



# DANIEL DE LEON

by Louis C. Fraina

From the New Review.

With the death of Daniel De Leon, the most powerful individuality in the American socialist movement passed away. De Leon's name was synonymous with revolutionary Socialism—that Socialism which rejects comparison, recognizes the social value of reform but refuses to deal in reforms, and considers revolutionary industrial unionism as the indispensable basis of Socialist political action and the revolutionary movement as a whole. De Leon saw clearly the impending menace of State Socialism, particularly within the Socialist movement, and his whole programme was an answer to that menace.

De Leon fought sturdily and uncompromisingly for ideas now popular when these ideas met only with scorn and ridicule; nearly every American expression of revolutionary theory and action bears the impress of his personality and activity; and revolutionary unionism hails him as its philosopher and foremost American pioneer.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party in a resolution paid tribute to De Leon's "honesty and singleness of purpose." But De Leon's activity was marked by more than "honesty and singleness of purpose," although these qualities in themselves are a heroic thing in the American movement, which often seems the negation of "honesty and singleness of purpose."

Opinions of De Leon jostle each other contradictorily—a shoddy intellectual and a genius; a martyr and a scoundrel; a cheap politician and a thinker who built for the future; a man of no principle. The New York Volkszeitung says that De Leon died a couple of decades too late and viciously stigmatizes him as a "destructionist," and that alone. The Call correctly terms him "truly great," but shows only a vague, though esthetic, appreciation of his personality and activity. And through all these opinions runs the strain of love and hate aroused by De Leon's peculiar personality, which colors all judgments of his career.

None deny De Leon's great influence in the Socialist movement. Many restrict that influence to 1890-1900; others extend it to the rise and decline of the I.W.W. The claim that this influence was wholly or largely personal ignores the movement in which it functioned, and smacks too much of the theological to deserve serious consideration. The Devil was painted wholly black in ages past. Milton realized that Satan was infinitely superior to the celestial hierarchy that fawned upon its Master.

The small movement that circumscribed De Leon's activity developed the Caesarian spirit of preferring to be first in a small Alpine village to second in Rome. It narrowed his mind and ideas, producing the anomaly of a revolutionary movement in comparison with his tremendous capacity; and prejudiced his ideas in the minds of many who ignore ideas which are not expressive of a large movement. And yet De Leon's contribution to the American movement was not large in itself, and larger still in comparison with the contribution, chiefly negative, of others.

De Leon was the first American Socialist to insist that the American movement adapt itself to the conditions of American life. Americanize itself, not in any jingo or opportunistic sense; but in the spirit dictated by Marxism, that is, economic and political necessity. American Socialism has been unfortunate in its theoretical and tactical aping of the German Socialist Democracy. The early American Socialists missed the significance of the spirit of the German movement, that you must not alone vision your ultimate ideal, but must adapt yourself to immediate conditions; you grapple with those conditions. This is the first principle of Socialist politics, which the German movement has put into practice. But the early American Socialists saw a large movement developing in Germany, and concluded that German methods were the most potent in America. The German movement was invariably hurled at De Leon's head whenever he argued on the basis of American conditions.

Early in his career the German Socialist Democracy adapted the general principles of Socialist political action to the special German conditions. It was wise strategy. Germany was not ripe for proletarian revolution; its bourgeois revolution had been left uncompleted; and the Social Democracy in its practical activity concerned itself with establishing bourgeois democracy and bourgeois reforms. De Leon accordingly concluded that its tactics could only remotely affect the American movement, which had no bourgeois revolution to complete. The United States is unique, politically, in having no remnants of feudalism, unique, economically, in being capitalistically the most developed; Americans have different traditions and a different psychology from Europeans. And De Leon sought to adapt theory and tactics to these conditions. I remember an editorial review of Gustavus Myers' History of the Great American Fortunes, in which De Leon praised Myers highly, not alone for the merit of his work, but because it dealt with American conditions. De Leon had nothing but scorn for those Socialist "writers" who are perpetually rehashing the fundamental theory of Socialism as laid down with sufficient clarity by men abler than themselves.

De Leon's first application of his theory was to lay particular emphasis upon the class struggle and revolutionary unionism.

The Socialist movement in 1890 was a weak thing. It oscillated between Anarchism and Populism, seemed to have no conception of the class struggle, and was living and fighting the problems of the European movement. It needed a dominant personality and emphasis upon the class basis of the movement. De Leon supplied both. The propaganda of class consciousness and class action was not so difficult in Europe as in America, and required less moral courage. In Europe class divisions were generally recognized and accepted; while in America fluid class conditions, free land and a pervasive bourgeois ideology obscured the class struggle, making its theory and practice all the more necessary. And De Leon hammered upon the idea of class struggle until it became part and parcel of the movement, resulting in uncompromising political action. This service can never be underestimated. In our peculiar American conditions it constitutes a greater achievement than similar services in any European country.

As a corollary to this, De Leon insisted upon revolutionary unionism, an insistence which crystallized into the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. And here the fight started. The reactionaries pointed to Germany

and said, "We must co-operate with the trades-unions." De Leon answered, "But in Germany the unions came after the political movement, and were largely built up by the Social Democracy. While here the unions are notoriously reactionary and corrupt." Different conditions dictate different tactics. De Leon and the S.L.P. acted accordingly, fought the unions and organized opposition unions. Was the S.T. & L.A. premature? Undoubtedly; but so was the old international premature; you must start somewhere; and pioneer work is indispensable. Yet the S.T. & L.A. prepared the way for the American Labor Union and the I.W.W.—both premature and both necessary. These experiments have yielded valuable experience and a philosophy of revolutionary unionism.

At the S.T. & L.A. period, De Leon's conception of revolutionary unionism as a political movement. He still had the old Socialist theory that the political movement must dominate the unions, as in Germany. (Later De Leon reversed himself, and correctly says that it is to shy revolutionaries must dominate the political movement.) At this period De Leon projected revolutionary unionism as an auxiliary of the political party, ascribing to it no decisive revolutionary mission. The S.T. & L.A. was largely a weapon to fight conservative A. F. of L. politics. The friends of the A. F. of L. roared in protest; and the Volkszeitung said ten years later, split the Socialist movement to the A. F. of L.

This is significant, and the councils and policy of the Socialist Party that have since inception been dominantly molded by the A. F. of L. and the Aristocracy of Labor. This was just the eventuality De Leon feared and fought against. And at this period De Leon's revolutionary unionism was largely a means to prevent the Socialist political movement being controlled by the aristocracy of Labor and the Middle Class—two social groups which, De Leon showed time and again, have certain interests in common and against the revolutionary proletariat.

And there surely is no matter way of holding a Socialist party true to its revolutionary mission than by insistence upon revolutionary unionism—an insistence which is bound to alienate the Middle Class and Aristocracy of Labor. A Socialist political party must favor revolutionary unionism, and actively propagate its tenets. There is not in the very nature of things there cannot be—any such thing as "neutrality towards the unions." The Socialist Party's "neutrality" has ended its own existence. It is the A. F. of L., and getting in return the support of the A. F. of L. machine—for the Wilson-Bryan party. The political movement is not a political party alone; it is the political phase of a revolutionary movement as a whole; and if revolutionary unionism is necessary, an indispensable, factor in the revolutionary movement, the political party must incorporate revolutionary unionism in its propaganda.

There is another vital reason for revolutionary unionism; it is the only adequate answer to the menace of State Socialism. De Leon early saw the impending dangers of State Socialism, and grappled with the dangers. His opposition to the Socialist Party was fundamentally caused by its State Socialist aspirations; its proposal of reformism and government ownership making for State Socialism or State Capitalism, in the interest alone of the Middle Class and the Aristocracy of Labor. De Leon originally fought this danger by insisting upon rigid class action and "no reform" politics, thus holding to the theory that control of the State was the way to revolution. But this in itself was insufficient. As long as control of the State is considered the only way to revolution, the State is unobtainable; you must have another agency outside the state to perform the revolutionary act. And De Leon seeing this clearly in course of development, solved the contradiction by re-asserting his old position, and emphasizing the mission of Industrial Unionism as the means for the revolutionary act—the overthrow of Capitalist Society and its State.

De Leon's espousal of Industrial Unionism and the I.W.W., and his development of an industrial philosophy of action, constitute the chief danger in his personality and activity. While he had no part in the conference which called the 1905 convention, De Leon was the dominating power in the convention itself, and for two years in the I.W.W. Impartial observers of the convention, like Paul F. Brissenden, have attested De Leon's supremacy—a supremacy of ideas and personality, as De Leon and his co-delegates of the S.T. & L.A. were in a very small minority.

De Leon's factors united to disrupt the I.W.W. There was the financial panic of 1907, the dishonesty of officials, which appeared at the early stage of all revolutionary movements, and the conflicts over political action. The chief factor was the fight over a revolutionary philosophy of action, and the conservative conception—a fight between the unskilled and the skilled. The I.W.W. at the start tried to bridge the gap between the two, and failed; and now the Haywood-St. John I.W.W. is trying to build exclusively upon the basis of the unskilled. Revolutionary Unionism at this stage must depend upon the unorganized and the unskilled.

De Leon's fight for political action in the I.W.W. was the cause of his being thrown out of the organization in 1908. It is a fight which will have to be fought again. Socialist Party timidity is creating a strong anti-political sentiment with which the movement will have to reckon. And De Leon's instance upon political action shows his broad conception of the revolutionary movement.

De Leon's activity in the I.W.W. was inspired by the following clear-cut conception of revolutionary action.

1. Industrial Unionism, organized in harmony with the mechanism of concentrated capitalist production, in the condition since the advent of the industrial revolution. Mere industrial unionism, however, is insufficient; it must be revolutionary industrial unionism.

2. By means of the industrial organization the workers can secure all the immediate betterments they require—immediate reforms which, gained by means of the power of the workers through mass strikes, constitute steps towards the final goal, developed the integrity and self-reliance of the proletariat, and prepare it for its historic mission.

3. The movement should not deal in political form. Reforms of this character benefit the Middle Class and the Aristocracy of Labor almost exclusively, and will be yielded by the ruling class itself—a theory now being proven by capitalist Progressivism. Political reform is a menace to the integrity of the revolutionary movement.

4. The Socialist political movement is purely agitational; its mission is not "constructive politics," but to lash outward the bourgeoisie against the aggressive policy, warm into life the revolutionary spirit of the workers, and courageously develop the necessary sentiment for revolutionary industrial unionism. Only upon this basis is political action justifiable.

5. The goal of the revolutionary movement is the overthrow of political government, which means the overthrow of all class rule—the substitution of industrial representation for territorial representation, industrial administration for political government. Industrial unionism not only organizes for the immediate, every-day struggles of the proletariat, but prepares the structure of the future society, organizes the Socialist State within the Capitalist State, ready to assume control of the State. In other words, the revolutionary act will be performed by the industrially organized proletariat; and Industrial Unionism will not only be the most powerful force in overthrowing Capitalist society but will constitute the basis of the Socialist society of the future.

It is obvious that this theory of the Revolution can be potent only when State Socialism is dominant. The Capitalist State is not yet bankrupt; it still has a mission to perform—the concentration of government control over industry and society, the development of a monstrous bureaucracy, which will make the overthrow of political government imperative, exhaustive, exhausting the benefits of purely political reform, and clarifying class lines. De Leon faced the menace of State Socialism; when the movement faces the reality it will be compelled by necessity to organize itself industrially for the overthrow of political government.

There is another corollary which De Leon only vaguely adumbrated, the necessity of placing revolutionary emphasis upon the unskilled. De Leon's merciless attacks upon the Aristocracy of Labor, his scorn of mere reforms, his belief in the increasing misery of the workers (true only of the unskilled), and his whole philosophy show that he saw the necessity of building upon the organization of the unskilled, and he never clearly formulated this theory, and did not sufficiently emphasize the role of the unskilled.

It was De Leon's great achievement that, in spite of the limitations of his period, he saw clearly ahead and projected a program which not only has immediate value but which becomes indispensable in the very near future.

De Leon's fight for Revolutionary Socialism has in all lands been pushed to the wall; reformism is now in the ascendant in the industrial movement. It was a fight against the temporarily inevitable. Was the fight, then, useless? Not at all. It did an indispensable pioneer work; it laid the basis for a successful fight later on; and it has given the American movement a revolutionary tradition, a heroic example.

Asking no quarter and giving none, De Leon fought as uncompromisingly for these ideas with a small group of followers as with a strong organization at his back. Men matter little to him; ideas were the chief thing. This attitude toward men and ideas was a serious flaw in De Leon's make-up. Herein he was typical of the old school of Socialists, who acted on the belief that the movement had to deal mainly with social forces, individual influences being of only slight importance. They neglected individual psychology, assuming that for all practical purposes it was sufficient to know that the social milieu conditions psychology. But that is not sufficient. While socially conditioned, individual psychology nevertheless becomes an independent factor in the social process as a whole; and motives which men engaged in organizing human forces must comprehend if they desire success. De Leon was not a psychologist; he misunderstood men and men and his wrong judgments of men often led him to harsh measures, rousing unnecessary antagonism.

Perhaps even more important was another source of weakness. While thoroughly honest in his ultimate purposes, never seeking a personal advantage unless he thought it in the interest of the movement, De Leon was sometimes dishonest in his methods of attack. He was temperamentally a realist, consistently acting on the principle that the end justifies the means. And he attacked opponents with all the impersonal implacability of the Jesuit. These methods crushed opponents and drove men of ability out of the S.L.P.; while a few, gravitating towards Socialism, developed the fanatical loyalty of a sect.

It is an error to conclude, however, that De Leon's personality and methods were responsible for the decline of the S.L.P. Other Socialists have had the identical faults and have not ruined the movement. There were other and more fundamental factors involved.

De Leon's uncompromising conception of the revolutionary movement was an obstacle to a large party being organized. The many non-proletarian economic groups in revolt slowly gravitating towards Socialism, the immaturity of the proletariat, have made impossible as yet a revolutionary party as conceived by De Leon. Accordingly, revolutionary ideas at this stage are potent only within a large and broad movement, as an educational force; not as the basis of an independent movement.

The S.L.P. ignored the psychology of struggling workers; its propaganda was couched in abstract formulas; just as its sectarian spirit developed a sort of sub-conscious idea that revolutionary activity consisted in enunciating formulas. This sectarian spirit produced dogmas, intemperate assertions, and a general tendency toward caricature-ideas and caricature-action; and discouraged men of ability from joining the S.L.P.

De Leon was not a "destructionist"; his ideas were premature; the limitations of his period hampered him; and you cannot call a man in the clutch of these circumstances a "destructionist."

And having considered these defects of De Leon's character, just a few words about his truly noble traits.

His personality was vivid, compelling, constituted to arouse active love and active hate. His thorough honesty and great earnestness for the movement are an inspiring thing, and the power and nobility of his inner character were suggester in his outward appearance.

His bearing was powerful, dominant; his appearance magnificent. His short neck was sunk in between drooping shoulders, above which towered a massive white head, worthy of posing for a Rodin "Thinker." His imaginative forehead rose in a curve and described a semi-circle with the back of a perfectly shaped skull. In contrast with the backward curve of the rising brow was the forward

projection of cheek bones and chin, characteristic of his aggressive personality. The wrinkles and beard, protecting a firm, amorous mouth, emphasized the power of a strong face, serene in its intensity and intense in its serenity. In the corners of his deep-set piercing eyes lurked a laughing, mischievous twinkle, full of a humanity which often broke through his reserve, lighting his face with a human glow which made you expand in its delicate warmth. The only defect of that truly unique face was a big, vicious nose. De Leon dressed shabbily—from necessity. Yet he had the artist's love for good clothes. A comrade one evening entered his office, dressed for a social function. De Leon complimented her on her pretty dress. "Oh a trifling vanity of the flesh," she answered lightly. "Ah, no," replied De Leon. "You say that out of regard for me; my own clothes are so shabby." "That man," said a friend of mine, "though clad in rags, would still be the aristocrat."

And this aristocrat—with the pink skin, delicate hands and cultured ancestry—broke completely with his class to devote himself to Socialism. All his former connections were severed; his old world ceased to exist for him. The man was too big, too earnest, possessed too much depth of feeling, to take an academic interest in Socialism; as a member of the Socialist Labor Party, De Leon became wholly identified with the movement. This fiery sincerity and intolerance of half-measures were typical of De Leon's whole activity.

Socialists of today can hardly realize the courage and character expressed in this activity. The Socialist movement, twenty-five years ago was an insignificant thing; it was not important enough to attract intellectuals. De Leon was a lecturer on international law at Columbia University; openly to avow himself a Socialist was to lose caste with his associates, inviting ridicule and contempt; activity to identify himself with the movement was to be thrown bodily out of the university. All his brilliant prospects of a truly great academic career he thrust aside; he left a gap in the making. Nor did this mean sacrificing a career alone; it meant a complete change in life, in habits, in methods of thought—a temperamental revolution. It meant giving up the common comfort of life—frugality instead of good living; lack of a home; the interests of a man; poverty of the worst sort of a man accustomed to comfort, and with a family to support.

A year before his death De Leon was offered a good position with a prominent firm of lawyers and a handsome salary. He considered resigning as editor of the West Side. He was old, sixty-one years old; poverty was acute; and his children needed an education; "I have sacrificed myself; I have sacrificed my wife; but have I the right to sacrifice my children?" His friends dissuaded him. De Leon, as editor, received a salary starting at \$12 a week and ending at \$30 a week; yet at his death the S.L.P. press owed him \$3,500 back salary. And he never received a cent for his many articles, lectures, and scores of translations, agitation tours, and scores of translations.

De Leon never complained. He suffered; suffered silently. Never a bitter word; never a regret; smiling activity was his answer to adversity. The Revolution was worth it all! Truly, the man was a heroic figure.

Morris Hillquit, in his "History of American Socialism," asserts that the split in the movement in 1899 was due to the efforts of De Leon and his friends. As a matter of fact, the Hillquit group of seceders were overwhelmingly German; while De Leon had the English organization, the majority, staunchly behind him. Hillquit and Berger have consistently introduced into our movement all the vices and none of the virtues of the German Social Democracy.

De Leon was essentially a pioneer in a pioneer movement, but he scarcely realized this pioneer character of his ideas and activity. Had De Leon realized this limitation, his acts would not have been so hasty, impatient, often intolerant. Tact and patience, pliability and not rigidity, should be the characteristics of a pioneer. De Leon saw things loom large in a state of crisis, and acted much as if he were in the midst of the Revolution with a powerful movement at his back.

De Leon was the first Socialist in America whose Socialism was Marxist in spirit. He was a brilliant Marxist, and his principle of "Americanizing" derived less from study of American conditions than from his grasp of Marxism. In this Americanizing process, De Leon neglected a few important factors subsidiary to the fundamental factors which he grappled with. He ignored the problem of the backward South and the subjection of the Negro. He failed to tackle the problem of the American judiciary, the usurped powers of which menace democracy. He seems never to have realized the importance of a national system of labor legislation in America, which would not only improve the workers' living conditions, but the struggling character of the capitalist new unity and impetus to the labor movement. These last two things have been taken up by the Roosevelt Progressives in a conservative manner and for a conservative purpose subsequent to the agitation of Herman Simpson, who, while a member of the New York Call, grappled with these problems in a Marxist, that is, revolutionary manner, seeking to make the Socialist party drive forward the bourgeois progressives, instead of trailing in their rear. As M. Simons in his "Farmer-ize" the Socialist Party into a "revolutionary" and non-proletarian "Americanizing," making concessions to farmers and Middle Class.

Another factor was the desertion of Socialist Party men, such as Ernest Untermann, A. M. Simons and Eugene Debs; Simons and Untermann being disgraced at De Leon's supremacy, and Debs being unwilling to face the issue of the bitter internal fight. As an instance of the methods used in attacking De Leon, I may mention Simons' charge in committee that De Leon was a police-spy and should be denied admission to the convention. De Leon was sometimes abusive and intolerant in attack, but he never went as far as his opponent, Y. C. Call, retracted, as in the case of Wayland and Ben Hanford. De Leon was not the intolerant bigot derided by his enemies; one instance in proof being his praise of the New Review, although representing a different tendency from his own.

Isn't it asking a good deal to insist that a man be patriotic over the private property of a few millionaires?

## SOCIALIST DIRECTORY

- ALBERTA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE S.D.P. of C. meets every first and third Thursday evening at 7:30 p.m. in Moore Hall, Frank Ave., Edmonton. Comrades desiring assistance in organizing local please write Sec. C. Spencer, 1014 St. Edmond, Edmonton, Alta.—26.
- BRITISH COLUMBIA Executive S.D.P. of C. meets in British Hall, 286 Pender St., East Vancouver, on Tues first and third Sunday of every month, at 8:30 p.m. General Business Meeting on third Sunday, 7:30 p.m. Sec. City Heights, P. O. Vancouver, B.C.—25.
- DOMINION Executive Committee, Social Democratic Party of Canada meets every first and third Monday at 8 King Street East, Toronto, sec. 61 Weber St. East, Berlin, Ont.—23.
- MANITOBA Executive Committee S.D.P. of C. meets every second and fourth Monday night at Headquarters Hall, 211 Jarvis Ave. For information literature write to Prov. Sec. J. Fender, Box 162, Winnipeg, Man.—24.
- ONTARIO Provincial Executive Committee, S.D.P. of C. meets the 2nd and 4th Thursdays of every month, 8:15 p.m., Labor Temple, 121 Church Toronto. Secretary, F. C. Young, 22 Wrote Avenue—26.
- AMHERST, N.S. Local No. 1, S.D.P. of C. meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p.m. in the old school building, 430 Main Street. Comrades, regard it as your duty to be a regular attendant. All are cordially invited. T. H. Don Sec. 12 Lundy St., Amherst, N.S.—22.
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Conan Doyle says Britain is tired of the suffragettes. He means the master class of Britain. Why democratic vote makes the master class tired.

Hail smiling morn, when the votes of the proletariat will have decreed that the plut shall go to work and do his share of the world's producing.

Plute papers say that the I.W.W. is becoming a serious menace. Labor of all descriptions is becoming a serious menace to the rule of rent, interest and profit.

There is little worth while in this world except labor. Yet labor and those who perform are despised by the very people who father of the skill and ingenuity of others.

Recently a magazine offered a special prize for a national song for Canada. Some comrade should have sent them the "International." It would sound better than the wishy-washy muddle which is now used.

The best of brawn and muscle from the youth of the land is what the masters are looking for. The man of forty or so is not wanted. He cannot keep pace with the vigor of youth. The scrap heap for him.

Fifteen hundred cadets have gone into training at Three Rivers, P.Q. Boys from the schools were enrolled. The fathers are getting enough sense not to join the militia. Hence the masters are robbing the cradles for murderers to carry out their will.

A Philadelphia minister told his congregation that "rotten politics" was behind the whole trouble in Colorado. We would ask this gentleman what other kind of politics he ever saw? "Rotten politics" are the very foundation of the old parties, and will so remain till the whole capitalist system is swept away.

West Virginia has gone dry. The referendum to abolish places of selling liquor within the state carried by over 90,000 majority. The big employers, however, threw the weight of their political power upon the side of prohibition. A sober wage slave is a more profitable one than a drinking slave, and the masters are out after profits.

Fifty-five children faced the judge in the Montreal juvenile court one day recently. Capitalism plunges these children into a life among the slums where everything vicious may be easily learned. They have no chance to live the life they should be allowed to lead. They are marked from birth by their environment. The courts of law are the natural end of their line of life.

The Toronto Globe in its abolition of the bar campaign cut out liquor ads for a time. Now it is crying over the great financial sacrifice which it made in its efforts to abolish the bar. Poor old Globe! Its feet has not been in the public trough for years, it has cut itself off from the revenue of the booze makers, and it is in a sorry state of affairs, what old party politics lead one to.

Thirteen persons were drowned while going to a Fourth of July celebration at Juneau, Alaska. Patriotism spells death to the patriot no matter where he may be. Rivers, lakes, oceans, the very earth, are full of misguided individuals who had the patriotic bug. They are dead now, and patriotism still weaves its dirty web to catch the unwary and makes cannon fodder for the armament trust.

The world's wheat crop shows an increase this year. A daily paper says "That ought to help." Pray tell us who it will help. Will it help the dweller? Will it help the out of work? No. If there is a bumper crop of wheat it will help nobody but the grafters who fatten on the sweat of the farmers. Under the present system a huge crop does not even help the farmers who produce it. Excess of a bare living due, it is taken away from the farmer by the railroads, elevator companies and brokers.

Ten thousand people signed a petition asking that the life of Kratzenko, the Plum Coulee murderer, be spared. A daily paper says that most of us now living will see capital punishment abolished in Canada. If it is to be abolished, and most everybody is sure that it will be, why not abolish it now, at once? What is the use of waiting years and years and stretching the necks of dozens of poor unfortunates if the crazy custom must be abolished? Banish the devilish capitalist system, and the crop of murderers will soon disappear entirely.

With all the complications of this vast and confusing interplay of the forces of this age, the city is intricately bound by its social responsibility for so much that is bad, for so much that is good, in our time. And in the cities, now as always, the struggle for liberty will go on, the old leaders will pass, and the new will pass, and pass swiftly, for they are quickly consumed in the stress and heat of the passionate and savage struggle. To them must ever come the fatigue of long drawn opposition, of the repeated and unavailing assaults on the cold, solid and impenetrable walls of institutions. In this fatigue they may grow conservative after a while, and they should pray to be spared the acquiescence of the middle years, the base capitulation of age.—Brand Whitlock.

The city of Montreal made a threat that they would deport thousands of laborers who had been in the country three years and under, on account of the starving condition of the Montreal labor market. These men have become public charges to a large extent. The railroad companies, which coaxed the immigrants to this country on false promises have no further use for them, as work has largely ceased on the railroads. They foisted them on the cities to get along as best they could. Since the announcement of the deportation hundreds upon hundreds of the foreign element have applied for deportation. They are sick of the "land of milk and honey," and anxious to get back to their native land, broke and weary, where at least they will not starve to death. Now the authorities are in a quandry. They are sending about five hundred each month, and cannot handle the applications. In the meantime the agents of the steamship and railroad companies in Europe are breaking their necks trying to induce others to come to this country. Sweet promises in the old country, sweet merry hell and starvation when they land here. Then they tell us that workers could not possibly conduct the affairs of the country. Possibly true, looking at it from a capitalist standpoint.

CAPITALIZED FARMING

There is many a little farmer who imagines he is on the way to prosperity because he works night and day and owns the title deeds to a few acres of dirt.

This kind of a farmer is the one who came off the back of South Africa at the call of Premier Botha and carried out the orders of martial law against peaceful strikers.

This is the kind of a farmer who went down to the waterfront in New Zealand and applied force to peaceable transport strikers.

This is the kind of a farmer who joined the Canadian militia and longs to poke holes in the workers who refuse to work in the hot July and August weather in harvest time, and turned loose with a few dollars to face the rigors of a Canadian winter.

These little farmers are at present the backbone of the capitalist support in Canada.

Their hours are interminably long, and when they have paid for depreciation on farm buildings, help, tools, work animals, their net income does not come up to that of a skilled mechanic.

The capitalists have been willing to allow the farmers to take the risk of ownership, manage the farm, and work. The capitalists thus save the cost of management and get the work done for less than they would pay a skilled helper. They have been content to own the railroads, the harvester machine companies, the elevators, etc. They have skinned the farmer to a fine, glossy finish, (you can see this glossy finish on the farmer's sweating face.)

The railway building era is drawing to a close in Canada. The government is beginning to take over the railroads, so the capitalists are going into farming.

The traction pulverizer replaces the horse-drawn plough. The milking machine replaces the farm hand. The corn cutter replaces the sickle.

The small farmer cannot own these tools. If he attempts to buy them the price and interest eats up his farm and he is separated from his little deeds.

He sticks to hand methods, works longer, gets smaller pay and eventually goes broke. If he buys he busts and if he does not buy he busts.

The farm becomes an estate and the wage slave replaces the working owner.

The hard times in the west is the capitalist squeeze applied to shake out the small owner. The small owner is hard hit but Socialism advances. For Social production replaces individual production and prepares the way for social ownership. The army of propertyless slaves increase and the deluded army of small farmers diminishes.

The wise small farmer of the west turns Socialist. He throws in his lot politically with the wage workers and votes to overthrow the system of private ownership.

EDUCATION NECESSARY

The wage workers of Canada need education as to their class position in society and the necessity of abolishing capitalism.

This task rests upon the Socialists. We must permeate the mass with knowledge.

If we do not know the fundamentals of Socialism we cannot communicate them to others.

Every local, therefore, should have an economic class in which Marxian economics are taught. Once the fundamentals are grasped, questions can be answered and there is no danger of being blown about by unsound winds of capitalist doctrine.

A speakers' class should also be formed. Not only must we know, but we must be able to communicate our knowledge to others. Soap box orators must be trained to effective public speaking. The greater the number of good speakers we have in the movement, the quicker the task of permeating Canada with Socialist economics will be accomplished.

If these economic and speakers' classes are not already a part of your local's activity, start them as soon as possible.

OIL FOR FUEL

Oil is the fuel of the future. On the Pacific coast oil is displacing coal on the ships.

Coal in San Francisco costs seven dollars a ton. A barrel of oil costs sixty cents, and four barrels of oil are equal to one ton of coal. The saving in fuel on medium sized ships trading out of San Francisco is seventy-five dollars a day, a saving which means eventual bankruptcy for shipping companies using coal.

Besides the saving in the cost of fuel, labor is displaced on the ships. In putting coal on board many hands are employed. The oil is simply pumped into the ship. No dust, no scrubbing of decks after coaling. The pump replaces the wage slave.

In feeding oil to the furnaces little labor is used. The oil is automatically sprayed and all the labor needed is an occasional regulation of the spray. No stokers down in the heat. On one ship as many as twenty-one wage slaves were sacked when the change in fuel was made.

Oil burning engines are displacing coal burning engines on railroads. This is having a significant influence upon the coal mining industry.

A despatch from Wilkesbarre, Pa., declared that the Lehigh Valley and Wilkesbarre coal companies employing thirty thousand men, shut down from July 1st to July 6th. Over supply of coal was given as the reason. The Susquehanna Coal Company and the Kingsport Coal Company put their miners on half time. Coal production, moreover, in British Columbia and in Colorado has been seriously curtailed by the stoppage of work through labor disputes. And still the market is oversupplied.

The miners strike for better conditions, in certain quarters, and the masters shut down the mines in other places also because too much coal is produced. How far can trades unionism get us, then, in solving the problems of unemployment and competition for jobs? Unionism gets us a very little way save with regard to crafts requiring special skill, and then in those crafts the wages correspond only to the more costly care of the wage slave necessary to carry on the labor.

The workers will have to adopt the Socialist remedy, namely, that the collective working class shall own and operate the whole of the industry. Then if labor saving appliances or more economical fuel are introduced, the workers will either have more leisure by less work, or more comfort, by the same amount of work. The present system pays the workers a beggar's wages while working, and turns him out to starve when he has overstocked the market by his labor.

From Jest to Earnest

C. P. Calliford, Beachville, Ont. An empty headed duke once said to Thomas Carlyle at a dinner:

"The British people, sir, can afford to laugh at theories."

Carlyle, scowling, replied: "The French nobility of a hundred years ago thought that they could afford to laugh at theories too. But a man came and wrote a book called 'The Social Contract.' This man was Jean Jacques Rousseau, and his book was a theory and nothing but a theory. The nobles could laugh at his theory, but their skins went to bind the second edition of the book."

Some people today laugh at Socialism. They say that it is impracticable, and that Socialists are a lot of theorists. While we have no desire to dishonor the memory of Karl Marx by hindering the second of third edition of Capital with the skins of these scoffers, we would remind them that all great advances in the reconstruction of society must first be worked out in theory. Socialism has never yet been tried, so what right has anyone to say it is impracticable? Socialism can never be tried until capitalism is abolished. You cannot put new wine into old bottles, because it will burst the old bottles.

When Socialism is tried, then Capitalism will have to be abolished. A certain newspaper tried to make out that Socialism had proved a failure in Milwaukee, because the Socialists were not elected to office. Seidel and his associates certainly accomplished a lot of good during the two years they held office, as anyone can ascertain, by looking in their records; but how could any sane person expect these men to practise Socialism with the State and Federal authorities opposing them at every turn. The railroads were still privately owned, the profit-mongers were still exploiting the labor of wage slaves and everything controlled under a capitalist regime, and in spite of these impediments the Socialists accomplished much for the advancement of the working classes. I used to think it too brainy to edit even a capitalist paper, but as long as the public is gullible enough to swallow the dope some of the fat-headed editors hand out, then a plaster-of-paris brain would do to edit a capitalist paper.

People with money to burn, don't usually sift ashes, but frequently shift asses, mules, or working men to different locations.

Capitalist:—"Not all who ought to, auto..." Socialist:—"Not all who auto, ought to."

THE PRESIDENT "PULLED A FACE." A good story is told apropos of the human side of the President of the United States.

The President was out for a ride in his motor car one afternoon. The machine passed a small boy standing beside the road.

"Did you notice that that boy did when we passed?" the President asked.

"No, Mr. President, I did not."

"He made a face at me."

"Is it possible?" exclaimed the shocked companion. "I didn't observe him."

"He did," said the President, "but did you notice what I did?"

"Well," answered the President happily, "I made a face right back at him!"

In this age of deference and fawning upon those in authority, it is indeed refreshing to read of even a small boy making faces at the present.

To witness the boot-licking demonstrations which take place when royalty travels is repulsive to any sensible person.

One of the great evils of our present educational system is the inculcation into youth of the idea of being "sot on" and Mr. Capitalist is the natural preceptor of the child but frequently retards the development of independent thought. Whenever I meet a young man who is scrupulously polite, and constantly exclaiming, "I beg your pardon, I usually size him up as having roots to let in for the coming day," I do not imply that he should be rude to one another, but let us at least be natural; and as capitalism creates unnatural conditions, then let us remove capitalism and inaugurate Socialism, which will create natural conditions with freedom for all.

Politeness is on the curriculum of all our educational institutions, because, like charity it covers a multitude of sins, and the chief aim of capitalist supporters is to hide sins instead of removing them.

Grannie:—"Why should I take another chair Gerald? Don't you think I'm comfortable here?"

Gerald:—"Yes, gran'ma; but I'm afraid my little kitten isn't—she's there too."

The workingman is something like the kitten in this joke; he lets the capitalist sit all over him, and the Socialist, remonstrates, the capitalist says, "I'm quite comfortable thank you." The time is not far distant when the Capitalist will leave to take another chair, and release the wage workers beneath him. The Socialist kitten is tired of being "sot on," and Mr. Capitalist is already beginning to feel his claws. Cotton's Weekly is educating the worker to a sense of his position, and points the way to economic freedom.

You wage workers who are already class conscious, can best sharpen up your claws for the coming fray by putting Cotton's Weekly into the hands of those who are ignorant of this position and power.

Of every hundred persons subject to military duty in Germany, 58.9 per cent of the farmer lads are fit for service. This is a capitalist report. The soldiers of the Kaiser in the towns and cities are union men and Socialists, and not to be relied on to the extent that the authorities require. Therefore the country lads are colonized to the skies, and declared to be excellent examples for soldiers. The same in Canada. Sam Hughes cannot handle his city regiments when it comes to active murder work. He therefore recruits among the ignorant country class as far as possible. Boys of any age are taken. They will be taught to shoot, and they will shoot when told to, for they know no better. The enlightened union soldier will not shoot his brother worker.—This state of affairs nettles the Hon. Sam, but what can he do?

The Duke of Connaught, Canada's royal figurehead, is certainly earning his idle inspecting boy scouts and cadets and incidentally shooting the stereotyped strike of royal taffy at the boys. Poor old duke! The capitalist government of Canada is giving him the best time it can. It has no useful thing for him to do, and he could not do it if he was asked to, so the government lets him down as easily as possible. There are some people who ask us what Socialists would do with such men as the duke were Socialism in power. The answer always should be: Nothing, just let him fade away.

THE UNEMPLOYED

A host of unemployed are on the verge of starvation throughout Canada.

A few years ago when the capitalists began to develop their property of the Dominion of Canada they needed slaves, thousands and tens of thousands of slaves. Canada had a sparse population and so the slave class had to be imported.

The masters did not advertise for slaves or tell the immigrants the real conditions. They lied. The government agents lied. Immigration courts were placed in all important centres of Western and South Western Europe and were paid on the basis of the number of dupes they could inveigle into coming to Canada.

Glowing pictures were painted of the prosperity in this new country. The slaves were told how they could escape from slavery by emigrating to Canada.

The slaves came and were flung into the mines or on the railway lines, were exploited to the limit and maimed and killed.

In the Hillcrest disaster the majority of the persons killed were foreigners inveigled here by the tales of prosperity. The reward for their foolishness in coming was to be blown into unrecognizable shape by a mine explosion.

How many have been killed on the railway construction lines, no one knows. For the victims were buried in unnamed graves and the contractors kept the news of deaths quiet. However, we may guess the enormous toll by the capitalist figures from Africa. The average number of victims killed on the Cape to Cairo line, which is nearing completion, was ten workers to the mile; and the capitalist papers put the capitalists on the back for the small toll of lives exacted.

The railway lines are nearing completion. The construction slaves are being sacked and are flocking penniless into the cities. They are clamoring for work and food. They were robbed of their surplus values by contractors who have become multi-millionaires, and they were robbed even of their wages by exorbitant charges for food and supplies.

The government has a remedy. The Dominion government has announced its intention of deporting to the land of their origin all slaves who have landed within the last three years and who have had food given them by public bodies.

The immigrants came full of hope, slaved and are to be returned broken and penniless to the countries from which they came.

This is how the capitalist government treats the working class.

The masters own the railway lines and the mines and mills built by the slaves, and the slaves are returned as undesirable aliens to the lands whence they came.

This is what the slaves of Canada voted to accord to their fellow workers when they voted for Borden and Laurier and the capitalist lickspittles infesting the House of Commons at Ottawa.

THE BUBONIC PLAGUE

The bubonic plague has invaded American southern ports. To stop the ravages of the plague a rat hunting campaign is on. Thousands of rat traps in various cities have been set.

Plague carry the germ of the plague, in fest rats, and the rats spread the disease in inhabited houses. People become infected and infect other people. So the rat is to be exterminated as much as possible.

In the dark ages when the church controlled religious processions were held and the benighted powers were invoked to stop the spread of the affliction. The affliction kept on working overtime till it wiped out millions of people.

Now rats are hunted, and the plague is stayed.

We look back upon the ancient Egyptians as being heathenish and unenlightened. They worshipped animals such as the cat. But the ancient Egyptian worshipping the cat protecting it showed more sense than the medieval Christian holding processions and dying.

Plague carry the germ of the plague, in fest rats, and the rats spread the disease in inhabited houses. People become infected and infect other people. So the rat is to be exterminated as much as possible.

When we get down to material causes and find out the laws governing physical life and death, we will be more reasonable than now.

RACE SUICIDE

"War is a good thing as it kills off the surplus population."

That is a remark frequently made to Socialists.

If too many people are born into the world and have to be killed off by war, people born into the world? In other words, race suicide is preferable.

Robert Ingersoll in one of his lectures used to picture with all the wealth of his imaginative vocabulary, the love and tender solicitude of the mother for her child. He would picture her sufferings and longings and hopes and the beauties of family life, and he would conclude by asking his audience of all that wealth of love and suffering were but to produce "kindling wood for hell."

Is the end of a mother's suffering, anxiety, love and labor to be to produce, food for cannon? Then by all means let us practice race suicide.

In former ages plague, famine and pestilence, war and religious persecutions wiped out tens of millions of people. The birth rate has to be high to replace the waste.

Now plague, famine, pestilence and religious persecutions have ceased and war is near an end. Babies born are being saved instead of dying from preventable causes. The waste of human life is vanishing. Therefore, a high birth rate is no longer necessary—and race suicide is coming into vogue.

This is looked upon with horror by many persons but the immorality of one age becomes the morality of the next.

The king will visit the mine districts of Scotland. What the miners should do with dapper little George is to take him down and lose him in some of the dangerous passages of the mines, where the slaves are forced to toil night and day risking their lives for the class to which George belongs.

By the time the boot-licking sycophants of royalty found him, he would have a better conception of what labor has to perform in the bowels of the earth in order that his royal shins may be kept warm. Down with George!—in the mines we mean.

Political democracy is a great step in advance over political tyranny. Political democracy gives the workers the ballot. It is not an end but a means to an end. The ballot is a means a leverage in the hands of the workers which they can use to become masters of industry and enjoy the wealth they create.

To understand a man's actions, study his economic interests.

The man who wears the blinders of prejudice can not have a social vision, he cannot see the meaning of the world's unrest.

President Wilson has been inviting the big capitalists to Washington to discuss the business outlook. Morgan went and came away smiling.

It is a certainty that if capitalists enjoy the product of labor without doing useful work, others do useful work without enjoying what they produce.

To a capitalist an "honest" government means one which will hand the swag over to the capitalist class without the politicians demanding a rakeoff for their services.

Report comes of a woman who has milked nineteen cows every day for a whole year. And it is a one best bet that she is wearing the same old calico dress she wore when she started on the cows.

The growing contempt of the scab shows how sentiment is changing. The changing sentiment is due to economic conditions. The producing class are realizing that the scab is a traitor to the working class.

This high cost of living Commission appears to be about the biggest fool proposition yet foisted upon a long suffering Canadian public by the Borden government.—Regina Leader.

The persons, speech of fulness and richness of life. How can the wage slave have richness and fulness of life when he is humped over a machine all day grinding out profits for a fat parasite? The true parson is lined up with the Socialists in their demand for the abolition of wage slavery.

By a recent decision of the Privy Council, Dan and Bill are the richer by a million and a half dollars. Go to it, Dan, go to it, Bill, there is not much left in Canada that you have not got a cinch on, and you may as well have the rest. The rest of the robbers are beginning to look like counterfeiterers beside you.

You are a maker, a producer. Your master is a loafer and a waster. Yet you encourage him to the utmost. You must, because he owns the machinery with which you labor. Before you can get him off your back you will have to use your ballot in an intelligent manner. Then, and not until then, will he cease to exploit you.

The Kaiser trod the decks of a British man of war decked out as an admiral of the British fleet. Probably trying to see how many Krupp guns the ship carried, as you know the Kaiser is financially interested in the sale of Krupp steel and arms. And of course he donned the British uniform through his abounding love for King George? All's fair in love and war.

Eighteen people met death in the United States by automobiles the past week. On first glance it would appear that eighteen enemies of the working wage slaves had been obliterated. Not so, however, the majority killed were children crossing the street, and one father of six children. The hide of the plute is generally safe, while the worker or his family get the bumps.

"I challenge you to cite me an instance in all the history of the world where liberty was handed down from above. Liberty always is attained by the forces working below, underneath, by the great movement of the people. That, leavened by the sense of wrong and oppression and injustice, by the ferment of human rights to be attained, brings freedom."—President Woodrow Wilson in the Saturday Evening Post, May 23rd, 1914.

An automobile ran over a dog the other day in Montreal. Almost at the same moment and at the same place a boy was run over by another auto. The crows surged around, and finally the dog proved the greater attraction, while the boy was left lying on a set of stone steps. Finally the kid's mother came along, grabbed it, hired a cab and took the poor beastie home, while the human animal had to make out the rest he could. What is the meaning of the word humanity, anyway?

An aerial torpedo is the latest. It is intended to be dropped from machines which fly, and promises complete annihilation of towns and cities underneath it. Another weapon in the hands of the masters. Looks as if Jack London's "Iron Heel" will suit the times so far wrong in its prophecies after all.

If the working class is to be taught a lesson by wholesale butchery, this latest method promises to be real cute in its work, as there is no come back, and it will do the work in a manner that would make a machine gun look utterly useless.

Henry Ford is a charmingly naive cuss for a capitalist. He says his profit-sharing scheme is a success. It increases efficiency 20 to 30 per cent and enables men to be laid off sooner because of the unprecedented gain in factory output. The laid off men can go harvesting in Kansas. In the meanwhile Henry has taken over the unfinished Detroit hospital. This, most likely, is done to afford his exhausted workers, who don't turn hob, the needed rest cure. Hoboes and hospitals is a solution of the social problem—this is what Henry Ford offers to 20th century civilization. Oh, you Henry, how the I.W.W. would rejoice to see your tribe increase. You sure are doing some damage to present day society!—though you don't know it.—Soft-darity.

Fifteen hundred boys are in camp at Three Rivers, P.Q., learning the gentle art of legalized murder. One little lad in answer to a question, said: "A soldier's life is the life for a man." This is the spirit which Sam Hughes loves in the youth of Canada, and the reason that he nurses his boy scouts and cadets. The lad who made the above statement is ignorant of the faintest idea of the life of a soldier. He has never had the pleasure of marching on short rations and no water for long hours under the boiling sun of a foreign country; nor has he laid in trenches under the murderous fire of machine guns and the bursting shells of the enemy (?) unable to even put his head above the trench to see where the enemy (?) were; he has never witnessed a bursting shell lay his comrade out by dozens, while their bodies were riddled into ribbons by small fire; never has he heard the meaning, shrieking and sobbing of the wounded exposed in such a position that help could not be extended to them. He knows nothing of the life of a soldier, yet he must be taught by the carrion who draw revenues from the capitalist government of this miserable country, under the dictation of the military mad, murderous Sam Hughes.

Dom. Exec. Bulletin S.D.P.

Berlin, Ont., July 8, 1914. Regular meeting with Comrade Morrish in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. Numerous correspondence deals with by the secretary ordered to be placed on file.

Table with columns for item and amount. Includes: Receipts and expenditures for June, Montreal (Jewish) Stamps, Ukrainian Executive, stamps, Ukrainian Executive supply, Charter (Regina), Finnish Cotton's assessment, Stratford, literature, Medicine Hat, charter, Yukon Local, Ontario, P.E.C., R. W. Huston, Alberta Executive, Woodstock, literature, German local, Montreal, McCool, charter, South Waterloo, literature, Alberta Executive, Berlin local literature.

Table with columns for item and amount. Includes: EXPENDITURE, Cotton's Weekly assessment, National Office, Chicago, literature, Secretary Wages, Galt, reporter printing, Cotton's Weekly printing, Chas. H. Kerr, literature, Duty, Translation of Constitution (Jewish), Dopp, printing, Supplies, Postage, Express, etc.

Receipts for month \$489.00. Comrade \$747.37. The audit committee appointed by Local Berlin No. 4, audit the books for the six months ending June 30th on Tuesday night, July 7, 1914. Adjourned to meet July 20th, 1914. H. Martin, secretary, D.E.C.

Hell in Ottawa

We are doing all we can, when and where we can, to enlighten those in the shadow of class oppression, through the medium of Cotton's Weekly. Here in the capital of Canada we have on the one hand, evidence of prosperity—vs. autos, well dressed men and women, stores and movies, taxi and street cars doing immense business—money apparently everywhere and lots of it. On the other hand we find that through lack of employment (hardly believable) there exists also poverty and privation. Homes are being seized by bailiffs and families are starving, not figuratively, but literally starving. Meetings are being held at street corners, deputations wait upon those who hold the reins (or is it the whip) of government. Who are responsible for the whole thing? With the hope that work may be given the starving that they may get bread, let alone butter. These two phases of society are being brought to the notice of the producers of all wealth daily, and yet they still squirm and wriggle out of their responsibilities and refuse to get from under the weight of capitalism and class distinctions. When oh when will the masses awaken and get alive to their own power and overthrow this oppression.—Geo. R., Ottawa.

Perth North Vote

Stratford is still on the map, slightly disfigured but still in the ring. We managed to poll only 351 votes, but for a first shot at the game we might have done worse. We are not whining but merely as a statement of fact we wish to report that we lost about two hundred votes by reason of circumstances over which we had no control. How ever the votes we did get were class conscious votes and they stood by us through many evil reports. We resent the dirty tactics of the Conservatives in particular, and we will be on the job again at the next election. We are here to stay.

For a two-year-old Stratford is not to be despised, and at one stage of the contest we had them all guessing. Our best thanks is tendered to all who supported our cause, more especially those in the rural subdivisions who had a lonesome job of it. The "Beason" said we wouldn't get twelve votes, but now they accuse us of taking away their support. Our campaign for next election is now on. "We are here to stay."—"Casey."

MINERS WANT UNION ADMINISTRATION.

To Sir James Pliny Whitney: Whereas, the compensation act, recently passed by the Ontario Provincial Government providing for compensation to workmen for injuries received, and industrial diseases contracted by the various industries, while beneficial to labor.

We, the Cobalt Miners' Union No. 146 W.F.M. deem it not quite sufficient unless at least some of organized labor's representatives are placed on the board of administration. Therefore it is resolved that we request the Premier to use his influence to see that representatives of organized labor are placed on the administration board, also in the other minor offices such as inspectors, etc.

Trusting that the request be granted, and awaiting a favorable reply. We remain yours truly, Cobalt, Ont. Miners' Union No. 146, W.F.M.

Efficiency to the capitalist means the biggest product for the least wages possible. The masters just love that kind of efficiency.

Nothing good will be destroyed by Socialism—unless it insists on hanging to the coat tail of evil.

The Socialists are the most intelligent section of the working class.

Toronto's Terrible Toll

Canada is prosperous, the capitalists say. Canada is a land flowing with milk and honey, the immigration agents in Europe tell the workers. The farmers of Canada cannot secure enough help even at the highest possible wages, the English farm hands are assured. The Italians and others from Southern Europe are told of the immense railways being built here, and the chances of saving enough money in a few years to keep them in plenty in their own country for the remainder of their lives. The Irish worker sings: "They say there's bread and work for all, and the sun shines always there." So it goes. The smooth-tongued touts for the steamship and railway companies play their miserable game by day and night. Workers flock to our shores in thousands.

But what awaits them when they land. Starvation? Perish the thought. Starvation in a land of plenty? The capitalists tell us there is work for all who want work, and it is foolish to talk of starvation. There is no one starving in Canada who is willing to work. All this sort of bullwash has been pumped at the workers for years and years, until it is nauseating. Anybody with eyes can see the poverty and misery in every town and city. It is plain to be seen. We shudder when we hear of people dying of starvation in England and other countries, and many people roll their eyes and thank the Lord that "we" are so well off here and have such an abundance.

To give an illustration of how things are going in almost every city in the country, we quote the Toronto Globe in an article giving the results of unemployment in that city. The facts are duplicated all over America. Instead of flowing with milk and honey, Canada is flowing with starvation, actual acute starvation. The workers may as well be in India in a famine as to be here. There is no difference. Starvation is starvation no matter where it takes place. The article is as follows:

The tale of hard times is not yet completed. According to Controller Church, the number of men at the City Hall every day looking for work is alarming. Some of the different departments, he said, had really more men than absolutely necessary now, and no more employment could be given to those who were out of work. "There are more men in Toronto at the present time," he proceeded, "than will ever find work here next winter. We have made it known that married men of established residence in the city are to be given the preference where at all practicable, when a situation is open."

Mr. Dickie, head of the Social Service Bureau, said an investigation of unemployment was made a few days ago among foreigners, and in the houses 63 out of 81 had not worked, on an average, for the past five months.

One of the court interpreters has asked the City Relief Officer if he could deport a batch of 200 Macedonians, who have no work and no food. The Relief Officer could not do anything for such a large number, except refer them to the House of Industry, where they can be taken in June no fewer than 673 persons made applications for a city order for admission to the hospital, but 26 of them were refused. In all, 652 were approved.

Twenty-six persons died in poverty and the city was called upon to pay the funeral expenses. Of these eight were adults and children. The head of the Knights of Columbus Hall, and all he did the whole time he was lecturing was to harp on books and religion. He certainly had it all his own way and the majority of the audience swayed to him, until comrade P. Faughnan of the S.P. of C. tackled him, and in a very able manner explained to his audience the other side of the question. He (Goldstein) had struck a snag and I have no doubt but at that moment he was praying that some of the planks on which he was standing would part and let him disappear into oblivion, (where he ought to be.)—C. D., Sherbrooke, Que.

The capitalist is very patriotic. His property is never in danger but that he wants some one else to go and protect it.

The railroads are not run in a reckless manner. The victims are proof of the fact.

How to Make a Real Wrinkle Remover. In these days of cleverly advertised "beautifiers" of 57 varieties and more, it is hard for a woman to believe she can make a simple home remedy for those hateful marks of age, worry and illness, which will do her more good and cost her much less than the average made preparation. There's nothing in the world so effective for removing or preventing wrinkles, crow's feet and creases as a solution made by dissolving an ounce of pure powdered azolette in a half pint of witch hazel. Every drug list has the ingredients.

Use this harmful mixture daily as a refreshing lotion, bathing the face in it two or three minutes at a time. The quick and satisfactory results will surprise you. After the first application you will notice wonderful improvement. The wrinkles are less in evidence and the face has a firm, "solid," comfortable feeling.

World Wide Notes

Federal elections are on in Australia. The labor party has a majority in the Senate, but a minority of one in the lower house. The lower house passed a bill to prevent union men having preference on government work. The labor senate promptly threw the bill out. Hence the elections.

A South London, England, policeman arrested two suffragettes near a church and was marching them to a police station, holding each woman by one hand, when a third suffragette approached from behind and cut the constable's suspenders. This caused the police to use his hands for other purposes and the prisoners escaped. Because of the roasting he is getting the bobby has asked to be transferred to another district.

Greece declared she would establish liberty and was given Saloniki. Since getting possession the Greek authorities have forbidden free speech to Socialists, and have been arresting prominent Socialists.

The Socialists of Italy are obstructing the passage of a Government bill increasing taxes and are planning further strikes. The government has arrested hundreds of anarchists and republicans. Malatesta, the leader of the recent general strike is now a refugee in London. He declares that Italy will be a republic in three or four years.

The heir to the Austrian throne was recently assassinated by an anarchist, and the Emperor and Empress, the leader of the recent general strike is now a refugee in London. He declares that Italy will be a republic in three or four years.

Baroness von Suttner, whose book "Grounded Arms" won for her the Nobel peace prize, is dead in Austria. She directed by her will that at her funeral there would be no flowers and no clergy.

Women of Burton, Eng., in a fly-paper factory, struck for higher wages. They were getting from fifty-four cents to ninety-one cents a week.

A deputation of London working women were allowed to see Premier Asquith and asked for the vote. The women demanded a say in the laws made! They pointed out the poor wages they got, some receiving less than a shilling a day.

In the near future instructions will be issued to the British railway workers to discontinue working with non-unionists.

The French Radicals have gone back on their election pledges, and under Premier Viviani are the seville tools of capitalism, maintaining the three year system, etc. The Socialists are sure to face with a bourgeois bloc.

Some 25,000 French conscriptionists, 152,945 are absent through disease, illness or death. Contagious diseases are spread rapidly owing to overcrowding and the conditions of French army life.

The United Federation of Labor in New Zealand referred to a strike breaker as a scab, a fine of \$5,000 has been inflicted upon the federation. It was claimed that the strike breaker was issued by the New Zealand government formerly the nation known as the "land of no strikes."

Another seat in parliament has been captured by the Socialists of Switzerland, who elected a prominent trade union official in a special election in Berne over the combined opposition. This gives the Socialists 19 seats out of a total of 189.

In Zurich another Socialist has been elected to the county council and in Geneva, the first seat in the city council has been captured.

American Notes. Upon the demand of ten thousand strikers of the Westinghouse Electric Company, East Pittsburgh, Pa. the saloons of the place were closed. The municipal authorities of East Pittsburgh were hostile to the strikers and forbade strike meetings. Whereupon the strikers held meetings in the neighboring municipality of Turtle Creek, which is controlled by Socialist Councilmen.

The American Medical Journal believes that, along with free school lunches and free dentistry for children, should go free eye-glasses. Carlo Tresca, the I.W.O. man, has been acquitted by the jury of the charge of inciting to riot. This charge was laid against him because of his activities in the Patterson, N. J. silk strike.

The Ontario Vote

Returns from the Ontario elections are still incomplete. Some of the figures are at hand. The following is a partial list of the vote.

Table with columns for candidate and vote. Includes: Waterloo North, H. Martin, 595; Waterloo South, H. Martin, 749; Perth North, Kennedy, 532; Toronto, S.E., A. Bainbridge, 249; Toronto, S.W., A. Colombo, 419; Toronto, Riverdale, Black, 164; Brockville, B. Wing, 64.

Total, 3,123. Wellington South, Port Arthur, Sudbury and Lindsay are still to hear from. Incomplete returns from Wellington South show two hundred votes and nine polls in Sudbury gave a vote of 159. Last election the total Socialist vote was 3,304. So the vote shows a net increase.

Waterloo North vote increased 141 and Waterloo South 167. Brockville dropped back from 213 to 64. The temperance herring was drawn and the trail and reforms were sedulously peddled by the capitalist parties. The Comrades are now in the fight for the next elections.

ITALIANS WIN BIG VICTORY. Italian Socialists have just gained one of the greatest victories in the history of the party in the municipal elections which are now taking place throughout the nation. They secured complete control of the city of Milan, the largest city in Italy and also the industrial and financial centre of the country. It has 600,000 inhabitants. There were 64 Socialist councilmen elected while the opposition secured but 16.

The capture of New York or Chicago in the United States would be of no great importance to the American Socialist movement than is the capture of Milan to the Italian Socialists.

The council elects the mayor and the supervising commissioners, consisting of the different department heads. This will put every branch of the municipal government under Socialist control.

Among the things which they intend to put into operation during their term of office are municipal homes which will be erected and sold at cost or rented; municipal ownership of electric light and power plants; street cars, bakeries, meat markets and groceries.

Among other cities which were also carried by Socialists are Meadville with 40,000 inhabitants, Toronto with 45,000 population, and Ravenswa with 60,000 people.

It is expected that Socialists will gain from 500 to 1,000 seats during the municipal elections which will continue for several months.

And there was nothing said in the capitalist papers regarding this Socialist victory—Party Builder.

CASH RECEIPTS. Cash receipts are falling off woefully. Saturday, July 2nd they were \$17.85, Monday, July 4th they were \$2.75, Tuesday \$3.75 and Wednesday, July 8th they were \$6. The slump has come with the warm weather and with the quiet after the elections in Ontario.

The debts owed by Cotton's Weekly, apart from those to the editor, are now less than \$900. About \$300 of this amount must be met soon as the debts are pressing.

The best way you can help is to send money to spread the paper, either for subs, sub cards, bundle or aviation battery.

The FIDING LINE

Cabri, Sask., sends six. Rich Valley, Alta., pipes up with \$2.50 for bundles from Guelph, Ont.

From Tullymet, Sask., comes a list of fourteen. A Prince Rupert, B.C., Comrade received a copy of Facts.

"Please send me four sub cards. We must be in the fight for the next election."—Cultus, Ont.

"Enclosed please find \$5 for subs and cards. I send the above in hopes of converting some one to Socialism."—Broderick, Sask.

"Enclosed find seven. These with past receipts entitle me to two copies of Facts. I have quite a few of the working slaves going and they are doing well in a propaganda way."—Nelson, B.C.

"Times are dull here or you would have heard from me sooner, but the Socialist sentiment is taking deep root. When capitalism loosens up again you will hear from me more frequently."—Wingham, Ont.

"Enclosed find four. Election over. Our first chance to vote for a Socialist. Tory vote 26, Grid 14, Socialist 9. How is that for a vote in the woods. You old fossils will have to wake up. Heard several old party men say that they had cast their last vote for the robber barons."—Monteth, Ont.

"I certainly will not be without the rag as long as it is published. Send me eight sub cards for the enclosed \$2. I will try and get some of my thinking friends to rake up a quarter. I am not married myself but I usually try to convert married men. They are better listeners and thinkers than single men who, when they are getting fifteen or twenty dollars a week and nobody depending on them, think they are in clover."—Montreal, P.Q.

"Enclosed find \$2 for sub cards and battery. Why not start a fund to wipe out the debts of Cotton's Weekly. I am only a struggling homesteader, but should such a list be started I would head the list liberally."—Polworth, Sask.

The fund to wipe out the debt has been started. The S.D.P. Comrades voted to send me fifty cents a head for this purpose, and the debts of Cotton's have been cut in two. The money has been invested in the capital stock of Cotton's Co-operative which is ten dollars a share. Any Comrade wanting to purchase shares of stock and reduce the debt will gladly be welcomed to do so.

Northern Election News. I am sending the results of the polls from nine booths in this glorious fair province we have heard so much about from the imported jaw smiths, both Conservatives and Liberals during the campaign.

Although the country is long, wide and rough and the medicine men and south sayers are swift foated, the comrades managed to gather numerous scalps. We have broken into entirely new country and are second in the race, putting the Liberals down and in third place. The only thing that saved the conservatives in the whole district from taking second place, was the Fire Rangers and Paid Officials. All the comrades are overbrimmed with success, and a search for more scalps for the Dominion Election.

The results are as follows: (con.) (soc.) (lib.) Poll. Magladery, Mill. Roebuck, Gowgranda, 60, 31, 16; O'Brien Mine, 37, 35, 16; Wigram, 14, 2, 2; Elk Lake (four booths), 89, 69, 62; Wabun, 16, 1, 3.

You can see that Comrades from the back of the woods have been very much alive. Your order for more scalps.—R. J. Cornish and E. C. St. Paul, (con.)

The world swings to Socialism, we are winning.

The Waterloo Campaign

The returns are complete in this district showing a healthy growth of Socialism in spite of the "abolish the bar" bubble. I have gone through four campaigns, but never have I witnessed such stupidity and ignorance, and such gross misrepresentation of the facts as was exhibited in this election by clergy, temperance workers, moral and social reform and doctors, who ought to know better, laying 90 per cent of poverty and 95 per cent of insanity to the drink habit. In spite of the prayers of the good ladies and clergy which took place in practically all the churches here on election day the drink problem is still to be solved, which to our way of thinking should be nationalized, that is, traffic, the manufacture and sale of the drink, poison and all the profit, give it to the people at cost as long as they want it, there will come a time when they will no longer desire it. This to our mind is the most logical and sane method of dealing with the problem, which after all is part and parcel of capitalism, the child of the wages-system. In campaigning through the two ridings I would not have spent five minutes in dealing with the "abolish the bar" plank, were it not for the gross misrepresentation of the truth indulged in by this crowd.

This has been one of the finest opportunities to educate the working class to their class position. We have sown seed in North and South Waterloo which will bear fruit in the future. Never have I experienced such undivided attention from workers gathered about the soap box as in the campaign just closed.—H. Martin.

THE FIGHT IN GUELPH. Well, the elections are over and the wage-mules have again expressed a desire to hug their chains.

In Guelph the result of the election so far as our candidate is concerned was very satisfactory to us, for while we increased our vote only 30 over 1908, still it was strained through the "good man" "public ownership" "friend of labor" sifter.

The Liberal opponent was at one time a member of the old local of the Socialist League and is quite prominent as a friend of labor. He can read the Lloyd George stuff off the bat as though it were his mother's tongue. Still we have two hundred votes and are in a better position than ever to make members for our organization.—L.C.C. Guelph, Ont.

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Cotton's Weekly Premium List

Here is a list of premiums for the hustlers of Cotton's Weekly. For one hundred subscriptions or subscription cards for forty weeks with \$25 cash for same, we will forward to any local in Canada a banner for the local. This banner is four feet by seven feet with Social Democratic Party Local No. and name of town, also party crest, made of wool bunting and letters of felt. This banner would cost at least ten dollars. This is a chance for every local in Canada to have its own banner. You want a banner to march under. You want a banner to get the crowd when you hold a street meeting. This is a chance to get a beautiful red flag for your activity in spreading the party paper and propagating Socialism. Let the members of your local work together to get subscriptions or order sub cards, get busy now. Which local will be the first to send in an order and win a banner?

For thirty-two subscriptions or for subscription cards with eight dollars cash to cover the same, we will send a cushion cover with the word Socialism and the party crest on it, made of wool felt. Retail value of this cushion cover is two dollars. Ask for this premium with your remittance.

For twelve subscriptions or order for subscription cards we will send a copy of Facts free. This premium is so well known it speaks for itself. You all want Facts when you argue about Socialism with your neighbor. Contains over one hundred pages of full information. Ask for this premium when you send order.

For ten subscriptions or order for subscription cards, with two dollars and a half cash to cover order, we will send a pennant ten inches by twenty-eight, with the word Socialism and the party crest on it. Made of wool felt with the letters send on. Ask for this premium when you send order.

For six subscriptions or order for subscription cards we will send any of the following premiums while they last: The Panel set of pictures, five of them; the Princess Bonnie set of pictures, ten of them; For the Kiddies, pictures on stiff cardboard of cats, horses, etc., five of them. Ask for this premium when you send order.

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