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FIVE CENTS

THE LESSON OF THE STRIKE

(From "Daily Herald," London)

THE lesson of the strike will never be forgotten in the Labor movement. The shameful lie about the "Anarchist Conspiracy" will never be forgotten. Nor will the poison-gas campaign of the Capitalist press.

The workers now know—all of them know, what many had realized before—that they have arrayed against them, in the fact of the Capitalist system itself, an enemy absolutely without honor and without mercy—an enemy who will use every weapon of force and fraud to reduce them to misery and slavery—an enemy with whom there can be no reconciliation—an enemy who will smash them unless they smash the enemy.

The workers now know that the Capitalist Press, and the Government which a portion of the Capitalist Press tricked the public into voting for, are joined together with the Capitalist employers in a solid army of reaction.

The workers now know that it is

IRELAND

DUBLIN, Nov. 11.—Immediately following the celebration of Armistice Day here today, motor lorries loaded with British soldiers swooped down on the Irish Parliament Headquarters and arrested its occupants.

quite useless to vote either Liberal or Conservative. They now know that it is quite useless to count on the support of either Liberal or Conservative newspapers when there is a plain issue before the country of a decent standard of living for the working man.

The workers now know that only in themselves lies any hope. They see that their choice is between submitting to be the slaves of the vast, organized, legalized, militarized, capitalized system of force and fraud which holds them down at present, and exercising their own power—the final irresistible power they possess as producers of all the wealth of the world—to accomplish the peaceful Social Revolution, control their own methods of work, and attain to the full status of free human beings in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Socialism Not Seditious

QUEBEC, Sept. 15.—Henry Seiden, of Montreal, a travelling salesman, arrested here early last summer, was discharged from custody by Magistrate Choquette (Senator,) who cleared the man and let him off without the least penalty.

Seiden had been arrested at Quebec at his hotel on a charge of seditious plottings. Literature, which the police claimed was illegal, radical and Bolshevik, was found in the man's grips and was seized as exhibits in the case. In his judgment, Magistrate Choquette said that whatever may have been done and said, the accused, Seiden, could not be held on a charge of seditious plotting, insofar as he had not been convicted of plotting.

"I'll admit," continued the judge, "that Seiden has advanced ideas, but this is no crime. We live today in an advanced world where liberty of speech and of press must exist.

"It is not in vain," said the judge, "that we have fought four years on the battlefields of Europe. Liberty

of speech and press are a recognized right. Seiden, when arrested, was found in possession of batches of literature, newspapers and reviews which the prosecution claimed to be of a seditious nature. In my judgment, these supposedly seditious and Bolshevik papers which were found in Seiden's possession have been looked over. The one to which the strongest opposition might have been made is published, circulated and openly sold in the city of Montreal. Why should the accused be punished for having in his possession a paper that is in everybody's hands in the streets and lobbies of Montreal?"

Senator Commends Accused.

Magistrate Choquette then reverted to the personal views and so-called Socialistic ideas of Seiden.

"Whatever may be the advanced ideas of accused," said he, "we can not conclude that Seiden is a Bolshevik. He has ideas which may be termed Socialistic, but Socialism, well understood, is no crime. Seiden spoke as everybody else talks."

Liberty Bonds for Workers A Day's Pay for Winnipeg Defence

B. C. quota is \$20,000—All Labor officials are asked to co-operate with B. C. Committee—Toronto Committee is taking the campaign in Eastern Canada—Winnipeg will look after the three prairie provinces—The fight has just begun for the defence of Labor's spokesmen.

IN order to raise funds for the defence of the men arrested as a result of the Winnipeg strike, the issue of "Worker's Liberty Bonds" has been decided upon. The Winnipeg Central Committee is taking care of the three prairie provinces, and the Toronto Committee is taking charge of the campaign in the East. The British Columbia Committee is taking care of this province, and branch committees in Prince Rupert, Victoria, Cumberland and other points are all joining with the Central committee at Vancouver, so that the campaign may be as thorough as possible.

An appeal is being sent to every organization in the Province, and the co-operation of local secretaries and other union officials is sought by the committee which has the campaign in hand for British Columbia. By the aid of the local organization officers, and other workers, that are interested in the cases now before the courts in Winnipeg, it is expected that British Columbia will respond to the fullest extent, and the

amount allotted to this Province, \$20,000, will be oversubscribed. The Central Committee in Winnipeg is determined that nothing that can be done in the defence of the arrested men, shall be left undone, but this costs money. It is expected that before the final stage of the battle of Labor for the freedom of its spokesmen is reached, that it will cost in the neighborhood of \$100,000. There is still a large part of this amount to be raised. This can only be done by the workers. The following appeal is being sent to as many individual workers as it is possible to secure the addresses of. If you do not receive one, don't wait, take this as an invitation to subscribe.

Fellow Worker:—

During his recent tour of Eastern Canada, the Rev. Wm. Ivens suggested, and used as his slogan "One Day's Pay for Winnipeg," and the issue of "Worker's Defence Liberty Bonds," which can be used as a receipt therefore.

The idea was received with enthusiasm in the East, and especially in the City of Toronto, and the Defence Committee there at once secured the services of Comrade T. Mallilieu for six weeks to inaugurate a "Liberty Bond" campaign of every worker in the three prairie provinces, with an objective of \$25,000.

The opening day of the campaign is Saturday, Nov. 15, and closing at midnight on Monday, Dec. 15, 1919.

The bonds will be issued in denominations of \$1, \$2 and \$5 each, in different colors, and will form an interesting souvenir of the historic struggle of Labor against persecution at the hands of unscrupulous plutocracy.

The B. C. section of the Defence Committee has been asked to carry on the campaign in this Province, and has consented to do so, and now makes this appeal to individual workers throughout the Province to "Donate One Day's Pay" to the defence of the men arrested, because they voiced the wishes of the workers, and whenever possible, delivered the message that will educate the workers to their position in society. This, and this alone, is their crime. True to their fellows, they now are standing trial before a capitalistic court, with all the powers that can be lined up against them, and unless every effort is made, their fate will be the penitentiary.

The Defence Committee is determined that everything that can be done to secure their acquittal shall be done, but the machinery of the law must be lubricated, and money is necessary so that every available legal process may be used in the effort now being made on behalf of our fellow workers. Unless their acquittal is secured, no member of the working class will be safe. It may be your turn tomorrow.

Your money will aid us. Surely

a day's pay is not too much to give for a fellow worker's liberty?

If it were your turn tomorrow, would you like to think that anything that could have been done was left undone? You alone can supply the answer. There is no interest on these bonds. The stake is greater than financial gain. It is the Liberty of Speech and action on behalf of the workers that is at stake. The responsibility belongs to every individual worker. A. S. WELLS, Secretary B. C. Defence Committee.

J. EWART, Publicity Agent.

TRIALS WILL COMMENCE AT WINNIPEG TUESDAY

First Shipment of Liberty Bonds Expected to Arrive Today

The trial of the men arrested in Winnipeg as a result of the general strike is expected to commence on Tuesday next week, according to the latest word that has been received from Winnipeg. Prosecuting Attorney Andrews says that the trials will not be concluded by Christmas. Full reports of the trial will be published in the Federationist each week, arrangements having been made with Winnipeg to this effect. The Winnipeg Labor Church has already subscribed for a block of Liberty Bonds to the extent of \$5000. The campaign will be opened in Brandon on Sunday by Roger Bray, one of the men facing trial. It is expected that the first shipment of bonds and buttons for the B. C. campaign will be on hand on Saturday morning. These can be secured at all times at the Federationist office, which will be the Headquarters of the campaign in this province.—B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Lewis Henry Morgan, Author of "Ancient Society"

An Account and Appreciation of His Life Work.

(Concluded)

The Discovery of Gens

The second part of "Ancient Society" contains the fruits of those researches of Morgan's which it is generally recognized constitute his greatest contribution to sociology. Prior to its appearance there existed little or no exact knowledge of the tribal organizations of primitive peoples.

In his *League of the Iroquois* and even later works, Morgan himself had adhered to the commonly accepted view that the Mohawks, Senecas, etc., were each nations in many ways equivalent to modern national communities. The smaller groups within these "nations," each of which was called after a certain animal which was its totem, Morgan had designated "tribes." Subsequent investigation, however, convinced him that the larger groups, the, the Senecas, etc., were the true tribes, and that they were different from the nation which only came into existence after the coalescence of several such tribes, and fundamentally so from the modern territorial nation, in which kinship as a social tie is eliminated.

But the most important fact was that the basic and unitary organization of the Indians was the smaller group, that which he had earlier called the "tribe." This "clan" or "totem group" he soon recognized, as his researches expanded, to be an all but universal institution among savage and barbarian peoples. Everywhere it consisted of a group of blood relatives descended, or claiming descent, from a common ancestor. Its members were strictly bound not to intermarry, but to mate outside the group; they elected and deposed their own chiefs, and met together in common council.

Then Morgan made a remarkable discovery. Even the most learned and acute historians up to his time had been greatly puzzled over an institution which existed among the ancient Greeks and was known to the classical Latin writers by the name of "Gens." Being unable to understand its structure or function, Grote and other historians erroneously considered the gens to be an extension and outgrowth of the monogamous family. Morgan, however, showed convincingly in his "Ancient Society" that the Greek and Roman gens is identical in all essentials with the Indian "totem group," the only important difference between them being that among the Indians, except where European influence had crept in, the common ancestor of the group was a woman, female descent prevailed and children always remained in the same totem group as their mother, whereas among the early Greeks and Romans the recognized ancestor was a male, paternal descent was the rule, and children belonged to the gens of their father.

Morgan considered the former an archaic or primitive, and the latter the derived and modified, form of same organization, which he decided out of consistency to henceforth refer to by its Latin name of "gens." He believed that the change from the maternal to the paternal gens was an

outcome of the growth of private property, possession of which instilled into the fathers a desire that this wealth should be enjoyed, after the death of themselves, by their own children.

Under the law of the gens the property of a member had to remain within the group, and as the maternal system placed a man's children in their mother's gens, never in his own, they were disinherited as regards their father's property. By introducing male descent and thus keeping children in their father's gens they were enabled to inherit his property. Morgan clinched his argument by showing this change to have actually taken place in recent years with the growth of private property among several Indian tribes as a result of foreign influences.

Having thus placed ancient history upon a sound basis Morgan endeavors to show the stages by which, in Greece and in Rome, the social organization of the gens and the tribe passed away and was supplanted by a form of society based upon possession of property and territorial residence. In a series of brilliant chapters he shows how increasing population, intermixture of tribes, growing division of social functions, and above all, the increase in private property, and its concentration into the hands of a few, all results of the "enlargement of the sources of subsistence," gradually undermined the institutions founded on kinship and prepared the way for and made necessary the rise of the political State.

Morgan's analysis still holds good, but it may be usefully supplemented by Engels' "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," which shows that class-oppression is the function of the State-power. Morgan did not deal with the feudal form of political society which developed from gentile society in a somewhat different fashion, but Engels outlined its beginning among the Germans and it has been adequately if briefly treated in a generalized manner by Edward Jenks in his "Short History of Politics."

One of the most instructive and important chapters in "Ancient Society" treats of the native culture of Mexico prior to the Spanish Conquest. Investigation had convinced Morgan that the records of the Spaniards, together with the historical works which like Prescott's, were built upon them, were very unreliable wherever they dealt with the social institutions of either the Aztecs or the Incas of Peru. The Spaniards, accustomed only to the social relations of a feudal monarchy, completely misunderstood what little they did observe of Mexican and Peruvian society. They interpreted the league of tribes as an empire and the war-chief of the Aztec federation as an Emperor.

Morgan did valuable pioneer work in unravelling the mystery of "Aztec civilization," and had already criticized the prevailing misconceptions in some of the articles we have referred to. Moreover, in this field he had the assistance of his friend, Adolph H. Bandelier (1840-1914), a Swiss who had gone to America, and the leading authority at that time on the archeology of Mexico, Arizona,

and New Mexico.

In "Ancient Society" Morgan's conclusions were fully stated and the evidence massed which showed that the Aztecs were, at the time of their discovery by Europeans, in the Middle Status of Barbarism, intermediate between the Iroquois and the Greeks of the Homeric period, and that they lived in village communities based upon the gens.

By revealing the inner structure of tribal society Morgan performed a signal service to sociology. Incidentally he showed and was one of the first to appreciate the fact, now generally recognized, that the barbarian is not a bloodthirsty monster of ferocity, and that his society, far from being a despotism ruled over by a brutal, tyrannical chieftain, is usually a well-organized, democratic body. "All the members of an Iroquois gens were personally free, and they were bound to defend each other's freedom; they were equal in privileges and in personal rights, the sachems and chiefs claiming no superiority; and they were a brotherhood bound together by ties of kin. Liberty, equality, and fraternity though never formulated, were cardinal principles of the gens." ("Ancient Society," page 85.)

The Family and Property

In the third part of "Ancient Society," which describes the evolution of the family, Morgan not only restated his theory (which we have already outlined) in a revised, more complete, and widely generalized form, but he devoted a special section to a refutation of the criticisms of McLennan, the author of "Primitive Marriage." He was now in a position to show that McLennan's position was, in the light of the fresh discoveries, completely untenable, his theory of tribal Endogamy* and Exogamy* being due to the common confusion of the gens with the tribe.

Morgan's theory of the family is generally accepted today in its main outlines. His most important error lay in considering the patriarchal family to be an exceptional form instead of, as has been since shown by the Russian student, Maxim Kovalevsky, and others, to be a widespread institution characteristic of the Middle and Upper stages of Barbarism, and as the intermediary almost everywhere manifest between the patriarchal family and monogamy.

In his concluding part Morgan outlines his view of the development of property. He shows how, feebly developed and largely communal during Savagery, it achieves more definite recognition and power during the pastoral stage in the period of Barbarism and reaches almost complete dominance in social life with the greatly increased productivity of the epoch of Civilization.

He defines three successive systems of property inheritance, the first two of which correspond with the two

Notes*

Endogamy: The custom by which a man is bound to take a wife from his own tribe.

Exogamy: The custom which forbids a man to marry a woman of his own tribe and compels him to seek a wife in another tribe.

stages of female and male descent in the gens among the members of which the property of a deceased member was divided; the third system harmonizing with the monogamous family in which the father's property is inherited exclusively by his own family.

Morgan's observations on the social significance of private property are very acute and approximate very closely to the Marxian position. He says: "It is impossible to overestimate the influence of property in the civilization of mankind. It was the power that brought the Aryan and Semitic nations out of barbarism into civilization. The growth of the idea of property in the human mind commenced in feebleness and ended in becoming its master passion. Governments and laws are instituted with primary reference to its creation, protection, and enjoyment. It introduced human slavery as an instrument in its production; and after the experience of several thousand years, it caused the abolition of slavery upon the discovery that a freeman was a better property-making machine." (Pp. 511-512.)

"The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property . . . The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction." P. 561.)

Final Work

With the publications of his principal literary work, the real culmination of his long enquiry into the evolution of human culture, Morgan did not by any means rest from his scientific labors. A true scientist, he continued to investigate and to generalize from the facts so observed, ever searching for fresh truths, ever seeking further to contribute to the totality of human knowledge.

In 1876 he visited the ancient and the modern pueblos, or native villages of Colorado and New Mexico. An early result was his essay on "Communal Living Among the Village Indians."

He devoted his attentions especially to the architecture and domestic life of the Indians, and his final conclusions on this phase of their life were embodied in his last great book, "Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines," which appeared in 1881. This work contains abundant information on the property relations of the Indians and shows in great detail the communistic habits and modes of thought which pervaded their life. Commenting upon the brotherhood and hospitality of the Redskins Morgan says in a striking passage: "If a man entered an Indian house in any of their villages, whether a villager

(Continued On Page Three.)

Tribal Law

"MODERN Science claims to be proving, by the most careful and exhaustive study of man and his works, that our race began its existence on earth at the bottom of the scale, instead of at the top, and has been gradually working upward; that human powers have had a history of development; that all the elements of culture—as the arts of life, art, science, language, religion, philosophy—have been wrought out by slow and painful efforts, in the conflict between the soul and mind of man on the one hand, and external nature on the other."—Whitney's "Oriental and Linguistic Studies." P. 341.

Last issue of "The Indicator," contained Professor Jenk's description of the general features of Tribal Religion, in which, he showed that religion had its source in the mind of primitive man, according as it reflected and interpreted the environment surrounding him; and that the forms that religion took on, were such as tended to preserve and foster the Tribal form of organization. This issue we give the same author's account of Tribal Law, in which it will be noted how "materialistic" and "timely" are the sources of some present day institutional conceptions, by many people regarded as "divine" and "eternal," that is, metaphysical.

TRIBAL LAW

From Jenk's History of Politics

"Closely connected with Tribal Religion, in fact, originally part of it, was Tribal Law. One of the direct results of ancestor worship was a religious adherence to ancestral custom, that is, to the practices observed in life by the revered ancestors. And this was the main idea of Law, as conceived by patriarchal society. The notion of Law as the command of an absolute ruler, whether an individual or a body, was yet far in the future. Law was not a thing to be made, but a thing to be discovered. The old savage notion of taboo, which was purely negative, had been largely superseded by the positive notion of custom. What was customary was right, what was uncustomary was wrong. The desperate tenacity with which patriarchal society clung to a practice, merely because it was a practice, is illustrated, among hundreds of other examples, by the well known Roman custom of examining the entrails of victims to ascertain the prospects of an expedition. Originally, no doubt, it was a practical expedient adopted by the Nomad tribes from which the Romans were descended, in their wanderings through unknown country. To test the fitness for food of the new herbs with which they came into contact, they caused a few of their cattle and sheep to eat them, and then, by a sort of rude "post-mortem," judged of the result. The real origin of customs is often very hard, however to discover. Sometimes it seems to have been mere accident. In other cases, no doubt, an exceptionally able man deliberately made an innovation, which was afterwards copied by

others, as it was found to be useful. But such enterprise must have been very dangerous. The first man who drank the milk of his cow probably paid for his luxury with his life. In patriarchal society, innovation and crime were almost coincident. So little, indeed, is deliberate departure from custom anticipated, that there seems to be no regular punishment for it. The chiefs or elders will declare the custom; that is, or ought to be, sufficient. But if an offender persists in his impiety, the outraged community will banish him from its ranks. In the expressive language of the Welsh Laws, he will be a "kin-shattered man," an outlaw, in fact. If the tribes lives near the sea, he will probably be set adrift on an open raft; this was the method of the South Welsh. Other codes speak of turning the offender "into the forest." In either case, the result would be much the same.

The Blood Feud.

For injuries to individual fellow-tribesmen, the universal remedy was the "lex talionis," administered by the blood feud. Barbarous as such an institution seems to us, it is probably one of the most important steps ever taken towards civilization. A man is killed. Instead of the murder producing indiscriminate slaughter, it gives rise to an ordered scheme of vengeance, conducted by the immediate relatives. If there is any doubt about the facts, certain rough tests are applied, which to us would appear very unsatisfactory. The accused brings a certain number of his relatives to swear to his innocence, or some rude sort of ordeal is used. If the accused is deemed guilty the feud goes on, unhappily for a very long time. One of these ordeals probably survives, in backward countries, to the present day. Each of the mourners touches the body at a funeral. The ancient belief was that, if the touch was that of the murderer, the corpse would bleed afresh.

Blood Fines

A great step further is taken where, for the right of vengeance, is substituted the payment of compensation. The circumstances of pastoral society permit of this. The existence of cattle and sheep form a standard of value, by which the life of a man can be measured. Starting with the simple idea that a man is worth what he owns, and taking the ordinary free tribesman as the unit, the tribe sets up an elaborate scale of money fines (the "eric" of the Irish, the "galanas" of the Welsh, the "cro" of the Scotch, the "wer" of the Teutons) carefully graduated according to (1) the importance of the injured party, (2) the extent of the damage. Apparently, the proceedings begin as before. The marks on the dead man's body are examined, the bloody weapon is traced, the trail of the stolen cattle is followed until it leads to the thief's hut; and then, just as the feud is about to begin, the elders intervene, and urge the acceptance of a fine. At first, it would seem, the acquiescence of the injured party is voluntary. Until quite late in history, the ultimate battle can not be denied. But every effort is made by the elders to induce the parties to "swear the

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN—AN ACCOUNT AND APPRECIATION OF HIS LIFE WORK

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or a stranger, it was the duty of the women therein to get food before him. . . . This characteristic of barbarous society, wherein food was the principal concern of life, is a remarkable fact. The law of hospitality, as administered by the American aborigines, tended to the final equalization of subsistence. Hunger and destitution could not exist at one end of an Indian village or in one section of an encampment while plenty prevailed elsewhere in the same village or encampment."

We have now completed our survey of Morgan's scientific and literary achievements. His important and original work earned for him the name of "father of American Anthropology." In 1873 he had received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Union College, and in 1880 he was President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

At first sight it appears strange that although his vital discoveries were appropriated for their own use by the English anthropologists, to their great discredit they did their utmost to belittle Morgan, and as far as possible ignored, and were silent regarding, his meritorious achievements. No doubt this, in part, was due to the severe blow which Morgan had dealt to the prestige of the English School by causing the collapse of their pet theory—that of McLennan. But, worse still, Morgan had criticized the social power of property, and such criticism could not be tolerated by the intellectuals of the hot-house of industrial capitalism, the birth-place of Laissez-Faire "political economy."

Morgan's home was a rendezvous for the leading American scholars and scientists of the day. In his own library Morgan would often gather with a number of young students

peace." In the world-wide habit of shaking hands, we probably have a dim survival of a practice insisted upon by the early peace-makers, as a guarantee that the parties would not use weapons against one another, at least till all other remedies had been tried. For if the hand is clasped in another's it can hardly strike a blow.

No General Rules of Tribal Law

It is obvious from what has been said, that, while we may describe the general character of Tribal Law, no enumeration of its rules can be made. Each tribe has its own law, binding only upon members of its own tribe. General principles will, no doubt, be found running through it all; inheritance in the male line, prohibition of marriage outside the tribe (or inside, as the case may be), relationship of classes, rights in pasture land, and so on. But in details these will differ from tribe to tribe, and even in branches of the same tribe. The investigations of the British Settlement Officers show, for example, that there are at least several hundred different systems in force in the British Punjab alone, though the population of that country is a little less than the population of England. Long before there is a Law of the Land, there is a Law of the Tribe; and by his own law alone will a tribesman consent to rule his actions.

for the systematic study of ethnology and also of the works of Herbert Spencer, whom he greatly admired.

Morgan took a practical interest in political activity and in 1861 was elected to the New York Assembly, later, in 1868, becoming a Senator. He used all his influence in the endeavor to improve the conditions of life and the treatment meted out to his life-long friends, the Red-men—dying remnants of a splendid race, broken and bespoiled by the fateful finger that writes the story of economic evolution.

Morgan reached through his studies the very verge of the Socialist conception of society. Had his investigations carried him further into the epoch of civilization he would probably have realized more completely than he did the vast importance of the struggle of classes arising from these property developments the early stages of which he himself so ably described.

But if his sphere was too narrow to permit of this, it was less fitted to give Morgan an understanding of the present capitalistic stage of society. It required a man of equal intellect working, observing, analysing, generalizing at the very hub-centre of the capitalist world market—London, and this role was played by Marx, in whom Capitalism as well as Socialism found its Morgan.

The works of Marx and Morgan are in a very real sense interrelated and complementary. Together they laid secure foundations for a genuine natural science of social life. This Marx clearly recognized and intended to show in a work upon the evolution of society based upon his own researches and those of Morgan. Unfortunately this, which might possibly have been Marx's master work, was never accomplished—ill health and death intervened. But Marx's great co-worker, Frederick Engels, seeing urgent necessity of such a work, himself undertook the task and produced that classic of Marxian sociology, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," which first appeared in Germany in 1884.

This little book of Engels' was the first real appreciation, outside of America, of the pioneer work done by Morgan. Passing through several editions and translated into numerous languages, it has been the means of spreading a knowledge of Morgan's work amongst members of the working class the world over. To this day, in fact, "Ancient Society" is read and discussed wherever class conscious working-men gather together, while, on the other hand, the average bourgeois student is ignorant, often enough, of Morgan's very name and position in science, let alone being conversant with his writings.

In the estimation of the proletarian student, Lewis H. Morgan, by the originality and vast importance of his scientific achievements, occupies a place in that imperishable trinity of nineteenth century science—Marx, Darwin, Morgan.

R. W. HOUSLEY.

SEATTLE LEGIONS WANT TROOPS

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11:—Petitions from the American Legion post, Seattle, urging withdrawal of the A. E. F. in Siberia, were presented to the Senate today by Senator Jones, Washington.

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A Labor College Wanted

POLITICALLY and ethically, the movement of the working class, as a whole, draws further and further away from the bourgeoisie. The gulf widens and deepens under the stress of economic pressure and of the progressive historical forces generally. The bourgeois political parties are fundamentally impotent to satisfy working class needs and aspirations. This is manifested in every country in the world by working class parties appearing on the political field as independent political forces, disputing with increasing strength the power of the bourgeois parties. Therefore, we need a Labor College in Canada, for intensive education on all subjects that will fit men to play their part efficiently as educators or in any other capacity in the working class movement which it will require trained minds to fill.

Talkers there are aplenty, but there is no more pitiful spectacle, nor perhaps any more dangerous object, than a man in executive position who talks or acts on vital questions without understanding them, because he has no grasp of certain mental necessities, only acquired by a thorough study of such subjects as economics and history, etc. There are problems now, and in the future, others, which can only be solved by the working class and which must be dealt with as that class assumes that larger part in the direction of political and industrial affairs which, in the near future, it is destined to play.

In the meantime, the most important political problem facing the working class is its own education on political and economic questions. Or, otherwise all is confusion and riot; and we of the class-conscious workers, hope, with a burning hope, for a peaceful and orderly progress. We regard an advance into a new social order as inevitable, because we recognize that humanity is compelled along by economic forces that will not be denied. And so, whether it is along the peaceful sunlit paths of progress we travel, or through the valley of the shadow, will depend solely on whether the problems of the day are understood or not by those whom they most press upon for a solution, i.e., the working class. Should the latter way be the one we travel, then those, who by their passivity, apathy and slumberous inactivity neglect to farther this education, will be equally responsible with those who by violence and repression strive to frustrate it.

Let us rouse ourselves and set this working class educational institution at work, as the workers have done

in Great Britain. There is little time. The working class are staggering under an increasing burden of misery which could not be imposed upon them except of their ignorance.

When we get this college started, working men from the woods, the mines, and the shop, having attended a session of intensive and systematic study of social problems, will go back to their occupations, having prestige as being trained thinkers, and be a power for good among their fellow workers. Commence discussion on this matter. John Maclean, who was one of those most active in starting the Scottish Labor College, in the letter to us which we published in last issue, says, "Let the progressive West start the ball rolling." Let those who have any influence in the organized labor movement get busy. Write to the labor papers. Get the editors to carry on an agitational campaign on the advisability of a college, including a discussion of ways and means. One college for a start, then, a second and a third, if possible. The education of the working class can only be carried out by workers themselves. Therefore, the field being large, the season short, speed the plow!

A Warning

IN spite of the press, which has already passed judgment on the Centralia affair, past experience warns us to withhold it until further information arrives. For a long time it is well known that the workers organized in the I. W. W., have been subjected to extremely bad treatment in that city. And early reports of the inquest show that the first move was made by the street crowd to attack the hall. Probably we shall never know all of the circumstances. The ways of the secret service and its agents are dark and peculiar. The history of the organized labor movement in the States has been scored deep with the sinister operations of agents provocateurs. Time and time again it has been brought to light that they have been the chief instigators of violence. Favorable occasions are seized when feelings run high over grievance, to precipitate action. The sure way to defeat such methods is to work in the open. But in that respect the ruling class has a responsibility. If by repressive measures they seek to prevent members of the wage working class from organizing to better their conditions of work and wages, or to prevent the free expression or discussion of the ideal of a social organization put forward as a superior alternative to the present one, then they but repeat the age-old futilities of other generations of rulers, having neither forgot anything nor learned anything.

The Centralia affair has been seized upon with avidity as an excuse to inaugurate a new reign of terrorism against economic and political unorthodoxy in the States. We desire to warn our readers in Canada that a similar campaign would be welcomed here by certain interests. There are reasons why this kind of a red herring is desired to draw attention from other matters, among which are, the returned soldier's gratuity question, and the trial of the labor men in Winnipeg. Already, if you study the daily press, it will be seen that they are at work on the

Some Notes on Elementary Economics

I.

POLITICAL Economy is that branch of science which deals with the production and distribution of wealth. It is a matter of observing the facts and drawing such general conclusions or "laws" as are warranted by those facts concerning the way in which man in society gets his living.

Wealth, in a general sense, may be said to consist of all those things which are necessary, useful or desirable to man. This definition, however, would take in all such things as land, water, forests, air and sunshine and, for the purposes of political economy is much too broad. The things just mentioned are generally spoken of as "natural wealth" and in order to make them of use to man require a certain amount of work. The land must be cultivated, the forests cut down, the coal-dug, even wild berries must be picked.

The act of production consists of just such work and may be defined as the expenditure of labor-power with the object of producing some useful object. The factors, that is to say the things necessary to production are:

(1) The natural resources of the earth, sometimes called "land" or "nature."

(2) Labor.

(3) The instruments of production, tools, etc. These, under certain conditions are capital.

Every ordinary man generates a certain amount of energy which may be used in work of the brain or hand. This energy, or ability to work, is called labor-power. Labor-power in use is labor. The useful thing which results from the act of production is a "product," products are said to possess utility or use-value. The use-value of any product depends on its natural properties. For instance, bread or meat is nourishing, wool is comfortable, coal may be burned in a fire and so on. These products of labor taken altogether, are the wealth of modern society. Wealth, then, may be defined as those products of labor which are necessary, useful or desirable for the life and well-being of man.

We are here concerned only with the production and distribution of wealth under the present form of society, that is, the capitalist system. The word distribution as here used means the manner in which the products of labor are shared out among the various classes and individuals in society. The capitalist system rests on certain rights, the right to life, liberty, contract and property. And involves certain conditions such as the exchange of goods, division of labor, co-operation of labor and the use of machinery. The right of property is no longer regarded as a "natural" or "sacred" right and may therefore be defined simply as the legal right to the exclusive use or disposal of any natural object or any product of labor en-

joyed by any person or number of persons. The operation of these rights in society has been such as to bring about a division of society into classes as follows:

(1) A class who own the land and other natural resources.

(2) A class who own the instruments and means of wealth production.

(3) A class which owns nothing except their labor-power—the working class or "proletariat."

So far as this continent is concerned, these two classes may be lumped together as the capitalist class or "bourgeoisie."

GEORDIE.

(To Be Continued)

LOCAL SMITHERS ACTIVE

The members of Local Smithers S. P. of C. are proposing to build a hall and have already collected some funds towards the expenses. At least \$500 will be required. A comrade has donated a vacant lot in a central location and all labor will be donated free. The hall will be used for reading and recreation. Current papers and periodicals will be provided, and in addition it is proposed to establish a lending library. On occasion the hall will be rented for meetings and social gatherings.

The town of Smithers is centrally located in Northern B. C., and a hall where working men may meet freely and in comfort and enjoy social intercourse, will be, we are sure, much appreciated. Anyone who will assist in the building and furnishing of this hall, either financially or otherwise, will earn the gratitude of the Comrades of Local Smithers. Send any assistance to

R. C. Mutch,
Box 10, Smithers, B. C.

SUBSCRIBERS TO "INDICATOR" WANTED

The subscriptions are rolling in for "The Indicator," but not nearly fast enough to reach the stipulated 1000 increase in the time called for. Increase the pace, if those who have not started to rustle subs will get busy we shall make it yet. Remember all obligations are guaranteed fulfillment, or money returned: 20 issues for one dollar; bundles of five and over, 4c per copy.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS, VANCOUVER

Every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock, in the Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings Street.
Doors open 7:30. Come early.

Labor Defence Fund

Send all money and make all cheques payable to A. S. Wells, B. C. Federationist, Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

Collection agency for Alberta: A. Broatch, 1203 Eighth avenue east, Calgary, Alta.

Central Collection Agency: J. Law, Secretary, Defence Fund, Room 1, 530 Main street, Winnipeg.

THE SCHOOL DRUDGE

The B. C. Teachers' Federation is advertising for an organizing secretary at what, to the poor school drudge on her \$70 per, appears the princely wage of \$3,000 a year and travelling expenses. What does this perpend, she wonders?

At present the school slavey is one of the most hopeless propositions in the ranks of labor. She is the humble servant of whatever capitalist government may be in power; she obediently imbibes and preaches all the fustian old ideas about patriotism, empire building, thrift, the humble but honest poor, the philanthropic rich man, and so on, and in return she meekly accepts a wage which the whistle boy in a camp would turn his nose up at. True, she has two months' holiday in summer at her own expense, but she is expected to attend summer school for five weeks, again at her own expense, to keep herself up in the ever-increasing demands of her boss—the education department. At present the cry is for her to add manual training in all its branches to her already overfull quiver. No secret is being made as to the purpose of this. Our little embryo workers must be made more proficient in those subjects that will render them of service to their masters in competing against more highly technically-trained countries than our own. So speed up the sweated school-drudge. E.D.

EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

Vancouver Local No. 1, S. P. of C. Hall, corner Pender Street and Dunlevy Avenue

Economic Class.—Every Sunday at 3 p.m. Text Book, Wage-labor and Capital.

History Class.—Every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. Text Book, Industrial History of England, by H. De B. Gibbins. Everyone invited. No questions asked.

OUR LITERATURE

The Communist Manifesto, at the rate of \$8 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

Wage, Labor and Capital, \$8 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

Evolution of the "Idea of God," by Grant Allen, 45 cents by post.

Capitalist Production, being the first nine chapters of Vol. I, Marx's Capital. Single copies, paper cover, 50 cents; cloth bound, \$1.00.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, \$13 per 100. Single copies, 15 cents.

Postage Paid.

Make all Money Orders payable to C. Stephenson, 401 Pender Street East, Vancouver, B.C.

NEW PUBLICATION BY HUEBSCH PUBLISHING HOUSE

B. W. Huebsch, Publisher, New York City, announces for immediate publication a contribution to an understanding of Russia and of the Allied policy toward that country: "THE BULLITT MISSION TO RUSSIA. Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of William C. Bullitt." It includes these important documents in full: Lenin's Peace Proposals, Bullitt's Report on Russia, Lincoln Steffens' Report on Russia, Capt. Pettit's Reports on Russia, Discussions of the Peace Conference on a Policy towards Russia. The book contains 160 pages and will be published in two editions: Paper covers, 50 cents; Cloth covers, \$1.00. Add postage 10 cents. Those desiring copies of the first edition are urged to order promptly. Mr. Bullitt's story is the logical sequel to Ransome's "Russia in 1919." (\$1.50), now in its third edition. Mention "The Indicator" when ordering. B. W. Huebsch, Publishers, 32 West 58th Street, New York City, N.Y.

The Evolution of Man

[The history of the social world as the history of the natural world must be examined by the light of the evolutionary theory because, in fact, without it, neither of them are understandable. It is essential that we look in the material world around us for the cause of every effect and not to supernatural and arbitrary intervention; and also we must realize that both the history of social man, as well as the history of nature external to him, illustrate this evolutionary process, as an ever lengthening chain of cause and effect with an order of progression from the simple to the complex, from lower to higher planes of existence. It is considered that this series of excerpts from William Bolsches work, "The Evolution of Man," as illustrating the evolutionary process in nature, will assist students to approach the study of the same process in society, as seen in the birth, growth and decay of institutions as well as in the different economies of various historical epochs, and thus to reach an understanding of present day social problems more easily, and with a greater measure of success.]

Preface to "The Evolution of Man."

WHOEVER claims to be an educated man, a man who thinks, must acquire a knowledge of the outline of modern scientific research and of the theories concerning the descent of man. No thought is so essential and sublime as that about ourselves. One may be skeptical as to the value of these things, but before any discussion of them is possible, one must, above all, think.

There must be no class distinction in view of these questions. Wherever great philosophies and movements in their interests have appeared in history, they have not addressed themselves merely to kings of the spirit, but instinctively to the simple man of the people, to that place where the heart of the people is beating. Since natural science today claims to offer a new basis for a scientific world philosophy, it must again address itself to the common people. It may seem that scientific methods of expression and thought are an obstacle to popularization. If so, we must take so much the more pains to overcome this obstacle and find a popular interpretation for our thoughts. The present little volume is addressed to the widest circle of readers, even to those who are yet unacquainted with a goodly number of excellent but much more voluminous works concerning the same subject. This little work is reduced to such a size that it may easily be perused in one leisure hour. Nevertheless I think that the facts which it presents will furnish material for independent reflection in serious hours.

As for its scientific basis, I have only to mention the name of Darwin. Whoever thinks himself beyond this name in our days is specially invited to examine his theories once more by the help of this short and comprehensive sketch. In its more intricate details my presentation of the matter is naturally based on certain ideas of Ernst Haeckel, but I must also give due credit to the great influence which the more recent researches of Herman Klaatsch of Heidelberg, have exerted upon me. Whenever I have ventured beyond the line of facts, or combination of facts, I have done so from my own firm conviction that a thinking man is not dragged down by all these relations with the animal world, but is rather strengthened and furthered in the consciousness of his own ethical powers. He then appears to me so much more triumphant above his ani-

Industry and the Gild

(From Jenks, "History of Politics")

"METAL WORKING. By a somewhat unfair use of the term, the word **industry** is usually applied only to pursuits other than hunting, cattle-tending, and agriculture. In a sense, therefore, there is **industry** even in the savage epoch, when the women of the pack skin and dress the captured animals in the cave or bark hut; still more so, in the pastoral epoch, when the wife and daughters of the shepherd weave the wool of the flocks into garments, and make the milk of the herds into butter and cheese. But the great spur to industry comes with the development of agriculture, when there is a demand for ploughshares, reaping hooks, spades, mattocks, and hoes; and this is itself connected with one of the most important subjects in the history of civilization, viz., the **art of working in metals**. The primitive instruments of industry are, no doubt, made of wood and stone; but no great progress in agriculture can be made until metal tools are employed.

"Use of Iron. Now it is tolerably clear, that even pastoral races have some knowledge of working in metals. The brazen helmets and corselets of the Homeric heroes, their swords and spears, the uncoined money (reckoned by weight) of the Jewish patriarchs, the gold and silver ornaments of the African tribes, and the numerous bronze relics of great antiquity constantly dug up, all point to the fact that the art of working in metals is very ancient. But it is to be noticed that these are all soft metals, which can be worked with the stone hammer, and beaten out, whilst cold, into the required shape. The real revolution comes when men learn to work in **iron**, which can only be moulded by being **smelted in the fire**, but which when so worked, is infinitely harder than the older metals, and can produce results which they could never have produced.

"There is a good deal of ground for conjecturing, that this important art of smelting metals did not originate in Europe, but was imported

mal nature, standing victoriously above the dark foundation of his own existence. Man and his history reach back into the primitive world of animal monsters, but this animal nature, this primitive world, lies prostrate at his feet overcome by himself.

WILLIAM BOLSCHE.

(To Be Continued)

EX-SOLDIER'S INTERNATIONAL

A meeting was held at Geneva on September 17, attended by Germans, French, Italians, Turkish and Serbians, who had fought in the war. Those present, according to Neue Freie Press, (September 19,) decided unanimously to form an international society of those who have fought in the war, with the object of bringing about the reconciliation of the peoples and to organize to fight the machinations of Chauvinism.

Articles are desired on the Socialist Philosophy, or on current events interpreted in the light of its principles. Send them in.

from the East, possibly from Egypt, where iron was worked in very early times. A brilliant German writer, who has endeavored to draw a picture of primitive Aryan society from the evidence of language, has pointed out, there is no general or widely spread word for "iron" among the Aryan-speaking races. And from this fact he draws the conclusion, that the knowledge of iron was acquired by the European nations, after their migration into Western Europe. Be that as it may, it is quite certain that the European races have long ago surpassed all the rest of the world in the art of working in iron.

"The smith. It is evident then, that industry (in the modern sense of the term) begins with the important craft of the smith, from which, indeed, almost all other crafts may be said to have sprung. The smith it was who forged and mended the ploughshares and reaping hooks of the village, and, still more important, its swords and spears. He it was who, as later improvements came, made the iron nails which took the place of the old bone and wooden skewers, and the metal knives which superseded the old stone axes and sharp flints, who substituted the iron hammer for the rude lump of quartz with a shaft stuck through it. If anyone with the necessary knowledge and patience would write a history of the craft of the smith, tracing its development in all ages and in all countries, he would do yeoman service to the cause of social history. What little we know is very significant. For example, it seems tolerably clear, that for many ages in Europe the craft was in the hands of traveling strangers, perhaps the ancestors of our modern gypsies, who jealously guarded their valuable secrets, and made no end of mystery of their calling. The many legends which have grown up round the calling of the smith (of which the Wayland Smith episode in Scott's "Kennilworth" is a skilful adaptation,) are fertile matter for a thorough investigation. The gypsy idea is, of course, quite in accordance with the suggestion, that the art of smelting iron was brought into Europe by strangers."

"Specialization of Industry. But, as might have been expected, the Indo-European peoples, with that capacity for adaptation which has been one of the great secrets of their brilliant success in the world, ultimately acquired the art; and the numerous families of the Smith name (Schmidt in German, Favre in French, etc.), testify to the popularity of the pursuit. Some other crafts branched off from it, e.g., the **carpenter**, who worked in wood with the Smith's nails, hammer and chisel; the **cobbler** who borrowed his needle and knife; the **tailor**, who adopted his shears and needle; the **loriner** (or leather worker,) the **turner**, the **wheelwright**, the **cooper**, and so on. Even the older crafts felt the tendency towards specialization and, instead of each family doing its own weaving, thatching, baking and brewing, we get these crafts undertaken by special bodies, the **weavers**, **tilers**, **bakers** and **brewers**.

Next issue: Paragraphs on Commerce, Barter and Sale.

(To Be Continued.)

Suggestions for Conducting of Study Classes

[For the benefit of educational classes, either now running or in course of formation, we have "swiped" the following from the November "Proletarian." Readers should preserve this article for future guidance.—Edit. Indicator.]

NOW that the study of Socialism by the class method is becoming fairly general, the need for systematic and perfected methods has made itself felt. It will probably be obvious to instructors generally that a perfect system can not be devised at once but must be built up by experiment and experience. It would seem advisable, therefore, for each instructor to study this problem on his own account and not depend entirely upon any given program which may be offered to him. Nevertheless, a few helpful hints may be given, which are the result of the experiences of those who have undertaken such work thus far, and the following is offered with that idea in mind.

Organization.

Not the least important work in connection with class study is the organization of the class. In localities where the idea is new it may be necessary to "talk up" or advertise the project for some time before an actual start can be made. The promoters should, however, not wait for a large gathering, but be willing to begin in a very humble way, say, with two or three students, if necessary.

Texts.

The matter of texts is highly important. Many attempts have been made to "simplify" the works of Marx and Engels, as they are thought to be too difficult. Up to the present, however, no satisfactory texts of this character have been brought to light. In most cases such text books are no simpler than the standard works and frequently contain important errors, which render them wholly undesirable. The following are suggested as comprising a fairly comprehensive line of study, arranged in the logical order of treatment, and taken together, form a course of study:

- "Wage Labor and Capital."
- "Communist Manifesto."
- "Value, Price and Profit."
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific."
- "Capital," Vol. I, Chapters I to IX, inclusive, and Chapter XXXII.

This may be varied from, if desired, say, for example, by omitting "Value, Price and Profit." It will be noted in this arrangement that the first text-book deals with economics, the second with general principles, and the third reverts to economics. The object of this is to alternate the phases of study. By so doing, the student is saved from getting into a rut from studying too long on one phase, and thereby becoming one-sided or losing interest. In putting "Wage-labor and Capital" before the "Communist Manifesto," we are simply recognizing the fact that it is economic conditions which first bring the workers to take an interest in Socialism and that the subject matter can be illustrated by every-day conditions and events, which the student can appreciate by actual experience, while the "Manifesto" is largely a historical document with many

references to historical conditions with which the worker is unfamiliar and consequently it is not so good a text to start with.

Preparation.

By all means, the instructor should prepare in advance, not only for the session, but for each session thereafter. He should plan how much of the text is to be covered and map that out as a distinct lesson, endeavoring to have the lesson stop at a convenient point. He should read over the text, note which are the essential points in each paragraph which are to be explained; plan in his own mind what illustrations he will use, and brush up on any points in connection with which his own knowledge is weak, by reference to his own library. It is in order to remark here that a competent instructor must possess a much wider range of knowledge of socialism and science in general than is implied by a study of the texts as outlined above. If he has not such knowledge, he should set about getting it at once.

The First Session.

The preparation for, and conduct of, the first session will be somewhat different from that of succeeding ones. Assuming that the majority of the students are about to have their first experience in class work and that their enthusiasm for such study must be aroused by the efforts of the instructor himself, he will find it necessary to use all the skill and tact he possesses to conduct the first session so as to leave a good impression upon the students, even though these be few in number.

To begin with, he should have his equipment in good order, otherwise he will be as useless as a carpenter without a saw and hammer. The least equipment with which a class should be started will consist of a table, the necessary chairs, arranged in proper order and a sufficient supply of text books for the students. Never allow the students to sit in the class without the opportunity of supplying themselves with text books. Other remarks on equipment will be made later.

It is not desirable that the text should be immediately plunged into. A few preliminaries are necessary. The instructor should obtain the names and addresses of the students for record. If not already acquainted with the students he should become so as soon as possible by always calling them by name instead of indicating them as "this comrade" or "that comrade." This will make for a more home-like feeling and diminish backwardness in discussion. Try to get everybody acquainted with everybody else.

With the class assembled, the next thing in order is to make some preliminary remarks regarding the objects of class study, the methods to be employed in the class, what is expected of the students, etc. The remainder of the first session may, perhaps, be profitably employed in a general treatment of the text in hand, according to the judgment of the instructor.

General Methods.

After the preliminaries, the class will settle down to the regular study. The plan here suggested is based upon the methods of successful classes,

but may be varied according to circumstances.

The instructor calls upon the student at his extreme left to stand and read the first paragraph, the others following from their own books. If the paragraph contains more than one "essential" point," as referred to under "Preparation," the instructor proceeds to re-read the portion covering the first point and then asks the student who read to explain his understanding of that point. The instructor will then call upon any other student he may select to explain his idea of it, and so on until he has obtained several students ideas. Or he may call upon any student who thinks he can explain it, to do so. The instructor then proceeds to give his own explanation, using such illustrations as he has prepared. In doing so, he will point out to each student wherein his explanation was erroneous and also recognize any good points scored by any student. He will then ask if any doubtful points remain in the students minds and explain further in connection with such. He will then proceed to the second point of the paragraph, always calling upon the student who read the paragraph to explain first. When the first paragraph is thus exhausted, the instructor will review it as a whole. The second student will then read and so on.

Students should stand while reading; they should not be allowed to interrupt each other; they should be given a fair opportunity to complete their remarks but should not be allowed to occupy the floor for an unseemly length of time nor to ramble away from the subject. They should not be urged to give an explanation of a point when it is apparent that they are incapable of doing so. Ideas must be put into men's minds before they can come out. They must be required to express themselves in their own words. Mere repetition of the phraseology of the text is worse than useless and should not be tolerated. They should gradually be taught to give illustrations of their own composition.

Definitions.

Students should be instructed to ask the definition of any word or term which they do not understand. This applies both to ordinary words appearing in general literature and to terms peculiar to socialist literature. On the first presentation of terms such as bourgeois and proletarian, it will be necessary to define them carefully and thereafter watch to see that these definitions are retained in the students' minds.

English and Reading.

It will be found that students require a great deal of correction in the pronunciation of words and in their English generally. Also in the manner of reading. But it should be remembered that the human mind can not undertake a number of new tasks at once. The instructor should, therefore, be patient with these matters at first. The main object of classes is not the teaching of English; rather is it incidental, although, of course, necessary. As time goes on and the students become accustomed to reading, become more familiar with difficult terms and more readily catch the meaning of the text,

they will be able to devote more of their attention to good form in reading and should be expected to improve steadily. They should be taught to read in a clear voice, pronounce words distinctly, and emphasize properly. The speed should be moderate, rather slow than fast, but not draggy. The instructor must set the example.

The Instructor.

Much depends upon the personality of the instructor. It is hardly to be expected that many instructors possessing the right combination of qualities will be found ready-made. Every instructor should, therefore, endeavor to perfect himself in his task. We can not cover the whole subject of teaching here but suggest the following.

In the first place, the instructor must at all times and particularly at the beginning, get in close touch with his students. He should not set himself upon a pedestal as an oracle, but on the other hand, he should display enough self-confidence to command the respectful attention of the class. He should constantly endeavor to appreciate accurately the mental attitude of each individual student and not deal with them after a mechanical fashion as if they were blocks of wood to be turned into a given form. He should note carefully the progression made by each one and gauge his questions accordingly.

The instructor should display energy and enthusiasm. Listlessness on the instructor's part means an early and painless death for the class. Start the class exactly at the appointed time even if only a few are in attendance. Waiting for the class to begin is discouraging to those who come early. If the class gets the habit of starting an hour late it will presently not start at all. It may be taken as an axiom that any organization must be well managed to retain its vitality.

Examination and Review.

At periodic intervals, the length of which will be decided by the instructor, some kind of an examination should be made to ascertain how much knowledge has been absorbed up to that point. Probably the best method is to require the students to write answers to questions written on a blackboard, without consulting their books. This, of course, requires a complete session to be set aside for that purpose.

Equipment.

In addition to the equipment previously mentioned, a blackboard can be used for pointing rather than a lead pencil or finger. It is preferable to have the blackboard placed upon an easel. This equipment may be supplemented with special charts painted upon canvas or paper and attached to the blackboard, for special illustrations such as the law of value, etc., and sometimes maps are useful to illustrate points of history or geography.

Illustrations.

The matter of illustrations should have the earnest study of every instructor. The illustration, pictured or oral, is the key which unlocks the brain of the student and sets it in motion along the desired channel. As far as possible the illustration should refer to something concrete, especially at first. For instance, in illustrating the law of value, a table and

(Continued on Page Seven)

Capitalism and Counter-Revolution

A Series of Six Articles.

This series of articles by Walton Newbould are taken from a pamphlet published by the Workers' Socialist Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E3. Price 3d. (Editor, "The Indicator.")

EXPLANATORY FOREWORD.

This pamphlet is largely a reprint of four articles which appeared in the "Workers' Dreadnought" in the Autumn of 1918, and which were written about six weeks prior to the German Revolution and the signing of the Armistice. Hence, a number of the references may appear to be out of date; others may make clearer the reasons for the failure of the Spartacus movement to bring off their counterpart of the November Revolution in Russia. The purpose of the compilation of the four articles, together with a lengthy addendum, as a pamphlet is to give permanence and further publicity to a Marxist examination of certain important issues of immediate and practical significance that have been given all too little attention by the revolutionary elements in this country.

London, June, 1919. J. T. W. N.

V.

THE State has once more come to be an instrument of despotism and an obvious means to the reinforcement of the existing social order. At the same time, parliamentary institutions are falling into disrepute and the machinery of democratic government is becoming more and more inadequate to perform its functions. The more that the central authority, whether local or national, comes to depend, not on taxation, but on the raising of loans, the less will be the interest as well as the capacity of the citizens to control its activities. Again, the support of the State by profits of nationally owned or administered businesses must also tend to render the Government free from interference. Taxation, in its historic forms, is ceasing to be the source of public revenue. A parliamentary system that loses control of the monetary resources of the State virtually abdicates any influence which it may have had. The governmental bureaucrats can also lessen enormously the strength of Parliament by jerry-mandering the constituencies and by precipitating elections at times untoward to an opposition. They can by various side winds withdraw more and more of the direction of local affairs from direct supervision, alleging as an excuse the need for efficiency or the difficulty of discussing in public the minutiae of administrative detail.

The more comprehensive become the activities of the State the more evident does it become that parliaments have very little power, and that they most assuredly cannot do more than exert temporary and ineffective checks upon the State.

At the same time, the tendencies of economic evolution cause mere local or national political forms to become inadequate to new requirements. Just as the municipal systems or "communes" of the cities of the Middle Ages lost all influence—and very rarely was a "commune" anything for Socialists to romance about—so are the eventually democratized national councils and representative bodies which took their place beginning to feel their impotence.

The citizen of today increasingly finds that if he is to protect or to improve his status he must resort to non-constitutional organizations. The capitalist class dictates to the Government through vast federations of

manufacturers or associations of commercial men who, either in their corporate capacity or as individuals, can exert pressure upon the "ruling class." They may do this either by embarrassing the State in its requirements of vital stores, in holding up supplies, in diverting materials, in engineering "public opinion," or they may achieve their end by subscribing to party funds, finding lucrative jobs for Cabinet Minister's children or placing enticing financial tips before the notice of aspiring politicians and bureaucrats.

These expressions of capitalists endeavor may prefer to have "nationalism" of certain industries so long as they feel sure that they can retain control over their direction, they may favor the establishment of "controllerships;" they may again choose to be satisfied with the imposition of embargoes or of tariffs. They will and do prefer to achieve their ends through the ingenious camouflage of "democratic" forms.

The capitalists have had their way prepared for them again and again by those reformers who have advocated the replacement of competitive private enterprise by state or municipal collectivism, by the amiable advocates of such projects as a League of Nations, Arbitration, Disarmament, etc. They are rapidly learning that it is not the form of their domination that matters so much as the content. They can see not how idealistic a super-national authority would be, but how eminently convenient. They realize more, with every day that passes, how world-wide are their interests. They not only traffic to the ends of earth but they own property and employ workers upon every Continent. Moreover, as time goes on, they discover that their ownership is itself interlocked with the ownership of other nationals in a thousand combinations of mutual interest.

In the development of this idea of a world authority the United States, of necessity, has played and is still destined to play an immensely important part. The American property owners at an early stage emancipated themselves from all the feudal restraints upon ownership which have clogged the laws and codes of Europe. They have lived in a civilization based on commodity production, on continuous and ever speeding exchange. No system of entails has taken root in their midst. Everything in America can be passed from person to person, from corporation to corporation. There are no taboos on trade. American institutions have been based not on a land but on a dollar civilization. In the United States the ultimate ratio is—Money.

Britain and Germany both grafted their capitalism on to a feudal trunk. They were empires in the old world sense. In them the ideas of a landed hierarchy continued to survive, and upon the canons of respectability and repute imposed by this order all who made money and won position tended to model themselves. Neither of these two Powers was qualified to carry the institution of government over to the extent of supernationalization. That was the destiny of a Power, capitalist in origin, growth, and expansion. The United States had the advantage, one might also say the indispensable ad-

vantage, of retaining its pioneer idealism, its democratic inspiration. People believed in the American Republic as the creation of a great democratic impulse, and they saw her as the fitting champion of a "World made safe for Democracy." What they did not see, in most cases, was that every expansion of democracy in the United States was accompanied by the protection of property rights and by the encouragement of capital."

The United States is, in fact, the grand climax of property civilization. There is seen, graven in polity and written in philosophy the very antithesis of Socialism.

Not only in institutions and in thought has the United States been the appropriate leader of capitalist world domination, but in her heritage of economic sovereignty. Just at the moment when she was able to take advantage of it the opportunity came to make herself not only financially independent but the creditor of mankind. Her great rivals, Britain and Germany, flew at each other's throat. This circumstance at once brought a wave of prosperity to her shores that checked the rising tide of labor unrest and of Socialism, halted Wilson's campaign against the "Trusts," and, finally, drew her peace-loving peoples into the maelstrom of Imperialism and War. She only entered the struggle when not only the cause of democracy but also the solvency of her debtors was hanging in the balance. She turned the scale, and whilst destroying German capitalism, bound Britain, France, and in a way Japan, to her by immense credits or by supply of that indispensable steel which her Oriental competitor so sorely lacks. The United States is today economic suzerain of the entire realm of capitalism.

Her priority does not merely depend upon the indebtedness of the Old World or the crying capital demands of South and Central America. It was their need which proved to be her opportunity, but now what her greatness reposes upon is, at once, her command of credit and her superior technique of production. Costliness of labor has, throughout her history, compelled the United States capitalists to seek out and to employ automatic machinery and economizing methods wherever practicable. Coming late into the field of capitalist enterprise her industries have been developed on a larger scale than here, and vast economies have been achieved as a result of profiting by other people's mistakes and failures. Quantity production, i.e., the turning out on a gigantic scale of great numbers of articles exactly alike, has become the characteristic of American capitalism, whether as affecting Ford cars or fabricated merchantment or what-not. Possessed of enormous capital, the controllers of American concerns can afford to lay out lavish plants, to scrap old establishments, to install the most up-to-date machines, and to effect every initial outlay making for ultimate economy and efficiency. Not only so, but more than this, millionaire foundations devoted to economic and sociological research and study are bringing to the aid of "big business" the best brains that money can buy or educational institutions equip.

Science is being applied to the elimination of friction not only in the material of production but in the personnel as well. Great attention is being given to the science of management and to psychology and physiology of the workers. "Welfare work" is being endowed and maintained on a huge plan in many an establishment. The crudeness of competitive capitalism has been passed, and with a refinement of camouflaged cunning the exploiter now keeps his workers in training and in health. It is not so much that the supply of these requisites of wealth creation is becoming attenuated and, therefore, needs conserving. It is rather that they are becoming conscious of their value and are displaying an untoward desire to secure a greater and greater share of the product of their toil.

(To Be Concluded)

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONDUCTING OF STUDY CLASSES

Continued from Page Six)

chair or other objects should be used in preference to simply speaking of "commodities." The objects should be before the eyes of the students. This can be done by using objects in the room or pictures of objects drawn upon the blackboard or chart. In illustrating historical matters, the situation is somewhat different. If the historical occurrence is one which refers to Feudal times, for instance, the illustration must refer to the same period, but if it refers to an occurrence such as the falling of the small capitalist into the proletariat, it may be illustrated by reference to some recent occurrence. The closer the illustration can be brought to the student's own experience, the better.

There is no short road to a knowledge of Socialism. There are no iron-clad rules for conducting a class. The essential thing is to gather together to read and discuss, adopting system and method as you proceed according to special conditions and opportunities met with.

Some will be slow to learn; some will tend to become discouraged at the apparently slow progress; but the beginning is always difficult, and once the first stages are passed, the progress will be more rapid. All students must persevere and remember that one point thoroughly understood, even after much effort, is much better than many points which are but vaguely grasped.

Write Us!

If you find difficulties or encounter stumbling-blocks in your work, do not hesitate to send your questions to "The Proletarian." We do not guarantee to solve your troubles, but whatever experience we have gained in class work is at your disposal. Do not let the difficulties baffle you but get the work started and "carry on."

WORKING CLASS RUSSIA AND BRITAIN

The Co-operative Wholesale Society of Great Britain, has sent a food-ship to Russia. N. T. Killon, chairman of the C. W. S., says the society is proud to send assistance to the Russian people. Once a beginning is made, it is hoped that a substantial system of trade between the Co-operators of the two countries will develop.

The Capitalist Method of Production

(Continuation of "Commodities and Capital" in Last Issue.)

IN the course of the Middle Ages, the handicrafts developed steadily. There was a great increase in the division of labor—e.g., weaving divided into woollen weaving, linen weaving, etc. There was also increase in skill and improvement in tools. Simultaneously there came about a development of trade, especially as a result of improved means of transportation by water.

Four hundred years ago the handicrafts were at their height. This was an eventful time in the history of commerce. The waterway of India came into use and America was discovered, with its endless supplies of gold and silver. A flood of wealth inundated Europe, wealth which the European adventurers had scooped up by means of barter, deceit and robbery. The lion's share of this wealth fell to the tradesmen able to fit out ships with bold, unscrupulous crews.

At the same time there came into being the modern state, the centralized official and military State, at first an absolute monarchy. This State met the demands of the rising capitalist class and depended on it for support. The modern State, the State of developed commodity production, draws its power, not from personal service, but from its financial income. The monarchs had, therefore, every reason to protect and favor the capitalists who brought money into the country. In return the capitalists lent money to the monarchs, made debtors of them and put them in the position of dependents. This enabled them once more to force the political and military power into their service. The State was obliged to improve means of communication, take over colonies, and carry on war in the interest of capital.

Our text books on economics tell us that the beginning of capital is to be found in thrift. But we have learned that its origin was an altogether different one. Colonial policies were the chief sources of wealth open to capitalist nations; i.e., capital was drawn from the plundering of foreign lands, from piracy, smuggling, slave-trading and war. Even down to the nineteenth century, (and later,) history shows us plenty of examples of this "thrift." And "thrifty" tradespeople found in the State itself a powerful ally in this sort of "saving."

But newly discovered lands and commercial routes did more than bring wealth to the merchants; they opened up a new market for the seagoing nations of Europe, especially England. Handicraft was unable to satisfy the rapidly increasing demands of this market. These demands were on a large scale; production had to proceed on a large scale. That is, the market demanded a form of production which could and would adapt itself to the demand; in other words, a form absolutely in command of the merchants.

The merchants naturally found it to their interest to satisfy the demand of this new market, and they had the money to purchase the necessary means, raw materials, tools, factories and labor. But where was this last to come from? So long as a man owns tools of his own and can produce with them, he will not sell himself to another. Fortunately for the merchant, rural laborers were being driven from the soil. The landlords wanted their share of the new prosperity, therefore, they enlarged their scale of production and demanded a larger proportion of the product. So agricultural laborers were forced to the doors of the factories.

Thus the foundations of capitalist industry were laid by means of expropriation, by means of a revolution as bloody as any in history.

The separation of great masses of workers from the means of production, their transformation into propertyless proletarians, was a condition necessary to capitalist production. Economic development made the change inevitable. But the rising classes were not content to sit by and watch the course of events; they resorted to violence to accelerate the change. It was through violence of the most brutal, repulsive kind that capitalist society was ushered in.

Next Issue: "The Death-Struggle of Small Production."

BLOCKADING IT

Is the blockade, the bullet, terrorism and misrepresentation succeeding? Read the following from a special correspondent of the London "Common Sense."

The growth in Scandinavia of Bolshevism, or of radical forms of Socialism which differ from Bolshevism only in name, ought to be a useful object-lesson to those politicians of Western Europe who, with their eyes fixed only on Russia, represent Bolshevism as a disease which can be cured homoeopathically by the hunger blockade and the terror of a White counter-revolution. Sweden, Norway and Denmark are today the most prosperous countries in Europe. True, their price-levels (particularly in Norway and Sweden) are higher than England's; but their wage-levels also have risen much higher, and though they, too, have currency inflation, they acquired real wealth while the belligerents were spending; and they escaped with comparatively small additions to their public debts. Further, their Governments are more democratic than those of the European Great Powers and of America, and they can achieve further democratization any day by parliamentary means. Sweden last winter, democratized her First (Upper) Chamber and gave women the vote: Norway is about to put through electoral redistribution (entirely in the interest of her Socialists;) and Denmark is embarking upon a reform of the Constitution of June, 1915, which in its day was considered the most pro-

NATIONALIZATION "HORROR" IN RUSSIA

Probably no bit of anti-Bolshevik propaganda has been worked so hard, or has been more effective, than the alleged nationalization of women under Soviet rule.

The belief is dealt with at length by Professor W. T. Goode, in the "Manchester Guardian," and his plain narrative gives the fantastic notion what at any rate ought to be its death-blow.

"The position of women under Bolshevism," he says, "has not deteriorated, it has improved."

The best disproof of the nationalization story was the visible condition of women. "Home life goes on in the country, among the peasants, as before. In towns, family life continues, and one saw constantly whole families, taking the air on the boulevards, in the zoological gardens, and on Sunday in the children's theatres.

In the great factories at Serpukhof, and at the immense waterworks of Moscow, the greatest possible care is taken for improving the conditions under which the workmen live, just in order that they may lead family life. I went into their houses and into the flats provided and saw for myself.

"Marriage is a civil function, but no hindrance is placed in the way of a further religious ceremony, should the parties desire it. But the hardest blow is dealt against the 'free-love' belief by the following fact—there is, to all appearance, no open prostitution in Moscow."

As for the children, Professor Goode says, "To my thinking, there is no country in the world where more care, money, and thought are bestowed on the children by the Government than in Russia today."

To other popular misconceptions about Soviet Russia, Mr. Goode gives short shrift. As for instance:—

The story: "The Jews are Bolsheviks and the Bolsheviks Jews;" the reality: "At Moscow, of the 18 Commissaries of the People only one, Trotsky, is of Jewish blood."

The story: "That the Church is persecuted in Russia;" the reality: "I did not see a single damaged church."

The story: "That the Bolsheviks employ hordes of Chinese;" the reality: that "Chinese have been freely recruited, but their number is declining. . . . In Moscow I saw none, and Lenin goes about the town unattended."

pressive in the world.

Nevertheless, Syndicalism and Left-Socialism, both of them practically Bolshevism, have been, and it seems still are, steadily growing. In essentials the movements in all three countries are similar, but the measure of power and the reputation of the leaders differ materially in the three countries; in Denmark, the Bolsheviks are a vigorous and disturbing but numerically insignificant rump; in Sweden, though a minority, they have men of great ability and they powerfully influence policy; in Norway they have command of, and in fact are, the official Socialist party.

ONE MAN WHO IS NOT A HYPOCRITE

On hearing of von Tirpitz's dismissal, I perpetrated the following letter, which a newspaper contrived to print in one of its editions. I can't say why, but it didn't appear any more nor was it copied by any other paper!

Dear Old Tirps,

We are both in the same boat! What a time we've been colleagues, old boy! However, we did you in the eye over the battle cruisers, and I know you've said you'll never forgive me for it when bang went the Blucher and von Spee and all his host!

Cheer up, old chap! Say "Resurgam!" You're the one German sailor who understands war! Kill your enemy without being killed yourself. I don't blame you for the submarine business. I'd have done the same myself, only our idiots in England wouldn't believe it when I told 'em.

Well! So long!—Yours till hell freezes, Fisher.—Times, October 17, 1919.

The wicked old "Economic Determinist" also perpetrated the following piece of materialistic reasoning at the close of a letter to the Times, advocating a system of tunnels and steamers to link the world.

"N. B.—Facility of communication begets community of interests, which is the only treaty that is not a scrap of paper. But that is not all. Can you imagine civil war between Middlesex and Hertfordshire, or the State of New Jersey fighting the State of Pennsylvania?" — Yours, Fisher.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Friday evening, Nov. 7, Vancouver Local No. 1, commemorated the second anniversary of the establishing of the Soviet Republic in Russia by the working class of that country. The celebration commenced with a banquet, at the conclusion of which an address was given. The rest of the evening was spent in song and dancing. Some one hundred and sixty were present, the size of the hall putting a limit to the number of the tickets issued.

WHERE CHILDREN ARE FIRST

By the latest Soviet Government's order, wherever there is food shortage, the local provisioning organizations are to feed all children under 14 years old free of charge, and send the accounts on to the Central Commissariat. At least the Soviets will not have the sin of starving children laid to their charge.—Labor Leader, (London.)

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR

The Labor and Socialist movement of Durban organized a Peace demonstration independent of the official celebrations. A huge gathering unanimously adopted a resolution pledging those present to strive for the removal of the conflicting economic interests out of which wars arise.