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LAND AND LABOUR

THE OPPORTUNITY
OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY
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LAND SETTLEMENT
CAPITAL AND LABOUR THE CLOSED SHOP

THE REMEDY

PREFACE.

The following articles are a review of the general conditions affecting Land and Labour in British Columbia, and the incidence of the Closed Shop.

I am informed they were written in 1912, and "The Remedy" was roughly sketched out about the same period.

The first two articles deal with conditions from the human point of view, and not from the point of view of the Capitalist or the Labour Official. To my mind they represent "public opinion" as opposed to either one party or the other in the controversy. Both capital and labour come in for criticism, and I think it will be generally admitted that the articles are quite unbiased. No doubt the professional exponent of Capital and the professional exponent of Labour will find much fault with them. But even these will probably admit that they are fair, and that the facts stated are incontrovertible.

It is plain that the writer does not ask the reader to take sides. All he has done is to analyse a problem and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. That he believes in co-operation is obvious, but it is still more obvious that he believes in a little common sense, a little thought, and above all a little unselfishness.

His suggested "Remedy" for the conditions which exist in British Columbia, is boldly drawn. He goes to the root of the matter and proposes a remedy which is worked out in a most businesslike manner. His argument in this last article is irresistably logical, and I think that most people who read the whole pamphlet will come to the conclusion that the remedy proposed is not only practical, but politic.

E. J. L.

Vancouver Nov. 2, 1914.

THE KEYNOTE.

JUST as Germany by instilling into the minds of her people the ideal of military efficiency in every walk of life, made in a quarter of a century tremendous strides towards world domination ; just as all her people became imbued with the ideal that military strength, as applied to the arts of war, would give them prosperity and happiness ; just as even the socialist party in Germany became convinced that force alone was necessary for the conquest of economical and social conditions ;

SO NOW BRITISH COLUMBIA APPLYING THAT IDEAL TO THE ARTS OF PEACE

can hope to instil into her people the ideal of organised efficiency in every walk of life, so that by applying the most efficient methods, the production of goods from the raw material with which the province is so richly endowed, may become the guiding star of all her policies.

Germany's error lay in her determination to conquer other nations and turn their people into Germans for the glorification of Germany.

British Columbia profiting by that experience should determine to conquer sloth and selfishness and turn them into efficiency and happiness, not for the purpose of killing other human beings but for enabling everybody in British Columbia to earn a living according to their capabilities. Every encouragement should be given to men and women to obtain for themselves the prizes of life but not through making others miserable. To build a fine humanity founded on character, not rules, is an ideal worth striving for.

By applying cooperatively organised efficiency to an army of labour every man can carry in his knapsack a field marshal's baton.

The army of the future is to make war on those forces of nature which militate against development. British Columbia will be the first community in the world to practice such a policy.

L. W. M.

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION.

THE 1912 Legislature of British Columbia before its dissolution after a seven weeks' session, was informed by Premier McBride that a commission would be appointed during the summer to inquire into and report upon the whole question of capital and labour in the province.

It was difficult to grasp the full significance of this announcement made almost casually at a time when the interest of the whole province was centred on the railway policy of the government. The reasons which prompted the premier and his colleagues to decide just at that time on the appointment of such a commission were not given, and beyond one of the members asking for the appointment of two labour men to the commission, very little interest was shown in the announcement. Yet it cannot be denied that such a commission, if given full powers to inquire into and report upon all questions relating to capital and labour within the province, was of profound interest not only to the province but to the whole of Canada and even, it may be said without exaggeration, to the world. For it was almost impossible at that time, or up to the outbreak of the European war, to pick up a newspaper without finding in some prominent position a paragraph relating to the strife between capital and labour. Thus the commission would have a vast amount of material to work upon not only as the problem affected British Columbia in particular, but also as it affected similar conditions throughout the world.

The commission would be able to benefit from the experience of Great Britain which labouring terribly in the birth pangs of new principles was suffering from a series of reverses which had no parallel in its history since Cromwell for a brief space represented the people. The problem that Great Britain was and is slowly and with great pain solving is already the problem of the world, and as Great Britain succeeds or fails in its solution, so will other nations succeed or fail.

Restless Discontent.

For sweeping aside details the national strikes in Great Britain were not the outcome of any particular demand but the result of a restless discontent crystallized into action by the sudden realisation of power. The fact that all trade is interdependent and that the welfare of one depends on the welfare of all is being forcibly proven, and although the problem incidentally might seem to be merely relative to certain trades, public opinion, which is not to be lethargic when confronted with the problem of the individual, is being shocked into the recognition that irresponsibility toward any one section or class reacts on those who at best seem to have but a passing interest in any one trade.

In Great Britain the quarrel between masters and men in the coal trade became a national affair of the gravest import, just as previously the transportation strike became of great moment to every man, woman and child in the kingdom. When a few are inconvenienced only a few take any interest in a question, but when all are inconvenienced then all begin immediately to think of the best solution of the problem.

Public Opinion the Last Resort.

The realisation that public opinion holds the balance of power between capital and labour is one that is necessary to learn at whatever cost. Both capital and labour have to learn it and the public itself has to recognize its responsibility. Capital knows and labour has learnt its power, but neither capital nor labour have yet learnt that in the last resort public opinion is the sole judge. Just as capital and labour have their associations so in the end will public opinion crystallize into action and insist that neither capital nor labour shall have the power to utterly disorganize the whole existence of any nation or nations.

It may be considered rash to make any assertions at such a time as the present but in Great Britain at any rate I believe that the Marxian theories have reached their zenith and that out of the mess that chaos will dawn a new era when both capital and labour will recognize that without co-operation they are eternally damned. In any case the Marxian

theory of Socialism is in a fair way to be swallowed by the Bergson practice of syndicalism.

I have heard it proclaimed not only once but many times and from many platforms that Socialism is co-operation and in the next breath that the abolition of private property in the means of production is the watchword of socialism. The two things are utterly different and have no relation whatever to each other. Socialism, as generally understood, is capable of anything from revolution to philosophic dalliance with economic problems. Socialism as generally preached by the modern follower of Karl Marx is purely destructive and leads from chaos to the tyranny of a Napoleon.

Paralyzation of Industry.

Supporting for the moment that the syndicalism of a Tom Mann or Ben Tillett proved triumphant in Great Britain, and that the adhesion of all trade unions led to sympathetic strikes whenever the demands of a labour leader in any one trade precipitated a conflict between the employer and the employee, the outcome would be the complete paralyzation of all industry for the lack of means to carry it on. The confiscation of property, or the means of production, by the labour unions or rather to the labour officials, might be called the nationalization of property. But however much property may be nationalized and equally distributed it is impossible to nationalize brain and make an equal distribution of grey matter, and it is brain power and nothing else that is at the basis of men's inequalities. Years of hard work would enable Tom Mann or Ben Tillett to master the intricacies of international finance or the chemical constituents of coal, but a very few hours would teach thousands of bankers, chemists and men who are working with their brains the way to dig coal or drive a team.

The nationalization of the means of production is really nothing but the forcible investment of the individual's earnings in things from which he may derive no benefit at all. It is quite possible, as has been proved over and over again, to nationalize a railway and if there be a profit in its operation to use that profit for the benefit of the state, possibly the reduction of taxes or for certain other purposes. If, however, the railway be conducted at a loss, as has proved to be usually the case, the taxpayer is made to invest further money in it whether he considers the railway of the slightest benefit to the community or not. If the railway, however, be operated by a corporation the corporation must do its level best not to operate at a loss for the simple reason that it will lose its capital, which in other words is its credit with the investor or the individual.

Capital Not Cash but Credit.

When it is recognized that capital is not really cash but credit, and that cash is simply a convenient form of exchange, the problem loses that intangible terror of "cash" which has become a shibboleth with the demagogue.

Under present circumstances the chaotic conditions that would result, for instance, from the state operation of the lumber mills of British Columbia may well be imagined. The greater part of this lumber is sold on the prairies and in the province. The wages of the men in the mill would be fixed not by the cost of operation and marketing in competition with other mills but by an arbitrary standard governed chiefly by the number of votes that the politicians could command. The officials of the mill would be men who owed their places not to any knowledge of operation but to political pull and they would all depend on the government for their positions. They would be appointed purely by patronage such as government officials are still appointed in Canada today.

The result of carrying on a business under such conditions is obvious. The workmen in the mill might make a sudden demand for higher wages, and as all the mills would be under government operation the employees of all the mills would make the same demand. The government purely by patronage and the price of lumber would have to be raised. Eventually, by the operation of the law of human nature which rules that man can never be satisfied

when he only has to ask for a thing to get it, to sell lumber milled in British Columbia would be impossible as the markets of the world would refuse to purchase except at competitive prices. It would be cheaper to import lumber from other places, even when duty had to be paid.

Unable to Compete.

Under present circumstances the conclusion is always the same. Prices would rise to a prohibitive level, not because there was any scarcity in the supply, but because the cost of labour would be so great, or the protective duty so high, that the state would be unable to manufacture in competition with states where cheaper labour prevailed.

If the western world wishes to follow the present trend of economic conditions to their natural conclusion it has only to cast its eyes on the eastern world where in a few years time all the products of the western world will be manufactured in competition with and far cheaper than in the present industrial centres.

It is an error to suppose that socialism is something new or a policy that has arisen purely under stress of modern industrialism. The socialistic conception of existence, the so-called practical socialism of the reformer as well as the Utopian theory of the dreamer, has existed since man was able to think. Two thousand years ago China adopted a form of government that almost exactly parallels the ideals preached from a hundred platforms today, with the result which history relates. The Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans all passed through phases of socialism. Today owing to universal education or a kind the same teachings are more easily spread and more easily assimilated. "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing" and the attractiveness of socialism to the superficially educated and discontented wage earner is undeniable. Few socialist orators ever work out their theories to a logical conclusion and the audience is not expected to do so. It would involve a study of economics and the law of exchange.

Syndicalistic Theories.

Another theory regarding the law of property has recently been promulgated by the syndicalists. Property according to this theory will not belong to the state but to the men who work it. There is a coal mine would belong to the coal miners. Here again the logical outcome is ignored. The men would be shareholders and would have to elect their managers. The mine would be in competition with other mines and the most efficient would pay the best. The officials would take the place of the present managers and in a year or two the men would be worse off than before, having exchanged one set of competent officials responsible to a company, for a set of officials who would be responsible to no one. In all this fit-sam and jitsam of half formed theories one fact is ignored and that fact is perhaps the most salient of all. How many coal mines, railways and other large concerns are owned by any one person? Possibly at most ten per cent. The rest are owned by the shareholders, each according to their investment. And who in the majority of cases are the shareholders? Those whose thrift has enabled them to save sufficient to invest in whatever kind of security they deem the best. It is the so-called middle class whose savings are so largely invested all over the world and it is this class which is at present between the Scylla of capital and the Charybdis of labour.

I have assumed that in the case of the workmen owning the mines there would be no question of credit. Yet this question of credit is fundamentally one of the most important in the relationship between producer and consumer. The workers of the mine must be paid in some form or another and the product of their labour alone can be the means of payment. There must be a dealer in coal to sell the coal to the consumer, and the dealer, during the period that elapses between the moment the coal is mined and the moment it is consumed, is hardly likely to pay for his orders in cash.

Loss by Strikes.

As an illustration of the superficial conclusion arrived at by even well educated and intelligent people a conversation between some men in a restaurant about the British coal strike proves interesting. Discussion had turned on the amount of money lost in wages which was said to be about \$50,000,000 in the first three weeks of the strike. "But," said one, "that money is not really lost, it is merely not paid out to the workmen."

"Yes," said another, "of course the money is there just the same. The workmen may have lost it in wages and the shopkeepers in the loss of purchasing power. The wages have not been distributed, that's all. The money is not lost." And not one of the five men discussing the question contradicted the fallacy.

Now when intelligent people jump to such a conclusion is it any wonder that an ordinarily intelligent audience of working men listening to the glib denunciations of a syndicalist is just as easily deceived? According to this argument the fact that the owners of the coal mines had not paid \$50,000,000 in wages did not imply that the owners had also lost the \$50,000,000 or a proportionate part thereof. But if the supposition is analysed it is plain that the loss of \$50,000,000 in wages alone must mean that the owners had not only lost the use of that sum but the per centage of profit in addition. Apparently the surmise was that the wages lay in the bank ready to be paid and that because they were not withdrawn therefore they were still there. That the bank would not pay out that sum unless the coal owners deposited it in the bank in the form of coal mined never struck these men. The \$50,000,000 was just cash to them, not coal.

Wages Would Not Be Paid.

It is hardly necessary to point out that to withdraw that sum the coal owner would have to deposit with the bank certificates showing that the coal was in transit or mined before the bank could pay the wages, and that if the coal was not mined the wages could not be paid, and that therefore the loss in wages was equally a loss to the coal owners and the community. It may be true that the cash sum was not actually lost as if it had been thrown into the sea because the cash sum advanced for wages would probably be paid back into the various banks by the tradespeople who had taken the same in exchange for goods. The cash thus being nothing but a convenient form of exchange made possible by the credit enjoyed by the capitalist.

The avowed intention of the English syndicalists in the coal strike was to insist on a minimum wage. When that had been gained peace was to be restored until an opportunity arose to strike for a seven hour day. If that were gained without the shareholders of the mines, that is, the owners, shutting down the mines in despair, then the men were to lay down on their work. By this means it was thought the owners would be forced to close the mines and the government, acknowledging the right of men to work, would be forced to open them to the men. The men would then form their own companies to work the mines.

A Theory in Practice.

This sounds very nice in theory and perhaps quite feasible. But what would happen in practice?

Obviously the men would not work for less pay or for longer hours for their own company than for the owners. They would refuse to pay their managers any more than they themselves thought fit. The work would be carried on under purely arbitrary conditions. The hewers would demand more wages than the engineers or vice versa. There would be internecine strife and gradually the men would drift away to other and better managed mines where they were assured of so much a week. The cost of labour would be so heavy that the men would be unable to market the coal even if they were able to carry on all the intricate machinery of marketing. They would want a fair division of profit so that in case they desired to move from the district in which they were working they would be able to get cash. Chaos would result, or, under the very best circumstances, the one or two men who had the brains to carry on the mine and force their will on the others by their superior mentality, would gradually come to own the mine. In the final result the men would have exchanged their present owners for others.

Again supposing that today a mine is paying 10 per cent to its shareholders. The capital involved on which the dividend is earned may be put at \$5,000,000. The net profit under present circumstances on the working of the mine is then \$500,000 a year. Supposing that the mine employs 1000 men, a rise in wages of only 50 cents a day would mean \$150,000 a year and one hour a day less work would cost very nearly another \$120,000, that is a total of \$270,000 off the \$500,000 earned under the most favourable circumstances. The sum for dividends left over would now amount to \$230,000, or \$230.00 per man, a nice little sum if everything went on as well

as possible. But if competition became severe one year and the profits were cut in half the mine would be worked at a loss, its credit would be exhausted, no fresh capital could be forthcoming and the men would be thrown out of work.

Working at a Loss.

Such an argument has also to assume that the original shareholders would receive absolutely no compensation for the loss of the mine when the men took it over. If they were to be paid only five per cent on their original investment the mine would be worked at a loss as far as the men were concerned.

The same argument can be applied to all industries. It is impossible to work without credit and it is impossible to arbitrarily raise wages or lessen the hours of work without regard for the economic principles involved and still keep credit. It is perhaps human nature to strike for higher wages when by so doing and "sticking-all-together" the shareholders, or capitalist, may be forced to pay those wages but even the capitalist is governed by the laws of supply and demand and cannot pay wages if he cannot sell his products in the markets of the world.

Credit Can Be Destroyed.

Granting that labour today is so well organized that it can enforce its demands by means of sympathetic strikes and paralyze industry, it must also be granted that capital or credit can be destroyed by that action. If a community as a whole, living by industrialism, thus cut its own throat its place would be taken by a community with a little more commonsense. Human nature may be justified in grabbing all it can if it has the power to do so but it is also a law of nature to starve if nothing can be produced. The Socialist has magnificent theories regarding self-supporting communities but in practise they have proved lamentable failures. Fournier, Owen and scores of others have laid down the fundamental laws of Utopia but they have always forgotten the fundamental laws of human nature which act just as strongly in communistic as in capitalistic circles.

Capital and Labour Cannot Be Divorced.

Let us admit for the sake of argument that capitalists are all tyrants and labour alone virtuous. It has been shown that it is utterly impossible to divorce them without destroying both. The problem then remains how to make them live together so that the virtue of the one may overcome the tyranny of the other. Curiously enough there are many very happy examples of capital and labour living and working together on most excellent terms. I suppose this would not be admitted by any labour official and capitalists themselves often seem to ignore the examples of others, so that possibly there may be some reason for this peculiar form of blindness on the part of both. The Metropolitan Gas Company in London, the Lever Bros. Port Sunlight Soap Works, Cadbury's Works at Bournville, the Taylor Woollen Mills, some of the big Coventry and Birmingham factories and others spread about the world hardly ever have any trouble with their men. In many cases the men belong to their various Unions, but their own clubs supported by their employers and themselves alike, generally prove more attractive.

Now when a reason is sought for the good relations existing between some employers and their men and the bad relations existing in so many other cases, a thousand and one answers might be given when perhaps in nine cases out of ten only one is necessary. The men are found to be content where the employer is in personal touch with all of them; where he is personally known to them as a man who will listen to their troubles, help them individually over a style, take an interest in their work, is always ready to listen to suggestions, and is broad minded. It is true that strikes have taken place even under such conditions but still in spite of a disagreement with the official representatives of the men, the relationship among all remains as good as ever. When the disputed point has been settled the men return to work gladly and without any of the bitterness that has so often been engendered between masters and men. The men appreciate recognition and the example of good fellowship, they resent being treated merely as automatons paid to do so much work at so much a day. In the latter case they are quick to use every opportunity their unions give them to cause trouble.

II. CONDITIONS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

In British Columbia the problems relating to Capital and Labour are fundamentally the same as elsewhere, generally speaking, but there are one or two important factors which must be considered in making any attempt to deal with them. The first of these factors is sentimental but vital. It is the problem of Asiatic emigration. There is no need here to enter into all the phases of Oriental immigration. Suffice it to say that public opinion as a whole is dead against any importation of Asiatic labour for the simple reason that the white man cannot lower his standard of civilisation to such a level that he can compete on equal terms with the Oriental.

Economically this may be considered an artificial condition but morally it is natural. The Oriental has an entirely different conception of life. His religion is altogether different and his domestic code on another plane. Some years ago the immigration of the Chinese was checked by a \$500 head tax and about 1909 the immigration of the Japanese was practically stopped by an agreement entered into between Canada and Japan. It is obvious to any student of affairs that both these arrangements are purely temporary and a makeshift to tide the matter over until it will arise again in more acute form.

With a glorious interpretation of the motto, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof," the community in general shuts its eyes to the future and trusts that something will turn up, some providential circumstance will occur, which will enable it to weather the storm when it bursts. There is no preparation for that day. Material prosperity has been too great in the past and blinded the nation to the clouds on the horizon.

Wages for Asiatic Labour.

It is even doubtful if the Oriental established in British Columbia desired any free immigration of his compatriots. The Chinese domestic was earning very large wages, \$40 a month with board and lodging for a cook being an excellent wage which would be materially decreased were the Chinaman admitted without restriction. Practically speaking, market gardening is carried on almost entirely by the Chinese near the cities, and fishing as far as salmon and herring are concerned, is almost entirely in the hands of the Japanese. In a great many instances Japanese merchants are employers of large numbers of their own countrymen and there is no doubt whatever that were the Oriental forcibly ejected from his many spheres of activity there would be a large increase in white labour.

Whether the wages that would have to be paid to the white man in these industries would enable the employer to carry on the business is another matter altogether. In the lumber business large numbers of Orientals are employed and there is no denying that the Oriental labourer is a willing and able worker.

Today railway construction is carried on entirely by white labor and there is constant friction. The Industrial Workers of the World, or to call them by their European cognomen, the Syndicalists, were continually causing trouble and in Vancouver itself a strike in the building trade was used as a lever in an attempt to bring about the closed shop. It may be said that the majority of the workers in British Columbia were well content with their wages, but the scarcity of labour at certain seasons of the year makes British Columbia a happy hunting ground for the Socialist and Syndicalist and enables the demagogue to reap a rich harvest from his follower who sees in the new gospel a means of getting high wages for the least possible amount of work.

Political Dangers.

Again the politician who is dependent for place and power on the vote of the working man has a hard task to appeal sufficiently to his labouring constituents and yet at the same time evade committing himself to any definite programme. The cost of living being high owing to the full turn of the wheel of the vicious circle it is extremely difficult to adopt either a minimum or maximum wage in any trade.

A man running for municipal honours is ready at all times to wash his hands in front of an applauding audience and declare that \$3.00 a day is the minimum wage he will adopt for all city work without any regard for the fact that a man employed by such a corporation as an electrical transportation company will grumble at receiving less for his work than the man digging a city sewer.

Now it is obvious that to such a corporation the scale of wages paid must be a matter not only of most serious consideration but of life and death. It is dependent for its existence on an inelastic franchise given under conditions materially different to those existing at the present time, and on its credit in the money markets of the world which enable it to borrow large sums for necessary expansion. Its employees care neither for its franchise nor its credit; their interest lies in obtaining the highest wage compatible with their strength to enforce it without risking a battle that they are not convinced by their leaders they can win. That in many cases the leaders have never done an hour's work for the company which they thus arbitrarily threaten has nothing to do with the case. Right is right and any excuse for exercising that maxim is legitimate so long as it is exercised on behalf of labour. But let capital endeavour to apply it and a yell of execration arises from every soap box and platform in the city. What is sauce for the goose is decidedly not sauce for the gander in British Columbia.

Wages Relation to Taxes.

Of course when it comes to city work and wages are paid by the taxpayer, so long as taxes remain at, say, twenty mills on the dollar and no attempt is made to raise them no one yells his execration of the man who treads the easy and popular road. That the money market should make a careful examination of the wages paid on city work is unthinkable. That is the taxpayers' business and not the investors' and it is better that the hospitals, the libraries, the police and fire departments should suffer attenuation rather than that taxes should be raised or wages lowered. That at any rate seems to be the logical interpretation of some candidates' views.

Another point that needs serious consideration is the relation of real estate values to the cost of living and therefore to labour. The pious, successful real estate speculator who wishes to turn agricultural property into a townsite and clamours for docks on tide flats and bridges over vast expanses so as to increase the value of his holdings and cause a boom in certain properties in which he is vitally interested, would be horrified if he were informed that his meat is another man's poison. He would point to the huge buildings rising on what were lately but the sites of charred and desolate stumps of a former magnificent forest and state that it was owing to his enterprise and that of his contemporaries that all this prosperity was due. He, like Sir Wilfrid Laurier before the last Dominion election, has become so obsessed with prosperity that he is apt to ascribe it to his own acumen and righteousness "under the guidance of Divine Providence." He ignores the fact that British Columbia is a marvelously attractive region with limitless resources, natural waterways, vast forests, and agricultural lands which together with a most amenable climate, and the fact that all these things have been but recently discovered, make for prosperity and the rapid influx of population whether he exists or not.

Land Values and Labour.

Yet it is axiomatic that if land values were low and kept low so that it would be easy for a working man to acquire land on which to erect a house or at least rent one on reasonable terms, the cost of living would not be as high as it is at present. When a workman in order to live near his work has to pay such a rent that his landlord is receiving from the house even 7 per cent on his investment in land and building, that rent is an initial sum in his expenditure that weighs perhaps heavier than any other. He demands modern conveniences and sanitation and, in all probability, at least \$5.00 a day in wages while he is erecting that house. If he happens

to be a mason or a carpenter. If the lot on which that house is situated is on a car line or within easy distance of the business centre of the city it will probably cost at least \$1,500 to \$2,000. If the house only costs \$2,000 the total investment with fixtures will be \$4,000 which must earn at 7 per cent \$280 per annum or \$23.50 a month. That rent is a considerable item in a married man's wages of say \$75 to \$80 a month and it would have been very hard in 1912 in Vancouver or the suburbs to find a house and lot which could be rented at such a price. If the working man is forced, in order to find a habitation, to live some distance away from his work car fares add considerably to his expenses. Thus real estate values have no small bearing on the problem of capital and labour in British Columbia.

Workman is Handicapped.

Thus the working man is heavily handicapped at the very commencement of his career in a place where opportunity is great if only it can be encountered. Naturally finding it difficult to make both ends meet he is likely to become discontented. He sees all round him men who having been able to save and invest their money a year or two before he arrived have made lucky deals in real estate; he does not hear of those who having bought property and been unable to dispose of it may have been forced to seek other places. He knows nothing of the carpenter who is now a motorman or the electrician who is digging trenches for the city.

The tremendous waste of efficiency, the attempt to fit square pegs into round holes brought about by the necessity of a man "finding a job" is appalling. No register of the men arriving in the country has ever been kept and there must be hundreds of men all over the coast working at trades for which they are totally unfitted. It may be the natural outcome of an artificial prosperity but it cannot be of lasting benefit to the community as a whole.

Waste of Energy.

A carpenter who comes to the coast cities seeking work and finding none to which he is used may eventually after trying his hand at various occupations find first spasmodic and then permanent employment at his trade, but for some months he will probably have wasted his time and energy seeking something he cannot find owing to there being no scientific method of tabulating and registering every new arrival. The material prosperity of a community usually blinds that community to many of its own most important interests.

In order that this vast waste of material should not take place it would be necessary to develop some form of labour exchange. The experience of Great Britain could be drawn on but the methods employed need not necessarily follow along the same lines. The objective must never be lost sight of. Waste material begins to rot and rot spreads. Poverty is a disease and not a crime. Prevention is possible in a new country and it is the duty of the community to use such methods of prevention as are suitable to the peculiar conditions likely to cause disease.

One aspect of the relation of real estate speculation to the cost of living has been touched on. The other is even more important. The enhancement of land values near the cities is an ever growing menace to the peace and prosperity of the community. It is a menace to peace as it is a direct cause of unemployment and discontent. It is a menace to prosperity in that it stultifies progress and development. The value of land has a direct bearing on the problem of agriculture and manufacture.

The Lands of the Delta.

In British Columbia the valley of the Fraser is a delectable region for agriculture. The Delta is a magnificent example. It comprises about 40,000 acres of farm lands all under cultivation. The principal crops are hay, oats and potatoes. A fair amount of live stock is raised, cattle, horses, poultry and a few sheep. There is one line of rails over which the farmers send milk and other produce to New Westminster. Oats, hay and potatoes can be sold to dealers who have wharves on the river and from thence can ship by water which is the cheapest method of transportation. The conditions are thus ideal. Yet Vancouver imports yearly millions of dollars worth of poultry, and vegetables that might very well come from the Delta.

The price of land on the Delta ranges from \$200 to \$600 an acre. The farmers are extremely pro-

perous. They live in splendid houses and cultivate holdings which run from 200 to 1,000 acres. It is commonly said that if there were transportation to Vancouver they would send vegetables and other small truck to that market. But the writer doubts it. Their holdings are too large and labour is too dear to make the cultivation of truck very profitable to them. In some cases they rent 20 to 40 acres to others at \$40 to \$50 an acre. On these holdings potatoes are grown and bring the grower \$15 to \$20 a ton, according to the season. Thus a potato cultivator can make about \$2,500 a year with very little trouble. The point is that the small holding is practically non-existent and yet it is on the small holder that Vancouver must rely for vegetables, eggs, poultry and such things.

Small Holdings.

Now if say 20,000 acres of the Delta were broken up into 10 acre lots, 2,000 farmers growing vegetables and poultry would make a tremendous difference to Vancouver markets. It is true that at certain seasons of the year importations would be as heavy as ever but these 2,000 holdings would, if scientifically cultivated, mean an enormous increase in production. Transportation would then become of vital importance, and could be easily organized.

Moreover, the problem of labour would be solved to a certain extent. These 2,000 farmers would be producing not only eatables but children, half of whom would be in due course demanding work. There would be a sturdy agricultural race constantly growing up and the community could be drawn on for labour. At present the children of these farmers are not going on to farms in their turn but with university education are going into the professions of the law and medicine or into the mercantile offices. Thus there are no recruits for the ranks of labour.

But if the farm lands of the Delta are held at high prices there is absolutely no encouragement to the small holder. He can perhaps rent his holding at a reasonable price, but there would be the ever present fear that if he increased the value of his holding by his labour he would be liable to add to his burdens by his rent being increased.

Land Banks and the Farmer.

If, however, he were able to purchase his holding by small instalments the more work he put into his property the better for him. This question of purchase at once brings up the question of land banks and their great value to the community. There is no need to enter into this question here but undoubtedly land banks on the lines which have proved so successful in Germany in conjunction with some form of labour exchange would do much to solve the problems of capital and labour in British Columbia.

The illustration of small holdings as tried by the Delta may be infinitely enlarged when applied to the whole of British Columbia. Colonization schemes are all very well in their way but they are not attractive to men and women whose lives have been passed in neighbourhoods where communication with their fellows is an easy matter. Trains running at regular intervals every two or three hours do not pass through the agricultural districts of British Columbia, and the great spaces have no attraction for any but the very few. But take the new arrival into an attractive village community in quick communication with the city and he is far more likely to settle down at once and become a most useful citizen.

There are thousands of clerks in London today who are earning from \$5 to \$11 a week who yearn for a country life within touch of a city. Many of them marry and emigrate and fail to find the employment to which they are suited in the cities. They become discontented and take any job they can get. They live in one room and bring into the world unhealthy children. Whereas if they came to the country, were sent by some organization in Great Britain to some organization in British Columbia with the definite purpose of settling on a small holding near a city where they could be taught exactly the right way of going to work and meet their own kind as neighbours, what an immense difference it would make.

A Fundamental Error.

It is fundamentally a fatal error to help a man into a new country and turn him loose to seek a living as best he can. That may be done with youths of from 20 to 25, but with men who have been brought

up in a certain way and along certain narrow lines if they are helped out of one groove they must be helped into another. It will not detract from their character in the least. At best their character is largely a matter of their circumstance.

To start colonizing land some hundreds of miles from civilization, as civilization is expressed in cities, with emigrants who all their lives have lived within an hour or two of cities, is pitoeous. It is a waste of most excellent material; it does very little good to the city and often establishes a kind of derelict community which takes years to develop.

All development should come from within outwards and not be tried in direct opposition to nature from without inwards.

The Pioneering Life.

The colonization and development of lands miles away from the centre of civilization should be done by those who are used to loneliness, whose previous experience has fitted them for the pioneering life they will have to lead. Breaking and making the standard 160 acres sounds delightfully picturesque but in reality means breaking and not making both the man and woman who by the very nature of their previous experience are totally unsuited for that kind of work.

The same argument applies to the small tradesman, the half skilful worker and thousands of those who come to British Columbia full of eager hope and determination. The spirit is there, but the flesh is weak and its demands imperative. This is not a plea for mollifying the immigrant, but a plea for common sense in dealing with the problem of labour in British Columbia.

When capital is considered in relation to this problem the immense advantages of organisation and method must be apparent. The establishment of such communities must increase the demand for capital and the purchasing power of both the city and individual will be immensely increased.

Once the ground is cleared of the waste and inefficient flotsam and jetsam, which let it be clearly understood is merely waste and inefficient on account of the lack of method in dealing with it, the problem of actual manual labour becomes simplified.

Railway Construction.

In British Columbia there is an immense amount of work to be done by hand, logging, fishing, mining, lumber mills, shipping, railway construction all call for manual labor of a very strenuous kind. In many ways the life is magnificent, though the work is hard.

In railway construction the contractors feed and lodge their men and the government exercises control of the camps. Proper supervision is absolutely necessary for the greatest sinners against sanitation are the men themselves. It is desperate work for the contractors to be continually trying to make men lead cleanly lives. The foreign European element is very large. Italians, Galicians and Swedes preponderating. They are not what might be called strictly cleanly in their habits. They present a very difficult problem. Their wages are extremely high, averaging probably as much as \$3 a day. If they are well treated they are apt to think their employer is afraid of them. They understand brute force, but do not understand moral persuasion. Their wants are often very primitive and centre on women and whisky. The worse these are the better they like them. It is very easy to rouse sullen discontent among them and yet it is also easy with good foremen to keep them as happy as children. They do, however, fall an easy prey to the labour agitator.

The Industrial Worker of the World, the prototype of the Syndicalist, finds in them a magnificent opportunity. It is easy to convince them that by united action they can force from their employers another 25 cents or 50 cents a day. Throw the blame for the unsanitary condition of a camp on to the employer and sow the seeds of discontent among them and the rest is easy.

Want of Entertainment.

The basis of the trouble is really want of amusement in camp. Contractors should seriously consider the advisability of having on their staffs a few excellent entertainers moving from camp to camp. They would prove a most efficacious antidote to the entertainment provided by the labour agitator with his ravines against all society invariably termed capital. This is not such a puerile suggestion as might be

thought at first. The entertainment of a kind that is easily understood would solve many of the labour troubles in British Columbia. Let every camp have a temporary hall of some kind where the men might gather of an evening, drink good beer or coffee and listen to a light entertainer and money would be saved to capital all along the line. Book houses and a camp dining room as the sole shelter for the men are not half so attractive as the saloon or the open air orator on a soap box.

There is a small fortune for capable camp entertainers in British Columbia during these days of railway construction. The logging camps are also well worth working.

Difficulties of Contractors.

The problem of railway construction is one of peculiar difficulty to the capitalist. The engineer surveys the right-of-way and the contractor goes over it and reckons what it will cost to grade. He puts in a tender which is accepted and he gets his plant on the ground and his men to work. Supposing he employs 1000 men at \$2.50 a day, his wage bill for six days of 10 hours is \$15,000 a week. If after he has taken this contract and signed on his men they break their contract and demand \$3 a day for 9 hours, he is in the awkward position of paying out about another \$5000 a week on his contract, or having a strike on his hands. He is bound by his contract but the men are not bound by theirs.

Again, if the railway company is faced with the problem of paying the extra sum demanded in order to protect the contractor and enable the work to be carried on it is obvious that in constructing say 100 miles of railway the cost is enormously increased. This cost can only be met by an increase in capital and a consequent increase later on in rates, in order to pay interest on the capital expended.

Co-Operation in Construction.

Whereas if a contractor were able to call his men together and explain to them that he had contracted to grade the next ten miles of road at \$25,000 a mile and had reckoned it would take him six months to do the work and he would pay them \$2.50 a day for a 10 hours a day, but that if the work could be finished in five months the wages saved would be so much profit added to his contract which he would give the men, an entirely different footing might be established. The sense of co-partnership in the enterprise would probably stimulate the men and if in addition a certain amount of amusement were provided it is probable that any agitator attempting to interfere with that particular contractor would get a short shrift.

The same line of reasoning could be applied to the logging camps, the whole point being to interest the men in the efficient handling of their particular job. There is a great chance in British Columbia for experiments to be made on these lines. They depend of course very largely on the kind of men the contractor employs for foremen and the character of the contractor himself. If the contractor persists in looking on his men as so many beasts to be driven to their work it is his lookout if they fall him but it is doubtful if many contractors have such old-fashioned ideas today.

Here, then, are certain suggestions for dealing with this mass of manual labor while it is actually being employed. But what of it when it is unemployed and drifts into the cities?

Every winter in British Columbia there is an ever-growing mass of unemployed labor. It is splendid material loosed from the mountains and rivers, and poured into the saloons of the larger cities. It congregates at the street corners, fills the picture and vaudeville shows, and generally floods the cheaper rooming houses. Wages which have been paid in lump sums burn holes in the pockets of these men. Their headquarters are saloons where they can drink but may not eat, where they can stand against the bar but may not sit down. The police courts get some of them every morning, and a certain percentage on all the cheap whiskey sold in Vancouver is drawn into the coffers of the city and helps to pay for the protection of society. A still larger percentage goes to the women who provide a crude form of amusement and companionship to these men, and in themselves constitute one of the social problems of all times.

Unemployed in Cities.

It is easy enough to rant about morality and temperance, but it is not so easy to find an alternative for a state of affairs which is a crying disgrace to any civilized community. This is one of the problems of capital and labor and a very grave one. It cannot be solved by raising higher wages or by strikes, which seem the only two alternatives presenting themselves to the minds of some labour officials. It can be solved by broad-minded co-operation between those who sincerely desire to better conditions and lessen, if they cannot eradicate, the evils that arise from intemperance and immorality.

Change the Surroundings.

In the first place, it is as well to admit that perfectly decent, healthy, moral, and normal men who live an outdoor life, may drink a certain amount of liquor and seek the companionship of women. Raise the character of both the liquor and the women by allowing them decent surroundings, and it follows that the character of the men is raised. Their present conditions are a direct incentive to drunkenness and immorality, and the moral reform and temperance associations are largely to blame for both. This may horrify many most excellent people, but it is nevertheless the truth. What these excellent people with the best of intentions will not realize is that no amount of legal restraint can take the place of character. The road to hell is said to be paved with good intentions. The path of the extreme temperance and moral reformer is certainly strewn with flabby characters, whose whole conception of life is to abolish temptation—not mould character to resist it.

It has already been stated that a large percentage of the manual labour in British Columbia is of foreign origin. Italians are very largely employed by the contractors on railway construction and sewerage work. They are excellent workmen, but they need watching. Many of them came from Southern Italy, the home of the Camorra and Mafia, and are directly associated with those pestiferous societies. Superstition and ignorance is rife among them. They can understand the labour agitator, but they cannot understand the law.

They have been brought up to consider the law amenable to political influence, and the labour agitator is to them little else but an official of their societies. But in their former existence, though far poorer as far as money is concerned, they were happy. The climate suited them—sunshine warmed them, and to sleep out was no hardship. Their wine shop was their meeting place, and the society of women their joy.

Dark and Airless Saloons.

Imagine such men turned into the dark and sawdust strewn saloons of a city. Imagine them used to sunshine living under gloomy skies. Employment in the winter is spasmodic and dependent upon the weather. Although the coast of British Columbia is notorious during the winter months for its rainfall, yet on the average it is no worse than elsewhere. There is comparatively little snow or very cold weather. In the interior the winter varies largely according to the height of a district above the sea. But the salmon canneries are idle, and logging does not employ as many men as in the summer. Building is not so active, and railway construction is not on such a large scale.

The problem is perhaps not so much how to employ all the men out of work, but how to amuse them and prevent them throwing away their money gambling in the back rooms of saloons, drinking it over the bars, or squandering it on the "female of the species."

As has been said, in their anxiety to improve conditions several of the associations which have as their object the uplifting of their so-called weaker brethren cannot direct themselves of their own circumstances and enter those of these men. In consequence, they advocate prohibition rather than commonsense regulation; whereas if their efforts were concentrated on improving conditions rather than eradicating them their work would be of infinitely greater value.

Every effort should be made towards giving these men decent, clean, well-lighted rooms as their temporary homes, at a reasonable rate. If real estate values interfere, there is a legitimate reason for municipal lodging-houses.

License Laws.

The license laws should be so enacted that it would be impossible to serve drunken men; the liquors sold over the bars should be subject to constant analysis; the saloons themselves should be obliged to sell coffee, cocoa, tea, and provide meals; they should be well lighted, airy and clean. Seats and tables with newspapers should be available to any man. In brief, the saloon as it exists today should be abolished and cafes established where men could sit down and get a good glass of beer. Cards and dominoes should be allowed to be played openly, and the men should be made to understand that the good behaviour of each is dependent on all. Habitual bad characters would soon be barred from all the saloons.

It is merely adopting the continental method instead of the American. The theatres should be allowed foyers and restaurants. The better such a place is conducted the more money there is in it, and this is a great incentive. At present there is barely a restaurant in the whole of Vancouver to which a man can take a woman to dinner—even if it is his own wife whom he wishes to entertain—where wine is served. It is true the hotels have their own dining rooms, but hotels are not restaurants.

Work for Every Man.

With regard to the employment of these men when they have no money left, it should be understood that there is work, food and lodging for every man that wants it. Recently the city formed a camp to which men could be sent who were charged with vagrancy or had no visible means of support. Proper organization could extend this system, so that no man need be destitute. There is always a great deal of land clearing, road making, and such work, that can be undertaken even in winter. Labour organizations would no doubt strenuously object to this form of employment, and argue that the city was getting work done for nothing for which otherwise it would have to pay good wages. No man, however, need work under such conditions. The city would supply food and lodging for men out of work, and not for men who can find employment.

There is, of course, another side to this problem. Men who are only responsible to themselves can be looked after in this way, but men who are married must earn a living for themselves and their families. But for these men the labour exchanges should be responsible, and this point has already been dealt with under the small holding problem. It would not be at all a bad thing to put a premium in this fashion on the married man. He is of far more value to the country than the bachelor, and he should, as far as possible, be settled on the land.

Proper Organization Wanted.

The whole of this problem is chiefly one of proper organization. It is most important in its bearing on the problem of capital and labour in British Columbia, owing to this class of labour offering the most fertile soil on which to sow the seeds of discontent. It is as easy to sow contentment if the problem is approached in the right spirit. With a broad-minded, common-sense administration of the licensing question a great deal of the peril of the problem disappears. Where the saloon enters so intimately into the life of labour it is well worth making use of it. To endeavour to suppress evil just because it is evil is like trying to squeeze the air out of a rubber ball. The more it is suppressed in one place the more it expands in another. The best way is to try for once and imagine it is not so much an evil as a condition which can be changed by seeing that the circumstances to which it is due are properly regulated.

There is nothing wrong in a man speaking to a woman under ordinary circumstances, if it is a man wishing to dance the Highland fling. But if he is forced to seek the woman under a red light or dance the Highland fling in the street to the disturbance of the public peace, he is committing a misdemeanour which is forced on him by the community not providing him with decent circumstances in which he can indulge his fancy for either amusement. Because a man desires the companionship of a woman is not necessary to suppose he is immoral. The fact is that the premise has to be changed.

III. THE CLOSED SHOP.

As has been mentioned, at one time during the heyday of our prosperity there was a strike among the building trades of Vancouver which turned eventually on the question of the closed shop. The avowed intention of the strike leaders was to bring out every union labourer in Vancouver and tie up the city. They failed lamentably, and although they succeeded for some two months in considerably delaying and hampering building operations no other trade was really affected.

In September, 1911 there appeared in an American magazine an illuminating article on the subject of the closed shop, by Clarence Darrow, attorney to the MacNamaras, known as the Dynamiters. It was written before they confessed their guilt, but its chief value lay in the fact that it was counsel's opinion on the closed shop. It was entitled, "Why Men Fight for the Closed Shop."

After reading that article the question rang down the walls of my brain as I vainly tried to sleep. "Why men fight for the closed shop?"—it sang insistently in my ears in the gray dawn. "Why men fight for the closed shop?"—it pursued me through many long and un satisfying days of work, and at last, "weary and without rest," I picked up my pen in a mad endeavour to sweep back the tide of depression which plagued me ever since I read that article.

I feel inclined to cry to Mr. Darrow and those that think with him, "You clothe platitudes in fine language and deem them original. You mistake typhoid for appendicitis and operate accordingly; and when you have operated you have not sufficient knowledge to bandage the patient who is bleeding to death. You have dealt so long in materialism that you imagine there is nothing in sentiment. You talk of the rights of labour as if labour and not God ruled the world. You shout for peace among nations and make civil war. To perdition with your smug self-satisfaction!"—we are men and the children of men, not whining cravens afraid of our own shadows."

Then I reflect. These may be brave words, but they mean nothing. They mirror no wide experience nor do they spring from a vast and well-stored granary of knowledge. They are but impotent waves beating against the walls of fact; their murmur sounds nothing more than a lullaby to the men whose lives have been given up to the fight between capital and labour.

The Most Vital Issue.

"The most vital issue of trade unionism is the closed shop, and it is around this issue that capital and labour have gradually closed in," writes Mr. Darrow. "The closed shop is the master's final citadel of refuge, its possession most eagerly desired, most violently opposed."

What, then, is this closed shop round which centres the fight between capital and labour? Is it a great ideal for which men are willing to fight to the last gasp? Is it an inspiring cause which can rouse the spirit of a nation? Or is it merely an arbitrary principle laid down by the leaders of labour as a goal for which their followers must make any sacrifice in the sole interests of their class?

In practice the closed shop means that no man may work for a living unless he belongs to a union: it means that all labour is specialized along certain lines, that a plasterer may not lay a brick or a bricklayer drive a nail into timber; that a carpenter may not put in fittings nor a plumber paint the outside of a house. It means that the man who pays wages, the capitalist or employer, call him what you will, is no more a free agent than the man he employs. The closed shop, in brief, puts employer and wage-earner alike under the heel of a coterie of irresponsible men, who labour not neither do they employ, yet Demosthenes with all his eloquence could not rant like one of them.

However finely Mr. Darrow may plead the cause of unionism and the closed shop that is just exactly what it amounts to. No more and no less. The substitution of a tyranny of trades union officials for the tyranny of corporations.

The public, I suppose, has no say in the matter at all; it must pay for the scamped work of the closed shop just as it has had to pay the price demanded by the corporation. It must be presumed that the public need not be considered because in the view of certain types of labour leaders the public is divided into two classes—those who pay the wages—the exploiters—and the fools—the exploited.

Now in the final court of appeal, where public opinion is the judge, if the fight between capital and labour is to resolve itself into a matter of the closed or open shop, one question may be asked:

Who pays wages?

Who Pays Wages?

It is a simple question, and it appears to me to be usually overlooked in all problems of capital and labour merely because it is so very simple.

If employer and employee alone had to be considered, then labour and capital might fight their battles and the public would have no right to complain. But, fortunately or unfortunately, as the case may be, the employer and employee are purely and simply part of the machinery of our complex civilization. Both, by assuming a position they have no right to occupy, are able today to cause serious if only temporary inconvenience and loss to the working of the world's machinery; and both are able to do it solely because they hold an entirely erroneous and exaggerated idea of their own importance.

"Under the present system of production there are bound to be employers and employed," says Mr. Darrow. That is very true, but it does not define what the word employer means.

Really he is nothing more than a man who collects a certain amount of cash and distributes it as he thinks fair among men who perform the service he demands of them. He can only demand this service—not order it. It is voluntary on the part of the employed. It is possible that unless certain men accept the service they will starve, but from the hard economic point of view that does not alter the fact that the service is voluntary.

The Employer's Services.

The employer himself, however, collects the cash; he is entrusted with it because he performs certain services. He is the middleman standing between the man who exchanges the cash for the performance of a specified duty and the man who receives the cash under similar circumstances. The man who exchanges the cash is designated by the sonorous title of a banker, and what is he? Merely a man to whom the public entrusts its money. He collects cash from thousands of individuals and pays it out again to thousands more. Briefly, there is only one real employer, and that is the public; and in the end, when the problem is examined from the economic point of view, the fight for the closed shop is the fight of one section of the public against another. It is nothing but cutting off one's nose to spite one's face.

The economic mistake always made by the labourer or wage-earner, and thus by a very large majority of the public, is to regard himself and the capitalist as individuals instead of as parts of a great machine performing its specified tasks. When once this fundamental yet simple fact emerges from the welter of theory and practice with which the problems between capital and labour are invariably inextricably woven, it is possible to regard capital and labour not as separate entities, each seeking to "best" the other, but as one indivisible whole without which civilization as we know it is impossible.

"The process of centralization and consolidation is marked by the gradual capitalization of industrial classes—classes which in the very nature of things are mutually hostile," says Mr. Darrow.

In God's name, why?

Cannot Exist Without Capital.

Why should they be mutually hostile? They are indispensable to each other, whatever idealistic socialists may preach. This world cannot exist without capital any more than it can live without labour. The two things are one, for the power to labour is only the capital with which each healthy man is provided as his right by Providence. Cash capital is nothing but a convenient form of exchange between men who have a surplus of one commodity and men who have a surplus of another.

The greater the distribution of cash, or its equivalent value in labour, the greater the purchasing power of capital or labour. Why, then, should labour or capital in the meaning of the terms as interpreted by Mr. Darrow, be hostile to each other? It is a stupidity, a crime, which has only to be realized in all its glaring inconsistency to be finally overcome. When once the important principle that the prosperity of all depends on the purchasing power of all is thoroughly grasped, this bogey of the closed or open shop must disappear.

But Mr. Darrow bases his whole article on the theory that capital and labour are, under present conditions, separate entities and hostile to each other. He proceeds to elaborate on this theory, and states that "the capitalist seeks to get labour as cheaply as possible." This may have been true of the capitalist who had never studied conditions and who knew nothing of economics. But cheap labour simply means the limitation of purchasing power, and the man who makes it his business to distribute the means of exchange or one commodity for another only stultifies his own efforts if he starts with the theory that he must get cheap or inefficient labour. For starved labour must be inefficient. Low wages do not entail labour being cheap. But low wages under excellent conditions may go much further than high wages and wretched conditions.

A False Economy.

"Under the laws of business the employer is interested in keeping the labourer detached from his fellows, and in using the least intelligent and skilful, the most docile and complaisant, for this means greater profit on the finished product," says Mr. Darrow, and betrays himself, as counsel for the defence or plaintiff, whichever cause he is pleading.

Imagine any capitalist or corporation endeavouring to "detach a labourer from his fellows" or using "the least intelligent or skilful" in these days of strenuous competition for the world's markets. In the first place, all successful manufacturing or creating of any kind under modern conditions is dependent on the ability of each individual or part of the whole machinery being able to do its task properly. A mistake by a boy may often cause loss of life and money, just as a break in an elevator shaft will put a flour mill out of business for some hours. In the second place, to detach a labourer from his fellows is as bad as throwing the gearing out—the machinery cannot run properly. It may be that the capitalist endeavours to employ the cheapest labour possible—to use one man where two have formerly worked; to cut down, in fact, the cost of production. The ignorant capitalist—who, by the way, is usually a man who has risen from the ranks of labour—may often be guilty of bad economics, but the educated employer of labour has learnt that it is false economy to sweat his men or give them real cause for discontent.

The truth of the matter is that it is the unions themselves which are withholding from the labouring classes the privileges that many an employer of labour would be only too ready to grant. The employer will not give to the union what he is ready to give to the individual, will not give to the incompetent what he will give to the competent.

Holding Up the Employer.

With regard to cheap labour, there is another point which is never taken into consideration by the unions. They are only too ready to cry out against the oft-quoted sentence of a predatory railway magnate that the true freight rate is all the traffic will bear, but their own dictum goes a step further. "The true wage is all that the employer can be bullied into paying." There is here no question of competition nor of markets. It is merely "how much can he be made to pay" regardless of all circumstances.

This is where unionism has failed utterly and hopelessly.

Has any union, instead of demanding a higher wage ever gone to the employer and asked the cost of production? Very possibly the employer would refuse to give it, but here is exactly where the power of unionism, if rightly wielded, would prove of inestimable benefit to the wage earner. How many unions today know exactly what it costs to produce and market the result of their labour? Can any carpenter or bricklayer working on a contract tell how much money will be saved on that contract if he and his fellows do their utmost to complete it within a certain specified time? No. All the union insists on is that certain men performing certain tasks shall be paid certain wages and work a certain time. But according to Mr. Darrow the great battle between capital and labour is whether that insistence shall be carried to the limit, in other words, whether the union and not the market says what rate shall be paid to every man. Is it not obvious that this is attempting to achieve the impossible, and that the attempt is leading to civil war? Yet it is being extolled by the union officials as the salvation of labour? Is that why men fight for the salvation of the closed shop?

Surface Thinkers.

No doubt Mr. Darrow condemns all such reasoning as purely superficial. "Surface thinkers," he says, "are always condemning, classing as demagogues those who say there is a conflict between capital and labour." Does Mr. Darrow, then, wish it believed that he himself really thinks capital and labour are two separate things, utterly opposed to each other by the nature of their being? Granting all the injustice from which labour has suffered, granting that capital has been and is still in many instances most tyrannical, are the unions going the right way to work to make conditions any better by fighting for the closed shop? That is the question. Granting that Mr. Darrow's diagnosis of the disease is correct, can his mendacious brain think of no better solution to the problem than war?

The good work the unions have accomplished is not to be denied, but now that they have achieved so much it seems as though they wished to prove their power by making despotic use of it. They desire to force the closed shop on employer and employee alike, ostensibly so that the individual labourer may be protected, really so that the official cliques may gain despotic power. They desire to be able to go to the individual employer and demand terms of their own making, and if met with refusal to coerce that employer by not only calling on one union to strike, but all. What the unions are really demanding today is the power to call sympathetic strikes if their local demands do not meet with instant acquiescence. They wish to be able to paralyze industry unless they are obeyed.

An Example from Ireland.

As an example: In Ireland the Amalgamated Railway Union called a general strike because two non-union men employed by a timber merchant handled freight to a railroad. That is the power the unions crave. They want every working man to belong to a union so that at any time the executive body can call general strikes, or, in other words, declare war. Whether a man be only a surface thinker or a student of economics, it is obvious that to give only a small body of men such power is directly opposed to the whole conception of Anglo-Saxon liberty, for which our fathers have fought and died.

Mr. Darrow says that "capital can never understand that labour should have a part in managing the industrial institutions of the land." Yet there are hundreds of well-known institutions which directly contradict this statement. The Metropolitan Gas Works in London, where the workers own a large block of stock in the company and have two seats on the board of directors, has already been mentioned. The late Sir George Livesey was the creator of this form of co-operation, and many large works have followed that example. Even the U. S. Steel Corporation has a system of co-operation with its workers. But when Lord Furness introduced the same system into his great shipbuilding works it failed—why?

Because the unions themselves were its chief opponents. Does Mr. Darrow wish his readers to believe he is so ignorant of labour history that he does not know this, or does he ignore it purposely?

Counsel for the Macnamaras.

As counsel for the MacNamaras, no doubt Mr. Darrow felt justified in laying his point of view before the public. That it is a pessimistic, hopeless

point of view has no weight with him. His every effort is to justify the view of official unionism, not to attempt to show how capital and labour may unite to build up the industry of the continent on a peaceful footing. His article might almost be called a plea for violence on the part of official unionism in order that the end may justify the means. Mr. Darrow is probably entirely right in making this attempt after the amazing revelations published in another magazine at the same period, under the caption "The Dynamiters," which purported to be an interview with Detective Burns on the case for which Mr. Darrow was engaged as counsel for the defence. The latter article undoubtedly would have prejudiced any plain-thinking man against the MacNamaras, and those who have any sense of justice and decency would probably agree that such an article should never have been published. Under British laws the magazine and author would have been heavily mulcted for contempt of court.

But aside from the timeliness of Mr. Darrow's article, it seems to express the faith in which he believes, if a man of a profession can be said to believe in anything outside his clients' interests. And it is against such a belief that public opinion should protest. If this is a faith, if war between labour and capital is a sine qua non of modern industrialism on this continent, then it is time the public, which is always the sufferer in the long run, insisted that those responsible for such a condition should be forced to arbitrate whether they like it or not.

No Legal Status.

Now the union officials are perfectly well aware that an arbitration court would allow the claim of a closed shop. The only possible method of getting a court of any kind to lay down such a principle as legally justifiable would be by the unions electing their own representatives and getting a majority in Parliament favourable to themselves. Even in Australia such a law would have no chance of passing. No representatives who depended on anything but a purely union vote would have a chance of being elected again if they voted for an act which would order the closed shop as one of the laws of the country. For it is just one of those principles which theoretically seem excellent but in practice would be an abomination.

If, then, it be admitted that the closed shop as a law of the land is an impossibility, are the unions either justified or even wise in making it a battle cry? At best they can prevail only in places where a temporary abolition of sympathy on the part of the majority makes it amenable to official unionism or where a split between political parties allows the election of a city, state or federal official whose position depends on the official labour vote as occurred in San Francisco when McCarthy became mayor. Yet apparently Mr. Darrow is at pains to prove that the closed shop is the aim and salvation of unionism. It would seem, therefore, as if unionism were leading a forlorn hope with absolutely no chance of success, and were also sinking hundreds of thousands of dollars in a morass. For years the American Federation of Labour has been fighting for a closed shop in Los Angeles. For years the Territorial Union for one has been assessed for that fight, a fight which cannot be legalized and can only be temporarily successful. Yet to bring about success official unionism is alleged to have not only winked at violence, but directly invited it.

Only Means to Protect Liberty.

Why men fight for the closed shop, says Mr. Darrow, in brief, is because it "is the only means that experience has shown to be essential to protect the liberty workmen have already won, and to give them some chance for the other triumphs yet to be theirs." This, then, promulgates war to the end, for the triumph of the closed shop means the triumph of official unionism detraction. It is as well to distinguish between official unionism and labour, for it is doubtful whether official unionism really is representative of labour as a body. Thousands of union members do not believe in a closed shop as an essential policy, but are content to be led by the mass minority. They recognize that the closed shop must develop into a tyrannical misuse of power if it necessitates cohesive action on the part of all trades to enforce its demands on any one section, and, above all, it denies to any non-union man the right to work.

Surely the closed shop is not the only means to protect the liberty workmen have won. This is the counsel of despair, of pessimism. There is a nobler and higher aim than the selfish interests of any one class. Labour is every whit as gully as capital if it is determined to follow such a counsellor, and when it is arraigned before the tribunal of the people its judgment will be every whit as severe.

Labour and Capital as Co-Partners.

Theoretically capital and labour are enemies forever watching for an opportunity to destroy each other. Practically they are co-partners working for each other's profit. It is curious that in these days of materialism both should apparently prefer theory to practice. It must be obvious to the meanest intelligence that the theory is suicidal for both, and yet the world is treated to the extraordinary spectacle of this deliberate suicide. Is capital desperate? Is labour despairing of any improvement in conditions? Are both capital and labour so utterly childish that they prefer mistrust and deliberately suspect each other of fratricide? It would certainly appear so.

It must be acknowledged that labour has many reasons for its antipathy to capital. There are many employers of labour today whose fundamental idea of business is that labour must be coerced, that it only labours because it must, and that every advantage must be taken of unorganized labour to exploit it to its uttermost. On the other hand, there are good reasons for capital's mistrust. Goodwill on the part of the employer is looked on with suspicion and is turned and twisted by labour officials into deliberate plotting against unionism. Any advance the employer makes of his own free will is usually interpreted as a sign of fear. Business problems are seldom discussed by an employer and his men, and yet a few such discussions would remove many a misunderstanding.

Again there are many employers of labour who, while taking a prominent part in church and social work, are the worst offenders in their attitude towards their employees. In those trades which employ women this is especially the case. The plea that most of the employees live at home and only work to get a little pocket money is merely a salve to their consciences. These are the men who are allegorically responsible for much of the social evil, and yet are the most prominent in their denouncement of immorality. They seldom stop to inquire where and how their employees live. It is a well-known fact that a girl asking for employment which is absolutely necessary to her will state that she lives with her parents in order to get the place that may be offering. Seats for the employees in the dry goods emporiums are seldom provided. Girls are obliged to stand all day long except for the brief interval allowed for lunch. It is said that these emporiums are the recruiting grounds for much of the white slave traffic. There is a great deal alleged under that head which is not true, but it is obvious that the conditions under which women work have much to do with the conditions under which they live.

A Magnificent Opportunity.

Let there be no mistake about this. Capital has a magnificent opportunity in British Columbia to exorcise the evil spirit that has arisen between it and labour. It is not a question so much of profit and loss as a question of commonsense. Conditions in British Columbia are such that the whole problem is practically in its infancy. If once a right basis is established, if once employers determine that a right spirit will be shown, the clouds that bank so darkly on the horizon will give way to the sunshine of perfect understanding.

Employers' associations might insist that every member to be in good standing should conform to a certain standard. The principle of a minimum wage could be established in certain trades with due regard for conditions. Those conditions depend chiefly on the cost of living. Capital might be most profitably employed in connection with decent apartment houses for strata, where they could live at reasonable cost. Neither religion nor narrow-minded supervision should be allowed to destroy the value of such apartments. Freedom and Trust are two essentials in dealing with such matters.

The entire housing problem is one that is closely related to the problem of capital and labour, and once contentment and happiness can be instilled into the workers, half the problem, if not the whole, is solved.

Want of Common Sense.

Labour in its demands is often most unjust. A crying example of its crass stupidity is afforded by the case of a city paying \$3 a day to all labourers on city work and cutting down the hospital appropriations in order to meet its added expense. Here again the difference between married and unmarried men is not taken into account. It would be far better to pay \$2.50 a day to unmarried men and \$3.50 a day to the married—but any man that suggested such a thing would be thought mad. Yet it is obvious that in a new country married men are worth more than the unmarried.

But to stint a city hospital of funds is nothing but a disgrace to that city. It is seldom a question of extravagant management or mismanagement. The blame for that might easily be apportioned. It is merely

an illustration of the lack of common sense in dealing with the most vital things to the life and health of the city. The workmen consider the \$3 a day as a concession to their voting power, not as a direct contribution by the public which should have gone to the hospital. It is not necessary to take \$3 a day as a standard, but merely as an illustration.

Imagine the astonishment of the community if labour, instead of demanding \$3 a day, had said \$17.50 a week should be the minimum wage and 50c a week should be subscribed by the city to the hospital for every man on its payrolls! Such an object lesson in unselfishness would have been hailed as the dawn of the millennium. But the hospital being supported by taxes which in many cases are not paid by the workmen, they would argue they have nothing whatever to do with it. It is not so much selfishness as short sightedness, which in this case as in the whole problem of the Closed Shop, is the basis of the trouble.

NOTE.—

In the foregoing some of the vital points of the relations between capital and labour in British Columbia have been touched upon. Since the articles were written many things have happened. The boom in real estate ended as anyone with any foresight could see it must end one day, and consequently a large part of the activities of the province came to more or less of a standstill. In 1912 the Balkan war unsettled the money markets, and revolutions in Mexico did not help restore confidence. At the conclusion of the Balkan war it was obvious that the whole of Europe was in such an unsettled state that at any time a great International war of world-wide scope might break out. As many had foreseen, but few on this continent at any rate would admit, Germany's plans for "the day" reached their climax at the end

of July, 1914, and Armageddon, as it has often been called, broke loose at the beginning of August. The natural result followed.

This brought matters all over the world to a climax. It was the opportunity for a taking of stock and realizing the fundamentals of our economic existence. It caused wide distress, and the resultant crash of many speculative concerns owing to their inability to realize on their real estate securities was natural. A general house cleaning took place. This brought the remedy for most of our troubles much closer, and the following portions of this pamphlet are an attempt to show how this European war may prove our salvation. They were mostly written long before the war broke out and were originally drafted as part of the problem of capital and labour.

IV. THE REMEDY.

THE TWO GREAT PROBLEMS.

FROM the foregoing I think it will be plain that the two greatest problems the Government and People of British Columbia have to face are **LAND AND LABOUR.**

It has been perfectly obvious for the last five years that the rise in price of Land and Labour would eventually lead to a cessation in the markets for both. If there be no market for a product, no amount of dwelling on the wonderful future before a country can help it to sell its goods in the present.

The Railway Construction Policy of the present Government was based on the necessity of opening up the country presumably so that its raw materials could be marketed.

But the cost of opening up the country, that is to say, the cost of construction, as compared with the value of the materials to be marketed, does not appear to have been carefully estimated.

Capital Cost.

This Capital Cost has been enormously increased by the fact that the Government has always insisted on a minimum wage clause in all contracts. Any Government similarly situated would have done the same thing in order to secure the votes of labouring men. But the fact that a minimum wage could be entirely offset by the conditions under which the men worked was somewhat overlooked, at least by those who were most anxious for that minimum to be established.

It is an undoubted fact that while contractors and their subsidiary friends can make money on Government contracts of this nature, the actual workmen, the foreign section men, who do the actual work and co-operate for the purpose of grading a mile or two, only get the skimmed milk after the cream of the profit has been raked off; often the sub-contractor who gives them the job, goes into liquidation towards the end of the work, owing usually something to the contractor higher up.

Political Patronage and Contracts.

This whole question of the letting of contracts is a scandal known to all who have ever considered politics in Canada. The more hands a contract passes through the more support for the political party in power. Patronage and contracts go hand in hand. The support of the contractors is valuable in more senses than one. Thus one piece of work which could be done and paid for in one step, usually goes through several paces, all of which cost money.

Thus a great opportunity of making conditions attractive to workmen is lost. The only compensation the workmen have is the high rate of pay while it lasts.

Under such circumstances is it any wonder that no provision whatsoever for handling the labour problem on an organized basis has yet been tackled? Everyone apparently fears to tackle it. Yet if sympathetically, honestly and firmly handled, it should not prove insoluble or above our intelligence.

Minimum Wage Too High.

Under conditions as they exist today, politicians—or all those who look for some monetary advantage through their connection with politics—of whatever colour, Liberal, Conservative, Labour, Socialist, force the Government's hand by insisting that even the municipalities pay a high rate of wages. When municipalities, at enormous expense, have done a certain amount of development work they usually have to shut down their work for lack of cash.

The fact is admitted that there is no lack of work, but merely lack of cash. The truth is there is no lack of cash if the work can be shown to be commensurate with the price paid for doing it.

When municipalities cease their activities and the Government begins to economize, the effect is paralyzing on all industry in the Province.

The only kind of economy visible at the moment is the stepping of work and the cutting down of current expenses. That, of course, is the policy pursued by the manufacturer who has been over-producing.

Land Settlers.

Is there not an inexhaustible source of wealth in the land of British Columbia? Can that not be exploited by labour, properly organized?

The Government states that it is opening up the land at its disposal to settlers by means of its Railway construction policy. Let it be granted that this claim of the Government is justified. How many settlers have actually settled and stayed on the land opened up by railway construction in the last five years?

What has been the cost to the settlers of their settlement?

What capital have these settlers put into the land?

Is it not true that in many cases their hearts have been broken by the conditions they have had to face, long before they have had any chance of getting any income out of the land they have pre-empted? Settlers there doubtless are who have made a great success of settlement in the interior, but have not these settlers earned the title "old-timers," who usually squatted on the land when they first came into the country?

The Government and Land.

On the other hand, the purchase of land from the Government gives rise to a certain natural condition which is liable to prove most enervating to the whole community. The Government, no particular kind of Government, but any Government, is in the position of a salesman desirous of making good returns. The money received from land sales goes into revenue. The more land sold the better the revenue. To encourage the buying of land, would it not be perfectly natural for the Government to say to the buyer: "We offer you this land on easy terms. We will build roads, trails and bridges into the land you buy, and assist you in every way possible to open it up for settlement."

On the face of it this might be an excellent policy, but it is fatal.

For when the Government has sold land in this manner, as has been said, it does not insist on immediate payment. It makes easy terms, and according to the Government's own admissions there is today a sum of over \$13,000,000 outstanding on payments overdue for land. This figure has probably been increased rather than lessened in the last year.

Under such conditions it has been possible for a man to pay, say, \$5,000 cash for 5,000 acres of Government land, subdivide it, and advertise it as a townsite: 100 lots the purchaser might sell at \$50 a lot, which covers his original cash payment; another 100 lots may represent his outlay for the survey, etc.; every lot he sells over that is clear profit. Thus if he subdivides and markets, by means of a map, 1,000 acres with only seven lots to the acre, he would net \$350,000. Having done so much he pays the Government nothing more, but uses the money for other purposes.

This may seem an extreme illustration, but is it?

No Solution of the Main Problem.

There is no reason at all why, if the pre-emption policy is good, it should not be continued; but it does not in the least solve the main problems of the country.

Population must be attracted if there is to be wealth, and that population should not necessarily have any money.

But if the population has no money, it must have strength to work. That is the only line that runs. A worker is a producer; a non-worker is wastage.

Therefore the first problem to be solved is how to bring in population and assure it work under any conditions.

I have pointed out that in the uncleared lands fit for agricultural purposes there lies an enormous source of wealth. The clearance and settlement of these lands should be the first and principal policy not only of a government but of the people.

Such a policy must necessarily include the problems of immigration and labour.

The labour problem is not separate from but inextricably involved with the land problem. The immigration problem, while finally a Dominion policy, can be influenced by the special circumstances of our case.

V. THE SOLUTION.

THE basis on which the whole policy must be founded is the attraction of immigrants by certain well-advertised conditions.

These conditions are two:—

Land for all and employment for all.

Land for all is the natural outcome of employment for all on the basis indicated in my proposals as set out herewith.

While it is true these proposals are made more or less in view of present conditions brought about by the war, they were originated long before the war and have only been redrafted and put together with an eye to the conditions caused by the war. They can be made the permanent basis of employment.

By adopting a plan along some such lines, British Columbia revolutionizes her conditions. She will have an adequate and elastic supply of labor, which will be contented because it not only has decent wages when at work, which may be spasmodic, but the fear of being out of work is eliminated by having the land to fall back on.

It must be remembered that the war has brought about a revolution, the far-reaching effects of which can only be surmised at present. But it has already made plain that we have to change not only our mode of life but our mode of thought. The old grooves are worn out and the wheel of life can run in them no longer.

A Central Authority

I therefore propose the establishment of a central authority which would see that every settler coming into British Columbia and every one out of employment was classified and registered so as to ascertain certain essential facts.

These are, whether a man is married, has a trade, or can be classed as a casual worker.

The casual worker is as necessary to modern conditions as the skilled artisan.

The register should give the age, state of health, etc., of the registered.

Women must be similarly classified if they are alone.

Families, married and unmarried people come under different heads.

A careful list of all public lands—that is, lands owned by the Provincial Government—should be compiled by the central authority. In addition a complete list of the lands which have been sold and only partially paid for, together with the amounts paid and owing, etc.

Cities and municipalities should have lists of vacant lots and any land not improved, open to the central authority.

There should be a complete analysis by this authority of the public works being carried on by the Provincial Government, and the wages paid and being paid on such work, with contractors' and sub-contractors' names.

It would be established whether the people employed on all such work, whether carried on by the government, cities or municipalities, were married, unmarried, transients, casuals, permanent residents. Their citizenship would be ascertained.

Having diagnosed the conditions accurately by such means, the remedy can be applied.

There are certain facts, however, which must be kept in mind.

The Standard Wage.

Even under present conditions no relief work should be paid at such rates as to become a burden on those who are trying to provide the relief. It is impossible to distinguish between distress caused by war and distress caused by bad times.

If relief funds are to be used for general relief they should not be used to bolster up a fictitious wage of \$2.50 or \$3.00 a day. That is to say, wages of this sort should not be paid from relief funds for relief work.

The standard wage of \$3.00 a day has turned men who might be producing something, into day laborers for the municipalities. It has turned farmers into contractors and caused the building, at an enormous expenditure of capital, of roads, trails, sidewalks and railways, which are not absolutely necessary.

It has made the lumber mills substitute Oriental for white labour and shut off white people from all kinds of work. As long as everything was prosperous no one cared. The natural consequence now is that THE PRICES OF BOTH LAND AND LABOUR ARE SO HIGH THAT THEY CANNOT BE MARKETED.

Organization Needed.

RELIEF WORK IS TO RELIEVE, NOT KEEP WAGES UP.

It is a fundamental error to try and approach this problem from that of previous standards.

It must be approached not from the point of view of wages, nor on what a man can live, nor the rent he pays, but as a problem of efficient organization.

In British Columbia, Nature is the foe as far as land is concerned. To clear it we must organize our forces on a proper basis and set to work to conduct our campaign as cheaply as possible.

The civic or provincial authorities, or any people who have land to be cleared, for that matter, should apply to the central authority for labour to clear that land.

The value of the land today in its wild condition and the value of the land improved should be ascertained.

All land should be chosen for its capabilities in producing something.

Powers of Central Authority.

The central authority should have full powers to erect and maintain properly equipped camps for clearing land. These camps should be under the supervision and authority of camp superintendents, who should be chosen for their knowledge of men and also of camps. Ex-army service corps officers would probably be excellent men for such positions, and it would be better to employ married men as such superintendents, as the camps would have to provide for married as well as unmarried people. Much may be learned from the experience of military camps, and although the use of the word "military" may prejudice certain people against the principles of such camps, yet it is the best word when used as a description of the standard camp.

There should be appointed from among the unemployed, men of character as assistant superintendents who would supervise sections of the camps, and be in fact camp officers.

There should be properly heated and ventilated wooden buildings for recreation purposes. Papers should be supplied and amusements. A proper canteen should be established. Women and children should have proper provision made for them.

Tents would have to be properly handled every morning, kits looked after, etc. Women could do much of this work and cooking and washing for the camp.

Organization of Camps.

Supposing 200 men set to work to clear 250 acres and make it ready for settlement.

The capital investment would be for tents, accommodation, and tools. All the work would be done by those out of employment.

Every ten men might form a section; every fifty men a company, and so on. There would arise an esprit de corps among the men at work as to which company did the best work.

Every camp should have a proper staff for book-keeping, superintendence, complaints, medical attention, sanitation, education of children, etc.

Well educated men and women who have had experience are today starving or in jobs for which they are totally unfitted. They could very well fill these billets on the same basis as the men actually in the fighting line.

Financial Basis.

Promotion and thus better pay should be given according to ability.

The financial basis of the scheme might be as follows:—

Every man should receive 25c a day; assistant superintendents, 35c; superintendents, 50c; deputies, 75c a day.

Board and lodging would be free to all. Three good meals would be provided every day. No man need worry, as no man need starve. Wages are really for tobacco and little extra luxuries.

A proper canteen should be run for the camp, under an efficient officer appointed to look after all stores.

The cost to the city or other authority per head could soon be calculated. I do not believe that it would cost as much as 50c a day per head on a basis of this kind to feed men and women properly, but this figure can be used as an illustration.

On such a basis to run a camp of 200 people would roughly cost:—

Wages for men per head, 25c, 175 men per day	\$42.75
20 assistant superintendents, per head, 35c, per day	7.00
4 superintendents, per head, 50c per day	2.00
8ay 2 deputies, per head, 75c per day	1.50
Total per day	\$54.25
100 women, cooks, etc., say	\$30.00
Total	\$84.25
312 days in year at, say, \$85.00 per day	\$26,520
Capital outlay on tents, tools, etc., say	8,975
Food 50c a day, per head, 200 people, 365 days	36,590
Total	\$71,995

Supposing the whole of this outlay applied to only 250 acres, the cost per acre would be just \$288; but in a year there would be much more than 250 acres cleared. If 1,000 only were cleared, the cost would be \$72 an acre.

Settled by Workers.

Supposing the land thus cleared were at the same time settled by the workers. That is to say, when one acre had been cleared it was at once put into cultivation.

Chickens, pigs, etc., would be supplied by the authorities and credited to the owner in lieu of wages.

Under such conditions every settler would get not only 25c a day while clearing but might be credited with an extra rate of \$1.75 a day, or even more in land.

Other officers of the settlement would be appointed when land was cleared, just as other administrative officers are appointed when a country is occupied. People have to be taught how to cultivate the soil just as a man has to learn how to use machinery.

Proper housing accommodation would be built by similar means on this cleared land by relief labor.

The cost of some would be charged against the extra wages in land credited to the settler.

At the end of a year it would be found that the central authority would have, say, 1,000 acres of land cleared and probably at least 100 settlers, all producing something. Eggs, butter, pigs, poultry, vegetables of all kinds would be an asset to the whole community. The marketing would all be done on a co-operative basis.

The people should be self-supporting in a very short while, and the central authority would have an asset of incalculable value and would have increased the purchasing power of the community by a very large sum. The land alone would be yielding a revenue and thus interest on all money expended.

Compare this with the present method of doing out charity or making work which is not really necessary.

Merely an Example.

This is merely an example of what might be done. I do not pretend that it is a scheme worked out to the minutest details. My object is to present a line

of thought which gives infinite opportunities for expansion. There are all kinds of schemes for settling people on the land and for dealing with unemployment. Usually they deal with the necessity for land settlement, but do not show how it is to be carried out. I have assumed that everybody is now convinced of the absolute necessity for land settlement and that it is no use giving statistics regarding the importation of produce which might well be grown in British Columbia. If once people can be brought to think along certain definite lines and present their ideas in concrete form, half the battle is won.

Various proposals have recently been made for land clearing as a method of relief. But I have endeavored to approach the subject not only as a problem of the unemployed, but as a larger problem which must embrace immigration. I do not believe in temporary measures, but in the adoption of some permanent policy which will serve as a basis for the whole of our economic and social life.

Co-operation the Outcome.

I have not attempted, for instance, to show how co-operation, land, banks and other policies of this nature will help conditions in British Columbia. These must and will be the natural outcome of a policy established on a firm basis. I have attempted to get at the root of the matter and find a solution.

It is obvious that land cleared for private owners under this system would be a contract made with the central authority. The men would have to be hired just as under any other circumstances.

In connection with the camps there should be proper employment bureaus. Every employer wanting men would have to apply to the bureau, stating the work to be done and the rate of wages offered. If the wages were not considered sufficient, the government would say so and demand higher wages. But before doing so obviously it would inquire at what price the product of its labour could be marketed.

There would be an immense saving in charity work by such a scheme. No one would be allowed to be out of work. People who refuse to work are not worthy of help. They are simply a drag on the community and can be dealt with by the courts. Lots of men drift into the ranks of those who will not work simply because there is no work.

Everyone to Work.

An objection sure to be made is that a scheme of this kind would tend to lower wages all round and make a wage earner entirely dependent on the government.

The answer to that objection is that, firstly, it is better for everyone to have work and be able to live decently.

Secondly, that there would be an excellent supervision of wage scales which would be based on the conditions of the business and not on artificial conditions.

Thirdly, that the cost of living would tend downwards owing to the increased production of farm produce bringing down the cost of living.

Fourthly, that the land clearing scheme need have nothing to do with ordinary public works, but the government and municipalities would, like any other employers, have to apply to the central authority for labourers. Both the wage-earner and the wage-payer would be perfectly free agents, but the central authority would be in the position to advise either the one or the other, and above all to inform the public as to conditions.

Another objection which might be urged is that there would be a constant transient crowd of men employed who would get small wages and no credit in land.

The answer to that is that the credit for work done other than wages paid might be given to the man like a time check and would be as good as money as it would be on the government credit. At first this might not be possible, but at first there would be a less transient lot of men employed. Later on the credit payments would be as good as cash and no doubt the banks would take them under agreement with the government. A check could always be placed on this.

Moreover, there would be no compulsion regarding other employment. Many men might think they were better off getting 25c a day, food, lodging and land under agreeable circumstances than earning \$3.00 a day under disagreeable circumstances. The employers would have to make their work attractive.

No Land for Settlement.

Another objection sure to be urged is that the government has no vacant lands for settlement, and that in order to carry out any such scheme as the foregoing, land would have to be purchased at a high price.

It has been pointed out, however, that the government is owed large sums of money on lands. The central authority having once analyzed the whole situation, would be able to find out what lands were available close to the present large centres of population. Moreover, if drastic remedies are necessary, then they must be taken. It is no use crying over spilt milk and saying that all available lands have been alienated. If these lands are held for speculative purposes and have not been paid for, some arrangement must be come to with the owners.

There are millions of acres in the Peace River district which could be given in exchange for lands alienated in those districts deemed suitable for land settlement schemes. The government must deal fairly with those people who have bought land in good faith. But land capable of agricultural development which is held merely for a speculative rise in value, is an asset of incalculable value to the whole community and must be treated as such.

A Great Advertisement.

It is obviously to the advantage of all those who own land in this province, if under a scheme of this nature, British Columbia is advertised to all the world as a place where all who will work are welcome, whether they have money or not. The real value of such an advertisement as an economic factor in our welfare has never been tested. We have to enter into competition with other places trying to attract immigrants. Under this scheme British Columbia offers to all who will come, first work, then land. The work done would in itself be a wonderful training. There is no denying the efficiency of the Germans, largely gained through their excellent military training. British Columbia applies the same principle to the land. Instead of compulsory military training, a man serves his time cultivating or clearing the land. If he is a skilled worker, such as a carpenter, there will be work on building settlers' houses, etc. It is all a matter of proper organization.

In this connection a comparatively small point comes to mind. The government has granted several millions of acres to the British Columbia University as an endowment.

Endowment Like University.

I have suggested a central authority outside the sphere of politics. The central authority should not be a government department any more than the university. It might be endowed under similar conditions, and, like the Department of Education, it might have a regular minister. Supposing the government endowed it with several millions of acres, would it not be possible for the central authority to make terms with owners of lands specially fitted for such clearing and settlement?

Is education very much more important than a proper scheme of land settlement? What is the use of a magnificent university if we have no population? How is the university to be maintained without population? The resulting increase in population from such a scheme as is here suggested would be enormous.

Another possible objection to the scheme is that it could not be financed. The schedule at the end of this article has been drawn up with a view to giving some ideas as to the method by which the scheme can be financed and turned into an excellent asset for the province.

Careful Administration Wanted.

No doubt the details of these figures can easily be criticized. In drawing them up, certain facts have been taken into consideration. First, that they must be made as clear as possible, and therefore no very intricate calculations need be indulged in. Second, that it is better to err on the side of cost than on the side of economy. That is, the figures have been made high on the debit side and low on the credit. One of the greatest featers in Lord Kitchener's cap has been the fact that he was the first general who ever sent into the War Office an estimate in detail for the war against the Khalifa. When told to go ahead and do the work, he carried it out at below contract price.

In the same way, in this case, careful administration and organization free of politics could carry out this scheme at below the estimate. It is really nothing but business, and very good business at that, as the figures show.

It has been necessary to make the calculation as if the whole scheme were being carried out in one place, otherwise the figures would simply be muddling.

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES AND RETURNS ON LAND SETTLEMENT SCHEME.

ESTIMATED number of people dealt with, 25,000; 15,000 men, 5,000 women, 5,000 children.

Workers estimated as 15,000 men and 5,000 women. All workers paid on basis of 25c a day cash and \$1.75 per day in land.

WAGES.

Workers divided as follows:

14,000 men at 25c a day.....	\$3,500.00
1,000 superintendents, various grades, average wage, 40c a day.....	400.00
4,500 women at 25c a day.....	1,125.00
500 women superintendents at 40c a day.....	200.00
	\$5,225.00
312 working days in year. Total cost in wages per year.....	\$1,630,200.00

FOOD.

20,000 people at 50c a day.....	\$10,000.00
5,000 children at 25c a day.....	1,250.00
	\$11,250.00
265 days in year. Total cost in food per year.....	\$4,106,250.00

EXPENSES.

Transportation.....	\$ 50,000.00
1,000 tents at commencement, \$20 each.....	20,000.00
Tools, spades, picks, mattocks, etc.....	50,000.00
Plows, engines, wire rope, etc.....	50,000.00
Lumber, 6 1/4 million feet at \$16 per 1,000.....	100,000.00
	\$270,000.00

TOTALS.

Wages.....	\$1,630,200.00
Food.....	4,106,250.00
Expenses.....	270,000.00
	\$6,006,450.00
Say, \$6,000,000.00.	

CLEARING LAND.

15,000 men will clear at least 10 acres of land per man in one year.....	150,000 acres
150,000 acres cleared at cost of.....	\$6,000,000.00
Cost per acre.....	\$40.00

There is enough margin left here for roads, drains, plowing and preparing land for settlement. Some estimates give land cleared in gangs, 15 acres per man, some 12. This allows a good margin over 10 acres for other work. All valuable timber is used for building houses, fences, sidewalks, drains, etc. There should be no waste.

SETTLEMENT.

In 4-acre lots; labor all paid as above. There should be a great saving on these figures.

Material for cottage and fencing, etc.....	\$240.00
Furnishing; stoves, etc.....	150.00
Stock; pigs, chickens, seeds.....	250.00
	\$640.00

PRICE OF LAND.

Central authority to charge \$50 an acre for ready-made farms stocked. Each 4-acre farm would cost.....	\$200.00
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TOTAL COST OF FARMS OF 4 ACRES.

Clearing at \$40 an acre.....	\$ 160.00
Charge by authority.....	200.00
Cost of settlement.....	640.00
	\$1,000.00

CREDIT to wages \$1.75 per day for 312 days.....	546.00
Balance owed to authority.....	\$ 454.00
Annual interest at 6 per cent. on \$454.00.....	\$27.24
Annual charge to Sinking Fund, 20 years, say \$20 a year.....	20.00
Annual payments for farms.....	\$47.24
TO IMMIGRANTS—Cost of whole farm without wage credit.....	\$1,000.00
Interest at 6 per cent. per annum.....	\$ 60.00
20-year Sinking Fund, say \$40.....	40.00
Annual payment.....	\$ 100.00

FINANCING OF WHOLE SCHEME.

Liability.

Cost of clearing 150,000 acres as above.....	\$ 6,000,000.00
15 per cent. of all land reserved for schools, parks, roads, experimental farms, etc., equal 22,500 acres. For settlement, 127,500 acres in 4-acre lots, each lot costing \$640 to settle.....	20,400,000.00
	\$26,400,000.00

Asset Created.

31,875 4-acre blocks at \$1,000 each.....	\$31,875,000.00
Leaving a balance of \$5,475,000.00, without taking into account value of the 15 per cent. reserve.	

Debit.

\$26,400,000 at 5 per cent., 40-year bonds—	
Annual interest charge.....	\$1,320,000.00
Annual sinking fund.....	650,000.00
Annual charge.....	\$1,970,000.00

Credit.

31,875 annual payments of \$47.24.....	\$1,504,770.00
Taxes, say \$20 a year per farm.....	637,500.00
	\$2,142,270.00

Annual balance, \$172,270.00.

Administration, say \$100,000.00 per year.

The above shows cost of whole scheme if same could be undertaken in one year, and if land were all settled entirely by people who had earned wages, and therefore were entitled to a large credit. Clearing of land might be so undertaken, but the settlement would be spread over a much longer period.

Partial Settlement Only.

The following figures show scheme allowing for whole of clearance, but settlement of only (A) 5,000 of the workers and (B) 5,000 new settlers, immigrants, who have no money, and who of course would have no credit in wages.

Settlement of 10,000 people, 4 acres each. Cost of clearing whole 150,000 acres.....	\$ 6,000,000.00
Cost of settling 40,000 acres at \$640 per 4-acre farm.....	6,400,000.00
	\$12,400,000.00

Interest at 5 per cent. on cost \$620,000.00
 Sinking Fund, 40 years..... 300,000.00
 \$920,000.00

(A) 20,000 acres settled by 5,000 people paying as before \$47.24 as interest, etc..... \$236,200.00
 Taxes, \$20 a year..... 100,000.00
 \$336,200.00

(B) 20,000 acres settled by 5,000 people paying 6 per cent. interest on \$1,000, or \$60 a year, and Sinking Fund, \$1,000, or \$40 a year..... \$500,000.00
 Taxes, \$20 a year .. 100,000.00
 600,000.00
 \$936,000.00
 Annual credit balance \$ 16,200.00

It is obvious, however, that the whole charge of clearing 150,000 acres should not really be reckoned against settlement of 40,000 acres.

If only 40,000 acres be reckoned as cleared:
 Cost of clearing, \$40 an acre..... \$1,600,000.00
 Cost of settlement..... 6,400,000.00
 \$8,000,000.00

Interest at 5 per cent on cost..... \$400,000.00
 Sinking Fund, 40 years..... 200,000.00
 \$600,000.00

Settlement of (A) and (B) returns, as above..... \$336,200.00
 Administration..... \$100,000.00
 700,000.00
 \$336,200.00
 Annual credit balance..... \$236,200.00

Balance of land cleared under whole scheme, 37,500 acres (after making allowance for 40,000 acres settled and 15 per cent. for roads, experimental farms, etc.) cost \$40 per acre to clear and charge of \$50 per acre by authority, or \$90 per acre.

Value of balance of cleared land, \$7,875,000.00.

TRANSIENTS.

It is assumed that not all people employed clearing land would become settlers. Many would be transients, temporarily out of employment. The total would fluctuate considerably year by year.

While the scheme proposed is primarily to encourage land settlement by any one unable to take up land, it is also to deal with the problem of casual labour and unemployment.

The latter would not be paid at the same rate for their labour as people who wished to settle.

It is suggested that they should receive 25c a day like the others, but only \$1.00 a day credit in land.

Supposing there were 10,000 such transients in a year, and they worked on an average three months and then gave place to others, they would receive at the end of the three months a cheque for, say, \$90.

But the 10,000 must be reckoned as an average for the year of 312 working days, so the total cost would be \$3,120,000.

The authority would have issued cheques to this amount.

The cheques should be in the nature of a 4 per cent. bond.

They would be secured against the asset of cleared land not settled, which has been shown to be valued at \$7,875,000, and would be a first charge on same.

Debit.

10,000 men's wages at 25c a day for 312 days..... \$ 780,000.00
 10,000 men's food at 50c a day for 365 days..... 1,825,000.00
 10,000 men's cheques in lieu of land, as above..... 3,120,000.00
 \$5,725,000.00

Asset Credit.

10,000 men clear 10 acres each..... 100,000
 15 per cent. allowance..... 15,000
 Acres..... 85,000
 Valued at \$90 per acre as before..... \$7,650,000.00
 Credit balance..... \$1,925,000.00

VI. CONCLUSION.

LABOUR often cries for shorter hours and demands the same wage. If factories of any kind were so situated that their employees each owned a certain amount of land these employees would be able to produce something when not working in the factory.

For instance, it might be possible to combine work on the basis of two, six-hours-per-day, shifts. The factory would work twelve hours, but the employees only six, and would have time to spend two or three hours a day working in their plots, keeping chickens, or something of that nature. They would combine factory and rural outdoor life. Their wages in the factory might be only \$2.00 a day, but they would have at hand their own homes, rent free—and their land out of which they could earn enough to help in making a decent living. That would be better than being paid \$5.00 a day and not knowing when there would be work and when there would not. The result of a factory combining rural life would give an immense impetus to all industry, and conduce to the health and contentment of the workers.

The workmen in a business should always have an intelligent knowledge of the cost of production and the price at which the goods they make have to be marketed. This would give them interest in their work which is often lacking. All factories, as far as possible, should be on the co-operative system so that the workers would have a direct monetary interest in their work.

An Ideal to Aim at.

This would not be possible at first, but it should be kept as an ideal and experiments towards realizing the ideal could be made. Any idea that these sort of things can be done in a night by a stroke of the pen is absurd. They might form, however, a definite basis for a policy looking to the amelioration of conditions and the establishing in British Columbia of a high plane of civilization on the experience of other countries.

It is more than probable that this whole scheme may be stigmatised in some quarters or praised in others as a Socialist experiment. I do not know why it should be labelled by any "ism." If it has any merit that merit lies in its appeal to common sense. Anyone who thinks at all about the conditions of the country in which he lives must have some definite convictions and these at best are subject to change or should be according to the circumstances. Inelasticity of policy, whether that policy is radical or conservative, socialistic or syndicalist, is the bane of so many reforms. There is no need to lay down any hard and fast rules as to what constitutes a policy. A policy is usually something of a generalization. It is probably the result of a compromise between several people who desire to push forward either their own personal interests or ambitions—if they have sufficient authority—or who have a genuine desire to improve the conditions under which we all live.

State Interference.

Frankly speaking I do not advocate too much state interference in the life of the people of a state.

Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, in his code of laws laid down that:—

"It is incumbent upon the State to see to the feeding, employment, and payment of all those who cannot support themselves, and those who have no claim to the help of the lord of the manor, or to the help of the commune; it is necessary to provide such persons with work which is suitable to their strength and their capacity."

Price Collier, the American, says this is "energetic pontifical Socialism which always ends by paying the individual, and through the individual the state, with the blight of demagogical theoretical legislation."

He also adds:—

"A year in Germany ought to cure any sensible workman of the notion that the State is a better guardian of his purse and powers than he is himself."

Probably both Frederick the Great and Price Collier are right. The difficulty is to find the mean between the right of the state and the right of individual development. A really constitutional government is supposed to express the will of the majority of the people, but often in the hands of clever men it becomes as much of a despotism as purely bureaucratic forms of government. There may be as much despotic control exercised by a labour government as a military one. The latter is likely to be the more efficient as it does not depend upon the vote of the people and therefore does not have to pander to various interests. The result, however, of such a military despotism is seen in the case of Germany.

Socialism a Broad Word.

On the other hand the inefficiency and constant changes and corruption notoriously existent in the French government before the war began is largely ascribed to socialism or what passes as such.

Today socialism is a very broad word with any number of meanings. To the sheer reactionary every kind of reform is socialism, to the syndicalist socialism is conservatism. The reactionary and the syndicalist are almost a case of extremes meeting. I do not believe in the state ownership of the means of production nor do I believe it possible for all workmen to own their tools of production. I believe however that there is always a common meeting ground which it would pay both capital and labour to find. I no more believe in the absolute control of labour by the means of their Unions than I believe in control by any form of despotism. I recognise the enormous value of Unions and the work they have done but there is a limit to their legitimate activities just as there is a limit to the legitimate activities of capital. Neither the one nor the other should be able to establish a monopoly. The real danger of too much state ownership or control is the fact that the state officials depend for their position on the vote of the people and therefore they are always anxious to stand well with the political powers that be.

To me it seems possible to establish the maximum of efficiency with the minimum of state control if only human nature is taken into account. There is no such thing as the Millenium and if there were no discontent there could be no progress. Ambition must be allowed full scope. The world today is caught between the past of no education and the present of half education. It is proving that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. But that should not make men despair. It should however make them think.

What Sort of Community?

Supposing some such scheme as I have suggested were adopted, some people are inclined to ask what sort of community would be established. They wonder whether it would be socialist, co-operative, democratic or conservative. What does it matter what the community thinks as long as it thinks? By the establishment of a central authority entirely free from political trammels the community would be interested in politics largely as they affected their immediate interests. As these interests would not only be agricultural but industrial, the community would probably have several policies. The great thing is that they should be interested in something. The problems of the day often become embittered merely because one party or the other finds the mass of the people indifferent to all except their own material interests. Circumstances are largely the cause of this indifference.

State control of such a scheme of land settlement might be thought necessary, but the state need not control this scheme any more than it controls the Canadian Northern Railway or is controlled by it, owing to the fact that it has guaranteed the bonds of the railway. All that I ask is that a central authority be established and that the provincial government guarantee its bonds. The authority would have to do its own financing. An individual person or a syndicate of persons could undertake the work if the government would endow it with the necessary land and guarantee its bonds. Under such circumstances the scheme would have to be run efficiently and on a proper business-like basis. The syndicate could even pay the government the usual pre-emptors price for the land. The government might control the syndicate to the same extent as it controls the Canadian Northern.

Railway Guarantees.

With regard to the financing of the scheme on such a basis attention has only to be called to the fact that the British Columbia Government up to March

31, 1913, guaranteed railway bonds to no less a sum than \$59,262,072 principal and interest. Would not a land scheme of this nature be a better security and more likely to produce an excellent revenue than a railway? Which would be best for the country? Would a railway undertake to settle over 30,000 people on the land all of whom would be producers? Have not railways been granted thousands of acres of land if only they will build into a country? Anyone who thinks for one moment whether a land settlement scheme of this nature or a railway would be most profitable must inevitably decide on the land scheme.

In conclusion, I can only trust that at least something will be done towards endeavouring to tackle this problem. It must be done soon and done properly. It should be kept out of politics, yet it is obvious that it might well be adopted as a policy of any party which wanted to appeal to the people of British Columbia.

L. W. MAKOVSKI.

A SUGGESTED RESOLUTION FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A
CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO DEAL WITH LAND
SETTLEMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

WHEREAS the present conditions with regard to Industry and Employment in this Province of British Columbia are such as to cause grave concern to all those who have at heart the well being of the whole community, both in the present and the future;

AND WHEREAS, these conditions have been largely brought about by the high price of *land* and of *labour*;

AND WHEREAS, the present war in Europe has undoubtedly accentuated these conditions, but at the same time has stimulated the whole British Empire to energetic action for the purpose of developing and maintaining the resources of the Empire;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Government of this Province be called upon to immediately adopt, by Order in Council, measures for the relief of the aforesaid conditions by appointing a non-political, independent Commission, consisting of representatives from the business, political and labour sections of the Province with full authority to put into effect a practical scheme of land clearing and settlement, which will serve the double purpose of giving employment and creating an asset of immense value to the country.

The Commission should be empowered to appoint a Central Authority to carry out the policy decided upon, said Central Authority to be independent of all political parties.