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OUR GREAT HOPE

In this issue two articles are published dealing with the question of force. One from Comrade L. C. Santon predicts red hell shortly. The other from a Comrade signing himself "A Patriot" urges the Socialist to get the militia and to shoot the generals in the back in time of war engagement.

If we take the materialist conception of history we will find that while red hell may break forth, conspiratorial methods are not necessary.

In every historic epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, determine the political and intellectual history of the epoch. When the mode of economic production and exchange changes, the social organization changes and the political and intellectual history takes a new bent.

At the present time the economic base of society has shifted, but the political and intellectual superstructure lags behind the change.

The capitalist class, it is true, maintains an armed force to keep production fettered within the mode of capitalist ownership.

The question arises, what is the best method to bring about the change in our political and social organization to conform to the new basis of social production?

As Comrade Santon points out, red hell is to be avoided if possible.

But joining the militia in order to disrupt it by plans to murder the generals is a poor way. The generals, in an engagement, will be at the back, directing the fight through a field telegraph system. And the underground, conspiratorial method deals only with individuals. Open discussion is far better.

J. A. Wayland declared there is no force in the world equal to the dynamic power of an idea. This is true only in a limited sense. This really means that the economic base has shifted and the political superstructure has not changed to suit the new requirements, the most potent force to change the political to accord with the base of production is the idea. Discussion, education, organization, propaganda meetings, conversing with your neighbors, these are the ways to bring about the change.

When Socialists place a candidate in the field, do the workers in Canada vote for him? Out of thousands of votes cast he will get a few hundred, save in a very few constituencies.

If the workers will not vote for Socialism, can you introduce Socialism by shooting a few military commanders in the back? Can you bring it in by talking to a lot of boys hired to commit murder? Can you bring it in by so talking when you have to talk in secret and are in danger of being court-martialed and shot? No.

It is said that a Christain will fight for his religion, die for his religion, anything but live for it.

A Socialist must live and preach his doctrines from day to day, must spread the propaganda and take advantage of every opportunity to give the dynamic power of the idea a chance to operate.

When we grow stronger, when we push the capitalists to the wall and they in desperation appeal to armed power against the will of the majority, then it will be time to talk about Socialist soldiers.

John Brown made his raid into Virginia in 1859 and was shot. In 1861 Lincoln issued his proclamation of emancipation of the slaves. Had John Brown not made his armed raid, the slaves would have nevertheless been freed.

Let economic evolution and Socialist propaganda do the work of enlightenment. An intelligent, working class conscious of their class position in society and united on the political field, is our great hope for the overthrow of capitalism.

WORLD DEBTS

Allan Benson writing in the February Pearson's, points out that Britain owes a war debt of \$3,900,000,000, and her municipal debts amount to \$2,800,000,000, a total of \$6,700,000,000.

France owes nearly \$6,500,000,000 with municipal debts the total is over \$7,000,000,000.

The German national and state debts are \$4,500,000,000, and German municipal debts are \$2,500,000,000, a total of \$7,000,000,000.

The bonded debts of the world amount to sixty billion dollars, of which thirty-eight billions are owed by nations, and the balance is owed by city and state. The annual interest charge is approximately two and a half billion dollars.

As long as rent, interest and profit are held sacred, the parasite interests receivers will draw two and a half billion dollars annually from the working class in the one form of interest upon community debts.

Every twenty-four years, the principal is paid back, but it is called interest and the debts remain.

When the people become sensible they will repudiate their national, state and municipal debts.

They will declare that these debts have been paid back many times in the past.

The growing sensibility of the people is that is making the thieves who have looted the public through debt interest, fear for the continuance of their easy confidence game.

Col. Sam. Hughes and Sir Ian Hamilton went on a military inspection tour through Canada last year in a special train. That trip cost \$20,740. How many babies lives would that amount have saved in Montreal last year, if used to provide ice and pure milk? There is plenty of money for the murder-mongers, but babies can die. This is what you voted for last election if you voted anything but the Socialist ticket.

Last year Col. Sam. Hughes and party went on an inspection tour through Europe. They spent \$7,000 in hiring automobiles alone. While Col. the Hon. Sam. was sporting through Europe, what kind of hard work you back bent to, you slave of Canada's politicians and industrial lords?

When we grow up all remaining masters will have been regenerated. They will have been conceived by love, born from the womb of equality, and baptized in the holy blood of labor.—David Fulton.

F. H. Shepherd on the Vancouver Island Strike

Francis Henry Shepherd, member from Nanaimo on the sixth day of February rose in parliament and let loose a line of talk upon the Vancouver Island strike, which the workmen of his electoral district should know about.

F. Carvell, M.P. for Carleton, N.B., had attacked the Minister of Labor for his conduct towards the strike, Shepherd was dragged into the discussion. The working class of Vancouver Island should know the attitude of this gentleman to their interests. Before dealing with this gentleman's speech a few facts may be stated.

How the Dunsmuirs Got Their Millions.

As we pointed out in a recent issue of Cotton's Weekly, Professor Richardson of the geological survey, some decades ago, reported to the government the enormous extent of the coal fields radiating 200 miles out from Nanaimo. This professor was paid by the government and was supposed to report in the interests of the people.

But when these enormous coal fields were made known, the politicians and capitalists connived to transfer them from the public domain to the ownership of themselves.

Robert Dunsmuir, of Vancouver; James Dunsmuir, his son; John Bryden, and three of the American Southern Pacific gang, Charles Croker, Leland Stanford and Collis P. Huntington of California, conspired together to rob the public domain. Robert Dunsmuir was a leading politician, becoming a leading member of the British Columbia government.

These six got a charter for the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, together with subsidies of 1,900,000 acres of land, and \$750,000 cash. This happened in 1884. No advertisements were made, no tender for the construction of the railway was called for. It was one of those deals rammed through the legislative bodies at Ottawa and Victoria by a corrupt majority. It has been estimated that the alienated public domain was worth from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000. This was granted in consideration of building a line 78 mile railway. This is the way our eminent gentlemen become prominent—by looting the wealth of the people.

In 1910-1911 the mines operated by the Wellington Colliery Company were taken over by the Canadian Collieries (Dunsmuir) Ltd., a Mackenzie and Mann concern, and capitalized at \$15,000,000.

Workers Blown Skyward.

The immense domain granted to the Dunsmuirs and their foreign associates was exploited without regard to the safety of the workers. Chinese were imported and were used to keep the white workers in an intense slavery. The Chinese miners struck. They were strangers in a strange land and the masters took full advantage of the situation.

There was no safety for life or limb. The record of the Vancouver Island mines are the most ghastly for their size of any mines in the world.

In the twenty-eight years prior to 1912, three hundred and seventy-three men were killed in the mines on Vancouver Island, in consequence of coal gas. Wellington accounted for 83, Nanaimo for 180, Extension 50, and Cumberland 69.

The miners have a right, under the British Columbia Coal Mines Regulation Act, to appoint two of their number in any mine to inspect for and report gas in dangerous quantities. It has been found that when miners on the Gas Committee find gas they are dismissed. Of course it is not an official dismissal. When one of these miners get through with a "place," no new "place" can be found for him. Or a "place" where the coal is unmineable is given him.

Oscar Mottishaw, who reported gas in June 1912 in No. 2 mine at Extension, was thus victimized. His "place" run out and no new "place" could be discovered for him by the mine manager. He left extension and went to Cumberland to work for a contractor.

This contractor was notified by the manager of dismissal Mottishaw.

Profits are more valuable to the masters of bread than the lives of the workers. If one day report gas and cause expense to the mineowners, they put him on the black list.

The miners realizing their difficulty, became an organized party of the United Mineworkers of America. They took a holiday in protest against the discrimination practised upon Mottishaw, for one day, and found themselves locked out. The miners had to sign individual contracts before they would be allowed to return to work. The miners struck and later in sympathy the miners of Vancouver Island went on strike.

The one thousand five hundred miners were backed up by the four hundred thousand members of the United Mineworkers.

Since the record of the strike has been one long record of special police bulls, provocative scabs, biased courts, brutal militia.

Mr. Shepherd And The Strike.

No doubt the working class of Canada would like to know what steps Mr. Shepherd took to protect the working members of his constituency.

In his speech in the House, Mr. Shepherd declared he had been active in endeavoring to bring industrial peace. He interviewed the miners about the discrimination. On page 568 of Hansard we find this statement by Shepherd.

"I told the convention that if they would lay a specific charge of discrimination, the Minister of Mines of British Columbia was compelled, by the provisions of the Act, to order and investigate. They told me they could not lay a specific charge, but they were morally sure that such was the case. I appealed to them again, I said to them: 'Gentlemen, you are out of court, and unless you can formulate a specific charge and sustain it, the Minister of Mines cannot order an investigation.'"

O wonderful Shepherd! A Daniel come to judgment! In imagination we can see the Shylock mineowners sharpening their knives and chucking at this, their tool who is ready to give them the heart's blood of the working class if the letter of the law is fulfilled.

Only miners are allowed to inspect for gas. If any do inspect for gas and find it, they are not asked. O no. That would be crude. Only in a little while there is no work for them. And this contemporary type of Shy-

lock's friendly judge says that this is the law.

Shepherd is sent to Ottawa to represent Nanaimo. There are a hundred and one ways he can act. When Mackenzie and Mann come money, Shepherd could rise and fulminate against the bloodlust profits of these gentlemen, he could declare that no moneys should be given these gentlemen until the miners of Vancouver Island are protected.

He could paint the woes of the widows and orphans of the miners of those hundreds of workmen blown to their deaths by the greed of the mineowners.

But no. Shepherd says, here is the letter of the law, and he is powerless.

A weak, puny, knocked wretch like this is a fit subject to retire to private life.

The Question of Unionism.

At first the mineowners wanted individual contracts. When the United Mineworkers came to their struggling fellow workers on Vancouver Island, when they declared, "Comrades, with the might of our numbers are behind you we will tax ourselves for your benefit until you win the right of organization, and be able to protect yourselves from death, so your wives will not be widowed, your children orphaned," then the mineowners began to crawl. They were then ready to recognize some little local union which would be bossed by themselves. Workers of Canada, hear what this gentleman, this Shepherd to whom many miners have given their votes, has to say upon this question, page 568 of Hansard.

"The operators at that time felt as they feel now; they object, for reasons best known to themselves, and into which I do not purpose entering at this moment, to acknowledge an international union—they refuse to recognize this particular union."

Again a Daniel come to judgment. Your masters want you blown skyward for profits. The U.M.W. is strong. Wherefore they fear it. And Shepherd again is with the masters. He knows their real reasons but refuses to divulge them. He is in their secret councils.

This is proven by his words. He says, the mineowners refuse to recognize the Union for reasons best known to themselves and into which he will not go now. This shows he knows your masters' secret councils.

On page 571 of Hansard, Shepherd goes on record as blaming the United Mineworkers. He says, "Now, Sir, as I have said, this dispute arose through the action of the United Mineworkers of America. But I do believe that the many of these men were misled."

Shepherd says nothing of the public domain being given by the Tory government of British Columbia and by the government of Sir John A. Macdonald to international gang of labor skimmers in 1884. But when working men, Canadian and American, are exploited by an international gang of profit hunters, when workers are blown to their deaths to the profit of international capitalists, and when these international capitalists object to an international working class organization of slaves, Shepherd lays the blame of the dispute upon the international working class organization.

Anything show more plainly what a tool Shepherd is of the mineowners? This sympathetic hypocrite should be recognized for what he is by the working class voters of Nanaimo. He should be retired to private life and his place taken by a working class Socialist who will defend the interests.

Shepherd on the Riot.

When Shepherd can be so classbiased in the preliminary statements of the trouble, we may expect to find him outdoing himself when it comes to his view of the trouble at Extension on August 13th.

At Extension the strikebreakers had been particularly offensive to the strikers residing in the camp. The women and children of the strikers were especially visited with many indignities. The company had erected a searchlight which played on the houses occupied by the strikers. Suppose the strikers had erected a searchlight which played on the house of the mine manager? Would not all the papers have howled.

The miners received the impression that an attempt was to be made to drive them, out of camp. They therefore approached the "bull pen" where the strikebreakers were housed, in order to discover their intentions. They proceeded carefully as the strikebreakers were armed. As they drew near the "pen" they met many of the strikebreakers' wives and children being in the fleeing from the camp. The miners ESCORTED ALL THEY COULD FIND INTO THE CITY.

As they drew near the "bull pen" they were met by a fusillade of bullets. The strikers retired. The strikers of Nanaimo, hearing that some men had been killed at Extension, immediately formed up to proceed to the scene of the trouble.

Flames commenced issuing from the "bull pen" and some of the shacks, and it is a well-known fact that the buildings were on fire before any of the strikers reached the "bull pen." The strikebreakers retired to the mine entrance and kept up desultory fire, and at midnight of the 13th, the crowd dispersed. On the 14th the militia arrived, got the strikebreakers out of the mine entrance with the assistance of the strikers, and rounded up those women and children of the strikebreakers who had fled.

Listen to Shepherd on the floor of the House discent in tearful tones to the gaping circle of the capitalist henchmen occupying the benches there. His statement can be read and verified on page 570 of Hansard.

"I have no wish to enter into the deplorable details of what happened at the extension grounds. I visited them two days afterwards and saw the desolation that had been effected by this mob. There is one thing, so abhorrent that I cannot refrain from mentioning it, that is, the driving of forty innocent women and children from the Extension mine into the woods. These women and children were in the woods without shelter and without food for from thirty-six to forty-eight hours until they were rescued by the militia. This is an act which would bring the blush of shame to the cheek of an Apache Indian, and is not trades unionism in any shape or form."

With regard to the militia, do you not think, sir, that under such conditions the

sending of the militia was well advised? The riots were blazing and the mob was mad. Do you not think it was wise, even to save these men from themselves, to say nothing of saving the lives and property of non-combatants in this trouble?

Shepherd has not a word to say of the three hundred and seventy-three men blown to their deaths by gas explosions in the Vancouver mines. He has no pity for the widows and orphans created by the greed of the mineowners. Their sufferings, the cruel expedients the widows had to take to eke out a living when the breadwinner was gone, move him not. The cries of the orphans for "papa" when he comes no more home, the sad eyed children, the broken homes, these fall on the stony head of Shepherd. He sees them not, feels them not, knows them not. For were not these breadwinners mangled for the profit of the mineowners?

The fact that the strikers escorted all the women and children of the strikebreakers they could find into the city is not mentioned by this glibtongued servant of big business. The fact that the strikers were provoked, were insulted, were assaulted by scabs with impunity is passed in silence.

But he seizes upon the fact that forty women and children fled to the woods. He howls "Apache" at the strikers. He dances in anger. He calls the strikers a mob. Insinuates they set fire to the buildings.

The longdrawn struggle of the miners for better conditions leave him stone. Interference with the flow of profits to his masters makes him rage.

This is the way he treats the miners. But he is all fawning, all love, all sycophancy to the gang of legalized murderers the government turned loose on the strikers. The assault of Col. Hall upon the unarmed strikers in their meeting hall is good in his eyes. It is the act of a hero. Listen to the fulsome praise Shepherd pours upon Hall.—Hansard page 571.

"I want to pay the highest tribute to Lieut. Col. Hall, commanding the militia force in Nanaimo. He has probably handled one of the most serious labor disturbances that have occurred, as one Hon. member stated, since Confederation."

One of a Type.

We have given a true account of Shepherd's statements in the House of Commons. He has sent there by the voters of the workers of Nanaimo electoral district.

He is a servant of the master class. He has not the interest of the working class at heart. There are so many beasts of burden. In his speech he contemptuously referred to them as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Hansard, page 569.

But he is only one of many. The other members are sent to the house by big business. If Mackenzie and Mann want \$15,000,000, they get it. If manufacturers want protection, they get it. Certain measures granting aid to certain capitalists are fought by certain members, but this fight is not to benefit the working people. THESE MEMBERS OPPOSE SUCH GRAFT ONLY WHEN IT WILL INTERFERE WITH THE GRAFT OF THE PARTICULAR CAPITALISTS WHO HAVE STRINGS TIED TO THE MEMBERS WHO OPPOSE.

There is one plain duty for every member of the producing class of Canada. That duty is to cut loose from both Liberal and Tory parties and vote only the Socialist ticket.

THE NATIONAL TRANSCONTINENTAL

Under the Liberal regime at Ottawa, the National Transcontinental was originated. This is the eastern end of the Grand Trunk Pacific.

It was conceived in graft and born in incompetency and extravagance. When the Conservatives got to power, they appointed a commission to inquire into the commission has reported that \$40,000,000 have been wasted in the construction of this line.

The Tory papers are howling throughout Canada against the former Liberal regime of extravagance. The Conservatives are belaboring the stinking corruption and holding it up before the public eyes.

But they are keeping very quiet about the administration of the public works department by the Hon. Bob. Rodgers. There are saying little about the near \$200,000,000 the Borden government will spend this year.

At Ottawa there is a game played. The game is not to give the people good government and health, happiness and plenty to all the people. That will only come with the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The game in Ottawa is to graft all you can while in power. Graft yourself and get your friends in on the good things. Cover up your tracks as much as possible, and howl while they are in power.

Steal, and yell "Thief, thief" at the party who stole before you.

This is the great Ottawa game, and the people of Canada seem to like it. Leastwise the Socialists advocate sensible politics for the producing class, many a robbed worker smiles at the foolishness of the Socialist and goes and cheers the speeches of the gang who are skinning him to a finish.

There are at least fifteen thousand unemployed in the centres of the prairie provinces. In Calgary there are at least 3,500 unemployed and the city feels it is its duty to "give work" to these persons. So the woodpile is in evidence. Anyone who will buck wood will be given two meals and a bed in the city's bunk house. The city gets a dollar a cord from the wood dealers for this work. Then the capitalist henchmen know how to take advantage of the necessity of the unemployed to grope them of their labor power. When the L.W.W.'s demand thirty cents an hour for such work, they are roughly handled. The labor skimmers have too easy a cinch in this deal to want it broken up by the industrial reds. And they call this charity.

Many persons are bewailing the lack of patriotism in Canada. For patriotism to flourish men must have a stake in the country. Capitalism gives many a rented shack and a wage dole.

EFFECT OF HIGHER RENT

In the city of Montreal leases are made annually, and expire on the first day of May in each year. On that date there is a general shifting of the tenant population, and on that day the general raise in rents takes place.

The Montreal Star of February 11th, declares that on the first day of May of this year the poor will be harder hit than they have been in years, as the advance in rents will be anywhere from twenty to forty per cent.

The same issue of the same publication has another interesting article upon the position of the Anglican church. Bishop Farthing of Montreal is bewailing the declining revenues of that church. In delivering his annual address to the synod, he declared that if another year like 1913 ensued the clergy would be faced with a salary cut. Missions would have to close. He enthused upon the stewardship of wealth and suggested that the wealthy contribute more liberally.

Were we merely an anti-religious paper, not knowing the theory of economic determinism, we would no doubt ignorantly dissent upon the vicious round. The rich raise the rents, making the poor more miserable, and then the church appeals to the rich for funds to carry spiritual solace to those who are suffering from belly hunger and rent worry, caused by the rich raising the rents.

Such a chain of reasoning, however, has its fallacy. The raising of rents will have more complicated results than the above. The church will suffer from the raising of the rents of the workers for reasons that do not appear on the surface. Moreover there will arise in Montreal a period of labor unrest which to the uninitiated might be hailed as the coming of the revolution, but which will be due to the workers trying to catch up with a meal ticket.

The workers under the wages system compete for jobs. This competition reduces the price a worker can sell his labor power for to a bare living wage. The capitalist class take the rest.

Rent is part of the cost of living of the working class. When rents go up, wages have to advance. An advance in wages comes out of the employing class. The employing class will not desire to advance wages. Strikes will take place, police brutality will be in evidence, but in the end the increase in wages will be granted.

The net result will be that of the surplus values taken from labor, the landlord will get more and the employer will get less. There will be merely a readjustment among the skinning class of the profits stolen from the worker.

The church will suffer. For its missions under capitalism is to preach, not salvation to the outcast and the suffering, but submission to the will of the exploiters. When the landlords reach out for more surplus values and the workers have to dig the higher rents out of employers, there is confusion and unrest and open antagonism. The church fares ill in such times. For the workers, when they are forced to fight for more wages, they will tell the clergy to go tell it to Sweeney. And if the church cannot pour their opiates into the brain of the workers, the labor skimmers will close the purse strings. We would advise Bishop Farthing to get ready to take that slice off the salaries of the already underpaid country parsons.

The Socialists too, must be on their guard for many of them are apt to consider a period of strikes to be the prelude of the Socialist triumph. But when wages have fallen below the subsistence level, and the workers are merely fighting for their meal-ticket, the chances are that when the meal-ticket is obtained, the fight ceases. The struggle of the worker to get more wages out of the employer to hand over to the landlords who are demanding higher rents, is not a revolutionary struggle at all.

It is only when the worker realizes he is robbed, realizes his class position in society and bands with his fellow workers to capture the political power to overthrow capitalism, that we have a revolutionary movement.

A BUREAU OF UNEMPLOYMENT

A new departure is being made in the United States.

President Wilson has appointed an industrial commission to immediately undertake the investigation of unemployment in New York city. This is preliminary to recommending federal legislation establishing a bureau of unemployment to act as a clearing house for public and private employment agencies so that unemployed workers in one region may be directed to that region, where employment is good.

Such legislation will do nothing to relieve the property and misery. In these days of international capital, stagnation is world wide.

Hard times in England mean hard times in the United States. Hard times in the east mean hard times in the west.

When a panic seizes the nation, workers from Atlantic to Pacific are thrown out of work.

The workers produce vast quantities of wealth and can buy back but a small fraction of what they create. They are thrown out of work all over the country and starve because of the capitalist ownership of the wealth the workers have created.

President Wilson does not advocate the workers being given the ownership of what they create. He simply advocates that when the workers have produced so much that they are thrown out of work to starve, a federal employment agency be established to offer them work if there is any.

Great is the foolishness of the political henchmen of the masters of bread.

The Canadian government paid the western newspaper union, a United States concern, \$42,000 a year for twelve years for "patent" write-ups, supplied in the guise of news to small newspapers throughout the United States. These articles cause immigration into Canada. Then when the Canadian cities are thronged with hungry men asking for work, the newspapers declare that the unemployed are mostly "foreigners." The greatest mystery is why are the people so easily fooled?

Socialist Science Explained by T. Edwin Smith

In a previous article "The Evolution of Society," we saw that as man changed his manner of getting his living, he changed his forms of social organization. We can see when we examine history that man's mode of getting a living is the reason for his social forms instead of the other way about, as some people would have us believe. The same causes that brought about the four successive forms of society are operating to-day and there is every reason to expect them to continue to operate throughout all time. Those who tell us that Socialism can never come, are either ignorant of all history or else they are so enamoured of our present form of society that they think that all the world-old laws of change are to be destroyed and stopped forever for their own particular benefit.

Karl Marx in his "Critique of Political Economy" lays down the laws of social evolution. "In the social production of their lives, men enter upon certain definite necessary relations, relations independent of their will, relations of production that correspond with definite degrees of development of their material productive forces. The totality of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the true basis from which arises a juridical and political superstructure to which definite social forms of consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life determines the social and intellectual processes of life. This not the consequence of mankind that determines their being, but on the contrary their social being that determines their consciousness. In a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production of society come into contradiction with the existing relations of production or which is only the juridical expression of the same thing with the relations of property, within which they had hitherto moved. From forms for the development of these forces of production they are transformed into their fetters. We then enter upon an epoch of social revolution."

We saw that this is literally true. Man's inventive genius is still acting and we can look forward to the future expecting him to go on inventing new and other means of getting a living and expect to see corresponding changes in the forms of his social relations. Capitalism was the outgrowth of these forces, and they have continued to act under capitalism as well as before and as a result we find that our methods of production have outgrown the social structure which housed them previously. We are like a chick in a shell that has grown to the limit possible in that habitation, and now we must burst the shell and get out or perish of stagnation.

Capitalism was for generations a help to production. It was the form of society best suited to enable man to pass through a certain definite period of development. But now it has become a hindrance.

Capitalism is based upon the ownership of the machine, which man must have access to in order to live. Our form of government recognizes ownership and nothing else. Our laws protect ownership. There was a time when such a system of society and government was in harmony with our methods of production. When such a system gave to the worker an absolutely larger and more secure portion of the production of his labor and so was a help to production. That time was when industry was in the handicraft stage.

Under the handicraft stage the worker owned the shop where he worked. In many cases he even built the shop himself, and in that shop carried on all the various parts of production with his own hands or at the most with only a few helpers. And after the article was made he owned it, he could use it or barter it, or sell it to the person who wanted to use it. Under such a system the laws that gave the product made in the shop to the owner of the shop, gave it to the actual producer and there was no robbery possible. Capitalism was a stimulant to production in that day.

We have advanced far from that stage of industry. The little shop has given place to the gigantic factory driven by an inanimate motive power. The single hand worker has given place to the modern factory worker, perhaps a thousand men, each performing merely a single operation in the long series of operations necessary to complete it. The owner who was also the worker has given place to the group of non-working shareholders, who still own the factory and demand as their own all the articles produced, but who takes no part in production and who have no interests in the business other than the dividends they get out of it.

There has been an industrial revolution which has left our social structure stranded high and dry, and entirely out of harmony with our means of getting a living. There are a great many people who recognize that our system is out of joint and there are two main ideas advanced for the regeneration of our social fabric. There are those who recognize that our system of production has outrun our system of government, and who therefore say, "let us pull our system of production back with our social system. Let us burst the trusts and get back to the system of individual production. Let us retire to the handicraft stage again and forever bar ourselves from further advance." The Democrats in the States and the Liberals in Canada as well as the forty-seven branches of social reformers hold this idea and they spend their energy, time and money in a vain attempt to turn back the hands of the clock when they might as well command the sun to stand still.

There are a few others who recognize the fact that our social and industrial systems are out of joint, but they do not want to pull industry back. Instead they want to bring society up to it. They want to go forward to still greater tools and more efficient methods of production. They recognize that we have social production hampered by private ownership. They do not wish to destroy social production and go back to individual production, but they do want to substitute social ownership and control for private ownership. These are the socialists.

Imagine yourself driving a team of horses, one of which was very slow while the other was very fast, and you were in a hurry to reach your destination. How would you act to make the horses pull together. The Reactionaries (misnamed the Progressives) say, pull the fast horse back and hold him back. The Socialists say, whip the slow horse up into his place.

Let us institute social ownership of the tools and social organization of the factory in addition to social production and then go forward to greater heights than have ever been dreamed of to-day.

This is what the Socialists want and what they are going to get. All history and all science tells us we are on the right track. Meily says, "In every historic epoch the dominant class rises to its place of power because of some vast and imperative social

work which it is the destiny of that class to accomplish. The historic mission of the bourgeoisie has been the accumulation of capital, the heaping together of the immense store of wealth which presage and make possible the final triumph of man over his natural environment; the ultimate conquest of matters by intelligence."

We see the necessity for this process of accumulation when we compare the agencies of production as they existed in the middle of the past century with the tools as they are to-day.

An agency of production is wealth used for the production of wealth, articles made, but not utilized at once, but retained to be consumed gradually in the process of producing new wealth. It may take the form of tools, buildings, supplies, food for workers or other commodities. Whatever form this wealth takes, we find by experience that the greater the wealth utilized in this fashion the more productive the labor of the man becomes. In fact the productivity of the worker varies almost in direct ratio, with the amount of wealth used to assist him in his work.

The following table shows from the last census reports that as the capital increases the product per worker increases too.

Table	1891	1901	1906	1911
Capital Per Establishment	\$4,310	\$30,506	\$53,000	\$135,342
Capital Per Man	356	1,449	2,360	2,420
Capital Per \$1,000 Product	752	930	1,178	1,070
Product Per Man	1,271	1,535	2,015	2,263

The above figures are only for different sized factories. We have compared the product per man in the largest of the factories and in the hand shop and the discrepancy would have been much greater.

Capitalism has accomplished its mission. It has transformed the whole world into one gigantic workshop with the entire population a highly organized body of wealth producers. It has done its work so thoroughly that the system itself has become unnecessary. Capitalism has brought mankind forward so rapidly that it cannot keep pace with it.

The test of decadence in an industrial system, is whether instead of promoting production, its form has become a hamper upon the productive potentialities of the ever improving industrial technique, thus denying adequate support to the population; in other words whether it has ceased to feed the people.

Judged by that standard we can safely say that our present system has become obsolete and must be superseded. Capitalism has indeed ceased to feed the people though there is never any lack of food. In fact its wealth is the greatest amount of food available that the greatest suffering occurs. At the present time we are in the throes of an industrial depression that has thrown thousands of us on the bread line and brought thousands more perilously near it. Not that we can not work and produce more, but that we are not permitted to do so. Not that we have not produced enough to feed us all, but that we have produced too much.

Capitalism can produce, but it cannot distribute and in that single sentence is spelled the doom of the system. There are always thousands if not millions of the best, strongest and most intelligent workers of the world continually in fear of starvation, while thousands more are living in that state in which through lack of food and adequate shelter the standard of mere money the merchants curtail the prospects of life food enough for all. Even in the worst of times there is always sufficient supply of food, clothing and shelter to keep us all in comfort if not in luxury. Yet we starve in sight of plenty. We are in a state of want for that which is its proudest boast. For its management. Instead of directing our efforts so as to yield us the maximum of comfort they have directed them to our detriment.

In the connection read Revolution by Jack London, Wasting Human Life by A. M. Simmons. We cannot go back, we must go forward. We, the socialists go forward confident that we are working in harmony with evolution and so victory in the end must rest with us.

DEPRESSIONS

Panics, or rather as they are usually called Industrial Depressions, are one of the characteristic features of our present system of society. During one of these depressions, the factories shut down, the bankers cease to lend money, the merchants curtail the prospects of the railways and other corporations suspend building and in short a period of partial or complete stagnation ensues. These panics are part and parcel of our system of machine production and are inevitable as long as our present system endures. The first one or record occurred in England in 1815 and the first one in the United States in 1825, while the first one happened in France in 1847.

The first power loom was put to work in England in 1809, and in the United States in 1816. I mention this fact, because there is a deep and fundamental connection between the two events. In France owing to a number of causes, the era of machine production did not occur so early as in other countries, and consequently the panic was a few years late in arriving there. However, since Capitalism has become firmly entrenched in the various countries, panics have followed each other with agonizing regularity, the present one being the eleventh in Great Britain, and the tenth in the United States, with the prospect of at least two more before we shift the scenes and make other panics impossible.

There have been thousands of reasons presented for the existence of these depressions, and in 1886, the United States government issued a report covering the causes of the preceding half century and in that book at least two hundred causes are given and published various remedial measures suggested. Money kings and captains of industry have tried to exorcise them but they refuse to be laid. Philanthropists and reformers have railed against this man or that group and blamed them for the very things they wished to avoid, but all in vain. No one of the loudly touted saviors of the country had tried to get to the foundations and so their schemes were useless. The only people who analyzed them from their foundation were the Socialists, and the fact that they were Socialists was in itself sufficient to prevent their being heard. The only way to prevent these panics is to destroy the causes. To destroy the causes would disrupt the present fabric of society, and that must be preserved at all hazards.

Panics cannot be prevented, and having once started they cannot be brought to an end by the fiat of a lawyer, a supreme court decision, or even by an editorial in a Demo-

cratic paper. We must accept them and analyze them, and in that manner find the reason for their existence, and then lay the axe to the root of the evil, rather than lop off a few dead branches.

To explain them we must go back to the very beginning of industry. Let us take a typical factory. Our system is based upon the capitalist ownership of the machinery of wealth production, and all the products of a factory belong to the owner. The non-working members of the population are obliged to work for the owner and surrender to him the results of their toil and accept in lieu thereof wages. A sum of money less than the value of the goods produced by them. This is the fundamental feature of Capitalism and he would be insane, indeed, who would attempt to deny it. Assuming this to be true, let us follow production a while.

A capitalist erects a factory, or rather hires others to erect it for him, and then buys machinery and raw material. He may perhaps buy his electric power at so much per kilowatt hour. But still he cannot produce. He must still buy labor power—the active factor in production. He buys this at so much per man per day, just as he bought electric power. This most valuable of all commodities, Human Labor Power, we appear to find in certain human beings who must live and eat every day. Now all the factors are assembled, the factory starts to work. The men toil and produce a certain amount of wealth, let it be anything you wish, and at the end of the year or more usually at the end of each month the products are divided up.

Here is the funny part of the whole proceeding. When the products are divided, the workers accept part of them as their share and the rest will go to the owner. Of course the rest is the master's share. As a general rule the workers' share will amount to about half the whole, while the other half will go to the owner.

Now let us extend the scope of the illustration to all industries and to factories and other means of production. This same thing happens in all of them, and at the end of the year we will find that of all the wealth produced by the whole body of workers, they themselves will have received about one half and the rest will go to the owner. Of course the goods are not actually divided up, but metal or paper counters representing the goods are divided up. (We usually call these counters money, and consider them as wealth, while they really only represent wealth.)

Now the goods have been produced primarily for sale, the fact that the goods have the power to satisfy certain normal human wants is merely incidental and was not considered at the time the goods were produced for sale, the next thing is to sell them.

The workers can buy back fifty per cent of them, with their wages. No matter how badly they need more, they cannot have them for their wages are only equal to the value of one half the goods produced by them. The rest of the goods belong to the owner of the various factories, whom we will call the capitalist class.

They too, use the goods produced and naturally use a whole lot more per year, each than the workers do, because they are not restricted in their enjoyment to what they have produced by their own efforts. Yet their power to use the goods is limited by their very nature and so they have recourse to waste. They waste wealth on diamond dog collars, \$100,000 banquets, monkey suppers, private yachts, mansions and retinues of servants. But their wasting ability is limited by human ingenuity, and human ingenuity is not sufficiently prolific to teach them how to completely squander the enormous wealth at their disposal.

So we find that at the end of a given year the workers have consumed their share of the wealth, have had a bare living, and are dead broke. The owners have lived well and have wasted lavishly, and there is a share of the wealth produced that is still unconsumed. At the end of one year, this is, say ten per cent. It is not a surplus sufficiently great to attract attention, and so the factories run another year. The same cycle is repeated and at the end of the second year the unconsumed surplus is, say about twenty cents. And so on till at the end of a series of years, there is found to be an unconsumed surplus equal to one half or two-thirds of the average yearly product, and not only is this surplus there, but there is seen no way of disposing of it.

To-day all things are produced for sale. To sell goods at a profit is the object of all capitalists. Since there is no means of disposing of the surplus, they will close down the factories.

The workers are denied access to the factories. And because they cannot sell their labor or power day by day, they are denied the privilege of eating. They starve because they have produced too much.

The capitalists are not starving, however. In their insatiable desire to consume their surplus they waste at a greater rate than ever. They secure the world for markets. They cannot sell at home for there is no one to buy. They cannot sell to other civilized nations, for each of them, too, has a surplus and is also looking for a market.

The countries with undeveloped resources are the solution. They sell the goods to barbarians and bring back gold, or what is more often the case, gold in the form of stock and bonds. This means these unconsumed surplus have been turned into new capital with which to develop the resources of new countries. This scramble for foreign markets is the answer to the land-grabbing tactics of the great nations with respect to savage and backward countries.

Capital (I use the term in the Bourgeois sense, meaning wealth to produce wealth) is not money, but material objects. The C. P. R. for instance was not built with money, but rails, ties, rolling stock, cars for the horses and food for the men, and other material objects the produce of men's labor. It is the same with all new capital. Money can never develop anything, but actual material objects, the product of men's labor, can be used to develop new countries and can be capital.

These surpluses of which we have been speaking, are just such material things which can be used as capital, and in actual practice are so used. In this manner the surpluses are consumed, and the factories start again.

But this is not a remedy that can be used over and over again without ceasing. As soon as the resources of a new country are developed, that country begins to produce, and in a short time that country in turn has a surplus which must be consumed by some undeveloped country. By this the producing nations are increased by one and the markets are reduced by one. The world is only so large and every time a country is developed,

the day of the final extinction of the market is brought nearer.

Japan was for several years a good dumping ground for unconsumed surpluses, but the resources of Japan were developed, and now Japan is one of the producers and has become a competitor for the remaining foreign markets. This scramble for markets inevitably defeats itself and means the destruction of Capitalism. Eventually all the foreign markets will be developed and in turn will be a competitor of the other producing whatever bit of market remains. In time the whole world will be turned into one gigantic workshop with unconsumed surpluses in all lands and no place to sell them. Capitalism depends upon the undeveloped country and as soon as they are gone Capitalism will fall by its own weight. China is a fruitful field for exploitation at the present time, but we see the beginning of the end even there. Oil fields and iron deposits are being developed. Factories and mills are being erected and the time is not far distant when China, which to-day is a good market, will be a competitor of the other producing nations.

All the world is watching South Africa. The United States hopes to keep that as a private preserve, but it is doubtful if it will work. Africa will probably be the last country to be developed, and when that is filled with mines, railways and factories like Canada is to-day, the twilight will have begun to fall on Capitalism. The structure will be ready to fall, and we the Socialists must be ready to erect the new Social Structure upon the ruins of the old.

These panics are but the symptoms of the social disease and they tell in unmistakable terms that the present system is incompetent to handle the present situation. This is the disease which forced the lower house to create a monster like a gigantic Frankenstein that has grown too large for them to control. It is as if a sorcerer had conjured up a demon from below, who from being his servant has become his master.

World Notes

The senate of Austria has rejected the Austrian bill to free incomes of \$200 per year from direct taxation and to increase direct taxation upon incomes exceeding \$2,000 per year. At present incomes of \$240 are exempt from taxation and it was pressure from the Socialists which forced the lower house to pass the bill to raise exempted incomes to \$320. The Austrian senate is composed of 15 archbishops, 83 members of the high nobility, 18 of the high clergy and 160 appointed by the Emperor, a nice bunch of reactionists.

The ninth annual convention of the Women's Labor League opened its session in Glasgow, Scotland, on January 27th. Mrs. Salter, the president, said they had been a long time in coming, but they were now showing a true insight into the labor struggle. She declared that when it was fully realized that all workers, women and girls equally with men and boys, were interested in this question, the revolution would come. The real awakening of women, and they were now showing a true insight into the labor struggle and the tyranny of wealth and luxury and rank would be swept away.

The Socialist group in the Austrian parliament has obtained a government grant of \$400,000 for the unemployed. This is the first time the Austrian government has recognized the need of assisting the out-of-workers.

Viscount Gladstone, governor-general of South Africa, who signed the deportation order of the strike leaders to cease being governed in June. He loses his job, but the liberal government say they are not pulling him away at the demand of the working class.

For the first time in the history of Portugal, the Socialists have succeeded in electing one of their candidates at the municipal elections. In Oporto, the largest city after Lisbon, eleven Socialists have seats in the council. They also elected a number of members in the Northern towns.

On January 29th two women were beheaded with an axe by the public executioner in the Ratibon prison, Prussia. The German newspapers devoted four lines to the story.

The first efforts towards unionism were initiated in Iceland in 1893 by the poet Thorstein Erlingsson who in that year formed the Worker's Association. This organization went to work at the end of the year 1906. Since that date wages have been forced up about fifty per cent. During the past twelve months the workers have begun a political propaganda and a weekly paper is published along strike lines. The editor, Peter G. Gundmundsson, will be the Socialist candidate for the Reykjavik division.

At a by-election in Northwest Durham, England, on January 31st, the labor candidate received 5,026 votes and out of 17,831 votes cast. This was the first time a labor candidate ever ran in this district.

A twin-screw ferry steamer, constructed entirely by Chinese at the Chinese engineering works at Shanghai, is now daily making half-hourly trips across the Yangtze near Nanking.

The school teachers in eighty schools in Herefordshire, England, recently went on strike for a minimum annual wage of \$500 in the place of \$450.

During the South African strike, telegrams to South Africa were accepted by the cable companies only at the risk of the senders. The government had established a military censorship against the working class.

Demonstrations by the starving unemployed of Lemberg, Galicia, are becoming serious and bread and fuel are being distributed. A deputation demanded of the Governor immediate employment, and he has promised to employ them on public works. Tradespeople have closed their shops fearing they would be looted.

More than two hundred persons were arrested in Tokyo, Japan, on February 13th, in fierce anti-government riots. Many editions of newspapers were suppressed. Agitators charge the government with oppressing the people in order to strengthen the army and navy.

In the state of West Australia there are state-owned and state-operated, railways, steamships, butcher shops, hotels and sawmills.

"I have increased the expenditure on military and let me say I intend to increase it still more." "It is every man's right in this country to see that he is trained to defend it." These are the words used by Sam Hughes in Toronto at the banquet of the officers of the Queen's own rifles. How much of Canada do you own, Mr. Worker? If you are starving, what do they do with you? If you beg, they shut you up in jail. If you steal, you are jailed too. If you refuse to starve peacefully, the militia are called out and you are jabbed full of holes. Hughes is a wolf of your masters. He is no friend of the working man of this country.

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SOCIALIST DIRECTORY

DOMINION Executive Committee, Social Democratic Party of Canada meets every first and third Monday at 55 King St. East. H. Martin, sec., 61 Weber St. East, Berlin, Ont.—285.

ONTARIO Provincial Executive Committee, S.D.P., meets the 2nd and 4th Thursdays in each month, 8.15 p.m., Labor Temple, 167 Church St., Toronto. Secretary, P.C. Young, 82 Wrexeter Avenue.—270.

MANITOBA Executive Committee S.D.P. of C., meets every second and fourth Monday night at Headquarters Hall, 213 Janes Ave. For information and literature write to Prov. Sec., J. Penner, Box 1682 Winnipeg, Man.—264.

BERLIN LOCAL No. 4, S. D. P. of C., meets every Sunday; business every first Sunday night at 7 p.m., 55 King St. East. Secretary, 140 Weber St. East, Berlin, Ont.—263.

BRITISH COLUMBIA Executive S. D. P. of C., meets in office 304, Labor Temple, Vancouver, on the 1st and 3rd Sunday of every month, at 2 p.m. General business meeting on third Sunday. E. Winch, Prov. Sec., Jubilee Station P.O., Vancouver, B.C.—270.

ALBERTA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE S. D. P. of C., meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday evening at 7.30 o'clock in Moose Hall, Fraser Ave., Edmonton. Comrades desiring assistance in organizing locals please write Sec. C. Spencer, 55 Clara Street, Edmonton, Alta.—268.

HAMILTON LOCAL No. 61, S. D. P. of C., meets every 2nd and 4th Friday evening in the month in Swales Hall (cor. Barton and Kinrade) at 7.45 o'clock. This is an invitation to attend. J. Alexander, Sec., 41 Fraser Ave.—274.

LIBERTY Co-operative Club, P.Q., 31 Buttes Ave., Point St. Charles, Propaganda meeting every Sunday 3 p.m. Economic and social problems every Wednesday 8 p.m. Co-operative club every Friday 8 p.m. Woman Club every Thursday 3 p.m.—272.

LONDON Local No. 44, S.D.P. of C. Meets every Sunday at 363 Dundas St. (rear of Ford Motor Co.) at 3 p.m. The Clarion call goes out to every Rebel in London to come along and hasten the advent of the Social Revolution. Godfrey E. Heathcote, Sec. 87 Smith St.—284.

LOCAL VANCOUVER No. 12, meets every Tuesday 8 p.m. for business and propaganda in Hamilton Hall, corner of Hamilton and Dunsmyth Streets. Public meeting every Sunday at 8 p.m., in Dominion Theatre, Granville St. Sam Atkinson, organizer, 301 Dominion Bldg., Vancouver, B.C.—265.

NANAIMO LOCAL No. 11, S. D. P. of C. Business meeting, Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Propaganda meeting, Sundays at 7.30 p.m., at Wharf Street Hall, William Watson, Sec., Box 120, Nanaimo, B.C.—256.

NUMMOLA Finnish Local No. 6, S.D.P. of C. Post Office address. S.S. Oosoto, Nummola, Saak.—262.

PORT ARTHUR Local S.D.P., meets in Lab- or Temple, Bay St., 2nd and 4th Wednesdays 8 p.m. For business, and 1st and 3rd Wednesdays to discuss matters of interest to every worker. Workers unite and run Port Arthur for the benefit of the workers. Herbert Barker, 26 Rutland St., Sec.—252.

SOUTH PORCUPINE Local No. 32, S.D.P. of C., holds business and propaganda meetings every Sunday at 3 p.m. in the Miner's Union Hall South Porcupine. Tom Meyers, Sec., Box 521.—252.

COTTON'S WEEKLY is published in the interests of Socialism by Cotton's Co-operative Publishing Co., Inc., Cowansville, P.Q. W. U. Cotton, Pres., Roy Winn, Sec.-Treas.

Sayings of Horace Traubel

"I want the living word. How can I get it? By speaking out of my heart instead of out of books. By not trying to write. By living."

"I don't try to be anything. I just let myself be whatever results. Who is the criminal? The man who steals goods, or the man who violates a thought?"

"The man who argues about his sins is sick. It's an awful thing for a man to want to be good. It's as awful for a man to want to be bad."

The slave of alcohol is too often first the slave of capitalism.

ONTARIO'S CHANCE

To run a candidate for member of parliament requires a deposit of \$200. This deposit is forfeited to the government unless the candidate polls one half the number of votes received by the winning candidate.

There are 221 constituencies for the Dominion House, and there will be more when the redistribution bill, now before the house is passed.

For the Socialists to run a candidate in every constituency would require deposits amounting to over \$45,000.

In British Columbia a candidate has to put up \$100 before he can run for the local legislature. As there are 42 seats, the Socialists, to run a candidate in every constituency would have to put up \$4,200.

In the other provinces except Ontario, the deposit for a candidate for the local legislature is \$200. The following are the number of members in each legislature and the amount of deposits required to place a full ticket in the field.

Prince Edward Island, 15 members, \$3,000 in deposits. Nova Scotia, 38 members, \$7,600 in deposits. New Brunswick, 48 members, \$9,600 in deposits. Quebec, 51 members, \$10,200 in deposits. Manitoba, 41 members, \$8,200 in deposits. Saskatchewan, 54 members, \$10,800 in deposits. Alberta, 56 members, \$11,200 in deposits.

In Ontario province alone no deposit is required for the nomination of a candidate. A filing fee of \$2 alone is required. So to place a candidate in each one of Ontario's 106 constituencies would cost only \$212—just a little over the deposit required for one candidate in the Dominion elections.

In the present financial condition of the Social-Democratic party, it is manifestly impossible to place many candidates in the Dominion field, or in the provincial of those provinces where a \$200 election deposit is required.

It seems to us that the Socialists of Ontario should make every effort to place a candidate in every possible constituency.

In the 1911 provincial elections the Socialists ran nine candidates and polled 3,604 votes out of the 420,000 votes cast. In Kingston no Socialist candidate was run and A. E. Ross was returned by acclamation. In London the Hon. Adam Beck was also returned by acclamation. Socialist candidates should certainly be run in both these places.

It is none too early for the Socialists to begin their campaign for the next provincial elections.

Why Socialists do not go to Church

Yewwood, Alta., Feb. 5th, 1914.

Editor Cotton's Weekly.—It may interest the comrades in Canada to know why this locality has not been heard from in the matter of supporting the Miners of Vancouver Island.

Saturday, Jan. 3rd, 1914, a mass meeting of farmers was held in the Yewwood school house and after the purpose of the meeting had been accomplished, an adjourned meeting was held for the purpose of reorganizing the Broadview Local of the U.F.A. Organization was completed and four farmers paid in while ten signed the roll.

At this meeting I introduced a resolution condemning the action of the B. C. government and calling upon the minister of Justice to hold an investigation, much along the same lines as a number of other resolutions. I had the motion seconded, then spoke to the motion and asked for a vote.

At this point a Methodist preacher, Alexander McCombe, by name, who had come in late, and who was not a member of the union, got up and denounced the resolution as ridiculous, unjust and absurd and a few other things. We had a good Liberal heeler in the chair, and though the preacher was not a member of the union, he was permitted to have the floor as long as he wished, and he spoke along the same lines for quite a while, but never advanced any arguments. Just declared that if such a motion were carried he would never have anything to do with the union, etc. He managed to carry the day with the farmers, and they voted the motion down.

Yet this preacher wonders why the Socialists don't go to church. This is the resolution.

To the Minister of Justice, Ottawa.—Sir: Whereas the miners of Dis. 28, U.M.W. of A. on Vancouver Island have been subjected to every form of persecution and oppression on account of conditions growing out of a strike of said miners, the strike growing out of the refusal of the Mineworkers of the locality to enforce the mining laws of B. C. and to recognize the union, and whereas, the B. C. government have without justification determined to further the interests of the mine owners by the use of the Militia the Court and the Jail. Therefore be it resolved, that we Broadview local U.F.A., protest against the action of the B. C. government who have sought to coerce the striking miners by introducing the militia and by railroading union and other officials to jail and we further demand that an investigation be forthwith instituted by the Dominion government and that pending its decision that persons awaiting trial be given their liberty, and further that an inquiry into the cases of those persons already sentenced be held. Resolved further that we forward a copy of these resolutions to the Minister of Justice, to the Grain Growers Guide, and to the head office of the U. F. A. at Calgary.

This is the resolution which a minister of the gospel opposed.

—T. EDWIN SMITH

On February 12th, at Florence, Italy, a successful experiment of exploding torpedoes from a long distance by means of the ultra-violet rays discovered by Guillelmo. The Italian inventor, was carried out. The torpedoes were exploded two miles away by means of the invisible rays. Warfare is becoming more and more a game of destruction by invisible terror. Is it not time the common people of all countries demanded the abolition of war, and war preparations?

Harcourt, Colonial Secretary, declared in the House of Commons that Great Britain could not meddle in the internal affairs of a self-governing colony. He declared this in a discussion of the deportation of strike leaders by the South African government. We can quote this precedent when the Social Democratic party captures the Dominion parliament and restores the means of wealth production to the Canadian producing class.

In the provincial by-election held in Victoria county, N.S., a Conservative was returned after the seat had been held for thirty years by the Liberals. Now this sham fight is over, the new Tory M.L.A. will take the place of the Liberal M.L.A. in maintaining the system of slavery in Nova Scotia.

The Lot of the Farmer

By L. C. Santop, Golden West, Sask.

A word with you about the farmers. In your article on the South Africa strike you say society being in a state of flux makes it easier for the workers to win. I say no. If society were more stable it would be no trick to win. We should have won long ago. The fact that society changes so fast is what prevents us winning. Your other remarks were right and sounded like business. We will win because of society's evolution, but the shifting of conditions makes new laws and new methods necessary.

Botha called the farmers to the colors to repress the strikers. Regarding the question industrially, if the farm laborers had been organized, how could the farmers have answered the call of Botha? Can a farmer leave milking the cows unless he has an attendant? It may be argued that the women could do the work. They might for a few days, but not for long. There would soon be conditions which were beyond women's capacity to handle, so when the farmers got home he would find himself ruined.

What can a farmer do in harvest without help, or with cattle in winter, or in seed time? The more out of date implements used, the more labor is required for a given amount of work. I think the farmer in the worst position of any as he is at the mercy of his men, if they chose to show him.

The farm laborers of Lancashire, England, have got higher wages and better conditions, and the farm laborers of Yorkshire are organizing to accomplish the same result. The farmers with a landlord as president, have been organized for years and have been holding their wages below a living level for married men. The result has been an increase of illegitimate children, and the farm laborers began to realize that they had different interests as a class to the employing farmers. The spread of education made the boys realize that the town workers were their friends. The reason why the town workers were regarded as hostile formerly was that in olden times the guilds upheld the interests of the town against country, the town workers supported the guilds, while the country workers were the henchmen of the manor lord.

The capitalist governments, under the pressure of the mining democracy gave free education in the country, and though the parson was the boss along with the squire and the education was far below the board governed town schools, still it was of a kind that enabled them to be more intelligent, and to realize their identity of interests as citizens.

The Capitalists are realizing their mistake and are changing the teaching in the country schools. The town children are taught the love of literature, painting, etc., the country children are being taught agriculture. The intention is to keep the country children in the country and by training to separate the workers into two classes, the town and the country. For my part I think the capitalists have begun the change too late. The country boys are well enough educated by now to stand up for themselves. Lloyd George evidently thinks so, as he is making such an awful noise about the condition of the farm laborers. When anyone of his class starts trying to help ours, it is because they see we are going to help ourselves, and so give us a half a loaf for fear we will take it all when we go after it.

The reason why farm workers are hard to organize, is because of their lonely lives. The long hours on the farm, and the isolated nature of the work make it impossible for them to see much of each other. Another reason is that the town workers who act together look down upon the country worker as an uncouth person, and do not extend their assistance to the work of organization.

In dealing with South Africa, you might have mentioned that if all workers had been organized into one big union, they could have all quit work, leaving the capitalists with only the farmers to help them. The farmers would have been compelled to return to guard the farms against sabotage.

The way we are treated by the governments the means adopted to disfranchise workers, the intimidation of voters, the methods used to prevent the spread of Socialism, all point to the conclusion that the only remedy is to let loose red hell. I hope not, and I am doing all I can to educate and organize, but it fails of some showing in the near future.

The fact that thousands are starving, and troops are being used to suppress strikes for better conditions, the fact that laws are made and unmade at the behest of capitalists without the people's consent, that laws neither changed nor repealed can be broken with impunity by moneyed men, the fact that women are considered of less value than dogs, men less than horses, lives less than time and profits, all show our horrible condition. If these facts continue to grow worse, as they are growing worse, and no remedy is provided, I for one will take the lead in fighting capitalism to a finish on the battlefield.

But in spite of all, the one outstanding fact is that capitalism must inevitably destroy itself.

The question is, can such destruction result in a tyranny of absolute despotism? I think that such destruction means liberty. I think that if the majority of the workers, if a majority of them are fools and will sell themselves to murder at so much a day, then capitalism will turn into tyranny but if the workers are educated, then the minority will have to yield and accept their freedom either in life or in death. Some who see this may be in favor of living slavery. If they are, let them line up with the capitalists, but if any prefer liberty, let them line up with the Socialists and capture all the seats, Dominion, Provincial, Municipal, at the next elections. If they do not, they will probably have to take sides when the red hell is let loose, for the next panic will try the temper of the masses to the breaking point.

"Social surveys" are now popular with the reformers. Many Canadian cities have organizations which investigate conditions and try and find out how immoral, how drunken, how ungodly the people are. These social surveys, however, dare not go to the root of our social ills, and point out that the system of private ownership and production for profit is the prime cause of the misery we endure.

Charles Edward Russel declares that the American railroads have been loaded to the limit through private greed and that it will take nine class shape. He holds that the private financiers are not able to meet this drain and that the government will have to take over the rails. Private Capitalist enterprise is heading towards bankruptcy.

What the majority of the people want, they can have. The way to get the co-operative commonwealth, therefore, is to show the people that Socialism will be to their interest.

AGRICULTURE AND MILITARISM

Canada is largely an agriculture country. The farmer scratches the earth for a living and he has to scratch pretty hard to accomplish that result.

The average farmer in Canada is either a Liberal or a Conservative. He calls it "our government at Ottawa, or at Quebec, or Toronto, or Charlottetown, or Halifax."

The governments, provincial and Dominion turn out tons of literature, and hours of talk for the benefit of the farmers, and many farmers think that this proves the governments are helping them.

But when we look at the question from the view point that money talks, the farmers are left in the lurch.

The following are the complete government appropriations for agriculture for the year 1913-1914.

Dominion Agriculture Appropriations \$3,183,725.00
Agriculture Instruction, Act. 700,000.00
Provincial Legislatures. 3,356,622.17

Total \$7,240,347.17
That is the total government assistance agriculture in Canada gets.

We are a non-militaristic nation, and yet the Dominion government is spending two and a half times as much for war preparations as it is for agriculture.

The estimates for 1914 laid before parliament for militia and navy are as follows:

Militia and Defence Department. \$10,867,000
Total barracks, drill halls, 2,460,000
Couries, ordnance buildings, etc. 2,530,000
Naval buildings under Public Works. 1,000,000
Daybooks, etc. 1,500,000

Extra placed under "civil government" 186,900
Extra Under Naval Service 144,300
Military branch of pension list 104,181

Total \$18,792,381

President Wilson turned the cold shoulder to give \$30,000,000,000 to British war-mongers, and Laurier wants to give the \$30,000,000 to Canadian war-mongers.

If the working farmers wish to have justice done to those who produce the wealth of Canada, the Liberal or the Conservative party is no place for them.

American Notes

The eighth annual convention of the International Brotherhood Welfare Association opened in Cleveland, Ohio, January 27th. Close to 400 unemployed were present. This is the "hobos union" of which James Fads How is president.

A new police have been arresting unemployed workers who have been demonstrating against starvation. Most of these arrested have been garment workers thrown out of work by stagnation of trade.

Mayor Mitchell of New York city is calling upon the big capitalists to hurry up their orders so that the 325,000 unemployed of that city may get work. The workers have no money to buy goods with, because they have no work which gives wages. The capitalists cannot set the workers to work, because they have no market for their goods, because the workers have no money because they have no work. And people have the impudence to say this system is a sensible one.

According to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, with the use of labor saving machinery one man can care for 4,000 or 5,000 fowls and such machine fed poultry costs less than the hand-cared for kind.

J. B. Riley, mayor protem of Macon, Georgia, has announced that he does not believe in Socialism, and therefore the Socialists must not speak on the street corners of Macon.

A new Russian Socialist weekly has been launched. It is called "The Ray" and is published at 417 Free Press Building, Detroit, Mich.

An attempt is being made to unite the United Mineworkers of America, and the Western Federation of Miners.

The New Haven, Conn. Socialists are demanding that in view of the outrages perpetrated upon the miners of Calumet, Mich., and Trinidad, Col., the government take over the mines.

Socialism is increasing in the state of Virginia. The Socialist vote for governor in 1909 was 1,377. The congressional vote in 1912 was 3,570, and the vote for governor in 1913 was 5,899.

Workers of Spokane are forty per cent unemployed.

Paul Storah and Meyer Schwartz, two striking miners of West Virginia, have been sentenced to sixty days in jail for contempt of court, by Judge Alston, Gordon Dayton.

They disobeyed the injunction issued by the judge which prohibited the striking miners holding meetings, paying strike benefits, talking to any man imported by the mineowners, etc. In passing sentence upon the men who belonged to the union, Dayton said: "These men belong to an organization that is unlawful and has no right to exist, as previously determined by this court, as they interfere with property rights."

Jacob Sechler Goxy, who twenty years ago led an army of unemployed to Washington, is planning to lead an army of half a million unemployed upon Washington again. The date fixed for reaching the capital is May 1st.

At a Socialist mass meeting in May 1st, Mich., held, February 1st, it was declared that the Ford scheme of profit sharing had brought 75,000 unemployed to Detroit. It was also pointed out that even if Ford gave \$10,000,000 additional in wages, the working class were not receiving all the wealth they created. Many Ford employees were in the audience.

Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, two of the Wheatland, Cal. strikers in the hop fields have been sentenced to life imprisonment. Last August District Attorney Maxwell and a Deputy Sheriff were killed in a fight at the Durst ranch when the Sheriff's posse endeavored to stop a mass meeting of the strikers.

Under present conditions the average worker who has slaved under the speeding-up system for a number of years, and done forty years of age. He is all in, and chucked to the discard for a younger, more virile work animal.

When we grow up we want put less value into our cities; we will put more love into them. The illusions of theology will fade in the reality of religion.—David Fulton.

Amherst: N. S. on the Map

Dear Comrades.—We have had our first fight for civic honors here, and although we have not been returned to the council, our hopes for we ran a mayor and three councilors, a man for every vacancy.

We nominated our candidate for mayor at the last minute, at least one hour before nominations closed. Our nominee-for-mayor Comrade Leon Knowlton polled 361 votes, and our nominees for councilors polled Comrade C. P. Balcock, 293 votes; Comrade A. E. Rockwell, 183; and Comrade Anthony Caine, 177 votes, notwithstanding the opposition out against us.

I may say that the Socialist ticket had no canvassers and in no way tried to influence electors to rally to their support. We nominated our men to find out just how many Socialist votes we had in Amherst. I consider our voting strength at between 150 and 175. Many who are Socialists and many who would favour the Socialist ticket had no votes or were scratched off the list.

We have laughed out. We had no compromise and no party trading. We will live to fight another day. We have sounded our slogan and unfurled our banner. Socialist activity has come to stay amongst the wage earners. We have caused Socialism to be talked about, and sent, or caused to be sent the Social-Democratic platform into between 3,000 and 4,000 homes in Cumberland County and its vicinity. Taking our activity on the whole, I believe, that we have given Socialism a boost in Nova Scotia. We have shaken up the old burg of Amherst and have shown to the wage earners who are for their rights, and who are against them. Meanwhile, we go on, preparing to win Cumberland County for Socialism. We are determined to contest wherever and whenever we can.

For long in wrath and degradation. Cold and hunger and privation. Have we borne the degradation. Of the rich men's spite.

But now disdaining pity, sorrow. Hope from brighter thoughts we borrow. Often shines the fairest morrow. After stormiest night.

Our stormiest night has passed. Every day brings enquiries as to what is Socialism, every meeting we see new faces appearing, and the workers of Amherst are awakening and when they do arise and demand their rights, we shall have a busier and brighter Amherst, with no underfed and no semi-clad youngsters, struggling through slush and snow packed for bodies, and no more workers toiling ten hours per day for \$1.50, while parasites, land sharks, and capitalist exploiters of human lives rob them of four fifths of the product.

Fraternally yours, An Amherst Red.

For You and Your Children

Workers of Canada! How is it that you, who produce all the wealth of this great country; you who invent, and manufacture, and think, and work for every necessary and comfort we enjoy; how is it you find a struggle to live, an anxiety to bring up your children, and an ever increasing hunger to provide food for bodies, clothing and shelter?

How is it that you, who produce everything, get little or nothing in return, whilst many who never work enjoy every comfort and luxury that life offers? Your children, often poorly fed and sparsely clothed, are being reared for bodies, and no more workers toiling ten hours per day for \$1.50, while parasites, land sharks, and capitalist exploiters of human lives rob them of four fifths of the product.

What is this system? It is private ownership of the means by which you live. Individuals own the land, the mines, the factories, the workshops, the railways, the ships, the shops, and all the mediums of exchange, which you already produce but cannot get to use as you need?

How are you to do it? Give up your faith in the capitalist, be he Liberal or Tory, and use your political power for the benefit of yourselves and your loved ones.—Save them from a life of struggle and poverty by making efforts to free yourself. Refuse to mislead any longer by the vain promises of those who are now your leaders, but strike out on a roadway of your own already begun by workers of this and every other land—a road which shall eventually lead you from slavery and poverty to freedom and light and beauty.

From the Socialist viewpoint the worker is a human being with a right to the full development of his nature. The capitalist worker is nothing but a hand to which unfortunately a stomach is attached which must be fed.

A provincial election in British Columbia is likely to be pulled off soon. Let the Socialists be preparing so that a large number of Socialist candidates will be in the field.

Mourning with Ruskin is not so much to the point as going to work with William Morris.—Gerald Stanley Lee.

The masters look so big to us only because we are on our knees.—David Fulton.

OUR FOREIGN TRIBUTE

The Canadian Gazette of London declares that the amount of foreign capital invested in Canada is seven hundred million pounds sterling (\$3,500,000,000), representing an annual interest charge of thirty-two million pounds sterling (\$160,000,000).

Every year the producers of Canada pay a hundred and sixty million dollars in tribute to foreigners.

The total revenues of the Dominion government do not equal this enormous sum.

The cry of the conservative party has been, "Canada for the Canadians." Yet when the question of our annual tribute is raised, the answer is given that the interests of the foreign investor must be protected.

The foreign investors take \$20 per year interest charges out of every man, woman and child in the Dominion. They take \$100 per year out of every family in Canada. As the working class produce all the wealth the foreign investors take more than \$100 per year out of the wealth produced by each working family.

Both Liberal and Tory parties are consenting to this drain. If you want this drain to continue either party will accommodate you. The Socialists are the only ones who stand for the abolition of rent interest and profit, and therefore of this annual drain.

If you, the working class, think you have the right to enjoy this \$160,000,000 annual wealth which you now produce, but do not get, your place is with us.

Henry Ford—Speed-up King

Much comment has been made on Ford's Profit Sharing Plan, either by the newspapers themselves or by prominent persons in business. But here are a few things that some workers have to say, who have been interviewed.

First of all let us consider the motive of Ford's change of heart. Only last summer Ford's plant paid less wages than any other automobile factory, worked its men harder, too. Registers are on many machines to record the number of pieces turned out by the machine tender. About twenty-five cents an hour was the average pay. Three years ago, 10 hours a day, later on, 9; then 9½; and 9 last summer were the working hours.

A few months ago, prior to the I. W. W.'s holding meetings at the Ford plant, thousands of men were laid off and told to come back later on. Coming back they were offered 23 cents per hour. See? Being unemployed these men couldn't go on strike, as they could if they had been informed of a cut in wages before being laid off. Clever trick! "Hurry up" was the cry from many a man. In the employment office, which comes to me from an I. W. W. friend, an average of 700 men quit or were canned during each day.

Then the I. W. W., with Rabinowitz, Walsh, Christ, Fischer and other speakers held meetings at Ford's plant. Almost a crowd greeted them, many members were secured, and general unrest developed among the workers in the shop. According to a well-informed worker, Ford's got 600 names of I. W. W.'s. A former shopmate of mine said to me the other day: "I was told by an office man in Ford's day that this \$5 a day move was to avoid a possible strike this season." Let the reader judge for himself whether or not the I. W. W. had anything to do with this raise in pay and reduction in hours, taking also into consideration the statement of Ford himself that there is a strike in his plant he will be to blame for it.

Now to the "after": Grocery stores and butcher shops are so to speak, clearing houses for information, where the women talk to one another about their husbands' good fortune to work for Ford. According to the report of all men received this raise, even those over 22 years of age. Three men, personally acquainted with the writer, one a foreman and the other an office man, complained and were told their cases would be "investigated" by the Russian church went to see the general manager to get the day off for the Russians. He was told "nix." About who stayed away got canned.

The number of pieces formerly turned out in 9 hours are now done in 8, with eyes watching everywhere all the time.

Last October, Ford was putting up an addition to his shop. The Sheldon Brick Construction Co. had the contract. Through employment union men on all contracts through the country out in Detroit it tried to employ non-union workers, for, in an open shop town one must do as the other bosses.

The union threatened, but Ford told the contractors to go ahead with non-union labor, for he would give him all the help needed. Nothing done, however, because a strike was threatened by all workers in the different cities on this firm's jobs.

A month ago the Vinton Carpenter Co. had the same trouble, and Ford again offered to surround the works with deputies to protect scab labor. This time, however, the union couldn't make it stick, and their men had to work side by side with scabs. This information comes from an active man in the carpenters' union, personally known to the writer.

Before this great raise took place in the Ford plant, the pay of the men was raised several cents an hour all round. Then a half hour for dinner was granted on the company's time. Now some shifts get only ten minutes.—Solidarity, Cleveland, O.

Robert Bickerdike, M.P., introduced a bill to abolish the death sentence. The bill was immediately shelved by Parliament. We as a nation have not yet emerged from barbarism in our criminal law.

The British navy expenditure this year will total \$270,000,000. And twenty-seven per cent of the British population live on starvation wages, while twelve millions of people went hungry.

Sam Hughes has always been a staunch defender of the Ross rifle, or the Ross rifle company. Sam is supposed to be a rich man. Has he an axe to grind?

Ever notice how the people so prone to so much about the glory of good, yet tell shy away from everything that looks like exertion?

Eugene V. Debs, who for so long a time was associated with the Appeal to Reason, has joined the staff of the National Rip-Saw of St. Louis.

Mines, mills, factories, railways are not capital in themselves. Only when they are used to exploit labor do they function as capital.

The contented worker with the large pale yellow streak in his makeup is the holy joy of the master class.

