agitation was that they were not really mailing subscribers.

Lemieux speaks about a serious investigation. Cotton's Weekly is open to investigation by the Postal Department. Yet no Inspector visited Cotton's Weekly. No investigation that we are aware of was made. If Lemieux considers an investigation one where he asks some one in Montreal or Ottawa about Cotton's Weekly a serious investigation, then Cotton's readers can take the measure of Lemieux and can understand his flippancy.

Lemieux speaks about "mailing subscribers." Lemieux has again changed his tune. He spoke first about subscribers. Cotton's cornered him on that. He changed the phrase to "bona fide subscribers." Cotton's cornered him on that. Now he talks about "mailing subscribers," a phrase nowhere used in the Postoffice Act.

Lemieux has made a department ruling by which subscribers who take extra copies of an issue of a paper and pay for them cannot receive such papers through the mails at newspaper rates but must pay a rate sixteen times as great. The Postoffice Act declares that newspaper rates shall apply to papers sent to regular bona fide subscribers. But Lemieux says they cannot enjoy newspaper rates.

Evidently Cotton's Weekly is making the capitalist exploiters sit up and take notice. They don't like exposures. Such articles as Cotton's has published on insurance, and the manufacturers and banks are not liked. So Lemieux uses his power to prevent the wage slaves from circulating the special issues. He uses the old, old method of the exploiting suppressors of labor, taxation.

Lemieux has quite made up his mind that he will not change his

mind. I think it will be a good thing for the Comrades to write to Lemieux, explain to him their financial position, their hopes of the freedom that will come to them through the triumph of Socialism and ask him if he will not allow them to get bundles of Cotton's Weekly for which they pay through the mails at regular newspaper mailing rates. Write these letters to him. He is getting about ten thousand dollars a year from the government and his economic condition makes him unsympathetic to the hopes of the exploited wage slaves. Yet he is human. Touch him on his human side.

Lemieux declares Cotton's has no subscription list. You can explain to him that Cotton's ranks among the first hundred papers in Canada in point of bona fide subscribers. Tell him to send an agent down and investigate.

Write him your hopes and desires and what you think of Cotton's Weekly and send the replies to me. If we cannot get Lemieux one way we will get him another.

His answer to a friendly letter would be worth reading.

WAGE SLAVERY

Wage slavery is a term which many people object to. The people of Canada are supposed to be free people. It is confidently asserted by many that slavery does not exist in Canada. The idea of slavery existing under the British flag is an idea abhorrent. Yet let us look at the facts.

There are two forms of slavery, chattel slavery and wage slavery. Under chattel slavery the boss owned the body of the slave. Under wage slavery the boss owns the job of the slave.

The primal function of slavery from the master's viewpoint is to have the slaves support him without performing labor. The slave must therefore produce sufficient to keep himself and produce in addition a surplus out of which the master can be kept along with his servants and hangers-on.

In chattel slavery the master owned the body of the slave, appointed his tasks and made him work. In return the master provided food, clothing and shelter for the slave. The slave, therefore, was a continual expense to the master. All that the slave produced by his labor was not clear gain. The slave had to be kept and he had to have periods of rest in which to sleep and renew his strength. So, just as the work a horse does today is not all profit to the owner, so the work a slave performed was not all profit to the master.

When chattel slavery was abolished the slave was not freed from the necessity of supporting his master. The master, either the old or a new one, still owned the field or the mill and the slave could not get work except on the terms dictated by the master. However, instead of the master providing the slave with food, clothing and shelter, the master gave the slave a wage out of which the slave was to provide himself with these three things, and in return he was to work for his master to the extent of his strength and ability.

Thus in the change from chattel slavery to wage slavery, the form only of the slavery was changed. The condition of bondage still existed. The change was only a change from payment in kind, i. e. the providing of food, clothing and shelter in return for labor, to a money payment. The master still took the surplus value produced by the slave. Chattel slavery was replaced by wage slavery.

It is said that the wage slave need not be a wage slave. That he is free and need not work if he does not want to. The wage slave has the choice of working or starving. If he chooses the latter alternative he is jailed as a tramp. In Ontario he will be set to work building colonization roads under the eyes of the prison guard. In the Dominion penitentiaries he will be set to work producing surplus values for the master class and will be in the position of chattel slavery.

In slave days there were slaves and masters and there were a few free workers. This latter class is replaced by the small artisan of today or the little store keeper who does all his own work. But this class is rapidly vanishing.

By controlling the means of production, the jobs of the workers, the master class hold the workers in wage slavery. The workers formerly might change their masters. But with the coming of the C. M. A., with gentlemen's agreements among the bosses, with Pinkerton detec-

tives and with the establishment of blacklists, the workers are practically forced to bind themselves to one master. They cannot change without the consent of that master or they will be blacklisted by other employers. They are bound to one master and must take the treatment he hands out or starve.

It is said that the individual worker can rise and become powerful and therefore the workers are not in such a bad position as the chattel slaves. In America it was only the blacks who were chattel slaves. But the history of other countries where men of the same color as their masters were held as slaves show that chattel slaves could by fortunate circumstances become free and own chattel slaves themselves. So the experience of the exceptional case of the wage slave who rises to be master of other slaves is paralleled in the case of exceptional chattel slaves doing the same under the old form.

There comes a time when slaves are not wanted. We call this unemployment. When the masters become so few that they cannot employ all the slaves offering to create for the bosses the luxuries they desire, the mills of production are shut down. This is paralleled in the history of chattel slavery at Rome.

After the conquest of foreign lands hundreds of thousands of slaves were thrown on the Roman market. Slaves became so numerous that the masters did not know what to do with them. So they were turned adrift to shift for themselves. The Roman masters just gave freedom to the slaves they had no use for. This freeing of the slaves in immense numbers by the slave owners of Rome in the early centuries of the Christian era is pointed by Christian historians as due to the softening influence of the Christian religion. The corruption of the Roman masters of that day shows that they were little influenced by Christianity. They had too many slaves. So they just freed the ones they could not utilize. It was the parallel of the sacking of hands from the factories of today.

The chattel slave and the wage slave have little to crow over each other in the matter. Freedom will not come to the worker for hire until he and his fellow slaves own and control their jobs and the machines of production and enjoy the full fruits of the labor of their bodies. As long as they work hard and get in return but food, clothing and shelter while the boss takes the rest they are slaves indeed.

Say, Wage Slaves, when are you going to revolt like the chattel slaves of old and free yourselves from the slavery imposed upon you by your masters?

Paid in Advance

Every copy of Cotton's Weekly is paid for before it leaves this office. If you get Cotton's through the mail with a red printed and numbered address label on the wrapper, your subscription has been paid by some friend who wishes you to look into the truths of Socialism. You need not hesitate to take Cotton's from the post office as no bill will be rendered, and the paper will be promptly discontinued when the subscription expires.

If you vote for a labor skinner to represent you in Parliament, do you think he will make laws to stop his own revenues? Or do you think he will make laws which will give him and his class a greater chance to skin the workers still more? Get out of the habit of voting for your masters. Acquire the habit of voting for your own interests and for your own class.

That the inmates of the jails of northern Ontario should be utilized in building colonization roads is the opinion of Hon. J. O. Rheame, provincial minister of public works. What with prison labor, Salvation Army scabs, and labor skinning generally, the capitalist class has a pretty good strategic hold on the workers of Ontario.

The Tories want a long truce in the political fight in Great Britain giving as an excuse the death of the late king. The Liberals want the truce to be as short as possible. The reason is plain. Economic determinism. The Lords wield too much power in proportion to their labor skinning operations and the Liberals won't stand for it.

In the Province of Prince Edward Island there is to be a revision of land values for purposes of taxation. There is a good deal of grunting against the move. The grunting is explained by economic determinism. Those who will be hit in the pocket books are against the move.

COTTON'S WEEKLY is published in the interests of Socialism by Cotton's Co-operative Publishing Company, Inc., Cowansville, P. Q. W. E. GORRAN, General Manager and Editor. E. A. WEBB, Sec.-Treas. and Business Manager.

Socialism will democratize institutionalized industry.

The legalized robbery of the labor skinner should be made illegal.

The chief point of attack on the part of the workers is not monarchism but capitalism.

The Canadian banks make a net profit of sixteen or seventeen million dollars a year. That sum would pay one quarter of the wage bills of all the railroads in Canada for one year.

The capitalist system is at work in Canada. It not only has the wage slave in its grip but it also has the slave driver. Let the slave driver halt and let him stand still, let him endeavor to withstand the pressure of economic forces, and he will be crushed out by his rivals.

ANTIQUATED GOVERNMENT

Have you ever read the titles Asiatic rulers take unto themselves? They look ridiculous. The proclamations of the Eastern rulers appear to be humorous documents created specially for western merriment.

Yet we have antiquated language in Canada. The proclamations put forth in Canada seem strange and outlandish. They touch the people but little. They show how absolutely the political life is divorced from the real. We are living in an age of political and constitutional shams. Just read the following clipping from the Canada Official Gazette of May ninth, 1910. It is the proclamation proclaiming the death of King Edward and the succession of King George.

GREY. CANADA.

By His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Albert Henry George, Earl Grey, Viscount Howick, Baron Grey of Howick, in the County of Northumberland in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, and a Baronet; Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, etc., etc., Governor General of Canada.

To all to whom these presents shall come.—Greeting:

WHEREAS it hath pleased the almighty God to call to His Mercy Our late Sovereign Lord King Edward the Seventh of blessed and glorious memory by whose decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and all other His late Majesty's Dominions is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince Frederick Ernest Albert, Now Known Ye that I, the said Sir Albert Henry George, Earl Grey, Governor General of Canada as aforesaid, assisted by His Majesty's Privy Council for Canada, do now hereby with one full voice and consent of tongue and heart publish and proclaim that the High Ernest Albert is now by the death of Our late Sovereign of happy and glorious memory become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lord George the Fifth by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, Supreme Lord in and over the Dominion of Canada, to whom we acknowledge all faith and constant obedience with all hearty and humble affection, beseeching God by whom all Kings and Queens do reign to bless the Royal Prince George the Fifth with long and happy years to reign over us.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at OTTAWA, this NINTH day of MAY, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and ten, and in the first year of His Majesty's reign.

By Command,
CHARLES MURPHY,
Secretary of State.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Does the proclamation seem natural? Or does it seem strange and ridiculous? The proclamation shows how absolutely the people have outgrown the government forms. Our political functions are shams save where they touch as in the pocket or pay envelope.

Political activity should be closely associated with the life of the people. It is not now so associated. This proves that our political forms are antiquated and decadent.

The remedy is to replace political democracy with industrial democracy. Let the mills, mines, and machinery of production be vested in the possession of the working classes and let the working classes run them in a democratic manner. Then the politics of the nation would mean something to the workers as everyone could see and feel the effect of political action at once on his job.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association

Extracts from Their Confidential Bulletin Exposed to the Public

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association publishes a monthly bulletin of its activities under the title of "Executive Council Proceedings." Each number has this note published in conspicuous type at the head of the bulletin:

NOTE—This report is sent to you IN CONFIDENCE and should under no circumstances be thrown away WITHOUT FIRST BEING DESTROYED. It will be followed by similar Bulletins from month to month as the Council meets. By filing them all away you will have a complete record of the Association's transactions.

Immigration is dealt with in the Bulletin of April 1910. The Manufacturers want plenty of labor to compete on the labor market. Hence the following paragraphs appear.

IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS

In view of the increasing scarcity of labor, and the growing tendency to meet the situation by importing from the Old Country, your committee think it well that instructions should be given the Secretary to prepare a concise memorandum in the form of a circular letter to the membership at large, setting forth the statutory requirements and regulations by Order-in-Council defining the conditions under which immigrants will be allowed to enter the country.

VIOLATIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION ACT.

Your Committee regret to report that Mr. W. R. Trotter, on behalf of the Trades and Labor Congress, has again been writing to the British papers misrepresenting the labor situation in Canada with a view to deterring immigration. The attention of the Superintendent of Immigration has been called to one of these letters and he has been advised that the Association is prepared to furnish proof that many of the statements contained therein are false. As prosecutions under the Act can only be undertaken through the initiative of the Minister of the Interior, it has been suggested to the Superintendent that the facts should be called to the Minister's attention, coupled with a recommendation that he should take immediate steps to procure a discontinuance of the practice.

No wonder the Association wants to keep its report secret. It would create a storm round the ears of the bosses did the Trades and Labor Council learn that the Manufacturers were trying to prevent Canadian labor from warning British labor of the labor conditions in Canada.

Another paragraph is the following:

SCARCITY OF LABOR.

The great scarcity of labor which manufacturers in different parts of the country are complaining of has led many of them to enquire whether the services of the Association can be in any way enlisted towards filling their wants. Since the closing of the London office we have had no facilities for handling work of this kind, yet the situation is becoming so critical that your Committee feel that action of some kind will have to be taken. Of the various suggestions offered there is one which looks as if it might be practicable, but until your Committee have had further time for investigation they are unable to present any recommendation. They hope, however, to be able to submit something definite at next month's meeting of the Council.

The action contemplated is evidently a move to make it easier to import the unemployed of Great Britain and compel them, through economic necessity, to scab in Canada. The emigration societies in London have been protesting vigorously against the slight impediments which the Dominion government place in the way of immigrants. Each immigrant, apart from farm laborers going straight to a job (farm hands have no union and consequently cannot bring pressure to bear on the politicians) must have twenty-five dollars cash or they cannot land. This is to prevent the immigrants being compelled to take the first job offered at a pauper wage. The London emigrant agencies are strenuously objecting to this regulation, probably egged on by the C. M. A.

Or this paragraph may mean that the C. M. A. are arranging to lend twenty-five dollars to immigrants just before they land in order to satisfy the immigration authorities, taking the money away again just as soon as the immigrants get through the inspection. The C. M. A. will bear watching.

The Association is chortling with joy over their success with the Nova Scotia politicians. The following is the reference to Nova Scotia:

NOVA SCOTIA BRANCH

It is also a pleasure to report considerable legislative activity on the part of the Nova Scotia Branch as a result of which (1) the Bill to provide for the compulsory recognition of unions was defeated, and (2) the amendment to the Factory Act restricting the hours of labor in shops and offices was altered so as to cause no interference with the con-

ditions at present obtaining in manufacturing industries.

The anti combine bill, weak and harmless to their interests as it is, nevertheless met with the displeasure of Association as the following paragraphs will show.

ANTI-COMBINES BILL.

The latest word your Committee have received is to the effect that the Government have definitely decided to put the above measure through at the present session of Parliament. While the representations of your Committee on some minor matters have been favourably received, the Minister has declined to meet the views of the Association in what are regarded as the more important features. As the Bill will be dealt with in Committee of the whole, thus giving your representatives no opportunity to voice the objections of the Association, the Secretary has been instructed to see that certain members of Parliament on the Liberal side are thoroughly posted as to the features to which we are objecting and are prepared with arguments to show why these clauses should be amended.

Do you see any moral to be drawn from the activities of the labor skinner? The labor skinner is in politics for the money that it will bring them. Let the toilers of the Dominion get into politics also. Let them enrol themselves under the banner of Socialism, and unite for the overthrow of the wage slavery they now endure.

The trust is coming, not because the originators of the trust were wonderfully bright men, but because the conditions of the age are forcing the employers to combine. The process cannot be stayed but will continue to develop until the conditions are ripe for the coming of the Socialist mode of production.

The net profits of the banks amount to sixteen or seventeen dollars each year. That sum would pay the wages of an industrial army of forty thousand men for a whole year. The banks are only one section of the parasite institutions. The robbery of the whole bunch of labor skinner in Canada is almost fabulous.

The capitalist and the capitalist's mode of production are necessary in the development of humanity towards Socialism. If they were not necessary they would not be. And the capitalist mode of production will continue until it is no longer workable and until the workers rouse themselves and replace it. The growth of the Socialist organizations shows that the workers are rousing themselves.

Roosevelt lectured the Egyptians on the evil of their ways in not submitting to British rule. As Wilshire's points out, the Egyptians have no votes in the United States and Teddy could say what he likes. But the Irish have votes and it is safe to bet that Teddy will not browbeat the Irish in Ireland as he hectorated the Egyptians in Egypt. Teddy is too much of a politician for that.

A natural law may exist and yet not be in evidence because the conditions under which it became active do not exist. The capitalist system is governed by certain economic laws. When capitalism is superseded by Socialism the economic laws governing capitalism will not be in evidence, not because those laws no longer exist, but because the mode of production which called those laws into activity will have passed away.

Why should there be unemployed men who want work and cannot find it? Why should there be unemployed rich idlers existing in a well ordered community? They exist because the community is not well ordered. They exist because the system of capitalism is decadent and should be replaced. Socialism will cause the two types to become extinct by the introduction of a system of industrial democracy.

The Banner Collection

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 2. SOCIALIST CATECHISM—Chino 5c
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 4. MERRIE ENGLAND—Blatford 10c
 5. WHAT'S SO AND WHAT ISN'T—Work 10c
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