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Cotton's Weekly

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This paper is not published for profit. It is published by co-operative effort as an advocate of the co-operative commonwealth. Last week we sent the following number of copies

22,100

THE G. T. P. GRAFT

The Conservative politicians are making a great outcry about the graft on the National Transcontinental.

The Eastern Section of the Grand Trunk Pacific was built under the direction of the Liberal government. When the Conservatives came to power they appointed a commission to investigate the cost of construction. They found that the contractors to build the railway were let to one set of contractors who sub-let the work of building to other contractors at a much lower figure. Thus the first contractors who did no work cleaned up \$8,000,000 which was the difference between the price they got from the government and the price at which they sublet the contracts.

This is hailed as showing the corruption of the Liberal party. It is also pointed out as showing that government ownership and operation is a failure. When a group of men can clean up eight million dollars profit is positive that government ownership and politicians are rotten. This is what we are told.

A little investigation will show that what has happened under government ownership has happened under private ownership. The privately owned railways are loaded down with as heavy a load of graft as is the government owned railway.

When the Canadian Pacific was being built, the promoters of the C.P.R. organized themselves into construction companies. They then gave contracts from themselves as the companies to build large sections of the C.P.R. They, as contractors, did not build the road, but sublet to real contractors in this manner cleaned up millions of dollars.

Mackenzie and Mann have been back of the construction companies which have taken contracts to build the C.N.R. Mackenzie and Mann are now multimillionaires.

The same tricks were pulled off on the G.T.P. have been pulled off on the privately owned lines. The graft has gone into the capitalization of the lines.

The privately owned railway lines are just as rotten with graft as are the publicly owned lines.

Why not confiscate the railways?

A SUGGESTION OF PROPAGANDA

Comrade D. McLeish, of Cornucopia, Alta., sends two clippings from the Farmer's Tribune, Winnipeg, of March 11th. The first clipping is the Rev. J. L. Gordon's little talk "Englishman in Canada." In this talk Gordon denounces with feelings, Matthew Arnold's statement "Find me ten square miles outside of a Christian civilization where human life is safe, where childhood is respected, where the character of womanhood is regarded and where old age is revered, and I will surrender my personal interest in Christianity."

By quoting this, Gordon assumes that a Christian country has these virtues. In the same issue of the same paper, there is a report of the speech by Miss Marie Christine Ratte general supervisor of the Redemptive Work for Girls of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Miss Ratte said in part: "UNDER THE SHADOWS OF THE TOWERS OF PARLIAMENT in your beautiful city of Ottawa I went out after taking up my work, and in a house found eighteen girls, the youngest sixteen. Next door I found nine in a house. I tried to talk to them, to find out about them, but they told me they did not suppose to talk; and although I did find out, was warned not to say anything; but I did say something."

"I went out to British Columbia, and in places supposed to be hotels I found girls and women. Their names were worked in glittering brass on the steps, and there were few windows in the place. I then went into the grand mountains, of which Canadians are so proud, and found red light districts."

"I took a child of ten years by the hand and asked what she aimed to be when she grew up. She said she wanted to be a school teacher, but as it was awfully hard to do so, she thought she would be like one of the women living in those houses. She told me it was so easy to become one and have your name changed. She longed for the beautiful dresses and automobile rides every day."

"That was the idea of a Canadian girl of ten years—a girl of the future, under the great Union Jack and this wonderful land of the maple leaf."

"I visited the prisons and penitentiaries, and found there youths and young girls who might have been fine citizens, but who had been ruined by the influence of the city."

"Many points with pride to our gold which is buried in the mountains, and money is given to protect natural resources; but what is given to protect the young Scottish girl who comes to our shores?"

Comrade McLeish goes on to make the following suggestions:

Here is some good material for propaganda. The Social Democratic party of Canada has some good speakers in Winnipeg. Why not have the Social Democrats send a challenge to the Rev. Gordon to defend his position about Christian Canada. Send it by registered mail. If he ignores the challenge, have the challenge delivered in his church while the collection is being taken up. Have the challenge sent to the papers. Get out hand bills. Let the place of meeting be well advertised. If Gordon accepts the challenge, well and good. If he does not turn up, it will impress the people he is afraid to debate. And the Socialist movement will be well advertised.

This method of propaganda could be carried on in every city of Canada. When the public leaders make a statement, which they are always doing, send them a challenge to defend themselves, and get the challenge well advertised.

Wars, rumors of wars, murder, robbery, strife, bloodshed and cruelty of the most pronounced type are the direct result of the capitalist tactics of the masters of men and money. These horrors greet the eye of the reader every day. Still the game of dollars and blood goes on, and will go on until the capitalists system is swept aside, and all labor goes to the benefit of the whole working class instead of into the pockets of the few whose hearts have long since discarded the precepts of justice and mercy.

The bank books and nifty hides of the toilers help to build up the fat panaches of the lazy class.

THE VANISHING MIDDLEMAN

The middleman is doomed. He has lived in the niches of the rotten capitalist system. He is about to be kicked out.

The middleman is a gentleman who takes no part in the production of commodities. He simply passes them through his hands from producer to consumer and takes his toll.

The farmers, who are still producing on a petty scale, are after the middleman good and hard.

The United Farmers of Ontario recently met at the labor temple, Toronto, and laid down the principle that the middleman should be reduced to the position of hired man to the farmers where he could not be dispensed with altogether.

In the west, the farmers are more advanced still. They are organizing to buy at wholesale prices and to sell cooperatively at retail prices.

The farmer of the west, through the Grain Growers Grain Company, are taking the entire western output of the Sarnia Wire Fence Company. They are buying sugar, lumber, coal oil, groceries, etc., direct from the manufacturer and cutting the cost of production to themselves.

With cooperative elevators and selling agencies, they are marketing their own grain.

The farmers of Ontario are selling honey and apples direct to the farmers of the west. No middleman gets a rakeoff.

Where is the middleman going?

He will have to get into the ranks of the useful workers, become a wage slave.

Instead of doing useless work, he will have to do useful work and be skilled by the capitalist class along with the other slaves.

The total of surplus values goes to the master class, will increase, and the expense upon them will be lessened because no longer having to support the middleman.

The obliteration of the middleman does not bring Socialism. It but intensifies the evils of the capitalist system, by making more competition for jobs.

Only by the working class seizing the political power and taking into themselves the full social value of the wealth they create will the horrors of modern civilization be done away with.

THE POWER OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

Quite a few persons whose thoughts have never risen beyond the narrow limits of small thinking, consider Socialism to be unworkable. They think that all the people cannot do what a few people do. They think we need capitalists and private insurance, and individual enterprise to help us out. Big business knows different.

A young man told me that he started in as an insurance agent. He did a little business and was surprised at the easy money. He saw what a graft it was and was ashamed to approach a customer. He would not advise any of his friends to insure.

When he landed an insurance policy, he slapped one-half the first premium into his pocket as his commission. He got a rakeoff on every subsequent premium.

In the case of fire insurance, the little business man goes to a company to insure. He is afraid to lose his all in a fire.

But the big companies take their own insurance. That is they set aside a certain amount for insurance, but instead of giving it to an insurance company, they keep it themselves in reserve. If any fire takes place, they pay the loss themselves out of the fund set aside.

They thus get the profits which would otherwise go to the private companies.

If big companies can do their own insuring, why could not all the people insure all the people against loss?

Banks used to make their employees take out a bond in some guarantee company to protect the bank against embezzlement by the employee. The employees paid year after year and few losses through embezzlement occurred. The banks saw the graft and took the premiums themselves from the employees.

If the banks can bond their own employees and rake in the profit, why cannot all the people protect all the people against loss?

The people as a whole is the biggest business going. Even the C.P.R. is a pimple company compared to the Dominion of Canada.

The people are the most powerful and the most responsible association. The capitalists are nothing but lice sucking the blood of the people.

The people could run, industry democratically, could provide food, clothing, shelter, amusement, leisure for all. But as this would prevent the capitalist class from taking toll from the people, the managing power of the people as a whole.

The people will be plundered, abused, ill-fed, ill-housed and shabbily clothed until the people take the misused privileges away from the useless capitalist class.

Officers of the militia are candidates for everything these times, according to the pictures in the dailies. The parliament and legislatures are full of oars, and they are pushing their way to the front in the city councils of various large cities. Heads of financial institutions, corporations and companies of all kinds appear to be all of the military stripe. What will this crowd do for the benefit of the workers? They are the enemies of the working class, and the pity is that the working class gladly give up their votes to their enemies.

"This is the young man's age," sing the henchmen of the plutocrats in the kept press. The old or middle aged man must go from the factory and mill. It is the young man's age all right. But for why? Because machinery is supplanting the skill formerly required in many branches of mechanics. The old man is not as supple or quick as the young; his intricate knowledge is required in only a few instances; he must get out and make way for the nimble fingers and speed of youth.

Capitalism is a murderous system which puts the dollar before the life of the workers. Every year thousands upon thousands lay down their lives on the throne of mammon—all for the sake of a living wage. The plutocrats smile in content. He is generally on the safe side when a slaughter of workers takes place.

The time, the place, and the vote, and a class conscious vote at that, are the only things necessary for the emancipation of the workers.

Unemployment from one end of the country to the other seems idiotic when millions are spent in places which do the working class no positive good, and often harm.

"If two thousand cattle are frozen to death in Montana during a norther it is a national calamity. If two million men are homeless in a freezing winter, it is an incident of business."—Irwin Tucker in the Christian Socialist.

Why should there be hungry and workless people in a new country like Canada? If capitalism creates want and woe in a young country, does not this in itself show that capitalism is socially bankrupt?

In this issue is an article by Matthew Stafford, showing how religion has broken up homes in the past. Father Hogan and Father Vaughan and other anti-Socialist lecturers should have this article called to their attention.

How many people are really ready to think? People have prejudices and frequently get provoked when they are shown the errors of their opinions. Yet these errors must be removed before the people will think right. Patience and persistence will win the day.

You know that the Liberal party is corrupt. You know that the Conservative party is corrupt. Then why continue longer to support either? Why not study about the Social-Democratic party which is not corrupt? Learn what it stands for, and being convinced that it is right, join it and help it win power.

It pays to be patient and quietly win a person over to Socialism. That person will have friends and acquaintances you cannot reach. By getting him interested and active in the movement, you are making many more Socialists than just one. You are beginning the making of a whole chain of Socialists.

There is many a minister of the gospel who would like to come out straight for Socialism. However, he dare not. His church is supported by those who live by the labor of others. Contributions come from those who live in ease upon the misery of others. Capitalism controls the churches. This is the reason why so many people are leaving the churches.

It is surprising what a number of persons have wrong ideas about what Socialism means. These people know that modern conditions are rotten. They long for a change and would like to help bring a change about. They do not realize that Socialism is just the movement they are wanting. Calm reasoning and quiet discussion of the points will make them Socialists.

"If you divide up all the money to-day, before night some would have more than others and in a little while we would have rich and poor. That is an argument used against Socialism. But we do not want to divide up the money. Collective ownership does not mean dividing up. This surprises many people when they hear it. They find Socialism to be altogether different than they thought it was."

When the laws are unjust, can there be just judges? Certainly not. And the laws of Canada are unjust. They are based on the principle that the producing class should surrender to the owning class all the wealth created save enough for those who are employed to live on. Under such conditions, every judge in Canada is an unjust judge. Our judges are worthy of no respect or veneration. They are simply the judicial tools of a robber class.

The people are leaving the churches and never before was there such a passion for social justice. The churches are growing empty and the spirit of fellowship and love of humanity is growing intense. What does this show? Does it not show that the churches are failing to meet the needs of humanity? If the wealthy classes control the churches, is it not a sign of the saneness of the common people that they withdraw from the religious institutions which have become enthralled to mammon? We would, indeed, have great cause to worry if the churches were controlled by the wealthy and the common people thronged them.

Brain power is limited. Men can only think of a certain number of things in a day. Under present conditions, the most of the brain power of the country is taken up by the individuals thinking about how to get a living in the daily tasks. When we have cooperation instead of competition, when food, clothing and shelter are produced for use instead of for profit, when class antagonisms have gone, there will be a tremendous amount of brain power liberated, and this brain energy will then be applied to solving scientific, religious, artistic, and other like questions, man's progress upward will be marvellously rapid. Socialism is not the end, but the beginning of real civilization.

"It was worse than a crime. It was a blunder." That was a statement made by a witty European diplomat. It contains a great truth. Blunders are often worse than crimes. If one man kills another, only one man dies. If a person infected with a contagious disease blunders into a community and carries the contagion with him, many people die. If a community thinks wrongly about important questions, great war may arise, or bitter political fights may result that end in the community being deprived of its liberties and enslaved. We want people to think intelligently and openly on questions. If we are wrong in our opinions, show us where we are wrong.

The chance for the worker to gain an independence has long since passed. Capitalism allows him only a bare living. Before capitalism was concentrated in a few hands, the worker had some chance. Now he has none. The plutocrats learned that they could squeeze the worker to a bare living wage, and acted accordingly. They spent a lot of time in studying this out, and found it worked. The worker did not study his economic conditions; he was satisfied with a few more dollars a year, and did not stop to figure on the many more dollars expenses. Now he is forced to figure, and figure close. There is only one hope for him, as the laws are loaded against him. He must cast in his lot with the Socialists for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM

We have all, perhaps, heard the story that the Chinese destroyed their girl babies. This story was started by a Catholic missionary to collect funds from the gullible public. In Sir Hiram Maxim's book, "Li Hung Chang's Scrap-Book" is the following account of how the story originated.

"The French Society of La Sainte Enfance have a missionary station in the interior of China, and in a report which they published some years ago they gave a heartrending account of how the Chinese at that place destroyed female babies by giving them to swine to eat. The report greatly offended the Chinese, and they remonstrated through their Paris Legation against the publication of such an outrageous falsehood; nevertheless the next annual report contained the same story, and the Legation could do nothing to prevent the publication of this falsehood every year."

Eugene Simon, in his travels, visited the place where these events were supposed to have taken place, and saw the priest in charge. He asked him why it was he persisted in publishing the swine story every year when it had been denied over and over again, and proved to be false. His reply was: "that little histoire brings to us over a million francs a year; it is the best asset we have."

This is simply a case of economic determinism. That lie was spread in the name of religion because it paid. If we wish to remove the evil, attack it at the root. Take the profit out of injustice and injustice will cease.

THE MENACE EXCLUDED

The Menace, an anti-Catholic publication of Aurora, Mo., has been excluded from the Canadian mails.

It has been done in a sneaking and underhanded method. No notice of its suppression in Canada was given out. It was simply excluded by the autocratic fiat of L. P. Pelletier the Roman Catholic Postmaster General of Canada.

The Borden government got into power by the Orange vote of Ontario. A campaign of slander against Borden was vigorously carried on in that province. It was heralded that Canada was run by Roman Catholics, and Protestant Borden should be put into power. In Quebec the Nationalist party fought for Borden, and Borden, to hold power, knuckled down to the Nationalists.

He put one of their number at the Post Office Department. This Department says go through the mails.

Section 9 of Chapter 66 of the Revised Statutes of Canada says that the Postmaster General may make regulations preventing the sending of improper articles, obscene or immoral publications going through the mails.

Under this section, Pelletier excludes the Menace. Of course, to him it is an immoral publication. It attacks the Catholic church and exposes the corruption existing therein. Pelletier has threatened to exclude Cotton's Weekly.

The Orange vote of Ontario has appointed a Roman Catholic to be the censor of what literature the Orangemen may read.

This is what the Orangemen get for voting for the henchmen of the master class. Socialists stand for equal rights to all, special privileges to none. They stand for freedom of thought and of the press.

Few Orangemen, however, now vote for Socialism. They wear the blinders of the master class.

GENTLE TOM

The Hon. Tom. Crothers, Minister of Labor, was the guest of the Kingston Canadian Club on March 20th. He made a strong appeal to the employers to pay the workmen a fair wage which would be sufficient for them to provide for their families and have something for old age. He declared the labor unrest was due to low wages and to the fact that the employers failed to realize that the workers had a heart as well as a mind.

"See to it," he said, "that men get a fair wage. From my own knowledge I can report given me, I know there are thousands of men reveling in the pride of wealth and withholding from the working men sufficient to provide them with a decent livelihood. Such employers should be ashamed of themselves."

Was gentle Tom referring to the striking miners of Vancouver Island? Gentle Tom seems to have taken unto himself to be an apostle to the labor skinner.

"Skin, gentlemen, skin," he says, "but pray do the skinning mercifully. Rob the worker of his surplus values, but do not take the food out of his mouth."

The master class is willing to listen to this line of gentle talk. For the employer that refuses the worker a living wage is killing the profits of the master class. He is weakening the brawn and muscle of the slaves and such weakening decreases profits.

When it comes to action, however, to put his theories into practice, gentle Tom crawls into his hole and pulls the hole in afterwards. Gentle Tom is the best Bob Borden could do for the working class. We expected nothing more from the government put into office by big business.

Capitalism is concentrating into the hands of a few, and ruin to its policy is sure as fate. Socialism is expanding, and spreading its influence the world over. The word Socialism does not carry the smile of contempt when spoken of in the paths of men and women. It is being looked upon as a stern necessity for saving and emancipating the working class of the world. It is the only hope of the world.

You produce the raw material for everything, and manufacture it into commodities. The masters own the product of your toil. The masters do nothing towards the work, yet reap the rewards of your industry, and hand you in exchange the cost of your fodder and shelter while you were producing the thing that made them fatter and lazier.

A man stole a doll worth ten cents and was sent to jail for ten days in Toronto. The Toronto Capitalists steal a dollar a day and more from the workers they hire and live on the best streets and fare sumptuously. Nice system.

Have you spoke to your fellow slave about his joining the Socialist movement?

UNITY

There are two parties in Canada advocating Socialism.

There is the Social-Democratic party of Canada and the Socialist party of Canada. Both are revolutionary. Both are class conscious and know that reforms under capitalism only benefit the master class.

These two parties should be one. At any rate both parties should initiate a referendum upon the question of uniting.

With a united party funds would go further in organizing and propaganda efforts.

The waste of duplication would be eliminated.

There is no time like the present for getting the two parties united.

CAPITAL

"I would like to ask you what is capital, and whom do you call a capitalist. Some say a capitalist is any man who has some money to work with. I say there is a difference between a man who has \$100,000 and a man who has \$5 and works for his living. Working for a living and working for a profit is different." Ben J. Westrus, Gilbert Plains, Man.

In this issue Comrade T. Edwin Smith deals quite fully with the question of capital. Capital can be explained very simply.

Capital is means used to exploit labor. A capitalist is an owner of capital—an owner of the means used to exploit labor.

A farm worked by the owner himself is not capital as the farmer works and gets the proceeds. A farm let to a tenant is capital as the owner exploits the tenant.

Thus at one time a thing is capital, at another time it is not.

Capital is therefore a condition, not a thing.

A thousand dollars saved by a working man out of his wages and kept in the house, is not capital. It does not exploit labor.

A thousand dollars saved by a worker and invested in C. P. R. stocks, becomes capital, for now it is used to exploit labor.

Socialists aim at abolishing capital, or the condition attaching to things by which labor is exploited.

By abolishing capital we do not mean to abolish the means of producing wealth. We simply intend to prevent the means of wealth production being used in such a manner as to exploit labor. The worker will still work, wealth will still be created, only the worker will enjoy the fruits of the labor he does and the exploiting capitalist, to live, will have to work too at something useful.

THE INNOCENT INVESTOR

Our railway ownership was founded in graft and begotten in corruption.

Our private ownership of street railways and public utilities was spawned in bribery and hatched in iniquity.

Our private ownership of the coal mines of Canada is a record of devious perversity.

The trusts in Canada were founded in selfishness and bred in corrupt legislation. The banking system of Canada is robbery masquerading under an odious Bank Act as a set of political pirates ever foisted upon a country.

A simple remedy would be to confiscate the railways, mines, trusts, banks, and other agents of extortion.

But the politicians and the extortioners hold up their hands in holy horror. What, confiscate! Impossible! The innocent investor would suffer and you must not punish the innocent with the guilty.

The innocent investor is the person behind whom the grafters hide. And the innocent investor practically does not exist.

A railway grafter will get away with a large bunch of graft. A coal mine grafter will steal a mine and capitalize it at millions. These men are grafters. But to the mine owner buys the railway graft from the railway owner and the railway owner buys the graft from the mine-owner, and by this simple swapping of their respective grafts, they both become innocent investors.

Such slight of hand tricks deceive the reformers who spring pure and holy from among the grafting fraternity and who want to protect the graft they enjoy.

But a sane public, voting the Socialist ticket, will laugh at such silly tricks. When the robbed part of the community comes to its senses, rent, interest and profit will be eliminated.

SOCIALISM A SCIENCE

Socialism is a science, not a sentiment.

It deals with the principles governing the relations of men in industry.

Many a person thinks the Socialists are soft-headed dreamers who want heaven to float down to earth on a sentimental carpet. They are terribly surprised when they find the Socialists to be hard-headed, logical thinkers.

Social relations are governed by definite laws of nature. Man acts according to law in the same way that planets move according to law, and metals fuse and separate according to law.

The laws governing the planets, in so far as man has discovered them, are set forth in books on astronomy. The laws governing metals are set forth in books on metallurgy. The laws governing society are set forth in books on scientific Socialism.

If no more is an argument against Socialism to call Socialists free lovers, atheists, agitators than it is an argument against astronomy to call astronomers free lovers, atheists, agitators.

If you wish to be able to discuss Socialism intelligently, study works on economics written by scientific Socialists. When you have learned what exchange value consists of, and know the determining influence of economic consideration on men's conduct, you will be started on the way to unravel the real tendencies of the time, and the seeming chaos of modern life will be explained and rendered intelligible.

Day after day business failures are reported in Canada. Don't notice any of the little big tribe blowing up, do you? No, they are smiling with glee as they watch the little fellows singing lower and lower in the competition for gold and power.

CAPITAL by T. Edwin Smith

We have heard so much lately about Capitalism from reading the market reports that most of us are at least, a trifle muddled up. Then we have been told so often by single taxers and other reformers that there are three factors in production viz: labor, capital and land that it behooves us to examine the matter a little and get our own ideas straight before we start to teach others. Let us at the outset, take the other fellow's definitions as a starting point and work by a process of elimination and comparison before we start to lay down any laws of our own. The single taxer says there are three factors in production, labor, capital and land, and as he does not make any distinction between the three, let us take for granted that there are three factors as equally important. Let us see.

In the first place what is meant by Capital? Again let us take the other fellow's definition and see if it is correct. He says capital is the machinery and other tools used in production. Some elaborate on this and some condense it as follows. "Capital is wealth used to produce wealth." The other definitions when analyzed will all come down to this so let us analyze this one.

What is wealth? The others have never given us a definition of wealth so let us make one. "Wealth is anything for the well being of humanity produced from existing matter." In other words wealth is anything produced from existing matter which is capable of satisfying some natural human want. No one can object to this. As yet we have heard it in speeches and debates as well as in personal discussions, and I have never found any one who would object to it. With this definition of wealth in mind we see then that the above definition of capital means that capital is an association of material articles, the products of men's labor which are used by men later as tools to assist them in producing new wealth.

Examples of this are to be seen on every hand. A railway for example is capital. The capital invested in railways usually mentioned as being so many dollars, so most of those who look on the surface of things have the idea that capital, as the word is usually used, is money. But the C.P.R. for example is not made out of money and is not operated by money. It is composed of material objects which are the products of men's labor. To build the track took time, rails, rolling stock, bolts, scrapers, shovels, food for the men and food for the horses as well as coal for the engines, harness for the horses, and clothing for the men, tents for the men and tents for the horses, sheds for the machinery and section houses for the men. All these are not money and have not been made by or out of money. They are material objects made by men's labor out of the natural resources of the earth. In plain English the railway is an association of wealth used to produce wealth. It is wealth used as a tool by man to assist him in wresting a living from nature.

(Some may object to my illustration because they think a railway which is used merely to transport goods from place to place is not used to produce wealth. But no article is produced until it has been delivered to the point of actual consumption. A railway is an agency of production as a factory. For production consists in changing the form or position of a portion of existing matter and so making it more useful to humanity. By this we see that transportation is a part of production.)

This "wealth used to produce wealth" literally speaking is the true definition of an agency of production, and as the definition of an agency of production no fault can be found with it. The next question which arises is this: Is wealth used to produce wealth, capital?

Let us see. The largest printing and publishing plant in the world perhaps is the Bureau of Printing and Engraving at Washington, D.C. There is a tremendous association of wealth in the form of presses, typesetters, plates, and other machines, and articles all used to produce wealth. This plant is used to produce books, maps, cards, and pamphlets for the use of the people of the U. S., and for the use of the various government bodies. This plant is perhaps the most efficient and economical in the world yet it is not owned by any one. There is no title to it anywhere. The products of that plant are produced for use and not for sale. Such articles as are sold are sold for a purely nominal price. There is no profit made of its operation and no profit is intended.

This plant is an agency of production but no one would call it capital and the money value of that plant is not included in the capitalization of the various printing and publishing concerns in the U. S. It is not capital, though it is wealth used to produce wealth.

Perhaps the second largest plant in the country is at Philadelphia, not a hundred miles away. This is also an accumulation of wealth used to produce wealth. There is the same gigantic array of type, presses, machines, tables and other machines, the products of men's labor and which are used as tools to enable men to produce something for the well being of humanity. Thus far they compare favorably. Next we find differences. This plant is owned. The parcel post is an agency of production but it is not owned by any one. These men have a title to the land upon which the building is erected and to the machinery which is used and their ownership gives them the power to deny access to the plant to others. The products of the plant consisting of books, papers, etc., are made to be sold. The main idea behind all the operations in it are that things should be made which people will buy with money. Moreover, these things are intended to be sold at a price which will leave a profit over and above the money paid out in wages to the men, for supplies as well as for depreciation and repair of the plant. In other words the products are to be sold at a profit. The insuring motive behind the existence of this factory is profit. The profit is made by hiring men to work for wages and paying the men a sum of money less than the value of the goods produced. Its operation is for the purpose of exploiting men.

This plant is capital because: (1) it is owned by non-workers and operated by non-workers, and (2) it is an instrument for exploiting men.

All agencies of production become capital, only when these conditions are fulfilled, that it be owned and used to exploit men. We see other examples of this. The parcel post is an agency of production but it is not owned by any one and is not run to produce a profit. The express companies are agencies of production but they are owned and used to exploit men. The express companies are capital, the parcel post is not.

The essential feature of capital (that which distinguishes it from everything else) is the condition of ownership and the exploitation. Therefore we see that capital when it takes

the form of material objects consists in a mere condition of ownership. It must then be wealth used for the production of a profit. But this definition is not all inclusive. Capital does not always take the form of material objects. Capital may consist of a patent, an idea, a process, or a contract. The holder of the idea, or contract may not be owner of any agencies of production of any sort and may sublet the skinning game to some one else. His contract, idea or patent is property. That is he has the power backed up by the State to refuse access or use to others. A contract for paving a street is mainly a written agreement that no one else may be allowed to do the work. A patent is a written guarantee that the state will prohibit any one else from making and selling the article patented. Ownership consists in the power to deny access to others and the contract or patent is property.

This property acts as capital when the owners makes use of his power to compel others to pay him tribute. When it is used to exploit men. We see then more plainly that capital is property used to exploit men. It is not money, it is not necessarily a material object, it is essentially a relation existing between man and man.

CAPITAL IS THEN A CONDITION OF OWNERSHIP WHEREBY THE OWNER IS ENABLED TO EXPLOIT MEN.

Now it is evident that a mere condition, a relation existing between man and man cannot produce anything. Capital is only a condition of ownership and cannot produce anything, therefore capital is not a factor in production.

Keeping this in mind we can easily see that land (using the term now in the sense of natural resources) is merely an agency of production and it may or may not be capital. It is capital when the two conditions are fulfilled viz: that it should be owned and used to exploit men. Unless these two conditions are fulfilled it is not capital.

Let us amplify this a little. Land is merely an agency of production when it is used by a man to assist him in getting a living from nature. If the owner of the farm works the land himself it is not capital. A man's homestead is not capital as long as he works it with his own efforts. That same man could have a little coal mine and dig out coal and sell it himself. As long as he did this that coal mine would not be capital. He might use any part of the natural resources to get a living by his own efforts and then it would not be capital. But in the same manner the carpenter's tools are "wealth used to produce wealth, so is the miner's pick, the shoemaker's shop, yet none of these are capital as long as they owner uses them to make a living by his own efforts.

If, however, a land speculator owns a piece of land and rents it out or hires the work done by others, that piece of land is capital, regardless of whether the profit is great or small.

Some one may ask "What is profit?"

PROFIT IS WEALTH PRODUCED BY ONE MAN OR SET OF MEN AND ENJOYED BY ANOTHER MAN OR GROUP OF MEN.

No man can make a profit out of his own labor regardless of the value of the products. If by farming my homestead I can produce ten thousand dollars worth of products, that is not profit, and no part of it is profit. If I use any part of the natural resources to get a living by my own efforts and then it would not be capital. But in the same manner the carpenter's tools are "wealth used to produce wealth, so is the miner's pick, the shoemaker's shop, yet none of these are capital as long as they owner uses them to make a living by his own efforts.

If I rent my homestead out to a neighbor and get one-third of the crop, that one third is profit, because some one else has produced it, and I am enjoying it even though that one third is only a dollar. If I realized that and hire men to do work for me and do not take part in the actual operations, I make a profit if the product of the men's labor is more than what I have paid out in wages, though that profit be only ten cents on a ten thousand dollar job.

Now we see that land may be capital, and also neither the land or the machinery may be capital. Hence the statement that "three factors in production are labor, capital and land" is absurd for in some production both land and machinery may be capital and also there may be no capital at all; neither land or machinery.

Some people may accuse me of quibbling or hair splitting to limit capital down to a mere condition of ownership. In as much as the word is used in the articles made upon it the word is used in the actual instruments used by man I ought to take that definition, of the word. I have been told. "Well perhaps a mere condition of ownership may produce nothing, but machinery will."

I am willing to take this conception of capital and can show clearly that the actual wealth used as tools can produce nothing, regardless of the tools that wealth takes. A machine cannot produce anything.

A machine is the embodiment of a certain amount of crystallized labor time and as the machine wears out it imparts to the articles made upon it the amount of labor time which was worked up in it. "Value, price and profit", Marx says this.

"In calculating the exchange value of a commodity, we must add to the quantity of labor last employed, the quantity of labor previously worked up in the raw materials of the commodity, and the labor bestowed upon the implements, tools, machinery, and buildings with which such labor is assisted. For example the commodity of a certain amount of cotton yarn is the crystallization of the quantity of labor previously realized in the cotton itself, the quantity of labor realized in the coal, oil, and other auxiliary substances used, the quantity of labor fixed in the steam engine, the spindles, the factory building, and so forth. Instruments of production properly serve again and again for a longer or shorter period during repeated processes of production. If they were used up at once, like the raw materials, their whole value would be at once transferred to the commodities they assisted in producing. But as a spindle for example, is but gradually used up an average calculation is made, based upon the time it lasts, and its average waste or wear and tear during a certain period, say a day. In this way we calculate how much of the value of the spindle is transferred to the yarn the day it is spun, and how much, therefore, of the total amount of labor realized in a pound of yarn, for example, is due to the quantity of labor previously realized in the spindle." Cotton's Edition p. 36-7, S. P. edition p. 4.

The implements used in production merely transmit to the new wealth, the value already worked up in themselves. No new value is created by this act of transmission. The

energy worked up in one form is transformed into another but nothing has been created by the transformation of value.

A pump sends out water from the nozzle but we do not say the pump produces water because we all know the pump has already taken in at the bottom, what it sends out at the top.

A transformer in a power station receives over one set of wires electric energy of a certain voltage and magnitude and sends out over another set of wires the same amount of energy though of a different voltage. Though the form of the energy has been changed nothing has been produced in the transformer because only so much energy can come out as has been taken in.

A storage battery acts much the same as an agency of production because it takes in a certain amount of energy and sends it out whenever it is required. But a storage battery produces nothing for it can only send out what it has taken in, no matter how long before the energy was taken in. For example a dynamo will charge a certain battery in ten hours. There is then stored up in that battery 20,000 watt hours of energy. That same storage battery may be used to run two 16 c. lights in a house and under ordinary circumstances it will run them about 133 hours. Though the discharge of the battery is extended over a longer period than the charging it does not follow that more has been taken out. The battery was charged at the rate of 2000 watts per hour, but the discharge was at the rate of 128 watts per hour for 133 hours. The storage battery produces nothing.

It is the same with a machine. In the machine is stored up a certain number of units of human energy say 1000 hours per man. If it will last for 1000 days it is transmitting the goods being produced, 1 hour per man per day in addition to the energy being expended by the man who is tending the machine.

This being the case machinery can produce nothing, it can merely transmit to the products such value as had been stored up in it previously. It is an accumulator of human energy and discharges itself over years of use. At the end of its use it has transmitted to the wealth only as much wealth as had been worked up in it years before. It produces nothing.

Capital in the single taxer's conception produces nothing.

In order to produce wealth for the satisfaction of the natural needs man makes use of both land and machinery. Both land and machinery are agencies of production and may or may not be capital.

Capital produces nothing. An agency of production produces nothing. The production of wealth is the result of the labor of man and the tools he uses to produce it should belong to him.

The Secret of Their Power

Irwin Friday, Fertility, Alta.

The rich man's wealth is his strong city, the destruction of the poor is their poverty. Proverbs, X, 15.

How true is this old proverb! With his wealth at his command the rich man buys up Parliament, bribes judges and owns the public press. He gives a portion of his wealth for a few libraries and calls it charity. By owning the press and the machinery of the state he owns the constables, sheriffs, police and the army and navy. The press by its lies swears men into the army and they become machines trained to murder those who attempt to stop the rich plundering the poor.

It would not do, however, to murder all the poor, for as the proverb says, the destruction of the poor is their poverty. If the poor were all destroyed it would not be long before the rich would not be rich in the same sense as they are to-day. They would soon exhaust their food supply, their motors would wear out. There would be no one to operate the railroads and dividends would cease to flow. There would be no one to dig, to dig diamonds for some female parasite to parade around in. The house of the rich would need repair, the lawn would need sprinkling, the garden would grow up to weeds. The poodle dogs of the rich would not be bathed and combed so often, while the female plute would not only have to dress herself, but would be compelled to cook meals wash clothes and bake bread.

Imagine Carnegie mining ore! Imagine Mr. Rockefeller drilling oil wells, and Taft picking cotton. See Mr. Morgan mine gold, see Mr. Baer mine coal away down in the earth by the light of a small lamp. Imagine him in a mine explosion buried under tons and tons of earth. See Mr. Roosevelt, the advocate of large families, working sixteen hours a day to support a family of twenty-eight members!

See Mr. Bryan herding sheep. Imagine Sir William Mackenzie holding the reins of the Donald Mann driving a locomotive in the north. See R. L. Borden as brakeman and Sir Wilfrid Laurier as general roustabout. How awful! No poor people to do the work.

Let me quote again the rich man's wealth is his strong city, the destruction of the poor is their poverty. Do you see how the strong city of the rich can be taken away as well as the destruction of the poor? The plan is simple, plain, convincing. The public ownership necessary to produce wealth. This will stop rent, interest and profit flowing into the hands of the few. When the producers enjoy the value they create, when wealth remains in the hands of its creators, the strong city of the rich has fallen.

The Victoria News finds fault with a local priestfighter who is out after the mazzuma and tennant professional. This man has a chance for the short route to wealth, and naturally he takes it. Does the News want him to skin along on a living wage making money for the masters of B.C.? Is not the overcrowded labor market of B.C. a thorn in the flesh of the whole province? When a man has a chance to escape the hellish conditions of the workers, the brutality of the soldiers, and the police court henchmen of the masters, would he not be a dumb fool if he did not make his getaway?

The workers as a class are in the majority, yet they are uneducated and in bondage to the capitalist class, who are in a minority. They themselves are to blame. They have voted for such conditions, and will have to put up with them till they get wise enough to throw the parasites off their backs.

When a slave of the south got sick, a doctor was called to attend him, for he was valuable. When a slave of the North gets sick he is left to take care of himself, and another slave is put in his place. Which slave had the most freedom?

Marx and Engels

From Manchester Guardian of Dec. 27, 1913.

The names of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are sufficiently well known even in the non-Socialist world to lend a profound interest to the four volumes of their correspondence which recently appeared in Germany. These men were the founders of the modern Socialist movement, and certainly their personalities, as they appear in their letters, are very striking. Both men lived for the greater part of their lives in England, and it was to the fact that Marx lived in London, while Engels settled in 1850 in Manchester and remained there for twenty years, that we owe the correspondence between them.

The circumstances which brought Engels to Manchester are interesting. His father was a large cotton manufacturer at Barmen (the firm is still in existence there) and also partner in Manchester with an old friend, Gottfried Ermen. The firm was called Ermen and Engels, and is the same which is now known as Ermen and Roby. Young Frederick was sent as a youth to Manchester, and while there learned a good deal from Robert Owen and the "Chartists," in those organs, the "New Moral World" and the "Northern Star" he frequently wrote. At that time Marx was editing at Cologne a democratic paper, and Engels acted as correspondent to it. In this way the two became associated and afterwards in 1844, they met in Paris, and from that time until the death of Marx, in 1883, they remained faithful friends and collaborators.

The revolution of 1848 took Engels back to Germany where he took part in the armed insurrection in Baden. He had to flee the country, went to Switzerland, and then came to England, where Marx had settled, after being successively expelled from Germany, Paris, and Brussels. Both were in strained circumstances, but Engels being unmarried and having no family, was potentially more independent than his friend, who had a wife and family and could only live by his pen. It is true that his wife, a sister of a Minister in the German states, had good connections, but the latter could never forgive her having married an ordinary doctor of philosophy, of Jewish extraction, who, moreover, soon developed into a dangerous revolutionary and Socialist agitator. In consequence, Engels decided to sacrifice his own political career and to enter the Manchester business career and to enter the Manchester business in order that at least Marx, of whom he had the highest possible opinion, might be enabled to continue his theoretical and practical work.

Then, then, it was which finally brought Engels to Manchester, was the desire to be near to his friend, and especially from one which he wrote to his friend on August 16, 1867, at 2 a.m., informing him of the despatch of the last proofs of his great work, "Capital". To you and to you only I owe it that this has been possible. Without your self-sacrifice for my sake I should never have been able to do all this tremendous work. I embrace you with all my thanks. Salut, my dear, faithful friend.

On an earlier occasion Marx wrote: "Without you I would have never completed my work. I assure you my conscience was always burdened with the thought that it was chiefly for my sake that you had permitted your splendid abilities to waste away and rust in commerce, besides sharing in 'all my miseries into the bargain.' When babies play ring-around-a-rosie, we know they will outgrow the stage. When boys play pirate, we know they will pass that stage. We can rest confident that now the boys are playing soldier, soldiering has really ceased to be a manly occupation.

It is true of the capitalists are spending a pile of money in training boys to be scouts. But the capitalists are ignorant creatures. They do not know the lessons of phylogeny and ontogeny and evolutionary biology. I think I hear some saying, "Yes, that is good as a theory, but we have soldiers now and we do not have pirates. The boys will take the place of the present soldiers."

The boys will become doctors and chemists, and teachers, and engineers and brakemen, and sewer workers, and waiters. Very few will become soldiers. Few indeed that will be the glamor of the soldier's life will be worn off.

There are many men who sigh over what they have missed when they were boys. If they get their fill in boyhood days of what boys enjoy, when they become men they are satisfied with the memory.

War is passing. The boy scout will get his fill of soldier play and will want to pass on to the real business of life.

The Fatuous Boy Scout Movement

A Comrade sends the Berlin, Ont., Telegraph, of date March 7th containing a column on the Boy Scout movement, and says, "Rip this column in your own good way."

The article deals in florid language with the American Boy Scout movement, tells how President Wilson entertained the Scouts to the number of one hundred and how Ernest Seton Thompson, Chief Scout, in a burst of enthusiasm, declared that when the country wakes up their will be a chair of scouting in all the big universities.

I am not going to denounce the Boy Scout Movement. I am going to show how silly it is, and how foolish the capitalist class are in spending their big round dollars in trying to train the boys to be murderous soldiers when the boys grow up. I am going to do this by showing the place of the Boy Scout in terms of evolutionary biology.

Darwin set forth the law of evolution. He showed how life originated as a little single celled animal in the bottom of the sea. He showed how life grew more and more complex. The simple life cell, the worm, the fish, the amphibian, the marsupial, the man-ape, the man.

Ernest Haeckel, the great German scientist took up the work of Darwin and carried it further. He showed how EACH INDIVIDUAL GOES THROUGH ALL THESE STAGES.

The child, before it is born, begins as a little cell, then increases to a chain of cells, and goes through the stage when it has gills, like a fish, later on it develops a tail which later disappears. The child goes through the stages in its development which the race went through.

After it is born, we can see it going through further stages. It cannot talk but cries like an animal. Then it crawls on all four limbs like a four-legged animal. It is only after months that it walks on two legs like a human being.

When the child begins to develop mentally, it reproduces the various stages of the development of thought in the human race. At first it is a savage. It wants what it wants when it wants it. It has little idea of the rights of other people.

Later on, it goes through the stage of barbarism. It plays Indian. Later on the boy loves to play pirate. The boy takes to the training with great joy. I know some of Socialists who have been much grieved because their father would not let them join and tramp in the woods.

The boy scout movement, to me, is one of the most hopeful signs of the age. It shows the race is progressing.

Haeckel points out that as man advances, he reproduces the various stages earlier in his career.

Formerly a man took to soldiering at twenty and even thirty years. Men looked upon soldiering as a serious and manly occupation. Now it is boy play.

Man is advancing above this stage. In his development he is getting the war fever as a boy. It will pass like the pirate stage passes. The boy in a few years will look back upon his boy scout period like he looks back upon his Indian or pirate period. He will smile at his boyhood pranks.

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Property Should be Owned Collectively

The few useless people who loudly proclaim we propose to abolish private property are afraid they will lose their graft, which is due to the fact that they own as private property the things which the working masses literally have to use in order to make a living. The private ownership of these industries makes the working men and women dependent upon them for an opportunity to earn a living. They therefore have the power, because of their private ownership of the industries, to compel the workers to work for them for a mere fraction of the value of their labor. They keep the remainder themselves without earning it. No wonder they object to having the private ownership of these industries abolished.

It is the great merit of Socialism that it will abolish the private ownership of these exploiting industries and make them the collective property of all the people.

No one has a right to own as private property the things that others must use to make a living. Such private ownership is the sole and only cause of the present industrial slavery of the masses of the people and the present bitter extremes of luxury on the one hand and poverty on the other.

Socialism will make the exploiting industries collective property, owned by all the people and run for the benefit of all the people. Then, the few will no longer have the power to rob the many, but the men and women who do the necessary and useful work, mental and manual, will receive the full value of their labor.

Whether any particular piece of property should be collectively or privately owned depends upon its use.

Under Socialism there will be nothing left over for the grafters when the full social value of a manufactured article is given to the one who produces it. The grafters of to-day who live on the spoils of labor will have nothing to graft onto, unless it be a pick or shovel handle.

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