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This is No. 74

COWANSVILLE, P. Q., CANADA, FEBRUARY 4, 1910

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CAPITALIST FARMING

I attended the 'Farmers' Convention in the Town Hall at Cowansville the other day. I listened to the talks given the farmers by the instructors from the experimental farm at Ottawa and by the teachers in the Agricultural College established by Sir Wm. C. MacDohald at Ste Anne de Bellevue, P. Q. The talks were exceedingly interesting and the farmers could learn much of advantage to them from the discourses.

But there was one defect. The defect was as to how the farmers were to get hold of the money or capital with which to put the things they had heard into operation. One farmer asked information with regard to a certain lot of twenty acres of poor soil on his farm. The lecturer advised the farmer to plant the twenty acres with clover seed. Sow the clover seed thick, twenty pounds to the acre. That was the advice given. I went to a local seed seller to get the price of clover seed. The price quoted was twenty cents a pound. That means that the farmer would have to have eighty dollars with which to buy the clover seed for his poor land. Now the lecturer did not give one hint as to how the farmer was to get that eighty dollars. The speaker insisted that the investment would pay big returns.

The speaker insisted that the farmers did not work their lands to advantage. They gave good advice upon what the farmers should do. They should use seed drills. Where the money was to come from to buy the seed drills the lecturers did not state. But they insisted that seed drills were a good investment. Then they spoke about improving the herds of cattle, advising that the farmers should get good male animals. Male animals come high but the speakers neglected to state where the money was to come from with which to purchase male animals. The speakers insisted upon the benefit of silos. Every dairy farmer should have two silos. Where the money was to come from with which to build the silos the lecturers did not state. But they insisted upon the fact that silos would pay well as an investment. They spoke upon the benefit of intensive cultivation. Some of them asserted that each acre of land should support a cow. In the Eastern Townships the average is ten acres to a cow. The speakers dwelt upon the fact that it would pay the farmers to hire men to keep their corn lands and wheat lands thoroughly broken up and rebroken up until the crops come up. Where the farmers were to get the money with which to hire wage slaves, the speakers did not declare. But they insisted that wage labor as an investment on farm lands was a good investment.

I was much interested in the comments of the farmers as they left the hall. Many of them laugh at Socialist doctrines, but they see the point in practice. The trend of the comments of the farmers was that it was all very well for the experimental farm fellows with the government funds at their back or those of the Agricultural College with a million-
aire back of it to come to the Eastern Townships farmers and tell them what they did. But if the lecturers would tell the farmers how to get the money in the first place to carry on farming as laid down by the lecturers, the farmers would be better pleased.

Farming, like all other industries under capitalism, is being drawn in to the capitalist mode of production. If you have the money to build good barns and buy good cattle and clover seed and build silos and buy corn cutters and drills and harrows and hire wage slaves, then you will get big returns. But if you have not the money or the credit with the controllers of the centralized accumulations of capital, then your goose is cooked.

The government lecturers simply show to the farmers what benefit will arise from capitalized farming. Any Socialist almost could do the same thing. Those government lecturers are begging the farmers to revolutionize their methods. They declare that it is an economic necessity. They are right.

But the farmers are wiser than the lecturers for the farmers know that it is lack of capital that is shoving them to the wall. They are all struggling to get hold of the necessary control over accumulated capital in order to become capitalist farmers. Many of them who are losing in the fight are ripe for the Socialist doctrines of working class control of the coming machines, for the farmers are finding that the race

is hard and that many of them are doomed to failure in the battle for control under an individualist system.

The working farmers keep their wives and children busy producing agricultural wealth. In the government returns the work of the farmer and the help he actually pays alone is taken into account. For that reason the income of the farmer is put down as being far larger than what he himself earns by his own labor. When a factory hand works with his children in a factory, each person is reckoned as receiving a separate income. Government statistics are frequently used to bamboozle the farmer into thinking he is better off than he really is.

EQUALIZATION OF TAXATION

A few years ago the cry "equalization of taxation" was the cry of the farmers. They felt the burden of protection. Canada's industrial establishments were of hothouse growth. The farmers found they paid high for goods and they felt the heavy burden of indirect taxation. Their cry therefore was for equal taxation.

Today there is an Independent Labor Party in the Maritime Provinces. The members of this party feel that they get poor wages. They have the foolish idea that their low wages are due to the fact that taxes are put on industry and not on the land. They do not realize that wages tend to the barest means of subsistence and that the reserve army of the unemployed, always clamoring for work, keep the employed workers at work for poor wages. The capitalists and labor thieves benefit. These workers of the I. L. P. are in economic darkness as to the true remedy for their ills. They think that the large profits of the manufacturers and coal barons are a necessary condition for the workers getting their jobs. They think that these profits are stationary and if taxation was placed upon land then the amount they would get in wages would rise. So the I. L. P. is out with a plank that will hit the farmers. This is the plank, "Tax reform by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it upon land values."

The farmers want equalization of taxation. The workers want taxation placed on land values. There are the two antagonistic planks of the laboring farmer and the wage worker. The two great classes of workers are thus divided and fighting one another, instead of uniting to fight against the common foe, the appropriator of unpaid labor.

The farmer who tills his farm, who has the farming machinery necessary to farm well all paid for, and who has a group of husky sons to help him carry on his farm, is in a far better position than is the wage worker. He is in a better position because he has control over the land and tools with which he must work to produce wealth. The farmer is robbed it is true but this robbery is due to the waste of doing business under the capitalist system and the competition among farmers in the sale of their goods to middlemen who reap a profit without doing useful work.

Still the farm owning farmer is better off than the wage worker in certain instances. The wage worker has no control over the machines at which he must work and is in the position of the tenant farmer who has to pay the owner of the land all he produces apart from a bare living in order to be allowed to farm at all.

The workers, seeing the better position of the farm owning farmer, concludes that the farmer is getting out of paying his fair share of taxes and want to have him taxed. The I. L. P. chaps see but dimly.

Let not the cry go up, "tax the land." Let the cry go up from the wage workers, "We want full control and management of the machines with which we have to work." The remedy of the ills of the wage worker is not to tax the farmer. That would benefit the industrial robbers without benefiting the wage worker.

The true remedy for the working farmer and the working laborer is to demand full control over and appropriation of the social wealth produced by them, to abolish the labor thieving parasites that batten on both of them and then both classes of wealth producers will get all they can ask for in justice—the wealth they themselves produce.

WHAT WE GAIN

There are many things which Canada has and which the reformers of the U. S. have to fight for. The reformers of the U. S. want a pure food act. The Dominion government has enacted a pure food act and has appointed officials to test samples and to prosecute offenders. In the U. S. adulteration is rampant. In the U. S. the government is run by the railroads. In Canada the railroads are frequently pulled up short by the Railway Commission. In the U. S. the fight for conservation is on. In Canada the conservation of natural resources is to the front and the government is backing it. In the U. S. the judges are corrupt. In Canada the judges fulfil the law without thought of personal gain beyond their salaries.

These are the things we gain over the U. S. But capitalism is so constructed that misery walks abroad even under honest capitalist judges. The subduing of a nation to the fetish of rent, interest and profit must necessarily cause false ideals to be held up for admiration, and throws the energy of the best and brightest brains into the struggle for gathering up the results of the unpaid toil of others. We have our multimillionaires and prostitutes. We have our hunger stricken and our champagne drinkers. We have our army of unemployed and our overdriven workers. We have our stock exchanges and commercial crisis. We have our little business men being shoved to the wall and the giant trusts fattening on the ruined lives of competitors. The capitalist system produces rottenness.

Canada is vast. Three million square miles with a population of but seven millions. Europe with the same area contains over two hundred million people. Yet our poor starve in Montreal while our wheat is exported to Europe.

What do we gain by our reforms? We gain a plutocracy which is a loss. We gain a slumbering people who should be awake. We gain an admiration for false standards of success which is a detriment.

Capitalism cannot work without corruption. When that corruption is produced it is bound to waken the people. An awakened people is bound to result in Socialism.

Did you ever hear of the right of eminent domain? This right is largely discussed in the text-books of law. The right of eminent domain belongs to all governments. This means that the right of the government of all the people is stronger than the right of any private citizen or any group of private citizens. It is under the law of eminent domain that railways expropriate land and troops commandeer food from private citizens in time of riot. This right of eminent domain is exercised by the government in power on behalf and in the interest of the class to which the government belongs. That class now is the capitalist class. But the day is coming when it will be the government of the working class. When that time comes the workingclass government will expropriate the property of the parasites by the "right of eminent domain" and the revolution will be accomplished.

The Toronto Mail and Empire in an editorial takes the Liberal government to task for granting farm lands without demanding that the settlers cultivate the land in such a manner as to conserve the soil. The demand for social control over the farmers' actions is growing. Canadians are looking into the future and want the food supplies of the future to be protected. More and more there will be social interference with the farmers' methods of production. Conditions are shaping themselves so that individual control yields place to social control. The farmers will either have to get into the way of social production with social ownership and social appropriation, or they will have to put up with individual proprietorship and watch the big fellows get the cream.

The T. Eaton Co. is enlarging its factory at Winnipeg. A. E. Rea & Co. is enlarging its store at Montreal, and the mail order business is growing all over Canada. Watch the little store keepers become worried.

The farmer thinks he owns his land and has a clear title to it. Let him not pay his taxes and see how quick his alleged proprietorship will vanish and he will be grieved lose from his land.

JOE AINEY ELECTED

The results of the election in Montreal were received with great joy by the reformers. The heavy capitalists had interested themselves in the election and as a result the men they backed got in by an overwhelming majority. Ainey received thirty thousand votes, Dupuis twenty-two thousand, Wanklyn twenty-two thousand, and Lachapelle twenty thousand votes. These four men were the citizens' slate for Board of Control. The other fourteen candidates ran behind. The next highest vote for a member on the Board was eight thousand votes. Comrade Albert St. Martin received one thousand and seventy-one votes and Comrade Edmund Western received seven hundred and seventy-one.

The noticeable thing is that Joe Ainey, the representative of the workmen received half as many votes again as did the highest appropriator of unpaid labor. This shows that the workmen are beginning to work together. This shows that economic conditions are producing a feeling of solidarity among the workers for men of their own ranks. It is true that Ainey ran on the capitalist ticket. But the result shows that it was a labor man the workers to a great extent voted for.

If Ainey will wake up he can do much good. He is put in a place of power and is in a position to do good work for labor. There are many men who are watching with interest which way Ainey will jump when the test comes.

Just an example of what may happen. Peter Lyall is a millionaire contractor of Montreal. Peter is a labor union smasher. Peter does not like to see labor organized to get high wages. Peter has done his best to keep the workers humble and poor. Owing to Peter's efforts the wages of carpenters and joiners and other workers engaged in the building trades of Montreal are about twenty per cent below a fair living wage as known to union men. This Peter is proud of.

Joe Ainey is a carpenter and joiner. He has run up against Peter in the past. A few months ago Joe was calling Peter all the horrid words he could lay his tongue to. Joe then was a labor leader and was running up against capitalist as embodied in the person of disagreeable and labor smashing Peter.

When election time came round Peter was one of the Citizens' Committee to see to the election of a clean reform slate. Peter was one of the men who chose Joe to go on the slate. Since then, during the campaign Joe has been shaking hands with Peter and they have been acting like long lost political brothers.

But an election is only a truce in the warfare of capital against labor. The fight will be renewed. Many persons therefore are interested in watching what Ainey will do when his political friend Peter and the union men of whom he is an officer renew their fight. Will their be a strike? If there is will Ainey stand by his union against capitalist poisoning the fight from his Valhalla of five thousand dollars a year and a soft job and sick on the police upon his erstwhile fighting mates. The situation is interesting and no doubt Joe will be tried out and the stuff of which he is made revealed.

Throughout the ages the denunciations of the workers have been hurled against the exploiters. Now at last we have a Labor Minister in Canada who has solved the problem according to his own satisfaction. Let the laborer be content to be robbed by the capitalists and there will be harmony between the forces of robbery and the robbed.

In 1901 there were 544,000 farmers and seventy-four thousand farm laborers in Canada. In the same year there were about fifteen thousand manufacturers with 308,000 wage-plugs under them. Socialism will not hurt the farmer because the farmer as shown by statistics is a working plug himself.

Capitalism makes criminals, and the capitalist state finds its functionals in jailing and hanging the criminals—anything to get rid of the waste.

The capitalist is of interest to Socialism only in his capacity as the possessor of capital.

The trustification of the land will come with the giant farm machinery.

Under capitalism the products of a man's hands enslave him.

Because a man owns a farm he is not necessarily a farmer.

Every farmer who owns his own farm has to pay toll to banks and to the army and navy in the way of taxes.

The farmer thinks he has a clear title to his land. Let a railroad want a right-of-way through his garden-sass patch and see how quick he will lose his title to his land.

Capitalist development is in full swing in Canada, but as our politicians believe in the capitalist system, they are not to be blamed too much. It is the system that produces conscientious capitalist politicians.

The farmer thinks he has a clear title to his land. He has as long as he keeps hustling like sin to pay the bills coming due and no accidents strikes his cows or the draught does not hit him, and the government or a railway does not want to expropriate him.

In 1901 over ten per cent of the farms of Canada were rented. A larger proportion were mortgaged. This in Canada during the years when free land was given away. The farmer who does not own his own farm is as great a slave as is the wageworker.

The farmers produce half the wealth of Canada while there are only twenty-eight farmers in the Dominion House. The wage worker and the soil worker are both only working plugs and consequently do not get much representation in the political arena.

The Intercolonial Railway has a surplus. It usually has a deficit. The surplus is produced by "economy." Five hundred employees were sacked and their wages now become accumulated capital. Whether it is a private company or a government railway it is the wage workers who suffer.

There are what are known as gentlemen farmers, men who hire other farmers to do the actual work and who live on the unpaid labor of these tenant farmers or farm laborers. Such gentlemen farmers are parasites. In Great Britain they call them Dukes and Lords and bow down to them. Socialism will abolish the farm parasite as it will the industrial parasite.

When a railway magnet wants money, he goes to the political gang in control of the people's money and gets it handed out to him by the million dollars. When crops go bad on a farmer the political gang in control doles out a few dollars to the farmers with which to buy seed grain, and the gang take precious care to collect interest on the money advanced and see to it that the farmers pay back the loan. You working-plug farmers are easy fooled by the Peepul's representatives at Ottawa.

When a gang of financial pirates want to make money they undertake to build a bridge with the people's money. When the bridge falls down, the people's representatives pay up like little men the money that belong to the dear peepul and forgive the debt. When the farmers need money the people's representatives tell the dear farmers to go get it where they can at the banks at eight per cent. The farmers are only good to vote the henchmen of the capitalists into power.

The Quebec Workmen's Compensation Act now in force is a good example of capitalist reform. The Quebec politicians saw that there would soon be a great demand for a compensation act. So they took time by the forelock and passed an act allowing the worker injured compensation for injuries not to exceed two thousand dollars. An illustration will show how backward this legislation is. A railway worker was killed on a line running from Quebec into Vermont. He was killed on the Vermont side and his widow gets five thousand dollars. Had he been killed on the Quebec side the widow would have got only two thousand dollars. So the Quebec Compensation Act can be said to be an act passed by the henchmen of the labor thieves to give the workers as little as possible.

THE COMING OF REFORM

How often politicians appeal to the people asserting that if they are not elected certain measures will not be introduced. Many people are deceived by such bluffs. But history and common sense teaches us that when a nation wants a measure passed that measure will be passed even without an election. Thus the Liberals promised free trade and were elected and Canada got protection. It was the Tories in Great Britain who repealed the Corn Laws. A nation need not express itself at the ballot box to get what it wants. When Charles the First was arrested he asked by what warrant he was being arrested. He was taken to the window and shown the soldiers of the Cromwellian Commonwealth. Charles looked and said, "Your warrant is writ large." When the aldermen of Chicago were going to give away a franchise of the streets for fifty years the citizens gathered round the council room with noosed ropes in their hands and the franchise ordinance was not passed.

When a people really want a thing they can get it from their politicians. The politician is a cowardly animal who yields before a storm. The party in power dare not do what the people do not want. Even though they have pledged themselves to carry out a certain policy, yet if the people object that policy will be dropped.

Thus it is that when the people want old age pensions they get them. It matters not whether it is Liberal or Conservative that is in power. So the Socialist fight is not to win elections so much as to rouse the people. Winning elections is a good thing, but to sacrifice principle for the sake of an immediate demand which will be granted if the people want it is more or less foolishness.

The Socialist Party in the U. S. has had its forerunners in the Greenback and Populist Parties of the seventies and eighties of the past century. When James B. Weaver of Iowa ran for the presidency on the Greenback platform in 1880 he received 308,000 votes. The following were the planks in that platform. 1. Fiat money. 2. An eight hour day for labor. 3. Inspection and government supervision of factories, mines and workshops. 4. Against importation of cheap labor. 5. Against land grants to railroads and corporations. 6. For regulation of interstate commerce. 7. For a graduated income tax. 8. For more direct power of the people over their government. This middle west of Greenback and Populist Parties is now the stamping ground of the Insurgent Republicans. The old radical movements did not get to the centre of the question. They did not perceive that the remedy was public ownership and democratic management of the machinery of production. They saw that a gold standard was not necessary, consequently their first plank was "fiat money." That was the nearest they got to the modern Socialist movement, and that was the plank that overwhelmed them. The rising plutocracy saw that fiat money would break the power of the banks and the private system of centralized credit. The Greenback and Populist movements were born out of due time. They are coming to their own with clearer vision as to the central question and the method of remedy.

The Dominion government is radical compared with the government of the U. S. Many persons who are watching events consider that, just as the American colonies did not undergo the terrible suffering that France endured in the conquest of political institutions, so Canada will not undergo the terrible sufferings that the U. S. will undergo in the conquest of economic and social institutions.

The capitalist mode of production is becoming world-wide. It is seizing the free African and turning him into a wage-slave. It has expropriated the natives of Hawaii and turned them into an army of foodless misfits. It is seizing India, China, Japan. Its scope is universal. With the coming of world-wide capitalism comes world-wide socialism.

The electric plow and the steam plow is but the beginning of farming by machinery. When the giant farm machine comes then will the individualist farmer be turned into an industrial wage-slave.

Equality does not mean a dead level.

ELECTRICITY AND AGRICULTURE

By Odon Por, Special European

Correspondent, Wilshire's.

THE demand for agricultural products is rapidly increasing, while the exodus of the people from the farms to the cities is taking on alarming proportions. Our industrial civilization, centered in the big cities, draws the young people with its glittering promises away from the farms. Farm work is considered dull, the farms being deserted and the farmers are considered dull and reactionary people. This situation is really critical in every industrial country. But scientific progress is coming to save the situation, give a new impetus to agriculture, and pour new ideas into the farmers.

Recent discoveries in all lines of agriculture impress the observer with the fact that an agricultural revolution is impending. Burbank, Nilson and De Vries have shown us, on a large scale, the possibility of quickly perfecting the existing fruits and vegetables; they have created new fruits and made edible fruits that hitherto were left untouched by man and animals. Biffen has conquered the rust, the most serious enemy of the wheat farmer, by creating a variety of wheat immune to that disease. There will be enough seed of this variety, in a short time, to eliminate rust all over the world, and thus save five hundred million dollars per year. Biffen succeeded also in creating a species of wheat and barley that combines a large cropping capacity with a high gluten content. The breeding of animals, the selecting of finer and more useful species, is being put on an increasing certain basis. There is no telling where this creating, transforming and improving will end, nor what forms of social co-operation will be called into existence in order to put in practice these new scientific discoveries in agriculture.

The growing scarcity of human labor on the farms imposes the necessity of intensive production and a wide application of technical means. Hitherto the United States and England furnished the best agricultural machines and tools and were the model countries as to methods of cultivation. But Germany, Hungary and France are now superseding these countries by creating new types of machinery and introducing new methods of cultivation.

During the last twenty years the number of land laborers in Germany decreased by three million, while the crops increased very considerably. This is entirely due to the fact that the German farmers have realized that the greatest possible intensity of cultivation is the safest means whereby to control the forces of nature. Modern farming in Germany, and of course everywhere where intensive production is the rule, is becoming an industrial enterprise; the farms are becoming agrar-technical plants.

Germany leads the nations in the use of electrical machines in agriculture. Numerous farms have their own power stations or produce power co-operatively, for driving the various electric machines, for cultivation, harvesting and transportation, for running the pumping stations for irrigation and dairy processes, for illumination and numerous other uses.

After long study and experiments, and much disappointment, the German engineers have evolved an electro-plow, capable of accomplishing any plowing work under practically all circumstances. The heavy and expensive steam plow can do used profitably only on large farms in the low lands, and exclusively for deep plowing. The electro-plow is a profitable investment even for the small farmer, for it is much cheaper than the steam plow, does the work more exactly, needs less skilled attendance than the steam plow, and can work on steep hills that a horse plow can hardly climb. It is a light and very durable machine and can be easily transported. Experts have figured out, on the basis of 200,000 acres cultivated by this instrument, that electro-plowing costs about one-third of steam plowing.

It is conclusively demonstrated by exact figuring that the net product of the German farmers could be increased at least 33 per cent. by the introduction of the electro-plow and all the other numerous electrical appliances. The electro-plow has made it possible for the German farmers to open up for wheat cultivation lands which were inaccessible to the old methods of plowing. With the electro-plow Germany could produce all the wheat consumed in the country and consequently dispense with the importation of wheat. Without extending the area of cultivation, the German farmers could double their wheat and treble their potato crop by merely introducing the exact and scientific plowing made possible by the electro-plow.

It is significant that the same

technical experts say that only a co-operative organization on a large scale and with a wide social outlook, could solve the difficult problem of financing and organizing the transformation of present agriculture into a scientific electro-technical enterprise. To establish the power-stations for long distance transmission of electrical energy, to use the water-power economically, to put up the wires, to buy and build the new machines and the electric farm railroads, in short, the whole technical transformation can materialize, feasibly and economically, only through the merging of individual interests with the collective interest.

Recently another exceptionally important application of electricity in agriculture has been brought to perfection. Electro-culture, the influencing of plant-growth by electricity, has passed out of the experimental stage and is ready to be introduced on a large scale.

Prof. Lemstrom, of Helsingfors, Finland, during his frequent trips to the arctic regions, observed that the development of the plants is accomplished more rapidly than in moderate climates, despite the heavy frosts during the nights. And he observed also that, notwithstanding the primitive methods of cultivation, the rye and barley are, both in quantity and quality, not behind the best German crop. He proved that this phenomenon is due to atmospheric electricity, which is far stronger in these latitudes than elsewhere.

Following on the lines of this discovery, he began, some 23 years ago, experimenting, on a small scale, with plants in pots, putting them under a net of wires charged with electricity. The plants thus exposed to electricity developed with extraordinary rapidity. He then repeated his experiments in the open air with plants set in the ground, and obtained marvelous results, in many cases getting twice the amount of plants from the field under the influence of electricity than from the "control field," where the same species of plants were growing but isolated from electrical influence. It is most remarkable that not only the quantity of the crop was increased, but the time of ripening was also shortened. Strawberries ripened in twenty-eight days under electro-culture, while they required fifty-four days to ripen in the "control field." And not only the leaves showed a marked difference, but also their roots. The general quality also improved, it being chemically ascertained that sugar beets treated with electricity contained 18 per cent. more sugar than beets of the "control field."

Lemstrom's experiments were taken up in France, England and Germany, and soon the fact was established that these striking results were independent of climatic conditions, and that they remain the same in all climates and in all soils, and that anybody, by following Lemstrom's instructions, can considerably increase his crops.

On a farm near Breslau, Germany, electrification increased the strawberry crop 128 per cent., barley 140 per cent., and the bean crop 32 per cent. Similar results were obtained in Sweden on a farm of about thirty acres.

After Lemstrom's death, the experimenting stopped for a while, but was taken up again by a young English electrician, Mr. Newman, who, together with Sir Oliver Lodge, one of the greatest living scientists, worked out a very simple and cheap method of practical electro-agriculture.

The farm of Mr. Bomford, near Birmingham, England, has been for the last four years the scene of most fascinating experiments of extraordinary social importance. It is interesting to note that the first steam plow was tried on this farm.

About ninety acres are treated here with electricity. A number of wires are stretched over the field on low poles, but high enough for loaded carts to pass and all ordinary farming operations to go on without hindrance. The power is supplied by an oil engine and a dynamo. The electrification is maintained a few hours during each day. The consumption of energy is insignificant when compared with the results obtained.

Sir Oliver Lodge recently made public the results, stating that the increase in the wheat crop was "but" 30 to 40 per cent. Considering the fact that Lodge experimented on a large scale, and under average practical conditions, this is a stupendous result. The 100 to 120 per cent. increase above mentioned came from laboratory and garden experiments conducted under specially favorable circumstances.

The scientific chemical tests made by the Bakery School, in Birmingham, found the electrified wheat richer in certain contents and better for baking purposes. This was confirmed

by the experience of the bakers, who willingly paid 7 1/2 per cent. more for this electrified wheat than for the ordinary kind.

In Germany, Mr. Max Breslau, Professor at the University of Charlottenburg, has experimented in this line with great success. He put, this year, three farms of two hundred and twenty-two acres each, under electric treatment, and installed an experimental station for the University of Halle, Germany. At the date of this writing the results are not known yet, but Mr. Breslau will communicate them to me as soon as they are figured out, and I will publish them in Wilshire's Magazine. On the basis of the results hitherto obtained, he puts the cost of an electro-culture plant for two hundred and twenty-two acres at \$1,200, machinery, wiring and instalment included. Five kilowatt-hours per day suffices for the treatment of this field. This amount of power would cost in Germany 25 cents per day; 150 days per year, are enough for a successful electrification of the fields. Counting the expenses for extra labor, the interest on the invested capital, amortization, etc., the electrification of these two hundred and twenty-two acres would cost \$250 per year. A farm of this size yields in Germany, under normal circumstances, \$2,400 worth of wheat; with electric treatment it would yield, under the most disadvantageous conditions, 30 per cent., or \$733 more. The net profit yielded by electro-culture would thus amount to \$483.

Without going exhaustively into the very interesting theoretical explanations of the phenomena of electro-growth, we can predict from securely established facts that a new and powerful lever of agricultural development has been discovered. When these facts are widely known, it will be quite a commonplace thing to the farmer to treat his field with electricity, just as indispensable a work as fertilizing or cultivating with machines.

The introduction of scientific methods of cultivation and the industrialization of farm work will immensely stimulate the interest in agriculture; it will force the farmers to take up scientific study in order to keep pace with progress; it will bring them in contact with all sorts of new machines that will enhance their skill. Above all, it will force them to throw overboard their "individualism" and to seek co-operation, for, isolated, they will have neither sufficient financial resources nor the technical knowledge necessary for the introduction of these new methods of production.

The whole mental attitude of the farmers will be inevitably changed. They will feel the need of cheap water-power and cheap coal, and the urgent necessity will dawn upon them of dethroning the Water-Kings and the Coal Kings. The lonely farm communities will become vast industrial centres, full of intensified and pulsating life. The dullness of farm life will vanish, for the endless new scientific and social problems, kept in the foreground by the industrial transformation, will keep the imagination of the farmers alert. The new impulse given by science and technical progress will be felt in all manifestations of life.

For want of space, however, I leave it to the reader to imagine the inevitable economic and social transformations that must come in the wake of these discoveries.

(Concerning the electrical machines, and especially the electro-plow, see the articles by Kurt Krohne in the Elektro-technische Zeitschrift, XXIX, Jahrgang, Heft 89, 40, 41. On electro-culture, Dr. Max Breslau in the Elektrochemische Zeitschrift, August, 1909. Dr. Max Breslau, Berlin-Hoppegarten, Germany, will answer every inquiry as to electro-culture. I hope that some enterprising American farmer, with a scientific turn of mind, will become interested in these discoveries and erect the first electro-culture plant in America.)—Wilshire's.

THE INSURANCE SPECIAL

The Insurance Special will be out on February 24th next. It will show up the Insurance graft in Canada. This will be a good one to get distributed. Facts and figures in connection with life insurance never before published. It will be a hummer. Get in line for a bundle of No. 79. Only 50 cents per hundred. As the Agitation Battery will not be able to send this special to every Insurance Agent in Canada, comrades are asked to order at least enough to supply every insurance agent and other interested parties in the town. Use Blank on Page 4. If you don't want a hundred, get a smaller bundle at one cent per copy.

SUB PRICE OF COTTON'S

Six Months, 26 copies 25c
One Year, 52 copies 50c
Three Months, club of 5 50c
Three Months, club of 10 \$1.00

Every honest man wants the truth to prevail.

Toilers and Idlers

Our Serial Story

Copyrighted, 1907 by John

B. McMahon.

(Continued.)

CHAPTER XI.

When Rensen arrived, a low-bowing figure in blue kimono and slippers seemed to require his hat and gloves. He held them forth, the figure did not move. The next moment Ackley Smith, similarly attired, dashed out of a corner.

"Ha! ha! My dear fellow. That catches them all—only my old clay model, bit of wax and bank of hair. Amuses some people, too. God bless you, where've you been these months? Why didn't you send for me when you were laid up? Well, well, the only man I really wanted to see."

Ackley shook hands violently, despite loose-jointed wrists. He was tall, slender, swarthy, with a small moustache over full lips, and wore on his thin, large nose glasses of a sort that gave him a wild look. Having studied six months under Jerome and somewhat longer under an impressionist master, he swung between the two schools; sometimes extolling mathematical art, again forswearing precision and giving allegiance to the vaguely poetical.

"Come this way where we can be by ourselves," he went on, wrapping the kimono about his legs as he stooped to light a cigarette at a brazier. "Don't mind the chatter, do you? We expect a lot more, all kinds. A little early. How did the reception go off at your aunt's?"

"Very well, I believe," said Rensen, trying to cross-leg on a cushion within the kiosk.

"Beautiful old lady. Invited me, but of course had to be here. Made-line represented—both?"

"Does she represent—both?"

"Oh, pshaw. Never mind the phrase. He twitched and settled the nose glasses. "I guess you know what chums in bohemia do for each other. If your friends won't bow the trumpets, who will? The point is, I am at a crisis in my career."

"This looks like a crisis of prosperity. Rank success. That's been the bane of my method. A change of groping about for the immediate material fruits."

"I see," said Rensen, gravely. "Yes, a change of groping about. Otis, we chummed it in the Quartier Latin, you've been my most disinterested friend, I've always been square with you—ideal democratic friendship—so hear the true word. A fellow ought to quit groping. Am I right?"

"I agree with you most heartily. Thanks." He glared and blew smoke through his nostrils. "Whether through a slavish fear of indigence or partly owing to the change of demon, I have done a few book covers, a few magazine sketches, a few architectural and decorative designs, a few everything, including wall papers and carpets. What a sinful waste of energy. Nothing to show but an annual landscape in the N. A."

"Then you propose to concentrate?"

"Exactly. I propose from this time forth to energize on serious things—in fact, to devote all scattered talents to that loftiest manifestation of modern art—the human portrait. Nothing else. How does it strike you?"

"Very well. It seems to me, you mentioned something of the kind last year."

"Of course I did. I am always mentioning it, every time my better nature asserts itself after hanging a landscape or having a tea. The point is, I'll do it now. Some minor questions remain, practical details, whether to use the flowing line and the eye-mixed color—ah, those Japs! Look at the brush work on that screen, and yet they can't manage the perspective of a wash tub."

"But will you find the portraits of your friend, I've always been square swells a lofty manifestation?" Rensen moved his cramped legs.

"Ha, ha, my dear fellow. Always subtle and frank. That suggests to me the advantages of a dual style. Why not pay homage to ideal beauty, the daughters of Croesus, in the flowing line and the mystic atmosphere? Let us keep precision for some rugged statesman or beetle-browed scientist."

"It is an admirable scheme. Only you ought to work under two names."

Ackley Smith shouted laughter. "Think of the confusion among the critics of the next century. Varying tradition, suspicion, conjecture. The pseudo classics would be nowhere."

Rensen smiled. "You still teach a class?"

"No, but I have a disciple. You must have talked with the disciple at the reception." He polished his glasses on some tissue of a paper lantern.

"It was very good of you—" Rensen checked a slight feeling of antipathy.

"Perhaps I deserve some credit, my dear fellow—" He glared with a complacency. "But yours was the honor of original discovery. And how in the name of heaven you saw the butterfly in the shell gets me. To tell the truth, I helped her along at first more on your account than because I had any faith myself."

"Surely her early work was promising enough," said the other with some warmth.

"It was, eh? See here." Ackley dashed out and returned with a velvet case containing two miniatures. "There's a head in the Reynolds way—promising, yes. The schools are paved with that kind of promise. It makes business for the ivory hunters and the color dealers. Now look at this—individuality, verve, technique, soul—a portrait on a small scale."

Rensen scanned the examples in silence. He acknowledged the brilliance of the later work, a blonde, full-eyed woman with an ermine wrap aslant over the gleaming bosom. At the same time the other, a childish face,

had, beyond any blemish or awkwardness, a fresh simplicity.

"What do you say? It is a miracle? Would you believe that could have happened in less than ten years."

"It is a kind of miracle," assented the guest.

"Ah, it takes the rush of the city—the fierce white hope and despair—emotion and science melted together. Besides that, a teacher who can teach. And a slight amount of advertising." Ackley grinned and glared through the smoke wreaths of his cigarette.

"Perhaps you have missed your calling—you ought to have been an impresario."

(To be continued.)

FIRE THEM IN

The sub list is slowly crawling up. A gain this week of 58. Ontario, Nova Scotia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba on the up grade. Quebec, British Columbia, and New Brunswick on the down.

Cotton's asks it's husters to watch the list in their own province and keep it going up.

Subs are needed more than ever. There will be another big slump in British Columbia next week. We are doing everything possible to get renewals, with fair success.

Develop "Hustleritis" for Cotton's. It is the popular disease with Canadian socialists. Keep this slogan before you: "10,000 Readers for Cotton's."

Following is the circulation of Cotton's for the issue of last week Feb. 3rd.

	OFF	ON	TOTAL
Ontario.....	24	59	1630
Prov. of Quebec.....	30	5	881
British Columbia.....	62	36	805
Nova Scotia.....	2	46	538
Alberta.....	7	27	527
Saskatchewan.....	14	19	307
New Brunswick.....	4	1	266
Manitoba.....	14	15	192
Elsewhere.....	1	1	61
Yukon Territory.....	—	—	15
Prince Ed. Island.....	—	—	10
Newfoundland.....	—	—	8
Total.....	158	213	5240
Gain for week.....	—	—	58
Total issue last week 6,000.	—	—	—

THE PEOPLE'S POEMS

THE HOMELESS

"Midst the endless din of the city,
On the surging and crowded street
Are thousands of men and women
Who hasten with weary feet.

To cheerless rooms, in dwellings
That loom in gloomy pride
Of showy front and cornice,
And are lonely and blank inside.

These are the city's homeless,
The army of desolate souls,
Who toil with brain or sinew,
Or wait while the slow day rolls.

Sometimes with the barest pittance
To eke out the aimless strife.
Sometimes with luxurious comforts
To lighten the burden of life.

But homeless—and desolation
Dwells ever in deepening glooms,
With those whom home has forsaken,
And who live in rented rooms.

No cheerful heart's glad welcome,
No greeting smile at the door,
No watching face at the window,
No children at play on the floor.

No chubby hands in your pockets,
No curly head on your breast,
No hullo! low and tender
To soothe a world to rest.

No gentle questions and answers,
Across the table at tea,
No eyes that look love into your eyes,
Sweet love and endearments to see.

But only the same dull story
That is told each night and morn,
With no one who cares to know it,
And the busy world's careless scorn.

No wonder the fierce temptation
To yield to the toils of shame;
Human wrecks tossed in the chaos
Some human throb to claim.

Oh, you who go from your labors
To the sacred joys of home,
Think you with heavenly charity
Of these who the wide world roam.

With never a cord to draw them
Away from the paths of sin,
With the night and the storm without,
And the storm and the night within.

Ida Crouch-Hazlett

REVELATION

By WILLIAM WATSON

When all the choric peal shall end,
That through the fanes have rung;
When the long lauds no more ascend
From man's adoring tongue;

When whelmed are altar, priest and creed;
When all the faiths have passed;
Perhaps from the darkening incense
freed.

God may emerge at last.
Socialism will abolish the survival
of the slickest.

Wage Workers who Understand
means are usually socialists. Better look into the question for yourself. Write your address on the lines below, mail on the coupon with 10 cents, and you will get a hundred-page illustrated magazine and a 60-page illustrated book that will help you decide very quickly which side you are on.

Name.....
Address.....
P. O.
Send two-cent stamps. Address
Charles H. Kerr & Co., 120 Ninth St., Chicago.

PUBLIC NOTICE

Province of Quebec,
Municipality of the Village of Sweetsburg.
To the inhabitants of the Municipality of the Village of Sweetsburg.

Public Notice is hereby given by Jas. D. Bolman, Secretary Treasurer of the aforesaid Municipality.

That a Public Meeting of the Municipal Council of the aforesaid Municipality will be held at the usual place of meeting of the Council, on Monday, the fourteenth day of February, one thousand nine hundred and ten, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, on the subject of providing a system of waterworks for said Village of Sweetsburg, and to the effect of a loan to pay cost of same, and that a Poll for each ward be then and there held, and that all ordinary and necessary proceedings may be made in order to carry out the exigencies of the Law concerning the same.

Given at Sweetsburg this twenty-sixth day of January, one thousand nine hundred and ten.

(Signed) JAS. D. BOLMAN, Secretary Treasurer.
Certified a True Copy.—Jas. D. Bolman, Sec. Treas.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC,
MUNICIPALITY OF THE VILLAGE OF SWEETSBURG.

BY-LAW NO. 89

At a general Session by adjournment of the Municipal Council of the Village of Sweetsburg, held at the usual place of meeting in said Village of Sweetsburg, on Thursday, the Twentieth day of January, 1910, in conformity with the provisions of the Municipal Code of the Province of Quebec, at which Session were present, namely:—Jas. D. Bolman, Mayor, Leonard, F. X. A. Giroux, R. J. Ladd, C. A. Bourd, forming a quorum under the presidency of W. H. Lynch, pro-Mayor, it was ordained and resolved by the Council, as follows:

"A By-Law to provide for the establishment of a water system or aqueduct and reservoir, and to make a loan and issue debentures for the same:

Whereas it is for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Village of Sweetsburg, and the desire has been expressed by them to have a water system, and

Whereas it is advisable to comply with said want and desire, the present By-Law is made for the purpose of providing for the establishment and take the necessary steps to build and establish said water system, aqueduct and reservoir.

The work establishing said aqueduct and reservoir will be under the control of the Municipal Council and its officers or representatives duly appointed by said Council, for the purpose of carrying out the said work, and the said work will be done by day-work, or by contract entered into by said Council or its representatives, at a fixed price, for the whole or part of said work.

The Mayor and Secretary Treasurer are hereby empowered, and authorized to enter into any agreement or contract, with Guy Williams, Esq., of the Township of Denham, to buy his springs and lands, and to take the said springs and lands, with right of way and from the same, the whole situate on his lots of land, 23 & 24 of the Official Plan and Book of Reference of said Township of Denham.

The Municipal Council or its representative, duly appointed, is and are hereby authorized and will have power to appropriate any such properties to get a supply of water in case of emergency, and to arrive at for the purchase or the lease of the same.

The same powers will be granted and are granted to the Municipal Council, or its duly appointed representatives, for the purpose of laying the water pipes, in or outside of the limits of the Village of Sweetsburg, for the same purposes, as well as for the purpose of erecting and building a reservoir.

The Municipal Council will have the power to make a tariff for the water rates for the compensation to be paid by the property owners or occupants who will desire to avail themselves of the water and will take the same, the whole by a subsequent By-Law for the purpose of making a tariff for the water rates.

The total expense for the establishment of said aqueduct and reservoir shall not exceed the sum of \$30,000, and the Municipal Council shall be authorized to borrow a sum of \$30,000, to issue thirty debentures of \$300 each, payable in thirty yearly installments, with interest at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent.

Said debentures will be payable as follows: The first one payable the first of January 1912, and then yearly one by one on the same date of each successive year, with right to the Corporation, to redeem as many more debentures in advance as the accumulated sinking fund will allow.

The interest on said debentures will be payable every six months.

In order to meet the payment of said debentures, and the interest thereon, there will be levied by means of taxation on all the taxable real estate in said Municipality of the Village of Sweetsburg, and pro rata and every year, a sum of money sufficient to meet the debentures in advance, and the interest thereon and three per cent as a sinking fund, until the extinction of said debt.

The apportionment of the monies to be levied for the payment of the debentures, principal, interest, and sinking fund, annually, shall be based on the valuation roll in force at the time of the apportionment.

The present By-Law will come into force in the ordinary course of law, after its approval by the Municipal Council, ratification, who are owners of real estate in the Municipality of the Village of Sweetsburg, and after the approval of the Lieutenant Governor in Council.

And for the purpose of such approval, or non approval, by said municipal electors rate-payers, or owners of real estate, a public meeting of the same will be called according to law.

(Signed) JAS. D. BOLMAN, Sec. Treas.
(Signed) W. H. LYNCH, pro-Mayor.
I, the undersigned Secretary-Treasurer of the Municipality of the Village of Sweetsburg do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the By-Law passed by the Municipal Council on 20th January instant, which is of record in my office, and which is a true and correct copy of the same.

Sweetsburg, January 24th, 1910.
JAS. D. BOLMAN, Secretary Treasurer.

GREAT BOOKS
BY
Great Men

Origin of Species, Darwin; Age of Reason, Paine; Riddle of the Universe, Haecel, 25c each by mail. Merrie England; God and My Neighbor, Blatchford, 20c each by mail. Send for Catalog.

The People's Book Store
142 Cordova St. W.
VANCOUVER, B. C.

READ
The Western Clarion
\$1.00 Per Year
PUBLISHED BY
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
Box 836, Vancouver, B. C.

MONTREAL LOCAL NO. 1
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA, holds Propaganda Meetings every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 in the 1st Floor, 1000 Avenue de la Paix, Montreal. Business Meetings every Monday evening at Socialist Headquarters, 222 St. Lawrence Main.

L. & JACKSON, Secretary
222 St. Lawrence Blvd.

THE

ALW
THE
C. J. Bish
Wm. Henley
J. McKiern
I. Faulkner
B. Wing, B.
Com. El
Man., becom
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THE FIRING LINE

Always On Duty

THE TOP NOTCHERS

C. J. Bishop, Toronto, 27
Wm. Henley, Box Grove, Ont., 8
J. McKiernan, Cobalt, Ont., 8
I. Faulkner, Princeport, N. S., 8
B. Wing, Brockville, Ont., 7
Com. Ellen Jickling, Carman, Man., becomes a subscriber.

Com. M. Ashkins, Weymouth, N. S. wants Cotton's for a year.

Com. J. W. Dargie, Medicine Hat, Alta., becomes a subscriber.

Comrade Ogilvie of Ottawa captured a halfer. They all help.

Comrade H. E. Hatch, Kelowna, B. C., forwards three halfers.

Com. C. L. Kellogg, Peterboro, Ont., renews for a year and captures a new yearly.

Comrade M. Broadrip, Montreal, captures a yearly and hastens with him to the wigwag.

Com. Frank C. Erickson, Winnipeg, Man., captures two readers for six months each.

Com. R. D. Harris, Wetaskiwin, Alta., takes a hundred copies of the Workers' Issue and a year's renewal.

Com. W. H. Taylor, Calgary, increases the yearlies going to Alberta by one.

Com. J. A. Somerville, Moose Jaw, Sask., becomes a reader of Cotton's for a year.

Com. E. W. Dalton, Matsqui, B. C. is responsible for two new yearlies from the woolly west.

Comrade W. W. Barnes, Naramata, B. C. is responsible for five trials being added towards that ten thousand.

Com. Jules Lavenne, Springhill, N. S., takes a bundle of one hundred for three weeks and also forwards a trial.

Com. A. Oberg, Daysland, Alta., has persuaded another victim of the system to try and find the remedy through Cotton's.

The postal cards are very handy for hustlers. Fill out and mail. Yearly cards, 50 cents. Six months cards, 25 cents. On tap at Cotton's.

Com. E. V. Ericson, Tompkins, Sask., takes the paper for six months to see whether it has the right ring or not.

Comrade J. Lawrence, Winnipeg, Man., sold six sub cards and forwards the cash and the names of the sub card purchasers.

Comrade W. W. Jones, Alameda, Sask., forwards four yearlies and a dollar for the Agitation Battery. Also orders some literature on Socialism.

These new hustlers come in every week. Comrade W. Pickard, Pickardville, Alta., starts off with a yearly and two halfers.

A new hustler takes the fever. Com. Isaac Faulkner, Princeport, N. S., adds eight trials to the growing list of readers.

Com. C. S. dit Blondin, Harris, Sask., is responsible for two yearlies putting themselves in the way of acquiring a mental thirst for the dope.

Com. W. H. Cammack, Lamont, Alta., forwards the price of six half-yearlies and says he will be on the spot again shortly with some more.

Lists of mechanics, union men, and farmers are wanted by Cotton's. Give complete address. Comrades who cannot help otherwise, can help in this regard.

Will hustlers sending in subs from Cobalt, give complete address for all subs, either box number, or other address. This is necessary to ensure delivery.

Comrade F. Reynolds, Beaver Point, B. C., noticed that the sub list was dropping. So he hustled round and sent four halfers just to keep us cheered up.

Comrade Thos. Karpinen, New Finland, Sask., takes a hundred copies of the Workers' Issue and sends in three yearlies just to keep the lists and the Socialist movement growing.

Com. J. M. Staples, Cloverdale, B. C., wants to help waken the sleeping thoughtless workers throughout his section. So takes a hundred copies of the Workers' Issue.

A hustler wants to know what we do about refusals. All subs refused are sent on to someone else. Their is always a waiting list, in the hands of the Agitation Battery. Every sub paid for is made to count.

Comrade H. G. Ross, is heard from again from Glace Bay, N. S. This time it is a string of three halfers and two trials. The Glace Bay boys know what it is to be up against capitalism and its enginy of war.

Comrade Mrs. M. A. Owen, West Fernie, B. C., is welcomed by the old guard as a new comrade to the army. Takes one hundred copies of the Workers' Issue and puts five trials on the sick list for treatment.

Comrade John McKiernan, Cobalt, Ont., comes rushing into the wigwag with seven yearlies, a halfer and a dollar and a quarter for the Agitation Battery. Wants the big guns turned on the citidels of entrenched labor thieving.

Comrade Byron Wing, Brockville, Ont., shoots in five trials and two halfers. "I sincerely hope," says Comrade Wing, "that the great unrest among the workers caused by the meat strike, will waken the great, big sleeping giant, Labor."

A Comrade sends in six halfers and wants his name kept dark. Says there are a lot of that kind of voters around where he lives who claim to be Socialists but who keep right on voting the old party ticket, and he is disgusted with them.

A B. C. gentleman wants us to stop sending him our nasty paper. Declares this is an age of liberty and light, not of anarchy and revolution. As this gentleman's sub has expired before we got his letter his paper has stopped going to him.

Com. Wm. Henley sends along two yearlies and six halfers. Declares he

has been a socialist for years and intends to be one till the last. "You can count on me every time," is his closing words. That is the spirit that is getting subs for Cotton's at Box Grove, Ont.

Com. W. C. Ewing, Kindersley, Sask., forwards the price of six half-yearlies. Com. Ewing is in a place without a post-office and where Cotton's arrives from three weeks to three months behind time. Yet Com. Ewing keeps on hustling just the same.

Three trials and a halfer drop in from Com. W. J. Carter. Reports in local papers declare that Eugene V. Debs will tour Canada. He wants to know if this is correct. I have seen nothing of this tour in the Socialist press. I think Debs will be busy enough in the thick of the U. S. movement that is gaining such mighty proportions just now.

Comrade C. J. Bishop, Toronto, Ont., writes thusly, "Please find enclosed twenty-five trials and two halfers. This is the outcome of an address that I gave at the People's Forum on 'The Inadequacy of Reform' where we captured twelve subs as the outcome of our efforts in that direction. Once getting the Sub Hustler's Fever, we were compelled to keep on until the fever was temporarily alleviated at twelve o'clock Monday noon, with the above total. Hoping to get more subs later, Yours for the Revolution."

Com. J. A. Somerville, Moose Jaw, Sask., becomes a reader of Cotton's for a year.

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Comrade Byron Wing, Brockville, Ont., shoots in five trials and two halfers. "I sincerely hope," says Comrade Wing, "that the great unrest among the workers caused by the meat strike, will waken the great, big sleeping giant, Labor."

A Comrade sends in six halfers and wants his name kept dark. Says there are a lot of that kind of voters around where he lives who claim to be Socialists but who keep right on voting the old party ticket, and he is disgusted with them.

A B. C. gentleman wants us to stop sending him our nasty paper. Declares this is an age of liberty and light, not of anarchy and revolution. As this gentleman's sub has expired before we got his letter his paper has stopped going to him.

Com. Wm. Henley sends along two yearlies and six halfers. Declares he

World-Wide Socialism

The French Confederation General du Travail has issued a manifesto, which is posted in the streets, declaring the Old Age Insurance Bill at present under the consideration of the Senate to be a swindle and a deception of the working classes.

A patrol from the cruiser Fox, in conjunction with a detachment at Jask, destroyed 1,350 rifles and 160,000 rounds of ammunition on January 16, off the coast of Persia. There has been considerable smuggling of arms into India lately.

The beef trust probe, it is now learned, is not the result of Taft's initiative. Taft is against it. Judge K. M. Landis, who fined Standard Oil \$20,000,000 is responsible for the probe. Taft is doing his best to stop the Beef Trust from being worried.

Many American union men are boycotting meat because of the high prices the beef trust is exacting. The Kansas farmers, as a counter move, are organizing to boycott union made goods. The capitalists are glad of the action of the union men as it sets worker against worker.

A manifesto of the Social-Democrats of Prussia points out that while 212 deputies were elected (indirectly) by 418,000 Conservative electors, 598,000 Social-Democratic electors were only able to elect seven deputies. These figures are characteristic of the three-class suffrage of Prussia.

Over 600 Socialists are in prison in the Argentine Republic. Martial law prevails. Newspapers and meetings have been suppressed. Our daily no longer appears. The editors and writers are sent to the prison of Los Sante. The headquarters of the Socialist Party have been closed, and are under police supervision. The state of affairs is truly awful.

All the St. Petersburg papers announce that the Czar has ordered the liberation of two members of the Union of the Russian People who were condemned by Finnish tribunals to several years' imprisonment for participation in the murder of M. Herzstein. It would be impossible for the despot to show more cynicism in his complicity with the bandits of the Union of the Russian People.

Will Thorne is the only straight Socialist to be returned to the British Parliament. Although H. M. Hyndman was defeated in Burnley again, nevertheless Burnley turned down its former M. P., Maddison, who was a notorious Socialist-hater. Hyndman's vote has been as follows, 1895, 1498; 1906, 4932; 1910, 4948.

The United Mine Workers will reorganize Alabama, where Governor Comer's troops crushed the union. The Alabama miners learned all the inequities of the capitalist courts during the strike of the miners in Alabama about 18 months ago, when 2,000 miners were put under arrest without any evidence being presented against any one of them. At the same time the capitalist newspapers of Birmingham openly advocated the assassination of their officials without the least action being taken against them by the capitalist hirelings in the official positions of the city and state.

CANADIAN NOTES

Comrade Jules Lavenne, Springhill Mines, N. S., telegraphs Cotton's as follows, "Victory. Two Councilors elected out of three at Springhill Mines." The revolutionary movement has a great hold on this centre.

Comrade B. Wladek of New York, will lecture in Jewish under the auspices of Local No. 2 in the Labor Temple, Montreal, Friday evening, 11th inst., on Unionism and Socialism, and on the evening of the 12th, on Nature and Man.

Comrade Albert St. Martin polled 1071 votes as Candidate for Board of Control, while Comrade E. Western polled 771. Jos. Ainey who ran as a labor candidate on a capital-labor ticket, polled over thirty thousand votes. The workers of Montreal are evidently uniting but the mass of them have not yet realized the necessity of Socialism.

A Comrade from North Battleford, Sask., writes, "We have two locals in the North Battleford District. The second was organized a few days ago and started with twelve charter members. Bumper crops and general prosperity are driving the farmers into the Socialist camp. The Comrades of the new local are devising means to put up a hall 40 by 26 feet to hold meetings in. The plutes are not going to have things all their own way in this part during the next election time."

At the Cape Breton, N. S., elections, Mayor Graham Fraser has been reelected to his important office by a majority of twelve votes. Mayor Fraser is in full sympathy with the striking United Mine Workers and the Coal Company did its best to accomplish his defeat. Three thousand voters were arbitrarily removed from the voters' lists on the ground that they had not paid their taxes. Most of these were striking workmen. The reelection of Fraser against such odds show which way sympathy runs in Cape Breton.

ALL MUST WORK

Socialism demands that each shall work or starve, since he must buy with the evidence of labor performed. (Of course, we refer here solely to the able-bodied. Those in any way incapacitated for labor must always live, as they always have lived, from the labor of others.) As there will be no means for exploiting the labor of others each is left absolutely self-dependent. This condition is, of course, fundamental to the collective ownership and operation of the means of production.

Under private ownership the labor-

er is dependent upon the capitalist—the owner of the means whereby he lives—for an opportunity to make a living. And the only motive that actuates the capitalist—the only inducement for him to provide the laborer with a chance to live—lies in the prospect presented to the capitalist of successfully exploiting the laborer. When this prospect fails or becomes precarious the laborer is locked out. He must look elsewhere for the means of living. He may find it or he may not; that is no concern of anyone except himself and those dependent upon him. The collective body is under no obligation whatever to provide him an opportunity to live, and the capitalist is empowered to deprive him of that opportunity.

Under Socialism the state, that is, the people collectively, demands that a laborer shall work or starve. Hence we recognize the right of the laborer to demand of the state an opportunity to work. Socialism would accomplish for the laborer, and for every human being, two things which we deem essential to his social and economic being. First, it would free him from the exploiter in every form—free him from dependence upon incorporated greed for a chance to live. Second, it would give to everyone an equal opportunity, not only in the field of labor, not only "to make a living," but to develop himself along any line where ambition might lead.

Socialism can never remove the burden of discipline necessary to superiority in any field of human activity, but it can and must give to each an equal opportunity for development. Given the opportunity, if there are in a man or woman possibilities of superiority in any calling, development follows. Without the opportunity, the grave must put to rest many a "mute, inglorious Milton." Lord Salisbury is quoted as saying that the son of a street sweeper has an equal chance with any other man to become England's premier. In reply, it is but necessary to ask Lord Salisbury (as does Comrade Blatchford) if he thinks he would have been premier had his father been a street sweeper. Socialism, nor any other system, can never make people equal, mentally, morally or physically, but it can and will give a chance to develop the best there is in each and all.

—N. A. Richardson in Introduction to Socialism.

"The cheapness of commodities depends, 'coeteris paribus,' on the productivity of labor, and this again on the scale of production. Therefore, the larger capitals beat the smaller. It will further be remembered that with the development of the capitalist mode of production, there is an increase in the minimum amount of capital necessary to carry on a business under its normal conditions. The smaller capitals, therefore, crowd into spheres of production which Modern Industry has only sporadically or incompletely got hold of. Here competition rages in direct proportion to the number, and in inverse proportion to the magnitudes of the small antagonistic capitals. It always ends in the ruin of many small capitalists, whose capitals partly pass into the hands of their conquerors, partly vanish."—Karl Marx.

SOCIALIST SONGS.

With music by Wm. Morris and others. This is the only American song collection written in the spirit of revolutionary Socialism. The tunes are for the most part old and familiar. Trashy music and sentimental words have been carefully excluded. In paper, strongly bound; 45 pages, just 10 cents from Cotton's Book Department.

Short-sighted persons are unable to see that divorces are due to misadventures, and that misadventures are due to capitalism.

WANTED.

Lists of farmers all over Canada for propaganda work. Will comrade try to get copies of municipal reports, etc., giving names of farmers in their districts, and send to Cotton's. This is urgent.

U. S. A. RATES.

Single subscriptions, per year \$1.00
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Socialism will give every working woman her full earnings; it will give every woman short hours of labor, it will wipe out the wretched tenements, and it will give every woman who desires to work an opportunity to do so.

TITLE DEEDS TO LAND.

Any comrade wanting copies of this issue, No. 74, can obtain same by sending in at once. We will hold several hundred copies for ten days. Fifty cents per hundred. Smaller bundles one cent per copy.

The wage slave thinks he is a far superior creature to the chattel slave. He thinks he is a free man. That is where his boss has him hypnotized.

Socialism will take the children out of the mills, mines, stores and factories and put them in schools.

Graft is a product of present environment.

FLEEING THE FARMER

Every Socialist should ponder well the following article by Comrade Crandell. It is the best and most convincing article I have seen for a long time as to the necessity of the social ownership of the land for the prevention of the exploitation of the farmers.—Ed.

ALMOST all of the farmers know they are undergoing a beautiful fleeing. They realize today that there is a very high price attached to nearly everything they have to buy. While, on the other hand there are in a few cases seemingly fair prices paid for the farmers' product; they are after all nothing to be compared to the out of sight figures he is compelled to pay for such things as he finds necessary in his business. Farm machinery is out of sight entirely. Coal is high; lumber is higher; groceries and provisions such as products of the canning and packing companies, are high and still going up.

Almost every farmer knows that private ownership of the various industries is responsible for the high prices he is forced to pay. Most farmers believe in public ownership of the mines, the railroads, the elevators, the express companies, the banks, etc. You start and talk to a farmer about public ownership of all these things and he is for it from the word go. He would like to borrow money at one or two per cent. He would like to buy his coal for two or three dollars per ton, and a railway ticket for one cent per mile. But if you want to get a birds eye view of a farmer's back, just say "public ownership of land."

Now I wish to say to the dear farmer that I happen to be a turf trapper myself. And I am like the rest. I stand ready to support any party that will agree to look for the interest of the farmer and the common people in general, and bring about the public ownership of the mills, the mines, the banks, elevators and steamship lines.

The Standard Oil Company, the International Harvester works, the telegraph companies and many others, we would like to see owned and operated in the interests of the public after the same manner as our post-office, our public schools, our parks, our roads, bridges, fire departments, experimental farms, libraries and light houses. All these things are today owned by the public, in other words they are socialized lines of industry. Every farmer sees that the socializing of these are good for him and good for the public in general. We also see that the socializing of many lines of industry would be a fine thing for us all. But few farmers are able to see where the socializing of the land would be of any advantage to the farmer. Yet the truth is that it would be the first thing in the world that would benefit the tillers of the soil. The most common, most ignorant and blinded of the farmers will have sense enough to see this if they will only stop for a moment to think.

The price of land is steadily advancing, the homesteads and free lands will soon be a thing forever passed away. The march of progress is compelling the farmer to invest in modern machinery such as binders, drills, disks, mowing machines etc. All these things have a high price attached to them and require the investment of considerable capital. With all these things necessary on the smallest of the small farms in the middle west, the farmer finds himself in need of another quarter section in order to use them to good advantage. Of course to get the other quarter section will cost him from \$16 to \$40 per acre which means several thousand dollars.

Here we find that the private ownership of land with the high prices is a great hindrance in the farmers' road to success and happiness. Many boys reared to manhood on the eastern farms are forced by the high prices of land in the East to abandon the hope of ever owning a farm in the land of their childhood. The plucky ones come west only to find that the extensive manner in which farming is carried on here closes the door of opportunity. Some of the boys give up hope and turn to different lines of employment while others invest their scanty savings in the land. While others of the more honest and neighborly class go down to defeat in a few months or years.

All this, you very well know, would be different if the land was all held by the government or the public and each farmer allowed to settle on any unused track of land and work it as long as he liked without the payment of a dollar to any one and also allowed to move off any time he liked without turning the land over to some real estate company.

I am a young farmer located right here in the great wheat growing belt of Southern Saskatchewan. The real estate men will tell you this is the place where a farmer can't go wrong. But each year I see a number of farms

pass into the hands of some loan company or thrashing machine company. I see farms bought today, broken up and improved by some poor Easterner, only to fall back into the hands of the real estate company.

Private ownership of the land closes the door of opportunity to thousands. It keeps other thousands struggling all their lives to pay for a small farm only to lose it again in old age or die and leave it to a dozen children. The children dispose of it to a land man or speculator who in turn deals it off on some poor fool like myself at a handsome profit to his business.

Public ownership of land is just what the farmer needs. He needs it as much or more than public ownership or any other one thing. But the speculator don't need it. You may bet your bottom dollar on that. What would it do to him? It would just say, "Come out of your office. Come off your perch. Come out and get in the shafts of this old plough. Come out on the rich productive fields and soil your soft little hands, dirty your fine silk gloves and be a useful producer, and pay your way in the world."

But suppose we go along and take over the railroads, banks, steamship lines, mines, elevators and such like and make them all public property, and still the land remains private property, what would happen? The result would be all these millionaires would start to buy out all small farmers, and the ones that wouldn't or couldn't be bought out could be mighty soon frozen out. And then what? A nation of paupers and more pitiful than anything you ever dreamed of.

Read Socialist papers, study Socialist books, and the light that will dawn on you will be the surprise of your life.

E. N. CRANDELL.

Because a man owns farm land and derives revenue therefrom he is not necessarily a farmer. There are twenty-three titled men in Great Britain who own one-fourteenth of the land. The following are their holdings:

	Acres.
Duke of Sutherland	1,358,545
Duke of Buccleuch	469,108
Marquis of Breadalbane	438,358
Earl of Seafield	305,930
Duke of Richmond	280,409
Duke of Fife	249,220
Duke of Devonshire	198,572
Duke of Northumberland	186,397
Duke of Portland	183,189
Duke of Argyll	175,114
Marquis of Conyngham	166,610
Marquis of Donegal	162,996
Duke of Hamilton	157,396
Marquis of Lansdowne	142,916
Earl of Dalhousie	138,022
Marquis of Sligo	122,902
Marquis of Devonshire	120,189
Marquis of Bute	116,668
Earl Fitzwilliam	115,742
Earl of Stair	110,370
Baron of Leconfield	109,935
Duke of Montrose	103,447
Earl of Cawdor	101,657

To say that Socialism would increase the revenue of these landholders would be absurd. In the same way there are men in Canada who derive revenues from farm lands who cannot be considered farmers. Socialism will benefit the working farmers. It will also benefit many persons who now derive revenues from farm lands but whose revenues are small. These persons will be given a chance to perform some useful work at a remuneration that will make their present rentier incomes look small.

"As soon as capitalist production takes possession of agriculture, and in proportion to the extent to which it does so, the demand for an agricultural laboring population falls absolutely, while the accumulation of the capital employed in agriculture advances, without this repulsion being, as in non-agricultural industries, compensated by a greater attraction. Part of the agricultural population is therefore constantly on the point of passing over into an urban or manufacturing proletariat, and on the look-out for circumstances favorable to this transformation. (Manufacture is used here in the sense of all non-agricultural industries.) This source of relative surplus-population is thus constantly flowing. But the constant flow towards the towns presupposes, in the country itself, a constant latent surplus-population, the extent of which becomes evident only when its channels of outlets open to exceptional width. The agricultural laborer is therefore reduced to the minimum of wages, and always stands with one foot in the swamp of pauperism."—Karl Marx.

Socialism means a fair deal for everybody.

"THE original deeds were written with the sword;... blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax."—SPENCER.

TITLE DEEDS TO LAND

"VIOLENCE, fraud, the prerogative of force—the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which these titles may be traced."—SPENCER.

Every intelligent man or woman has heard of Herbert Spencer, the philosopher, but few have read him. All they know of him is the sound of his name. The following is the famous ninth chapter of his "Social Statics," which has done more to arouse the people of the earth to the enormity of the Roman land law, which all "civilized" nations now recognize, than any other same number of words ever written. The English aristocracy forced him to leave this chapter out of the later editions of the book, but the truths are so self-evident that once understood they can never be expunged from the reason of men.

GIVEN a race of beings having like claims to pursue the objects of their desires—given a world adapted to the gratification of those desires—a world into which such beings are similarly born, and it unavoidably follows that they have equal rights to the use of this world. For if each of them "has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other," then each of them is free to use the earth for the satisfaction of his wants, provided he allows all others the same liberty. And conversely, it is manifest that no one, or part of them, may use the earth in such a way as to prevent the rest from similarly using it; seeing that to do this is to assume greater freedom than the rest, and consequently, to break the law. Equity, therefore, does not permit property in land. For if ONE portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his sole use, and benefit, as a thing to which he has an exclusive right, then OTHER portions of the earth's surface may be so held; and eventually the WHOLE of the earth's surface may be so held; and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands. Observe, now, the dilemma to which this leads. Supposing the entire habitable globe to be enclosed, it follows that if the land owners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not land owners have no right at all to its surface. Hence, such can exist on the earth by sufferance only. They are all trespassers. Save by the permission of the lords of the soil, they can have no room for the soles of their feet. Nay, should the other think fit to deny them a resting place, these landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether. If, then, the assumption that land can be held as property involves that the whole globe may become the private domain of a part of its inhabitants; and if, by consequence, the rest of its inhabitants can then exercise their faculties—can then exist, even—only by consent of the land owners, it is manifest that an exclusive possession of the soil necessitates an infringement of the law of equal freedom. For, men who cannot "live and move and have their being" without the leave of others, cannot be equally free with those others.

Passing from the consideration of the possible to that of the actual, we find further reason to deny the fecundity of property in land. It can never be pretended that the existing titles to such property are legitimate. Should any one think so, let him look in the chronicles. Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force—the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which these titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword; rather than with the pen; not lawyers, but soldiers, were the conveyancers; blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates to be obtained? Does sale or bequest generate a right where it did not previously exist? Would the original claimants be non-suited at the bar of reason because the thing stolen from them had changed hands? Certainly not. And if one act of transfer can give no title, can many? No; though nothing be multiplied forever, it will not produce ONE. Even the law recognizes this principle. An existing holder must, if called upon, substantiate the claims of those from whom he purchased or inherited his property, and any flaw in the original parchment, even though the property should have had a score of intermediate owners, quashes his rights.

"But time," say some, "is a great legalizer. Immemorial possession must be taken to constitute a legitimate claim. That which has been held from age to age as private property, and has been bought and sold as such, must now be considered as irrevocably belonging to individuals." To which proposition a willing assent shall be given when its proponents can assign it a definite meaning. To do this, however, they must find satisfactory answers to such questions as: How long does it take for what was originally a WRONG to grow into a RIGHT? At what rate per annum do invalid claims become valid? If a title gets

perfect in a thousand years, how much more perfect will it be in two thousand years?—and so forth. For the solution of which they will require a new calculus.

Whether it may be expedient to admit claims of a certain standing is not the point. We have here nothing to do with considerations of conventional privilege or legislative convenience. We have simply to inquire what is the verdict given by pure equity in the matter. And this verdict enjoins a protest against every existing pretension to the individual possession of the soil; and dictates the assertion that the right of mankind at large to the earth's surface is still valid; all deeds, customs and laws notwithstanding.

Not only have the present land tenures an indefensible origin, but it is impossible to discover any mode in which land CAN become private property. Cultivation is commonly considered to give a legitimate title. He who has reclaimed a tract of ground from its primitive wildness is supposed to have thereby made it his own. But if his right is disputed, by what system of logic can he vindicate his pleadings.

"Hello, you, sir," cries the cosmopolite to some backwoodsman smoking at the door of his shanty, "by what authority do you take possession of these acres that you have put up a snake-fence and on which you have built this log house?"

"By what authority? I squatted here because there was no one to say nay—because I was as much at liberty to do so as any other man. Besides, now that I have cut down the wood, ploughed and cropped the ground, this farm is more mine than yours or anybody's, and I mean to keep it."

"Aye, so you all say. But I do not yet see how you have substantiated your claim. When you came here you found the land producing trees—sugar maples, perhaps; or maybe it was covered with prairie grass and wild strawberries. Well, instead of these, you have made it yield wheat, maize or tobacco. Now, I want to understand how, by exterminating one set of plants and making the soil bear another set in their place, you have constituted yourself lord of this soil for all succeeding time."

"Oh, those natural products which I destroyed were of little or no use, whereas I caused the earth to bring forth things good for food—things that help to give life and happiness."

"Still, you have not shown why such a process makes the portion of earth you have so modified yours. What is it that you have done? You have turned over the soil to a few inches in depth with a spade or a plough; you have scattered over this prepared surface a few seeds, and you have gathered the fruits which the sun, rain and air helped the soil produce. Just tell me, if you please, by what magic have these acts made you sole owner of that vast mass of matter, having for its base the surface of your estate and for its apex the centre of the globe? All of which, it appears, you would monopolize to yourself and your descendants forever."

"Well, if it isn't mine, whose is it? I have dispossessed nobody. When I crossed the Mississippi river I found nothing but the silent woods. If some one else had settled here, and made this clearing, he would have had as good a right to the location as I have. I have done nothing but what any other person has at liberty to do had he come before me. Whilst they were unreclaimed these lands belonged to all men—as much to one as to another—and they are now mine simply because I was the first to discover and improve them."

"You say truly when you say that whilst they were unreclaimed these lands belonged to all men." And it is my duty to tell you that they belong to all men still, and that your 'improvements,' as you call them, cannot vitiate the claim of all men. You may plough and harrow and sow and reap; you may turn over the soil as often as you like; but all your manipulations will fail to make that soil yours which was not yours to begin with. Let me put a case. Suppose, now, that in the course of your wanderings you come upon an empty house, which, in spite of dilapidated state, takes your fancy; suppose that with the intention of making it your abode you expend much time and trouble in repairing it—that you

paint and paper and whitewash, and at considerable cost bring it into a habitable state. Suppose further, that on some fatal day a stranger is announced, who turns out to be the heir to whom the house has been bequeathed; and that this professed heir is prepared with all necessary proofs of his identity; what becomes of your improvements? Do they give you a valid title to the house? Do they quash the title of the original claimant? No.

"Neither, then, do your pioneering operations give you a valid title to this land. Neither do they quash the title of the original claimants—the human race. The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it; you amongst the number. And because you have taken up your residence on a certain part of it, and have subdued, cultivated, beautified that part—improved it, as you say, you are not, therefore, warranted in appropriating it as entirely private property. At least, if you do so, you may at any moment be justly expelled by the lawful owner—Society."

"Well, but surely you would not eject me without making some recompense for the great additional value I have given to this tract by reducing what was a wilderness into fertile fields. You would not turn me adrift and deprive me of all the benefit of those years of toil; it has cost me to bring this spot to its present state."

"Of course not; just as in the case of the house, you would have an equitable title of compensation from the proprietor for repairs and new fittings, so the community cannot justly take possession of this estate without paying for all that you have done to it. This extra worth which your labor has imparted to it is fairly yours; and although you have, without leave, busied yourself in bettering what belongs to the community, yet no doubt the community will duly discharge your claim. But admitting this is quite a different thing from recognizing your right to the land itself. It may be true that you are entitled to compensation for the improvements this inclosure has received at your hands; and at the same time it may be equally true that no act, form, proceeding or ceremony can make this inclosure your private property."

It does indeed at first seem possible for the earth to become the exclusive possession of individuals by some process of equitable distribution. "Why," it may be asked, "should not men agree to a fair subdivision? If all are co-heirs, why may not the estate be equally apportioned, and each be afterwards perfect master of his own share?"

To this question it may in the first place be replied that such a division is vetoed by the difficulty of fixing the values of respective tracts of land. Variations in productivity, different degrees of accessibility, advantages of climate, proximity to the centres of civilization—these and other such considerations remove the problem out of the sphere of mere mensuration into the region of impossibility.

But, waiving this, let us inquire who are to be the allottees? Shall adult individuals? If so, what is to be done with those who come of age on the morrow? Is it proposed that each man, woman and child shall have a section? If so, what becomes of all who are to be born next year? And what will be the fate of those whose fathers sell their estates, and squander the proceeds? These portentous ones must constitute a class already described as having no right to a resting place on earth—as living by the sufferance of their fellow-men—as being practically serfs. And the existence of such a class is wholly at variance with the law of equal freedom.

Until, therefore, we can produce a valid commission authorizing us to make this distribution—until it can be proved that God has given one charter of privileges to one generation and another to the next—until we can demonstrate that men born after a certain date are doomed to slavery, we must consider that no such allotment is permissible.

Probably some will regard the difficulties as inseparable from individual ownership of the soil as caused by pushing to excess a doctrine applicable only within rational limits. This is a very favourite style of thinking with some. There are people who hate anything in the shape of exact conclusions; and these are of them. According to such, the right is never in either extreme, but always half way between the extremes. They are continually trying to reconcile YES and NO. Its buts and excepts are their delight. They have so great faith in "the judicious mean," that they would scarcely believe an oracle, if it uttered a full length principle. Were you to in-

quire of them whether the earth turns on its axis from East to West, or from West to East, you might almost expect the reply—"a little of both," or "not exactly either." It is doubtful whether they would assent to the axiom that the whole is greater than its part without making some qualification. They have a passion for compromises. To meet their taste, Truth must always be spiced with a little Error. They cannot conceive of a pure, definite, entire and unlimited law. And hence, in discussions like the present, they are constantly petitioning for limitations—always wishing to abate, and modify, and moderate—ever protesting against doctrines being pursued to their ultimate consequences.

But it behooves such to recollect that ethical truth is as exact and as peremptory as physical truth, and that in this matter of land tenure, the verdict of morality must be distinctly YEA or NAY. Either men HAVE a right to make the soil private property, or they HAVE NOT. There is no medium. We must choose one of the two positions. There can be no half opinion. In the nature of things the fact must be either one way or the other.

If men HAVE NOT such a right, we are at once delivered from several predicaments already pointed out. If they HAVE such a right, then is that right absolute, sacred, not on any pretence to be violated? If they HAVE such a right, then is his Grace of Leeds justified in warning off tourists from Ben Mac Duihl; the Duke of Atholl, in closing Glen Tilt; the Duke of Buccleuch, in denying sites to the Free Church, and the Duke of Sutherland in banishing the Highlanders to make room for sheep walks? If they HAVE such a right, then it would be proper for the sole proprietor of any kingdom—a Jersey or Guernsey, for example—to impose just what regulations he might choose on its inhabitants—to tell them that they should not live on his property unless they professed a certain religion, spoke a particular language, adopted an authorized dress, and conformed to all other conditions he might see fit to make. If they HAVE such a right, then is there truth in that tenet of the ultra Tory school, that the land owners are the only legitimate rulers of a country—that the people at large remain in it only by the land owners' permission, and ought consequently to submit to the land owners' rule, and respect whatever institutions the land owners set up. There is no escape from these inferences. They are necessary corollaries to the theory that the earth can become individual property. And they can only be repudiated by denying that theory.

After all, nobody does implicitly believe in landlordism. We hear of estates held under the king—that is, the state; or of their being kept in trust for the public benefit, and not that they are the inalienable possession of their nominal owners. Moreover, we daily deny landlordism by our legislation. If a canal, a railway, or a turnpike road is to be made, we do not scruple to seize just as many acres as may be requisite, allowing the holders compensation for the capital invested. We do not wait for consent. An act of parliament supersedes the authority of title deeds, and serves proprietors with notices to quit, whether they will or not. Either this is equitable or it is not. Either the public are free to resume as much of the earth's surface as they think fit, or the titles of the land owners must be considered—absolute, and all national works must be postponed until lords and squires please to part with the requisite slices of their estates. If we decide that the claims of individual ownership must give way, then we imply that the right of the nation at large to the soil is supreme—that the right of private possession only exists by general consent—that general consent withdrawn it ceases—or, in other words, that it is no right at all.

But to what does this doctrine, that men are equally entitled to the use of the earth, lead? Must we return to the times of unenclosed wilds, and subsist on roots, berries and game? Or are we to be left to the management of Messrs. Fourier, Owen, Louis Blanc & Co.?"

Neither. Such a doctrine is consistent with the highest state of civilization; may be carried out without involving a community of goods, and need cause no very serious revolution in existing arrangements. The change required would simply be a change of landlords. Separate ownership would merge into joint-stock ownership of the public. Instead of being in the possession of individuals, the country would be held by the great corporate body—Society. Instead of leasing his acres from an isolated proprietor, the farmer

would lease them from the nation. Instead of paying his rent to the agent of Sir John or His Grace, he would pay it to an agent or deputy agent of the community. Stewards would be public officials instead of private ones, and tenancy the only land-tenure.

A state of things ordered would be in perfect harmony with the moral law. Under it all men would be equally landlords; all men would be alike free to become tenants. A, B, C, and the rest might compete for a vacant farm as now, and one of them might take that farm without in any way violating the principles of pure equity. All would be equally free to bid; and all would be equally free to refrain. And when the farm had been let to A, B, or C, all parties would have done that which they willed—the one in choosing to pay a given sum to his fellow-men for the use of certain lands—the others in refusing to pay that sum. Clearly, therefore, on such a system, the earth might be enclosed, occupied and cultivated, in entire subordination to the law of equal freedom.

No doubt great difficulties must attend the resumption by mankind at large of their right to the soil. The question of compensation to existing proprietors is a complicated one—one that perhaps cannot be settled in a strictly equitable manner. Had we to deal with the parties who originally robbed the human race of its heritage, we might make short work of the matter. But, unfortunately, most of our present land owners are men who have either mediately or immediately—either by their own acts, or by the acts of their ancestors—given for their estates equivalents of honestly earned wealth, believing that they were investing their savings in a legitimate manner. To justly estimate and liquidate the claims of such is one of the most intricate problems society will one day have to solve.

But with this perplexity and our extrication from it, abstract morality has no concern. Men, having got themselves into the dilemma by disobedience to the law, must get out of it as well as they can, and with as little injury to the landed class as may be.

Meanwhile, we shall do well to recollect that there are others besides the landed class to be considered. In our tender regard for the vested interests of the few, let us not forget that the rights of the many are in abeyance, and must remain so as long as the earth is monopolized by individuals. Let us remember, too, that the injustice thus inflicted on the mass of mankind is an injustice of the greatest nature. The fact that it is not so regarded proves nothing. In early phases of civilization even homicide is thought lightly of.

The suttees of India, together with the practice elsewhere followed of sacrificing a hecatomb of human victims at the burial of a chief, shows this; and probably cannibals consider the slaughter of those whom "the fortunes of war" has made their prisoners perfectly justifiable. It was once universally supposed that slavery was a natural and quite legitimate institution—a condition into which some were born, and to which they ought to submit as to a divine ordination; nay, indeed, a great proportion of mankind hold this opinion still. A higher social development, however, has generated in us a better faith, and we now to a considerable extent recognize the claims of humanity. But our civilization is only partial. It may be and by be perceived that Equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened; and men may then learn that to deprive others of their rights to the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties.

Briefly reviewing the argument, we see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow-men, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom. We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land. On examination, all existing titles to such property turn out to be invalid; those founded on reclamation inclusive. It appears that not even an equal apportionment of the earth

amongst its inhabitants could generate a legitimate proprietorship. We find that pushed to its ultimate consequences, a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves a land-owning despotism. We further find that such a claim is constantly denied by the enactments of our legislature. And we find lastly, that the theory of co-heirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization; and that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, Equity sternly commands it to be done.

—From the Appeal.

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